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**United Nations Visiting Mission to the
Trust Territories of Togoland under
British Administration and Togoland
under French Administration, 1955**

**SPECIAL REPORT
ON THE TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM
AND THE FUTURE OF THE TRUST TERRITORY
OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION**

TOGETHER WITH RELATED DOCUMENTS

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

OFFICIAL RECORDS: FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION

(24 October - 14 December 1955)

SUPPLEMENT No. 2

NEW YORK

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NOTE

At its 652nd meeting on 14 December 1955, the Trusteeship Council decided that the special 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), the statements made by the representatives of the United Kingdom (T/1214) and France (T/1215) and the resolution adopted by the Trusteeship Council on that report (resolution 1368 (S-5)) should be printed in the same document.

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

T/1218

January 1956

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SPECIAL REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION, 1955, ON THE TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM AND THE FUTURE OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL DATED 18 OCTOBER 1955 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE VISITING MISSION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, in accordance with Trusteeship Council resolutions 1084 (XV) of 14 March 1955 and 1252 (XVI) of 8 July 1955 and with rule 99 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, the Special Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration, 1955. This special report deals with the Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration.

I am glad to inform you that this report is subscribed to unanimously by all four members.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for the transmission of this report to the members of the Trusteeship Council at the earliest possible date and for its general release for publication on the afternoon of 30 October 1955.

(Signed) S. K. BANERJI
Chairman,
United Nations Visiting Mission
to the Trust Territories of
Togoland under British
Administration and
Togoland under French Administration, 1955

INTRODUCTION

A. TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE VISITING MISSION

1. The special terms of reference of the Visiting Mission arise from General Assembly resolution 860 (IX) of 14 December 1954, on the Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. The operative part of this resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"... "

"1. Decides, in view of the eventual revision or termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, that steps should be taken, in the light of the particular circumstances of the Trust Territory [of Togoland under British administration], to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants as to their future, without prejudice to the eventual solution they may choose whether it be

independence, unification of an independent Togoland under British administration with an independent Togoland under French administration, unification with an independent Gold Coast, or some other self-governing or independent status;

"2. Requests the Trusteeship Council to take into account the views expressed in the Fourth Committee at the ninth and previous sessions of the General Assembly, to consider what arrangements should be made in pursuance of the above decision and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its tenth session;

"3. Further requests the Trusteeship Council to dispatch a special mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration to make a special study of these problems and to submit its report thereon in time for the Council to report to the General Assembly at its tenth session;

“4. *Urges in the meanwhile* that in the greater interests of the United Nations those directly concerned will lend their utmost co-operation in the full and early implementation of its recommendations contained in General Assembly resolution 750 B (VIII) of 8 December 1953.”

2. The Trusteeship Council considered the questions of the Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration at its fifteenth session and, by resolution 1084 (XV), decided, in conformity with Article 87 of the Charter and with the request set forth under General Assembly resolution 860 (IX), to dispatch a Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration and charged it with carrying out the tasks prescribed in paragraphs 2 and 3 of that resolution.

3. The composition of the Visiting Mission, as approved by the Trusteeship Council at its sixteenth session under the terms of resolution 1252 (XVI) of 8 July 1955, was as follows:

Mr. S. K. Banerji (India), *Chairman*;

Mr. J. M. McMillan (Australia);

Mr. Salah Eddine Tarazi (Syria);

Mr. Robert R. Robbins (United States of America).

4. By the same resolution, the Council set forth the terms of reference of the Mission as a periodic visiting mission to the two Trust Territories in question and, at the same time, requested the Mission to submit to the Council a special report on matters referred to it under Trusteeship Council resolution 1084 (XV), not later than 1 November 1955.¹

B. ITINERARY OF THE MISSION

5. The Mission left New York by air on 7 August 1955, and on 10 August arrived in Accra, where it held conversations with the Governor of the Gold Coast and with the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Gold Coast Government. While in Accra, the Mission, on two occasions, also attended meetings of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly.²

6. After a brief stay at Tamale, administrative centre of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and of the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration, where it met the members of the Standing Committee of the Northern Territories Council on 14 August 1955, the Mission proceeded to Bawku, in the extreme north-east of the Gold Coast. From that point, on 16 August, it made visits to meet members of the Kusasi tribe living in Togoland under British administration.

7. Making a long detour because of heavy floods, the Mission then travelled to Gambaga (Gold Coast), headquarters of the Mamprusi district. While there it

¹ The present report deals entirely with the activities of the Mission connected with its special terms of reference. An account of the Mission's terms of reference as a periodic visiting mission will appear in regular reports of the Mission. It should also be pointed out that detailed accounts of the views expressed to the Mission in Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration on the special problems referred to the Mission for study appear as annexes I and II respectively of the present report.

² It should be noted that Togoland under British administration is administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast and, subject to the reserve powers which the Governor exercises on behalf of the Administering Authority, by the Gold Coast Government.

visited the Na-Yiri (paramount chief of the Mamprusi state) at Nalerigu and, on 18 August, held several meetings in the portion of the Trust Territory lying to the east of Nalerigu, which is largely inhabited by B'Moba and Konkomba tribesmen.

8. On 19 August, the Mission proceeded to Yendi, in Togoland under British administration, which is the headquarters of the Dagomba district. During that and the following day, the Mission not only held meetings with the Ya-Na, the paramount chief, the district council and other deputations and individuals at Yendi, but also visited all accessible local council areas in that part of the Dagomba district which lies within the Trust Territory.

9. On 22 August, the Mission travelled south to Kete-Krachi, holding meetings on the way at Bimbilla, headquarters of the district inhabited by the Nanumba tribe, and at Kpandai, the centre of the small section of the Trust Territory which is administered as part of the Gonja district, the greater part of which lies in the Gold Coast. At Kete-Krachi, the Mission met the chief (the Krachiwura), the members of the local council and deputations of political organizations.

10. On 23 August, the Mission went on to Jasikan, headquarters of the Buem-Krachi district. On 23 and 24 August, it held meetings with the district council, with the traditional chiefs and with deputations of political organizations. It also attended two large rallies organized by the Togoland Congress and the Convention People's Party and visited all but one of the local council areas within the district.

11. On 24 and 25 August, the Mission carried out a similar programme in the Kpandu district, including attending rallies of the two above-mentioned parties at both Kpandu and Hohoe. On 26 August, the Mission proceeded to Ho and on that day and on 29 and 30 August, it visited the Ho district. At Ho it attended two very large rallies, one organized by the Convention People's Party and the other jointly by the Togoland Congress and All-Ewe Conference. It attended meetings of the Ho district council, as well as of all the local councils in the district, besides meeting individuals and deputations of political parties and organizations. After a meeting with the Trans-Volta/Togoland Council and with the Regional Officer the Mission returned to Accra on 31 August. There, in addition to meetings with political organizations and individuals, it had a further discussion with the Governor.

12. The Mission flew to Lomé, capital of Togoland under French administration, on 3 September 1955. After initial conversations with the Commissioner of the Republic and other officials, it proceeded on 5 September to Anécho, headquarters of the circonscription of that name, where it received the members of the *conseil de circonscription* and of the *commission municipale*, as well as delegations of the Parti togolais du progrès (PTP) and of several of its ancillary groups, and a joint delegation of the Comité de l'unité togolaise (CUT) and the Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise (Juvento). It then visited the villages of Attitogon, Vogan and Togoville, where it was received by the chiefs and was handed many petitions.

13. The Mission spent 6 September in the *cercle* of Tsevié, where it met the members of the conseil de circonscription and the commission municipale, attended rallies organized respectively by the PTP and jointly by

the CUT and Juvento, and subsequently met individuals and deputations of political parties and organizations.

14. The whole of 7 September was devoted by the Mission to hearings at Lomé. In the morning after holding a discussion with the members of the newly formed Government Council, the Mission received the members of the Executive Committee of the PTP, followed by numerous delegations of its supporters, as well as a delegation of the Mouvement populaire togolais (MPT). In the afternoon, the Mission heard the delegations of the CUT and Juvento, as well as numerous supporters of these organizations.

15. On 8 September, the Mission proceeded to Palimé, headquarters of the cercle of Klouto, where it heard delegations of the principal parties and their supporters and met the members of the conseil de circonscription and of the commission municipale. It also attended rallies organized by supporters of different political parties at adjacent villages on the slopes of picturesque Mount Agou. On 10 and 11 September, the Mission carried out a similar programme in the cercle of Atakpamé, including attendance at rallies organized by the main parties at Atakpamé itself and at two villages in the Akposso subdivision on the road from Palimé to Atakpamé.

16. On 12 September, the Mission went on to Sokodé, where in the afternoon it received the members of the conseil de circonscription and of the commission municipale, the local chiefs and representatives and delegations of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo (UCPN) and of related organizations. On the following morning, the Mission received a small delegation of CUT supporters. The Mission then split, one group holding meetings with the chiefs and people of certain outlying villages, while the other visited the cercle of Bassari, meeting the chiefs, representatives and people of the Bassari and Konkomba tribes at Bassari and Guérin-Kouka respectively.

17. The next day, the Mission proceeded to Lama-Kara, headquarters of the cercle of that name, where it met the members of the conseil de circonscription, representative chiefs and individuals and deputations of the UCPN and of related organizations. It spent 14 and 15 September travelling extensively throughout the district, holding interviews with the chiefs, representatives and peoples of the Kabrais tribe at Lama-Kara itself and in a large number of villages and of the Losso tribe at Niamtougou and elsewhere.

18. For the next two days, the Mission divided into two groups. The first group visited the cercle of Mango. At Sansanné-Mango, headquarters of the cercle and at Kandé, headquarters of the subdivision of that name, it met the chief of the Chokossis and the chief of the Lambas and Tambermas respectively. In each case the Mission heard the local representatives to the Territorial Assembly and the members of the conseil de circonscription and deputations of the UCPN. The Mission also visited several other villages along the main road as far north as Barkoissi, receiving the cantonal chiefs and accepting petitions. The second group carried out a similar programme in the cercle of Dapango in the extreme north of the Territory, which is inhabited primarily by Moba (B'Moba) and Gourma tribesmen. In addition to hearings at the headquarters of the circonscription, the Mission met with chiefs at Pana and Bombouaka.

19. The entire Mission returned to Lomé on 18 November; there it held further discussions with the Commissioner of the Republic and with officials of the Administration during a stay of three days. It also attended a meeting of the Territorial Assembly of Togoland which had specially been convened in advance of the appointed date, and of the conseil de circonscription and the commission municipale of Lomé, as well as holding final informal discussions with political leaders.

20. On 21 September 1955, the Mission returned to Accra, where it held a final discussion with the Governor of the Gold Coast. Leaving Accra on 23 September, it held discussions in London on 26 September with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and officials of the Colonial Office and in Paris on 28 and 29 September with the Minister for Overseas France and officials of his department.

21. The Mission returned to New York on 1 October and adopted the present report on 18 October 1955.

22. The Mission was accompanied during its tour by the following members of the United Nations Secretariat: Mr. Ian E. Berendsen (Principal Secretary), Mr. F. T. Liu (Assistant Secretary), Mr. Myles Minchin (Assistant Secretary), Miss Jacqueline Yarrow (Assistant Secretary), Mr. E. Sameh (Administrative Officer) and Miss D. Wyns (Stenographer).

23. The Mission wishes to express its appreciation to the Governor of the Gold Coast and to officials of the Gold Coast Government and to the Commissioner of the Republic in Togoland under French administration and to officials of that Administration for the manner in which they facilitated the task of the Mission and for the courtesy which they showed to it. It wishes in particular to note the efficient manner in which Mr. M. de N. Ensor carried out the duties of Liaison Officer with the Visiting Mission in Togoland under British administration and in which Mr. Georges Tourot, assisted by Mr. René Doise, carried out the same task in Togoland under French administration. The Mission wishes also to place on record its gratitude for the warm welcome and generous hospitality which all sections of the population accorded to it everywhere throughout the two Trust Territories.

C. METHOD OF WORK FOLLOWED BY THE MISSION

24. Since the Mission followed methods and procedures which contributed much to the success of its work in the field, it believes that it should describe them for the information of the Trusteeship Council.

25. Suggestions for its detailed itineraries were drawn up, at the Mission's request, by both the Administering Authorities concerned, and were modified, as required by the Mission, prior to the start of its visit to each Territory. A detailed programme was published in advance of the Mission's visit to each locality, including the time of its arrival at, and departure from, each place, the exact hour of its visit to each institution or organization and of its meetings with regional and local councils, as well as the time and place for receiving deputations and individuals and for attendance at political rallies. The Mission adhered scrupulously and punctually to almost every engagement on its agreed programme, and only once, in each Territory, was it prevented from keeping an engagement due to the impassability of roads after heavy rains.

26. Between 10 August and 23 September 1955, the Mission fulfilled approximately 300 engagements, in addition to the time allocated for meals, which were often the occasion for meeting local personalities. In addition, the Mission freely received petitions and communications everywhere and made a number of unscheduled stops for this purpose. In carrying out this heavy programme, the Mission travelled approximately 500 miles by air, 2,600 miles by motorcar, and 170 miles by rail, while in the area. It visited each district and subdivision—and most of the local council areas—of Togoland under British administration, as well as all the ten circles and three of the four subdivisions of Togoland under French administration. In arranging, and adhering closely to, its schedule, the Mission received the full co-operation of the Administering Authorities as well as of the people throughout both Territories.

27. At the very outset, the Mission declared publicly in each Territory that it had come with an open mind and would strive to carry out its terms of reference impartially. The Mission further announced that it would make itself fully available to all sections of the population and that it was interested in receiving freely all shades of opinion on the questions at issue. Thus, in all its meetings with members of representative institutions, it tried to ascertain both majority and minority views. Acting on the basis that the free expression of all political views is one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the kind of political development which is the aim of the Trusteeship System, the Mission was able to explain to majority groups and parties the importance of its hearing the opinion of the minority.

28. From the very beginning, and throughout its visit to each Territory, the Mission endeavoured to establish the fact that its function was a constructive one which should contribute to the welfare and advancement of the people, and this attitude evoked the appreciation of the peoples of both the Territories. There were few attempts to coerce the Mission, and none of them successful—while the rare expressions of criticism of the Mission were answered promptly but courteously. The fact became clear to all, as the Mission proceeded with its work, that all its four Members spoke and acted as a team. This further contributed to the smoothness of its work, particularly when it was, at times, obliged to divide into two groups, in order to visit a large number of areas in the short time at its disposal.

29. The extremely large number of communications received by the Mission (over 200,000, a number unprecedented in the experience of all previous Visiting

Missions) made it necessary for the Mission to explain repeatedly that it had come not to take a vote but to ascertain how the views of the people regarding their political future could best be expressed. Similarly, in order to avoid any misconception as to the role of the Mission, the Mission explained repeatedly that, in accordance with the principles of Trusteeship of the United Nations, the people themselves would in due course be given the opportunity to determine the political future of their Territories.

30. During the periods allotted to hearing individuals and deputations, the Mission was able to hear everyone who had asked to be heard. At a few places, it was necessary for the Mission to divide into two groups, and sometimes hearings had to be continued long after dark so that everyone could be heard. The Mission expedited the hearings by adopting the procedure of first reading the written statement presented by individuals or groups, and then asking them for any further oral elucidation which they might wish to make. Similarly, deputations or groups meeting the Mission for hearings were requested to designate spokesmen for facilitating discussion. The preliminary arrangements made by the Mission's Secretariat in organizing the order of hearings for individuals and deputations desiring to meet the Mission minimized confusion in spite of the large numbers involved and greatly expedited the proceedings. The Mission, while treating individuals and deputations with all courtesy, reduced formal exchanges to the minimum and confined discussion to the points raised. In meeting representatives of political parties, the Mission took great pains to have their political views clarified in detail, so as to enable it to understand them fully and exactly. This procedure was particularly important with regard to the deputations of the major political parties in the two Territories.

31. Prior to embarking upon its visit to each Trust Territory, the Mission had the advantage of holding discussions with representatives of the local administrations on the policies and programmes being followed, and was provided with much valuable data on both Territories. After completing the visit to each Territory, the Mission again held discussions with representatives of the local administrations in order to secure further information on points studied by it, to consider special problems of interest to it, as well as to discuss with those representatives its impressions on various matters. These conversations prepared the way for the Mission to hold important and fruitful discussions with the Administering Authorities in London and Paris before its return to New York.

CHAPTER I

PREVIOUS CONSIDERATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS REQUIRING INVESTIGATION BY THE MISSION

A. DEVELOPMENTS UP TO 1952

32. According to its terms of reference, the Visiting Mission was required to examine the "Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory

under British administration". In doing so, it was necessary for it to review the history of what has, in the past, been known as the "Ewe and Togoland unification problem". Under this title the question has previously been brought before the General Assembly and the

Trusteeship Council and has had to be given special consideration by previous periodic Visiting Missions to the two Trust Territories of Togoland.

33. A full account of the various stages of consideration of the unification problem was given in Part Two, Chapter 2, of the Special Report³ submitted by the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952. In view of the new situation which has now arisen as a result of the declaration of the Government of the United Kingdom that "on the attainment of independence of the Gold Coast, the trusteeship over Togoland under British administration must come to an end", it will not now be profitable to recapitulate more than some of the principal details of the past history of the question.

34. The Togoland unification problem was first considered in 1947, when the Trusteeship Council, at its second session, examined seven petitions from the All-Ewe Conference and from Mr. Augustino de Souza, President of the *Comité de l'unité togolaise*, requesting that the Ewe people should be unified under a single administration. By resolution 14 (II), the Council welcomed the proposed creation of a standing consultative commission for Togoland affairs, composed of the Governors and other representatives of the two Territories and charged with the alleviation of difficulties arising from the existence of a frontier between them. By that resolution, the Trusteeship Council also invited the two Administering Authorities concerned to consult with each other and with Ewe representatives in an effort to meet the wishes of the Ewe people as stated in the petitions. The Trusteeship Council subsequently received petitions from various groups requesting that one of the following measures be taken:

(a) Unification of "Eweland" under a single administration;

(b) Unification of the two Territories of Togoland; or

(c) Maintenance of the *status quo*.

35. In its report,⁴ the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1949, recommended increased collaboration between the Administering Authorities of the two Territories towards reduction or even abolition of mutual customs barriers, as well as unification and co-ordination of legislative and administrative practice, in contemplation of eventual reconstitution of the former Togoland as an autonomous unit which might either become independent or become associated with a larger neighbouring unit. The Mission stated that the rise of a nationalistic movement, in the form in which it now appeared, required an urgent solution of the question.

36. By the time the Trusteeship Council, at its seventh session, considered the Mission's report, it was also able to take note of a plan submitted by the Administering Authorities for the substantial enlargement of the Consultative Commission which did not preclude that Commission from submitting recommendations to them for "unification of any parts of the two Trust Territories".⁵ Accordingly, in the latter part of 1950, the enlarged Consultative Commission was constituted by systems of indirect election in each Territory. Soon

³ *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Eleventh Session (Second Part), Supplement No. 2.*

⁴ *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2.*

⁵ Trusteeship Council resolution 250 (VII).

afterwards, however, the Administering Authorities submitted to the Council the record of the inconclusive proceedings of the Consultative Commission and proposed its replacement by a Joint Council for Togoland Affairs to advise them on matters of common concern to the people of the two Territories. The Trusteeship Council approved this change under resolution 345 (IX) of 24 July 1951, and recommended steps to ensure the participation of the major political groups in the two Territories.

37. Objections to the new proposals were raised by representatives of the All-Ewe Conference and of the Togoland Congress in Togoland under British administration, and of the *Comité de l'unité togolaise* in Togoland under French administration. In consequence, the General Assembly by its resolution 555 (VI) of 18 January 1952, recommended that the Administering Authorities consult fully with the various parties and groups concerned before constituting the proposed Joint Council and that they extend its functions and powers to enable it to consider all aspects of the Ewe and Togoland unification problem and to make recommendations thereon.

38. The Administering Authorities retained the terms of reference which they had originally proposed on the grounds that they were sufficiently broad, and indirect elections to the Joint Council were held in each Territory. Owing, however, to the abstention of the chiefs and peoples of two substantial areas in the northern part of Togoland under British administration and to the decision of the representatives of the remainder of that Territory to withdraw at the first meeting of the Joint Council on the grounds of lack of parity with the representatives of the Territory under French administration, the Council adjourned after a brief meeting and has not met since.

B. CONCLUSIONS OF THE VISITING MISSION TO TRUST TERRITORIES IN WEST AFRICA, 1952, AND RESOLUTIONS ARISING THEREFROM

39. The Mission which visited the Territories in August and September 1952 was charged⁶ by the Trusteeship Council, acting on the instructions of the General Assembly, to make a special study of the Ewe and Togoland unification problem, including the functioning of the Joint Council.

40. The Mission, in its special report on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem,⁷ noted the existence of an almost general feeling in the northern part of Togoland under British administration for elimination of the boundary between the Trust Territory and the Gold Coast and against any form of unification of the Trust Territories. In the southern part of the Territory, the various parties submitted different proposals, including the following:

(a) Appointment of a United Nations High Commissioner, who should have full power to direct the administration of a unified Togoland for a period of five years, at the end of which Togoland should become an independent and sovereign state (proposal submitted by the Togoland Congress and All-Ewe Conference);

(b) Continuance of the association of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast but with

⁶ Trusteeship Council resolutions 424 (X) and 465 (XI).

⁷ *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Eleventh Session (Second Part), Supplement No. 2.*

the eventual objective of unification of the two Trust Territories and their absorption as a federal unit into the Gold Coast (proposal submitted by the Convention People's Party).

41. In Togoland under French administration, the Mission found that the aims of the principal political groups included the following:

(a) Immediate unification and an interim administration by a United Nations High Commission (aim of the Comité de l'unité togolaise and Juvento);

(b) Unification of the two Trust Territories, provided that the unified Territory be placed under French administration so that it might pursue its progressive development within the framework of the French Union (aim of the Parti togolais du progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo).

42. As regards the Joint Council, the Visiting Mission concluded that its terms of reference were broad and flexible, but that it should be empowered to discuss all political, social and educational matters of common concern to the two Trust Territories. It recommended full consultation between the Administering Authorities, and by them of representatives of the people, on possible modifications which would prove generally satisfactory. The Mission reported that, with the exception of the northern part of Togoland under British administration, it had noted increased support for the concept of unification, but that, while limitations of time had prevented it from finding out which form of unification enjoyed the widest support, it believed neither form had sufficient support to justify the Mission to recommend any modification of existing administrative arrangements. These conclusions were noted by the Trusteeship Council under resolution 643 (XI) of 25 November 1952, and commended to the Administering Authorities as a sound basis for working out effective political institutions.

43. The General Assembly, by resolution 652 (VII), recommended full and extensive consultation between the Administering Authorities and the principal political parties in each Territory and efforts to bring about the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, or a similar body, with extended authority and on the basis of direct elections by universal adult suffrage, in order to make it a fully representative and effective organ. It also recommended the promotion of common policies on political, economic and social matters of mutual concern and the exertion of every effort by the Administering Authorities and the peoples involved alike to achieve a prompt settlement of the problem.

C. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 750 (VIII)

44. The Trusteeship Council, at its twelfth session, considered the text of a joint announcement⁸ made to the public in Togoland under British administration and in Togoland under French administration on 12 June 1953, and communicated to the Secretary-General by the two Administering Authorities. The announcement concerned the action to be taken in pursuance of certain paragraphs of the General Assembly's resolution 652 (VII) relating to the reconstitution of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. The announcement stated that, in accordance with the spirit of the resolution, the Administering Authorities were inviting all sections of

the population and parties to make known their views of the principles on which the reconstitution, the terms of reference, the method of election to and the composition of the Joint Council should be based. This announcement and other developments concerning the two Territories were included in a special report⁹ of the Trusteeship Council which was considered by the General Assembly at its eighth session.

45. At the same time, the General Assembly had before it a white paper¹⁰ issued by the Government of the Gold Coast in 1953, defining its attitude to the Togoland problem. This referred to the insistence of the paramount chiefs and people of four important Northern Territories States which extend into Togoland that a decision on the future of the northern section of Togoland should be taken before any further advance was made towards self-government. The White Paper referred to a statement by the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, expressing confidence that when the time to amend the Trusteeship Agreement came, the United Nations would not "fail to give satisfaction to the frequently reiterated and unanimous demand of the people of the Northern Section for their area to become part of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast", and that any other course would be contrary to the basic objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. Finally, the statement referred to the hope of the Government of the Gold Coast that when the people of Southern Togoland fully appreciated the advantages of integration with the Gold Coast, they would be "in a position to make clear their wishes for their future status".

46. By resolutions 750 A (VIII) and 750 B (VIII), the General Assembly expressed its regret that its resolution 652 (VII) had not been acted upon and urgently invited the Administering Authorities to revise electoral procedures with the collaboration of the political parties. Under resolution 750 C (VIII), the General Assembly noted the proposals of the Government of the Gold Coast for constitutional changes designed to effect a further transfer of executive and legislative powers from the Administering Authority to the Government of the Gold Coast, incidental to the impending attainment by the Gold Coast of self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It also noted the statement of the Government of the Gold Coast quoted in paragraph 45 above and pointed out that the Visiting Mission of 1952 had indicated the necessity of questioning the compatibility of the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement with any further appreciable transfer of authority to the Gold Coast. Bearing in mind the degree to which the question of the future constitutional association of Togoland with the Gold Coast depended on the settlement of the unification problem, the General Assembly suggested that any further changes might necessitate revision of the Trusteeship Agreement in respect of the existing administrative union. It also concluded that the aspirations of the majority of the population of the two Trust Territories for their unification would necessarily affect the interests of the inhabitants of Togoland under French administration. It therefore requested the Trusteeship Council to re-examine in all its aspects the problem of achieving the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System in the two Trust Territories,

⁸ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighth Session, Annexes, agenda item 31, document A/2424.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, document A/C.4/249.

⁸ *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Twelfth Session, Annexes, agenda item 11, document T/1067/Rev.1.*

especially progression towards self-government, in accordance with the particular circumstances of the Territories and their peoples in the prevailing circumstances.

47. At the ninth session of the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council submitted a special report on¹¹ the implementation of the above-mentioned resolutions. Regarding reconstitution of the Joint Council, the report noted the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom that there were difficulties in the way of re-establishing the Joint Council and that the General Assembly should first consider his Government's suggestion for early integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast. It also noted the statement of the representative of France that the majority of the population of Togoland under French administration was opposed to a restoration of the Joint Council. The Trusteeship Council, in its report, expressed no opinion on this question. On the question of granting universal suffrage, it recorded the existing factual position in each Trust Territory.

48. As regards constitutional questions affecting Togoland under British administration, the Council recorded the fact that the Government of the United Kingdom had already submitted a memorandum¹² to the General Assembly stating that when, as would

¹¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Annexes, agenda items 35 and 52, document A/2669.*

happen within a measurable period, the Gold Coast assumed full responsibility for its own affairs, it would no longer be constitutionally possible for the Government of the United Kingdom to administer the Trust Territory as an integral part of the Gold Coast, and that the Trusteeship Agreement should be terminated without replacement on the ground that its objectives would have been substantially achieved. This statement concluded with an invitation of the Government of the United Kingdom to the United Nations to take steps to ascertain the wishes of the people of the Territory as to their future.

D. ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS NINTH SESSION

49. At its ninth session, at which a large number of representatives of political parties and groups in the two Trust Territories appeared before the Fourth Committee, the General Assembly confined its action to a consideration of the new situation which, in its view, had arisen as a result of the memorandum submitted by the Government of the United Kingdom, and adopted resolution 860 (IX), under the terms of which the making of a special study was entrusted to the present Visiting Mission.

