

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

**NINTH SESSION**  
**Official Records**



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 452nd  
MEETING**

**Thursday, 2 December 1954,  
at 10.50 a.m.**

**New York**

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

1. The CHAIRMAN repeated the suggestions he had made at the preceding meetings. He requested petitioners to keep to the point and to be as concise as possible.

2. Mr. A. CHAMBA<sup>1</sup> (Togoland Congress, Northern Region) stated that the organization he represented had its national headquarters at Hohoe, in the Southern Section of Togoland. The chiefs and peoples of the Nanumba, Nawuri, Nanjoro, Konkomba and Bimoba tribes of the Northern Section of Togoland under British ad-

ministration had unanimously asked him to speak on their behalf on the issue of Togoland unification. He had been born in Northern Togoland under British administration, and belonged to the Nanumba tribe.

3. He recounted the main facts of his life. He had started his political career with the Convention People's Party, but subsequently the policy and principles of the party had failed to appeal to his conscience, and he had had to resign from it and had joined his present political party. Having spent almost all his life in the Northern Section of Togoland, he claimed to be well acquainted with the grievances and needs of its chiefs and its peoples.

4. The agents of the Administering Authority were alone responsible for the present confused situation in Togoland. They went from village to village, telling the chiefs and their subjects about the alleged disadvantages of a unification of Togoland. All kinds of intimidations were used against those in favour of unification, and various dishonest practices had been adopted in order to confuse the whole issue of Togoland. Thus nearly all petitions from the Northern Section of Togoland which supported integration with the Gold Coast had always been drafted by Government agents from the United Kingdom, whose present interest was to see that Togoland was integrated into the Gold Coast to become part of the British Commonwealth.

5. The agents had told the chiefs baseless stories, stating, for example, that unification would put them back under German and French rule, that they would be subjected to all kinds of degradation, that their children would receive a different education in French or German and that their Native courts, schools, hospitals and dispensaries would be closed down for years.

6. Unfortunately, a number of Togoland, both educated and uneducated, had been bought by the representatives of the United Kingdom to preach the alleged disadvantages of unification and the good results of integration with the Gold Coast. But most of those who had been bought were from the Gold Coast. Thus, the Gonjas had never owned an inch of land in Togoland under British administration. The Administering Authority's own census of 1948 had clearly confirmed that the Gonjas, who were now recognized by the Administering Authority as rulers at Kpandai, the capital of the Nawuris, were only a few settlers among the indigenous Nawuris. The Gonjas were not Togoland, and it was incomprehensible that they should participate in Togoland affairs and even send representatives to the United Nations to discuss the question of Togoland.

7. His statements regarding the Gonjas were borne out by the German maps of Togoland. It was as a result of the introduction of the old Native Administration in 1930 and 1931 by the representatives of the Administering Authority that, on the strength of a few Gonja set-

<sup>1</sup> The full text of Mr. Chamba's statement was circulated as document A/C.4/292.

tlers, the Gonjas had been allowed to dominate the Nawuris and the neighbouring Nanjoros.

8. In the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration there were twelve tribes, which fell into three groups. The first group, with a total population of 66,038, comprised four tribes living on the border between the Northern Territories and the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. The second group, with a total population of 28,047, comprised three tribes living within the Trust Territory and having no connexion either with the Gold Coast or with the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration. The third group, with a total population of 106,639, comprised five tribes that lived on the present dividing line between Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, and were thus separated from their kinsmen. The Administering Authority had so arranged matters that, out of the twelve tribes, three only—the Dagombas, Mamprusis and Gonjas—dominated all the rest, with the exception of the Nanumba tribe. Thus, when supporters of integration with the Gold Coast spoke of their desire to join their kin, they merely expressed the wish of a minority, though they were the recognized Native Authorities in the Northern Territory. On the other hand, the great bulk of the people, more than 90 per cent of the inhabitants of the Northern Section of Togoland, desired unification with Togoland under French administration. They were not able to express their aspirations, however, owing to neglect and the various forms of intimidation to which they were subjected by the Administration.

9. During thirty-two years under British administration, only one out of the 6,974 members of the Nawuri tribe had received elementary education up to standard 7; all the rest were illiterates. Similarly, of the 846 Nanjoros, only one had received some education; and, of the 20,227 members of the Nanumba tribe, to which he belonged, only four had had elementary education up to standard 7.

10. The Administration gave orders for transport costs of integrationist petitioners to be paid out of Native Authorities funds, whereas the transport costs of the representatives of unification had to be paid through individual contributions.

11. The people he represented understood that the United Nations had promised to protect them, and that under the Trusteeship Agreement the Trust Territory would be open for trade to all Members of the United Nations. But, in practice, such was not the case.

12. The people of Togoland under British administration could not understand why the United Kingdom Government wanted to make integration with Togoland a condition for the rapid evolution of the Gold Coast people towards self-determination, or why the United Kingdom was fighting to effect integration before granting self-government to the Gold Coast.

