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SPECIAL REPORT OF THE FIRST VISITING MISSION
TO THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF TOGOLAND
UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND
TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION
ON THE EWE PROBLEM

Letter dated 10 February 1950 from the Chairman of
the Visiting Mission to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, in accordance with the Trusteeship Council's Resolution 108 (V) of 20 June 1949, and in accordance with Rule 99 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, the special report of the first United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration on the Ewe problem.

I have pleasure in informing you that this Report has been unanimously adopted by the members of the Visiting Mission.

The Mission has decided to release this Report on 17 February 1950.

(Signed) Awni Khalidy.

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FOREWORD

After consultation with the Administering Authorities concerned, the Trusteeship Council, in accordance with Article 87 c of the Charter of the United Nations, decided at the 5th meeting of its fourth session to send a Visiting Mission at the beginning of November 1949 to the four Trust Territories in West Africa -- the Cameroons under French administration, the Cameroons under British administration, Togoland under French administration and Togoland under British administration.

The composition of the Mission was discussed and determined by the Council at the 5th and 42nd meetings of its fourth session, the 25th meeting of its fifth session, and at a special session held on 27 September 1949. The following persons were appointed:

Mr. Awmi Khalidy (Iraq) Chairman
Mr. Alfred Claeys-Bouuaert (Belgium)
Mr. A. Ramos Pedrueza (Mexico)
Mr. Benjamin Gerig (United States of America)

At the 4th meeting of its fifth session, the Council adopted a resolution¹ in which it set forth the Mission's terms of reference. By these terms the Council:

"Directs the visiting mission to observe the developing political, economic, social and educational conditions in the four above-mentioned Trust Territories, their progress towards self-government or independence, and the efforts of their respective Administering Authorities to achieve this and other basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System;

"Directs the visiting mission to give attention, as may be appropriate in the light of discussions in the Trusteeship Council and resolutions adopted by the Council, to issues raised in connection with the annual reports on the administration of the four Trust Territories concerned and in petitions received by the Trusteeship Council relating to those Trust

1. Resolution 108 (V) of 20 June 1949.

Territories, and in particular the petitions relating to the Ewe problem in Togoland under French and Togoland under British administration and the petition from the Bakweri Land Committee relating to the Cameroons under British administration;

"Directs the visiting mission to accept or receive petitions and, without prejudice to its acting in accordance with rules 84 and 89 of the rules of procedure, to investigate on the spot, after consultation with the local representative of the Administering Authority concerned, such petitions dealing with the conditions of the indigenous inhabitants as are in its opinion, sufficiently important to warrant special investigation;

"Requests the visiting mission to transmit to the Trusteeship Council as soon as possible in accordance with rule 99 of the rules of procedure for the Trusteeship Council a report, on the findings of the mission with such observations and conclusions as the mission may wish to make."

The Mission, accompanied by Dr. Victor Hoo, Assistant-Secretary-General in charge of the Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-self-governing Territories, as the representative of the Secretary-General, and by five other members of the Secretariat*, departed from New York by air on 28 October 1949 and arrived in West Africa on 31 October. It visited the Cameroons under British administration from 1 November to 11 November and from 22 November to 24 November; the Cameroons under French administration from 12 November to 26 November; Lagos, the seat of government of the Cameroons under British administration from 27 November to 29 November; Togoland under French administration from 30 November to 8 December; Togoland under British administration from 9 December to 16 December; and Accra, Gold Coast, the seat of government of the latter territory, from 17 December to 18 December.

The Mission departed from Accra on 19 December and established its headquarters at Geneva on 21 December for the purpose of the writing of its report. In preparing its report, the Mission has considered it convenient to divide it into five self-contained parts, as follow:

* H.A. Wieschhoff, J. Rapoport, R. Miller, G.D. Howard and A. Groenendyk.

- Report on the Cameroons under British administration. (T/461)
- Report on the Cameroons under French administration. (T/462)
- Report on the Ewe Problem in Togoland under French and Togoland under British administration. (T/463)
- Report on Togoland under French administration. (T/464)
- Report on Togoland under British administration. (T/465)

The present volume contains the Mission's report on the Ewe problem in Togoland under French and Togoland under British administration, which is hereby submitted to the Trusteeship Council in accordance with the terms of reference of the Mission.

Geneva

February 1950

CHAPTER I. THE BACKGROUND OF THE EWE PROBLEM

The existence of the boundaries which separate the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration from the adjacent portions of Togoland under French administration and the Gold Coast has resulted in the division of the Ewe people into three groups under three different types of administration.

The boundary between Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast was defined by Anglo-German conventions in 1890 and 1900. The boundary between the two Togoland territories resulted from the partition of German Togoland after its military occupation in 1914. It was fixed precisely by an Anglo-French Boundary Commission in 1927-29. Thus, before the first war, the Ewe were divided between the Gold Coast and German Togoland; the partitioning of Togoland, while making possible in the British zone the unification of the administration of certain other tribes to the north, created a further division of the Ewe, namely, between Togoland under British and Togoland under French administration.

According to the official estimates, the Ewes and Ewe-speaking people, estimated at 800,000^{1/} in 1947, are divided as follows: some 330,000^{1/} in the south eastern part of the Gold Coast, some 126,000^{1/} in Togoland under British administration and some 290,000^{2/} in Togoland under French administration.

Thus, according to these estimates, these groups represent between one-third and one-half of the entire population of Togoland under British administration and more than one-third of that of Togoland under French administration.

1/ In the case of Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast, these figures are based on the 1931 census. A new census taken in 1948 shows that the total population of Togoland has increased by nearly one-third, and that of the Southern Section - predominantly Ewe and Ewe-speaking -- from 125,566 to 172,540.

2/ Figure given to Trusteeship Council by the special representative of France, T/PV.40, p.46.

The Ewe claim a population of about one million.^{1/} According to the accredited representative of the All-Ewe Conference to the second session of the Trusteeship Council, the Ewe are more or less equally distributed in the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration on the one hand and Togoland under French administration on the other.^{2/}

The division of the Ewe people has led to a demand for unification which the Trusteeship Council has referred to the Visiting Mission for special attention. The problem would appear to bear directly on existing and future political, economic, social and educational development in both the Trust Territories of Togoland.

In seven petitions (T/PET.6/1-5, T/PET.7/2, 7/7) addressed to the United Nations in 1947, various Ewe groups protested that the division of Ewe territory was an injustice from a social, cultural, economic, political and educational point of view, and that the placing of the Ewe people under two different administering authorities with differing policies impeded the development of their country as a whole. They asked variously for the unification of all the Ewe people under a single administration, and for the unification of the two Togolands as a whole, the latter request involving Ewe and non-Ewe alike.

The two Governments submitted to the Trusteeship Council, at its second session in November 1947, a joint memorandum (T/58) in which, while stating that substantial social, economic, political and cultural progress had been achieved under the two somewhat different types of administration, they agreed that there were certain difficulties and disabilities under the present arrangement and that the Ewe had certain legitimate grievances.

The two Governments considered, however, that the grouping together of the Ewe-populated areas had no obvious advantages, since a territorial unit based

^{1/} T/PET.6/5, T/PET.7/6, p.2

^{2/} T/PV.38, p.161.

on a tribal community could not possess a national character; and that a re-uniting of the two Togolands as a whole, while probably offering a broad enough basis for a future self-governing country, would seem to create more difficulties than it would solve. Any advantage which the Ewe in the south might gain, would, in their opinion, be more than counterbalanced by disadvantages to tribes in the north (under British administration) which had been united by the partition of ex-German Togoland. The memorandum pointed out further, that one of the Ewe areas lay in the Gold Coast and was therefore outside of the scope of the Trusteeship System.