¹² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Annexes, agenda items 35 and 52, document A/2660.*

CHAPTER II

OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE TWO TRUST TERRITORIES

A. THE SITUATION IN TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

(a) *Land and people*

50. Togoland under British administration is a narrow strip of land extending almost due north along the eastern border of the Gold Coast. About 320 miles long and averaging some forty miles in breadth, it is bounded in the north by the French Overseas Territory of the Upper Volta, in the east by Togoland under French administration and in the west and south by the Gold Coast. Its southernmost boundary lies approximately 23 to 30 miles from the Gulf of Guinea and therefore its only access to the sea is through the ports of the Gold Coast or of Togoland under French administration.

51. The total area of the Territory is 13,041 square miles, of which 7,196 square miles form the Northern Section, administered as part of the Northern Territories Region of the Gold Coast, and the remaining 5,844 square miles, known as the Southern Section, are administered as part of the Trans-Volta/Togoland region. Geographically, the Territory is divided into two parts by a broad valley drained by the Oti River (and its tributaries) which traverses the Territory diagonally from north-east to south-west, joining with the Volta. To the north of this valley is gently undulating savannah country, broken by the Gambaga Scarp which runs from east to west near the northern extremity of the Territory at an average altitude of 800 feet above the course of the river Maraga. To the south of the valley of the Oti, the Territory is forested with hills which

include a number of peaks and ridges over 2,000 feet above sea level. Below this belt, the bush thins out gradually into savannah and the land falls away to the flat plains of the extreme south. For most of the Southern Section, the Volta River forms the western boundary.

52. The population of the Territory in mid-1954 was estimated at approximately 423,000 persons, of whom 191,000 were in the Northern Section and 232,000 in the Southern Section. As is equally true of geographic and climatic divisions throughout this part of West Africa, ethnographic and linguistic boundary lines run roughly east and west, with the result that tribal and cultural associations tend to extend across the frontiers into neighbouring territories and the ethnic composition of the population is extremely complex. Generally speaking, however, a major distinction may be made between the tribes of Sudanic origin which inhabit the Northern Section, except for the Gonja district, and those of the true negroid type which are found in the Southern Section. In both cases, some of the racial groups immigrated from neighbouring areas in fairly recent times.

53. In the Northern Section, the most important tribes are the Mamprusis, Dagombas, Nanumbas, Konkombas, B'Mobas, Chokossis, Busangas, Kusasis and Gonjas. All of these tribes are also represented in one or another of the neighbouring territories and, in fact, there is only one small tribe, the Nawuri, which lives entirely within the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. The following table indicates the distribution of the main tribes at the time of the last census of the Gold Coast taken in 1948:

	Gold Coast	Togoland under British administration	Togoland under French administration	
	<i>Total Southern Section only^a</i>			
(a) Tribes living predominantly in the Trust Territories of Togoland				
Konkombas	6,259	53,554	3,118	20,009 ^b
Chokossis	537	10,216	23	8,884
B'Mobas	1,618	29,209	none	48,250
(b) Tribes living in the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration				
Kusasis	70,677	22,387	121	none recorded
Mamprusis	48,698	1,300	24	none recorded
Dagombas and Nanumbas	130,631	41,748	2,473	none recorded
Gonjas	47,499	603	115	none recorded
Busangas ^c	19,750	7,478	14	none recorded
(c) Tribes living entirely in Togoland under British administration				
Nawuris	none	1,818	623	none recorded

^a Many tribes which live predominantly in the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration also have scattered settlements in the Southern Section.

^b For purposes of comparison, these figures were taken from the annual report of the Administering Authority for the year 1948. The following figures are shown in the volume on the Cameroons and Togoland of the *Encyclopédie de l'Afrique française* (Éditions de l'Union française, Paris, 1951), p. 435: Konkombas: 20,161; Chokossis: 8,930; B'Mobas: 45,238.

^c The territory of the Busanga tribe also extends northwards into the French Overseas Territory of the Upper Volta.

54. Of the above-mentioned tribes, the Mamprusis, Dagombas, Nanumbas and Gonjas have strong centralized tribal organizations and, in addition, provide the accepted ruling classes in the areas which they inhabit. The three tribes which live predominantly in the two Trust Territories are all under the traditional overlordship of either the Dagombas or Mamprusis in so far as Togoland under British administration is concerned. Both the Chokossis, who are a Twi-speaking people originating from the south-west corner of the Gold Coast, and the B'Mobas have a single centralized and traditional tribal organization and enjoy their own local government organization. The Konkombas, on the other hand, have no central organization or chieftaincy of their own; in some areas they have their own local government bodies, while in other areas they are represented in the local government bodies which they share with other tribes such as the Dagombas and Chokossis.

55. In the Southern Section, the principal tribal group is that of the Ewes. At the time of the 1948 census of the Gold Coast there were estimated to be 138,693 Ewes¹³ in the Southern Section and 303 in the Northern Section. The number of Ewes in the Gold Coast was 375,939, of whom about 300,000 were in the Trans-Volta area to the immediate south and west of Togoland under British administration, and the number of Ewes in Togoland under French administration was about 176,000. The Ewes are to be found primarily in the southern part of the Southern Section, in the districts of Kpandu and Ho.

¹³ This figure is believed to have included a number of persons belonging to independent tribal groups (e. g. Likpes, Nkonyas and Santrokofis).

56. The next-largest group in the Southern Section, according to the 1948 census, was that of the Asantes (Ashantis), numbering 26,672 in Togoland under British administration, mostly in the Buem-Krachi area, and 553,697 in the Gold Coast. There were small isolated settlements of Asantes, numbering under 3,000 in all, in Togoland under French administration in areas not adjacent to the Akan areas in the Territory under British administration. (The term Asante is used in a broad sense to cover certain Akan tribes, as well as other tribes¹⁴ which use Twi as a *lingua franca*.)

57. The only other group indigenous to the Southern Section which numbered more than 3,000 in 1948 were the Nchumurus, who inhabit the northern part of the Krachi division. In 1948, there were 3,811 Nchumurus in the Southern Section and 2,900 in the Gold Coast. None were recorded in Togoland under French administration.

58. Finally, there are two tribal groups which are indigenous to the French Trust Territory and which are found scattered in all the districts of Togoland under British administration and also in the Gold Coast. These are the Kotocolis and the Bassaris, who number 6,952 and 6,881 respectively in Togoland under British administration as against 51,493 and 29,325 respectively in Togoland under French administration. Except for one group of Bassaris who have settled in Dagomba land and owe allegiance to a Dagomba chief, these groups do not live in areas of Togoland under British administration contiguous with that of their fellow tribespeople under French administration.

¹⁴ These include the Krachis, Ntrubus, Lefanas, Buems, Likpes, Nkonyas, Bowiris, Akpafus and Santrokofis.

(b) *Present constitutional position*

59. In accordance with the provisions of the Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship Orders-in-Council, 1949 to 1954, the Trust Territory is administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast, with which it shares a common legislature, common budget, common administrative and technical services and common government machinery and political institutions at the central, regional and local levels. Under present arrangements, the administrative union of the territories is complete for all practical purposes of day-to-day government, the Northern Section of the Trust Territory forming a part of the Northern Territories Region of the Gold Coast, while the Southern Section is combined with neighbouring areas of the Gold Coast Colony to form the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region.

60. During the years which have elapsed since Togoland under British administration was placed under the Trusteeship System, successive reforms have progressively modified the constitutional arrangements under which the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory are administered until, with the passage of the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1954, a large measure of self-government short of independence has been achieved.

61. The detailed provisions of the constitutional arrangements which preceded the changes of 1954 have been fully described in past reports of the Administering Authority and are well-known to the Trusteeship Council through the work of its Committee on Administrative Unions. It is sufficient, therefore, to note only that under the Gold Coast (Constitution) Orders-in-Council of 1950 and 1952, the two territories were provided with a single Legislative Assembly and an Executive Council consisting of a Prime Minister and Ministers with departmental responsibilities. Both these bodies, while composed of a majority of representative members, nevertheless included a number of *ex-officio* members and the Legislative Assembly also included several members appointed by the Governor to represent special economic interests. The representative members of the Legislative Assembly, moreover, were selected by various methods; in some cases they were elected by direct suffrage, while in others they were chosen on a regional basis, either by regional councils or by means of the electoral college system in which "traditional" interests played an important role. The effect of these methods of election was that Togoland under British administration was not represented as a separate entity in the Legislative Assembly, although its Southern Section was entitled to return two rural members and one traditional member to that body and the Northern Section was represented in the Northern Territories electoral college.

62. With rapid political advances taking place in the Gold Coast, the limited form of representation and self-government provided by the existing constitutional arrangements soon proved unsatisfactory and, in 1953, the Government of the Gold Coast issued a White Paper in which it declared its intention to request the Government of the United Kingdom to make a declaration regarding the grant of independent status to the Gold Coast, within the British Commonwealth of Nations. At the same time the White Paper contained proposals for modifications of the existing constitutional arrangements "in respect of the limited transitional

period which is necessary in order that the requisite constitutional and administrative arrangements for independence can be made". At its thirteenth session, the Trusteeship Council was informed¹⁵ that these proposals had been formulated after consultations with interested groups in the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration.

63. The proposals for constitutional reform were approved in principle by the Government of the United Kingdom in October 1953, and served as the framework for the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1954, which came into effect on 5 May 1954. The new Constitution provided for a large measure of devolution of the powers of the Administering Member (or of the Administering Authority as far as the Trust Territory is concerned) onto the Legislative Assembly and the Cabinet. Moreover, whereas formerly the Cabinet (i. e. the Executive Council) and the central legislature had included *ex officio* officials of the administrative branch, the new government institutions were to be entirely representative, based upon universal adult suffrage. Furthermore, the members of the Legislative Assembly would no longer be chosen by regional councils based in part upon the Native Authorities, but would be elected directly from constituencies, some of which would be in the Trust Territory.

64. Under the provisions of the Order-in-Council of 1954, the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration have been divided into 104 constituencies, each including one or more local authority units and each having approximately the same number of inhabitants. Of the 104 constituencies, six are wholly and one almost entirely within the Trust Territory, while another seven are partly within the Territory.¹⁶ From each a member is elected to the Legislative Assembly by direct adult suffrage. From the Legislative Assembly are appointed the Prime Minister and the other members of the Cabinet who number not less than eight.¹⁷ The Ministers are appointed by the Governor, in accordance with the constitutional practice of the United Kingdom, under which the leader of the majority party in the Assembly is invited by the Governor to be Prime Minister and the remaining Ministers are appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister and are allocated their portfolios by him.

65. The powers of the Legislative Assembly and the Cabinet extend to nearly all fields of the day-to-day administration of the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory, and the only matters excluded from their competence relate to defence and external affairs, including relations with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and matters affecting the responsibility of the Administering Authority under the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland. Legislation approved by the Legislative Assembly

¹⁵ *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Thirteenth Session, 493rd meeting.*

¹⁶ The six electoral districts wholly within the Trust Territory are Akan-Krachi, Buem, Kpandu North, Nanum-Dagbon, Dagomba East and Kusasi East. The seven districts partly in the Territory are Ho West, Kpandu South, Gonja East, Dagomba North, Dagomba South, South Mamprusi East and Kusasi Central. The district almost entirely within Togoland is Ho East. Owing to the present state of legislative definition of electoral qualifications, it was not practicable for the Mission to determine the exact number of members of the Legislative Assembly who are actually Togoland.

¹⁷ At present there are ten Ministers in addition to the Prime Minister.

must still receive the assent of the Governor who may, at his discretion, refuse his assent to a Bill or may reserve it for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. The Governor may also, after consultation with the Cabinet and if he deems it in the interests of "public order, public faith or good government", declare any Bill or motion introduced or proposed in the Assembly but which the Assembly has failed to pass, to have effect as if it had been passed by the Assembly in such form as he may deem fit. These reserve powers are, however, according to the Administering Authority, largely hypothetical and are not intended in the normal course of events to restrict the wide measure of self-government envisaged under the Constitution. It should be noted that any action taken by the Governor in the exercise of these reserve powers may be reversed by the Secretary of State if an objection is submitted by a member of the Legislative Assembly.

66. In so far as the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration is concerned, the Government of the United Kingdom has stated that its responsibility for the administration of the Territory is provided for in the new Constitution by placing the responsibility for the implementation of the Trusteeship Agreement upon the Governor acting in his discretion and also by a provision that any law which is repugnant to any provision of the Trusteeship Agreement shall be void to the extent of the repugnancy. As regards the executive branch of government, the situation is that the ministerial powers of the Cabinet extend to the Trust Territory except that, in so far as they affect the Administering Authority's responsibility under the Trusteeship Agreement, they must be exercised in accordance with, and subject to, such directions as the Governor, acting in his discretion, may issue. In discharging this responsibility, the Governor is assisted by an Advisory Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Interior and two other ministers.

67. An important aspect of the latest constitutional reforms was the revision of the electoral law. Under the previous constitutional arrangements, the representative members of the Legislative Assembly were chosen by various forms of suffrage which differed according to the locality which they represented and also included representatives of traditional and other interests. The new arrangements, embodied in the Electoral Provisions Ordinance which was passed late in 1953 in anticipation of the Constitution of 1954, provide for a uniform system of universal adult suffrage by secret ballot, and the qualifications for registration as an elector were broadened to include persons aged twenty-one years or over, who possess British nationality or British Protected status, who have paid either the previous year's or the current year's basic rate to their local council at the time of registration and who own immovable property or have resided in the area for six months during the preceding year. Only lunatics and certain classes of convicts or ex-convicts are disqualified from being electors. At the same time, the Electoral Provisions Ordinance, and later the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1954, itself, provided for the division of the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory into 104 single constituencies (see para. 64 above). Under these arrangements, elections to the new Legislative Assembly were held on 10 and 15 June 1954.

68. In addition to changing the composition and powers of the central political institutions in the Gold

Coast, the Constitution of 1954 also modified the arrangements relating to the control of the Public Service and of the judicature. Under the previous arrangements set forth in the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1950, the control of the Public Service was vested in the Governor acting in his discretion and the Governor was empowered also, at his discretion, to obtain the advice of a Civil Service Commission on all matters affecting the Public Service. The Constitution of 1954 provided for the progressive reduction of the Governor's discretionary powers over a period of not less than one year. The first modification, which came into force with the Order-in-Council, was contained in a provision requiring the Governor to consult with the Prime Minister before taking any administrative action with regard to a senior member of the Service (with the rank of Permanent Secretary or above). The second modification was contained in a provision, which came into effect on 31 July 1955, requiring the Governor, in exercising his control over other personnel of the Public Service, to act upon the recommendation of the Public Service Commission. A similar progressive reduction of the Governor's discretionary powers was provided for in respect of the judicature. In this case, the Constitution of 1954 provided for the creation of a Judicial Service Commission; during the transitional period (see para. 62 above) the Governor was required to consult this body before taking any administrative action affecting the status of a judicial officer; subsequently, a further provision came into force requiring him to take such action only on the recommendation of the Judicial Service Commission. The effect of these changes was in substance to transfer the direct control over personnel of the Public Service (other than seconded members of the Overseas Civil Service of the United Kingdom itself) from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, acting through the Governor, to purely local machinery in the Gold Coast. The Mission was informed however that, in so far as the Trust Territory was concerned, the special responsibility of the Administering Authority was maintained by sections 17 and 53 of the Order-in-Council of 1954 (as amended by the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1955)¹⁸ which provided that in respect of Togoland under British administration the appointment and control, etc., of public officers is exercised by the Governor acting in his discretion. It was stated that the Governor's discretion could, if necessary, be given effect by the exercise of his power to control the posting of officers to or from the Territory or by his not accepting the recommendation of the Public Service Commission in so far as it affected the Administering Authority's special responsibility. However, it was explained that, in practice, "it was most improbable that occasion would require the Governor to exercise his discretion contrary to the recommendation of the Public Service Commission; the more so since the independence of the Com-

¹⁸ Section 17 of the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1954, reads as follows: "The Governor, acting in his discretion, shall be responsible for the subjects set out in the Second Schedule to this Order, and for matters which affect the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in respect of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship by virtue of the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the thirteenth day of December, 1946." Section 53 of Part I of the Third Schedule to the Order in Council, 1954, as amended by Section 7 of the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1955, sets forth the detailed provisions relating to the control of the Public Service and states that this section shall be subject to the provisions of section 17.

mission from political influences was carefully preserved and since it made its recommendations in the interests of the Service in Togoland and the Gold Coast alike."

69. During its visit to the Trust Territory, the Mission on several occasions heard the charge made that officials of the Public Service were subject to direction by the Gold Coast Government and that, under the provisions of the Order-in-Council of 1954, the Governor in fact was no longer responsible for the administration of the Territory. The Mission explored this situation carefully with the Administering Authority in the light of the terms of the Order-in-Council bearing upon it. While admitting that the day-to-day administration of the Territory is carried on according to policies laid down by the Gold Coast Cabinet, the Governor of the Gold Coast assured the Mission that this responsibility for all aspects of the administration of Togoland remained intact by virtue of sections 17 and 53 of the Order-in-Council referred to above, pending the ultimate decision on the future status of the Trust Territory.

70. As was indicated in the White Paper issued by the Gold Coast Government in 1953, the constitutional arrangements provided for in the Order-in-Council of 1954 are not intended to continue in force permanently but represent the last stage of constitutional development before the final grant of independence to the Colony which, it is proposed, should take place within a measurable period of time.

(c) *Regional and local government and state councils*

71. Below the central government level, the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory are divided into six regions for purposes of administration and are also subdivided into districts, local and urban areas and municipalities for purposes of local government.

72. Two of the regions include contiguous areas of the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory. The Northern Section of Togoland under British administration forms part of the Northern Territories Region, which includes the areas inhabited by tribes mainly of Sudanic origin, while the Southern Section is combined with neighbouring areas of the Gold Coast, predominantly inhabited by Ewes, to form the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region. In each region there is a statutory regional council the function of which is to advise the Government and regional administration on matters affecting the welfare and interests of the inhabitants of the region. These bodies, which are purely deliberative, are composed of representatives elected by the local and district councils in accordance with regulations made by the Governor in Council. In practice, these regional bodies have been consulted by the Government on important questions of policy, notably in regard to development programmes, proposed legislation and constitutional matters affecting their regions.

73. At the local government level, an important reorganization of the local government system was introduced in 1951 and has only recently been completed. Prior to the passage of the Local Government Ordinance, 1951, the local government structure at its lowest level was built upon traditional tribal institutions, the chiefs and elders of individual communities or areas being recognized as Native Authorities and performing the functions of local administration under the guidance of administrative officials. The Ordinance of 1951 provides for a shift of emphasis towards a more representative system, based largely upon the pattern of the United

Kingdom, but with certain significant modifications designed to meet local needs and circumstances. In general, the Ordinance provides for the establishment of district, local and urban councils. Two thirds of the membership of these councils consists of representative members and one third of members appointed by the traditional authorities of the area concerned. In most cases, direct appointments and elections relate only to the local and urban councils, while members of district councils are elected from the lower bodies. In the Northern Section, however, the traditional members of district councils are appointed directly by the traditional authorities. Normally, members of local authorities hold office for three years and, in the case of local and urban councils, representative members are chosen by direct adult suffrage, the qualifications for voting being similar to the qualifications for voting at the elections to the central legislature, except that registration is not restricted to British subjects or British protected persons. Local authorities have been accorded a wide range of powers and responsibilities in local government, extending to matters which include agriculture, public works, taxation, education, forestry, land conservation, control of markets, public health, public order, maintenance of roads and the regulation of trade and industry. The Ordinance provides for considerable latitude, particularly in regard to the powers and functions vested in local authorities, by requiring that each council be established by a separate statutory instrument, setting forth its composition and powers. Thus, for example, the power of levying local rates may be vested either in the local councils of a district or in the district council. Each local council is required to appoint a finance and staff committee and, in regard to its finances and the exercise of its functions, is subject to control and direction by the Minister of Local Government.

74. The reorganization of the local government structure was completed in 1953. In the Northern Territories there are now one district council (Nanumba) and fourteen local councils with jurisdiction wholly within the Trust Territory, and four district councils (Mamprusi, South Mamprusi, Dagomba and Gonja) and four local councils only part of the jurisdiction of which lies within the Territory. In the Southern Section there are three district councils (Buem-Krachi, Kpandu and Ho) with jurisdiction wholly within the Territory and fifteen local councils, only one of which includes an area within the Gold Coast.

75. Finally, in addition to the above-mentioned local government and regional consultative bodies which are concerned with matters affecting the government and administration of the two sections of the Trust Territory, there are also statutory bodies which represent and control traditional tribal interests. These are the state councils established in accordance with the State Councils (Northern Territories) Ordinance, 1952, and the State Councils (Colony and Southern Togoland) Ordinance, 1952, as amended in 1953. The function of these traditional councils is restricted to matters of a constitutional nature affecting the traditional authorities, such as the appointment and tenure of office of chiefs, the installation, abdication, etc., of paramount or head chiefs, and the protection of *stool* (chiefdom) property. In addition, they may submit to the Governor in Council recommendations for the modification of customary law relating to any subject in force in their state. In the Northern Territories there are four state councils

with jurisdiction over areas in the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory: the Mamprusi, Dagomba, Nanumba and Gonja councils. In the Southern Section of Togoland there are four state councils: the Buem, Akpini, Hokpe and Asogli councils.

B. THE SITUATION IN TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

(a) Land and people

76. Togoland under French administration is a narrow strip of land averaging 375 miles in length and 75 miles in width extending northward from the Gulf of Guinea. It is bounded on the west by the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration, and in the north and east by the French Overseas Territories of Upper Volta and Dahomey respectively. It has an area of approximately 30,000 square miles, which is about two-and-a-half times the size of Togoland under British administration (with an area of 13,000 square miles).

77. The Territory is traversed in its central part by a chain of hills running roughly south-west to north-east, and averaging 2,300 feet in height. North of that chain lies a plain drained by the Oti River and its tributaries. From the southern spurs of these hills, a plateau slopes gradually to a coastal plain. The coastline, about 30 miles long, is formed by a stretch of flat sandy beach, partly separated from the mainland by a series of lagoons.

78. As in the case of Togoland under British administration, the ethnic composition of the population is extremely complex, and the tribal and cultural associations extend in an east-west direction across the frontiers into neighbouring territories, rather than in a north-south direction within the Territory. The central chain of hills which, in the past, has constituted a natural obstacle to migratory movements, roughly divides the Territory into two ethnically distinct sections. The northern section is mainly populated by tribes of Sudanic origin, while those of the negroid type are predominant in the south. The population in 1954 was estimated at 1,069,584 or roughly two-and-a-half times the population of Togoland under British administration (423,000). Of its total population, 528,332 live in the northern section and 541,252 in the southern section.

79. In the northern section, there are seventeen tribes, of which twelve number more than 5,000. The most important of these tribes are the Kabrais and Lossos, the B'Mobas, the Kotocolis, the Gourmas, the Bassaris, the Konkombas, the Gangans and the Chokossis. The following table¹⁹ indicates the numerical importance of these tribes:

	Total population	Number of persons living outside
Kabrais-Lossos	219,537	47,617
B'Mobas	54,238	34
Kotocolis	51,493	417
Gourmas	50,079	48
Bassaris	29,325	34
Konkombas	20,161	7
Gangans	11,947	none recorded
Chokossis	8,930	23

¹⁹ *Encyclopédie de l'Afrique française*, vol. Cameroun-Togo, Éditions de l'Union française, Paris, 1951, p. 435.

80. As indicated earlier (see para. 53 above), three of these tribes, namely the B'Mobas, the Konkombas and the Chokossis, extend across the western frontier into the northern part of Togoland under British administration and of the Gold Coast, where they number about 30,000, 60,000 and 10,000 respectively. Two other tribes, the Kotocolis and the Bassaris, have a fairly large number of their tribesmen living in Togoland under British administration, but not mainly in areas contiguous with their tribal lands in the Territory under French administration.

81. In the case of the Kabrais and Lossos, a substantial part of the population of these tribes has, under pressure of over-population, migrated from their tribal lands to other parts of the Territory, in particular to the Sokodé and Atakpamé areas, where they live in isolated, but numerically important, settlements.

82. In the southern section, the main tribes are the Ewes, the Ouatchis and Adjias, the Minas, the Akposos and Akebos, and the Anas. The following table²⁰ shows the population of these tribes:

	Total population	Number of persons living outside tribal lands
Ewes	174,390	none recorded
Ouatchis-Adjias	138,581	3,177
Minas	55,945	8,005
Akposos-Akebos	40,531	3
Anas	18,395	

83. As already indicated, the larger part of the Ewe tribe lives in the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration, where they number about 376,000 and 139,000 respectively. Like the Ewes, the Ouatchis and Adjias and the Minas belong to the Benin group of peoples, and their languages and customs are similar to those of the Ewes. These two tribal groups, as well as the Anas in the north-eastern part of the southern section, extend across the frontier into the French Overseas Territory of Dahomey.

(b) Present constitutional position

84. The Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration forms part of the French Union as an Associated Territory. Its status as such has remained the same since 1946. However, within the Territory, the administrative organization recently underwent substantial changes as a result of the promulgation on 16 April 1955, of the law relating to the territorial and regional institutions of Togoland.

85. There is no express provision in the French Constitution covering the manner in which Associated Territories shall be administered. In practice, however, the legal status of the Associated Territories has been assimilated to that of the Overseas Territories. Accordingly, the executive and legislative processes for Overseas Territories defined in the French Constitution are, in practice, applied there. Thus, legislative authority over the Territory rests with the central organs of the French Union. Legislation with regard to penal law, civil liberties and political and administrative organization rests with the French Parliament. In all other matters, French laws can be applied in the Territory if they contain an express provision to that effect or if they are extended to it by decree after consultation with the

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Assembly of the French Union. Special provision for the Territory may also be decreed by the President of the Republic in the Council of Ministers after consultation with the Assembly of the French Union.

86. The effect of this arrangement is that the basic legislation governing the administration of the Territory has been adopted by the French Parliament and is the same which applies in most cases to the Overseas Territories as a whole and, in some cases, to the entire Republic. Important examples are the penal and labour codes, the laws governing freedom of speech and association, and the electoral legislation.

87. The Territory participates in the legislative processes of France by representation in the organs of the French Parliament, where it has one deputy, elected by direct suffrage exercised by specified categories of voters, in the National Assembly, and two senators, elected by indirect suffrage, in the Council of the Republic. The Territory also has one councillor, elected by indirect suffrage, in the Assembly of the French Union.

88. Within the Territory, executive and administrative authority is vested in the Commissioner of the Republic. The Commissioner ensures the application in the Territory of the laws and decrees passed by the central organs of the French Union; independently of these laws and decrees, he possesses the statutory power to issue local administrative orders (*pouvoir réglementaire*).

89. Prior to the passage of the law of 16 April 1955, the Commissioner was assisted by a Governor's Council, composed of four senior administrative officers and four unofficial members, including two French citizens, appointed by him. This Council, a purely advisory organ, was consulted by the Commissioner when he was required to do so under the terms of laws and decrees, or when he deemed it useful. The inhabitants of the Territory participated in the administration of the Territory through a representative Territorial Assembly of thirty members elected by direct suffrage exercised, as in the election to the National Assembly, by specified categories of voters. (In all there are sixteen categories of voters, including in particular literate persons, property-owners, heads of households and mothers of two children.) The Assembly debated and voted the territorial budget; it also had certain powers of decision and consultation on local administrative matters. In each administrative district, public opinion was associated with the local administration through elected *conseils de circonscription*. These councils were purely advisory organs, but had to be consulted by the Administration on certain local matters, such as the fixing of rates of taxes and fees and the construction of new schools and other works.

