THE EVE AND TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM


Introductory note

The Mission was able to spend some days longer than its predecessor in Togoland under British administration and to visit a considerably larger number of places: in particular, it visited for the first time the Mamprusi area in Northern Togoland. The members of the Mission spared themselves no trouble or inconvenience and heard everyone in Togoland under British administration who wished to address them. The United Kingdom Government has been impressed with the care and thoroughness of the Mission's investigations and its realistic and practical approach to its task. The report itself provides a valuable resume of the development of the unification question and an objective account of the state of opinion in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship.

General observations

2. In paragraphs 9 to 39 below detailed observations are made on particular sections of the Mission's report. It will be apparent from those observations, however, that they refer to matters of detail and that their expression does not involve any substantial comment on the nature of the Mission's findings and general conclusions. By and large, the United Kingdom Government accepts the Mission's findings and finds itself in sympathy with the suggestions which the Mission has put forward, in Part IV of its report, for the future handling of issues arising from the unification movement. The following paragraphs will therefore seek to indicate the conclusions which, in the view of the United Kingdom Government, may legitimately be drawn from the Mission's report.

1/ Note by the Secretariat: The present observations were transmitted to the Secretariat by the United Kingdom delegation by a letter dated 9 December 1952, with a request that they should be circulated as a document of the Trusteeship Council in time to be available to delegations of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly when the item in question came up for discussion.
3. So far as Togoland under British administration is concerned, the key sections of the Mission's report appear to be pages 45-60, in which the Mission analyses in detail the state of opinion on the unification issue in the southern part of the Trust Territory, and paragraph 402 which reads as follows:

"The fact, however, that it may be stated that there is a desire in principle for unification of the two Togolands should not be interpreted to mean that there is wide support for any one form of unification which would be acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants of the two Territories."

If a constructive approach is to be made to the solution of the problem, it seems necessary to examine first the state of opinion among, and the discernible wishes of, the people of the Trust Territory concerning their political future; and, secondly, to discover whether any particular view is so firmly held throughout the Trust Territory as to represent the opinion of an effective majority of the people, evenly distributed over the Trust Territory. Any practicable solution must be such as to be acceptable to the people of the Trust Territory in the sense that it will have sufficient support to prevent disintegration of the Territory into a number of opposed political factions: to achieve this it must be based on a principle which gains general acceptance in itself, although there may be differences of opinion as to the methods, whereby that principle may be put into practice. The United Kingdom Government believe that this approach will command general agreement.

4. The evidence contained in the Mission's report reveals the following facts:

(a) That Northern Togoland under British administration is strongly opposed to unification of the two Trust Territories and desires integration in the Gold Coast as soon as possible;
(b) That, so far as the Southern Section of the Trust Territory is concerned, the unification of the two Togolands is opposed not only by the Krachis but also, it would appear, by a majority of the other non-Ewe people. (The evidence for this is contained in the recorded views of the local Council of the populous Buem Akan area (paras. 125 and 126 of the report) and of the Ayonkudo Native Authority (Mkonyas and Santrokofis) (paras. 134 and 135) and in the fact that the Buem/Lefana area is clearly divided on the issue (paras. 127 to 132).);
(c) That the advocates of unification of the two Trust Territories are divided among themselves: in Togoland under United Kingdom administration the two principal parties favouring unification are the Convention Peoples Party (Southern Togoland Region) - subject to the qualification in paragraph 410 - and the Togoland Congress with its associated organizations, and it was open dissension between these two parties which gave rise to the only incidents of ill-feeling which the Mission witnessed during its tour (see paragraph 412).

In other words, about half the people of the Trust Territory actively desire integration in the Gold Coast, a further substantial number reject unification of the two Trust Territories in any form, and of the remainder those who support immediate unification of the Trust Territories, while vocal and active in propagating their views, find themselves in opposition, sometimes extending to violence, to a similarly vocal faction which considers unification of the Territories to be a fairly long-term policy to be achieved with the assistance of the neighbouring Gold Coast.

