



C O N T E N T S

Agenda item 35:

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**Chairman: Mr. Luciano JOUBLANC RIVAS (Mexico).**

AGENDA ITEM 35

**The Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration: report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3046, T/1206 and Add.1, T/1214, T/1215) (continued)**

1. Mr. SERAPHIN (Haiti) expressed his satisfaction at the speed with which the Secretariat had made the petitioners' statements available to the Committee. It was a pity, however, that the texts distributed were not official, and that they were not reported in the provisional summary records. He requested that full summaries of the petitioners' statements should be included in the final records.
2. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) and Mr. OSMAN (Egypt) asked why the petitioners' statements had not been published as official documents.
3. Mr. COHEN (Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories) said that they had not been published as official documents for reasons of economy, so as to reduce the number of copies made. He assured the Committee that the final versions of the summary records would include summaries of the petitioners' statements that would be as complete as possible.
4. Mr. BARGUES (France) observed that there was no reason to give the petitioners privileged treatment not enjoyed by members of the Committee. Statements of the Administering Authorities were occasionally published in full; but that was in the Trusteeship Council where the proceedings were taken down verbatim.
5. In reply to a question by Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela), Mr. COHEN (Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories) said that the Italian Observer's statement at the 514th meeting on the frontier between Somaliland under Italian administration and Ethiopia had been distributed in full (A/C.4/320) because the Observer had been speaking as representative of the Administering Authority and because the Committee had specifically asked for the text to be made available to it.
6. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt) said that his delegation could not agree to money being stinted where the

future of a people was concerned and the sum involved was insignificant.

7. Mr. PIMENTEL BRANDAO (Brazil) observed that some of the petitioners' statements had been expressed in terms which were rather insulting to the French delegation. He felt that such violent criticism was out of place and should not appear in the document distributed to the Committee.

8. Mr. BARGUES (France) thanked the Brazilian representative, but saw no objection to allowing the statements to stand in their present form, first because they had been made in that form, and secondly, because France was above such charges.

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)

*At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. S. G. Antor, Mr. A. K. Odame and Mr. A. A. Chamba, representatives of the Togoland Congress, Mr. J. A. Nagba, representative of the Northern People's Party, Mr. J. Mensah, Mr. F. Y. Asare, Mr. S. T. Fleku and Mr. S. K. Kumah, representatives of the Convention People's Party, Akan-Krachi Constituency, Buem Constituency, Ho District, and Kpandu District, respectively, Mr. S. Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, Mr. Mama Fousseni, representative of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo, Mr. R. Ajavon, representative of the Parti togolais du progrès, Mr. A. I. Santos and Mr. N. Amégah, representatives of Juvento, took places at the Committee table.*

9. Mr. AMEGAH (Juvento) said that, contrary to the Administering Authority's assertions, Juvento was not the youth movement of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise but a separate movement. By confusing the two organizations France was trying to put the pro-unification movements in the minority, in case it should be necessary to consult the political organizations. It was for the same reason that it regarded the Parti togolais du progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo as two separate movements, although in reality they were one and the same party.

10. Juvento was not composed exclusively of young people, but of those who were young enough in spirit to form a dynamic organization. Its aim was the immediate reunification and independence of Togoland. Togoland might subsequently associate itself with other States, but it had to be independent before it could make a free decision on that subject.

11. Juvento was not a political party. It could, of course, support a non-Juvento party or candidates at elections and it did not necessarily put up its own candidate. Indeed, not once since its foundation had it put up any candidate. Juvento aimed at educating the people in social, economic and political matters, with a view to preparing them for independence; for that purpose it held fundamental education sessions as well as political meetings. Thus Juvento, which was

based on the spirit of the United Nations Charter, could not fail to assist the Administering Authority in its mission to lead the indigenous peoples towards freedom.

12. In Togoland and the Gold Coast alone, Juvento had more than 28,000 duly registered members and many sympathizers. It could be said that the number of people throughout Togoland whose views really differed from those of the members of Juvento was infinitesimal.

13. The struggle of the Togoland people for liberation had begun with the claims of the Ewe people, a dispersed tribe which was seeking to restore its unity. It was only with the birth of Juvento that the concept of Togoland nationalism had really taken shape.

