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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

**The Ewe and Togoland unification problem:
special report of the Trusteeship Council
(A/2289)**

[Item 32]*

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, and Mr. Antor and Mr. Odame, representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress, took places at the Committee table.

1. Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom) said that he had been unable to give the Trusteeship Council the considered views of the Government of the United Kingdom on the special report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem (T/1034). Those views had now been received and had been circulated as a Trusteeship Council document (T/1039), in accordance with the normal procedure with regard to the comments of Administering Authorities on the reports of visiting missions. He reserved the right to speak at greater length later in the discussion in the light of the statements made by the petitioners and the comments from the Committee.

2. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) explained what constituted the unification problem. The country of the Ewes, inhabited by about one million people who lived in a region on the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, and bounded by two rivers, the Mono and the Volta, had been partitioned in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Three quarters of it had been occupied by the Germans, while the British had incorporated the remaining quarter in their colony of the Gold Coast. The Ewes' request for the removal of the resulting boundary had led the United Kingdom and Germany to set up a customs union. That had not satisfied the people, and negotiations had been begun but had been interrupted by the First World War. At the end of the war, the part of the country formerly held by the Germans had been shared as booty between the United Kingdom and France and three separate territories had been formed: the Gold Coast Colony, the French Mandated Territory

of Togoland and the British Mandated Territory of Togoland. As the Ewe problem had become more acute, the Mandatory Powers had taken certain measures to introduce the free movement of goods and persons between the two zones and the free circulation of the two currencies, the pound sterling and the franc; but those had not given satisfaction to the people. During the Second World War, the sufferings of the Ewe people caused by the boundary dividing their country had been still further intensified, for France—then under the Vichy régime—and the United Kingdom had been enemies. Many of the Ewe people had been interned in concentration camps by the Vichy Government for believing in democracy. Special regulations had made contact between the two sections of the people almost impossible from 1940 onwards. As the colonial administrations of France and the United Kingdom had begun to influence the Ewe people, the differences of life among the two sections had grown more marked and the Ewe people had longed for liberation from the colonial system in order to gain self-government and independence.

3. The Ewe problem was merely the desire of one million people who spoke the same language and had the same customs and a common culture to be reunited and to live together in peace.

4. In 1946, he recalled, the chiefs and elders of the people had drawn up a convention¹ designed to bring about unification of the country. The first petitions of the All-Ewe Conference had been sent through the Administering Authorities to the United Nations in 1947. The Trusteeship Council, after its examination of the petitions, had concluded in its resolution 14 (II), that the request for unification represented the wishes of the majority of the Ewe people, that the measures proposed by the Administering Authorities should give way to more definite arrangements and that a solution to the Ewe problem should be sought.

5. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Togoland other than the Ewes had also grown restless because of the restraints imposed by the existence of the boundary, and

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

¹ See document T/Pet.6/2—T/Pet.7/3.

the demand for the unification of the two Togoland Territories had become general.

6. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, dispatched by the Trusteeship Council to Togoland in 1949, had concluded, in its report of 17 February 1950, that the Ewe people's demand for unification was a political problem which had taken the form of "a nationalistic movement" and that a solution should be sought "in the interest of peace and stability in that part of the world".²

7. The findings of the 1949 Visiting Mission had not met with the approval of the Administering Authorities, and they had tried to stamp out the Ewe movement. During the sixth session of the General Assembly, he had described to the Fourth Committee (226th meeting) the persecution to which the Ewe people was subjected by the French Administration. His statements had been confirmed by a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee by Togoland students (A/C.4/199). At the instance of the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 555 (VI), recommending that the Trusteeship Council should study all aspects of the matter affecting the two Trust Territories, and arrange for the dispatch of a special mission to the Territories or alternatively for the next periodic visiting mission to study the Ewe problem, including the functioning of the proposed joint council, and to submit a detailed report to the Trusteeship Council together with recommendations taking account of the real wishes and interests of the peoples concerned. But, contrary to the hopes of the people of Togoland, the Trusteeship Council had delayed the dispatch of the Visiting Mission, thus yielding to the pressure of the Administering Authorities, who had wanted time to crush the unification movement.