13. The only possible solution was a plebiscite entirely under the direction and supervision of the United Nations, and in which neither British nor French would have a hand. The people he represented also wished that representatives of the United Kingdom should not accompany any visiting mission going to Togoland to contact the chiefs and peoples there.

14. Finally, he appealed to the United Nations to consider the position of the poor tribes which constituted

the majority of the Trust Territory's population, but which had no money, no clever people to further their cause, no favours to give anyone to help them in return, no Press to serve them, and who could count only on the conscience of the people of the world, represented by the members of the Fourth Committee.

15. Mr. ODAME<sup>2</sup> (Togoland Congress, Buem-Krachi Branch) stated that he had been delegated by the Buem and Krachi people to speak on two main points: Togoland unification, and the recent Cocoa Bill passed by the Gold Coast Government.

16. He had prepared a memorandum of some twenty pages on the Cocoa Duty and Development Funds (Amendment) Ordinance, 1954, which he would like to have inserted in the text of his statement.

17. The CHAIRMAN said that the memorandum would be reproduced in the petitioner's statement if the members of the Committee had no objection.

*In the absence of any objection, it was so decided.*<sup>3</sup>

18. Mr. ODAME (Togoland Congress, Buem-Krachi Branch) then turned to the second important question, that of the political problem in Togoland. The previous year the petitioners had submitted to the Committee a memorandum (T/PET. 6/L.11) describing the methods decided upon by the Administering Authority and the Convention People's Party (CPP) for the integration of Togoland in the Gold Coast. Those methods included the wholesale dispatch of petitions to the United Nations asking for integration, a plan which was now being put systematically into effect. In order to win over the Togolese masses who favoured unification, the CPP proclaimed that its aim was to integrate Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast, after which a self-governing Gold Coast within the British Commonwealth would absorb Togoland under French administration, thus making unification complete. The party added that if the French Government opposed the plan, unification would be carried out by force with Commonwealth assistance.

19. The Togolandians wanted no such bargain. They admired the Gold Coast's struggle for self-government and would do nothing either directly or indirectly to hinder it, but in return they hoped that the Gold Coast would look kindly on their own aspirations. The use of democratic means would enable public opinion to express itself in favour of the formation of a free Togoland in a fraternal relationship with an independent Gold Coast and the Republic of Liberia.

20. The petitioner deplored the Administering Authorities' contention that unification would not serve the interests of the comparatively under-developed communities in the north and would have the effect of placing them under the domination of the more advanced people of the south. That argument was based on a misinterpretation of the historical and social development. Study of the circumstances in which Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant and the corresponding provisions of the United Nations Charter had been conceived made it clear that the world Powers had established the Mandates System, and later the Trusteeship System, to avoid the risk of war that would have been inherent in giving the former German colonies to Great Britain and

<sup>2</sup> The full text of Mr. Odame's statement was circulated as document A/C.4/293.

<sup>3</sup> The memorandum was circulated as document A/C.4/293/Add.1.

France. He wondered what would happen if, by adroit manoeuvring, the United Kingdom and France each succeeded in absorbing the part of Togoland under its administration, thus violating the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements. That would certainly set a bad example for other powerful States.

21. If the question of unification or integration was discussed solely among the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, free from any direct or indirect influence by the Administering Authorities or the British colony of the Gold Coast, Article 76 would be applicable to it. The very presence of high officials of the new Gold Coast Government in the Administering Authority's delegation proved that integration was not a spontaneous movement among the Togolese peoples. In reality the Administering Authorities were using Africans against Africans in order to cover a flagrant violation of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements.

22. With regard to the United Kingdom proposal (A/2660) for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and the integration of Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast, which was progressing towards independence, it should first be noted that the Gold Coast had not been consulted in the matter. The question of Togoland under British administration had first been put to the chiefs and peoples officially in paragraphs 24 and 25 of the White Paper on constitutional reform published in 1953.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the Administering Authority's plans did not take account of the wishes of Togoland under French administration or of the desire of both Togolands for unification.

23. Lastly, for the sake of friendly relations among the nations of Togoland and the Gold Coast, in accordance with Article 1 of the Charter, it was essential that the inhabitants of the two Trust Territories should be left to decide their own destiny.

24. Mr. Sylvanus OLYMPIO<sup>5</sup> (All-Ewe Conference) pointed out first of all that the question on the agenda was entitled "The Togoland unification problem" and not, as previously, "The Ewe and Togoland unification problem". Some persons, including the Administering Authorities, had seized upon that fact to buttress the argument that the General Assembly had no further interest in Ewe unification. It had even been claimed that the Assembly was no longer willing to hear the representative of the All-Ewe Conference. An official had recently asked the Ewe chiefs at a meeting at Anloga to disown the representative of the All-Ewe Conference. In addition Mr. Fleku, the representative of the Convention People's Party, had told the Committee at its 450th meeting that Mr. Olympio's mandate had been withdrawn from him by a telegram to the Secretary-General. That was quite incorrect: on the contrary, the telegram confirmed his mandate and reaffirmed the principle of Ewe unification. That being the case, the All-Ewe Conference would be glad to learn why the Committee had decided to alter the title of the question under discussion, and would prefer the previous title to be restored in order to avert further misunderstandings.