In place of a solution by unification, the two Governments announced a decision to undertake certain measures to reduce and eventually to remove specific difficulties created by the frontier between the two Togolands, as follows:

- (a) Economic measures; maximum possible removal of restrictions on movement of people and local commerce across the frontier; efforts to establish a conventional zone designed to remove all customs disabilities.
- (b) Fiscal measures; Maximum possible elimination of double taxation; study of the possibility of equalizing the native tax burden on both sides of the frontier.
- (c) Cultural measures: Maximum possible teaching of French in the British area schools, and of English in the French area schools, beginning with higher primary schools, creation of an exchange system for university students.
- (d) Implementation: To implement the programme, the two Governments established in 1948 an Anglo-French Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland, under the joint chairmanship of the Governor of the Gold Coast and the Commissaire of Togoland under French administration, and consisting of two representatives of the inhabitants of each Territory. 1/

After examining the petitions and the proposals of the administering authorities, the Trusteeship Council directed the Visiting Mission to devote

An account of its first two sessions appears in the Annual Reports of both Territories for 1948.

special attention to the problem set forth in the petitions and to the implementation of the measures proposed. The Council agreed to re-examine the problem when the Visiting Mission's report comes before it. In addition, it noted that the measures proposed by the two Governments had been stated by their representatives to be transitional and not capable of solving the Ewe problem, and it invited the two Governments to consult with each other and with Ewe representatives with a view to evolving further measures for fulfilling the wishes of the Ewe people.

The Governments of France and the United Kingdom established the Anglo-French Standing Consultative Commission in 1948 to implement the program proposed to the Council. The Commission has held four sessions thus far and has dealt with political, economic, social and educational questions. A summary of the work of the Commission is contained below.

CHAPTER II. THE WORK OF THE ANGLO-FRENCH STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

The Anglo-French Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland was set up in 1948 to supervise the program of Anglo-French co-operation laid down as a result of the resolution adopted by the Trusteeship Council. Two sessions were held in 1948 and two in 1949. The minutes of the first two meetings of the Commission are contained in the annual reports for 1948 of the two Togoland Territories; the minutes of the third and fourth meetings, not yet published, were made available to the Visiting Mission.

The Commission comprises the Governor of the Gold Coast and the Commissaire de la République of Togoland under French administration, as Co-Chairmen, and African members from both Territories, with a permanent joint secretariat. The two African representatives of Togoland under French administration, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio and Mr. Fare Djato, were elected by the Representative Assembly of that Territory. The Governor of the Gold Coast nominated two African members, Mr. E. Amu and Mr. M.S. Honu, to represent Togoland under British administration. Subsequently elections were held at Kpandu, to which representatives of the States and Unamalgamated Divisions of the

Southern Section were invited and the choice of Messrs. Honu and Amu was confirmed by public election. In 1949, Mr. F. Y. Asare replaced Mr. Amu.

The Commission at its meetings has discussed questions of a political, economic, social and educational nature. The following summary of its work is essentially a record of the steps taken by the two Governments to implement the plan submitted by them to the Trusteeship Council.

(a) Border Restrictions

In accordance with this plan the following measures have been taken to relax border restrictions.

(1) Goods: A resident of one zone who farms in the adjoining zone is permitted to export the local foodstuffs produced on his farm without payment of duty on production of a certificate from an administrative officer in the place of production.

Individual headloads of local foodstuffs can be exported without duty.

Each government reserves the right to restrict or prohibit the export of foodstuffs in times of shortage. The export of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and maize was absolutely prohibited in 1948.^{1/}

It was agreed that the concessions set out in the memorandum constituted merely a first stage designed to reduce existing difficulties along the frontier and that a more comprehensive arrangement was envisaged when conditions permitted. The African members, while welcoming the concession on this basis, wished it to be understood and recorded that they sought ultimately the complete removal of the frontier.

At the second session of the Commission, Mr. Djato asked if any increase could be made in the list of imported articles which could freely be exported over the eastern frontier of the Gold Coast. At the third session of the

^{1/} See pp. 25-27 of Annual Report on Togoland under British Administration for 1948 for regulations applying to other imports and exports.

Commission, it was announced that the number of imported articles which could be exported from the Gold Coast into Togoland under French administration had been increased.

The new arrangements in respect of the relaxation of border restrictions between the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration, on the one hand, and Togoland under French administration, on the other, are set out on posters in English and French at the customs posts. These state that persons travelling between these zones are required to declare and, if required to do so, to submit to examination all produce and articles, even if they are not dutiable, which they are importing or exporting on their persons, in their baggage or in the vehicles in which they are travelling.

For the Gold Coast and Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, it is stated in the posters that the following articles are admitted without restriction or payment of duty:-

- (a) Raw foodstuffs and live animals (except horses and cattle) from Togoland under French Trusteeship.
- (b) Articles manufactured in or produce of Togoland under French Trusteeship.
- (c) The personal and household effects of persons transferring their domicile.
- (d) Medicines prescribed by a doctor for the persons transporting them.

The following articles may be exported without restriction or payment of duty:-

- (a) Raw foodstuffs and live animals (except horses and cattle) of local origin.
- (b) Locally manufactured articles and local produce, other than timber or kola nuts in commercial quantities and cocoa.
- (c) Personal and household effects of persons transferring their domicile.
- (d) Medicines prescribed by a doctor for the persons transporting them.

- (e) Hardware, glassware (excluding plate and sheet glass) enamelware and earthenware.
- (f) Perfumes and pomades of United Kingdom origin.
- (g) In non-commercial quantities:-
Tinned milk, beads, tyres and tubes and wearing apparel of United Kingdom origin.

Travellers are reminded that they must declare in full to Customs Officers both on entering and leaving the Gold Coast all money and cash instruments - cheques, drafts, etc., - which they have with them.

For Togoland under French Trusteeship, the following articles are admitted without restriction or payment of duty:-

- (a) Raw foodstuffs in non-commercial quantities and live animals from neighbouring British Territory; this concession is limited as regards kola to 200 nuts and as regards chickens to 15 birds per person.
- (b) Other produce of or articles manufactured in neighbouring British Territory except timber in commercial quantities.
- (c) The personal and household effects of persons transferring their domicile.
- (d) Medicines prescribed by a doctor for the persons transporting them.

The following articles may be exported without restriction or payment of duty:

- (a) Raw foodstuffs (except corn and gari) of local origin in non-commercial quantities and chickens (for which the concession is restricted to 5 birds per person).
- (b) Other local produce and locally manufactured articles except timber in commercial quantities, cocoa and coffee.
- (c) Personal and household effects of persons transferring their domicile.
- (d) Medicines prescribed by a doctor for the persons transporting them.

Finally, travellers are reminded that they must declare in full to Customs Officers both on entering and leaving Togoland under French Trusteeship all money and cash instruments - cheques, drafts, etc., which they have with them. An oral declaration may be made when the sum does not exceed £10 or 5,000 frs. Above this sum a written declaration is necessary.

(2) Persons: The Commission agreed that neither travel certificates nor passports were necessary for Africans of the Trust Territories when crossing the border between the two Togolands.

(3) Currency: Ten pounds or its equivalent in francs is allowed on a verbal declaration per person entering or leaving the Territory. For greater amounts a written declaration is necessary. Transit passengers via Togoland must make a written declaration as to the amount of currency they possess.

During the discussion of the currency question at the first session of the Commission, the African members stated that the continuance of currency control caused considerable inconvenience in such cases as the transfer of proceeds of sales of crops, labourers returning with their savings and remittances for dependants and school fees. It was agreed that the present position should be examined with a view to reducing such inconveniences and to decentralising exchange control, if possible.

In accordance with these recommendations, steps have been taken to ensure that reasonable remittances are freely allowed in such instances and arrangements are being made for the decentralisation of exchange control by the delegation to administrative officers in each of the districts concerned of some of the powers of the Gold Coast Exchange Control.

At the second session of the Commission, the African Members stated that complaints arising out of frontier control still continued to reach them and that they had formed the impression that the Preventive Services, especially on the British side of the frontier, were carrying out their instructions more rigidly than ever. Complaints also dealt with other operations of the Preventive Services and the seizure, contrary to the Commission's decision, of locally produced textiles.

