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COMMUNICATION FROM SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE
OF THE COMBINED FORCES AGAINST INTEGRATION CONCERNING
TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH AND TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH
ADMINISTRATION

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the rules of procedure for the Trusteeship Council)

THE ALTERNATIVE TO INTEGRATION

The enemies of the unification of the Gold Coast and Togoland are those who conceived and are pushing the policy of integration. Administrative union of Togoland and the Gold Coast had never been in dispute. Association of Togoland with the Gold Coast was never an issue.

But the scheme of integration is unwise and ill-advised for the following reasons.

1. Integration is, by the very nature of it, a repugnant word. It implies contempt for the individuality and political maturity of the people whose territory is integrated or coveted for integration. It connotes that a superior people know what is good for an inferior people. Integration means inequality. It smacks of all that is obnoxious in imperialism. It is annexation (or if you please assimilation) of one territory to another, not through the freely expressed wishes of the people of the integrated territory, but through implied dictation from above.

2. Nkrumah's integration, if implemented, will rule out any possibility of a subsequent unification of the suffering people of French Togoland to their brethren on the other side. Integration perpetuates the iniquities and injustices of a system of arbitrary division of one people.

3. Once a system of piecemeal annexation of Togoland is initiated, it stands to reason to anticipate that the French will also wish to integrate their territory of Togoland to their colonial holdings.

Here is what "Le Monde", the French counterpart of the influential and penetrative "London Times", has to say on this matter.

"If Togoland under British administration is integrated into the Gold Coast, says "Le Monde", a new situation will arise. The chances are that this may lead to the transformation of Togoland under French administration into a French colonial territory."

4. Integration sidetracks the essential principle, viz., the desirability, nay, the necessity for removing frontier restrictions and boundary limitations between people who are ethnically one.

5. Integration policy, in effect, says this: "Here is a line of least resistance which it is expedient to exploit. Never mind principles; never mind claims of justice. Never mind the fact that families are separated. Never mind the fact that farms and homes are cut across. Take what is easy. Avoid the difficulty of negotiating with the French. France, Britain's ally, must not be disturbed."

6. The reactionary elements of Togoland, externally manipulated, are thinking more of what they can individually gain out of expediency not of which should and must be done in the interest of the Territory as a whole. They are less concerned with the interests of their children and their children's children, but more with immediate personal advantages.

The Alternative?

The people of Togoland, almost without exception, are anxious for a solution which will achieve peaceful co-existence of the two nation States. All right-minded people wish to see an even closer union between the people of the Gold Coast and the people of Togoland.

Integration only accepts the claims of one section of the Trust Territory, the Dagombas, Mamprussis and Kusasis, while it ignores those of the Ewes.

Integration is based on a selfish motive. It is viewed from a perspective which considers that the interests of the Gold Coast as against those of Togoland, must be paramount. In other words, where the two interests clash, those of the Gold Coast should be upheld.

It is no secret that the C.P.P. has been told that self-government for the Gold Coast can only be feasible when Great Britain can dispose of its responsibility for Togoland. Secondly the sudden lively interest of the C.P.P. politicians was motivated by exigencies of economics rather than of humanity. The Volta River Project haunts them. If Togoland is integrated then the project can go forward without too much international involvements.

No one wishes to see a fresh imposition of barriers separating Togoland from the Gold Coast. And the fears of the Northern peoples of Togoland are entirely misplaced.

Association not integration

The solution which will be acceptable and workable is one which recognizes that Togoland's political leaders and peoples are in no way the minors of the Gold Coast. The superior air with which Nkrumah is seeking to impose integration upon the people of Togoland can only antagonize the people and alienate their friendship. To restore a respect for his person, the life chairman of the C.P.P. will have to adopt an attitude of equality and co-operation.

There is a middle way. A middle way which will be acceptable to the Ewes as well as the non-Ewes; the inhabitants of the British half and those of the French half of Togoland. And, what dictation cannot achieve, compromise will.

That way is f e d e r a t i o n.

And the politician who adopts this battle-cry will win a spontaneous applause and response from both sides of Togoland. Federation will not scare away the citizens of French Togoland with whose vested interests, viz., knowledge of the French language, one has to reckon. It will meet with the aspirations of the politicians in British Togoland. It will achieve a close association of Togoland with the Gold Coast. It will not re-impose a division of the Dagombas, the Mamprusis and the Kusasis. And the Ewe-speaking peoples will have been re-unified at last.

The Gold Coast Prime Minister will then make the task immeasurably easier for himself and for the United Nations. The United Nations has committed itself, so deeply that it will be easier for them to go forward than to reverse the development towards the solution of the so-called "Ewe-Togoland Problem".

This problem has been before the United Nations for at least seven years. Several resolutions and decisions have been taken. The direction of solution to the problem has been indicated. For example at the ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the General Assembly

"Considers that, in view of the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population of both of the Trust Territories of Togoland for the unification of those Territories, any change in the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under British administration will necessarily affect the interests of the inhabitants of Togoland under French administration."

Also in the official records setting out the resolution adopted by the Trusteeship Council during its second session (20 November 1947 to 4 May 1948) the following appears on page 5:

"The Trusteeship Council is aware that the petition of the All-Ewe Conference represents the wishes of the majority of the Ewe population, and observed that the representatives of the Administering Authorities have recognized the point of view of the Ewe people.

"The Council also realized that the existing frontiers dividing the Ewe people have been a cause of real difficulty to them and that this division has aroused resentment on their part."

The General Assembly of the United Nations at the ninth session went even farther than this when in resolution "A" it said:

"... that the General Assembly based its resolution 652 (VII) upon the consideration, inter alia, that the unification of the two parts of Togoland is the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population of the two Trust Territories."

Federation is in accord with the above developments in the United Nations. It is a policy which will unarm effective opposition of Togoland. And Nkrumah, who is acclaimed throughout the world as a great phenomenon of African nationalism and the political renaissance of Africa, will rise further in status and statesmanship. He will not be suspected of advocating the very evils of territorial aggrandisement which he has risen to combat. India, Iraq, Brazil and the freedom-loving and liberal nations will be favourably impressed.

Thus it will be seen that opposition to integration is not based upon antipathy of Togoland people to the Gold Coast people. Rather it is based on a firm conviction that the purpose which Nkrumah has in view will be better served through compromise and statesmanship. When the Premier begins to show a respect for the mentality, the aspirations and the feelings of the people of Togoland, then with justice to both parties and fairness to all sides, all the leaders of Togoland will join hands with the Gold Coast and help the latter to attain self-government as well as see the Volta River Project through to its destined end; then the interests of both parties will overlap, and one shall not be sacrificed for the other.

Those who have fallen over for "Integration" as decreed by Nkrumah have done so out of a consideration for what they can wreak out for themselves while the going is good. With all those in whom love for their homeland has not been replaced by economic expediency and by what they can harvest from Gold Coast's political boom, the issue is clear - unification of homes, farms and the homeland first and foremost.

Money can buy most things; it cannot buy ideals and principles.

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