5. The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing analysis of the evidence presented by the Mission's report are, first, that the Mission's generalization that the peoples of the Trust Territory desire in principle unification of the two Togolands is, so far as Togoland under British administration is concerned, only true of the Southern Section of the Territory; and, secondly, that even in that section it is only valid if expressions of opinion as to what is meant by unification are ignored: even among the various political parties which advocate unification of one form or another the differences of opinion as to the form unification should take are so great as to render unreal any suggestion that these parties have common ground in their desire for unification. In short, there appears to be little if any spirit of unity even among the "unificationists".

6. It will thus be seen that the conditions for an equitable solution of the Togoland unification problem set out in paragraph 3 do not at present exist in the Trust Territory, and it was doubtless for this reason that the Mission felt unable to recommend the adoption of any of the particular forms of solution advocated by the various parties in the Trust Territory. In the view of the United Kingdom Government, public opinion in Togoland under British administration is not yet sufficiently clear as to the future of the Trust Territory to render it
wise or right to take at this stage any steps which would commit the peoples of
the Territory, perhaps irrevocably, to any future political organization. It is
a clear deduction from the Mission's report that the people of the Trust Territoy
are not agreed, in principle or even in any expressed sentiment, about what the
future of their Territory should be.

7. The United Kingdom Government would not itself necessarily reject any of the
proposals advocated by the various factions in the Trust Territory, nor is it
prepared to use its authority to further or obstruct the programme of any of
these parties. It conceives its duty to be to hold in trust for the peoples of
the Territory the authority which must eventually be vested in the people themselves
when the trusteeship is discharged. During this period of trust the Administrator
Authority must provide political institutions, systems of education and information
and freedom of speech and political activity, which will enable the various
political parties to place their programmes before the people of the Trust
Territory and, by democratic methods, to seek to enlist the support of a majority
of that people. In the view of the United Kingdom Government, only in this way,
by the free interchange of political ideas and opinions, such as is characteristic
of free countries throughout the world, can the people of the Trust Territories
become adequately informed as to the issues at stake and thus be enabled to form
an opinion as to the political future which they desire for themselves. Perhaps
the most telling phrase in the Mission's report, and that which represents the
most fruitful field for a practicable solution of the question of the future of
the Trust Territory, is that contained in paragraph 417:

"In this respect, the Mission considers that the two Territories are in need
of political, economic and social stability."

A period of orderly administration in which important local institutions can be
developed in a calm atmosphere is essential if the people of the Trust Territory
are to prepare themselves adequately for the task which they will ultimately have
of deciding where their real interests lie. Any attempt to impose any particular
destiny on the peoples of the Territory at this moment cannot fail, in the opinion
of the United Kingdom Government, to split the Territory asunder, dividing north
from south, Ewe from non-Ewe, and to exacerbate still further relations between
those parties which advocate the union of the two Territories.
8. For these reasons, based as they are on the evidence contained in the Mission's report, the United Kingdom Government finds itself in substantial agreement with the suggestions made in Part IV of the Mission's report, and is prepared to accept those suggestions as a constructive contribution to assisting the peoples of the Territory to work out their own future by acquiring experience in the management of their own affairs.

**Detailed comments on the Mission's report**

**PART II - Chapter I**

**Paragraph 29**

9. There is only one road ferry which connects Togoland under British administration direct with the Gold Coast across the Volta (at Kete-Krachi).

**Paragraph 34**

10. The 1948 census shows that 375,939 Ewes live in the Gold Coast but many of these are widely dispersed among areas not predominantly Ewe and only 298,410 could be described as living in the contiguous parts of the Gold Coast. The 1948 census for Ewes in the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration is 138,693.

**PART III - Chapter I**

**Paragraph 87**

11. There are only four regions in the Gold Coast at present. The further subdivision of one of these regions, which does not in any way affect Togoland, is planned for the future.

**Paragraph 105**

12. "Wabu" is presumably a misprint for "Naba"; "the B'mobas and" should be deleted.

**Paragraph 107**

13. As there is no paramount chief of the Konkombas, the last five words are somewhat misleading. The Konkombas at Saboba asked for improved communications with Togoland under French administration. The difficulty in providing such improved communications is the problem of bridging the Oti, a large river which forms the frontier in this area.
Paragraph 115
14. Questioning of the anti-Gonja Nawuris by members of the Mission brought out clearly the fact that they had no enthusiasm for the unification of the two Trust Territories (they have no kin in Togoland under French administration - nor does the Gonja district reach the frontier); their real wish was to join the Krachis in the Southern Section. "Unification" was an issue which politicians from southern Togoland had grafted on to an existing dissatisfaction and its full purport was not grasped by the Nawuris.