The Co-Chairman pointed out that currency smuggling appeared to be on the increase and, in order to detect it, more rigorous searches of vehicles were necessary. Nevertheless it was the desire of the Governments to facilitate trans-frontier traffic as much as possible and steps would be taken to ensure that such checks as were necessary would be carried out with the minimum of inconvenience to the public.

It was agreed that where complaints against the Preventive Services were received by the African Members, full details should be sent as soon as possible to the Administrative Officer in charge of the area with a copy to the Joint Secretariat.

(b) Establishment of a Conventional Zone

At the second session of the Commission, Mr. Olympio stated that the Ewe people attached great importance to the early removal of the economic disabilities inherent in the international frontier and considered that this could best be done by the setting up as soon as possible of the Conventional Zone envisaged in the Anglo-French Memorandum as a second stage.

In reply, two difficulties were stressed:

(a) the fact that both Trust Territories formed part of larger economic and fiscal units; and

(b) the fact that it remained necessary at present to retain the existing exchange control.

The Co-Chairman stated that, while preliminary consideration had been given to this question by the local Governments, the Anglo-French memorandum made it clear that this was a matter for the two Metropolitan Governments. They agreed to acquaint their respective Governments of the importance and urgency which the African members attached to reaching an early decision on this matter.

At the third session of the Commission, the African members expressed their disappointment over a joint memorandum received from the Ministère de la France d'outremer and the Colonial Office in which, they felt, no hope

was extended of the early establishment of a conventional zone.

At the fourth session of the Commission, the Co-Chairman made, on behalf of the two Metropolitan Governments the following statement:-

"In December, 1947, a memorandum was prepared jointly by the British and French Governments setting out the measures proposed to meet the grievances referred to in the petition laid before the United Nations by the representatives of the Ewe peoples under British and French Trusteeship. Amongst these was an undertaking that the two Governments would 'consult together in order to establish within a fixed period of time a conventional zone designed to remove all the disabilities resulting from the customs frontier' taking into consideration 'the necessity to ensure that the establishment of this zone would not prejudice the principle of exchange control between French and British territories in Africa."

"In pursuance of this undertaking the two Governments have given careful study to the problem, which is one of particular difficulty, and in an interim report dated April, 1949, the African members were informed that a Joint Working Party of British and French experts had been constituted.

"It is now intended that the Working Party shall visit Togoland with the following terms of reference, and that, after the fullest possible consultation with local opinion and with the Government of the Gold Coast and French Togoland, it shall make recommendations to the two Metropolitan Governments:-

- (a) To enquire into the practical inconveniences caused to the people of the two trust territories by the existence of the customs frontier.
- (b) To review the effect of the measures which have already been taken to remove such inconveniences, and to establish the extent to which these measures have been successful in this respect.
- (c) To investigate the practicability of establishing a conventional zone affecting the two trust territories without prejudice to the principle of exchange control between French and British territories in Africa.
- (d) To consider what other economic measures might be taken to remove the difficulties outstanding, as a result of the existence of the customs frontier."

The Visiting Mission held a meeting with the Joint Working Party in Accra, whose report to the two Governments was expected to be ready within a few weeks. In consequence of this fact, the members of the Joint Working

Party were unable to formulate their views in a final and conclusive manner. The tentative view expressed to the Visiting Mission, however, seemed to be that the implementation of the conventional zone would be difficult, if not impossible.

(c) Taxation

The incidence of double taxation has been removed and instructions have been issued to the effect that receipts for personal tax issued in one territory provide exemption from payment of the corresponding tax in the other territory for persons who take up residence there.

The Commission agreed at its first session that a study should be made of the taxation systems of both Tojoland territories especially as regards types, rates and methods of collection.

At its second session, the Commission took note of the memoranda on this subject and agreed that considerable differences existed between the two taxation systems which would be very difficult to reconcile. It was considered that the two Governments should continue to study the problem with a view to removing as many of these differences as possible.

After a study of a table of comparative rates of direct taxation, etc., the Commission, at its third session "... noted that, apart from the Patente, the total amounts payable by persons in similar circumstances on either side of the frontier were not markedly dissimilar. It was agreed that the Assemblée Représentative at its budget session should be invited to consider proposals for replacing the patente paid by certain tradesmen by other forms of taxation, and that the rates of direct taxation in the two Territories should be kept under review with the object of avoiding, if possible, any great disparity in the future." At its fourth meeting, the Commission "... noted with gratification that ... a draft law was being introduced in the Assemblée Représentative proposing that the Patente should not, from the beginning of the next financial year, be payable by most of the categories of tradesmen now liable to pay this tax."

(d) Education

Anglo-French co-operation has centred around programmes of mass education, scholarships and the exchange of pupils and teachers, and the use of the vernacular. Four joint mass education experiments have been held in the two Togolands. As regards scholarships and exchange of pupils and teachers, it was hoped that the first scholarship would be awarded in 1949. The two Departments of Education have been considering a programme of exchange of teachers.

As regards use of the vernacular, at the first session, in reply to a statement that a comprehensive course of education in the vernacular should be provided in the schools of the French zone, the Commissaire stated that the question of teaching the vernacular had already been given careful consideration when the plan for colonial education had been drawn up, but had finally been rejected in favour of complete education in French. Nevertheless he would ask the Education Authorities to re-examine and report on the proposal.

At the second session the Commissaire announced that his Government was prepared to grant a more important role in education to the vernacular languages and, as evidence of this intention, cited the existence of courses for adults in Ewe at Lomé of an Ewe study group which is recording and standardising the language and of public lectures in the vernacular on infant welfare, health, etc. When the Ewe Study Group had finished its work on the standardization of the Ewe language, the Government of Togoland under French Administration would be prepared to invite the Metropolitan Government to consider extending the use of Ewe in schools.

At the third session, the Director of Education in Togoland under French Administration stated that experiments concerning the extended use of the vernacular languages had yielded disappointing results. However, he informed the Committee that all possible experiments would be continued in the hope of achieving successful results.

(e) Political Status of the two Togoland Territories.

At the second session of the Commission, the Co-Chairman stated that Mr. Amu's suggestion that a clearly defined period should be fixed for the unification of the Ewe people had not been placed on the agenda since it was not yet possible to discuss a time-table even for the next stage, for this was a matter for decision by the two Metropolitan Governments. They agreed to place the views of the African Members before their Governments.

At the third session of the Commission, the two Co-Chairmen issued the following statement on the political status of the two territories under British and French trusteeship:

"The two Governments, having studied this matter, agreed that it should be made clear to the Commission that no readjustment of the political status affecting other peoples of Togoland and based solely on the claims of the Ewes could be considered. Furthermore, any readjustment in respect of the Ewe territories alone would imply the creation of a small political unit on its own which is contrary to the policy that the French and British Governments are pursuing, and in the view of the British and French Governments, to the true interest of the African population concerned. The two Governments are moreover of opinion that the greater part of the grievances of the Ewe people can be satisfied by economic, fiscal and cultural measures; and the two Governments will do their utmost to see that all the necessary measures are taken."

(f) Other Work of the Standing Consultative Commission.

The Commission during its four sessions has taken action in respect of Postal, Telephone and Telegraph rates; Agricultural and Veterinary Co-operation; Communications; Motor Traffic Regulations; and Medicine and Health. Such measures as were taken during the first two sessions of the Commission are found in summary form in the Annual Reports of the two trust territories for 1948.

CHAPTER III. ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH THE QUESTION OF UNIFICATION

The Visiting Mission in studying the various problems raised in the petitions found that three organizations play an active role in the demand for unification, i.e. the All-Ewe Conference, the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise and the Togoland Union. One political organization, the Parti Togolais du Progrès opposes the unification aims of these three parties.

(a) The All-Ewe Conference

The All-Ewe Conference, established during the second World War and composed of traditional chiefs, elders, representatives of several Ewe Unions, and other people of Ewe-inhabited territory of the two Togolands and the Gold Coast aims at the unification of all Ewe under one single administration.