8. On his return from the General Assembly, he had been asked by the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise to report to the Ewe people on the discussion that had taken place in the General Assembly and the resolution that had been adopted, and he had found that the French Administration had done everything to put obstacles in the way of his carrying out the assignment. Local officers had consistently refused to grant him the requisite permits to hold meetings at the usual public meeting places. Meetings had eventually had to be held in forest clearings. Those repairing there had not been allowed to go in groups. Armed guards had been stationed around the meeting places. Special trains to transport members had been unable to run for lack of authorization. The firing of guns in salute and the use of loudspeakers had been forbidden. Subsequently, Mr. Sam Klu, one of the secretaries of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise and a member of the Territorial Assembly, and Mr. Apaloo, had been arrested for criticizing the French Administration and had been sentenced to imprisonment and a fine.

9. It had been the duty of the new Governor of the French zone, Mr. Péchoux, known as the *Spécialiste de la répression*, to prepare the way for the arrival of the Visiting Mission. He had set up a veritable reign of terror. All government and commercial employees had been advised by him to resign from the unification

movement on pain of dismissal. Threats had been made against the paramount and village chiefs and the businessmen and farmers and, in a number of cases, as petitions to the Trusteeship Council showed, they had been carried out. Intimidation and coercion had been resorted to in the case of members of the Unité Togolaise. Some had been arrested, some had been beaten up by the police and gendarmes and others had been forced by threats to resign their membership in the party. The houses of some members of the unification movement had been searched and petitions ready for dispatch to the Visiting Mission had been seized. Three men, including the proprietor of the newspaper *Négrita*, had been arrested for alleged spreading of false news.

10. The arrival at Lomé of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, had been set for 21 August. A big rally, planned by the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, and similar to that held at the time of the first Visiting Mission in 1949, was to have acquainted the members of the Visiting Mission with the wishes of the Togoland people. The Governor of Togoland under French administration, however, had taken steps to ensure that it would not be held by prohibiting public demonstrations and refusing permission to use the football ground. The Comité de l'Unité Togolaise had therefore decided to hold the rally in a coconut plantation outside the town, owned by Mr. de Souza, President of the party, with the result that Mr. Péchoux, the Governor, had threatened the latter. Mr. Olympio enumerated all the measures taken to force the organizers to call off the rally: military manoeuvres, violations of the privacy of the home, the prohibition of any joyful or welcoming manifestations upon the Mission's arrival, of any flying of the party's flag or of writing the words "unification or independence" on walls. On the day of the Mission's arrival—21 August—police and gendarmes had patrolled the streets, tearing down decorations and banners on houses and causing all inscriptions to be removed.

11. Only twenty members of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise had been admitted to the aerodrome to await the Mission's arrival; it had, however, been impossible for them to get near the official cars. When the Mission had approached the town, the people had shouted for unification and welcomed the Mission. Those demonstrations had been put down by the military and police. Some men and women had had their arms and ribs broken. Military and police cars had circulated in the streets for several days. Some people had been thrashed for writing the word *ablode* (unification) on their houses.

12. The Chairman of the Mission, Mr. Peachey, had postponed giving an answer to the invitation to attend the rally scheduled to take place on 23 August. The Governor had ordered the frontier to be closed to prevent any Ewes from Togoland under British administration or the Gold Coast from proceeding to the meeting. The chiefs and notables in Togoland under French administration had been forcibly prevented from going. Mr. Peachey had announced that the Mission, which was leaving for Tsévié, would be unable to attend the meeting. The Mission had refused to send a representative to the meeting and had also declined to go to the frontier to meet the chiefs and people waiting there for authorization to proceed to the town.

² See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2*, Special report on the Ewe problem, para. 106.

The Mission, contrary to the hopes raised by Mr. Peachey, had not attended any meeting held in Togoland under French administration. The Government of French Togoland had apparently succeeded in persuading the Mission to keep away from those meetings.

13. Mr. Olympio then reviewed the circumstances in which the Visiting Mission had carried out its work. Its offices and their approaches had been surrounded by police; petitioners had been prohibited from making contact with members of the Mission. Yet delegations of inhabitants had succeeded in crossing the police cordon. A Gold Coast newspaper correspondent had been arrested as he was leaving the Mission's headquarters and sent back across the frontier. The proprietor of the newspaper *Les Echos du Togo* had been arrested for reporting the incidents that had taken place on the day of the Mission's arrival. At Tsévié, only members of the district and municipal councils had been allowed to see the members of the Mission. The Chairman of the Mission had declined an invitation for the Mission to attend a rally in its honour. At Palimé, several arrests had been made before the Mission's arrival, including that of the editor of *La Vigie Togolaise*. The head of the security services had threatened the Mayor of Palimé with reprisals in the event of any demonstrations. At Atakpamé, the Secretary-General of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise had been arrested. All meetings and demonstrations had been forbidden during the Visiting Mission's stay. At Sokodé, arrests had also been made.