Paragraph 116
15. Buem Lefana, Togo Plateau, Gbi, Hohoe and East Dain local Councils have now been set up.

Paragraph 119
16. The sole reason for the delay in setting up the Likpe/Lolobi local Council was the difficulty experienced in persuading the people concerned to reach agreement on the internal organization of the future Council.

Paragraph 121
17. The words "mainly Nchumurus" in the cross heading are misleading and should be deleted.

Paragraph 126
18. The Vice-President of the Co-operative Society was an Ewe farmer living in this area.

Paragraph 131
19. The elderly and infirm Paramount Chief of Buem himself attended this meeting and was not represented on this occasion by a regent.

Paragraph 139
20. The cross heading "Population in areas below predominantly Ewe" which precedes this paragraph should be transposed so that it precedes the heading "Gbi/Hohoe Local Council area" at the beginning of paragraph 157. This latter local Council area also lies within "areas predominantly Ewe".

Paragraph 162
21. The Mission drove through Djigbe Local Council area but no requests had been received from the people to hold a meeting there.
PART III - Chapter II

Paragraph 262
22. The rules of procedure, including the rule quoted in subsequent lines of this paragraph, were proposed for adoption by the Council itself, not "prescribed". "Prescribed" is therefore also incorrect in line 11 of this paragraph.

Paragraph 282
23. No cutting down of the terms of reference of the Joint Council as alleged by the Jasikan representative took place. The broad scope of the terms of reference had already been made amply clear in the statement of the United Kingdom delegate quoted in paragraph 264.

Paragraph 300
24. The words "of Chiefs" coming after "Southern Togoland Council" are misleading both as regards the title of the Council and its de facto composition.

Paragraph 308
25. Strictly speaking, it was the Local Councils in the Memprusi and Degomba areas and the Nanumba District Council who, on being invited to meet, refused to participate in the Council.

Paragraph 333
26. The government representative in fact promised to inquire whether a person could take with him £60 across the frontier every time he crossed it, regardless of the number of times he crossed. He made no mention of the figure of £300.

Paragraph 338
27. The Administering Authority stated that individual requests would be given favourable consideration, not "treated favourably".

Paragraph 345
28. The Council members present agreed to recommend a number of projects to the Administering Authorities. The proposal for a railway was considered but not retained in the final list of recommendations.
PART III - Chapter III

Paragraph 367
29. For "Fenyiman" read "Fenyi-Akan".

Paragraph 371
30. For "Station" read "Service".

Paragraph 377
31. All frontier posts on the British side are closed between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. The statement made to the Visiting Mission was made by a man who did not know the woman but had heard the story from a lorry driver whose name he did not remember. He admitted that the woman had died very soon after reaching the frontier and that there was a hospital at Hohoe in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship only 1 mile further away than that at Palime.

Paragraph 385
32. Certificates of origin are not required by the British Customs for imports or exports of local foodstuffs.

Paragraph 387
33. It is likely that hunting guns (e.g. shot guns, dane guns and cap guns) were meant rather than rifles. Imported salt and weapons are placed in the wrong class as they may be imported if covered by an import licence; the principal articles which are completely prohibited are spirits and tobacco.

Paragraph 389
34. The situation regarding sugar and salt described there was an exceptional situation of brief duration.

Paragraphs 394 and 395
35. No import duty is collected in Togoland under British administration on living animals.

PART IV

Evolution Towards Togoland Unification

36. The views of the Administering authority on this section of the Mission's conclusions and recommendations are set out in paragraphs 1 to 8 above. A
copy of a police report on an incident at Jasikan subsequent to the Mission's visit described in paragraph 412 is attached at appendix I to these observations.

Joint Council for Togoland Affairs

Paragraph 428
37. Items proposed by the Co-Chairmen for inclusion in the agenda of the Joint Council prior to the meeting do not require to be approved by a vote of the Council.