90. Under the new law, the Governor's Council has been replaced by a new body, the Government Council (*Conseil de gouvernement*), composed of ten members, of whom one half are elected. The membership consists of the Commissioner of the Republic as chairman, five members elected by the Territorial Assembly, and four members nominated by the Commissioner from among persons outside the Assembly. The general function of the Council is to assist the Commissioner in administering the Territory, in giving effect to the resolutions and decisions of the Territorial Assembly and in examining the principal political questions. Specifically, the Council has also been given certain powers of decision

and consultation in local administrative matters. Every order (*arrêté*) of the Commissioner giving legal effect to decisions of the Territorial Assembly must be made in the Council within a period not exceeding three months; in matters other than decisions of the Territorial Assembly, the Commissioner has, normally, to consult the Council before issuing administrative orders. The advice of the Council has to be taken, after consultation with the Assembly, before granting incorporation (*personnalité morale*) to administrative districts, and agricultural concessions of 200 hectares or less, forestry concessions of 500 hectares or less, and forestry permits for periods up to five years. The Council is competent to decide upon claims at law up to 500,000 francs CFA in value. The Council may also submit proposals to the Assembly and, in case of famine or other emergency, may take decisions varying import and export duties or railway rates which, although they must subsequently be ratified by the Assembly, are effective immediately. An important innovation is that each member of the Council is assigned by the Commissioner a sector of activity within the administrative organization of the Territory and enjoys a right of information and inquiry concerning the services involved, without, however, having any legal authority over these services.

91. The same law of 16 April 1955 maintains the composition of the Territorial Assembly. In certain respects, the Territorial Assembly has greater powers than those laid down in the previous law and decree which, however, have been described by the Administering Authority as having been increasingly liberally interpreted over the years. Therefore, according to statements made in the French Parliament, the new law serves in many respects to codify existing practice. As previously, the Assembly debates the territorial budget and is free to vote or reject items other than those defined as obligatory, but two subjects (expenditure relating to public education and health) have been omitted from the list of obligatory items, which now consists of debt payments and the cover of previous deficits, expenditures imposed by law, expenditures relating to the judiciary and internal security, and the salaries and allowances of public officials. Concerning other local administrative matters, the list of specific items on which the Assembly is empowered to deliberate, as distinct from giving advice, has been enlarged. In addition to subjects already set forth in the decree of 1946, such as the manner of assessment and collection, and the rates of levies, taxes, dues and fees, public works to be undertaken, questions of movable and immovable property and legal suits affecting the Territory, the list now includes a number of new items, comprising the raising of loans, the guarantee of liabilities incurred by public undertakings, the grant, loan and investment of territorial funds, schemes under the equipment and development plan, regulations on land, agriculture, forestry, mining, hunting and fishing, the organization of agricultural, commercial and industrial credits, and the regulation of rents. In addition, the Assembly is generally empowered to deliberate upon regulations applying laws and decrees when those measures entitle it to do so, and upon any proposals deriving from matters of a local character in cases in which those matters are not already covered by statute or regulation.

(c) Local administration

92. The Territory is divided into ten cercles, each administered by a *commandant de cercle* responsible to

the Commissioner of the Republic. Four of those cercles are, in turn, divided into subdivisions, each administered by a chief subdivisional officer responsible to the *commandant de cercle*.

93. In each administrative district (i.e., subdivision or undivided cercle), there is a conseil de circonscription, elected by a two-stage system. At the first stage, each village designates, in accordance with the customs in use for the designation of village chiefs, one secondary elector for the village or for each hundred inhabitants of the village, as the case may be. At the second stage, the secondary electors thus designated elect the actual members of the respective conseils de circonscription.

94. The conseils de circonscription are at present advisory organs. They must be consulted on a number of local administrative matters, including the preparation of the local budget, the manner of assessment and collection and the rate of the local taxes, dues and fees, public works, and the establishment of new schools, dispensaries and maternity clinics.

95. The law of 16 April 1955 provides, however, that (a) the Government Council may, after consultation with the Territorial Assembly, grant incorporation to those administrative circonscriptions the state of economic development of which is adequate to finance budgets of their own, and (b) the property of incorporated circonscriptions shall be administered by the respective conseils de circonscription. Furthermore, such conseils de circonscription are given certain powers of decision and may, in particular, decide on the purchase,

leasing or sale of the property in their respective districts, raise loans, give guarantees and act in defence of the property rights of the districts. Up to the present, these enlarged powers have not yet been conferred upon any conseil de circonscription.

96. As regards municipal organization, there are at present nine mixed communes in the Territory. Each of these communes is headed by an administrator-mayor, appointed by the Commissioner of the Republic. The administrator-mayor is assisted by a municipal commission, elected by direct universal suffrage. The Commission has deliberative powers on matters of local interest, including the municipal budget, the administration of the commune's property and public works.

97. The status of the communes is not affected by the law of 16 April 1955, but a draft law concerning the municipal organization of Overseas France, which, at the time of writing, awaits a third reading in the French National Assembly, would, *inter alia*, confer on the towns of Lomé, Anécho, Atakpamé and Sokodé, the status of *communes de plein exercice*, having each an elected municipal council and a mayor elected by the council.

98. Apart from the commissions municipales, there are no local government bodies below the level of the cercle. However, chiefs at the levels of the village and the canton and, in the north, of the tribal area exercise, in addition to their traditional duties, such administrative functions as preserving order, maintaining roads, ensuring sanitation, keeping the civil register and collecting taxes.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

99. The task of the Mission arises from the announcement of the Government of the United Kingdom that it is in favour of terminating the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under British administration when the Gold Coast attains its independence in the very near future (see para. 48 above).

100. The Territory in question has been administered for the past forty years, first under mandate and then under trusteeship, as an integral part of the Gold Coast. Out of this close and long association, Togoland under British administration has naturally become closely aligned, in the fields of education, economic development, medical, public health and legal systems, and—more particularly—in the development of political institutions, with the Gold Coast.

101. The Mission travelled extensively throughout Togoland under British administration and had the opportunity of meeting members of representative institutions, representatives of all political parties and groups in the Territory, both individually and in deputations, and attended numerous well-organized large mass rallies. (In this regard the Mission expresses its particular appreciation for the facilities afforded by the Administering Authority for allowing large mass rallies to be organized. All of these passed off peacefully and without incident, owing to the efficient but unobtrusive arrangements made by the authorities as well as to the discipline and organizing ability shown by the political parties themselves.) From such extensive personal

discussions and contacts, as well as from the very large numbers of written memoranda submitted to it, the Mission has been able to ascertain fairly fully not only the views of the people of Togoland under British administration regarding the political future of their territory arising from the announcement of the United Kingdom Government regarding the termination of trusteeship, but also the extent of public support for the different solutions suggested.

102. Two main views have been put forward before the Mission. The first view favours integrating Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast when the latter becomes independent, and the second favours establishing the identity of Togoland under British administration as separate from the Gold Coast, as a preliminary to allowing the people of Togoland under British administration to choose whether (1) to federate with the Gold Coast, or (2) to unite with an independent Togoland under French administration, with the Territories thus unified to be federated eventually with the Gold Coast. The first view has been put forward by the Convention People's Party (the party now in power in the Gold Coast) and by the Northern People's Party (which like the Convention People's Party, has its headquarters in the Gold Coast)—both of which are united on this particular issue—as well as by their ancillary parties and groups, notably the group of the traditional Chiefs, who exercise a particularly strong influence in the Northern Section. The second view has

been put forward by the Togoland Congress Party, the All-Ewe Conference, which is now considerably less active than previously, and ancillary parties and groups, including a few Chiefs in the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration. It appears to the Mission that there is overwhelming support for the first-mentioned view in the area north of the Buem-Krachi district. There is some support for the second view in the Buem-Krachi district and progressively larger support in the southern—predominantly Ewe—districts of Kpandu and Ho. Opinion in this area is so markedly divided between the two rival views that a formal consultation of public opinion through some form of voting alone would be able to establish their relative strength.

103. As Article 76 b of the Charter lays down that the progressive development of the peoples of Trust Territories towards self-government or independence should be in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned and in view of the division of opinion in Togoland under British administration regarding the political future of that Trust Territory, it is clear that a formal consultation with the people will be necessary to decide this question. All the major political parties in Togoland under British administration and the Administering Authority itself are agreed that this should take the form of a plebiscite. The Mission agrees that a plebiscite would be the most democratic, direct and specific method of ascertaining the true wishes of the people on a question of such fundamental importance as the future of their territory.

104. The Mission has found that while one section of public opinion is in favour of making permanent the existing close association between Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast by the integration of the former with the latter when the Gold Coast attains its independence, the other section of public opinion urges the formal termination of the hitherto close union of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast as the first essential step before the ultimate future of the Trust Territory is determined. As there is a basic difference of opinion among the people of Togoland under British administration on this question of fundamental importance, it appears to the Mission that, in accordance with the basic principles of trusteeship and of democracy, the people of Togoland under British administration should first be called upon to decide this question by a plebiscite.

105. The Mission has carefully considered what questions should be put to the people in the plebiscite. In doing so, it has been guided by the principle that the issue should be put to the people in simple and clear terms. The first question should clearly be whether the people desire integration with the Gold Coast, as urged by the Convention People's Party and the Northern People's Party. The second question arises out of the request of the Togoland Congress that Togoland under British administration remain under trusteeship, after its separation from the Gold Coast has been formally achieved, pending the ultimate settlement of its political future at a later date. The second question should, therefore, make this clear by giving the people an opportunity to choose to remain under trusteeship, after separating from the Gold Coast, until a practicable future status for the Territory can be finally determined at the earliest feasible date. In these circumstances, the

Mission recommends that the following questions be put at the plebiscite:

(1) *Do you want the integration of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast?*

(2) *Do you want the separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under trusteeship, pending the ultimate determination of its political future?*

106. As noted in paragraph 100 above, Togoland under British administration has, for the past forty years, been administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast and a large body of public opinion in the Territory is in favour of continuing this relationship permanently. The Togoland Congress has urged, however, that before a plebiscite is held, the formal separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast be established by the setting up of a separate legislature for the Territory. Such a legislature would have very limited, if any, budgetary and other powers and its political authority would clearly have to be subordinate to that of the Administering Authority. Further, in the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration, a proposal for such a legislature, separate from that of the Gold Coast, would be strongly opposed. Lastly, as the proposed plebiscite itself would be held in order to decide whether there should be a separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast, three members of the Mission consider that the creation of such a purely temporary legislature for Togoland under British administration prior to the holding of the plebiscite would be unnecessary and would delay the decisive plebiscite.

107. One member of the Mission, Mr. Tarazi, considers that before any popular consultation is held concerning the future of Togoland under British administration, it is necessary to provide the Territory with institutions of its own, functioning independently of those of the Gold Coast. In his view, the present administrative union goes far beyond its proper scope, since it embraces not only the economic but also the constitutional and administrative organization. The Gold Coast Legislative Assembly enacts laws which apply to Togoland under British administration and some district councils exercise authority over both Territories. To ensure that Togoland under British administration retains its status as a Trust Territory during the period of the popular consultation, and to avoid any interference from political organizations with headquarters in the Gold Coast, the "constitutional" separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast should be proclaimed. Mr. Tarazi suggests that specific measures to be taken should include the setting up of a separate Assembly for Togoland under British administration, composed of representatives of that Territory alone. This would enable the various groups in Togoland under British administration to meet and put forward their different points of view. The plebiscite would give final effect to the deliberations and discussions of the qualified and responsible representatives of the people of Togoland regarding their future. The problems already facing the electorate are so complex and will have such repercussions that it would be helpful if they could first be debated in the Assembly strictly within the framework of the Trusteeship System and its essential objectives. The powers and functions of the Assembly should be formulated in such a way as

to allow its members freely to discuss the subjects which might be brought before them.

108. As already stated (see para. 102 above), the Mission found that in the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of integration of the Territory with the Gold Coast. In view of the distinctive ethnic and linguistic characteristics of the population and of general conditions in this area, the Mission felt that its future should be determined, not by a majority of the total vote in the Trust Territory, but by a majority of votes within this area. In the southern districts of Kpandu and Ho, the Mission found opinion well divided between the supporters of integration and those who advocated independence for a unified Togoland. In these districts, moreover, the majority of the population is Ewe and the question of Ewe unification has exerted considerable influence on the course of events in this region in recent years. The Mission therefore felt that, for this region also, the results of the plebiscite should be taken separately and should determine its future according to the choice of its own voters. Between the Northern Section and the Ewe districts of Kpandu and Ho lies the Buem-Krachi district, which, while treated for administrative purposes as part of the Southern Section, contains populations of different racial composition and with other distinctive ethnic and linguistic characteristics. Even within this district, the Mission noted that, in its northern parts, public opinion strongly favoured integration with the Gold Coast, while in its southern parts, opinion was divided between integration and unification, as was noted in the Kpandu and Ho districts. The Mission accordingly recommends that the Buem-Krachi district be divided into two separate areas for the purposes of the plebiscite, in order to ensure the greatest possible measure of satisfaction for the aspirations of its populations. The line separating these two areas should be drawn across the Trust Territory to correspond with the southern boundary of the Akan local council area. This line, moreover, forms the boundary between the two constituencies of the Legislative Assembly into which the district is divided. The Mission thus recommends that the results of the plebiscite be determined separately in the following areas:

- (1) The Northern Section of Togoland under British administration, taken as a single unit;
- (2) The Kpandu and Ho districts, taken together as a single unit;
- (3) The Buem-Krachi district north of the southern boundary of the Akan local council area;
- (4) The Buem-Krachi district south of the southern boundary of the Akan local council area.

The future of each of these four units should be determined by the majority vote in each case. There should, however, be one exception to this, based on considerations of effective administration. If the voting in the separate units in the Buem-Krachi district should result in leaving either or both of those units with a decision different from that reached in the regions both to the north and to the south of it, it would become virtually impossible, for economic, administrative and other reasons, to ensure the effective functioning of such a politically isolated area, which should therefore have no alternative but to follow the same course as the two adjacent regions. The Mission believes that determination of the future of the Trust Territory on the basis

stated above would provide its people with a truly democratic way of expressing their wishes as to their political future and should find wide acceptance in the Territory.²¹

109. If the people of Togoland under British administration, both in the northern and the southern parts, decide in favour of the first alternative at the proposed plebiscite, that is, integration with an independent Gold Coast, no further public consultation to ascertain the wishes of the people would be necessary. Similarly, if either the northern or the southern part alone decide in favour of integration with an independent Gold Coast, such wishes of the people of that part should be implemented when the Gold Coast attains its independence.

110. On the other hand, the plebiscite might reveal that the people, either of the entire Territory or of the northern or southern parts, prefer separation from the Gold Coast pending further determination of their future. Adoption of this choice would necessitate continuance of trusteeship over that part of the Territory, pending the ultimate decision as to its future. It would therefore be necessary for the Administering Authority to be asked to continue its trusteeship for a further limited period for this purpose.

111. The Mission has detailed (see chapter IV below) the arrangements which it suggests should be made for the holding of the plebiscite. As matters now stand, both the Administering Authority and the Government of the Gold Coast have expressed their preference for the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast. The Mission therefore has suggested, in order to avoid any possible accusations of partiality in the conduct of the plebiscite, the appointment of a special United Nations Commissioner with appropriate ancillary staff to serve as United Nations observers. Such an appointment would create confidence among all political parties and sections of the people in Togoland under British administration and reassure world opinion as to the absolute fairness of the plebiscite.

112. As has already been noted by the General Assembly, the question of the political future of Togoland under British administration (either as a whole or its northern or southern parts only), in the event of a decision by its people in favour of separating from the Gold Coast, is bound up with the political future of Togoland under French administration. The Mission has, therefore, in the course of its extensive visit to Togoland under French administration (during which it visited every one of its ten districts), ascertained from representative bodies, as well as from individuals and all political parties and groups which met it in large numbers, their wishes regarding the political future of Togoland under French administration. While, to the Mission's regret, the Administration deemed it unwise to give the same facilities in Lomé and Palimé for political parties to invite the Mission to their rallies as had been the case in Togoland under British administration, the Mission attended rallies of the two main parties at three other places, all of which were well-organized and well-disciplined and passed off without incident, due to the arrangements made by the local authorities. The Mission also received, in every part of Togoland under French administration, unprecedented numbers of

²¹ Mr. Tarazi accepts this paragraph, subject to what he has stated, as noted in paragraph 107 above.

communications regarding the political future of the Territory. By means of extensive discussions, public meetings and communications, the Mission has, therefore, been able to judge the relative strength of the two main viewpoints held by the political parties in Togoland under French administration regarding its political future.

113. As in the case of Togoland under British administration, the forty years of association of Togoland under French administration with France, first under mandate and later under trusteeship, have caused the educational, legal, medical and public health systems, its economic life, and especially the development of its political and public institutions to fall into the pattern of those of France.

114. The Parti togolais du progrès (PTP) and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo (UCPN) and their ancillary parties which, at present, provide most of the members of the Government Council and the entire membership of the Territorial Assembly, are all vehemently in favour of continuing the association of Togoland under French administration with the French Union and desire the very early termination of trusteeship so as to enable Togoland under French administration to become a full member of the French Union. They have no objection to Togoland under British administration, being the much smaller territory, joining Togoland under French administration, provided however, that the unified Togoland remains in the French Union.

115. The Comité de l'unité togolaise (CUT) and the Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise (Juvento) and their ancillary parties, on the other hand, desire the immediate grant of independence to Togoland under French administration, so as to enable it to unite with Togoland under British administration, prior to deciding whether such a unified Togoland should join the French Union, the Gold Coast or remain independent.

116. Though the Mission has to note with regret that opposition parties in Togoland under French administration do not have quite the same facilities for carrying on their political activities as is the case in Togoland under British administration, it found that north of Sokodé, the CUT and Juvento had few supporters, the people of this area following the somewhat autocratic leadership of the chiefs as well as of the UCPN, were overwhelmingly in favour of the early integration of Togoland under French administration in the French Union. In the area south of Sokodé, however, and particularly so in the Ewe areas, there is an appreciable body of public opinion which supports the viewpoint of the CUT and of Juvento in favour of the idea of an independent Togoland under French administration unifying with an independent Togoland under British administration, prior to deciding upon the ultimate political future of the unified territories. At the same time, there exists, in the same areas, very considerable support for the views of the PTP and its ancillary parties, in favour of continued association with the French Union.

117. While in Togoland under French administration there are, clearly, distinct differences of opinion on the important question of the political future of the country, the Mission considers that only a freely conducted consultation of the wishes of the people of the Territory would disclose the real strength of the two opposing views.

118. The Mission was interested to learn from discussions with the Administering Authority that the French administration itself contemplates holding, in due course, some form of consultation with the people of Togoland under French administration to ascertain their wishes for the future, consequent upon the resolution, adopted by the newly-elected Territorial Assembly, in favour of terminating the trusteeship of Togoland under French administration and its incorporation in the French Union.

119. The Administering Authority of the neighbouring Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration has declared (see para. 48 above) that the objectives of the International Trusteeship System will shortly have been substantially achieved in that Territory and that, therefore, the Trusteeship Agreement should be terminated. This declaration has naturally led to an expectation among all political parties and sections of the people in Togoland under French administration (where economic, educational and social progress has been noticeably greater than in Togoland under British administration) that that Trust Territory should also acquire autonomy or independence at an early date. In the best traditions of France, which gave the modern world its conception of liberty, the Administering Authority is itself eager to accelerate the political and other progress of Togoland under French administration so as to put it in the vanguard of all French territories in West Africa and to prepare it as quickly as possible for the stage where the continuation of trusteeship would no longer be necessary.

120. In accordance with the principles of trusteeship and of democracy, it would obviously be for the people of the Trust Territory to decide finally—when the Administering Authority signified that the territory is fit for self-government or independence—as regards their political future. In view of the educational, medical, social and other material advancement which has taken place recently in Togoland under French administration, the beginning which has been made in the field of political development, and the further acceleration of progress in that field, the Mission was glad to hear that the Administering Authority itself is contemplating certain important constitutional measures. The Mission hopes that these will include the introduction of direct election, by universal adult suffrage and secret ballot, of members of the conseils de circonscription, the grant of greater responsibility and independent authority to such councils as well as to municipalities, the conferring of greater authority on the Territorial Assembly and an increase of its powers of control over the Government Council. As a result of such measures, in a very few years, the Territory should be in a position to express its wishes regarding its political future on the attainment of the objective of trusteeship, namely, self-government or independence.

121. The most effective and direct method of ascertaining such wishes of the people of Togoland under French administration would be, as in the case of Togoland under British administration, by a plebiscite. As stated earlier, the Administrative Authority itself is of the view that the wishes of the people of Togoland under French administration should, in due course, be ascertained and it recognizes the advantages of a plebiscite for this purpose.

122. As has already been noted, through forty years of history, the language, institutions and political deve-

lopment in Togoland under French administration have all become aligned with France. While the PTP and the UCPN (and their ancillary parties) wish to make the association between Togoland under French administration and the French Union a permanent one, the CUT and Juvento (and their ancillary parties) desire, first, the termination of the connexion between Togoland under French administration and the French Union, prior to unification with Togoland under British administration and the subsequent determination of the political future of the unified country. The plebiscite should, therefore, in the view of the Mission, decide whether the people of Togoland under French administration wish self-government within the French Union, and on what conditions, or whether they desire the termination of their connexion with the French Union and independence.

123. Though Togoland under French administration is considerably larger, both in area and in population, than Togoland under British administration, its recent notable progress in the fields of communications, education, medicine and social services, have been financed very largely by aid received from France. It seems hardly likely that Togoland under French administration would be able, as a separate, independent State, to finance the present rate of its development or progress, and the Mission therefore considers that its future progress would best be ensured by its association with a larger unit. However, it would be for the people of the Territory to express their wishes finally in this matter, when the time comes, if they ultimately decide to terminate the association of Togoland under French administration with the French Union.

124. After the political future of Togoland under French administration has been finally decided along the lines suggested above, which might well be capable of achievement within a very few years, the Mission believes that a further step should be taken. It is of the opinion that, if in any part of Togoland under British administration a majority vote favoured separation from the Gold Coast, with the result that it continued under trusteeship after the Gold Coast had attained its independence, that part of the Territory should then be called upon to decide upon its future. That is, it should decide, in a final plebiscite conducted in a similar manner to that proposed for the earlier plebiscite in Togoland under British administration, whether it would join the Gold Coast or Togoland under French administration as it might then be, since its continuance as a separate administrative unit for more than a few years would be neither beneficial to its people nor practicable for the Administering Authority.

125. The Mission sincerely hopes that with the assistance of such enlightened and democratic Administering Authorities as the United Kingdom and France, the suggestions made above would provide a democratic and practicable solution at an early date of the question of the future of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration and would give to the world a practical demonstration of the attainment by two Trust Territories of the objectives of trusteeship and the decision by their own people of the political future of their Territories.

CHAPTER IV

ARRANGEMENTS FOR A PLEBISCITE IN TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

A. INTRODUCTION

126. Since the Mission has recommended the holding of a plebiscite to enable the population of Togoland under British administration to express its wishes and determine the future of the Territory, it has undertaken an examination of the detailed provisions which should ensure the effective operation of the plebiscite and secure the general acceptance of its results.

127. In drawing up proposed arrangements for this plebiscite, the Mission has acted on the basis that there are considerable advantages in following, as closely as possible, the provisions of electoral laws already in force in the Territory. These were first applied with success in 1954, when general elections were held in the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory, with the vote taken on the principles of universal adult suffrage by secret ballot. Since the population was, at that time, able to acquire familiarity with elections of such a kind, and since all the principal groups of the population of the Territory have expressed the wish that any plebiscite held be based on similar principles, and have also expressed preference for a simple system of balloting which would be readily understandable not only to literate persons but to illiterate persons as well, the Mission's proposals for the plebiscite adhere closely to the provisions in force in 1954, subject only to certain necessary modifications.

128. The Mission recognizes that responsibility for the organization and conduct of the plebiscite will of necessity rest primarily upon the Administering Authority in view of its responsibilities in the Trust Territory under the Trusteeship Agreement. In the exercise of this responsibility, the Mission presumes that the Administering Authority will act through the agency of its local representative, the Governor of the Gold Coast. At the same time, it believes that the experience gained by the officials of the Administration in the elections of 1954 and the availability of material facilities and personnel for establishing, supplying and manning registration offices and polling stations will enable the Administration to carry out the plebiscite in a fully satisfactory manner.

129. While in Accra, the Mission had a discussion with the Governor on the subject of the practical aspects of holding a plebiscite and obtained from him certain indications of steps which it might be possible for him to take, as representative of the Administering Authority, bearing in mind the necessity of ensuring the utmost possible impartiality in the organization and conduct of the voting. The Mission understood that it was contemplated to appoint a Commissioner, to be selected by the United Kingdom Government, who would not be a member of the Gold Coast Public Service and who would be directly responsible to the Governor, with the

duty of taking charge of all detailed plebiscite arrangements. The Governor explained that he envisaged that the terms and rules for the conduct of the plebiscite would be laid down in consultation between the United Nations and the Administering Authority. The detailed arrangements would then be provided for under legislation to be enacted by him in his discretion and would not be subject to formal approval by the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly or Cabinet. To fill responsible positions in the administrative organization for the plebiscite, the Governor indicated that he envisaged the employment of officers drawn from other territories. He further told the Mission that he contemplated certain control measures which would be necessary at the time of registration and at the time of voting to prevent the plebiscite from being influenced by an influx of voters from neighbouring territories. The Mission considers that the arrangements for the conduct of the plebiscite should follow this general pattern.

130. The Mission regards it as essential, however, that there should be full United Nations observation and supervision at all stages of the arrangements for the conduct of the plebiscite and it has been informed that the presence of United Nations observers is also envisaged and expected by the Administering Authority. In the opinion of the Mission, such United Nations observers should be enabled to observe and to report on all phases of the plebiscite, and should be given access to all information and facilities necessary for that purpose.

131. In order to ensure co-ordination of the activities of the United Nations observers, who would, of necessity, be stationed at various points throughout the Trust Territory, the Mission recommends that a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner be appointed by the General Assembly. The Plebiscite Commissioner should be empowered to observe all stages of the plebiscite, from the registration of voters to the counting of votes and the hearing of election petitions, and to make representations to the representative of the Administering Authority in the Trust Territory, namely, the Governor. In particular, he should be enabled to make representations to the Governor concerning the preparation and adoption of rules and regulations with regard to registration and voting, the general conduct of the plebiscite at all stages, and any other matters relating to the plebiscite. He should, in addition, direct the activities of the observers. Similarly, the United Nations observers, acting under the direction of the Plebiscite Commissioner, should be empowered to make representations to local officials of the Administration in charge of plebiscite arrangements in the respective areas allotted to them. The Plebiscite Commissioner, the United Nations observers and other staff should be given all necessary facilities by the Administration to carry out their duties.

132. The Mission further suggests that the Plebiscite Commissioner should be instructed to report to the General Assembly on the conduct of the plebiscite and, in particular, on the extent to which it has constituted a fair and free expression of the wishes of the peoples concerned.