14. In view of the fact that some Togoland preferred the British administration while others were more attached to the French administration, it might have been possible to contemplate the establishment of a joint French-United Kingdom administration. The diametrically opposed colonial policies of those two countries, however, the one directed towards the liberation of the peoples concerned while preserving moral and economic ties with them and the other towards complete assimilation, could only have led to failure, or at least to administrative confusion. As for the choice of a single administration, that would have been an intolerably despotic solution. Consequently the only fair solution would be to eliminate both foreign administrations and propose the independence of Togoland as a whole. That solution would satisfy not only the wishes of Juvento but the hopes of all the Togoland people, for even the Parti togolais du progrès (PTP), an opposition party, itself claimed independence for the whole of Togoland, subject only to membership of the French Union. Juvento was therefore proposing the only possible solution of the Togoland problem that was consistent with the principles of the Charter.

15. The Togoland question had been so misrepresented by the Administering Authorities that it might make the United Nations reluctant to believe in the grievances of the Togoland and to adopt forthright resolutions in their favour. It should therefore be settled as soon as possible, to the satisfaction of the indigenous inhabitants, by granting them self-government or independence.

16. Togoland had never been a colony. Apart from the Treaty of 15 July 1884 which made Togoland a protectorate of Germany, the relations of the Togoland people with the European peoples had always been purely commercial. The League of Nations had specified that the so-called mandated territories were free countries, independent States which only their temporary economic insufficiency made it necessary to place provisionally under the trusteeship of more developed nations, and the United Nations had likewise confirmed Togoland's sovereignty in clear terms.

17. Thus it was by force that Togoland was kept under a foreign administration; Juvento's claims were justified from the legal, political and human points of view by virtue of the Territory's statutory and historical independence. Although during the First World War, France and the United Kingdom had won a battle in Togoland, they had not been on belligerent soil nor in a land held by the enemy as a colonial possession. Nor could they accuse the Togoland of

having freely granted the enemy access to their soil during that war. Consequently, neither France nor the United Kingdom had any title to Togoland. In fact, the presence of France and the United Kingdom in Togoland was completely illegal.

18. The colonialist countries might condemn the disinterested efforts of the United Nations to achieve the liberation of oppressed peoples, but the truth was that the struggle of peoples for independence was a natural law and the people of Togoland were simply obeying that law. Without belittling the achievements of the United Nations, and in particular of the Visiting Missions, it should be borne in mind that even if the Mandates System or the Trusteeship System had not been instituted, the Togoland themselves would, when the time came, have claimed their liberation.

19. However that might be contrary to the wishes expressed by the majority of the Togoland people, contrary to the reports of the Visiting Missions responsible for ascertaining public opinion, the United Nations was apparently disregarding the Togoland people's wish for unification, while the Administering Authorities, which were not called to order by any effective United Nations action, continued to plunder the country.

20. The United Kingdom preached integration and used the system of administrative unions, which were manifestly inconsistent with the Trusteeship System. It was impossible to apply the same administrative system in a colony and in a Trust Territory with fairness. In applying the system, the United Kingdom had simply divided Togoland into two regions, the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region and the Northern Territories, which it had attached to the Gold Coast colony. In that way Togoland, a country with international status, was becoming a mere region of the Gold Coast, a British colony; Togoland products were known in the world as Gold Coast products and sold under the exclusive control of the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board.

21. The revenue from the sale of Togoland products was used to modernize the Gold Coast, while Togoland was completely neglected. Without underestimating the achievements of the United Kingdom, it should be pointed out that Togoland was fully entitled to the apportionments it had received recently and that they should certainly not be used to induce Togoland to become integrated in the Gold Coast.

22. It was quite possible to modify the system of administrative unions, for the United Kingdom had done so in the Cameroons under British administration: by the Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954, which had gone into effect on 1 October of that year, the United Kingdom had decided to administer the Southern Cameroons separately. Admittedly, the Trusteeship Agreement placed part of Togoland under the administration of the United Kingdom, but there was no question of political or geographical absorption. The United Nations could not allow a country under its control to be integrated in a colony under the exclusive control of a sovereign country.