The original request for unification as stated by the All-Ewe representative at the Trusteeship Council was to the effect that the whole of the Trust Territories, including the non-Ewe northern parts, should be unified under a single administration. He also stated that unification should include the Ewe part of the Gold Coast^{1/}. Subsequently, however, he explained that if the Trusteeship Council had competence only in respect of the two Trust Territories, unification of those two areas would take the Ewe people well on the way towards unification^{2/}. With respect to the Administering Authority under which the Territories would be unified, the petitioners asked for a decision by plebiscite. The All-Ewe Conference, both through its representative at the second session of the Council and in a further petition^{3/}, explained that its demand had not been met by the measures proposed by the two Governments. This attitude was noted by the Council in its resolution on these petitions.

1/ T/FV.38, p.176

2/ T/FV.39, p.23

3/ T/PET.6/11

The request of the All-Ewe Conference for unification is still maintained and is expressed in the conclusion of its memorandum presented to the Visiting Mission, as follows:

"After having given a trial to the joint Franco-British proposals for the removal of our disabilities which are political, economic and social, it has become abundantly clear to all concerned that there is only one solution to the Ewe problem, that is, that the Ewe people should be unified and placed under a single administration in order to achieve peace and prosperity."^{1/}

The Governments of France and the United Kingdom have stated that there is good reason to believe that the objects and views expressed by the All-Ewe Conference are those of the mass of the Ewe people, whether educated or not^{2/}. The Council, in its resolution, noted that the petitions of the All-Ewe Conference represented the wishes of the majority of the Ewe population and that the representatives of the Administering Authorities concerned have recognized the point of view of the Ewe people.

(b) The Comité de l'Unité Togolaise

The Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, a political party in Togoland under French Administration whose origins date back to 1939, also supports unification, in addition to local political, economic and social issues. The party membership is largely centered in the southern part of the Territory and at the end of 1947 it claimed a membership of 18,600. The influence of the party among the population is indicated by the fact that in the elections to the National Assembly, the Assembly of the French Union, the Conseil de la République, and the local representative assembly, the Unité Togolaise was able to elect to all seats either its own members or candidates having its support.

1/ T/PET.7/31, 6/32.

2/ T/358, pp. 5 - 7.

The position of the Unité Togolaise with regard to unification, as stated in its memorandum to the Visiting Mission, is as follows:

"... the policy of the Unité Togolaise is unification of the Ewe ... This policy aims at reuniting Togoland under French trusteeship with other tribes of the Ewe race living in Togoland under British trusteeship and in the South East of the Gold Coast."

"... the memorandum on the unification of the Ewe country [of the All-Ewe Conference] was submitted for the consideration of the Visiting Mission by the All-Ewe Conference, by agreement with the Unité Togolaise."

Although in the memorandum of the Unité Togolaise and in the oral statements made to the Visiting Mission by the officers of the party at Lomé reference is made only to the unification of the Ewe, it should be noted that in four petitions received from members of the Unité Togolaise at Atakpané, Sokodé, and Mango, unification of the two Togolands is requested. 1/

(c) The Togoland Union

The Togoland Union, established in Togoland under British administration in 1943, is a political organization which has stated the following aims:

- (a) To fight exclusively for equal developments in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship with the Gold Coast Colony.
- (b) To direct the policy of the Natural Rulers of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship towards Government and their subjects.
- (c) To educate the indigenous people for the full enjoyment of the right of the Trusteeship System.
- (d) To use all constitutional means by the method of non-violence to obtain independence for Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship in the shortest possible time.

- (g) To contact Togoland under French Government Trusteeship for unification of the two trust territories as early as possible incorporating various tribal groupings.
- (f) To promote the cause of the World Federation of the United Nations Organization in the country at large.

The Togoland Union appears to seek the unification of the two Togolands and apparently does not support the inclusion of the Ewe-inhabited territory of the Gold Coast unless placed under trusteeship. Thus the position of the Togoland Union with respect to unification would seem to differ from that of the All-Ewe Conference in not seeking the unification of all Ewe-inhabited territory. This might be explained by the fact that, according to the administering authority, many of the members of the Togoland Union are Buem and not Ewe, and also by the opposition of the Togoland Union to a plan of constitutional reform which would administratively combine into a single unit both the southern Section of Togoland under British administration and the Ewe-inhabited Trans-Volta region of the Gold Coast. There appears to be a fear that the Southern Section of Togoland would be dominated by the Ewe of the Gold Coast. The administering authority notes that members of the Togoland Union resent the fact that many important positions in the educational system of the Southern Section are held by Gold Coast Ewe.^{1/} This antagonism toward the Ewe of the Keta and Peki areas no doubt explains the lack of support for Ewe unification which would also include the Gold Coast Ewe.

(d) The Parti Togolais du Progrès

In Togoland under French administration the Parti Togolaise du Progrès, which was founded in 1946 and which, in 1947, was said to comprise 500 members at Lome and 9,500 in the interior, presented its views to the Visiting Mission. Since its inception this organization has opposed the

^{1/} Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, Trusteeship Council's Visiting Mission, p.45, December, 1949.

United Togoland, and in particular, has presented arguments against Ewe unification. In its petition to the Trusteeship Council dated 29 November 1947 the Parti Togolais du Progrès declared its opposition to the creation of an Ewe state under a single administration, but accepted in principle the future unification of the two Togolands in a single independent State. It approved the joint proposals of the two administering authorities for closer co-operation in the administration of the territories. It requested that the United Nations General Assembly maintain the French and British Trusteeship Administrations in the Togolands, until they become independent, when their unification would be achieved. In the event that this request were contested it asked that no decision be taken prior to an investigation by an impartial commission. 1/

The attitude of the leaders of the Parti Togolais du Progrès on the question of unification can be summed up in the following statements taken from the address of its President to the Visiting Mission:

"The purpose of our petition was to emphasize the subversive aspect of the Ewe movement by making clear the unanimous wish of all groups and of all chiefs truly representing French Togoland, which is absolutely opposed to any change of administering authority in our country."

"... The wish of all Togolese is to attain self-government, and this development implies continuity of action. Hence, in our petition of December 1947 we urged the need for maintaining French trusteeship in French Togoland and British trusteeship in British Togoland, the fusion of the two regions to take place when both parts of the country had attained the necessary maturity for self-government, the rapid development of which we ask the United Nations to promote with the full weight of its high moral purpose."

"... [The peoples of Togoland] ... expect bold recommendations to the administering authorities which will lead to profound changes of administrative

1/ T/PET.6/10, 7/12, pp. 7 and 8.

structure in the superannuated methods of the old colonial administration and will guarantee wide participation by the indigenous population in every sphere of the effective management of the country's affairs; our children must hold the responsible positions due to them, as they deserve; in a word, the formula of fruitful "metropolitan-indigenous" collaboration must be the constant preoccupation of the local administration in every sphere."^{1/}

At Aného, Atakpamé and Sokodé the Visiting Mission was informed by local leaders of the Parti Togolais du Progrès that their party was not opposed to unification of the two Togoland Territories; however, it was added that this would be acceptable only under French administration. They opposed a change in the administering authority because the Territory had been under French administration since the establishment of the Mandate and consequently at the present time French forms and modes of thinking had become established.

It may be noted that in the election to the various representative bodies the Parti Togolais du Progrès did not succeed in having any candidate elected.

CHAPTER IV. THE DEMAND FOR UNIFICATION

The demands for unification, with few exceptions, referred either to the territory occupied by the Ewe or to the two Togoland territories and half of these requests stated the desire to be unified under a single administration. Aside from these there were a few requests for other forms of unification, i.e., the unification of the Tchokossi, Bassari and Konkomba tribes respectively in the northern Togolands, the setting up of the southern and northern sections of the two Togoland Territories as separate units under separate administrations, and the unification of the Togoland Territories under the administration of the Trusteeship Council.