25. It was the seventh time a representative of the All-Ewe Conference had addressed the United Nations.

In November 1953 the Fourth Committee had adopted resolution 750 (VIII) concerning the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, the introduction of universal suffrage in the two Trust Territories, and the effects on the two Territories of the constitutional changes made in the Gold Coast. He wished to review the outcome of that resolution, at any rate in Togoland under French administration, since detailed statements had already been made about Togoland under British administration. Contrary to the provisions of paragraph 6, part A, of resolution 750 (VIII), the text of that resolution had not been published in the main vernacular languages. Furthermore, paragraph 5 of part A had recommended that the Administering Authorities should assist the representatives of the different political parties freely to express their views on the problem of unification. In that respect the political situation had deteriorated. Thus in October four women members of the *Comité de l'Unité togolaise* from Kpélé had been arrested and subjected to assault and battery while returning from a political meeting at Lomé. Their fathers and husbands had also been arrested, subjected to physical violence and prosecuted for asking members of their party to contribute to the travelling expenses of the women's delegation.

26. The provisions of resolution 750 A (VIII) on the re-establishment of the Joint Council and the introduction of universal suffrage had been completely ignored. The Administration had published no report on the result of the consultations it was to have undertaken with the political parties. It was only from the *United Nations Bulletin* that the population had been able to learn the Administering Authorities had abandoned the plan for the re-establishment of the Joint Council. Instead of confining itself to consulting the political parties in accordance with the Assembly resolution, the Administration had asked the members of the representative organs and the chiefs to approve the abandonment of the Joint Council.

27. The political parties which opposed the re-establishment of the Joint Council, such as the Parti togolais du progrès, were no less firm in their support for the unification of the two Togolands. In its last electoral campaign the Convention People's Party itself had spoken of a free and united Togoland, thus admitting that the unification of both parts of Togoland would be in accordance with the wishes of most of the population. Thus there was no disagreement, at least on that point. But he was unable to see how unification could be brought about if Togoland under British administration was annexed to the Gold Coast. Such a measure would strengthen the frontier dividing the two parts of Togoland, and that would give France a pretext for annexing Togoland under French administration to Dahomey or integrating it in the French Union by transforming it into an overseas territory, as indeed *Le Monde* had envisaged in its issue of 24 June 1954. Moreover, even if the people of Togoland under British administration unanimously supported union with the Gold Coast, that union would be no less a matter of concern to Togoland under French administration, as indeed the General Assembly had quite rightly pointed out in resolution 750 C (VIII), paragraph 2. The annexation of Togoland under British administration to the Gold Coast would confirm the frontier which arbitrarily divided the Togoland, contrary to the desire which the Ewes had

<sup>4</sup> See *Gold Coast, The Government's Proposals for Constitutional Reform*, Government Printing Department, Accra, 1953.

<sup>5</sup> The full text of Mr. Olympio's statement was circulated as document A/C.4/294.

been expressing to the United Nations for the past seven years.

28. In that connexion the Committee should note that the Ewe population was distributed as follows: 137,093 in the southern part of Togoland under British administration; 389,249—not 175,000, as has been wrongly stated—in Togoland under French administration; 245,380 in the south-east Gold Coast; and 132,462 in the agricultural and industrial regions of the Gold Coast. To those who claimed that the unification of the two parts of Togoland would entail a fresh separation of the Dagombas in the north and the Ewes in the south of Togoland under British administration and the south-west Gold Coast, he would offer federation, to crown the independence of those countries.

29. He welcomed the adoption by the French Parliament of the Act granting increased powers to the Territorial Assembly and establishing a new Government Council, paid a tribute to the French Government for that measure. That long-awaited Act laid the foundation for the internal self-government of Togoland under French administration. Nevertheless, the democratic character of the new institutions would remain inopera-

tive until there was political freedom. The Territorial Assembly could not genuinely represent the people if free elections were not held and if its members could belong only to one party.

30. In conclusion, the vast majority of the population of Togoland desired the unification of their native land, as indeed the reports of the 1949 and 1952 United Nations Visiting Missions to Trust Territories in West Africa (T/463 and T/1105) had confirmed.

31. The CHAIRMAN replied to Mr. Olympio that the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee at the eighth session of the General Assembly, when introducing the Committee's report in the Assembly (A/2605) had stated (469th plenary meeting) that the title of the agenda item had been changed from "The Ewe and Togoland unification problem" to "The Togoland unification problem" to show a more precise recognition of the fact that the desire for unification in one form or another extended beyond the large Ewe tribe where it had originated and affected the interests of both Trust Territories as a whole.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.