133. The Mission recommends that the Plebiscite Commissioner should be assisted by a sufficiently large group of United Nations observers to ensure that at least one observer is stationed in each plebiscite electoral district to supervise the registration, voting and general

conduct of the plebiscite in that district, and by such other staff as may be deemed necessary. The Mission recommends that the observers and other staff be appointed by the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Plebiscite Commissioner.

134. The more detailed observations and recommendations of the Mission with regard to the establishment of electoral districts for the plebiscite, the qualifications of voters, the preparation of a new register of voters, provisions governing the campaign, and the procedures to be followed during and after the voting are set forth below.

B. ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

135. As already stated (see para. 67 above), fourteen electoral districts for elections to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly lie wholly or partly within Togoland under British administration. Of these districts, which do not correspond to the present administrative districts of the Trust Territory, eight cover areas in both the Gold Coast and the Trust Territories and six cover areas entirely within the Trust Territory itself.

136. For the purpose of a plebiscite to determine the future status of Togoland under British administration, the electoral districts and parts thereof must be confined to the boundaries of the Trust Territory. In fixing electoral districts for the plebiscite, the Mission feels that regard must first be had to the way in which the final vote is to be interpreted.

137. With regard to the Buem-Krachi district, the Mission recommends that the district be divided into two parts, corresponding to the two present electoral constituencies, and each should, under certain conditions, exercise a right of local option. In that district, therefore, the Mission considers that the existing electoral districts should be maintained.

138. Elsewhere, the Mission recommends that the plebiscite results should be determined on the basis of much larger areas and the criterion for determining electoral districts should be that of administrative convenience. It might, in practice, be convenient to establish each administrative district as an electoral district, except in those cases where the resulting electoral district would be too large for effective control.

139. In the case of the Mamprusi administrative district, it would be necessary, because of the difficulty of communications, to divide the district into two electoral districts consisting, respectively, of (1) the portion of the present South Mamprusi East electoral district which lies within the Trust Territory; and (2) the Kusasi areas lying within the Trust Territory.

140. The Dagomba administrative district (exclusive of the Nanumba District Council area) could form two electoral districts consisting, respectively, of (1) the local council areas to the north of Yendi; and (2) the area around to the east of Yendi.

141. The section of the present Gonja East electoral district lying within the Trust Territory is too small to constitute an electoral district and might well be combined with the Nanumba District Council area of the Dagomba administrative district to form a single electoral district.

142. In the opinion of the Mission, the existing administrative districts of Kpandu and Ho are sufficiently compact to each constitute an electoral district.

C. QUALIFICATIONS OF VOTERS FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE PLEBISCITE

143. It was the expressed desire of all sections of the population that voting in a plebiscite should be by universal adult suffrage, as is already provided under existing law. On the question of the precise qualifications of voters, however, opinion was divided. The main points of difference related to requirements as to place of birth or nationality and as to the minimum age of voters. In general, the Togoland Congress and others favouring the eventual unification of the two Togolands asked that voting be limited to persons over eighteen years of age whose fathers and grandfathers were born in Togoland and who had paid a local government rate during the year preceding registration. On the other hand, the Convention People's Party and other groups seeking the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast requested that qualifications corresponding to those established for local government elections be applied to voters in the plebiscite.

144. The qualifications for voting in local government elections in the Trust Territory are set forth in the Local Government Ordinance, 1951. Under this Ordinance, any person, whether male or female, is entitled to be registered in a ward of an electoral district and when so registered to vote in that ward in local council elections if he or she meets the following requirements:

(a) Has attained the age of twenty-one years at the date of his application to register;

(b) Either owns immovable property within, or has for a period of at least six months out of the twelve months immediately preceding the date of his application to register, resided within the ward in respect of which the application is made;

(c) Being liable thereto, has paid for the current or preceding year the basic rate levied by the local or district council in the area of which the ward lies;

(d) Has not been sentenced to death or to imprisonment for a term exceeding twelve months or has not been convicted of any offence involving dishonesty, unless five years have elapsed since his release from imprisonment;

(e) Is not a certified lunatic;

(f) Has not been convicted of an offence connected with elections.

145. To qualify as an elector in Legislative Assembly elections, a person must, in addition, be a British subject or a British protected person or be serving in the armed forces of the Crown or the Gold Coast Police Force. This requirement permits persons born in British territories, including territories other than Togoland under British administration, and in Commonwealth countries, as well as foreign nationals serving in the armed forces or the police, to register and vote in the Gold Coast central government elections provided that they have the proper residential and other qualifications, but excludes other residents of the Trust Territory who, however, may register and vote in local government elections. Since this particular qualification gave rise to one of the main difficulties in the registration in 1954 of electors in the Gold Coast and Togoland, when a common register of central and local government electors was drawn up, and since few persons in the Trust Territory have sought the inclusion of this qualification as a

requirement for the purpose of registering and voting in a plebiscite, the Mission considers it advisable to exclude it as a requirement for the purpose of a plebiscite.

146. In connexion with the suggestion that the age qualification be reduced to eighteen years of age—the age when a person first becomes liable to the payment of local government rates—the Mission notes that such a proposal was put forward prior to the revision of the electoral law in 1953. The proposal was, however, rejected on the ground that normally a person of eighteen had not reached sufficient maturity as an elector and it was decided to retain the age limit of twenty-one years required for elections in the past. In view of the fact that this is the qualifying age generally accepted in many countries, the Mission suggests that this requirement be retained for the plebiscite in the Trust Territory.

147. With regard to the advisability of establishing a qualification as to place of birth or nationality qualification, as compared to a residential requirement, for the purpose of voting in the plebiscite, a brief review of the distribution of the population of the Territory based on the census of 1948 may be pertinent. Of a total enumerated African population of 382,717²² in Togoland under British administration, 317,778, or 83 per cent, were born in the Trust Territory; 29,457, or 7.7 per cent, were born in the Gold Coast (7,254 in the Colony, 1,718 in Ashanti and 20,485 in the Northern Territories); and 35,482, or 9.3 per cent, were born elsewhere. Of the population enumerated in the Gold Coast, a total of 51,005 were born in Togoland under British administration. In the absence of a more recent census, it is not possible to determine the present distribution of the population.

148. In the complete absence of a general register of births, marriages and deaths covering the persons directly concerned in the plebiscite, a birth qualification would be difficult, and in many cases impossible, to prove.

149. Moreover, since Article 76 b of the Charter lays down that the "freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" are to be taken into account in the fulfilment of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System, the Mission considers that it would be undesirable to exclude from voting in the plebiscite persons who are in fact *bona fide* inhabitants of the Trust Territory.

150. To permit persons resident outside the Trust Territory who consider themselves inhabitants of the Trust Territory to participate in the plebiscite would also present certain difficulties. Past experience in plebiscites after the First World War of permitting persons outside the plebiscite area to participate has shown that such a system is liable to abuse even where civil registers of births and deaths exist to substantiate the claim of eligibility. In the case of Togoland under British administration, it may be expected that even if the registration and voting is restricted to persons resident in the Territory, one of the major difficulties in carrying out the plebiscite will be to exclude persons from neighbouring territories from the registers of voters.

151. With regard to the qualifying period of residence required, the Mission considers that six months, as fixed by the existing electoral laws and recommended

²² There were 6 non-Africans in the Northern Section of the Trust Territory and 45 non-Africans in the Southern Section. The total population of the Territory, including that enumerated, amounted to 383,563, according to the census.

for adoption for the purpose of the plebiscite by the Convention People's Party, would be too brief a period of residence in the Territory to qualify a person to vote on the future of the Territory. On the other hand, to require residence over a long period, for example twenty years, as desired by the Dagomba District Council, would present difficulties of proof of residence. The most desirable period of time, in the opinion of the Mission, would be one which would, first, permit proof of *bona fide* residence to be offered and, secondly, extend beyond the time when the population became generally aware of the possibility that the future of the Territory might be determined by plebiscite.

152. Bearing these considerations in mind, the Mission considers that two years of residence would represent a sufficiently long qualifying period to constitute *bona fide* residence and would, at the same time, be short enough to be reasonably easy of proof in the event of claims or objections. Naturally, this period of residence might have been interrupted by temporary absences from the Territory, which should not be construed as non-residence during the two-year period if such absences do not cover more than one half of the period in question. In the event of claims or objections, tax receipts, in the case of those liable to taxation, would serve to establish *prima facie* evidence of residence, as would enrolment on the existing register of electors.

153. The Mission was informed that one major difficulty which arose in the registration of 1954 related to the requirement that the basic rate be paid in respect of either the current or the previous year by those liable. At that time (January to February 1954) there had been no basic rates imposed by certain local councils for the previous year (1952/53) and in some areas, rate collection for the current year (ending 31 March 1954) had not yet properly started. In a few areas of the Gold Coast, people were permitted to vote without paying the basic rate, since no rate has as yet been levied. This caused some resentment in other areas where the basic rate had been levied. During its visit to the Trust Territory, the Mission was told that many people, though liable to do so, were not paying their annual rates. Unless there were further improvement in local government rate collection machinery by the time of the plebiscite, and if payment of the rate by those liable were to be a requirement for registration and voting, it may be assumed that in some areas a significant number of people would be disenfranchised. The Mission considers that to restrict participation in the plebiscite on grounds related to matters of local taxation would be objectionable in principle and has therefore not recommended that the payment of the basic rate by those liable be adopted as a qualification for voting in the plebiscite. It considers, however, that the presentation of a tax receipt when registering would be the primary and normal manner of establishing proof of residence in the Trust Territory.

154. The Mission considers, therefore, that a person should be entitled to be registered in a ward of a plebiscite electoral district, and when so registered to vote in the plebiscite in that ward, if that person meets the following requirements:

(a) Has attained the age of twenty-one years at the time of registration;

(b) Has resided within the Trust Territory for a period of at least twelve months during the two years immediately preceding registration;

(c) Is, at the time of registration, residing within the ward in which he or she applies to register;

(d) Is not disqualified by reason of the disqualifications²³ listed in the Local Government Ordinance, 1951.

D. REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

155. Prior to the general elections to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly in 1954, a new register of voters for each electoral ward in an electoral district was prepared. containing on the same register the names of persons eligible to vote in local government elections as well as in Legislative Assembly elections, the latter being specially identified in view of the differences in the qualifications of voters. The registration regulations in force in the Territory, namely, the Electoral Provisions (Registration) Regulations, 1953, contained detailed provisions for the preparation of new registers of local and central government electors every four years and for the annual revision of the registers, beginning in December 1954.

156. The Mission considers that the preparation of a special register of voters for the plebiscite will be necessary. A mere revision of the electoral register of 1954, as suggested by the Convention People's Party and certain other sections of the population of the Trust Territory, would not be advisable for the purposes of this plebiscite. The registration of voters is one of the most important aspects of the arrangements preliminary to the holding of the plebiscite, and the Mission considers that United Nations observation at all stages of the preparation of the register is therefore desirable.

157. For the preparation of a special register of voters entitled to vote in the plebiscite, sufficient time should be allowed to ensure accurate and comprehensive registration. The Mission further suggests that, in order to avoid confusion, registration for the plebiscite should not take place at the same time as the revision or preparation of registers of electors for central and local government elections in the Territory.

158. For each electoral ward within an electoral district, a separate register of persons qualified to vote in the plebiscite should be prepared and published. The Mission recommends that arrangements be made to ensure that a person is registered as a plebiscite voter in only one ward and allowed to vote only in the ward in which he is registered. The register for each ward should constitute *prima facie* evidence for the purpose of determining whether a person is or is not entitled to vote in the plebiscite in that ward.

159. Improvements in the method of drawing up registers are required in order to avoid difficulties similar to those experienced on polling day during the elections of 1954. The Mission was advised that one of the main problems had been that of finding the names of persons inscribed in the register of electors for the ward. The many possible spellings of a personal name and the difficulty of distinguishing one surname from another were contributing factors and would appear to limit the usefulness of having a register of voters arranged solely in alphabetical order at polling stations.

160. The Mission suggests that, in addition to an alphabetical list, a list of voters in numerical order of their registration should be available at the polling

²³ See para. 144 above.

station. A number should be assigned to each person at the time of registration and recorded on the registration receipt. The presentation of this receipt at the polling station should enable the immediate location of the name on the numerical register. The Mission was informed that a large proportion of voters retained their registration receipts during the general election of 1954 and it may be anticipated that many more will retain their receipts if specifically requested to do so. The alphabetical register would then be required only as an auxiliary register for persons presenting themselves at the polling station without their registration receipts.

161. Under the registration regulations currently in force, twenty-one days are allowed for persons claiming to be entitled to register to submit their notices of claims to the appropriate registration officer, but this period was extended to thirty-five days during the registration of 1954 since claimants were at first slow in coming forward. The Mission recommends that consideration be given to fixing a 35-day period for the purpose of the plebiscite.

162. Under the current registration regulations, the registration officer is required to examine the qualifications of the claimant and to receive such evidence as may be necessary to satisfy him that the claimant possesses the qualifications required for the claim made. When so satisfied, the registration officer is required to register the claimant in the register of electors for the ward, and to deliver to the claimant a signed receipt. Within thirty-five days from the last day allowed for claims to be made, the registration officer must cause to be made and exhibited, in such places as he deems fit, a copy of the register of electors for each ward for which he is appointed. If he deems it expedient, he may exhibit in any sub-ward within the ward such part of the register as relates only to that sub-ward.

163. Within ten days after the exhibition of the copy of the register of electors in any ward or sub-ward, any person who contests the omission of his name from the register or any entry made against this name to restrict him from voting in central government elections, is required to so notify the registration officer and to present his claim. Any person whose name appears on the register may within the same period give notice that he objects to any other person whose name appears on the register.

164. Within seven days following, the registration officer shall cause to be prepared and exhibited, in each place where the register or part thereof was exhibited, a list of claims of omissions and objections.

165. Within ten days after the publication of this list, a revising officer is required to hold an open court in the electoral district for the purpose of revising the registers of electors. Six days' notice of the holding of the court must be given. The revising officer is required to examine the claims and objections and to amend the register in cases where he is satisfied that the claims or objections are valid. If an objector or claimant appears neither in person nor represented by counsel, the objection or claim, as the case may be, shall be overruled. If the revising officer is of the opinion that the claim or objection of any person is without foundation or frivolous, he may order that person to pay the costs of the inquiry, including the costs of witnesses.

166. Within seven days from the date of commencement of the court, the revising officer must deliver to

the registration officer the finally settled and signed registers of electors of the electoral district.

167. In practice, the registration of local and central government electors in 1954 was said to have proceeded satisfactorily and without disturbances or major incidents. The two main difficulties related to the qualifications of voters, as already indicated (see paras. 145 and 153 above). It was felt, however, that the time allowed for various procedures was too short. In particular, the period of ten days for the submission of claims and objections to the registration officer was considered inadequate, especially for those people who had to travel long distances to centres where the registers were exhibited.

168. For the purpose of plebiscite registration and the carrying out of United Nations observation of the registration, the Mission recommends that adequate time be allocated for each step of the registration procedure and, in particular, that the time fixed for the examination of claims and objections be considerably extended.

169. The Mission suggests that the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner arrange for the observation of the initial stages of the registration in each of the electoral districts by such staff of United Nations observers as he considers necessary for this purpose. The Mission considers it essential that a United Nations observer, stationed in each of the electoral districts, be present during the hearing of all claims and objections by a revising officer. Each of these observers should be provided with a copy of the original register, the list of claims and objections, and the finally settled and signed register of electors for every ward and sub-ward in the area to which he is assigned. He should be responsible for reporting to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner on the conduct of the registration in that area.

E. PROVISIONS GOVERNING THE PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

170. In previous plebiscites of an international character, it has been usual for certain regulations to be issued concerning the methods of pre-election campaigning. These regulations have specified the rights of the political parties and have, in particular, been aimed at seeking to guarantee freedom of speech and assembly, while ensuring public order.

171. The Mission's experience in Togoland under British administration has convinced it that the existing laws and regulations permit a wide freedom of speech and assembly and that the police, in maintaining order, exercises a high degree of judgement and impartiality. Moreover, the political parties, at least in the Southern Section, show a degree of tolerance and political maturity which is most commendable, considering the vital nature of the issue dividing them.

172. The Mission is satisfied, therefore, that no special regulations on this question are required, beyond ensuring that the customary rights of free speech and right of assembly and of electioneering are ensured to all political parties and groups, subject to the maintenance of public order. At the same time, the Mission wishes to emphasize the need for all interested parties and groups to help in making the plebiscite fair and impartial.

F. VOTING PROCEDURES

173. Throughout the Territory the Mission was asked by all sections of the population to recommend a simple system of voting in the plebiscite, and preferably, the system with which the people had already become familiar. Therefore the Mission recommends that voting procedures corresponding to those governing the general elections of 1954, as set forth in the Electoral Provisions (Assembly Elections) Regulations, 1954, should, subject to certain modifications, be applied for the purpose of the plebiscite.

174. Under these regulations, candidates are designated by coloured symbols and the voter records his vote, not by marking a ballot paper, but by placing it in a sealed ballot box bearing the name and symbol of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote. In the same way, each of the two questions to be put to the voters in the plebiscite should be given a symbol to permit illiterate as well as literate voters to record their votes without outside assistance. The Mission suggests that these symbols be selected by the representative of the Administering Authority, in consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and representatives of the political parties within the Trust Territory.

175. Each candidate for election is authorized by the regulations to appoint two persons as polling agents at each polling station for the purpose of detecting any attempt at personation and to appoint one person as counting agent to attend at the counting of votes. The Mission considers it advisable for the purpose of the plebiscite to extend such an authorization to each of the political parties within the Trust Territory. As stipulated in the regulations currently in force, the non-attendance of such agents should not invalidate proceedings.

176. While a period of thirty-five days is allowed by the current regulations between the publication of the final register and election day, a much shorter period would, in the opinion of the Mission, be adequate for the purpose of the plebiscite since time need not be allocated for the nomination of candidates and their pre-election campaign. The explanation of the purpose of the plebiscite and the questions to be posed, as well as general campaigning can proceed at the same time as registration.

177. With regard to the establishment and organization of polling stations, the existing electoral regulations require that a returning officer appointed for each electoral district provide in each ward a sufficient number of polling stations and allot the electors within the ward to these polling stations in such a manner as he thinks most convenient. He is to supply each polling station with, *inter alia*, copies of the register of electors for that polling station, screened polling booths, ballot boxes, and ballot papers, each ballot paper being numbered and attached to a counterfoil bearing the same number. Each polling station is under the charge of a presiding officer appointed by the returning officer, who may also appoint such polling assistants as he thinks fit to assist at the voting.

178. On polling day, immediately before the voting begins, the presiding officer at each polling station is required to show to such persons as may lawfully be present that the ballot boxes are empty; he is then to close and seal the boxes and to keep them closed and sealed until the voting is completed.

179. Every elector desiring to vote is to present himself to a polling assistant at the proper polling station. The polling assistant, after satisfying himself that the name of the elector appears on the register of electors for that polling station and that the elector has not already voted, must deliver a ballot paper to him. First, however, the ballot paper must be marked on one side with an official mark; the number, name, address and description of the elector as stated in the register must be called out; the number of the elector in the register must be marked on the counterfoil of the ballot paper; and a mark must be placed against the number of the elector in the register to denote that a ballot paper has been received but without showing the number of the ballot paper.

180. On receiving a ballot paper, an elector is required to have his left thumb pressed on a pad impregnated with ink sufficiently indelible to leave a mark for about ten hours. He must then go immediately into one of the screened compartments and record his vote.

181. If an elector, due to blindness or other physical disability, is unable to cast his vote, he must call the presiding officer aside and tell him privately the name of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote, and the presiding officer must place the elector's ballot in the appropriate box.

182. The regulations in force also provide for postal voting on a limited basis by permitting election officers to vote *in absentia*. The system devised appears not to have been successful and its restriction to election officers was resented in some areas. Since a system of postal voting is, in any case, open to abuse by persons who are not *bona fide* inhabitants of the Trust Territory, the Mission considers that only persons presenting themselves at the appropriate polling stations should be allowed to vote in the plebiscite.

183. Detailed provisions concerning personation are set out in the regulations. If a candidate's polling agent charges, before an applicant for a ballot paper has left the polling station, that the applicant is guilty of personation and undertakes to substantiate the charge in court, the presiding officer may order the arrest of the applicant. The applicant is not to be prevented from voting, but the words "Protested against for personation" are to be entered against his name in the marked copy of the register of electors. If the applicant admits to personation, however, he is not to be allowed to vote, and if he has already voted, the presiding officer must note the number of the ballot paper, which is to be declared invalid.

184. If a person applies for a ballot paper after another person has already voted in his stead and if the presiding officer is satisfied that the applicant is the elector named in the register of voters and that he has not already voted, the current regulations require that the applicant be given a ballot paper, called a tendered ballot paper, of a different colour from ordinary papers. Instead of being put into the ballot box, the tendered ballot is to be endorsed by the presiding officer with the name of the elector and his number in the register and with the name of the candidate for whom the elector wishes to vote. The ballot is then to be set aside in a separate packet and not to be counted with the ordinary ballots, and the name of the elector and his number on the register of electors is to be entered on a "tendered votes list", admissible in any legal proceedings arising out of the election.

185. The procedure established by the current regulations requires that, as soon as practicable after the voting, the presiding officer, in the presence of candidates' polling agents, is to make into separate packets, each sealed with his own seal, and deliver to the returning officer the following:

- (a) Each ballot box, unopened and sealed so as to prevent the introduction of additional ballot papers;
- (b) Unused and spoilt ballot papers;
- (c) Tendered ballot papers;
- (d) The marked copies of the register of electors;
- (e) The counterfoils of the used ballot papers; and
- (f) A list of tendered votes.

186. The packets are to be accompanied by a statement showing the number of ballot papers entrusted to the presiding officer and the number of these spoilt and the number unused.

187. The Mission was informed that ensuring the safe custody of ballot boxes had presented the most difficult problem faced by government agents during the elections to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly of 1954. Some polling stations were three days' march from a motorable road and across swollen and unbridged rivers. Instructions had been issued requiring, *inter alia*, police escort during delivery of the boxes by the presiding officers to the returning officers, the latter being required to see that the boxes were safely housed and guarded in the nearest police station if they had to remain unopened overnight. The system seems to have worked well since no complaint of tampering with ballot boxes was reported in connexion with the elections.

188. The regulations in force provide that the ballot papers are to be counted by the returning officer in the presence of counting agents appointed by the candidates. The returning officer is, as far as practicable, to proceed continuously with the counting until it is complete. He is to open a ballot box and count and record the number of ballot papers in it before opening another ballot box. Any ballot paper which does not bear the official mark is not to be counted, and is to be endorsed by the returning officer with the word "Rejected". He is to add the words "Rejection objected to" if a counting agent objects to his decision.

189. The decision of the returning officer on any question arising with respect to a ballot paper is final and subject to review only on an election petition questioning the election.

190. Existing regulations provide that, after the votes have been counted, the returning officer must seal the counted and rejected ballot papers in separate packets for each candidate, showing outside of each packet the name of the candidate. He is then to verify the ballot paper account given by each presiding officer by comparing it with the number of ballot papers which he himself has recorded, the unused and spoilt papers in his possession, and the tendered votes list, resealing each packet after examination. Statements showing the number of ballot papers rejected for want of the official mark and the results of the verification of the ballot paper account must be prepared by the returning officer and may be copied by any counting agent on request.

191. When the result of the election has been ascertained, the returning officer is to declare elected the candidate receiving the majority of votes. If no candidate can be declared elected because of an equality of

votes, the returning officer must order a recount, and if there is again an equality of votes, a new election must be held for the electoral district concerned.

192. For the purpose of the plebiscite, the Mission recommends that the results of the vote by electoral district or part thereof be made public as soon as the count has been completed. It may be pointed out that the submission of election petitions would be contingent upon the announcement of the results of the vote.

193. Upon the completion of the counting of votes, the returning officer is, under the current electoral regulations required to arrange with the Chief Registrar of the Supreme Court for the safe custody of all documents relating to the conduct of the election; these shall be destroyed after six months unless the Court has ordered otherwise in connexion with proceedings relating to the election.

194. The current regulations also contain provisions concerning offences and penalties relating, *inter alia*, to the secrecy of the vote, bribery, treating, undue influence, personation, and interference with lawful public meetings held in connexion with the election.

195. The Mission recommends that such provisions be maintained for the purpose of the plebiscite, subject to the necessary modifications, for example, in the regulations concerning candidates for election.

196. While it understands that the elections of 1954, like the registration, were carried out in a generally satisfactory and orderly manner, the Mission was informed that the experience gained in these elections had pointed to the need for some improvement in certain of the technical arrangements provided for under the electoral regulations, as illustrated below.

197. There was some confusion during the elections of 1954 with regard to the use and disposition of tendered ballots and some clarification of the procedure would appear necessary for plebiscite purposes.

198. Polling booths were often inadequate to ensure the complete secrecy of the vote in that the screens used were so transparent that the actions of the voter could be seen by those outside.

199. The hours fixed by the electoral regulations for voting—6 a.m. to 6 p.m.—were also considered excessively long, especially in view of the preparations to be made immediately before the opening of the polling station by polling officers, and the desirability of completing before nightfall the compilation of ballot paper accounts and the preparation of other materials for delivery to the returning officer. On the other hand, the termination of voting at 6 p.m. was interpreted to mean that no vote was to be put in the ballot box after that time, even though people might already have arrived at the polling station and be waiting to vote before 6 p.m.

200. The finding of numerous ballot papers outside of the ballot boxes, whether on top of the boxes or on the floor, or stuffed between the boxes rather than in the proper slot in the box of the voter's choice, would point to the need for the further instruction of the electorate as well as the frequent checking of polling booths.

201. The Mission suggests that for the purpose of the plebiscite any necessary modifications to existing regulations be entrusted to the Administering Authority, acting through the Governor.

202. The Mission suggests that the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner should instruct the United Nations observers concerning their observation of the plebiscite arrangements to be made in the period immediately preceding the day of the vote. On polling day, each United Nations observer should, in the Mission's opinion, visit as many polling stations as practicable in the area to which he is assigned.

203. With regard to arrangements for the counting of the votes, the Mission recommends that ballot boxes should be opened and the ballot papers counted only in the presence of a United Nations observer. Each United Nations observer should also have access to all information connected with the results of the voting in the electoral district to which he is assigned. This should include information on election offences, charges of improper voting, etc.

G. PETITIONS ARISING OUT OF THE PLEBISCITE

204. The Mission recommends that a special procedure should be established to receive and examine petitions containing allegations relating to the conduct of the plebiscite which would, if proved, modify the results of the plebiscite or render it invalid in any electoral district.

205. Existing regulations provide for the trial by a Divisional Court of the Gold Coast Supreme Court of election petitions challenging the results of a Legislative Assembly election or alleging the disqualification of an elected candidate for corrupt or illegal practices during the elections. Such petitions may be filed, by the Attorney-General or any person entitled to vote, within one month from the date of publication in *The Gold Coast Gazette* of the results of the election.

206. For the trial of charges arising out of plebiscite petitions challenging the declared results of the plebiscite,

the Mission recommends that the Administering Authority be requested to establish a special court, headed by a judge appointed from outside the Trust Territory and the Gold Coast. The court, in rendering its decision, should include a finding of fact on each such petition. The decision should be duly recorded and submitted to the representative of the Administering Authority responsible for the conduct of the plebiscite. This report should also be made available to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, who, in any case, should be enabled to attend the proceedings of the court. If the court's finding of facts makes it necessary, the representative of the Administering Authority, in consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, should be empowered to declare invalid the results of the plebiscite in any particular electoral district and order a new vote in that district.

