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MEETING

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Chairman: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).

AGENDA ITEMS 35 AND 52

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

**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. Sylanvus 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 Fousseni, representative of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord, took places at the Committee table.

1. The CHAIRMAN requested the petitioners to be as brief as possible and to keep to the question under discussion.

2. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) asked whether the Parti togolais du progrès was no longer, as stated in France's annual report for 1953,¹ in favour of the unification of the two parts of Togoland.

¹ 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 1953*, Paris, Imprimerie Chaix, 1954.

3. Mr. AQUEREBURU (Mouvement populaire togolais) said that, as far as he knew, the Parti togolais du progrès was still in favour of unification, provided that it was under the French flag. It was on that point that views differed.

4. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) observed that according to the French Government's report (T/1096), the popular consultations on unification had revealed that in Togoland under French administration there was some hostility towards the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. He would like to know how the consultations had been conducted.

5. Mr. AQUEREBURU (Mouvement populaire togolais) replied that he had not taken part in any consultations.

6. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) noted that according to the same document the political parties in Togoland under French administration had all been at liberty to comment freely on the Administration's announcement regarding the Joint Council. He asked whether the parties had made use of that opportunity.

7. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) explained that Juvento and the Comité de l'Unité togolaise had not been authorized to hold public meetings. Document T/1096 referred to meetings of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise, but those meetings, which had been organized to enable a councillor of the French Union to report on his mission, had not taken place for the police had intervened and dispersed the audience. The councillor had sent a telegram of protest to the President of the Assembly of the French Union and to the Governor, but received no reply.

8. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) wished to know whether direct universal suffrage had been maintained in the mixed communes which had been converted into *communes de plein exercice*, and how many communes had been so converted.

9. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) thought that four population centres would now be able to manage their own affairs as a result of the establishment of new municipal councils. However, election to the councils would be on the basis of a restricted universal suffrage: only those whose names were on a list prepared in advance would be able to take part in the elections. Election to the mixed councils, on the other hand, had been by universal suffrage. Thus, while the new councils had been given wider powers, the suffrage had been restricted.

10. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) asked how many scholarships had been granted by France in 1953 and 1954.

11. He wished also to know whether the poll tax still existed in Togoland under French administration.

12. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) thought that in 1953 only two inhabitants of Togoland had been

given scholarships to continue their studies in France. About eight students passed their *baccalauréat* in the Territory every year; but to be authorized to continue his studies in France a student must obtain the mark *assez bien*. Thus the number of scholarship-holders was very low.

13. In reply to the second question, he said the poll tax had not been abolished.

14. Mr. MASSONET (Belgium) pointed out that the questions raised by the representative of Haiti were irrelevant.

15. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) recalled that, when the question of the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board had been under consideration, the suggestion had been made in the Trusteeship Council that a bonus should be distributed among the cocoa producers. The Administration had then undertaken to submit that suggestion to the Cocoa Marketing Board. He would like to know what decision had been taken on the subject.

16. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) recalled that the body in question had been established to improve the cocoa industry and protect the planters, who were to be represented on it. At the present time, however, it was the Minister of Labour who appointed the members of the Board, and they no longer had any responsibility towards the planters. He was therefore unable to say whether the Administration had really placed the suggestion made in the Trusteeship Council before the Cocoa Marketing Board. He had the impression, however, that the Administering Authority had taken no action on the suggestion.

17. Mr. MENSAH (Buem-Krachi District Council) recalled that one of the representatives of the Togoland Congress had referred to a request for a hearing which the representatives of Togoland under British administration in the Legislative Assembly were supposed to have addressed to the Governor of the Gold Coast. Actually, only the representatives of the Togoland Congress had made that request. He would like to explain that they were in no sense spokesmen for the whole population of Togoland under British administration. Another representative of the Togoland Congress had claimed that there was a Buem-Krachi State in Togoland under British administration. Nothing could be more untrue: Buem-Krachi was a district with a district council and six local councils. It was Nana Akompi Firam III whom the chiefs of Nkoya, Akan, Krachi and Buem had empowered to represent them.