14. There was no doubt in his mind that the purpose of the acts of intimidation and reprisal carried out by the Administration during the Visiting Mission's stay had been to prevent the Mission from appraising the strength and extent of the unification movement. The French delegation, he was sure, would deny everything that he had said, since he had long been branded a liar and regarded as a subversive element. Yet the Visiting Mission had known about the incidents. It was his belief that a group of honest, impartial and objective representatives could have realized the violence and intimidation practised against the people of Togoland. That was the kind of mission—honest, impartial and objective—that he had expected would be sent to Togoland. He had hoped that the Trusteeship Council would not decline to send a special mission, or that in any case the regular mission would study the problem thoroughly and submit a detailed report, including specific recommendations that would take account of the real wishes and interests of the people concerned. He had not envisaged that the problem would be assigned to the Mission as an extra task. He had believed that the Trusteeship Council, in conformity with the views of the Committee and of the General Assembly, would dispatch its mission to Togoland early in the year, instead of waiting until the last moment to do so. The Mission had been given a few weeks only in which to make the investigation and draft its report. He considered that the Council, far from doing its utmost to find persons free of prejudice to carry out the task, had made its selection from within its own loyal ranks. The Mission, instead of endeavouring to maintain its independence and freedom of action in the country, had been surrounded by Administration officials and police.

15. The Visiting Mission's report (T/1034), though long, consisted almost entirely of repetitions of facts

noted in the past. The study of the political development of the two Territories reflected the viewpoint of the Administering Authorities; the study of the history of the problem was a summary of what the Trusteeship Council had reported over the years. The points of view of groups and political parties were those which had been expressed in petitions. An objective analysis of the relevant facts, however, was nowhere to be found. The policy of the Administering Authorities and the relative importance of the political parties had not been subjected to impartial examination.

16. As for the arrests, police raids and repressive acts, the Visiting Mission refused to face the fact that their objective had been to crush the unification movement. To the Mission, the matter was simply one of internal order. It merely listed the most important "allegations" and reproduced the relevant observations of the local authorities.

17. He wondered what purpose such an inquiry served—with meetings prohibited, acts of violence against demonstrators, closure of frontiers, and resort to force. He had been reminded in reading the Visiting Mission's report of the usual report of the Trusteeship Council's Standing Committee on Petitions. Any fact put forward by an African was an "allegation"; the denial made by the Administering Authority was the truth! If acts of violence and the prohibition of popular demonstrations were not to be investigated and if the Visiting Mission was merely to collect petitions and denials, what was the use of leaving New York and going to Togoland? He had the impression that the Visiting Mission had acted throughout as if it was afraid; afraid of expressing an opinion, of making a criticism, of looking around it and of reporting what it had been able to see. He wondered what had taken place between the members of the Mission and the representative of the Administering Authorities. He could hazard a guess. The Mission, he maintained, was a cross-section of the Trusteeship Council and everyone knew by that time the character of the Council.

18. There was only one thing in the Mission's report that could not be put down as a mere allegation. That was the fact that the majority of the people of the two Territories wanted unification. That fact should not have been the conclusion, but the starting point of the Mission's work. The Mission should have made proposals as to how unification could be brought about. It had therefore failed in its task and its failure was due to the fact that it had wished to avoid anything that would affect the prestige and authority of the Administering Authorities.

19. With regard to the action taken by the Trusteeship Council on the Visiting Mission's report, he considered that the Council had adopted a resolution (643 (XI)) calculated to dispose of the problem without offending anybody.

20. The people of Togoland were offended, he declared, by the failure of the Council to take their claims seriously, and the fact that it buried all petitions, whether relating to unification or any other matter. He represented the leaders of the Togoland people, and persons outstanding in its society. His party, although outnumbered by illiterate nominees of the Administration brought down from the northern district, had the overwhelming support of the people of the more ad-

vanced southern part of Togoland, even despite the manipulation of elections by methods familiar to everyone who knew the ways of France in Africa. The Togoland people, a civilized people, would suffer being called liars by the Administering Authorities because that seemed to be the price of freedom everywhere in the colonial world. But they would not suffer being called liars and irresponsibles by a Trusteeship Council that was the instrument of the Administering Authorities and that pretended to find the truth not in the aspirations of the people, but in the denials of the Administering Authorities.