^{1/} T/PET.7/12, 442.1, 6/10, 442.1

It may be noted that all requests for unification imply the continuation of the Trusteeship System. The All-Ewe Conference, however, made the following statement in its memorandum:

"If, however, the interests of the administering powers do not allow unification of the country of the Ewe people, immediate steps should be taken to grant them independence in the shortest possible period. Already feelings are running very high in the Ewe country on the question of immediate achievement of self-government in order to prepare a permanent basis for a more balanced political, economic and social advancement and thereby achieve happiness and prosperity."

(a) Unification of Eweland.

Requests for the unification of Ewe-inhabited territory repeat the arguments presented to the Trusteeship Council in the petitions of the All-Ewe Conference and by its special representative. In general, they demand the immediate unification of the area inhabited by the Ewe people, that is to say the territory lying between the Volta and Mono Rivers in the Togoland Territories and the Gold Coast. It is claimed that the boundary is destroying or retarding the political, social and economic unity of the area; historical arguments are also adduced in support of their claims. The specific arguments presented are treated under the pertinent headings below.

The demand for the unification of Ewe-inhabited territories is supported by 18 written petitions received by the Visiting Mission in Togoland under British administration. None of these originate in the Northern Section of the Territory. For Togoland under French administration there were 21 petitions of this kind, all from the area south of Atakpamé.

(b) Unification of the two Togoland Territories

This group of petitions demands the unification of the two Togoland Territories and the reasons and arguments presented in support of the request

are generally the same as those for the unification of Ewe-occupied territories. Certain petitions explicitly include the Gold Coast Section of Ewe-inhabited territory within the area to be unified.

Of the written petitions requesting unification of the two Togoland Territories 9 were received in the southern part^{1/} and 3 in the northern part of Togoland under French administration. Eighteen were received in the southern section of Togoland under British administration; none were presented in the Northern Section of the Territory.

(c) Other requests for Unification

(1) There were two written petitions which refer to the unification of the Tchokossi people of the two Togoland Territories under a single administration. One of these asks that the Tchokossi, as well as certain other ethnic groups, be brought together in a united Togoland.^{2/} The other, signed by Tabi Nambiema, Chef supérieur of the Tchokossi and Chef de Canton of Mango, and eight other chiefs, states that the Tchokossi tribe was divided by the partition of Togoland and requests that the Visiting Mission remedy this injustice by proposing the reunion of the Tchokossi tribe under a single administration.^{3/}

(2) At an audience with the Visiting Mission at Sokodé, Issifou Ayéva, Chef Supérieur of the Kotokoli, asked that the northern part of the territory be united again with the Yendi area of Togoland under British administration and that the entire unit be placed under French administration. He stated that the customs barrier between the territories affected the relations between the peoples of the two territories.

(3) At Sokodé a Chief of the Bassari tribe stated that his people were divided by the border. In addition, he referred to the difficulty encountered in importing merchandise from Togoland under British administration.

^{1/} The area south of, but including, Atakpamé.

^{2/} T/PET.7/72, 6/63.

^{3/} T/PET.7/74, 6/65

(4) A Konkomba chief informed the Visiting Mission at Sokodé that many of his subjects have moved into Togoland under British administration and settled there. He asked that the Konkomba in Togoland under British administration be placed under French administration.

(5) In an addendum to the memorandum of the Aflao branch of the All-Ewe Conference (Gold Coast), the Secretary of the organization presents the following demand:

"The only suitable solution of the Ewe problem which may be acceptable to the people would be

(a) That the Southern Togoland under British and French Trusteeship, including the people of Sokodé and Bafilo - who are related to the Ewe and have willed, by a resolution passed at Lomé last 1949 Easter, to adopt the Ewe language as lingua franca - be unified and placed under British Trusteeship with a view to attaining not only self-government now but to obtain full independence along with its neighbouring country, the Gold Coast.

(b) That the Northern territory, including the Dagomba, be placed under French Trusteeship".

(c) In the event that the Administering Authorities reject the above demand the same petitioner proposed that

"... the whole Togoland as it was originally created by the defeated German Empire, should be unified and placed under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organization."^{1/}

(d) Reasons Set Forth in Support of Unification.

In support these various demands for unification the inhabitants, principally the Ewe people, have set forth the following reasons:

(1) Political

In ten petitions received by the Visiting Mission the opinion is

^{1/} T/PET.6/107, Annex, 7/98, Annex.

expressed that unification is necessary in order that the political institutions and policies of the two Togoland Territories might be harmonized. The following statement on this subject was submitted by the All-Ewe Conference:

"In order to prepare the territory for eventual self-government or independence, the present political institutions need to be developed along the same lines. A Representative Assembly in French Togoland, for instance, must have its counterpart on the British side to enable the two to form a Joint Assembly. The local councils upon which these assemblies are based need equally to be organized on the same principles. You cannot have in one zone the local government of a village or district run effectively by the inhabitants through their chief or properly elected council and, in another, have one run exclusively by the District Commissioner and yet expect development towards self-government or independence of the whole territory. It is a well known fact that the British conception of a sound political development of a colonial people is vastly different from that of the French . . .

"In view of the foregoing facts, we maintain that unification under one administration is the best solution to our problem."^{1/}

(2) Economic

(a) Trade: Twenty petitions refer to the effect of the frontier on trade relations between the French and the British zones. It is maintained that the basic economic unity of the Togoland area is affected by the frontier which, by its restrictive effect on trade, has become a deterrent to economic progress. It is pointed out that exchange control virtually precludes trade and the transfer of capital between the French and British zones. It is stated that the port of Lomé, in Togoland under French administration, and its railway connection with Palime provide better

^{1/} T/PET.7/31, 6/32

facilities for the export of goods from the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration has the route through Accra.

(b) Division of local states, villages, families and farms by the frontier: Fourteen petitions refer to the division of local states, communities, families, or farms by the frontier and to the consequent separation of many Ewe from their chiefs, relatives, farms, families, markets and water. It is maintained that this is a hardship to the Ewe. Annex 3 of the memorandum presented to the Visiting Mission by the All-Ewe Conference lists three districts, three towns and thirteen farms which are divided by the frontier, as well as the names of over three-fifths of 532 persons who are said to live on one side of the frontier and whose farms lie on the other side.

(c) Transport and Communications: It is claimed by the All-Ewe Conference that the poor condition of the main roads and bridges in the two zones can be remedied if the territories are unified. A fuller use of the railway system in Togoland under French administration could be made by developing lateral feeder roads to the railway.

(d) Abuses by Customs Preventive Officers: In seven petitions it is alleged that the customs preventive officers have been guilty of abuses or maltreatment of residents, travellers and traders in the border areas. The names of two persons who were killed and of three who were wounded by customs preventive officers are given.

(3) Social

It is claimed in thirteen petitions submitted to the Visiting Mission that family and other social ties are weakened by the difficulty of exchanging visits across the border.

(4) Educational

Of eight petitions which refer to the educational disabilities, that of the All-Ewe Conference provides the most explicit statement on this subject as follows:

"(a) The most potent factor in the development of any country towards self-government or independence is education. In the Ewe territory two different systems of education obtain which result in the production of dissimilar citizens. In the French zone the emphasis is on the production of a perfect French scholar, whose foremost pre-occupation is to become a French citizen as distinct from Ewe citizen. This type of education leaves out of account all indigenous culture even to the point of forbidding the teaching of the mother tongue. It has often been explained to the United Nations that it is impossible to teach the Vernacular languages as they are too many and that none is spoken or understood by a large number of the population. Our reply is that the Ewe numbering about a million souls speak one language which is Ewe. Local variations do not prevent the whole of the people to communicate with each other. The language itself has been the subject of serious study by German scholars who have produced an alphabet, grammar, dictionary and a certain amount of useful literature. This has been carried on by Ewe and European scholars until the Ewe language today has become a literary language recognized by the International Institute of African Languages and Culture.