23. As for the situation in Togoland under French administration, that was particularly deplorable: the Administering Authority was systematically delaying the development of the country and terrorizing the people in order to compel them to embrace the cause of the French Union. Traditional chiefs holding nationalist views were removed and replaced by people whose

title was not recognized by custom. Sometimes pro-Administration chiefs were merely placed alongside them, and their installation usually caused disturbances. The blame for such disturbances was automatically placed on the nationalist chiefs, who were immediately brought before the courts and inevitably convicted. The pro-Administration chiefs, on the other hand, were given wide powers and were able to commit all kinds of irregularities and abuses with impunity. Hundreds of nationalist officials who had done nothing wrong had been dismissed and their appeals were invariably rejected. Others were sent to posts abroad, while the best positions were given to foreigners. Employees of business firms suffered from similar discrimination. The work of students was judged on the basis of their opinions. It often happened that the best students, who had studied in France, were forbidden to enter the Territory.

24. He went on to refer to a number of acts of brutality perpetrated by the police and the gendarmes of the Territory, who sought to terrorize the population and in particular to prevent nationalist meetings, although the latter were duly authorized. The soldiers acted in the same way and, under pretext of manoeuvres, maltreated the population and plundered the country.

25. It was because there had been no vigorous action by the United Nations that persecution by the Administration had reached those proportions. When the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1949, had been in the Territory, the United Nations had been respected. But since that time, the situation had changed. Because the United Nations had not succeeded in putting a stop to the abuses of the Administration, the latter had gone so far as to tell the people that Visiting Missions had no real power. The Administration was of course doing everything possible to prevent the indigenous inhabitants from contacting members of the Visiting Missions, and on several occasions it had violated the formal recommendations of the United Nations. Meanwhile the United Nations was recording very serious incidents under the heading of "allegations", which of course made the Administration bolder than ever.

26. He next accused the French Administration of committing a number of injustices in trying to prevent the publication of nationalist newspapers, such as the *Negreta* and the *Etendard*; he read out the names of various editors and staff of those newspapers who had been victims of an abuse of authority. Justice was simply a weapon of which the Administration made use in the most arbitrary fashion. Nationalists who received invitations from the Togoland Congress were penalized for the unauthorized holding of documents written in a foreign language. The events at Vogan which had led to the bloodshed on 23 August 1951, the subsequent imprisonment of the demonstrators and the circumstances surrounding their trials constituted criminal interference in the tribal affairs of the country.

27. With respect to the economy of the Territory, the Administration was initiating some admirable ideas, such as the granting of loans for building houses and for the development of agricultural enterprises, but it was only the Administration's supporters who could benefit from such advantages. Moreover, the Administration levied crushing taxes, which forced many people to wind up their enterprises and to move

to the Territory under British administration; those taxes were used mainly to promote propaganda in favour of the French Union. Whatever their financial position or integrity, the indigenous inhabitants could not obtain bank loans. Accordingly, over and above the number of people who had to leave the Territory for political reasons, there were the many people who were forced to emigrate for economic reasons.

28. Regardless of the achievements of the Administering Authorities in Togoland, the Territory had an international status and claimed its immediate independence. The people of Togoland asked the United Nations, in consultation and collaboration with the people, to set up an administration managed by the indigenous inhabitants and directly supervised by the United Nations. The Government Council had been established in Togoland under French administration against the wishes of the people, and Juvento, in the name of the Togoland people, had already denounced it in a resolution. Indeed, none of the French institutions in the Trust Territory were representative.

29. He drew the Committee's attention to the problem of the refugees from Togoland under French administration who were living in poverty in Togoland under British administration, the Gold Coast or Nigeria. The appeals addressed to the Gold Coast Government and to the French administration on their behalf had remained unanswered.

30. It might be said that there was no Togoland problem but a problem of Administering Authorities in Togoland. They were abusing their authority over a people for whose liberation they were responsible and in so doing they were acting contrary to the spirit of the Charter and the Trusteeship System, which constituted the only justification for their presence in the country. As the former German Foreign Minister Stresemann had said at the time of the League of Nations, the mandated territories were independent entities whose elements must not be dissociated for the benefit of the temporary trustees.

31. The CHAIRMAN invited the members of the Committee to continue the questioning of the petitioners.

32. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) asked those who favoured integration with the Gold Coast whether they considered that that change of status should take place before or after the Territory had achieved independence.