18. Nana AKOMPI FIRAM III (Natural Rulers of the Buem-Krachi District) wished to confirm Mr. Mensah's statement. He added that he was not, as the representative of the Togoland Congress had affirmed, a native of Labadi Accra: he had been born in the Buem-Krachi district and had been Chief of Kadjebi since 1939. It was in that capacity that he had met the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952. He recalled the terms of his mandate as he had explained them at the beginning of his statement at the 450th meeting (A/C.4/288), and read a telegram from his *circonscription* confirming that mandate. In conclusion, he said he wished to emphasize that most of the chiefs and population of Buem-Krachi were part and parcel of the Gold Coast.

19. Mr. ASIGRI (Mamprusi District Council) said that as a member of the Northern Peoples Party he had been surprised to hear Mr. Antor alleging that the NPP had sent a telegram challenging the competence of Mr. Allasani. He had no knowledge of such a telegram and was convinced that if it had been sent it had been sent by the Togoland Congress, which was not above indulging in such trickery. He further affirmed that, in the last elections in the Gold Coast, neither the Gold Coast Government nor the agents of the Administration had made any attempt in his *circonscription* to influence the electors in favour of the Convention People's Party. As for the claim that the Administration had requested him not to appear before the Fourth Committee on behalf of the supporters of unification, nothing could be more untrue: he had never been a member of the Togoland Congress. Lastly, Mr. Chamba had claimed that he represented various tribes in the northern part of Togoland under British administration, including those in the Kusasi sector. He was himself a native of that sector and could state that Mr. Chamba had never been there in his life.

20. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) read out, in reply, the terms of his mandate and the memorandum addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee by the chiefs and elders of the Nkonya division in the south of Togoland under British administration. The authors of the memorandum, which was dated 18 November 1954, deplored the attitude of the Administering Authority and of the representatives and agents of the Convention People's Party of the Gold Coast, who had prepared a very secret document with a view to settling the fate of Togoland under British administration. In paragraph 13 of that document (T/PET.6/L.11) it was stated that the best and surest means of convincing the United Nations was to bombard it with petitions requesting that Togoland under British administration should be integrated with the Gold Coast. The signatories of the memorandum ended by strongly protesting against such integration and stated that they were supporters of the unification and independence of Togoland in the near future.

21. Mr. ODAME (Togoland Congress, Buem-Krachi Branch) recalled that at the 452nd meeting he had spoken of Buem-Krachi States. He read out the mandate which he had received from the paramount chiefs, the division chiefs and the sub-chiefs of the divisions of the Buem-Krachi and Likpe States. He also read a letter just received by him in which the Farmers' Union of Akan-Krachi protested against the Cocoa Duty and Development Funds (Amendment) Ordinance, 1954. The mandate and letter proved that he was the representative of the people of Buem-Krachi.

22. Mr. JOUBLANC RIVAS (Mexico) asked Mr. Olympio whether he regarded as satisfactory the arrangements which, according to paragraph 46 of document A/2660, had been established by the two Administering Authorities concerning the Ewes. If Mr. Olympio regarded those arrangements as satisfactory, did he think that a similar arrangement could be established with the Gold Coast when it had attained its independence.

23. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that the arrangements in question, which had been in force since 1947, had been designed to eliminate the difficulties with which the Ewes had to contend by

reason of the frontier separating the two Trust Territories. As time went on, however, the Administering Authorities were disregarding those agreements. Although the Ewes were not supposed to need any identification papers to cross the frontier, they were being required to comply not only with customs formalities but also with the procedure imposed by a new immigration service and had to produce identification papers. Cocoa, which was supposed to move freely across the frontier, was being subjected to very severe restrictions. In several cases the money carried on their persons by Ewes going from one Territory to the other had been confiscated.

24. The United Kingdom and France had promised to teach English and German in each of the two Territories and to grant scholarships. Those arrangements had been observed for one year with regard to the scholarships, but after that the scholars had been sent home.

25. Mr. JOUBLANC RIVAS (Mexico) said that he would like some particulars on the ages of the members of the *Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise*.