"In the British zone the Ewe language is accepted as a subject for Matriculation examination of the University of London. In the British zone, the educational system does take account of indigenous culture. To this extent, the product of this system is a more suitable citizen in a territory working towards self-government.

"It may be noted that the curriculum of the schools in the French zone is to a very great extent a copy of that of the schools in Metropolitan France, whereas that of the schools in the British zone is adapted to local conditions.

"(b) It is necessary for the full exercise of self-government or independence to have a university for the Territory. If the present division continues, it is almost certain that no university will ever be established for either of the zones, yet they are called upon to become self-governing or independent.

"(c) The experiment in mass-education which has just been carried out in the two zones promises a great future if it can only be carried out on a large and permanent scale."^{1/}

(e) Observations in Petitions Concerning the Work of the Joint Consultative Commission and on the Conventional Zone.

The petitions received by the Visiting Mission contain certain criticisms regarding the constitution and the work of the Joint Consultative Commission as well as of the Conventional Zone. These criticisms together with certain background information are here presented.

(1) Constitutional Aspects

The petition of the All-Ewe Conference received by the Visiting Mission raises certain questions as regards the scope of the Commission, as follows:

"In spite of the assurances given by the representatives of France and the United Kingdom that the Consultative Commission

(a) 'would be a Commission on Ewe affairs ~~between the Ewe zones~~ - British and French;

(b) 'would deal with the Ewe problem and be charged with the task of satisfying the legitimate aspirations and claims of the Ewe people';

(c) 'would comprise representatives of a population at the present time distributed among three distinct territories', namely the two Togolands and the Ewe territory of the Gold Coast (See T/P.V. 39, pages 71 & 106);

the Commission is named Consultative Commission for Togoland affairs, where the Ewe problem received little or no attention at all, and provisions are [not] made for the Gold Coast Ewes to be represented on it on the plea that the Commission was not created for Ewe affairs."^{1/}

The petition goes on to request that the Gold Coast Ewe be permitted to elect two members to the Commission, which would increase African membership to six, and that the mandate of the African members of the British zone should be extended to five years instead of the one year now fixed.

In examining this question of the sphere of competence, the Visiting Mission notes that it was initially raised at the second session of the Commission when, at the urging of Mr. Amu, the Co-Chairmen agreed to ask their respective Governments for a ruling on the title of the Commission and on the question of whether its sphere of competence was "Togoland" or "Eweland".

At the third session, the Co-Chairmen made the following statement concerning this question on behalf of their respective Governments:

"(a) The Commission's terms of reference strictly limit its activities to the Trust Territory;

(b) The African members will no doubt have noted that out of consideration for the feelings of the Ewe members all the measures already taken concerning the frontier between the two Trust Territories have been extended and applied to the frontier between the district of Keta and the territory of Togoland under French Trusteeship. The Government of the Gold Coast will continue to examine sympathetically the application to the frontier between that Colony and Togoland under French Trusteeship of all new economic and fiscal measures which might be applied to the frontier between the two Trust Territories."

At the fourth session of the Commission, Mr. Olympio requested the reconsideration of the question of competence. In reply "the Governor of the Gold Coast reiterated the statement made on this subject during the third session and explained that although the recommendations of the Commission were normally applied to the frontier between the Gold Coast Colony and Togoland under French Trusteeship, it was not within the power of the Commission to recommend that it should deal with the affairs of the Ewe living outside Togoland. The Commission noted that representations on this matter would probably be made either to the Working Party on the Conventional Zone or the Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council. Mr. Olympio thereupon agreed that this question and that of increasing the Commission's membership should be deferred until the next session."

Mr. Olympio, at the same session, asked that the term of office of the representative of Togoland under British administration be extended beyond a year. The Governor of the Gold Coast, in reply, noted that a proposal to fix a longer term of membership had been defeated by 16 votes

to 15 by the electors of the Territory. It was agreed that at the next elections the Senior District Commissioner should try once more to persuade the electors to fix a longer term.

The Natural Rulers of the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration and the Togoland Union in a petition to the Trusteeship Council have requested that the number of African representatives be increased to five, that each representative be given a specific topic for study, and that the whole of Togoland under British administration be represented.^{1/}

(2) Border Restrictions

The memorandum of the All-Ewe Conference states that some relaxation of frontier regulations has been achieved but that the failure of customs authorities to enforce the changes laid down has nullified the effects of these.^{2/}

(3) Establishment of a Conventional Zone

The Visiting Mission received six petitions relating to the establishment of the conventional zone. Three of these expressed opposition, claiming that the conventional zone would not solve the problems. The other three state that it has not been established, and that of the All-Ewe Conference requests an early decision by the two Governments on this matter.

At an audience with the Visiting Mission, representatives of the All-Ewe Conference expressed apprehension lest the conventional zone exclude the Ewe-inhabited territory of the Gold Coast. Opposition was voiced by the same group to the establishment of the conventional zone under joint Anglo-French administration.

^{1/} T/PET.6/12.

^{2/} T/PET.7/31, 6/32.

CHAPTER V - CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. From the foregoing it seems clear that in studying the problem of Ewe unification, other unification movements affecting the two Togolands should not be ignored. These movements differ from each other with regard to the scope of unification and with regard to the motive of the peoples supporting them. The Mission believes that the following factors emerge from an objective study of the problem and that these should be taken into account in seeking a solution:

a) The unification movement in the southern sections of the two Togolands, and apparently in the Keta district of the Gold Coast, has assumed the character of a popular nationalistic movement;

b) The population of the Keta and Peki districts of the Gold Coast Colony, not a Trust Territory, is a prominent segment of the unification movement;

c) If the unification movement is not satisfied to some appreciable degree, the danger of an intensification of local nationalism, perhaps stimulated by nationalistic forces in neighbouring territories, or forces from outside of a different character, seems unavoidable;

d) The Ewe groups are not the only tribal groups advocating unification;

e) The unification movement even among the Ewes is not identical with regard to the territorial scope of unification;

f) The unification movement, as a popular movement, is not prominent in the northern section of either of the two Togolands. In northern British Togo some chiefs desire unification with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast;

g) The existing frontiers are a hardship (economically, socially and culturally) to the inhabitants of the southern sections of both Togolands and, to some extent, also to the inhabitants of the other sections;

h) The removal of the economic disabilities resulting from the existing frontier does not fully meet the objectives of the unification movement.

2. The Mission considers that the idea of the re-unification of Togoland which is now supported in principle by large sections of the population has gained strength and impetus from the sudden aggravation in 1940 of the inconveniences caused by the Franco-British frontier. Neighbouring and related populations have been separated by almost impassable barriers; they have suffered materially and morally; relations between families have been hampered, and considerable material privations have been imposed, mainly on the inhabitants of Togoland under French administration. Even now, in spite of some improvement, the different economic systems, exchange control, customs difficulties, etc., impose constraints which the frontier population do not easily bear.

3. The Mission noted with satisfaction the efforts made by the two Administering Authorities to reduce the economic inconveniences caused by the frontier. It considers that the measures already taken are an appreciable step forward, but believes that those measures in themselves are insufficient to solve the whole problem. It is of the opinion that the continuation of these efforts, in accordance with the views communicated to the Trusteeship Council by the two Governments in their joint memorandum of November 1947 (T/58) can still overcome a considerable part of the difficulties brought about by the existence of the frontier.

4. But the problem is no longer only an economic one. Many Togolandese on both sides of the frontier, taking a firm political stand and only citing frontier difficulties as one argument among others, are claiming that unification is an essential stage in their advancement towards self-government or independence. In other words, they consider that self-government or independence, which are established by the Charter as the ultimate objective of trusteeship, must take the form of a Togo State with frontiers more or less corresponding to those of the former German Togoland, and that maintenance

of the present dual administration is incompatible with the fulfilment of their hopes.

