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**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 455th
MEETING**

**Friday, 3 December 1954,
at 3 p.m.**

New York

C O N T E N T S

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Chairman: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Rivas (Venezuela), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEMS 35 AND 52

**The Togoland unification problem: special report
of the Trusteeship Council (A/2669) (*continued*)**

**The future of the Trust Territory of Togoland
under United Kingdom trusteeship (A/2660)
(*continued*)**

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (*continued*)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, Mr. J. K. Mensah, representative of the Buem-Krachi District Council, Mr. S. T. Fleku and Mr. S. W. Kumah, representatives of the Convention People's Party, Mr. J. H. Allasani and Mr. Mahama Bukhari, representatives of the Dagomba District Council, Mr. Idana Asigri, representative of the Mamprusi District Council, Mr. Anani Ignacio Santos, representative of the Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise, Mr. S. Aquereburu, representative of the Mouvement populaire togolais, Nana Akompi Firam III, representative of the Natural Rulers of the Buem-Krachi District, Mr. Frédéric Brenner, representative of the Parti togolais du progrès, Mr. S. G. Antor, representative of the Togoland Congress, Mr. A. K. Odame, representative of the Togoland Congress (Buem-Krachi Branch), Mr. Alasan Chamba, representative of the Togoland Congress (Northern Region) and Mr. Mama Foussemi, representative of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord, took places at the Committee table.

1. The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. Kumah, who wished to clarify certain points raised at the previous meeting, to speak.
2. Mr. KUMAH (Convention People's Party) said that Mr. Antor had alleged that there were no heads of Government departments in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration and that everything was administered from the Gold Coast. That was

not true. Apart from the regional administration, which had its head office at Ho, there were also regional heads of the following departments in the Trust Territory: Education, Social Welfare and Community Development, Police, Health, Agriculture and Public Works. Furthermore, offices were being built at Ho to serve as headquarters for the Medical Service.

3. Mr. Antor had also alleged that there were no tarred roads in the entire Trust Territory, save for 200 yards at Ho, where the regional officer was stationed. There were in fact two and a half miles of tarred road at Ho and, as part of the Trans-Volta/Togoland Council's proposals which were now being implemented by the Government, work was in progress on tarring the entire length of the main trunk road which ran through the Trust Territory.

4. The same speaker had alleged that the Government had made no effort to provide water for Kpandu. In fact the Government had recently sunk two successful bore-holes at Kpandu, one yielding a flow of 4,000 gallons an hour and the other 5,000 gallons. Work was in progress on a reservoir and pipelines. At Yendi there had been piped water since 1952.

5. A question had been asked regarding the languages spoken in the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration. He would like to add to the reply that, in the Northern Section, Gonja, Dagomba, Mamprusi and Kusasi were also spoken.

6. The CHAIRMAN called upon the members of the Committee to resume their questions to the petitioners.

7. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) noted that in many cases the full amount of taxes collected from the Trust Territory of Togoland by the United Kingdom Administration did not appear to have been spent in the Territory and that two-thirds of the world market price for cocoa was retained by the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board, while only one-third went to the Togoland cocoa farmers. He accordingly asked Mr. Mensah whether, in the light of those circumstances and of the progress which had been achieved, he believed that the administration of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship as an integral part of the Gold Coast had been in the best interests of the people of the Trust Territory.

8. Mr. MENSAB (Buem-Krachi District Council) said that, in the case of the taxes collected by the local councils, the money was used for the benefit of the locality concerned, together with an additional Government grant to each local council. He considered that the administration of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship as an integral part of the Gold Coast had been in the best interests of the inhabitants of the Territory.

9. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that the general report of the Administering Authority for 1951-1952

showed that there was a balance of £700,000 remaining from the total taxes collected for the Trust Territory which had not been spent in Togoland. He wondered how that balance had been used for the benefit of the people of the Trust Territory.

10. Mr. MENSAH (Buem-Krachi District Council) said that revenue in excess of expenditure was kept as a reserve, as in the Gold Coast, against the years in which the local councils might not collect such large sums.

11. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) said that the system of local councils had been instituted in 1952 only and the most recently established council, in the South, had not been set up until August 1954. Those councils were concerned only with the locality in which they functioned. Excess revenue they collected did not go to the central Government. The excess referred to in the annual report was the general revenue, which went to the Government's central fund.

12. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party) said that any reserve in the central fund was used in the best interests of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. It ensured that there was a reserve on which the people of Togoland could fall back in the case of a slump and that there would be sufficient funds for subsequent major development.