Paragraph 429
38. The insertion between "Administration" and "adult" of the words "a system virtually amounting to" would make this paragraph more strictly correct.

Frontier problems
39. The Administering Authority agrees that such frontier problems as still exist are eminently suitable for discussion in the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, which might well wish to allocate some of the funds placed at its disposal to projects such as trans-frontier roads that would further ameliorate frontier problems. It is giving immediate study to certain further detailed frontier concessions which it should be possible to make at a very early date.
APPENDIX I

(See paragraph 412 of the Report)

No: PCID.12/52

THE OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT,
THE GOLD COAST POLICE FORCE,
TRANS-VOLTA PROVINCE,
Ho.

15th September, 1952

DISTURBANCE AT JASIKAN ON 7.9.52. REPORT ON

There follows hereunder a report on the above subject for the information of the UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION.

2. At 6.20 p.m. on Sunday 7.9.52, one Kofi Siaw of Jasikan reported at Kadjebi Police Station that there was a fight going on between some C.P.P. members and some followers of S.G. Antor known as "ABLODES" in Jasikan.

A detail of men left for Jasikan and were later joined by Inspector Codua and some men from Hohoe.

On the way from Kadjebi to Jasikan the Police met one Kwabena Darteh who was on his way to make a complaint. With him they proceeded to Jasikan. There was no fighting going on when the Police arrived. The complainant Kwabena Darteh took the Police to his petty store. That a serious struggle had taken place in the store was evident from the disorderly state of the shop and the broken glass seen on the floor. The complainant reported to the Police that a quantity of goods including an amount of £48 in Currency Notes had been stolen from the store during the course of the struggle.

The Police received another complaint of an assault from one Kwamina Baidu, a stranger from the Gold Coast, who further reported that an amount of £5:10/- was picked from his pocket during the assault.

Both complainants led the Police to Jasikan town and identified the persons who were involved in the assaults. The total number of persons identified was 12 including one Kwame Fori the leader of the gang and 2 women. On the next day 4 more persons were arrested.
The Police received a further complaint from one Nelson Penin, the Secretary, C.P.P. Jasikan against one Ekpe Seth and Hukporti Eda, two of the assailants, for causing damage to the Jasikan C.P.P. Office door.

On the 8.9.52, the day following the incident, Kwabena Darteh reported to the Police that he had made a further check of the goods in the store and found an amount of £130 Currency Notes kept in a box in the store also stolen thus raising the value of articles stolen to £340.10.2.

The circumstances of the case are that on 7.9.52 at about 5 p.m. the complainant, a C.P.P. member was in his shop opposite a palm-wine bar where suspects Seth Ekpe, Hukporti Eda and other persons - believed to be members of Togo Union were at the time taking palm-wine. One Yaw Bio, another member of C.P.P. visited the complainant's store and greeted him in C.P.P. party greeting "Freedom". To this the complainant responded "Freedom". When Ekpe Seth and Hukporti Eda heard the greetings, they went to the complainant's store and Ekpe Seth questioned the complainant as to why he uttered the word "Freedom", and he replied that he is a C.P.P. member. Ekpe Seth slapped him and the complainant returned the slap; a struggle ensued but was cooled down. Ekpe Seth and H. Eda left and returned to the store with 2 others. On their return, Kwame Fori ordered the persons to enter the store and beat the complainant. The persons obeyed the order and entered the store with Kwame Fori himself and all fell on the complainant and beat him. Several others - all "ABLODES" joined. Somehow the complainant escaped from the shop leaving the assailants inside, throwing the contents here and there.

From the shop, some of the assailants went and caused damage to the C.P.P. Office door, whilst others assaulted Kwamina Baidu, a Gold Coaster - who said a word to one of the assailants as to their conduct.

3. Charges of Assault, Causing Damage and Stealing are in the course of preparation against those who have been identified.
4. My immediate enquiries satisfied me that the above incident did not amount to a Riot, and the Town has been quiet since the arrests were made.

(Sgd) AG SUPERINTENDENT/T-V-P.
THE GOLD COAST POLICE FORCE

M. de N. ENSOR,
AG: SENIOR AGST. SECRETARY,
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.