26. Mr. SANTOS (*Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise*) said that in Africa the inhabitants coming after the elders, namely, those who had not yet been allowed to participate in managing the affairs of the country, were regarded as young persons irrespective of their ages. Such persons might be as old as 50 years.

27. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) asked Mr. Olympio whether in his opinion the United Kingdom or the Gold Coast would derive any material advantage from the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast.

28. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that, according to a generally held opinion, the United Kingdom was interested in the question of integration because of the Volta River project. If that project was carried out, hundreds of hectares of land would be flooded and appropriate compensation would have to be paid to the persons affected. If, moreover, the Trust Territory became independent, the Gold Coast would find it difficult to obtain the 25,000 tons of cocoa which the Territory was furnishing.

29. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) pointed out that when he had gone to Togoland and the Gold Coast with the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1949, he had received the impression that the volume of cocoa production was much greater in the Gold Coast than in Togoland under British administration. With regard to the Volta River project, which was not due to British initiative, its completion was desired by all in the hope that it would benefit the people of Togoland as well as of the Gold Coast. He was therefore unable to see what material advantage either the Gold Coast or the United Kingdom would derive from the integration of Togoland with the Gold Coast.

30. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) pointed out that the material advantage which the United Kingdom might derive from integration was very difficult to evaluate, but that in the opinion of some persons the Volta River project could not be carried out unless integration took place. With regard to cocoa, the cocoa areas of the Gold Coast had been devastated by the swollen-shoot disease whereas those of Togoland had thus far been spared.

31. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) asked whether, in case of integration, Togoland under British administration would not benefit from the public services in the Gold Coast.

32. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied in the affirmative.

33. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) asked whether Togoland under British administration would be self-sufficient if it remained separate.

34. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that Togoland under British administration would obviously derive no advantage from remaining by itself. Its interests lay in federation with some larger territory.

35. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) asked Mr. Olympio whether he was thinking of a federation with the Gold Coast or with Togoland under French administration.

36. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) thought that it would be easier for Togoland under British administration, when it had become independent, to join with Togoland under French administration to form a unified independent Togoland. A decision would then be made by the people of Togoland as a whole.

37. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) asked whether, in the event that the status of Togoland under French administration was not changed, it would be more advantageous for Togoland under British administration to be integrated with the Gold Coast or remain independent.

38. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that he could not see that it would be any disadvantage to Togoland under British administration to remain independent for a few years. The United Nations General Assembly could then remind France each year that the time had come for Togoland under French administration also to be given its independence.

39. Mr. SANTOS (*Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise*), replying in his turn to the representative of Iraq, recalled that the members of his party, who were nationalists, did not recognize a British Togoland and a French Togoland, but only one Togoland. The human problem in the Territory took precedence over the economic problem.

40. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) asked Mr. Santos whether in his opinion the people whom he represented could make the French Government accept that view.

41. Mr. SANTOS (*Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise*) replied that the people he represented would keep demanding independence until it was granted to them.

42. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) asked Mr. Olympio whether in his view a unified Togoland would take the form of one state or of two states, the one comprising the people in the south and the other those in the north. In the latter case, the northern state would not have any access to the sea and would certainly find it more advantageous to be united with the Gold Coast.

43. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) pointed out that a similar situation was to be found in the Gold Coast. The peoples in the north differed ethnically and culturally from those in the south, but the Gold Coast was nevertheless a single state. He could not see why the same solution would not also be possible for Togoland, where, moreover, many people from the north lived in the south and *vice versa* without any friction in either case.

areas smaller than Togoland, such as Gambia for example. He did not see why the United Nations should not undertake the administration of Togoland itself as an experiment.

66. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) thanked the petitioners and reserved her right to put further questions.

67. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) also expressed surprise that the United Kingdom had not replied to the question put on the previous day. For many years the Togoland Congress had been suggesting to the Governor that he should grant them a kind of internal autonomy in the form of a legislative body which would enable them to work in association with the Gold Coast.

68. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) asked Mr. Bukhari, representing the Dagomba District Council, how many members the Council had, to what parties they belonged and what were the programmes of those parties.