5. It appears to the Mission that this is perhaps not the only objective which can logically be contemplated, and that other possibilities not contrary to the Charter can yet be explored. But whatever opinion may be held on this subject, it is nevertheless certain that the desire for unification, which is quite legitimate in itself, is now widespread in the South of both territories and must be regarded as a deeply rooted political force.

6. The political formula that will in the opinion of the Mission meet the situation in the future depends to a large degree on the people of the two Togolands themselves, on the extent of a well-informed public opinion, and on the political maturity of the people. Such a condition appears to be rapidly advancing in the south.

7. The majority of the Ewe people seem to favour the formation of an Ewe-land based on respect for ethnographical conditions and comprising, in addition to the southern section of the two Togolands, two districts of the Gold Coast. Another very large section of public opinion, including representatives of the Ewe and members of other tribes, expresses opposition to unification with the Ewe districts of the Gold Coast, and makes the complete reconstitution of former Togoland its aim. Whereas in the north of Togoland under French trusteeship, the mass of the population appear to be indifferent about the question, many chiefs and notables, while expressing themselves in favour of the idea of a reunited Togoland, have stated that they are opposed to any change of trusteeship authority as far as they are concerned, and have also voiced their fear of possible Ewe domination in the event of immediate unification. In the north of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship, public opinion, as expressed in the statements of the tribal chiefs, appears to be hostile to the reconstitution of Togoland within its pre-1914 boundaries.

8. Meanwhile, the Visiting Mission suggests that the Trusteeship Council should recommend to the Administering Authorities not only to continue their efforts they are making to reduce or even abolish the customs barriers complained of by the inhabitants of both territories, but also to increase their collaboration with a view to unifying and co-ordinating, as far as possible, the legislation and methods applied in both territories in respect of fiscal, economic, cultural and educational matters and health, transport and public services in such a way as to eliminate, at least, the non-political aspects of the problem. They should thus be able to satisfy what now appear to be the wishes of the majority of the population in the south of both territories and to guide their political development towards the re-constitution of the former Togoland, either as an independent State or as an autonomous unit within a larger federation.

9. The Mission feels that details of an overall plan should be left to the Council and to expert hands, but must, above all, await the attitude in principle of the two Administering Authorities. Its suggestions, therefore, can only be on very broad lines. In that sense, the Mission feels that there are three wide avenues through which a solution can be found, and they tender them to the consideration of the Council and everyone else who has at heart the wish to prevent further complication of the problem:

- (a) a political solution within the framework of the two existing Togolands;
- (b) an economic solution within the framework of the two existing Togolands; or
- (c) a general solution to be sought within a wider political and economic framework including the two Togolands.

10. The Mission considers that the Anglo-French Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland set up in 1948, on which African members represent the populations of the two territories, is a most valuable institution which might be further developed. It shows the desire of the Administering

Authorities to give every possible satisfaction to the wishes of the inhabitants of both territories.

11. In closing these observations the Mission feels that it is its duty to point out that the problem has attained the force and dimensions of a nationalistic movement and that a solution should be sought with urgency in the interest of peace and stability in that part of the world.

ANNEX

CLASSIFICATION OF PETITIONS AND MEMORANDA RECEIVED BY THE VISITING MISSION
WHICH REFER TO THE UNIFICATION PROBLEM

/ I. GENERAL

(a) Demand for Unification. This group of petitions also includes those which, without making precise demands for unification, protest against the existing division of the two Togolands and/or request abolition of existing frontiers. (1)

Summary: In addition to the reasons which appear under subsequent sub-headings, it is maintained that unification is a necessary prerequisite for the solution of the problems of the area and for the orderly achievement of self-government and/or independence. Half of the petitions under this heading specifically request unification under a single administration.

(1) Unification of Eweland

Summary: Request the immediate unification of the Ewe-inhabited area between the Volta and Mono Rivers. Reference is made to the historical and ethnic unity of this area and to the detrimental effect of partition on the social, cultural, political, economic and educational life and future of this area. The fact that the partition of Ewe-inhabited territory took place without consultation of the Ewe is stressed and unification is stated to be the unanimous wish of the people.

(1) Petitions received from the Ewe-inhabited areas of the Gold Coast Colony are distinguished by the following symbol: +

(a) Southern French Togoland ^{1/}: T/PET.7/17-6/22; T/PET.7/22-6/24;
T/PET.7/23-6/25; T/PET.7/24-6/26; T/PET.7/16-6/21; T/PET.7/27-6/29;
T/PET.7/28-6/30; T/PET.7/30-6/31; T/PET.7/31-6/32; T/PET.7/32-6/33;
T/PET.7/34-6/35; T/PET.7/35-6/36; T/PET.7/40-6/39; T/PET.7/42-6/40;
T/PET.7/100-6/109[†]; T/PET.7/101-6/110[†]; T/PET.7/44-6/41; T/PET.7/52-6/45;
T/PET.7/53-6/46; T/PET.7/55-6/48; T/PET.7/58-6/51; T/PET.7/61-6/54;

(b) Southern British Togoland ^{2/}: T/PET.7/25-6/27; T/PET.6/72-7/75;
T/PET.6/93-7/86; T/PET.6/95-7/88[†]; T/PET.6/96-7/89; T/PET.6/98-7/90;
T/PET.6/100-7/92; T/PET.6/101-7/93; T/PET.6/102-7/94; T/PET.6/103-7/95;
T/PET.6/104-7/96[†]; T/PET.6/106-7/97; T/PET.6/107-7/98[†]; T/PET.6/117;
T/PET.7/31-6/32[†]; T/PET.6/91-7/84[†]; T/PET.6/141-7/114;

(c) Northern French Togoland: None;

(d) Northern British Togoland: None.

(2) Unification of the two Togoland territories.

Summary: The reasons and arguments presented in these petitions are essentially those given above under (1).

(a) Southern French Togoland: T/PET.7/21-6/23; T/PET.7/56-6/49;
T/PET.7/59-6/52; T/PET.7/103-6/111; T/PET.7/62-6/55; T/PET.7/63-6/56;
T/PET.7/104-6/112; T/PET.7/64-6/57; T/PET.7/116-6/143;

(b) Southern British Togoland: T/PET.6/15/Ald.1; T/PET.6/74-7/77;
T/PET.6/78-7/78; T/PET.6/81-7/79; T/PET.6/82-7/80; T/PET.6/83-7/81;
T/PET.6/90-7/83; T/PET.6/92-7/85; T/PET.6/99-7/91; T/PET.6/114-7/106;
T/PET.6/116-7/107; T/PET.6/129-7/109; T/PET.6/131; T/PET.6/132-7/110;

^{1/} Southern French Togoland is arbitrarily defined as the region south of, but including, Atakpané.

^{2/} Southern Section of Togoland under British Administration.

T/PET.6/133-7/111; T/PET.6/136; T/PET.6/92-7/85; T/PET.6/142-7/115;

(c) Northern French Togoland: T/PET.7/70-6/61; T/PET.7/72-6/63;
T/PET.7/73-6/64;

(d) Northern British Togoland: None.

(3) Unification of the Tchokossi of the two Togoland territories under a single administration.

Summary: The Tchokossi have been harmed by the partition of Togoland, particularly in respect of family and customary ties.

T/PET.7/72-6/63 (Northern French Togoland);

T/PET.7/74-6/65 (" " ")

(4) Southern French and British Togoland (including Sokodé and Bafilo) to be placed under United Kingdom trusteeship and northern French and British Togoland under French trusteeship.

T/PET.6/107-7/98, Add. ⁺.

(5) The two Togoland territories should be unified and placed under the Trusteeship Council, (this is proposed as an alternative solution in the event that the two Administering Authorities should reject the proposal appearing under (4) above).

T/PET.6/107-7/98. Add. ⁺

(b) Demand for independence in the shortest possible period (in the event that the Administering Authorities do not allow the unification of Ewe-inhabited territory).

T/PET.7/31-6/32.

(c) Demand that customs barriers be eliminated. (This group consists of petitions which, although not explicitly requesting unification, either request the abolition of, or protest against, customs barriers.)