13. Mr. ALLASANI (Dagomba District Council) said that, as a general principle, when the funds collected in any one year were not exhausted the balance remaining was carried forward for expenditure in subsequent years. The question had referred to the balance in 1952; he was sure that if the reports of subsequent years were studied, it would be clear that that money had been spent in the interests of the Trust Territory.

14. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party) said that he was not conversant with the figures of the reserve for Togoland under British administration but he did know that two million dollars had recently been set aside for the future development of the Trust Territory. He was sure that that sum included the reserve which had been built up in previous years.

15. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that matters of legislation in regard to the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration now seemed to rest entirely with the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast. That being so, he asked whether there might not now be some inconsistency between that situation and the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement, which gave the United Kingdom as Administering Authority the sole right to legislate over the Trust Territory. He addressed his question to any of the petitioners who might be familiar with the present governmental and legislative arrangements in the Gold Coast, under the provisions of the new Constitution promulgated in April 1954.

16. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) said that there were seven Togoland members in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly out of a membership of 104. The policy-making body, however, was the Cabinet, in which there were no Togoland members. The Governor, who had legislated for Togoland until 1950, was not a member of the Cabinet or of the Legislative Assembly.

17. Mr. ALLASANI (Dagomba District Council) said that there were four Togoland members of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly from the Northern

Territories. Moreover, he himself was a Togolander and a member of the Gold Coast Cabinet.

18. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party) said that his party was represented in all parts of the Gold Coast and of Togoland under British administration. Togoland members of his party did not feel that their interests were overlooked by members of the Convention People's Party who were not from the Territory; they felt that they were all members of one party, which was in the majority in the Legislative Assembly and sought the interests of all, including the inhabitants of Togoland under British administration.

19. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) asked in what form the two-thirds of the world market price for cocoa retained by the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board reverted to the Trust Territory under the latest ordinance.

20. Mr. ALLASANI (Dagomba District Council) said that the Cocoa Duty and Development Funds (Amendment) Ordinance, 1954, had only recently been passed and that the result of the last season's cocoa sales was not known. He was sure, however, that it was the intention of the Government to reserve the money accruing from the sale of cocoa for the general development of roads, hospitals, schools, water and other essential needs of the population.

21. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that he understood that even before the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution two-thirds of the world market price for cocoa had been withheld by the Gold Coast from the Togoland cocoa farmers. He would like to know how the money thus accumulated each year had been applied for the benefit of Togoland, for he understood that it was allocated to a special fund for the general use of the Gold Coast Government and not earmarked for the special benefit of the Trust Territory. If those sums were in fact earmarked for use in the Trust Territory, he would like to know in what ordinance or law that provision appeared.

22. Mr. ALLASANI (Dagomba District Council) said that Togoland under British administration was administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast and thus shared its services, such as educational institutions. The money from the sale of cocoa had been used in general for the benefit of all.

23. Mr. MENSAH (Buem-Krachi District Council) recalled that during his work on the District Council he had taken part in the allocation of funds made available for the development of cocoa-growing areas in Buem-Krachi. Just before he had left for New York, the Council had received a further request for its proposals in connexion with the use of a further grant of money for the improvement of roads, water supplies, etc., in that part of the Trust Territory.

24. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that he had the impression that the integration of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast was a *fait accompli*. The 1954 Constitution defined the Gold Coast as meaning the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship. The petitioners were appearing before the Committee as witnesses of the process of development in the Trust Territory and in the Gold Coast; those of them who were representatives of the Gold Coast Government ought to be competent to interpret

the present arrangement under the 1954 Constitution. He asked, therefore, whether the integration of the Trust Territory was in fact complete.

25. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party) said that Togoland under British administration was pleased with the new Constitution, since it wished to retain its union with the Gold Coast. It was that policy which he had come to defend.

26. Mr. BOURDILLON (United Kingdom) said that the answer to the Philippine question was stated quite clearly in the Gold Coast Constitution. He felt that to depart from the questioning of the petitioners at that stage might be to begin the general debate prematurely; if, however, it was of interest to the Committee to have the answer at once, he was willing to provide it.