21. The Council and its Visiting Mission admitted that the majority of the Togoland people wanted unification. But they refused to grant their wishes because the interests of the Administering Authorities prevailed over the interests of the people. Independence had been granted to Somaliland. Was it to be withheld from Togoland because France, unlike Italy, had not lost its colonies in the last war? He believed that the Administering Authorities would never agree to give satisfaction to the people of Togoland so long as they had control of the country. The only hope of unification lay in the self-government or independence promised by the Charter of the United Nations. The solution was for the people of Togoland to be granted their independence after a fixed period of time, during which the country would be administered by a United Nations high commissioner.

22. If the United Nations was really serious in saying that the Togoland people would be granted self-government or independence, it must do something; otherwise his people would wonder what they were expected to do. Were they to organize disturbances and riots, adopt a policy of civil disobedience and present the United Nations with a *fait accompli*, in order to attain their objective? But the people of Togoland rejected the idea of freedom gained at the price of arms. They still placed their confidence in the promises of the Charter.

23. On behalf of the people he represented, he made an appeal to all those that had felt sympathy for the people of Togoland and to those who had passed through similar experiences. His appeal was also addressed to the colonial Powers, the United Kingdom and France. The constitutions that they had drawn up for their colonies were out of date. Let those Powers resolve that the people of Togoland were worthy of self-government. Lastly, he made his appeal to the United States. The Togoland people had long believed that the United States would show them the way to freedom. That country could hardly endorse the aspirations of colonial peoples and at the same time support the policies of the colonial Powers.

24. He thanked the Committee for the great honour it had done the people of Togoland by hearing their representative.

25. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) emphasized the strength of the organization he represented. The Joint Togoland Congress had brought together all the political parties in Togoland under British administration: the Congress of Natural Rulers, the Togoland Union, the Togoland Youth Organization, the Togoland National Farmers' Union and the Drivers' and Ex-Servicemen's Union. It was composed of 192,000 members in the Southern Section, of whom 71,213 were in

Togoland under French administration, and 103,000 in the Northern Section, of whom 47,194 were in Togoland under French administration. The membership was made up as follows: the Congress of Natural Rulers, 80 members; the Togoland Youth Organization, 92,748 members; the Togoland Farmers' Union, 57,032 members; the Togoland Union, 38,592 members; the Drivers' and Ex-Servicemen's Union, 2,156 members; the All-Ewe Conference (excluding Ewes in the Gold Coast and Togoland under French administration), 1,392 members. Of the total population of 383,563 in Togoland under British administration, 176,593 were members of the Joint Togoland Congress.

26. During its stay of only ten days in Togoland under British administration—a period that could hardly be considered sufficient to study all aspects of the problem—the Visiting Mission, under the close guard of the Administering Authority, had had no opportunity of meeting any of the political parties to discuss with them the possibility of gaining general agreement on modifications in the structure and functions of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. Nevertheless some groups had managed to submit petitions to it.

27. The Togoland Congress had only one objective: the independence and unification of Togoland, and in that it whole-heartedly supported the views expressed by Mr. Olympio, the representative of the All-Ewe Conference. Without consulting the people, and against the will of the majority, the Administering Authority, which had itself created the confusion that existed in the country, had been endeavouring steadily to annex Togoland under British administration to the Gold Coast and had prohibited all political and economic relations with Togoland under French administration. All the obstacles to political and economic development were the outcome of the existing union with the Gold Coast, which, in accordance with the terms of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, had been primarily intended to be purely administrative; in fact and in practice, however, it had been extended to include the political and economic aspects of the life of the Trust Territory.

28. He would not go into the fundamental principles of the system of administrative unions, which was the province of a special committee, but he would submit some important facts of which the Committee should be aware of it was to reconsider its attitude and act to remedy the situation before it became worse.

29. Throughout the duration of the League of Nations Mandate, the Governor alone had legislated for the entire Territory, without consulting the indigenous inhabitants and without their being allowed to participate: no administrative body had been established in the Territory, much less economic, educational or social organs.