33. Mr. ASARE (Convention People's Party, Buem Constituency) said he was not sure whether, under the Trusteeship Agreement, Togoland under British administration could join a non-self-governing Gold Coast. However that might be, he hoped that integration would take place as soon as possible.

34. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) asked whether the United Kingdom delegation could state the date on which the Gold Coast was to become independent.

35. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom) said he would prefer to wait until the petitioners had had the opportunity to state their views before giving his reply.

36. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) said she hoped that the reply would be given by a representative of the United Kingdom proper, and not by a representative of the Gold Coast.

37. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that there were no representatives of the Gold Coast in the Com-

mittee; there were only representatives of the United Kingdom.

38. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) referred to Mr. Antor's statement (528th meeting) that the vast majority of the Gold Coast population were opposed to the integration of Togoland before Togoland had itself become independent. He asked what evidence there was to support that statement.

39. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) explained that that was the opinion of the Opposition in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, of which he was a member. The Opposition members believed that the goal of trusteeship was independence, not integration with the Gold Coast. On that point, the Opposition view represented the opinion of the great majority of the Gold Coast population.

40. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party, Ho District) said that Mr. Antor was not the spokesman of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly; the Northern People's Party, representing the majority of the Opposition, favoured integration with the Gold Coast. The Committee could satisfy itself on that point by reference to the statement made by that party's representative at the 529th meeting, to the conclusions in the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, 1955 (T/1206 and Add. 1) and to the Administering Authority's annual report for 1954.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Opposition represented a minority.

41. Mr. NAGBA (Northern People's Party) endorsed Mr. Fleku's reply on behalf of the Northern People's Party.

42. Mr. ODAME (Togoland Congress) said that immediately after the publication of the Visiting Mission's report in the local Press, Mr. Djebi Dangua had written for the London *Times* an article which had not been published owing to lack of space. The conclusion emerging from that article had been that if the Gold Coast population were consulted, by plebiscite or otherwise, it would make it clear that it did not desire the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast. No one wanted integration except the British administration, which was using the Convention People's Party (CPP) to engineer its own ends.

43. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) said that it had been decided at a meeting of the Opposition in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly to send the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in London, a proposal for a

<sup>1</sup> Report by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on Togoland under United Kingdom Administration for the year 1954. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955, Colonial No. 319.

federal constitution under which the constituent units would be autonomous. That would be federation rather than integration.

44. Once Togoland had gained its sovereignty, which was the purpose of the Trusteeship System, and had its own government and democratic organs, it would consider the possibility of forming associations with adjacent territories.

45. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) observed that according to Mr. Antor's own words that was the Opposition's opinion; accordingly it was not the majority view.

46. He asked for further explanation of Mr. Antor's statement at the 528th meeting that the division of the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration into three districts served only the interests of the United Kingdom.

47. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) replied that the most productive cacao areas in the South were the Buem and Krachi districts. The Visiting Mission had observed how certain people from the Gold Coast lived in that area with Administration support, which enabled them to enlarge the membership of their organization, the CPP, and to use the police and civil service against the Togoland Congress, which was striving for the organization of Togoland. Hence it was not in the interests of the Administering Authority that the Southern Section of Togoland should be treated as a unit for the purposes of the plebiscite.

48. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq), referring to Mr. Olympio's statement (529th meeting) that constitutional reform was impossible in Togoland under French administration, asked him whether he did not believe that his insistent demand for a simultaneous plebiscite in both Togolands might result in the settlement of the future of Togoland under British administration being indefinitely postponed.

49. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that the people of Togoland firmly believed that the United Nations should have the last word on Togoland, a Trust Territory. They hoped that the Committee would stand behind the Charter; and were sure that once the United Nations was convinced that the Togoland people wished to achieve the purposes of the Trusteeship System it would not hesitate to appoint, not a commissioner, but a commission, to ascertain the aspirations of the Togoland people; they were sure too that no Member State would object.

50. If the United Nations decided to sound public opinion in Togoland and to be responsible for the technical details of the plebiscite, there was no question that such action could not be delayed, since the future of Togoland was extremely important for the Togoland and the Togoland alone.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.