27. Paragraph 17 of the constitutional instruments¹ stated that the Governor, acting in his discretion, should be responsible for the subjects set out in the second schedule to the Order and for matters which affected the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in respect of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship by virtue of the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly. It had been suggested at an earlier stage that the Governor's discretionary powers might have been allowed to become inoperative, since he did not normally preside over the Gold Coast Cabinet. In fact, however, they were maintained. He reviewed the affairs of the Trust Territory under United Kingdom trusteeship at frequent meetings with a special committee of the Cabinet. He was therefore in a position to intervene at any time and he kept the affairs of the Trust Territory under close and constant review.

28. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) would have expected the petitioners, some of whom were members of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly or even the Cabinet, to have been fully acquainted with the meaning of the laws and the Constitution. From the manner in which his questions had been answered, however, it appeared that that was not the case.

29. He asked those who had spoken in favour of integration whether it was or was not a fact that the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board was composed entirely of members without the intervention of the Governor of the Gold Coast.

30. Mr. ALLASANI (Dagomba District Council) pointed out that the Constitution had been promulgated only very recently and that even members of the Cabinet could hardly be expected to answer detailed questions without reference to the text.

31. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party) thought he had made it clear in his statement at the 453rd meeting that there was a representative of the Trust Territory on the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board.

32. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) pointed out that he had already informed the Committee that under the Act passed the previous year by the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly the Cocoa Marketing Board was no longer an elected body. Its members were appointed by the Minister of Labour.

33. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) asked whether it was true that the integration of Togoland under British administration into the Gold Coast was now complete in virtue of paragraph 17 of the constitutional instruments, which had been read out by the United Kingdom representative.

34. Mr. KUMAH (Convention People's Party) replied that that was not so; that section of the Constitution merely provided that Togoland should continue to be administered, as heretofore, as an integral part of the Gold Coast.

35. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) said that it was on account of that section of the Constitution that his party's representatives had requested an interview with the Governor. In his party's view that part of the Constitution made it clear that integration had been completed and it wanted to know by what authority the United Kingdom Government had transferred the administration. As he had previously stated, the Governor had refused to grant the party's representatives an interview.

36. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) stressed that the Trust Territory was affected by the ordinance of the Cocoa Marketing Board by which two-thirds of the world market price of cocoa was withheld from the Togoland cocoa farmers and paid into a stabilization fund. He asked the petitioner whether the Governor had ever intervened in a matter which so closely affected the Trust Territory.

37. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) was not aware that the Governor had ever intervened, although petitions had been sent to him by the Togoland farmers and the Togoland Congress protesting against the legislation.

38. Mr. ALLASANI (Dagomba District Council) felt sure that the Governor would intervene in matters concerning Togoland if he thought it necessary. There was no need for him to intervene where action was taken that was in the best interests of the people of the Trust Territory.

39. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) asked whether under the 1954 Constitution there was any organ of government in the Gold Coast that could determine that an Act passed by the Gold Coast legislature was incompatible with the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement or with the principles of the International Trusteeship System.

40. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) replied in the negative.

41. Mr. MENSAH (Buem-Krachi District Council) pointed out that the Governor represented the United Kingdom Government and as such could be said to fulfil the functions of such an organ.

42. Mr. ODAME (Togoland Congress, Buem-Krachi Branch) wished to make an additional statement in support of what had been said by Mr. Antor and Mr. Olympio concerning whether or not integration would be of financial benefit to the United Kingdom and the Gold Coast Government. The answer was undoubtedly in the affirmative. At the previous meeting he had mentioned the cocoa smuggling ordinance. During the debate on the bill the Minister of Finance had said that the illegal export of cocoa across the land frontier had increased considerably during the present year because of the disparity between the world price of cocoa and the price paid to producers.

¹ See *Statutory Instruments, 1954, No. 551, The Gold Coast (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954*, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954.

The decision to restrict the price had been made by the Government as an integral part of its fiscal policy. In view of the length of the frontiers it was difficult to prevent smuggling and action had to be taken by mobile patrols operating behind the frontier. The new bill gave the Governor power to declare that the conveyance of specified goods by specified roads or across specified rivers would be deemed a breach of the customs regulations. In Togoland under French administration, sixty pounds of cocoa sold for about £10, whereas in the British zone it was sold for £3 12s. 0d.

43. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) asked Mr. Foussemi whether he was still secretary of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord, who were its members and what was its programme.

44. Mr. FOUSSENI (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) said that he had not been secretary of the organization since his election as a councillor of the French Union. The Union des chefs was a movement of all the tribes in the northern part of the Territory; its programme was the political, economic and social progress of Togoland within the framework of the French Union. Its Chairman was the Paramount Chief of Pana. The organization held meetings whenever necessary, usually in the chief towns of the north.