30. For three years after the Trusteeship System had been established, from 1947 to 1949, the Governor had remained the sole legislator for political, economic, educational and social matters. During those years the policy of annexation had taken a more definite form and the Trust Territory had been divided into two parts, the Southern Section and the Northern Section. The Southern Section had since been absorbed administratively, politically and economically into the Colony of the Gold Coast, at least in the instruments of govern-

ment. Similarly, the Northern Section had for all practical purposes been absorbed into the British Protectorate of the Northern Territories. Consequently, the south and the north of the Trust Territory had two completely separate systems of legislation and administration, which was a hindrance to the co-ordination and harmonization of the country's economic and social development and its political advancement.

31. Since 1950 the new Constitution of the Gold Coast had come into existence, under which Togoland had lost all hope of having its own legislative and executive bodies. The frontier between Togoland and the Gold Coast, already almost imperceptible, had virtually disappeared. Togoland was represented in the new Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, which had powers of legislation for both the Gold Coast and Togoland, by a tiny minority of members, and in the Executive Council it was not represented at all.

32. The people of Togoland under British administration did not wish to be absorbed into the Gold Coast in such a way that it would be impossible for them ever to be united with their brothers in Togoland under French administration. The existing administrative union was really a complete political union. The Territory of Togoland under British administration was disappearing. The Administering Authority was systematically destroying any hope of unification of the two Togolands by causing one of them to disappear. Recently local, district and regional councils had been set up throughout the Gold Coast and Togoland, in which the Togoland representatives were in a minority. That was a further step in the direction of annexation. Paragraph 153 of the Trusteeship Council's special report on administrative unions (A/2151) made it clear that the application of the system of the administrative union between the Trust Territory of Togoland and the Colony of the Gold Coast meant that the very existence of the Trust Territory was threatened.

33. The peoples of Togoland did not regard the annual report submitted by the Administering Authority as a reliable picture of the situation in the Territory; it was, in fact, an annual report on the neighbouring Crown Colony of the Gold Coast, which had been under British administration for the past 108 years. The special report of the Visiting Mission (T/1034) could hardly serve the real purpose for which the Mission had been sent out in view of the expeditious nature of its tour of Togoland under British administration and the inadequacy of its consultations with the indigenous population, as admitted by the members of the Mission themselves on every page of the report. The Visiting Mission should thoroughly study the problem of Togoland unification, including the functioning of the Joint Council, and submit to the Trusteeship Council a detailed report and specific recommendations taking into full account the real wishes and interests of the peoples concerned. With regard to the Joint Council, the story of its failure was already known. The Visiting Mission's report contained significant figures concerning the real wishes and interests of the indigenous population.

34. The views of the Administering Authorities could be found in the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report. An idea of the real wishes and interests of the indigenous populations could be obtained from the statistics of the communications received by the Mission.

35. It was regrettable that the Mission had been unable to achieve its purpose. Nevertheless, its report contained the necessary data for the final solution of the problem. The statistics in annex I showed that an overwhelming majority of the indigenous population of the two Trust Territories wanted immediate unification of the Territories under direct United Nations administration for five years.

36. In the name of justice and fair play, of history, of decency and of democracy, the Joint Togoland Congress demanded the reunification of Togoland; it felt that the means of carrying it out were the concern of the members of the General Assembly.

37. Mr. ODAME (Joint Togoland Congress), speaking as a member of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, wished to stress that although the idea of the Joint Council had been deemed a mere palliative, not a solution to the problems of Togoland, some useful purposes would have been achieved by the Council had the views of his people as to its composition been respected and had the Administering Authorities acted on the directives of the General Assembly in the matter.

38. The people of Togoland had suggested that the members of the Joint Council should be elected by universal adult suffrage, and that each of the two Territories (considered as separate entities because each had its own administration) should have the same number of representatives, following the example of the United Nations. Those suggestions had been ignored. Togoland under British administration had four representatives on the Joint Council, whereas Togoland under French administration had only two, who had been brought in by the French authorities and were absolutely controlled by them. The protests made regarding that situation had been disregarded.

39. The two Administering Authorities had unwarrantably taken it upon themselves to prepare the agenda for the Joint Council, and the scope of the matters to be discussed had been so limited and the procedure established by them such that the Council's existence had become useless. Their object was to bring about a failure and to give the impression that the people of Togoland were unfit for unification and independence.