- (a) Southern French Togoland: T/PET.7/33-6/34; T/PET.7/38-6/38*;
 - (b) Southern British Togoland: T/PET.6/73-7/76; T/PET.6/74-7/77;
T/PET.6/128; T/PET.6/135-7/112;
 - (c) Northern French Togoland: None;
 - (d) Northern British Togoland: None.
- (d) Maintenance of the status quo (until the status of self-government or independence has been reached. Petitions which specifically oppose unification have been starred).

Summary: Satisfaction with French Trusteeship and a desire to remain under it are expressed. Any change in administering authority is opposed. The Ewe unification movement is attacked in certain petitions for its alleged claim of representing the unanimous will of the population and the wishes of non-Ewe ethnic groups.

- (a) French Togoland: T/PET.7/12-6/10.Add.1*; T/PET.7/45-6/42*;
T/PET.7/46; T/PET.7/47; T/PET.7/48-6/43; T/PET.7/49; T/PET.7/50;
T/PET.7/54-6/47*; T/PET.7/51-6/44*; T/PET.7/60-6/53*; T/PET.7/66-6/58*;
T/PET.7/67-6/59*; T/PET.7/68-6/60*; T/PET.7/71-6/62*;

- (b) British Togoland: None.

II. PETITIONS REFERRING TO THE ANGLO-FRENCH STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION FOR TOGOLAND

(a) Constitutional Aspects

Summary: It was originally understood that this body would be concerned with Ewe affairs, however, it has been defined by title as a commission for Togoland affairs and the Ewe problem receives little or no attention at all. It is suggested that the Gold Coast Ewe be represented by two elected members and that the term of office of African members representing the British zones be extended to five years (T/PET.7/31-6/32).

The Commission lacks central executive machinery, thus its sessional discussions, which often end in no decision being taken other than palliative observations and recommendations, have no prospect of immediate implementation by the two Administering Authorities (T/PET.6/96-7/89).

T/PET.7/31-6/32; T/PET.6/96-7/89.

(b) Observations on the work of the Standing Consultative Commission

Summary: Some petitions state that the Commission has failed to meet the needs of the Ewe; others oppose it on the grounds that the only solution is unification.

The petition of the All-Ewe Conference T/PET.7/31-6/32 states that some relaxation of frontier regulations has been achieved but that the failure of customs authorities to enforce the changes laid down has nullified the effects of these. No serious efforts have been made to harmonize administrative and cultural policies apart from the mass-education experiment in Palime which so far has not been followed up.

T/PET.7/16-6/21; T/PET.7/31-6/32; T/PET.6/72-7/75; T/PET.6/74-7/77;
T/PET.6/83-7/81; T/PET.6/101-7/93; T/PET.6/103-7/95; T/PET.6/104-7/96;
T/PET.6/117.

(c) Observations on the establishment of a conventional zone.

Summary: Three petitions express opposition to the establishment of a conventional zone, claiming that it will not solve the problem. Two petitions state that the proposed conventional zone has not been established and the petition of the All-Ewe Conference (T/PET.7/31-6/32) requests an early decision by the two Governments on this matter.

T/PET.7/31-6/32; T/PET.7/55-6/48, Add.; T/PET.6/95-7/88*;
T/PET.6/101-7/93; T/PET.6/103-7/95; T/PET.6/104-7/96.

III. POLITICAL DISABILITIES

Summary: If the two Togoland territories are eventually to become a self-governing or independent entity, the political institutions and policies must be developed along similar lines. At present, the British and French conceptions of political development in Togoland are very different.

T/PET.7/21-6/23; T/PET.7/16-6/21; T/PET.7/31-6/32; T/PET.7/53-6/46;
T/PET.7/61-6/54; T/PET.6/82-7/80; T/PET.6/98-7/90; T/PET.6/106-7/97;
T/PET.6/92-7/85; T/PET.6/141-7/114.

IV. PETITIONS CONCERNING THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE FRONTIER

(a) Trade

Summary: Togoland forms an economic unit; the Anglo-French frontier seriously hinders trade and represents a deterrent to economic progress. The port of Lomé and its railway connection with Palime provide better facilities for the export of goods from the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration than the route via Accra. Exchange control virtually precludes trade between the Ewe of the British and French zones.

T/PET.7/22-6/24; T/PET.7/23-6/25; T/PET.7/31-6/32; T/PET.7/34-6/35;
T/PET.7/53-6/46; T/PET.7/61-6/54; T/PET.7/72-6/63; T/PET.6/72-7/75;
T/PET.6/15/Add.1; T/PET.6/74-7/77; T/PET.6/81-7/79; T/PET.6/91-7/84;
T/PET.6/93-7/86; T/PET.6/96-7/89; T/PET.6/100-7/92; T/PET.6/101-7/93;
T/PET.6/103-7/95; T/PET.6/107-7/98; T/PET.6/133-7/111; T/PET.6/92-7/85.

(b) The division of local states, villages, families and farms by the frontier.

Summary: It is stated that the frontier separates many Ewe from their chiefs, relatives, farms, families, water and markets and that this proves to be a hardship.

The petition of the All-Ewe Conference (T/PET.7/31-6/32) lists three districts, three towns and thirteen farms split by the frontier as well as

the names of over three fifths of 532 persons who are said to live on or of the frontier and whose farms lie on the other side.

T/PET.7/23-6/25; T/PET.7/16-6/21; T/PET.7/31-6/32; T/PET.7/55-6/48;
T/PET.7/61-6/54; T/PET.6/72-7/75; T/PET.6/15/Add.1; T/PET.6/82-7/80;
T/PET.6/91-7/84; T/PET.6/93-7/86; T/PET.6/98-7/90; T/PET.6/10-17/93;
T/PET.6/107-7/98; T/PET.6/92-7/85.

(c) Communications

Summary: This petition (T/PET.7/31-6/32) states that the present lamentable state of all the main roads and bridges in the two zones can be remedied if the territories are unified. A fuller use of the railway system in French Togoland can be made by developing lateral feeder roads to the railway line.

T/PET.7/31-6/32.

(d) Water Supply

Summary: According to this petition (T/PET.7/31-6/32) a unified territory should be more capable of providing water.

T/PET.7/31-6/32.

(e) Abuses by customs preventive officers

Summary: It is alleged that customs preventive officers are guilty of maltreatment of residents, travellers and traders in the border areas. The names of two persons who were killed and of three who were wounded by customs preventive officers are given.

T/PET.6/73-7/76; T/PET.7/30-6/31; T/PET.7/33-6/34; T/PET.6/82-7/80;
T/PET.6/101-7/93; T/PET.6/107-7/98⁺; T/PET.6/133-7/111.

V. SOCIAL

(a) Cultural

Summary: Clan and family ties are weakened by the difficulty of exchanging visits across the border.

PET.7/23-6/25; T/PET.7/16-6/21; T/PET.7/34-6/35; T/PET.7/53-6/46;
7/72-6/63; T/PET.6/72-7/75; T/PET.6/82-7/80; T/PET.6/93-7/86;
PET 6/101-7/93; T/PET.6/106-7/97; T/PET.6/133-7/111; T/PET.6/92-7/85;
T/PET.6/141-7/114.

(b) Health

Summary: It is stated in this petition that the fact that health services in the two zones are not up to standard is to some extent understandable as the maintenance of such essential services is beyond the means of either of the zones separately.

T/PET.7/31-6/32.

VI. EDUCATIONAL

Summary: The two different systems of education in the two Togolands produce dissimilar citizens. Unlike the system in the British zone, the French system does not include the indigenous culture and language in the curriculum.

T/PET.7/23-6/25; T/PET.7/31-6/32; T/PET.7/61-6/54; T/PET.6/82-7/80;
T/PET.6/93-7/86; T/PET.6/98-7/90; T/PET.6/107-7/98; T/PET.6/133-7/111.