45. In reply to a further question by Mr. CARPIO (Philippines), Mr. FOUSSENI (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) said that the headquarters of the movement was in Togoland under French administration and that its programme of action was confined to that Territory.

46. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) asked whether it was a fact that many of the tribes in the northern section of Togoland under French administration had kinsmen in Togoland under British administration.

47. Mr. FOUSSENI (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) replied that the northern section of Togoland under French administration was inhabited by about thirteen tribes, a number of which had splinter groups in Togoland under British administration. Most of them were migrant tribes and moved into Togoland under British administration during the cocoa planting season.

48. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) asked whether it was true that the splinter groups in Togoland under British administration were more advanced than their kinsmen in Togoland under French administration.

49. Mr. FOUSSENI (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) did not think so, although he was not familiar with the situation in Togoland under British administration. The northern tribes were co-operating to promote social and economic progress. There was a school at Sokodé for children of the northern tribes and they now had access to French universities.

50. In reply to a question by Mr. CARPIO (Philippines), Mr. FOUSSENI (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) said that the eight most important chiefs in the northern section of the Territory had asked him to travel to New York to represent them. As a member of the French Parliament he was entitled to travel to Paris three times a year free of cost; the rest of his fare had been paid by the chiefs.

51. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) asked Mr. Olympio and Mr. Antor why, in view of the fact that they had on several occasions stressed the desirability of eventual associa-

tion between Togoland and the Gold Coast, they disapproved of the step that had been taken towards the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast.

52. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) thought he had made it clear in his statement that his party feared that following the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast a permanent division would be created, inasmuch as France in turn would integrate Togoland into French administration into either Dahomey or the French Union.

53. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) said his party claimed that Togoland under British administration should be given a properly constituted body which would represent its views, even if it was in association with the Gold Coast. If such an organ had been created it could advocate unification with Togoland under French administration. Togoland under British administration had, however, been assimilated into the Gold Coast without having any responsible organ. It was clear, therefore, that the voice of Togoland would not be heard in whatever Government was established in the Gold Coast and that the people would be powerless to demand unification with Togoland under French administration.

54. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) observed that if France had intended to carry out a policy of integrating Togoland into Dahomey or the French Union it could have done so long before, without waiting for the integration of Togoland under British administration into the Gold Coast. Under the French Constitution Togoland could not be annexed without consultation of the Territorial Assembly and of the Government Council, if and when it was set up.

55. Mr. FOUSSENI (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) had been glad to note that Mr. Olympio had changed his position and after seven years had come to realize that the Ewe State he advocated would not be complete without the populations of the north.

56. The movement he himself represented was not a tribal one; it believed in working for the interests of Togoland as a whole. The unity of the country would never be achieved if certain tribes or sections were given preferential treatment. The French Administration would enable the people of Togoland to progress and at the end of the French trusteeship they would be able to decide whether they wished to be integrated in the French Union or to become an independent State.

57. Mr. SANTOS (Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise), replying to the Syrian representative, said that his party was apprehensive of the projects being drawn up to unite Togoland under French administration with Dahomey. Phosphates had been discovered on the border between Togoland and Dahomey and it had suddenly been decided that a port which could be used by both Territories was essential for the future of their economy.

58. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) asked Mr. Brenner and Mr. Aquereburu whether the local Administration had never discussed with the Parti togolais du progrès the possibility of integrating Togoland into Dahomey.

59. The plan for a common port between Togoland and Dahomey to which Mr. Santos had just referred had been supported by Mr. Grunitzky, the Togoland

Deputy in the French National Assembly, who had also written an article published in the review *France Outremer*.

60. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) said that, as far as he knew, there had never been any question of annexing Togoland under French administration to Dahomey. It was true that a common port for the two Territories was to be built but it would be in their common interest. The Trust Territory had not sufficient resources to build a port of its own.

61. Mr. Santos claimed to speak for the youth of Togoland under French administration but in fact he represented only a fraction of it. If there was talk of annexation, the Parti togolais du progrès had every reason to suspect its opponents of seeking to promote the annexation of Togoland under French administration to the Gold Coast. In his opening statement at the 453rd meeting Mr. Santos had called for the reconstitution of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, with a view to discussing the federation of a unified Togoland with the Gold Coast.