207. The Mission also suggests that provision be made to discourage frivolous and fraudulent petitions challenging the results of the plebiscite.

208. The Mission further suggests that the period for the submission of plebiscite petitions be shortened and that the court procedures be expedited so that the Plebiscite Commissioner may be able to transmit his report to the General Assembly as quickly as possible after the conclusion of the plebiscite.

H. TIMING OF THE PLEBISCITE

209. The holding of the plebiscite would require, on the basis of the procedures described above, approximately four and one-half months from the beginning of registration until the counting of votes. The Mission wishes to call attention to the advantage of setting a date for the voting which will ensure that the processes of registration and voting do not fall in the rainy season, lasting from mid-May until late October.

ANNEX I

SUMMARY OF VIEWS EXPRESSED TO THE MISSION IN TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

1. PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS AT ACCRA

1. The mission arrived in Accra by air on 10 August 1955 and spent three days in the capital of the Gold Coast before proceeding north to Tamale on 13 August. The greater part of the Mission's time in Accra was devoted to preliminary discussions with the heads of government departments and to consideration of its detailed itinerary in Togoland under British administration.

2. On 11 and 12 August, the Mission had discussions with, respectively, the Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke and with the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and other Ministers of the Gold Coast Government, at which it received valuable information concerning political questions and developments in the Trust Territory and also in the Gold Coast.

3. From the time of its arrival in the Gold Coast, the Mission made itself available as much as possible to receive representative groups and individuals from the Trust Territory, and during its stay it held two informal meetings with leaders of the Togoland Congress, and with the Reverend F. R. Ametowobla, member of the Legislative Assembly for Ho East. In the course of these meetings, the Mission received the first of the policy memoranda (see annex III below) setting forth the views of the Togoland Congress. In this document, the Togoland Congress stated that its objective was to achieve the unification and independence of the two Trust Territories of Togoland. It considered, however, that the time was not ripe for an immediate plebiscite because (1) there was, as yet, no indication whether or when Togoland under French administration might join with Togoland under British administration after the latter became independent, and (2) the existing administrative union of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast was prejudicial to a fair test of opinion. The Togoland Congress proposed that the separate entity of Togoland under British administration should first be established by the creation of a separate legislative organ for the Territory. Thereafter, a plebiscite should be held at such time as the people of Togoland under French administration were also ready to determine their future.

2. THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES COUNCIL

4. On 13 August 1955, the Mission travelled by air from Accra to Tamale (also in the Gold Coast and the administrative headquarters of the Northern Territories region, which includes the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration) where, on the following day, it had a meeting with the Standing Committee of the Northern Territories Council.

5. The Northern Territories Council is a regional advisory body, representative of, and concerned with, the welfare of an area of which the Northern Section of British Togoland forms a relatively small part. The Council consists of twenty-two members, twenty-one of them elected by district councils and one by a joint session of two local councils (both in the Gold Coast). The Mission was informed that, at the time of its visit, the Council included four representatives from Togoland under British administration; one of these was also a member of the Standing Committee, which consists of eight members.

6. In discussion with the Standing Committee, the Mission was told that a very large part of the population was in favour of integration of the Northern Section of British Togoland with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast in order to safeguard the unity of the tribes (Dagomba, Mamprusi and Kusasi) whose people inhabited both sides of the border. According to the members of the Standing Committee, loyalties in the North were largely based on tribal groupings and persons from the South were regarded as strangers. The members estimated that probably

less than 5 per cent of the population of the Northern Section of British Togoland would vote against integration with the Gold Coast. Mr. S. D. Dombo, the President of the Northern People's Party (NPP), the candidates of which won half of the constituencies either wholly or partly within the Northern Section in the elections to the Legislative Assembly in 1954, said that the NPP supported integration of the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

3. THE MAMPRUSI ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT

(a) *The Kusasi area*

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Agolle ¹	Bawku (Gold Coast)
East Agolle	Tempane

7. The Kusasi chief, the Bawku-Naba, lives at Bawku, just outside the border of Togoland under British administration. In a formal meeting with the Mission, he expressed the desire of his people as a whole to remain under the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusi, the Na-Yiri, and to be under British rather than French rule.

8. At Pusiga, the Mission met the local chief and certain councillors from the wards of the Agolle Local Council lying within the Trust Territory. They expressed a desire not to be separated from their brothers in the Gold Coast and emphasized their wish to remain under the Bawku-Naba and the Na-Yiri. Mr. Jambadi Awuni, NPP member of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly for the Kusasi central electoral district, was also present and read, on behalf of the electorate, a statement in favour of integration with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

9. The Mission was unable, owing to torrential rain, to reach Tempane, where it was to have met the local chiefs and people, including members of the East Agolle Local Council. However, the Tempane-Naba and a few other spokesmen, including Mr. Amadu Seidu, the representative of the area on the Northern Territories Council, forded a swollen stream and, together with several other persons living on the near side of the stream, made statements to the Mission. They emphasized the loyalty of the people of their area to the Bawku-Naba and to the Na-Yiri and expressed their desire to remain with the Gold Coast. They expressed the view that if, against their wishes, the two parts of Togoland were united, only their lands would be unified, but they themselves would join their brothers in the Gold Coast. Mr. Amadu Seidu, who is a supporter of the Convention People's Party (CPP), made a statement to amplify a previously-submitted written communication in favour of the elimination of the "artificial boundary" between Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast and of association with a self-governing Gold Coast.

(b) *The South Mamprusi area*

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Nalerigu ¹	Nalerigu (Gold Coast)
Yunyoo	Yunyoo
Bunkpurugu	Bunkpurugu

10. The paramount chief of the Mamprusi peoples, the Na-Yiri, lives at Nalerigu. When the Mission visited the Na-Yiri and his elders, it was presented with a written statement in which the view was expressed that the wishes of the people of Togoland under

¹ Only partly within the Trust Territory.

British administration should be ascertained by a plebiscite and that the issues presented should be simple, namely: (1) "Do you wish to join with the Northern Territories?"; or (2) "Do you wish an independent Togoland?". The electoral system in force for elections to the Legislative Assembly should be used. The Na-Yiri claimed that much of the Northern Section of the Trust Territory, as well as considerable areas of Togoland under French administration and of the Upper Volta, had previously owed allegiance to him. He made no claim to speak for any people under French administration, but asked for the immediate removal of the "imaginary" boundary dividing his people in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration. He declined to say how many of his people living in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration might ask to be unified with people in the Southern Section of that Territory, pointing out that that must be left to the referendum to determine, but he said that the relations between his people in Northern Togoland and the people in the south was one of friendship, whereas their relations with their neighbours in the Gold Coast was one of brotherhood.

11. Mr. Bawumia Mumuni, member of the Legislative Assembly for South Mamprusi East, which consists of the local council areas listed above, also spoke to the Mission at Nalerigu. He said that he was sure that the overwhelming majority of his constituents in Northern Togoland wanted integration with the Gold Coast and to be united with the Na-Yiri Kingdom; all their tribal fetishes were at Nalerigu. He added that the people had no links with Southern Togoland but that the Mission would probably meet a very few who had been tempted by southern politicians to demand unification.

(i) *The Nalerigu local council area*

12. Only a small portion of this area lies within the Trust Territory and that portion could not be visited by the Mission.

(ii) *The Yunyoo local council area*

13. The area covered by this local council lies wholly within the Trust Territory and the people are mostly of the Konkomba tribe. At Yunyoo, the Mission met the Yunyoorana, various sub-chiefs and members of the Yunyoo local council. The Yunyoorana said that he and his people "followed the Na-Yiri" and wanted to be integrated with the Gold Coast. Three sub-chiefs expressed the same view and four members of the local council said that they were opposed to unification of the two parts of Togoland, that they knew that the Na-Yiri was their "father" and that they wanted "to stay with him".

(iii) *The Bunkpurugu local council area*

14. The population of this area is predominantly of the B'Moba tribe, of which some members reside in the adjacent areas of Togoland under French administration.

15. While proceeding to the headquarters of this area at Bunkpurugu, the Mission stopped at several villages along the road, notably at Nakpanduri, just across the border from the Gold Coast. There, the chief stated that the B'Moba people owed allegiance to the Na-Yiri and wished to be associated with the people of the Gold Coast under his rule. He claimed that all his people agreed with him. An elder and the *tendana* (land priest) agreed. On the other hand, Mr. Nyankuen, a young man, son of the late chief, expressed some concern that the people of Ashanti and the Colony might exercise undue influence over them when the white man left the Gold Coast.

16. Just as the Mission was about to leave, it was presented with a memorandum from the B'Moba branch of the Togoland Youth Organization, subscribed to by Mr. Nyankuen and by ninety other persons, all of whose marks had been witnessed by Mr. J. P. Kona, local secretary of the Togoland Congress. By this memorandum, the Mission was asked to recommend that Togoland themselves be allowed to decide their future by means of a referendum or any other democratic process considered appropriate by the United Nations. Opposing integration with the Gold Coast before the independence of Togoland under British administration, the Togoland Youth Organization sought a separate legislature for the Trust Territory until such time as the

peoples of the two parts of Togoland could decide upon their future.

17. The Mission questioned several of the persons whose names were listed on the memorandum; some of them expressed ignorance of its contents, while others, including Mr. Nyankuen, stated that they had signed it because they were Togoland. The chief appeared to be very angry that a communication had been presented to the Mission other than through him and requested the Mission to return it to him.

18. A similar incident occurred at a second village, at Binde. The chief, who was a Mamprusi in a mixed area, stated that his people called the Na-Yiri their father. The chief wanted an election to be held and considered that those already registered should have the right to vote. His people did not wish for unification with Togoland under French administration or independence. A young farmer in the area, Mr. Samsah, presented a communication from the Binde Branch of the Bimoba Youth Organization, and stated in simple terms that he considered himself a Togolander. The communication, in addition to seeking a "referendum under the United Nations Commission for 1956", alleged that powerful chiefs in the Gold Coast had deceived the chiefs and traditional rulers in the Trust Territory by telling them that if the two parts of Togoland were unified, they would be placed under French administration, and that many of the local chiefs had been threatened with imprisonment or removal from their stool. The marks of the nine subscribers to this communication, as in the case of the memorandum mentioned in paragraphs 16 and 17 above, were witnessed by Mr. J. P. Kona of the Togoland Congress.

19. The chiefs of several other smaller villages met the Mission on the road and stated that the Na-Yiri was their "father" and that they were for integration. They stated that they were speaking on behalf of all their people and they were not contradicted.

20. The torrential downpour which began just as the Mission reached Bunkpurugu created so much noise on the metal roof of the meeting hall that it was impossible to hear anything else and proceedings began about an hour late. Meanwhile, most of the persons present surrounding the Chief, the Bunkpurugu-Naba, had presented the Mission with small pieces of paper containing such slogans as "We abhor integration", "We demand separate legislature for Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship", "We demand independence" and "We demand unification at all costs". The Mission also received several communications, identical in terms and format with those presented before, and all witnessed by Mr. Kona. One of these bore the stamp of the Bunkpurugu-Naba himself and the marks of nineteen sub-chiefs.

21. When the noise had subsided, the Bunkpurugu-Naba admitted that he had put his mark to the communication in question, but said that he himself had no views on the issue of the future of Togoland under British administration and would await the outcome of the vote of his people on the matter. Meanwhile, he asked the Mission to give him and his people advice on the questions raised in the communications presented by his people. He said that some of his subjects were in Togoland under British administration and some in Togoland under French administration and that the differences among his people should be settled by elections.

22. The Mission questioned seven of the sub-chiefs who had signed the communication in question. The majority said that they did not know its content, but five of them stated that they were Togoland and wanted separation from the Gold Coast and unification of the two parts of Togoland.

23. Several Chokossi tribesmen, who had subscribed to one of the communications and who stated that they represented thirty-four refugees from Togoland under French administration, spoke in favour of the unification of the two parts of Togoland, but not under French rule.

24. Mr. Kona, secretary of the local branch of the Togoland Congress, then spoke. He stated that he had carefully explained the communications which he had circulated to the various persons who had put their marks thereunder and that they had willingly done so. If some of them now said that they did not know what was in the communication which they had endorsed, they meant that they were illiterate and could not read its contents. He

then spoke strongly in favour of unification. He added that the people of the area had formerly been ruled by the Chokossis and had been placed under the Na-Yiri only in 1922. The B'Mobas were divided by the frontier and their paramount chief was at Bogu, in Togoland under French administration. Mr. J. P. Kona supported a referendum, in which he thought all persons resident in the Territory, including those who had recently settled there, should be allowed to vote.

25. Only one man present at the meeting, a Moshi headman who had been in the village for nine years, spoke in favour of integration with the Gold Coast.

26. When the Mission paid a final courtesy call on the Na-Yiri at Nalerigu on the following morning, he handed it a letter which he had just received and which bore the stamp of the Bunkpurugu-Naba. In it, the latter stated in apologetic terms that he had been misled by Mr. Kona and assured the Na-Yiri of his continued loyalty. His final words were "Separation down - Integration up".

4. THE DAGOMBA ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT

27. This district lies partly within the Gold Coast and partly within the Northern Section of the Trust Territory. It consists of two traditional states: Dagomba and Nanumba, each of which has a district council.

(a) *The Dagomba district council area*

28. This area is coextensive with the traditional Dagomba state the paramount chief of which, the Ya-Na, resides at Yendi in the Trust Territory. Western Dagomba lies within the Gold Coast; Eastern Dagomba, which is within the Trust Territory, has a mixed population composed in part of Dagomba tribesmen and in part of Konkombas, Chokossis and, to a lesser extent, B'Mobas, who acknowledge the overlordship of the Dagombas. These latter tribesmen live for the most part to the east of the area, close to the border with Togoland under French administration, where considerable numbers of their fellow-tribesmen live. These various tribesmen are represented among the non-traditional members of the district council and of the local councils in their respective areas.

29. The following local councils of the Dagomba district council area (with headquarters at Yendi) are situated wholly or in part within the Trust Territory:

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Yendi	Yendi
Gushiago	Gushiago
Sunson	Sunson
Mion ²	Sambu
Kworli	Zabzugu
Yelsori	Nakpali
Chereponi	Chereponi

30. At a meeting held at Yendi on 19 August 1955 the Mission met the Ya-Na, the members of the Dagomba district council and of the Yendi Yelsori and Kworli local councils. A joint statement was presented on behalf of, and signed by, the Ya-Na and the chairmen of these bodies. The statement expressed the hope that the Mission would recommend to the Trusteeship Council the best method to "satisfy our demand to be reunited with our brothers, sisters and relatives living in the Gold Coast". The statement further added that the chiefs and people of the portion of the Dagomba state in Togoland under British administration maintained the views which they had set forth in previous written and oral petitions to the United Nations. In connexion with the suggestion that the Mission might recommend the holding of a plebiscite, the statement noted that the chiefs and people were prepared to accept any method of ascertaining the wishes of the inhabitants provided the procedure was simple and easily understood by the average person, who was illiterate.

31. At a subsequent hearing held at the Mission's office in Yendi, the Dagomba district council presented a written communication. The spokesman for the district council said that its members were in favour of a plebiscite, provided that it was decided

² Only partly within the Trust Territory.

on a state (or district) basis. There should be two ballot boxes, one for votes in favour of integration with the Gold Coast and one for votes in favour of unification with Togoland under French administration. Eligibility to vote should be determined by customary law, i.e. only those might vote who were Togolandese by birth or who had resided in the Territory for twenty years and had paid poll tax during that period. Persons resident permanently in the Gold Coast should be disqualified. The minimum age for voting should be eighteen years and both men and women should participate.

32. At the same meeting, the Mission heard oral presentations and received written communications from a large number of groups, chiefs and individuals. These included the Dagomba Togoland Youth Association, affiliated with the CPP, the Yendi branch of the NPP, the membership of which covers the Eastern Dagomba district, the Dagomba Youth Organization, the Konkomba Youth Association, which claims a membership of about 550 persons in the Yendi, Saboba and Demon local council areas, the elderly chief of Naho, representing an important Konkomba area in Eastern Dagomba, who had made a long and arduous journey to meet the Mission, the Bogu-Na, who claimed to represent six villages on the Yendi local council, the chief of Gbungbalaga, and various other associations, such as the Kworli Farmers' Union, the Bumbaliga and Adibu Farmers' Association, the Yendi Drivers' Union, the Lorry Park Collectors' Union and the Yendi Market Women's Society. These organizations, and various individuals, all expressed their desire for integration with the Gold Coast in order to maintain the unity of the Dagomba state. The only matter on which differing opinions were expressed concerned the procedure for a referendum. The Togoland Youth Association shared the view of the Dagomba district council that there should be a plebiscite and that only two alternatives should be offered, namely integration or unification. The Association's spokesman further said that the vote should be restricted to men and women over eighteen years of age who were either born and resident or settled for twenty years in Togoland. He believed, however, that an exception should be made in the case of native-born Togolandese in the Civil Service serving in the Gold Coast. The Dagomba Youth Association, in its oral presentation, asked for a separate plebiscite in the Dagomba area (excluding the Nanumba area) and stated that the questions to be asked in the ballot should be whether the elector owed allegiance to the Ya-Na or to any other paramount chief. It considered that the qualifications for admission to the ballot should be the same as for the Legislative Assembly and that the age-limit should be twenty-one. The Konkomba Youth Association held views similar to those of the Dagomba district council, but believed that eligibility to vote should be strictly in accordance with traditional custom and that children over six years of age should be admitted to the ballot.

33. At the same meeting, the Mission heard an oral presentation from a representative of the Sokodé Youth Association who stated that he had fled many years previously from Togoland under French administration and that he wished to remain under the administration of the Gold Coast.

(i) *The Gushiago local council area*

34. This area is situated in the north-west of the Dagomba district council area. Its population consists primarily of Dagombas.

35. The Mission met the local council and heard an address read by the president, the Gushei-Na. It was stated that the people of the area were totally against unification and wished for integration with the Gold Coast, where their property and traditions lay. This statement was confirmed by several members of the council, including a Konkomba member, who stated that his people were satisfied with the leadership of the Dagombas and shared their views on the matter.

36. No dissentient view was expressed.

(ii) *The Sunson local council area*

37. This area lies to the north of Yendi and is wholly within the Trust Territory. Its population consists of Dagombas, with a rather large group of Konkombas. Its headquarters is at Sunson, fifteen miles north of Yendi.

38. Sunson was visited on 20 August 1955 by two members of the Mission. Despite rain, the Mission members were received by the Sunson-Na, the local council members and a sizable group of villagers. The Sunson-Na presented a statement on behalf of the local council, stating its opposition to unification and the desire of the people to be joined with their fellow-Dagombas in the Gold Coast. He presented the Mission members with two communications which demanded unification of the two parts of Togoland and which, he said, had been given to him by illiterates who had received them from Ewe politicians secretly active in the area.

39. Despite some expressions of disapproval by his "linguist", the chief invited others in the audience to express their opinions. One member of the local council supported the demand for integration and Mr. J. Bledu, a representative of the Konkomba Youth Association, presented a memorandum expressing the same desire. The latter stated that, although there were some Konkomba tribes in Togoland under French administration, they consisted of different clans with different dialects and customs and had little in common with their relatives in British Togoland. He also presented the Mission members with twenty-one slips of paper containing demands for unification which, he said, had been circulated among illiterates by Ewe politicians.

(iii) *The Mion local council area*

40. This area lies about eight miles west of Yendi and is partly in Togoland under British administration and partly in the Gold Coast. Its headquarters is at Sambu in Togoland. The population is mainly Dagomba.

41. Sambu was visited by two members of the Mission on 20 August 1955. A meeting was held at the headquarters of the local council and was attended by the chief, the Mionlana and the members of the local council. A written statement by the chief on behalf of the council was read to the Mission members by two members of the council, a sub-chief and a local farmer. All were strongly in favour of integration and asked for abolition of the boundary between the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration. Despite heavy rain, a large group of villagers assembled and demonstrated against Togoland unification.

(iv) *The Kworli local council area*

42. This area is situated south of Yendi, east of the Oti River. Its population consists mainly of Dagombas and Konkombas.

43. Owing to the condition of the river, the Mission was unable to visit this area, but it received the chief of Kworli and the Kworli Farmers' Association at its offices in Yendi. The chief of Kworli, in a written communication submitted on behalf of the local council and people of his area and the Kworli Farmers' Union, in an oral presentation, stated their desire for integration with the Gold Coast.

(v) *The Yelsori local council area*

44. The Mission was unable to visit this area, which also lies east of the Oti River. The chief of the area signed the joint statement referred to in paragraph 30 above, on behalf of the local council.

(vi) *The Chereponi local council area*

45. The Chereponi local council area is situated in the north-east of the Dagomba district. It is inhabited predominantly by Chokossis; there are also a number of Konkombas and B'Mobas.

46. The local council is composed of nine members, including two Konkombas and one B'Moba. The highest ranking chief in the area is the Chereponi-Fame, Chief of the Chokossi, who owes allegiance to the Ya-Na of Yendi.

47. Two members of the Mission met the Chereponi-Fame, the elders of the area and the members of the local council on 20 August 1955. The Chereponi-Fame told the Mission that his people wanted integration with the Gold Coast and that they did not want to be separated from the latter territory, under the administration of which they had been for nearly forty years. He also told the Mission that the Chokossi tribe was divided into two parts by the frontier between the two parts of Togoland and expressed the hope that those now living in the Territory under

French administration would eventually be allowed to join their brothers in the Territory under British administration. In reply to a question by the Mission members, he stated that, should his people be asked to express their wishes by a vote, they would understand the voting procedure and would know how to vote.

48. The views of the Chereponi-Fame were supported by the acting chairman of the local council as well as by the three non-Chokossi members of the Council. No dissenting views were expressed at the meeting.

49. However, after the meeting, the Mission received four communications requesting unification; two of these were from the Natural Rulers of Chokossi People of Togoland and the Chokossi Branch of the Togoland Youth Organization, and were set forth in similar terms. These organizations wanted unification of the two parts of Togoland as a means of re-uniting the Chokossi tribe and were in favour of holding a referendum in both parts of Togoland in 1956 under the supervision of the United Nations.

50. The two other communications were from refugees from Togoland under French administration now living in Chereponi. These refugees stated that they were Chokossi, born in the Mango area in the Territory under French administration and that they had been persecuted by the French and driven away from their homeland. They requested the unification of the two parts of Togoland.

(b) *The Nanumba district council area*

51. The Nanumba district council area lies wholly within Togoland under British administration. Its population consists mainly of Nanumbas, who are closely related to the Dagombas. The headquarters of the district council is at Bimbilla, the seat of the Bimbilla-Na, paramount chief of the Nanumba tribe. The following local councils are within the area:

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Juo	Wulesi
Bimbilla	Bimbilla
Dakpan	Dakpan
Nakpa	Nakpa

52. The Mission did not visit any of these local councils as such. However, on the morning of 22 August 1955, it held a meeting at Bimbilla with the Bimbilla-Na, chiefs, sub-chiefs and elders of the Nanumba tribe and members of the district council, at which the chairmen of the local councils also spoke. In an address of welcome, as well as in a previously received communication, the Bimbilla-Na declared, on behalf of his people, that they were more closely associated with the people of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast than with those of Southern Togoland. It was therefore their wish to be integrated with the peoples of the Northern Territories and the Gold Coast. A number of chiefs and chairmen of local councils supported this view. They were prepared to accept any form of plebiscite which was simple enough for the people to understand. The only dissenting opinion was expressed by Mr. Alasan Chamba, a nephew of the Bimbilla-Na, and a petitioner before the Fourth Committee at the ninth session of the General Assembly,³ who presented a communication in support of unification of the two parts of Togoland as an independent state. He supported the holding of a plebiscite, but considered that strict United Nations supervision was necessary.

53. Several persons present, including the Bimbilla-Na, denied that Mr. Chamba had any qualifications to speak on behalf of the Nanumba people.

5. THE GONJA DISTRICT

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Alfai	Kpandai
Kpembe ⁴	Kpembe

54. The paramount chief of the Gonjas, the Yabumwura, lives at Damango in the Gold Coast. Only a small part of the Gonja district is situated in the Trust Territory and is populated by

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Fourth Committee, 452nd meeting.*

⁴ Only partly within the Trust Territory.

several tribes which include the Gonjas, Nawuris, Bassaris, Chokosis, Dagombas, Konkombas, Kotokolis and Nchumurus. The Gonjas, although the dominant group, in fact form only a minority of the inhabitants of this area, the most important groups numerically being the Konkombas, Bassaris and Nawuris. This diversity of tribal groups has been a cause of some dissension in the area, among the Nawuri and Nanjuro tribes, some of which have in the past petitioned the Trusteeship Council and have sought to be transferred to the Krachi district.

(a) *The Alfai local council area*

55. The area covered by this local council lies wholly within the Trust Territory and has its headquarters at Kpandai. The membership of the local council is divided among the four principal tribal groups in the area, namely the Konkombas, Nawuris, Bassaris and Gonjas.

56. The Mission met the members of the Alfai local council at Kpandai and received a statement presented on behalf of the council in which a request was made for integration with the Gold Coast. The statement also requested that a plebiscite be held and that, in view of the fact that the majority of the people were illiterate, only one simple question be submitted to the voters, namely, whether or not they wish to join with an independent Gold Coast.

57. Questioned as to whether they all shared the views expressed in the statement, six members of the council said that they did so and the chairman asserted that the statement had been agreed upon by the whole council. Two members, both Nawuris, said, however, that they had not agreed to the demand for integration but only to the request for a plebiscite.

58. After the meeting, the Mission met Nana Atorsa Agyeman, who claims to be the chief of the Nawuris and who opposes Gonja rule. He presented the Mission with a communication relating to the dispute between the Nawuris and Gonjas referred to (see para. 54 above). He also stated that his people desired unification of the two parts of Togoland and, thereafter, the inclusion of Togoland in a Gold Coast federation. He asked that the United Nations should itself select persons to conduct a plebiscite in the Trust Territory.

(b) *The Kpembe local council area*

59. The headquarters of this local council area lies within the Gold Coast and only a small part of the area lies within the Trust Territory. Owing to difficulty of communication, the Mission was unable to visit any part of this area.

6. THE JASIKAN (BUEM-KRACHI) ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT

60. The headquarters of the administration and seat of the district council is at Jasikan. The area includes the whole of the northern part of the Southern Section of the Trust Territory and extends south to the northern boundary of the predominantly Ewe areas. The population of this area is extremely mixed, including in the northern part Krachis, Nchumurus, Adeles, Adjuatis and Ntrubus, in the centre Akans, who are closely akin to the Ashantis in the Gold Coast, and in the southern part Lefanas (Buems), Nkonyas, Likpes, Bowiris, Santrokofis and other small tribes. There are also a considerable number of Ewe immigrants. The district covers the following five local council areas, all wholly within the Trust Territory:

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Krachi	Kete-Krachi
Akan	Kadjebi
Buem	Borada
Biakoye	Bowiri Amanfro
Lipke-Lolobi	Lipke-Mate
Nkonya	Nkonya-Wurupong

61. The district contains two constituencies of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, the Akan-Krachi electoral district, covering the Krachi and Akan local council areas and the Buem electoral district, which covers the remainder. In the general elections of 1954, the CPP candidate in the Akan-Krachi constituency, Mr. Kodjo, was elected with 7,939 votes and Mr. Agbobli, the Togoland

Congress candidate, received 996 votes. In the Buem constituency, Mr. Asare (CPP) received 7,102 votes, while Mr. Odame, the Togoland Congress candidate, obtained 3,947 votes.