40. Land belonging to the inhabitants had been arbitrarily divided between the two Administering Authorities, with the result that those people, former good neighbours, had taken up arms against one another. Certain lands and certain towns were now situated on the other side of the international boundary.

41. Some of the inhabitants of Togoland under French administration lived under such a severe control that they had to cross the international boundary to bring their letters and petitions to the Visiting Mission when it was in Togoland under British administration. During their journey through Togoland under French administration the members of the Mission had seen with their own eyes the barbarism and brutality with which the Administering Authority treated the indigenous inhabitants, even in their presence. The same state of affairs prevailed in Togoland under British administration, as was proved by the fact that the inhabitants had been prevented from crossing the frontier to welcome the Visiting Mission at Lomé. The result was that the people of Togoland were beginning to think that the

United Nations was helpless to call a halt to the misrule in the Territories.

42. The people of Togoland unanimously desired unification. The three chief political parties representing the population of Togoland under British administration were demanding that the sovereignty exercised by the Administering Authorities should be handed over to the United Nations and that a United Nations high commissioner should be appointed for five years, at the end of which time the Territory would be proclaimed an independent sovereign State. In that connexion Mr. Odame read out paragraph 407 of the Visiting Mission's report (T/1034). The three major organizations representing the people of Togoland under French administration were also in favour of unification. The only party which the French claimed was opposed to unification, the Parti togolais du progrès, consisted of persons who were acting under pressure, as the Visiting Mission had been able to see for itself during its stay in the Territory.

43. To sum up, Togoland demanded unification through independence. The facts were there to justify that request; the international frontier arbitrarily divided the lands of certain tribes; the advancement of Togoland under British administration was subordinated to that of the Gold Coast. If proof were needed that the people desired unification, it could be found in the fact that at one place the Visiting Mission had received 2,899 communications on the subject, 325 of them within a few minutes.

44. Mr. GAJEWSKI (Poland) and Mr. KHATTAK (Pakistan) proposed that the text of the three statements just made should be distributed as Fourth Committee documents.

*It was so decided.**

45. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked what kind of government the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration enjoyed and how it was run. He also asked whether there was a legislative council in that Territory and if so how it was elected.

46. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the Territory was under a purely colonial administration and the people had no voice in their own affairs. There was no legislative council in the Territory.

47. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked how the people of Togoland under French administration had been able to elect Mr. Olympio to represent them before the Committee if the right of assembly was not allowed.

48. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that there was no official assembly, but that unofficial political parties had been set up. He had been chosen by his own party, the Comité de l'Unité togolaise.

49. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked whether the Territory was represented by a deputy in the French National Assembly and if so whether he was elected by the people and on what basis.

50. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that there was a Togoland deputy in the French National

Assembly who was elected by a list of voters drawn up by the French Administration. Inclusion in the list required certain qualifications and only persons who possessed those qualifications were entitled to take part in electing the deputy.

51. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked whether the reign of terror instituted by the French Administration had been intended to keep the people of the Territory from getting into contact with the Visiting Mission.

52. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the repressive measures adopted had been intended to prevent the people from approaching the Visiting Mission and the Mission itself from appraising the situation correctly.

53. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked whether the Visiting Mission had been able to get into touch with the people.

54. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the Visiting Mission had been told by his party of the conditions prevailing in the Territory and had been asked by it to postpone its work there and to return at a later date when the atmosphere might have improved.

55. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked whether Mr. Olympio considered that the Visiting Mission had been powerless to obtain the true opinion of the people of the Territory.

56. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the Chairman of the Visiting Mission had admitted that the Mission could do nothing, in view of the circumstances.

57. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked whether the French Administration had taken any reprisals after the departure of the Visiting Mission.

58. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that there had been reprisals in the north.

59. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) recalled that Mr. Olympio had referred to the persecution of the Ewe people in Togoland under French administration and had given examples of incidents that had occurred while the Visiting Mission was in the Territory. He asked whether Mr. Olympio could give the Committee any examples of similar persecutions not connected with the sojourn of the Visiting Mission.

60. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that many such incidents could be cited. As an example, he referred to the case, which had occurred a few days before he had left the Territory, of the young co-proprietor of the newspaper *Négrita*, who had resumed publication of the newspaper after the editor had been imprisoned, as he had told the Committee in his opening statement. The young man in question had published a harmless article on the police. He had been summoned to the office of the *chef de la sûreté* who had maltreated him and thrown him downstairs. No court action had been possible because there had been no witnesses except police officials, who would obviously refuse to give evidence against their superior officer. The young man had written to the *chef de la sûreté* asking whether the type of treatment he had received was the French Government's way of teaching the art of democratic government. Copies of that letter had been sent to a number of high officials, including the Commissaire de

* The texts of the statements of Mr. Olympio and Mr. Antor were subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/222; the text of Mr. Odame's statement, as A/C.4/222/Add.1 and Corr.1.

la République. A few days later he had again been summoned to the office of the *chef de la sûreté*, who had asked him by what right he had written such a letter and had said that it would be handed over to the court. It was quite possible that he had been arrested and was, at that very moment, in gaol.

61. In reply to further questions by Mr. S. S. LIU (China), Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) explained that the person to whom he had just referred was not one of the three men arrested for spreading false news mentioned in his opening statement. Those three were still in gaol. Their case had not yet been tried and they were still under detention.

62. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) said that the report of the Visiting Mission showed that the emphasis on the unification problem had changed. The Ewes had originally demanded their unification, whereas they were now demanding the unification of the two Togolands. The representative of the Togoland Congress had referred to that demand and had said that Mr. Olympio agreed. Mr. Olympio, however, had not mentioned that aspect of the question in his statement and it would be interesting to know what his views were.

63. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that his organization had not changed its attitude. It had merely bowed to the facts as they were. Originally the All-Ewe Conference had asked for the unification of the Ewe people in the two Togolands and in the Gold Coast. They had been told repeatedly in the Trusteeship Council that the United Kingdom Government would not tolerate any discussion in the United Nations of the Ewes in the Gold Coast. The All-Ewe Conference had tried to explain that it was not concerned with drawing distinctions between Trust Territories and colonies. The lands in question had belonged to the Ewe people before the Europeans had come to Africa. The 1949 and the 1952 United Nations Visiting Missions to Trust Territories in West Africa had, however, made it clear that it was not within their competence to deal with the question of the Ewes in the Gold Coast. He stressed that there had always been a great movement for the unification of the two Togolands and, furthermore, that the Ewes had never envisaged secession from the other tribes in the two Togolands. They had therefore decided, at least as a first step, to ask for the unification of the two Togolands, since it would bring together at least three-quarters of the Ewes and would represent a step towards the ultimate objective of uniting all the Ewes. The All-Ewe Conference fully supported the demand for the unification of the two Togolands because it knew that that issue alone was within the jurisdiction of the United Nations. The Gold Coast Ewes also supported that demand as the first step towards achieving their real aspirations.

64. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) recalled that at the 458th meeting (eleventh session) of the Trusteeship Council, the French representative had contended that the information regarding the number of communications on the unification problem contained in annex I of the Visiting Mission's special report was of no importance at all. On the other hand, if he had understood him correctly, Mr. Antor, had said that the communications showed that the overwhelming majority of the Ewe people were for unification under the United Nations and, at a

later stage, independence. Would Mr. Antor confirm his understanding?

65. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) replied in the affirmative and added that a comparison of the membership of the organizations to which he had referred and the total population showed that at least a third of the population belonged to the organizations supporting unification under the United Nations. The Togoland Congress had hoped that its three regional secretaries from the northern, central and southern sections would be able to attend the meetings of the Fourth Committee so that the Committee could see the situation in its right perspective. However, the Administering Authority, which had always contended, despite petitions to the contrary, that the people of the Northern Section did not want unification, had prevented the northern regional secretary from obtaining the necessary passport, inoculations and dollars to come to New York.

66. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) asked what importance the petitioners attached to the number of communications received by the Visiting Mission as far as Togoland under French administration was concerned.

67. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that a joint declaration had been issued by the *Unité togolaise*, the All-Ewe Conference, the "Juvento," the Togoland Union, the Joint Togoland Congress and several other parties in Togoland under British administration. The declaration made it quite clear that the signatories wanted unification under a United Nations high commissioner with a five-year programme, at the end of which the country should be declared independent. The All-Ewe Conference had asked all sections to write to the Visiting Mission stating that the declaration expressed their views, and there could be no doubt that the majority of the communications received by the Mission had contained a request for unification and independence. He felt certain that the members of the Visiting Mission would confirm that that was so.

68. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress), also replying to the representative of China, said that the declaration had been submitted by the Togoland Congress, the Togoland National Farmers' Union, the Togoland Youth Organization, the Togoland Union, the *Comité de l'Unité togolaise* and other parties, as well as the All-Ewe Conference, which included all political organizations excepting the *Parti togolais du progrès*, which was controlled by the French Government.

69. The declaration stated that whereas Togoland had been divided since 1884, without consulting the indigenous inhabitants, and whereas it had become abundantly clear that the Administering Authorities to whom the Territory had been given in trust were unwilling to fulfil their solemn undertaking to prepare the inhabitants for independence or self-government, the signatories demanded that the Trusteeship Agreements relating to Togoland under French administration and to Togoland under British administration should forthwith be amended; that the Administering Authorities should hand over the sovereignty they were at present exercising on behalf of the United Nations and that a United Nations high commissioner should be appointed with full powers to direct administration of a unified Togoland for a period of five years, at the end of which

Togoland should be proclaimed an independent sovereign State.

70. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) thanked the petitioners for their replies and reserved the right to ask further questions if he wished to do so at a later stage in the debate.

71. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) observed that Mr. Olympio, in replying to the representative of Liberia, had stated that Togoland was under a colonial régime in a manner which seemed to imply that no worse fate could befall a country; that being so, he wondered how it was that a number of political parties existed there, and whether their existence was legally authorized or merely tolerated, or whether they were promoted by the Administration.

72. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that the political parties in Togoland under French administration, and in particular the All-Ewe Conference, had existed long before the present troubles began. By his reference to colonial administration he had meant that those political parties were not allowed to develop their programmes freely or to increase in strength, and that the Administration was even trying to crush them, an attempt which would probably not succeed but which might have the effect of driving them underground.

73. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that in Togoland under British administration too, when political parties had first been organized there had been strong opposition by the Government. That opposition still existed; members were imprisoned and fined. But the people of the country had known how to circumvent it. They had organized rallies to recruit members and had distributed forms to be filled in and returned with the necessary dues, on receipt of which membership cards had been issued. That had been done because, since the Administering Authority had given the Trusteeship Council the impression that his organization was insignificant, it was desired to have a properly drawn up membership register which could be examined by any visiting mission to the territory.

74. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) asked the petitioners whether, in speaking of imprisonment and fines, they meant to imply that justice was not completely independent in Togoland.

75. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) could not answer the question completely without going into details of the whole judicial system in Togoland under French administration. Apart from Lomé, the capital, in most of the country the judges were young administrators who obviously, even if they wished, would be

unable to give judgment against the Administration in a case between the Administration and members of the indigenous population. The judicial system was undoubtedly very good on paper, but unfortunately it was less good in practice.

76. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) asked whether there were any magistrates or lawyers who were indigenous inhabitants of Togoland and what conditions were required for appointment.

77. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) explained that no one could become a magistrate in Togoland who was not of French origin. Even if a Togolander had all the necessary qualifications, he could not be appointed a magistrate.

78. The number of lawyers in the Territory was limited to four—three of them French nationals and one a Togolander. Any new applicant would have to wait until one of them died or left the country.

79. Furthermore, a lawyer, even if he had been received at the bar, would have to be approved by the Commissaire de la République. Unless his political views were acceptable to the Commissaire, he would never be allowed to practice in Togoland under French administration.

80. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) asked whether it would be satisfactory to the various Ewe groups if the two Togolands were unified under the administration of one or other of the Administering Authorities.

81. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) recalled that in its petitions of 1947 his organization had proposed one administration for the whole of Eweland. The Administering Authorities, however, had refused to consider the proposal and difficulties had arisen because those who advocated the administration of either France or the United Kingdom had found themselves accused of being in the pay of whichever Power they favoured. The Ewes had therefore decided that the best course would be for the country to be administered by a United Nations high commissioner. In principle, however, they were not opposed to the whole country's being governed by one of the Administering Authorities.

82. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) asked whether the unification demanded by the Ewe people would be acceptable to the other indigenous inhabitants of the two Togolands.

83. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that all the tribes in the Trust Territory were agreed in desiring the unification of the two Togolands.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.