62. Mr. GRUNITZKY (France) said that he was the Deputy from Togoland to whom Mr. Olympio had referred. It was true that he had written an article in favour of the common port with Dahomey. As the parliamentary representative of Togoland, he desired to promote his country's development in every way. At the moment the Trust Territory had no ports, properly speaking, but only wharf facilities, which needed constant repair owing to the rough seas. The lack of a port was a serious hindrance to the country's development, but to construct one would cost more than the Togoland economy could afford. The common port would be a great advantage to the Trust Territory; it was not an annexationist manoeuvre.

63. Mr. AQUEREBURU (Mouvement populaire togolais) said that on one occasion he had attacked the Gold Coast Prime Minister in a newspaper article, accusing him of seeking to integrate part of the former German Territory of Togoland into the Gold Coast. He had been summoned by a senior official in the Governor's office, who had informed him that in future it would be wise to refrain from such remarks about Mr. Nkrumah. A long conversation ensued, in the course of which the French official had said that if the United Kingdom integrated its part of Togoland into the Gold Coast, France in turn might integrate its part into the French Union, with Dahomey. It was in the light of that discussion that he had changed his political views, for he had realized that there was a move to use certain political parties in Togoland to screen the annexation of the Territory to Dahomey.

64. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) asked whether the people of Togoland under French administration had been consulted during the preparation of the new Act on political institutions in the Trust Territory and how that Act would affect the Territory's future.

65. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) explained that under the French Constitution the Trust Territory elected a Deputy to the National Assembly. That Deputy had the people's mandate: he had been consulted during the drafting of the bill, had participated in the discussions at the committee stage, and had reported on the matter to his party, with a view to suggesting amendments. The people had been consulted through their elected representative and there

had been no need for public meetings, which would merely have provided an excuse for demagoguery.

66. Mr. SANTOS (Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise) retorted that the people had been consulted only through their official representative, the Deputy to the National Assembly. The details of the new Act were not yet fully known in the Trust Territory but it seemed extremely doubtful, to say the least of it, whether the Deputy had kept his election promises to the people. At that time, he had promised them a legislative assembly and a council of ministers within five years. Four years had already elapsed and the new Act failed to embody any of the Deputy's promises. Moreover, during the discussions in the National Assembly the Deputy had neither criticized the Act nor submitted any amendments.

67. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) maintained that the people of the Trust Territory had never been consulted on the new Act. As a member of the Territorial Assembly he had tried to have the draft discussed by that body but the Governor's representative had said that the Assembly had no political powers and no power to discuss political matters. The Government view had always been that the Deputy alone could discuss matters concerning the Constitution or similar matters. His party had never agreed with that view; many of its members, indeed, opposed Togoland representation in the French National Assembly. With the best will in the world, one representative out of 600 could not do much.

68. On paper the Act gave Togoland under French administration the framework of internal autonomy: the Territorial Assembly could now discuss, but not take decisions on, political issues, and there was at last a government Council whose members were not all nominated by the Governor but included a few nominated by the Territorial Assembly. Political liberty, however, was non-existent in the Territory: parties which were not favourable to the Administration were impeded at every turn and the elections were conducted in such a way that only the candidates of parties favourable to the Administration could be elected. In those circumstances, the new Act would not have the effect intended.

69. Mr. FOUSSENI (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) reminded the Committee that at an earlier date Mr. Olympio's party, the Comité de l'Unité togolaise (CUT), had provided the Deputy to the French National Assembly. During five years he had done nothing but provoke dissidence and promote the Ewe cause in the Trust Territory. The new Act marked a considerable step forward and he paid a tribute to the efforts of the present Togoland Deputy, who had fought for the establishment of the Government Council and for an Assembly with wider powers.

70. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) said that in his opinion the Togoland Deputy had kept his election promises, since the new Act provided for what was virtually a legislative assembly and a government council. While there were admittedly ways in which it could be improved, it would be ungrateful not to recognize the efforts that had been made.

71. As far as freedom of election was concerned, Mr. Olympio might well tell the Committee of the

action he had taken to ensure his election to the Territorial Assembly, an election in which, incidentally, he had defeated the Togoland Deputy to the National Assembly.

72. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) asked whether there were greater affinities between Togoland under French administration and Dahomey or Togoland under French administration and Togoland under British administration.

73. Mr. FOUSSENI (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) said that the greatest ethnic link with Dahomey was in the south, where certain tribes generally included under the outmoded appellation "Ewe" extended across the border. In the north, the links were greater with the British Trust Territory.