(a) *Meetings at Jasikan*

62. On 23 August 1955, the Mission attended a large rally organized by the Togoland Congress, Buem Region, at Jasikan. In an address of welcome, the regional chairman, Mr. A. K. Odame, who had appeared as a petitioner before the Fourth Committee at several sessions, including the ninth session, of the General Assembly,⁵ stated that his organization wanted the reunification and independence of the two Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration. He also stated that the present Trans-Volta/Togoland Council and the Northern Territories Council were not competent to decide the future status of Togoland under British administration because their area of responsibility overlapped with the Gold Coast and that the local and district councils were equally incompetent because they had lost touch with public opinion.

63. At the end of the rally, the Mission received a large number of communications from supporters of the Togoland Congress, many of them in the form of one-line slogans or of brief memoranda supporting one or more of the constitutional proposals submitted by the Togoland Congress, e.g., the setting up of a separate legislature and the holding of a referendum under United Nations supervision in 1956.

64. On 24 August, the Mission attended a large rally at Jasikan, organized by the executive of the CPP for the Akan-Krachi and Buem constituencies. In an address of welcome, the chairman of the executive claimed that his party represented nearly 85 per cent of the population of the area. He stated that his organization wanted integration with the Gold Coast because the latter was soon to be self-governing and Togoland under British administration had benefited immensely from its association with the Gold Coast and should continue to do so. He opposed federation with the Gold Coast, as well as separate independence for Togoland under British administration or unification with Togoland under French administration, stating that the future of the latter Territory was indefinite, that Togoland under British administration was too small to maintain itself as a nation and, as a separate entity, would tend to break up into tribal groups. He asked that a plebiscite be held to determine the wishes of the people on the basis of direct adult suffrage open to Togoland, as follows: (a) "all British Togoland by birth who have paid their annual rates to a local authority within the Trust Territory"; and (b) "all non-British Togoland who own immovable property in Togoland under British administration have resided therein for not less than six months at the time of registration and pay an annual rate to a local authority within the Territory". He opposed the use of the electoral college system as not being suitable for proving the numerical support for the various alternatives proposed and as offering possibilities for corruptive influence.

65. Finally, he asked that the issues to be voted on be restricted to the following two simple alternatives:

(a) "Do you want to be separated from a self-governing Gold Coast?"; or

(b) "Do you want union with a self-governing Gold Coast?"

66. At the end of the rally, the Mission received a few communications, for the most part advocating integration with the Gold Coast.

67. The Mission met the Buem-Krachi district council at Jasikan on 23 August 1955. In an address of welcome, the chairman of the district council endorsed the statements made by Mr. J. K. Mensah, Nana Akompi Firam III and Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance of the Gold Coast and a member of the delegation of the United Kingdom, before the Fourth Committee at the ninth session of the General Assembly⁶ and reaffirmed the desire of the council for continued union with the Gold Coast. The chairman asked that if a test of public opinion were to be conducted, the responsibility for expressing the opinion should be

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Fourth Committee, 452nd meeting.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 449th, 450th and 459th meetings.

placed on the shoulders of the people. He urged the Mission to recommend that a simple and direct plebiscite by secret ballot be organized throughout the Territory to enable adult persons to make their free choice. He asked that only persons who were *bona fide* residents in Togoland under British administration should be allowed to take part in the plebiscite and that they should be asked to decide whether the Trust Territory should be united with the Gold Coast or should be independent of it. Should they express themselves in favour of independence, then further consideration should be given to the forms of independence that the Trust Territory might assume. No dissenting views were expressed by the other members of the district council.

68. On the same day, the Mission held a ceremonial meeting with the Buem State Council, together with many other independent divisional chiefs within the area. During the meeting, a resolution signed by the paramount chief of the Buem State and thirty-eight other chiefs was presented to the Mission. The Council expressed support for integration with the Gold Coast and for a plebiscite. It considered and gave detailed views as to the necessary qualifications required for voting, suggesting that they should be similar to those for local council elections, and indicated that the questions to be presented should be whether to unite with a self-governing Gold Coast or not. Should the plebiscite produce a negative answer, other alternatives could be considered. Subsequently, the Buem State Council separately presented a further statement favouring integration, from which one member present dissented.

69. Under the impression that it would meet farmers to discuss matters concerning agriculture, the Mission attended a meeting of farmers near Jasikan which turned out to be a large political rally organized by the United Ghana Farmers' Council. In the address of welcome, the "regional chief farmer" stated that the farmers wanted integration with a self-governing Gold Coast.

70. Later the same day, the Mission was handed a memorandum by the Togoland National Farmers' Union in which the Union requested the reunification and independence of the two Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration.

71. During its stay at Jasikan, the Mission made itself available to receive deputations and individuals at its offices. The following groups appeared before the Mission and made representations:

(1) The Ex-Servicemen's Legion, Buem-Krachi district, which claims to represent 500 members, submitted a memorandum advocating integration with the Gold Coast and stating that support for unification of the two Trust Territories was restricted to persons of the Ewe tribe.

(2) The chiefs of Tapa State submitted a memorandum in which they expressed the wish to continue their beneficial association with the Gold Coast and added that they had nothing in common with the people of Togoland under French administration.

(3) The Okadjakrom Youth Organization presented similar views.

(4) Mr. Opoku-Afari, a barrister-at-law, submitted a detailed memorandum stating, *inter alia*, that the economic interests of Togoland under British administration required that it be integrated with the Gold Coast.

(b) *The Krachi local council area*

72. The area covered by this local council includes almost the whole of the Krachi sub-district and lies entirely within the Trust Territory. The population consists mainly of Nchumurus, Krachis, Adeles, Adjuatis and Ntrubus.

73. On its arrival at Kete-Krachi on 22 August 1955, the Mission was greeted by a vociferous crowd of persons carrying political placards. In accordance with previous arrangements, it had been intended that on the afternoon of its arrival the Mission would visit the chief of Krachi, the Krachiwura, solely for an exchange of courtesies, it being understood that the Mission would not attend any political rallies in this town and would reserve the following morning for receiving deputations from political groups. In fact, however, the meeting was attended by a large number of supporters of the CPP and took on the character of a political demonstration during which the Krachiwura made a statement to the effect that all his people desired integration with the Gold Coast and that a

plebiscite should be taken on the basis of a register of voters revised to eliminate all persons emanating from Togoland under French administration.

74. At the outset of the meeting, the Krachiwura strongly protested against the presence of the leader of the Togoland Congress and insisted that he leave the meeting on the grounds that "he and his supporters came from outside the district and did not belong there".

75. In view of the political character of the Krachiwura's reception, the Mission agreed to a request by the representatives of the Togoland Congress that it meet the supporters of the latter at another place, it being understood that the sole purpose would be for the Mission to receive petitions. At this second meeting, which also assumed the character of a political demonstration, the Mission received a large number of communications, many of them identical in text, advocating unification of the two parts of Togoland and calling for a plebiscite.

76. On the following morning, the Mission received a deputation from the Krachi branch of the CPP, the chairman of which presented a written memorandum, advocating integration and calling for a plebiscite based on the local government electoral procedures. He told the Mission that the Togoland Congress had little support in Kete-Krachi and had only one representative on the local council. He said that the Togoland Congress had brought its supporters into the town to meet the Mission in order to give weight to their statements, made in the United Nations before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, that they were strongly represented in Kete-Krachi.

77. At the same meeting, the Mission received a deputation from the Togoland Congress, led by a member of the Krachi local council. He submitted a memorandum advocating the unification of the two parts of Togoland. He also made a complaint to the effect that the local authorities had interfered with the activities of the Togoland Congress in the Krachi area, and, in particular, had tried to prevent the supporters of his party from coming to Kete-Krachi. Finally, he expressed the opinion that the Akan and Krachi people were not Togolandians since they had migrated to the Territory during the Ashanti wars. He defined a Togolander as any person speaking the Ewe language.

78. The Mission also received a written memorandum from the youth of the Adjuati division in the Krachi district, supporting the CPP demand for integration with the Gold Coast. The Adjuati division lies entirely within the Trust Territory to the north of Kete-Krachi. Its inhabitants are mostly Adeles and Adjuatis.

79. On the same day, the Mission held a meeting with the Krachi local council at which a memorandum advocating integration was presented.

(c) *The Akan local council area*

80. Two members of the Mission met the Akan local council at Kadjebi on 24 August 1955. This local council area is populated mainly by Akans, with a minority of Ewes, mainly migrant labourers from the south. The chairman of the local council, and chief of the area, is Nana Akompi Firam III who appeared before the Fourth Committee at the ninth session of the General Assembly and spoke in support of continued union with the Gold Coast.⁷

81. In an address of welcome, the chairman read a resolution adopted by the local council, calling for termination of the trusteeship status of Togoland under British administration and integration of the Trust Territory into the Gold Coast, following a plebiscite. Under that resolution, the local council considered that the Trust Territory was too small to be economically viable as an independent unit and independence was politically not feasible as the various tribes would not stand together. The council stated that the economy of the Southern Section depended mostly on the cocoa production of the Buem-Krachi district and that continued association with the Gold Coast was desirable to enable the Trust Territory to benefit from other sources of economic stability. During their visit to Kadjebi, the two members of the Mission saw

⁷ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Fourth Committee, 450th meeting.*

a fairly large number of persons grouped on the streets, most of whom waved flags and shouted slogans indicating support for the CPP platform.

(d) *The Buem local council area*

82. This area is inhabited predominantly by the Lefana-speaking people of the Buem tribe.

83. Two members of the Mission visited the Buem local council at Borada on 24 August 1955 and an address of welcome was presented by the chairman of the council in which, in addition to an account of its normal activities, it was stated that only by integration with an independent Gold Coast could the people of Togoland under British administration hope to enjoy a democratic status.

84. A minority statement was then submitted by Mr. Odamé on behalf of himself and six other members of the council. In this statement, it was proposed that the United Kingdom, if it wished to relinquish its trusteeship over the Territory, should do so in favour of the United Nations, which would then be free to make other arrangements pending the unification of the two parts of Togoland.

85. While there appears to be a clear majority in the council in favour of integration with the Gold Coast, it was apparent from placards and flags displayed outside that there was a considerable division of opinion in the town.

(e) *The Biakoye local council area*

86. This area is inhabited predominantly by a number of small ethnic groups not related either to the Ewes or to the Akans. The principal of such groups are the Bowiris and the Sankotrofis.

87. Two members of the Mission visited the headquarters of the council at Bowiri on 24 August 1955. A moderately large crowd was present at the meeting. The council submitted to the Mission a memorandum on the future status of the Territory in which it expressed itself in favour of integration of the Territory with an independent Gold Coast and the determination of the views of the people by means of a simple plebiscite in which all adults qualified to vote in local government elections could participate.

88. Certain chiefs present, who were not members of the council, expressed themselves in favour of unification of the two Trust Territories, adding that people of the Gold Coast had been their enemies since time immemorial. This view caused a murmur of dissent from the crowd, which was, however, quite orderly.

89. It was quite clear from the placards and flags displayed that this was an area of divided opinion.

(f) *The Lipke-Lolobi local council area*

90. This is a small local council situated near the border with Togoland under French administration and populated mainly by Lipkes. Owing to the short time at its disposal, the Mission was unable to visit this area but met the chairman and vice-chairman of the local council at Jasikan. In a memorandum, the council submitted a resolution calling for union with the Gold Coast and advocating a plebiscite based on universal adult suffrage, utilizing the regulations applicable to elections to the Legislative Assembly. They asked that only two simple alternatives be posed, namely (a) union with an independent Gold Coast, and (b) separation from an independent Gold Coast.

(g) *The Nkonya local council area*

91. This local council area is situated in the south-west of the Buem-Krachi district, close to the areas predominantly inhabited by the Ewe tribe. Two members of the Mission visited the council's headquarters at Ahenkro, where they were met by the chiefs and elders of Nkonya and also by members of the local council. Several memoranda and addresses of welcome were presented. The address of welcome presented by the chiefs and elders of Nkonya and by the local council supported the platform of the CPP. Several other memoranda, however, supported the aims of the Togoland Congress. From the public manifestations it was apparent that there is considerable difference of opinion in this local council area.

7. THE KPANDU DISTRICT

92. The Kpandu district council area includes the northern-most of those parts of the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration which are predominantly inhabited by Ewes. The two principal urban centres are Kpandu, the headquarters of the district, and Hohoe, an important commercial and cocoa buying centre. Both are among the larger towns of the Territory. The following five local council areas in this district are within the Trust Territory:

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Akpini	Kpandu
Gbi-Hohoe	Hohoe
East Dain	Golokuati
Anfoega	Akukome
Ablode	Vakpe Afeyi

The area of the sixth local council in the district, that of Peki Guan, lies wholly within the Gold Coast.

93. The district, including the one local council area in the Gold Coast, contains two constituencies of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, Kpandu North, which covers the Akpini, Gbi-Hohoe and East Dain local council areas, and Kpandu South, which covers the Anfoega and Ablode local council areas within the Trust Territory and the Peki-Guan local council area in the Gold Coast. In the general elections of 1954, the Togoland Congress candidate, Mr. S. G. Antor, was elected in Kpandu North by 8,221 votes, Mr. S. W. Kumah, the unsuccessful CPP candidate, receiving 2,903 votes. In Kpandu South, Mr. G. R. Ahia (CPP) received 6,350 votes, while Mr. D. K. Do (Togoland Congress) received 1,948.

94. On 25 August 1955, two groups of the Mission attended simultaneous rallies of the Hohoe and Kpandu branches of the CPP. The rally at Hohoe was attended by a moderately large number of people. The address of welcome read there contained arguments in support of the integration of Togoland under British administration with a self-governing Gold Coast as the best and only practical solution, and ended with the suggestion that the matter should be determined by plebiscite conducted by secret ballot and universal adult suffrage on the following questions: (a) "Do you want union with the Gold Coast?" and (b) "Do you want unification with Togoland under French administration?" It was strongly recommended that the plebiscite should be confined to the people of Togoland under British administration only.

95. The CPP rally at Kpandu was attended by a large number of supporters of the movement, many carrying placards and wearing the colours of the CPP. In an address of welcome, the Kpandu branch of the CPP expressed the hope that the future of Togoland under British administration would be decided soon by union with the Gold Coast. The memorandum set forth various reasons in favour of integration, notably that Togoland under British administration was not an economically viable unit, that administrative union with the Gold Coast had made it possible for the Territory to advance rapidly and that any solution other than integration would divide the various tribes of Togoland. The party urged that a plebiscite be held by secret ballot and that admission to the electoral rolls be restricted to persons who had paid rates to a local government authority, who owned immovable property in Togoland and who had been resident in the Territory for six months. The party requested that the referendum be based on two alternative questions relating to (a) union with an independent Gold Coast, and (b) unification with Togoland under French administration.

96. On the same day, the Mission had a meeting with the executive committee of the CPP in the Kpandu North constituency, which submitted a considered memorandum to the same effect as that mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

97. The Mission again divided into two groups on 26 August 1955, the respective groups being present at simultaneous rallies of the Hohoe and Kpandu branches of the Togoland Congress. The rally at Kpandu was attended by a large number of supporters of the movement and at the conclusion of the meeting many communications, consisting mostly of written slogans or short memoranda expressing support for the party's policy, were handed to the Mission.

98. In the address of welcome, the Kpandu branch stated that its aim was simple—independence and unification of Togoland; it attacked the change in the position of the CPP between 1952 and 1955 on the question of Togoland unification and concluded by expressing the hope that the Mission had come not to destroy the intent of past resolutions of the United Nations in favour of Togoland unification but to implement them.

99. Statements supporting this view were read by a local chief and by a representative of the women's division of the Togoland Congress. The chief said that the best solution for the Togoland problem was to grant a separate legislature for Togoland through which Togoland representatives of various regions might exchange views and arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The representative of the women's division, speaking in support of unification, stated that the people were ready to accept any suitable kind of referendum.

100. The rally at Hohoe was attended by a large number of supporters of the movement. In the address of welcome, read by Mr. S. G. Antor, the Hohoe branch of the Togoland Congress requested the immediate establishment of a separate legislature for Togoland under British administration and the holding of a referendum in Togoland in 1956 to determine the wishes of the majority. As regards the voting procedure, it stated that only Togoland—*that is, persons whose paternal forebears had come from Togoland—*over twenty-one years of age and having paid local rates should be eligible to vote, and that the voting should be by secret ballot and under the supervision of the United Nations. The present organization of wards of the local council areas within the Trust Territory could be used, but all overlapping wards should be readjusted. At the end of the rally, the Mission received a large number of communications in support of the views of the Togoland Congress.

101. Later that day, the Mission had a meeting with leaders of the Togoland Congress, at which it was presented with a memorandum amplifying, and in some respects modifying, the statements contained in the above-mentioned address. The Congress requested that the first step towards the solution of the Togoland question should be the creation of a legislative organ for Togoland under British administration which would assist the Administering Authority in the government of the Trust Territory, thereby preserving the Territory's separate identity and status. Admission to the electoral rolls should be restricted to persons over eighteen years of age whose father and grandfather were born in any part of Togoland, and who had paid an annual local government rate for the year preceding the date of registration. Once such separate legislature for Togoland under British administration had been created, the next step would be to hold a plebiscite simultaneously in Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, at which the people of the two Territories could freely determine their future status. The representatives of the Togoland Congress also explained orally that they anticipated that the creation of a separate legislature in Togoland under British administration would be followed by constitutional developments in Togoland under French administration, which might facilitate the holding of a referendum in both Trust Territories within a short period of time. Such a plebiscite should be carried out by secret ballot by a special commission to be appointed by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

102. The Togoland Congress proposed that in Togoland under British administration the alternative propositions to be placed before the voters should be the following:

(a) Unification of an independent Togoland under British administration with an independent Togoland under French administration; or

(b) Unification of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast.

In Togoland under French administration the first alternative should be the same, but the second alternative should read "Union of Togoland under French administration with the French Union".

103. In conclusion, the Togoland Congress proposed that the results of the referendum should be determined on the basis of the total number of votes cast for or against unification of both Trust Territories (see annex III below).

104. In the course of the same afternoon, the Mission also granted interviews to representatives of various other organizations, who also spoke in favour of the unification of the two parts of Togoland.

105. On the afternoon of 25 August 1955, the Mission attended a meeting with the Kpandu district council. In its address of welcome, the district council stated that it had unanimously adopted a resolution advocating integration with the Gold Coast. It considered that this was the only practical solution since the French Government was not prepared to grant immediate self-government to Togoland under French administration. It urged that a plebiscite be held in Togoland under British administration on the basis of universal adult suffrage and that the alternatives to be voted upon be (a) integration with an independent Gold Coast, or (b) unification of the two parts of Togoland into one territory under French administration. Three members of the council later submitted a memorandum stating that they did not consider that local government bodies were competent to express opinions on constitutional matters. They considered that the people of the Trust Territory, particularly in the north, were not ready to appreciate the full implication of the various solutions which were possible. They advocated postponement of the referendum and the holding of free elections to an autonomous legislature for the Trust Territory.

106. A similar view was subsequently expressed by one of the councillors on behalf of the Togoland Reformation Movement. He claimed that that body had 2,000 contributing members in the two parts of Togoland and asked that the two Territories remain under trusteeship for five years.

107. Views in favour of integration and of a plebiscite along the lines proposed by the CPP were also presented by the majority of the divisional chiefs of the Kpandu district and by eighteen of twenty-three of the chiefs of the Akpini State Council.

(a) *The Akpini local council area*

108. The Akpini local council area consists of the town of Kpandu and a number of outlying divisions. Two members of the Mission met the local council on 26 August 1955 and an address of welcome was presented. The views expressed therein were almost identical to those expressed by the Kpandu district council.

(b) *The Gbi-Hohoe local council area*

109. This area consists of the town of Hohoe and of a few surrounding villages. Two members of the Mission visited this area on the morning of 25 August 1955 and held a meeting with the local council. The council, in an address to the Mission stated that, as a statutory body, it was its duty to keep clear from political issues, but that each of its members was at liberty to express his own view to the Mission. Various councillors then expressed their views and asked questions of the Mission. The chairman and several councillors expressed the view that the time might not be ripe for an immediate plebiscite, but that an independent legislature should be established for Togoland under British administration. On the other hand a third councillor, who later attended the CPP rally (see para. 94 above), declared that the wishes of the people were paramount and expressed the view that these wishes could and should be elicited by a plebiscite. Another councillor emphasized the need for United Nations supervision of the plebiscite.

(c) *The East Dain local council area*

110. This area, the largest in the Kpandu district, lies east of the town of Kpandu. It covers eleven divisions and has a population of 16,187 (1948 census). The local council is composed of sixteen elected members and eleven traditional members.

111. Two members of the Mission met the local council on 26 August 1955. In the address of welcome, the chairman of the council supported the views of the CPP in regard to the question of the future of Togoland under British administration.

112. The Mission also received a minority report, signed by six members of the council, including Mr. S. G. Antor. These members contended that the local council was a statutory body without competence in constitutional or political matters and, therefore, could not speak on behalf of the people it represented

on the constitutional and political issues relating to the future of Togoland. The members of the council could, therefore, express opinions only as individuals, not as representatives.

(d) *The Anfoega local council area*

113. This area, which lies south of the Akpini local council area is small in population (4,796) and comprises one single independent division. Its inhabitants appear to have a highly-developed civic spirit and the chief undoubtedly possesses a strong influence over his people. Two members of the Mission met the Anfoega local council on 27 August 1955. In his capacity as president of the local council, the chief expressed firm support for integration and suggested that a plebiscite should be carried out within a short space of time on the following alternatives: (a) union with an independent Gold Coast, or (b) separation from an independent Gold Coast. A similar view was taken by the chairman of the local council, except that he considered that the questions should be reduced and simplified and rephrased as follows: (a) "Do you wish to have union with the Gold Coast?"; or (b) "Do you wish to unify with Togoland under French administration?" The chairman, on behalf of the council further suggested that the Northern and Southern Sections of Togoland under British administration should be treated independently in determining the final results. There was no dissent from those views among the members of the council.

114. As a member of the council, Mr. S. T. Fleku, a petitioner previously heard by the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly,⁸ stated that this divergence of views as to the two questions to be put to the voters in the plebiscite was unimportant and that it should be easy to find a suitable choice of questions.

115. A memorandum was also presented by the Anfoega branch of the "Dynamic CPP" and it was obvious from the flags and posters displayed in the area that the supporters of the CPP were in a large majority there.

(e) *The Ablode local council area*

116. This area lies south of the Anfoega local council area and extends to the border with the Gold Coast, between the Volta and Alabo rivers. It covers eight divisions and has a population of 10,140 (1948 census). The local council is composed of ten representatives and five traditional members.

117. Two members of the Mission met the Ablode local council on 27 August 1955. In the address of welcome read by the chairman, the council stated that two political parties, the CPP and the Togoland Congress predominated in the Ewe section of Togoland under British administration. Since these two political parties differed in their opinion as to the future of the Territory, the council recommended that the freely expressed wishes of the people be ascertained by means of a plebiscite based on the principle of universal adult suffrage governing the elections to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly. It also recommended that the people be asked two questions: whether they wanted (a) union with an independent Gold Coast; or (b) unification with Togoland under French administration.

118. The Mission also received a memorandum signed by six (of a total of fifteen) members of the council. This minority report set forth views similar to those of the Togoland Congress.

8. THE HO DISTRICT

119. The Ho district council area consists of the southernmost portion of the Trust Territory and includes the town of Ho, which is the headquarters of the Trans-Volta/Togoland region and an urban centre of some size, as well as the less populous areas to the south. The northern part of the district is within the rich cocoa-producing area of Southern Togoland, while the southern part consists of marginal agricultural land.

120. There are five local councils, either wholly or partly within the Trust Territory, as follows:

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Asogli	Ho
Dzigbe	Matse Have

<i>Local councils</i>	<i>Headquarters</i>
Adaklu ⁹	Abuadi
Yingor	Dzolo Kpuita
Anyigbe	Kpetoe

121. The district contains two constituencies of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly: Ho East, consisting of the Adaklu, Asogli and Anyigbe local council areas, and Ho West, consisting of the Dzigbe and Yingor local council areas, together with the Awudome local council area in the Tongu district of the Gold Coast. In the general elections of 1954, an independent candidate, the Rev. F. R. Ametowobla, was elected in Ho East by 4,188 votes, Mr. G. O. Awuma, the unsuccessful CPP candidate, receiving 2,743 votes. In Ho West, Mr. K. Ayeke, the Togoland Congress representative, received 6,314 votes, while Mr. O. Dake (CPP) received 2,194 votes.

122. On 29 and 30 August 1955 respectively, the Mission attended two large and final rallies held at Ho by the CPP and the Togoland Congress. At the CPP rally, which was held in Ho Forest on 29 August, the Mission received a lengthy memorandum setting forth what it was asked to regard as the final statement of the views of the CPP in Togoland under British administration on the question of the future status of the Trust Territory. In it, the party stated its desire for a simple plebiscite, on the basis of direct adult suffrage, to be held not later than March 1956. Eligibility to participate should be based on the qualifications for local government elections and voting should be open to all persons who were either themselves born in British Togoland or one of whose parents was born in the Territory and also to other persons who had either resided in the Territory for not less than six months prior to registration or who owned immovable property in the Territory. Voting should be upon two alternatives: (a) union with an independent Gold Coast, or (b) union of both Trust Territories, to come under French administration (see annex III below).

123. At the Togoland Congress rally held on 30 August, which was organized jointly with the All-Ewe Conference, the Mission heard an address of welcome read on behalf of the Ho regional branch of the Togoland Congress, which requested that a separate legislature be created for Togoland under British administration to put an end to the administrative union with the Gold Coast and that a referendum to determine the future status of the Territory be held in 1956. Among the very large number of communications received at the rally were memoranda from the All-Ewe Conference, the Rev. F. R. Ametowobla, member of the Legislative Assembly for Ho East and Mr. K. Ayeke, member for Ho West, all favouring unification of the two Trust Territories. The All-Ewe Conference urged that a plebiscite be held in both Trust Territories.

124. Earlier in the day, the Mission had had another meeting with Mr. S. G. Antor, Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress, who was accompanied by the Rev. F. R. Ametowobla. Mr. Antor presented a further memorandum clarifying the views of his party's national executive (see annex III below).

125. On 29 August 1955, the Mission held a meeting with the Ho district council at which a memorandum was presented. In it, the council recommended that the wishes of the people of Togoland under British administration with regard to the future of the Trust Territory should be determined by means of a plebiscite, based upon the following conditions: (a) that only Togolandians by birth should have the right to vote; (b) that the plebiscite should be based on universal adult suffrage with a minimum age limit of eighteen years; and (c) that it should be conducted under strict United Nations supervision. The council also recommended that the plebiscite procedures should be those adopted for the general elections of 1954 and should be preceded by a fresh registration of voters to ensure that only Togolandians by birth participate. In a subsequent discussion with the council, the Mission found that there was minority disagreement with some of the views set forth in the memorandum. One member was opposed to the recommendation that the plebiscite be restricted to persons born in Togoland and considered that non-Togolandians who owned immovable property in the Territory and who had paid their local rates for a period of six months prior to registration should also be eligible to participate. One other member, who shared the

⁸ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Fourth Committee, 450th meeting.*

⁹ Partly within the Gold Coast.

majority view, said that special precautionary measures should be taken to prevent infiltration and interference in the plebiscite by persons from Togoland under French administration.