69. Mr. BUKHARI (Dagomba District Council) replied that he was not a member of the Dagomba Council, but represented it. The Council consisted of twenty-four members; three were members of the Convention People's Party and the others were independent.

70. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) asked how the petitioner represented the Dagomba District Council, whether he was an elected chief and whether he belonged to a political party.

71. Mr. BUKHARI (Dagomba District Council) replied that he was employed by the Dagomba District Council and that he was a chief in Togoland under British administration. Mr. Allasani had originally come alone and the Council had later asked Mr. Bukhari to accompany him so that it would be represented in the Fourth Committee by another leading personality. Chiefs were not elected in his region; the office was hereditary. He belonged to no political party.

72. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia), recalling that, according to Mr. Kumah, unification was impossible for social reasons, inquired whether social conditions differed much between the two Togolands and whether the petitioner had lived in Togoland under French administration.

73. Mr. KUMAH (Convention People's Party) replied that he had never lived in Togoland under French administration. By "social reasons" he had meant that the Dagombas belonged to the western and not to the eastern racial group; there had never been any particular commercial relations between the eastern and western regions and trade was mostly with the south. Unification was not entirely impossible, but the Dagombas naturally felt drawn to their kin in the west.

74. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) inquired whether the petitioner belonged to a political party and what was the programme of that party.

75. Mr. KUMAH (Convention People's Party) replied that he belonged to the Convention People's Party. That party stood for the independence of the Gold Coast and of Togoland under British administration and for the rapid development of the Territory, particularly with regard to education and other essential services.

76. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) asked whether the party desired Gold Coast independence to precede independence for Togoland under British administration.

77. Mr. KUMAH (Convention People's Party) replied that his party's programme provided for simultaneous independence for the two Territories.

78. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) asked Mr. Chamba, who had referred to discrimination against the advocates of unification, how many members of the Togoland Congress held posts in the local or district administrations.

79. Mr. CHAMBA (Togoland Congress) replied that there was not a single member of the Togoland Congress in those administrations. The cases of discrimination to which he had referred had occurred at the local level in certain regions.

80. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia), quoting from page 186 of the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2680), noted that the members of administrative offices had been increased from eight to nine, four of whom were Africans. She inquired to what party those four administrative officers belonged.

81. Mr. CHAMBA (Togoland Congress) replied that he did not know.

82. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) asked Mr. Mensah whether Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast had a common language.

83. Mr. MENSAN (Buem-Krachi District Council) stated that the Territories had two common languages, Ewe and Twi.

84. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) inquired whether there were ministerial departments for justice, public works, communication or agriculture in Togoland under British administration.

85. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) replied that all those ministries were in the Gold Coast, but that some of them had local representatives in Togoland under British administration.

86. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) asked Mr. Antor whether he favoured a plebiscite and, if so, whether he thought it should be held in both Togolands.

87. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) referred to his previous statement that the Togoland Congress was asking for a plebiscite at the beginning of 1955 in both Togolands, since the interests of both were involved.

88. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia) thanked the petitioners.

89. Mr. ASIGRI (Mamprusi District Council) asserted that the reason for the absence of members of the Togoland Congress in local and district administrations was that many of them had been guilty of embezzlement and had thus lost the confidence of the population.

90. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) asked Mr. Antor whether the administration of the Territory as an integral part of the Gold Coast had been to the profit of the population.

91. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) considered that the Administration had not spent the Territory's income in the interest of the people. He quoted the example of roads. Nearly all the main roads in the Gold Coast were tarred whereas in Togoland under British administration only a few hundred yards of roads had been tarred recently at Ho, where the chief administrator of the region lived.

92. The same was true of water supplies. There was a piped water supply only in one town which had less need of piped water since a river flowed through it.

Other places such as Kpandu, which were some ten miles from any river, had no such supply.

93. With regard to education, all the secondary schools had been built in the Gold Coast. The statistics which the Administering Authority gave in its annual report

were often misleading since they counted Ewe children living in the Gold Coast as Togoland. The same mistake was made in connexion with the allocation of scholarships.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.