74. Mr. AQUEREBURU (Mouvement populaire togolais) stressed that the affinities with Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast were much stronger than those with Dahomey. The Togolandians had no desire whatsoever to be attached to Dahomey.

75. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) said that he had gathered that the people in Togoland under French administration differed somewhat from those in Togoland under British administration. It would be interesting to know whether those differences were due mainly to the policies followed by the Administering Authorities over the last thirty-five years or whether they had their roots in history.

76. Mr. ALLASANI (Dagomba District Council) explained that many of the tribes in Togoland under British administration had originated to the west, in the Gold Coast. The same was not true of the peoples further to the east. Hence the relationship between the two groups was not very close. A number of immigrants from Togoland under French administration were now living in Togoland under British administration. While they were completely accepted by the tribes among whom they were living, they were in fact strangers, with no common kinship with those tribes.

77. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) asked what benefits the people of Togoland under French administration derived from their representation in the French Parliament.

78. Mr. SANTOS (Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise) said that, provided the Togoland representative was in agreement with the general principles of French colonial policy, the Trust Territory would gradually obtain the same advantages as any of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. On the other hand, in view of its special status as a Trust Territory, his party felt that it should advance more rapidly towards independence. That would both show the world that the African was capable of advancement and encourage other Territories to seek their emancipation. In any event, the Togoland representation, being an infinitesimal proportion of the total representation, could not be effective. The French policy seemed to be that the Trust Territories and the Non-Self-Governing Territories should advance at the same pace. The Togolandians would prefer to advance much faster and accept the risks inherent in increased responsibility.

79. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that a very important section of public opinion in Togoland was against any representation in the French National Assembly, because it realized that the Ter-

ritory derived no direct benefit. The Togoland representatives were in such a minority that they could not possibly sway the National Assembly one way or another and the election of one Deputy every five years did not provide the Togolandians with any real political training. From that point of view a legislative assembly in the Territory would be much better, since it would train fifty or even a hundred deputies at once and give the population a possibility of watching parliamentary processes at work.

80. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) pointed out that on several occasions the Comité de l'Unité togolaise had contested elections for deputy or senator in the French Parliament. That would seem to indicate that Mr. Olympio's party realized the value of such representation.

81. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that the CUT had not participated in the first two elections for Deputy. When it had realized that there was to be a Togoland Deputy, whether it wished or not, it had decided to send its own representative to tell the French National Assembly that Togoland did not need a Deputy. In 1946, therefore, the CUT had participated in the election. It had taken the French Administration by surprise and, for the first and last time, its candidate had been elected.

82. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) noted that in the recent elections in Togoland under British administration the Convention People's Party had received over 24,000 votes and the Togoland Congress over 21,000. Some 5,000 votes had gone to an Independent candidate. It would be interesting to know whether that candidate had yet taken a firm stand on the question of unification or integration.

83. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party) replied that to the best of his knowledge the Independent representative from Ho East had never come out openly in support of the Togoland Congress. If he did, he would immediately lose the support of the electorate. In his constituency he was still regarded as an Independent.

84. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) said that he had explained earlier the circumstances in which the representative concerned had come to stand as an Independent. The fact remained that in 1952 he had represented the Togoland Congress as a member of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs and that he had joined the members of the Togoland Congress in walking out of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly in protest against some of the bills that were being enacted.

85. The figures quoted by the Yugoslav representative included the overlapping constituencies in which the Gold Coast population was in the overwhelming majority. Those constituencies had been deliberately created by the Administering Authority in order to ensure the defeat of the Togoland Congress.

86. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party) contended that walking out of an assembly in protest did not automatically make the representative concerned a member of any party whose members walked out on the same issue. The representative of Ho East had sought and won election as an Independent. He had defeated the CPP candidate because some members of the CPP had opposed their party's candidate on personal grounds and had voted Independent.

87. As he had said at an earlier meeting, the figures for the overlapping constituency, Kpandu South, gave the CPP a clear majority in the part of the constituency lying within the Trust Territory.

88. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) pointed out that several candidates who had stood as Independents had later joined the CPP.

89. Mr. JUGLAS (France) said that his delegation wished the debate to proceed in an orderly and methodical way. Hence it would reply to certain points

in the petitioners' answers only after the questioning period was over and the petitioners had made their final statements. The debate had, however, taken a turn in which questions had been brought up that could be decided only by the French Government and Parliament. He strongly protested against petitioners who had been granted a hearing on a specific problem expressing opinions and criticisms on general questions of French policy.

The meeting rose at 6.5 p.m.