126. During its stay at Ho, the Mission made itself available to receive deputations and individuals at its offices. Among those who appeared before it were fifteen divisional chiefs of the Ho district, who presented a memorandum stating their desire for integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast and their wish that a plebiscite to determine the matter be held early in 1956. The Mission also received representations from the regional secretary of the Togoland Congress and from representatives of the Togoland Youth Association, composed of Togoland residents in the Gold Coast, the Togoland Ex-Servicemen's Union and the United Nations Students Association, all of whom supported the views of the Togoland Congress.

(a) *The Asogli local council area*

127. This area covers five divisions and includes the town of Ho. The total population is estimated at 10,724 (1948 census).

128. The Mission visited the local council on 29 August 1955 and heard an address of welcome in which the council expressed views similar to those of the Togoland Congress. In general, the council stated its desire for the independence and unification of the two parts of Togoland and recommended the holding of a referendum under United Nations supervision which should be restricted to persons of Togoland parentage over the age of eighteen years. During subsequent discussions, one member of the local council stated that all the members did not share a desire for the unification of the two parts of Togoland and that he personally had not supported the views expressed in the address of welcome.

129. Following the meeting, the Mission received a number of communications from persons from Togoland under French administration, requesting unification and the holding of a plebiscite in both Territories. Communications were also received from the Divisional Chief of Ho and certain of the other traditional members of the local council, affirming their support for integration of Togoland under British administration with a self-governing Gold Coast.

(b) *The Dzigbe local council area*

130. This area lies north of the Asogli local council area. It covers eighteen divisions and has a population of 17,089 (1948 census). The local council is composed of sixteen representative and eight traditional members.

131. The Mission met the local council on 27 August 1955. In the memorandum submitted by it, the council recommended that a plebiscite based on the principle of universal adult suffrage be held in the two parts of Togoland in order to ascertain the true wishes of the people. It recommended that the procedure adopted in the last election to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly be followed, with the exception that only Togoland residents by birth—i.e. persons whose father and grandfather could be proved to have been born in Togoland—should have the right to vote and that the age limit should be eighteen. It also recommended that the plebiscite should be held under the strict supervision of a United Nations Commissioner, having his own secretariat and residing in Togoland.

132. Before the meeting adjourned, the Mission was handed a considerable number of communications requesting unification and independence of the two parts of Togoland by the crowd which had gathered around the meeting place.

(c) *The Adaklu local council area*

133. This area, which includes two divisions of the Trust Territory and also extends into the Gold Coast, lies to the south of Ho and has its headquarters at Abuadi. The population is 7,400 (1948 census).

134. Two members of the Mission visited the local council briefly on 30 August 1955. In its address of welcome the council urged that the people of Togoland be allowed to determine their own future freely. The council recommended the holding of a plebiscite under United Nations supervision, with voting being restricted to Togoland residents by birth. Voting should be by secret

ballot and strict measures should be taken to prevent intimidation or molestation of voters.

135. The two members of the Mission also received a memorandum from the Adaklu State Council which contained a declaration that the chiefs, members of the council, and the people whom they represented considered that the only possible solution to the Togoland question lay in complete independence and unification of the two Trust Territories.

136. The Mission also received a large number of other communications in this area.

(d) *The Yingor local council area*

137. This area is in the north of the Ho district, and lies mainly in the foothills of the range which separates the Ho and Kpandu districts. It covers ten divisions and has a population of 14,950 (1948 census).

138. Two members of the Mission met the local council at its headquarters at Dzolo Kpuita on 27 August 1955. They were presented with a resolution, agreed upon by the majority of the council, to the effect that integration with an independent Gold Coast offered much brighter hopes to the people of Togoland under British administration than any other status, but that, for the sake of minority views only and in furtherance of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, a plebiscite should be conducted early in 1956. It was proposed that the alternatives to be voted upon should be (a) separation from an independent Gold Coast, and (b) continuation of the already established association with an independent Gold Coast. Persons eligible to vote should be over twenty-one years of age and should include native Togoland residents and non-Togoland residents in the Trust Territory and owning immovable property there.

139. Various minority views were presented, notably by a councillor who had been chairman of the council for its two first years and who denied that the CPP had a legal majority on the council (the Mission was subsequently told by the Administration that ten members of the council were supporters of the CPP and nine were supporters of the Togoland Congress).

140. After the meeting, a memorandum was submitted on behalf of the Hopke State Council, which covers substantially the same region as the Yingor local council. The views of the two councils were similar in that the Hopke State Council also proposed a plebiscite open to those born in Togoland under British administration or to persons residing or possessing immovable property in that Territory. The voting age should be twenty-one years or above. The deputy paramount chief, who presented the memorandum, stated that he personally supported integration with the Gold Coast.

141. The Mission noted numerous demonstrations of support for rival parties along its route. In particular, just before entering Togoland, after having briefly crossed into the Gold Coast, the Mission found a group of Togoland Congress supporters who temporarily barred the road, but the Mission proceeded after receiving their petitions. While at Dzolokpuita, the Mission received a large number of communications, mainly in favour of unification of both Territories.

142. The divisional chief of Kpedze also presented a communication in favour of unification and independence of the two parts of Togoland.

(e) *The Anyigbe local council area*

143. This area lies in the south-east corner of the Trust Territory. It covers four divisions and has a population of about 12,000. The local council is composed of twelve representatives and six traditional members.

144. Two members of the Mission met the Anyigbe local council at Kpetoe on 30 August 1955. In an address of welcome, which was signed by fifteen of its members, the council expressed the desire for continued union of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast and recommended that a plebiscite based on the principle of universal adult suffrage be held in the Trust Territory to ascertain the wishes of the population as to their future.

145. The three members of the council who did not sign the address told the Mission that they opposed the integration of

Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast and demanded the unification of the two Trust Territories.

146. After the meeting, persons who had gathered outside the local council's offices handed to the members of the Mission a small number of communications supporting the unification of the two parts of Togoland.

9. THE TRANS-VOLTA/TOGOLAND COUNCIL

147. Before leaving the Trust Territory, the Mission held a meeting with the Trans-Volta/Togoland Council on 31 August 1955. This body, which has its headquarters at Ho is the regional advisory council representative of, and concerned with, the welfare and interests of an area which includes the Ho, Kpandu and Buem-Krachi administrative districts in British Togoland, as well as most of the adjacent area in the Gold Coast east of the Volta River. The Council consists of two members elected by each district council in the region and one by each local council, with the result that 23 are members representing local authorities in the Trust Territory and 17 represent local authorities in the Gold Coast.

148. In a memorandum presented to the Mission, the Council stated that the majority of people in the Ho, Kpandu and Buem-Krachi districts of Togoland under British administration accepted continued association or integration with an independent Gold Coast. The Council recommended that, in order to assess the strength of political opinion, a plebiscite be held in Togoland under British administration early in 1956 on the basis of universal adult suffrage and open only to inhabitants of that Trust Territory. The Council further recommended that the issues to be voted upon should be restricted to two alternatives in order not to confuse the people. It was suggested that the two simple alternatives should be (a) union with an independent Gold Coast, or (b) union of both Trust Territories, to come under French administration.

149. In the course of subsequent discussion, it was disclosed that the memorandum did not have the unanimous support of all members. Two members (representing the Asogli local council and Ho district council) stated their opposition to the views contained in the memorandum and added that they did not consider the Trans-Volta/Togoland Council to be an appropriate body to discuss the political future of Togoland under British administration since its membership was not drawn from the Trust Territory only.

10. FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN ACCRA

150. The Mission returned to Accra on 31 August 1955 and spent two days in the capital of the Gold Coast before beginning its visit to Togoland under French administration.

151. In Accra, the Mission received several representative groups and individuals who had requested oral hearings. Among the former was a small deputation from the Mouvement de la

jeunesse togolaise (Juvento), led by Mr. Mensan Aihison and including the secretary-general of the Accra branch of the party who, *inter alia*, made general complaints of political repression in Togoland under French administration.

152. On 2 September 1955, the Mission held a second formal meeting with the Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke. The latter told the Mission that the Administering Authority had already been considering appropriate arrangements for a test of public opinion in Togoland under British administration and had envisaged the possibility of appointing a special commissioner, who would be responsible to the Governor, to take charge of the detailed arrangements. He further said that, in connexion with a plebiscite, he envisaged the employment in responsible positions of overseas officers exclusively, even though this would mean taking a considerable number of such officers away from their normal duties in the Gold Coast.

153. He was of the opinion that the process would begin with the registration of voters and then would proceed as for an election. Control measures to prevent the plebiscite from being influenced by an influx of voters from neighbouring territories would be exercised at the time of registration and the same strict supervision would be necessary for the registration as for the processes of balloting.

154. The Governor told the Mission that he envisaged that the terms and rules for the conduct of any plebiscite would be laid down in consultation between the United Nations and the Administering Authority. The detailed arrangements would then be provided for in regulations established by the Governor himself. It was expected that the United Nations would wish to send observers at the time of the plebiscite and the Governor would welcome as many United Nations observers as were thought necessary. He considered that they should arrive in time to observe the processes of registration as well as the actual balloting.

155. As regards the qualifications entitling persons to take part in such a plebiscite, the Governor said that it might be most convenient if the same qualifications as applied to local government elections were adopted, i.e. the right to take part could be extended to all adults resident in the Territory for six months who, if liable to pay the annual rate, had done so, and to owners of immovable property in the Territory. One exception to this should, however, be made: it was envisaged that non-Africans should be regarded as ineligible to take part. If it was considered that the fears of political parties that the plebiscite would be unduly influenced by recent immigrants were well-founded, it would be possible to have a longer period of residence than six months, e.g. possibly twelve months and payment of the two years' annual rate. The difficulty of establishing any period of residence was acknowledged, but there were now two political parties in the Territory who were aware of the dangers of the other party bringing in outside supporters, and it was considered that the right to challenge names on the provisional register provided a substantial safeguard against the names of persons not qualified being included in the final register.

ANNEX II

SUMMARY OF VIEWS EXPRESSED TO THE MISSION IN TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

1. INTERVIEW WITH THE COMMISSIONER OF THE REPUBLIC

1. The Mission had an initial interview with the Commissioner of the Republic on 5 September. The Commissioner drew attention to the reforms recently brought about by the law of 16 April 1955 concerning the territorial and regional institutions of Togoland and, in particular, to the establishment of the Government Council, the members of which had quasi-ministerial responsibilities. He stated in that connexion that he intended to associate the Council closely with the exercise of the Executive power in the Territory.

2. Referring to the motion adopted by the Territorial Assembly on 4 July 1955, concerning the future status of the Territory,¹ the

¹ This motion is identical with the motion adopted by the convention of the Parti togolais du progrès on 22 June 1955 and reproduced in annex III.

Commissioner stated that the motion had been referred to the French Government for its consideration.

2. THE CERCLE OF LOMÉ

3. The cercle of Lomé lies in the coastal plain, in the south-western corner of the Territory. Its population (79,491) is predominantly Ewe, but includes also a considerable number of Minas and Ahoulans, mainly in the town of Lomé. Lomé, capital of Togoland under French administration, is also the headquarters of all the main political parties of the Territory with the exception of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo (UCPN).

4. During its stay in Lomé, the Mission met the representatives of these political parties and their associated groups, as well as a very large number of individuals and organizations who wished to

be heard by it. The Mission held a discussion with the members of the Government Council and attended the opening meeting of a special session of the Territorial Assembly. It also had meetings with the two local elected bodies, the commission municipale and the conseil de circonscription of Lomé.

5. Immediately after the Mission's arrival at Lomé on 3 September 1955, it was visited by Mr. Grunitzky, the Deputy and Dr. Ajavon, one of the two Senators of the Territory. These two representatives, who are members of the Parti togolais du progrès (PTP), told the Mission that the Territory was divided between two political groups, both of which sought to make their views prevail. They said that it was important to prevent a clash between these political opponents and to maintain a peaceful atmosphere during the stay of the Mission. For that reason, they were anxious to get in touch with the Mission as soon as possible to advise it against attending any public rallies which might lead to disorders. This warning was repeated by them in more forceful terms in a second interview on 7 September.

6. In order to fulfil its responsibilities to the Trusteeship Council and by virtue of its terms of reference under General Assembly resolution 860 (IX), the Mission took pains to impress upon the Administration that it had come to the Territory to ascertain the views of the population and wanted to hear as many individuals and groups as possible. To this end it held a number of discussions with the Liaison Officer, Mr. Tourot, between 3 and 7 September 1955, to examine, in particular, an invitation it had received to attend a political rally of the Comité de l'unité togolaise (CUT) to be held in Lomé. It explained that during its stay in Togoland under British administration, it had received individuals and deputations, and had attended a number of public rallies organized by political parties at which there had been no disorder, and that it would like to do the same in Togoland under French administration. The Mission made clear its recognition that the French administration had the responsibility of ensuring public order and that, while it wished to attend public rallies, it would not press the matter if the Administration considered that public order could not be preserved. At the last of these meetings on 7 September, the Liaison Officer told the Mission that the Administration would not wish to prevent the Mission from doing whatever it wanted and that if the Mission decided to attend rallies, the Administration would do its best to ensure public order, but could not guarantee that order would be kept in Lomé and Palimé. He explained that this restriction applied to these towns because both were very near the frontier with the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration. The Mission therefore felt obliged not to attend any public rallies in these places and, in particular, declined the invitation to attend a rally of the CUT. The Mission and the Administration agreed, however, that the members of the Mission would cause no embarrassment to the Administration if they attended a private reception at the home of a member of the CUT and, in fact, they did so on the last afternoon of their stay in Lomé. Similarly, they attended a private reception given by a leader of the PTP on the following morning.

7. On the morning of 7 September 1955, the Mission met the Executive Committee of the PTP, its local branch of Lomé, its women's section, its youth organization known as the Rassemblement des jeunes Togolais, the two local representatives to the Territorial Assembly, the chief of the canton of Bé and representatives of the Haussa, Zabarma, Yoruba, Cotocoli, Fon and Dahomey communities in Lomé.

8. In a memorandum submitted to the Mission, the Executive Committee of the PTP stated that it was opposed to any form of unification which would separate Togoland under French administration from the "French community". It was, however, in favour of the unification of the two parts of Togoland, provided that the unified territory came under French administration. With regard to the future status of Togoland under French administration, the Committee emphasized that the association between the Territory and the French Union should be continued and made permanent. It recalled a motion adopted by the convention of the party on 22 June 1955 and later, on 4 July, unanimously endorsed by the Territorial Assembly, under which the party had (1) affirmed its desire to continue the development of Togoland under French administration in close association with France;

(2) requested the French Government to examine carefully the future status of the Territory within the French Union with a view to ensuring, in particular, its territorial integrity and its administrative and financial autonomy; and (3) invited it, as soon as that status had been finally decided upon, to do everything in its power to terminate the trusteeship régime for the Territory (see annex III).

9. In reply to questions put to him by the Mission, the spokesman for the party, Dr. Ajavon, stated that the Trusteeship Agreement could be terminated when the Territory had achieved "internal autonomy", perhaps in five or six years, but that he could not give a precise date for that purpose. He pointed out, however, that the question called for an answer by the French Government.

10. The views of the Executive Committee of the PTP were supported by all its ancillary organs as well as by the other persons and groups heard on the morning of 7 September.

11. Later in the morning, the Mission met the Mouvement populaire togolais (MPT), a party formed in 1954 by a group of former supporters of the PTP, which had unsuccessfully contested the seats for Lomé and Palimé in the elections of 1955 to the Territorial Assembly. In a memorandum submitted to the Mission, the MPT called for the unification of the two parts of Togoland and expressed the hope that a solution of the problem would be found soon by way of a plebiscite under United Nations supervision. It declared itself opposed to a premature termination of the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under French administration before the Territory was ready for independence, but urged that self-government should be granted to the Territory in the near future. The MPT also asked the Mission to intervene with the French administration so that political freedoms could be granted to all political parties. In reply to questions put by the Mission, the spokesman of the party, Dr. Pedro Olympio, stated that the proposed plebiscite could be held in the immediate future simultaneously in both Trust Territories and that the question to be put to the population concerned should be "Do you want the unification of the two Togolands?" He also stated that the question of the status of the unified territory should be examined by a joint council of the two Territories.

12. In the afternoon, the Mission received delegations and individuals supporting the CUT and the Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise (Juvento) and ancillary groups. The Executive Committee of the CUT requested the granting of independence to the two parts of Togoland and the subsequent unification of the two independent territories. In reply to questions of the Mission, the spokesman of the CUT, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, gave further information, subsequently confirmed in writing, concerning the manner in which the party wished its programme to be implemented. It asked that total independence should first be granted simultaneously to both Trust Territories with no preliminary condition stipulating association of the independent parts of Togoland with another State or group of States. It urged that prior to the granting of independence, a plebiscite, organized and supervised by the United Nations, should be conducted with a view to allowing the adult population democratically to decide on the two following alternatives: (a) independence prior to the unification of the two Territories, or (b) independence of one Territory as an integral part of another sovereign State or group of States. The party claimed that after the two Territories had become independent, they would solve the unification problem by themselves, outside the framework of the United Nations, probably through the agency of a joint council. The question whether such a unified Togoland should continue to remain separate or join the French Union, an independent Gold Coast or the British Commonwealth, should be decided after unification.

13. The views expressed by the Executive Committee of the CUT were supported by five groups associated with the party as well as by Juvento. As regards the latter organization, the Mission was approached by two rival groups, each denying the right of the other to speak on behalf of the organization. The views expressed by each group on the future of the Territory were, however, identical. The first deputation was headed by Mr. Ben Apaloo and Mr. Santos and the second by Mr. Napo Badji. It was explained to the Mission that such differences as might exist between

the programmes of the CUT and Juvento lay in the emphasis placed on the aim of independence by the latter.

14. The *Association pour les Nations Unies*, which was heard next by the Mission, requested that the two Trust Territories be unified and placed under the administration of a United Nations High Commissioner until they were ready for independence.

15. During these hearings, an incident occurred in the yard of the school where the Mission's offices were located and where the hearings were taking place. Their attention having been attracted by hearing shouts and other indications of disturbances, the members of the Mission saw some twenty uniformed policemen about to clash with a group of members of Juvento holding pro-unification placards, many of whom had taken refuge on the veranda of the school building. The Mission called in the Commissioner of Police, who explained that the policemen had been sent there to arrest persons who, it was said, had previously manhandled a policeman in the grounds of the building. The Mission found that the policeman had, earlier, entered the compound of the Mission's offices and had tried to tear a pro-unification placard held by a representative of Juvento, an action which was resented by the crowd present. At the request of the Mission, the Commissioner of Police withdrew his men and calm was restored. After this disturbance, the Mission resumed its hearings.

16. In this connexion, it should be pointed out that the Mission had requested that, in so far as possible, the police should not be in evidence during its hearings, a request which was observed on all other occasions throughout the Territory.

17. On 20 September 1955, the Mission held interviews with the commission municipale and the conseil de circonscription of Lomé. The commission municipale is composed entirely of members elected on a joint CUT-Juvento list, under the chairmanship of an official administrator-mayor. The senior member of the commission presented an address on their behalf in which he requested the unification of the two parts of Togoland and the independence of such a unified Togoland.

18. The conseil de circonscription is composed of four members elected by the commission municipale of Lomé and four members indirectly elected by the rural population of the circonscription. The chairman of the council, who belonged to the former group, claimed that the Administering Authority should establish in Togoland organs with real powers and genuinely representative of the people. Three chiefs from outlying cantons expressed the wish that the French authorities remain to complete the good work already achieved.

19. During its stay at Lomé, the Mission received a remarkably large number of communications from supporters of all political groups.

3. THE CERCLE OF ANÉCHO

20. The cercle of Anécho has a population of 181,719, composed mainly of Ouatchis and Minas. Administratively, it is divided into the subdivisions of Anécho and Tabligbo.

21. At Anécho, on 5 September 1955, the Mission met the conseils de circonscription of Anécho and Tabligbo, the municipal commission of Anécho, two of the representatives of the electoral district of Anécho in the Territorial Assembly, the local branches of the PTP, the CUT, and Juvento, as well as a number of traditional chiefs of the cercle.

22. The hearings, which were the first to be conducted by the Mission in Togoland under French administration, did not proceed in as orderly a manner as might have been wished. When the Mission arrived, it found that a large crowd, consisting mainly of PTP supporters, already occupied the open-sided courtroom, which was, in any case, unsuitable for such hearings, and while the courtroom was eventually partly cleared, the hearings were disturbed by the noise of those still present and others outside.

23. The individuals and groups which the Mission heard fell into two categories. The first category, which included the two conseils de circonscription, the commission municipale, the two representatives in the Territorial Assembly, the local branch of the PTP and a number of traditional chiefs, wanted the continuation of the French administration with which the Territory had

been associated for nearly forty years. They also wanted the unification of the two parts of Togoland, but insisted that the unified territory should be placed under French administration. The second category, comprising the local branches of the CUT and Juvento, demanded the unification and independence of the two parts of Togoland; they also charged the Administration with persecuting members of their organizations.

24. The views of both categories of individuals and groups were supported by a considerable number of communications submitted to the Mission during and after the hearings at Anécho. Some resentment was expressed by PTP supporters that the petitions of their opponents were, at the Mission's direction, received in bulk and not one by one. The PTP supporters insisted on presenting their petitions to the Mission one by one, creating considerable confusion in the process and delaying the proceedings for some time.

25. On the same day, the Mission also visited three important villages in the cercle of Anécho. At Attitogon and Vogan, the Mission was received by vociferous crowds. Amidst deafening explosions of gunpowder, shouts and drumbeats, it listened to the welcome of the village chief and received many communications submitted by the population. The chiefs and the great majority of the population demanded the continuation of the French administration. At Togoville, at an orderly meeting, the traditional chief spoke in favour of unification and independence of the two Trust Territories and presented a large number of petitions from supporters of that view. On the other hand, another and currently rival chief spoke in favour of continued association with the French Union and was applauded by a number of those present.

4. THE CERCLE OF TSÉVIÉ

26. The cercle of Tsévié lies to the north of Lomé. Its population of 93,307 is predominantly Ewe.

27. On 6 September 1955, the Mission attended two large rallies held at Tsévié by the PTP and the CUT respectively. The first rally took place in the market place of Tsévié and was attended by an orderly and good-humoured crowd chanting political slogans and waving flags. The Mission heard an address of welcome presented by Mr. Emmanuel Fiwoo, municipal councillor, representative in the Territorial Assembly and *conseiller du gouvernement*. In his address, Mr. Fiwoo spoke at length of the constitutional and political advances as well as the economic and social developments which had taken place since the visit of the previous United Nations Mission in 1952. He said that since 1952, the PTP and the UCPN had grown in strength until, in the elections of 12 June 1955, they had received the support of more than 80 per cent of the voters, which was an indication that the people were progressively abandoning the "sterile politics" of the CUT and Juvento. He stated that the real wishes of Togoland's who were worthy to be called such were that (a) the Territory's advancement should continue under the aegis of France; and (b) the trusteeship régime should be terminated in order to permit more speedy development of the Territory and that their most ardent wish, namely integration of Togoland in the French Union, might be realized. Mr. Fiwoo observed that similar wishes were expressed in the motion (see para. 2 above) which the Territorial Assembly had adopted unanimously.

28. Later, the Mission attended a rally organized in another part of the town by the CUT and Juvento. The people were seated on the ground at the roadside in orderly and compact ranks, many of them wearing the yellow colours of the movement as headcloths or other articles of dress. The Mission was greeted by the chief of the canton of Tsévié who, in his address of welcome, stated that there were many supporters of the CUT and Juvento in Tsévié and that their ardent wish was for unification and independence of the two parts of Togoland.

29. In the afternoon of the same day, the Mission heard the leaders of the parties and others. Mr. Fiwoo, appearing as president of the Tsévié branch of the PTP, informed the Mission that he had once been president of the Tsévié branch of the CUT but had resigned in 1953, when he had found that the policy of the CUT was contrary to the interests and welfare of the people and that the Territory's advancement would come to an end if

French administration was discontinued. When he transferred his allegiance from the CUT to the PTP, a large number of his supporters had come over with him. He claimed that many of the people who had attended the CUT rally were not residents of Tsévié but had come from Lomé for the purpose. He insisted that the majority of the people of Tsévié supported the PTP. Similar views were expressed by the chief of the canton of Gamé, also a representative in the Territorial Assembly, as well as by a member of the conseil de circonscription and by the chief of the canton of Mission-Tové.

30. The Mission then heard a joint committee of the CUT and Juvento, led by the chief of Tsévié, who presented a memorandum to the Mission in which he stated that the supporters of CUT and Juvento in Tsévié were being ill-treated by PTP adherents, who were in the majority, and also by the police. He predicted that, after the Mission's departure, all who had attended the second rally would be beaten and he and his followers would be cast into gaol. He said that he had been deposed and arrested once before for being in favour of unification of the two Trust Territories. He asked the Mission to intervene in order to prevent ill-treatment of those favouring unification after its departure. A similar statement was made by the regional secretary of Juvento, who presented a communication from the regional branch of the party which cited a number of instances of alleged ill-treatment of those in favour of unification by the police, gendarmerie and by adherents of the PTP. He said that he had been arrested on the previous day and was awaiting trial, and that his cousin, who had been bringing a memorandum to the Visiting Mission on his behalf, had likewise been arrested and was in gaol. A number of other persons also appeared before the Mission, alleging that they had been beaten by the police and officials. On being questioned by the Mission, they all admitted that they had not complained to the police superintendent in person and the Mission advised them to do so, besides bringing these complaints to the notice of the *commandant de cercle*.

31. Earlier in the day the Mission had attended a meeting of the conseil de circonscription of Tsévié. In an address of welcome, the chairman of the council, who is also chief of the canton of Davié, spoke of the great benefits which had been derived from French administration and expressed the hope that the trusteeship régime would be terminated in order that the Territory might advance at a more rapid rate. In a separate memorandum presented on behalf of the council, similar views were set forth at greater length. The council considered that great progress had been made in the Territory in recent years but that the propaganda of the CUT and Juvento was a threat to this progress and should be forbidden by the United Nations in the interests of maintaining order. It asked that the French authorities deal severely with all trouble-makers and that the United Nations should put an end to its periodic visiting missions, which were an occasion for disorders in the Territory. The Council stated that it wished Togoland to be integrated into the French Union in order that it might derive the economic benefits flowing therefrom and "be elevated to the ranks of the civilized countries". In the course of a discussion which ensued, two members said that they wished Togoland under British administration to be united with French Togoland under French administration. Another member supported the CUT and desired the unification and independence of the two Trust Territories.

32. The Mission received a large number of written communications in the Tsévié area.

33. The Mission visited the village of Davié on the morning of 6 September 1955, while en route to Tsévié. Here the cantonal chief read an address of welcome, in which he stated that the large crowd which had met the Mission was proof of his people's attachment to France, whose Administration had brought great benefits to the village, and its desire to remain under French administration. The Mission then received a large number of written communications expressing the same sentiments from individuals.

5. THE CERCLE OF KLOUTO

34. The cercle of Klouto (Palimé) occupies a relatively small area (3,260 square kilometres) north-west of the cercle of Tsévié.

Its population (60,065) is predominantly Ewe. Its headquarters are at Palimé, a railhead and important cocoa-buying centre.

35. On 8 September 1955, the Mission met the local branches of the PTP, the CUT and Juvento. Their views were similar to those expressed by their respective executive committees at Lomé (see paras. 8 and 12 above). In the case of the PTP, however, the local branch not only accepted, but emphatically requested the unification of the two parts of Togoland, provided that the unified territory would be placed under French administration. As had now become the usual practice, a vast number of communications supporting the various views were submitted during and after the hearings by the supporters of both political groups. Among those submitting communications in support of the views of the PTP were the African police superintendent of Palimé and seven of his policemen.

36. On 9 September, the Mission held interviews with members of the conseil de circonscription and the commission municipale. The chairman of the conseil de circonscription submitted to the Mission a memorandum signed by nine members of the council (the total membership being twelve) in which they urged the unification of the two parts of Togoland within the "French community" until they attained internal autonomy. The vice-chairman of the commission municipale (the *commandant de cercle* being the *ex-officio* administrator-mayor) also made the same request, but another member, Mr. Emmanuel Kwadzo, speaking for himself and four of his colleagues (the total membership of the commission being nine), stated that they wanted unification and independence of the two Trust Territories. While these meetings were taking place, a large number of supporters of unification gathered outside the building and presented petitions. As they tended to block the road, the police called on them to disperse, which they did without incident.

37. On the same day, the Mission also attended two public rallies in two villages, Agou-Nyongbo and Agou-Agbetiko, in the Agou area. Both rallies were well organized and proceeded in a similar manner. The Mission was, in both cases, greeted by a choir of some twenty girls singing Ewe songs. It next listened to the address of welcome of the traditional chiefs and received the communications submitted to it by those present and finally, the choir again sang a number of Ewe songs in honour of the Mission. At Agou-Nyongbo, the Chief did not make any reference to the future of Togoland and was probably the only person heard by the Mission who did not do so; he stated that politics were hampering the development of the Territory and expressed regret that too many people were dabbling in politics. However, the many petitions submitted by his villagers were all in support of the views held by the CUT. In the second village, the traditional chief, in his address of welcome, urged the unification of the two parts of Togoland and their being placed under French administration. This view was supported by the president of the local section of the PTP and in a great number of communications submitted during the rally.

38. Those were the only two rallies attended by the Mission in the cercle of Klouto. It should, however, be mentioned that on the previous day, on its way from Lomé to Palimé, the Mission had stopped briefly at the village of Agou-Koumawou, where the CUT had organized an unscheduled rally of some size. As the Mission had a busy schedule, it had decided only to receive petitions and not to attend the rally because it was not in the programme, and, further, because it had understood from the Liaison Officer, Mr. Tourot, that the Mission was scheduled to attend a rally at the same place the next day. (In fact, the rallies held the next day were not at Agou-Koumawou, but at two nearby places.) The Mission subsequently received petitions complaining that sixteen persons attending the rally had been arrested. The Mission referred this complaint to the Administering Authority for its observation and is dealing with the matter in its regular report.

6. THE CERCLE OF ATAKPAMÉ

39. The cercle of Atakpamé, which lies north of those of Anécho and Klouto, is the largest of the Territory (17,170 square kilometres). Its population (126,912) is mixed; the largest tribal groups are those of Akpossos, Anas, Ouatchis-Adjas and Kabrais-Lossos. Administratively, the cercle is divided into one mixed

commune, the town of Atakpamé, and three subdivisions, those of Atakpamé, Akposso and Nuatja.

40. On its way from Palimé to Atakpamé, the Mission stopped at two roadside villages where receptions were prepared in its honour. At Amou-Oblo, the chief and the majority of the population expressed themselves in favour of the continuation of the French administration. At Amlamé, two addresses of welcome were delivered, one favouring the continuation of the French administration and the other opposing it; the latter view was supported in a majority of the communications received there.

41. During its stay at Atakpamé on 10 and 11 September 1955, the Mission met the local branches of the PTP, the CUT and Juvento, the traditional chiefs of the cercle and two delegations of teachers and civil servants respectively. The local branches of the CUT and Juvento wanted the unification and independence of the two Trust Territories; they also complained that the Administration persecuted the supporters of the CUT and Juvento, in particular, by removing traditional chiefs favouring their views, dismissing civil servants who were members of the CUT and forbidding public meetings organized by the CUT. The local branches of the PTP, the traditional chiefs and the delegations of teachers and civil servants, on the other hand, wanted the continuation of the French administration and urged the unification of the two parts of Togoland and the placing of the unified territory under French administration. The traditional chiefs (the paramount chief of Nuatja and ten cantonal chiefs), whom the Mission met during the hearings and, on a second occasion, at a reception given by them, also complained that the CUT "agitators" no longer respected the traditional authority of the chiefs and, by disregarding the customs, sought to sow disorder in the country. One of them, Hermann Egblomassé, chief of the canton of Litimé, stated emphatically that those who did not listen to the chiefs were dissidents and should be dealt with as such.

42. The Mission also held an interview with the commission municipale of Atakpamé and a joint meeting with the three conseils de circonscription of the cercle. In a memorandum submitted to the Mission the commission municipale unanimously requested that the Territory continue its development in close association with France until it achieved internal autonomy within the French Union; it also called for the unification of the two parts of Togoland, the unified territory to be placed French administration. The three conseils de circonscription also requested the continuation of the French administration.

43. In addition, the Mission attended two public rallies organized, respectively, by the PTP and jointly by the CUT and Juvento. Both rallies were well organized and attended by large but disciplined crowds. At the PTP rally, the chairman of the local branch of the party requested the continuation of the French administration. He told the Mission that the people of the Territory did not want independence because they were not ready for it and that the premature granting of independence would mean civil war in the Territory. If that happened, the supporters of the PTP would know how to take care of themselves. At the second rally, which was organized jointly by the CUT and Juvento, the spokesmen for these two organizations demanded the unification and independence of the two Togolands and complained of restrictions of political freedoms. The views of both political groups were supported by a large number of communications which were submitted by the persons present at rallies.

7. THE CERCLE OF SOKODÉ

44. The cercle of Sokodé, which lies to the north of Atakpamé, is the southernmost cercle of the northern part of the Territory. Its population (90,181) consists predominantly of members of the Kotocoli tribe but also includes a substantial number of Kabrais and Bassaris. The headquarters of the cercle, Sokodé, is also the headquarters of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo (UCPN).

45. On 12 September 1955, the Mission met, in succession, the following: the President of the Territorial Assembly, Mr. Ayeve Derman, a member of the UCPN; the representative of the Territory in the Assembly of the French Union, Mr. Mama Fousséni, also a member of the UCPN; the paramount chief of the Kotokolis

and Secretary of the UCPN, Mr. Ayeve Issifou, who is also a member of the conseil de circonscription of Sokodé and of the commission municipale; representatives of the Jeunesse du Nord-Togo (JNT), a youth organization of the UCPN; the members of the conseil de circonscription, which is composed of ten chiefs and one commoner, all members of the UCPN; the members of the commission municipale, composed of nine members of the UCPN; representatives of the local branch of the PTP and two delegations of Hajis and other Moslems.

46. In a memorandum submitted to the Mission, Mr. Ayeve Issifou set forth the views of the UCPN, which are similar to those of the PTP. In particular, the UCPN favoured the unification of the two parts of Togoland, provided that the unified territory would be placed under French administration. With regard to the future status of the Territory, the party wanted its association with the French Union to be continued and made permanent. These views were supported, without reserve, by all the other persons and groups heard by the Mission, as well as in a great many communications.

47. During the time allotted to hearings on 12 September, no CUT supporters appeared. Early next morning, however, three members of the Mission heard a disturbance outside the rest house where they were accommodated and saw three persons struggling with police guards and calling out vociferously. Upon the intervention of the Mission, the persons in question explained that a deputation of CUT supporters wished to see the Mission, but were afraid to do so. At the Mission's request, the local brigadier of gendarmerie escorted two of the men to their quarters in the town to collect their petitions and bring them to the Mission.

48. In addition to the petitions, the men brought a group of about thirty CUT members with them and submitted to the Mission a number of communications in which the unification and independence of the two parts of Togoland was requested. In answer to the action of this deputation, the paramount chief quickly rallied about 150 of his supporters to the scene and vehemently protested against the presence of these "strangers" in his territory. He told the Mission that, had not the French been there, he would have had the members of the CUT deputation killed. At the request of the Mission, the commandant de cercle promised to take all necessary measures for the safe return of the CUT members.

49. On the morning of 14 September 1955, just before leaving Sokodé, the Mission received a telegram from the Executive Committee of the CUT, complaining that four CUT members who had followed the Mission had been arrested at Sokodé. The Mission delayed its departure in order to make inquiries on the subject. The commandant de cercle assured the Mission that neither before nor during the stay of the Mission at Sokodé had the Administration ordered any arrests for political reasons. The persons referred to in the telegram had been arrested as the result of a disturbance following an accident in which their lorry had struck two pedestrians, one of whom had a broken leg. The case had immediately been referred to the cantonal judge, who had decided to detain four persons, including the driver of the lorry, for investigation. Three of these had already been released, but the fourth was kept under warrant for further investigation. This statement was confirmed by the judge himself. The Mission subsequently submitted this and other telegrams giving further details of this incident to the Administering Authority for further observations.²

8. THE CERCLE OF BASSARI

50. North-west of Sokodé lies the cercle of Bassari. Its population (60,304) is predominantly composed of two tribal groups: the Bassaris (23,000) in the south and the Konkombas (15,821) in the north.

51. Two members of the Mission visited Bossari, the headquarters of the cercle, on 13 September 1955. They met the paramount chief of the Bassaris, the local representative in the Territorial Assembly, the members of the commission municipale of Bassari, the cantonal chiefs of Bitjabe and Banjeli, members of

² For further details, see *Officials Records of the Trusteeship Council, Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 2.*

the conseil de circonscription and the local representatives of the JNT. All these persons were directly or indirectly affiliated with the UCPN. They all opposed the unification of the two Trust Territories as requested by the CUT, but wanted Togoland under French administration to be made a permanent member of the French Union and expressed the hope that visiting missions would be discontinued.

52. During the time allotted to hearings no CUT supporters appeared, but later, while the members of the Mission were visiting the town on foot, they were approached by a small number of CUT supporters, who presented communications requesting the unification and independence of the two parts of Togoland.

53. The Mission also visited Kabou and Guérin-Kouka, two important villages of the cercle. At Kabou, a Bassari village, the Mission was received by the cantonal chief who, in his address of welcome, requested that the supervision of the United Nations over Togoland under French administration be terminated and that the Territory be made a permanent member of the French Union. His views were supported in a large number of communications submitted by the population of the canton.

54. At Guérin-Kouka, the centre of the Konkomba area in Togoland under French administration, the Mission met the paramount chief of the Konkombas and the local representative to the Territorial Assembly. Both praised the achievements of the French administration and requested that the association between the Territory and the French Union be continued. Referring to the Konkombas living in Togoland under British administration, the paramount chief stated that the Konkombas of the Territory under French administration maintained brotherly relations with them, but that he did not request that these two groups be unified as that might entail war between the two Administering Authorities. These views were supported in a large number of communications submitted by the local population.

9. THE CERCLE OF LAMA-KARA

55. The cercle of Lama-Kara occupies a small area (2,500 square kilometres), heavily populated (188,170), north of Sokodé and east of Bassari. It is administratively divided into the subdivisions of Lama-Kara and Niamtougou. The population is predominantly composed of Kabrais in the former subdivision and of Lossos in the latter.

56. At Lama-Kara, on 14 September 1955, the Mission met the paramount chief of the Kabrais, a member of the Government Council, the members of the conseil de circonscription of Lama-Kara, the local representatives in the Territorial Assembly and representatives of the local branch of the UCPN and the JNT. All these persons and groups were directly or indirectly affiliated to the UCPN and expressed similar views. They stated that they requested neither unification nor independence, but would accept unification of the two parts of Togoland, provided that the unified territory should be placed under French administration. They said that they wanted the continuance of French administration until they were ready for independence, whereupon they would ask that the Territory be granted independence within the French Union. These views were supported in a large number of communications submitted to the Mission by the local population after the hearing.

57. On 14 and 15 September, the Mission visited many Kabrais villages throughout the district, including Tchitchao, Piya, Tcharé, Kouméa, Faroundé, Lassa, Soumdina, Landa and Kétao. In all these villages, the Mission received a vast number of communications from the chiefs and the local population in which they praised the achievements of the French administration and requested that the association between the Territory and France be continued.

58. During these visits, an incident occurred which the Mission considers worth mentioning. Before arriving at the village of Soumdina, the cars in which the members of the Mission were travelling were stopped by three men who emerged from the bush and handed the Mission a small number of communications setting forth the views of the CUT. The men told the Mission that the paramount chief of the Kabrais had prevented supporters of the CUT from submitting petitions to the Mission, that they had been

hiding in the bush for four days and that the chairman of the local branch of the CUT, Mr. Mama Pierre (a brother of one of the three men), had been forcibly taken to Lama-Kara and kept in the paramount chief's house on the previous day. The paramount chief, who accompanied the Mission on its visit, said that everyone could freely submit genuine petitions, but that the few supporters of the CUT in his territory, most of whom were strangers, were preparing forged petitions, which he would not allow. That was why he had, on the previous day, gone to Soumdina and had asked Mama Pierre, who incidentally was his brother-in-law, to come to his house in order to discuss the matter. He claimed that Mama Pierre had thus gone to the paramount chief's house at Lama-Kara of his own accord and had stayed there until that morning. At the village of Soumdina, the Mission met Mama Pierre, who stated he had not gone to Lama-Kara of his own accord, but had been forcibly taken there by the paramount chief and had been kept there under guard. The *commandant de cercle* assured the Mission that he had taken no measures to prevent people from seeing the Mission and would take steps to see that there would be no further incidents.

59. On the same day, the Mission went to Niamtougou, headquarters of the Lossos area. There it met the paramount chief of the Lossos and two local representatives to the Territorial Assembly. All three praised the achievements of the French administration and requested that the association between Togoland under French administration and France be maintained and further strengthened. The paramount chief added that if any members of his tribe were to express views to the contrary he would drive them out of his area. The two representatives also stated that they would not object to the unification of the two parts of Togoland provided that the unified territory was placed under French administration. These views were supported in a large number of communications which were submitted in the area. The eagerness with which certain tribesmen pressed forward to present their communications was even more remarkable than in other places in the north of the Territory.

10. THE CERCLE OF MANGO

60. The cercle of Mango lies to the north of those of Bassari and Lama-Kara. Its headquarters is at Sansanné Mango, just north of the Oti River. Administratively it is divided into the subdivisions of Kandé and Mango. The population of the Kandé subdivision (29,530) consists mainly of Lambas and Tambermas, while the Mango subdivision (36,533) has two main tribal groups, the Chokossis and the Gangans, the latter owing allegiance to the former.

61. The cercle of Mango was visited by two members of the Mission on 16 and 17 September 1955. At Kandé, they met the paramount chief of the Lambas and Tambermas, the local representative to the Territorial Assembly, the members of the conseil de circonscription and the chairmen of the local branches of the UCPN and the JNT. All these persons praised the achievements of the French administration and urged that the association between the Territory and the French Union be maintained. These views were supported by a large number of petitions from local inhabitants.

62. At Mango, the Mission met the paramount chief of the Chokossis, who is also the Chairman of the UCPN, the members of the conseil de circonscription, the local representative in the Territorial Assembly and the representatives of the local branch of the JNT and the PTP, as well as the local leader of the CUT, Chief N'djambara N'tchaba. The paramount chief of the Chokossis praised the achievements of the French administration and requested that the United Nations trusteeship over Togoland under French administration be terminated and that the Territory be integrated in the French Union; he also stated that he wanted the unification of the two parts of Togoland, provided that the unified territory was placed under French administration. His views were supported by all but one group of persons heard by the Mission, as well as by a great number of communications submitted during the hearings.

63. The sole exception to the support given to the above-mentioned views was a written statement, submitted in person by the aged Chief N'djambara N'tchaba accompanied by a small

group of supporters, who urged unification and independence of the two Trust Territories and stated that a plebiscite held under United Nations supervision would be the only solution to the problem of the future of Togoland. Because this communication dealt with a number of specific charges against the local administration, the Mission took advantage of the presence of the *commandant de cercle* to examine it in some detail. Matters complained against included the levying of taxes upon deceased persons and persecution of supporters of the CUT by the Administration and the paramount chief. It transpired that certain of these charges were of several years' standing, having previously been the subject of a petition to the Trusteeship Council. Chief N'djambara N'tchaba was unaware of the fact that it was his own responsibility to see that the names of deceased persons were removed from the tax rolls. During the six months the *commandant de cercle* had been in charge at Mango, the chief had not presented any complaints or grievances to him. Should he care to do so, the *commandant* assured him that he would examine carefully with him any matters brought to his attention. The Mission asked the chief who had assisted him in preparing his comprehensive communication. He stated that his secretary had prepared it, and had subsequently gone to Yendi in Togoland under British administration, fearing persecution from the political foes of the CUT.

64. In the Mango area, the Mission also visited three Chokossi villages, Paio, Baoulé and Barkouassi. At each of these villages, the Mission received from the cantonal chiefs and the local population a considerable number of communications requesting the continuation of the French administration.

11. THE CERCLE OF DAPANGO

65. The cercle of Dapango lies in the extreme north of Togoland under French administration. Its population of 126,385 is comprised mainly of B'Mobas (Mobas) in the west and of Gourmas in the east.

66. On 16 September 1955, two members of the Mission arrived at Dapango, where they held a meeting attended by the paramount chiefs of the Gourmas and of the B'Mobas, represen-

tatives of the cercle in the Territorial Assembly, members of the conseil de circonscription, representatives of the UCPN and the JNT and by many others.

67. In an address of welcome, presented in his capacity as chairman of the conseil de circonscription, the paramount chief of the Gourmas expressed appreciation of the great progress which had been achieved under French administration. He said that the people wished to continue their collaboration with France and, as a result of recent reforms, considered that the time had come for the termination of trusteeship and for a decision by the people regarding the future of the country. In no circumstances, he said, did they wish to accept the programme of the CUT, which would place them under British rule, but felt, rather, that their country would retain its entity and would prosper as a member of the French Union. Speaking personally, he asked that France should remain in Togoland and that it should strengthen the authority of the traditional chiefs.

68. The paramount chief of the B'Mobas enumerated many material and moral benefits which his people had been helped by France to attain. He then referred to the B'Mobas in Togoland under British administration, who, he claimed, were in difficulties and were unable to meet their fellow-tribesmen in the Territory under French administration. He expressed the wish that the former should be allowed to come under French administration.

69. Statements along the same lines as that of the chairman of the conseil de circonscription were read by several other persons present. No dissenting views were expressed.

70. On 17 September 1955, the members of the Mission visited the chief of the Gourmas at Pana, where he and other chiefs made statements in support of continued association with France. Finally, when the members returned south in the afternoon, they stopped at Bombouaka, where a young and well-educated cantonal chief gave an eloquent account of the way in which the French administration had provided benefits for his people.

71. At all the meetings in the cercle of Dapango, a large number of communications, all in favour of continuation of French administration, were presented.

ANNEX III

MEMORANDA PRESENTED TO THE MISSION BY THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL GROUPS IN TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

Note: In order to make clear the attitude of the principal political groups to the special problems dealt with in the present report, the Mission has reproduced the definitive statements of their positions as regards those problems. Where the memoranda have dealt with questions other than that of the future of the two Trust Territories, only those portions related to the questions at issue have been included. Similarly, lengthy preliminary argumentation has been omitted in some cases where the position of the group is clearly stated in its conclusions. It may be noted that the Northern People's Party did not submit a written memorandum to the Mission. An oral statement of the party's position has been recorded in annex I (para. 6).

A. Convention People's Party

MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE MISSION AT HO ON 29 AUGUST 1955

We, the Rank and File of the Convention People's Party (Southern Togoland) have the pleasure of welcoming you to our territory.

This is the third time we are honoured with a United Nations visiting mission. The policy of the United Nations General Assembly of sending at regular periods visiting missions to all Trust Territories is, in itself, a practical demonstration of the keen interest the United Nations is taking in the political, economic and social advancement of dependent territories which are held under the Trusteeship System.

The Visiting Mission of 1955 is of special interest to all persons born and bred in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship. Apart from its usual terms of reference, the 1955 Mission is to find out the best means of ascertaining the wishes of the people of British Togoland as to the future status of their territory.

We, of the Convention People's Party are grateful to the United Nations General Assembly for referring the final decision in the matter of the future of our territory back to us, the inhabitants. We wish to assure you that we will not abuse this opportunity.

We are happy to inform you also that the Administering Authority as well as our own elected Government have allowed the two main political parties operating in British Togoland, namely, the Convention People's Party (Togoland) and the Togoland Congress to explain their political ideologies to the masses at free public rallies, week-end conferences and in village-to-village campaigns.

Two schools of thought

The two schools of thought in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship for some time now are, namely,

(a) Continued association of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship with an independent Gold Coast, with which the former

has been administered as an integral part for almost forty years; and

(b) Separation of British Togoland from the Gold Coast.

We, of the Convention People's Party (Togoland), wish to reassure you of our firm stand and conviction in the matter of our demand for continued association between British Togoland and the Gold Coast. We have on various occasions, either through petitions, memoranda or through oral representations at the United Nations, stated why we are opposed to the idea of separation from the Gold Coast. We need not reiterate those arguments here, since you are so well aware of them. But we wish to add this much. Unification of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship with Togoland under French trusteeship means far more than the mere removal of the Anglo-French frontier between the two Trust Territories. It means amongst other implications, unification of our British local government system with the French local government system; unification of our British educational system with the French educational system, unification of our British outlook with the French outlook.

It also means the re-imposition of the former German frontier, which will result in the disintegration of tribes that are now one with their kith and kin in the Gold Coast. It will also destroy the Ewe unification so far achieved through the creation of the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region, and will disturb to an immeasurable extent the rapid progress now being made with developments in British Togoland.

How to ascertain the wishes of the people

We now turn to the most vital question—"How best to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship as to the future of their Territory".

Here we quote the first operative paragraph of the United Nations General Assembly resolution of 14 December 1954,¹ on the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship:

"Decides, in view of the eventual revision or termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, that steps should be taken, in the light of the particular circumstances of the Trust Territory, to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants as to their future, without prejudice to the eventual solution they may choose whether it be independence, unification of an independent Togoland under British administration with an independent Togoland under French administration, unification with an independent Gold Coast or some other self-governing or independent status:".

The above paragraph indicates clearly that at least four possible propositions could be put before the inhabitants of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship out of which they would be called upon to select the one which fulfills their desire for the future status of their Territory. These possibilities are:

(a) Independence for Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship;

(b) Unification of an independent Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship with an independent Togoland under French trusteeship;

(c) Unification (of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship) with an independent Gold Coast;

(d) Some other self-governing or independent status.

Two simple demands

We of the Convention People's Party (Togoland) feel that the propositions contained in the United Nations General Assembly resolution of December 1954 are more than necessary. When representatives of the two political parties in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship appeared before the United Nations Fourth Committee in December 1954, it was clearly stated that there are only two simple demands facing Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship as to the future of their Territory:

(a) The Convention People's Party (Togoland) and its supporters have been demanding the unification (integration) of British Togoland with an independent Gold Coast; whereas

(b) The Togoland Congress has been asking for unification of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship with Togoland under French trusteeship.

¹ General Assembly resolution 860 (IX).

We wish to state that some of the proposals are not only confusing but most impracticable.

Independence for Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship

No one can deny the fact that the first and foremost demand of dependent peoples all over the world is complete independence. Political freedom is incomplete without economic independence.

Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship is a narrow strip of land lying alongside the eastern frontier of the Gold Coast. It is economically poor, landlocked and supports a scanty population. Independence for such a territory would surely mean some amount of political freedom, but would definitely result in economic enslavement, a fact we are glad to note is supported by the United Nations in paragraph 174 of the special report of the Trusteeship Council Supplement of 1952.² We of the Convention People's Party (Togoland), want independence for Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship—an independence which we can maintain and enjoy. We do not believe that independence for our small, landlocked territory which is economically not feasible is in the best interest of our people. Although this proposition sounds grand at the surface, it is, in our opinion, not only misleading but also impracticable.

Unification of an independent Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship with an independent Togoland under French trusteeship

We know and we are sure that Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship will soon be independent in association with the Gold Coast. The Administering Authority has duly informed the United Nations about this. But who knows when French Togoland would be independent? The Administering Authority of Togoland under French administration has stated categorically before the United Nations Fourth Committee in December 1954³ that she has not completed her programme in that territory. It means, therefore, that the inhabitants of that territory are not yet ready for any consultations with regard to their future status. Since we cannot, at this stage, foretell the form and the conditions under which the inhabitants of French Togoland would like to attain independence, and whether those conditions would be acceptable to the inhabitants of British Togoland, we feel that this proposal is highly hypothetical. Can the result of a plebiscite on a proposition such as this be implemented?

It may be argued that under such circumstances we in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship should be made to wait for Togoland under French administration until such time that the latter are ready to assume responsibilities attendant on the achievement of independence. One could hardly imagine the status of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship during that interim period.

Some may suggest also that during the said interim, which we believe will be a very unhappy state, either:

(a) Great Britain, the Administering Authority, should be asked to remain in the Territory; or

(b) The United Nations itself may be compelled to assume direct administration of the Territory by appointing a High Commissioner, as often suggested by the Togoland Congress.

The United Kingdom Government has stated in its memorandum to the United Nations on the future of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship⁴ that if the Gold Coast, of which British Togoland is administered as an integral part, attains independence the United Kingdom Government is not prepared to remain in the Territory any longer.

Before taking over the administration of the Territory, the United Nations General Assembly must necessarily take a decision whether or not it can undertake this responsibility since the proposition is expensive and involves many complications. Can the result of a plebiscite on a matter which is yet to be decided by the United Nations be implemented?

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 12.*

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Fourth Committee, 459th meeting.*

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Annexes, agenda items 35 and 52, document A/2660.*

The other hypothetical proposition in the resolution under reference is: "some other self-governing or independent status". This proposal conveys no clear-cut ideas to those who are expected to vote in the plebiscite. May it be understood that by this the inhabitants of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship, could decide on any form of self-governing or independent status obtaining elsewhere in the world? Is the United Nations prepared to implement such a decision?

Unification with an independent Gold Coast

This proposition is, in our opinion, the only practical one because:

(a) Great Britain, the colonial Power in the Gold Coast, has told the United Nations and the world that the Gold Coast is ready for independence;

(b) We can also see from the rapid developments and constitutional changes now taking place in the Gold Coast that their independence is definitely assured, and will come at no distant date;

(c) Everybody in Togoland under British administration knows the advantages and disadvantages in our forty years' association with the Gold Coast and are in a position, therefore, to decide whether this association is worth continuing or not.

Form of question to be put in the plebiscite

We suggest, therefore, that this Mission should urge the United Nations to amend the complicated and impracticable propositions in the first operative paragraph of the United Nations General Assembly resolution of December 1954 to two simple, straightforward possibilities which can be easily understood and the results of which can be implemented immediately.

The Convention People's Party (Togoland) humbly recommends therefore that the questions to be put to the electorates should be framed as follows:

(a) "Do you want union of British Togoland with an independent Gold Coast?"; or

(b) "Do you want union of British Togoland with French Togoland to go under French administration?"

By these we mean "Do you want to share in Gold Coast sovereignty or self-government and all that it implies, or do you want to join French Togoland which is still under French trusteeship?"

Method of consultation

This we admit is an important issue. We recommend that the best way of ascertaining the true wishes of the people of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship is by a *straightforward plebiscite* based on *universal adult suffrage*.

Why we prefer a plebiscite

We of the Convention People's Party prefer a direct plebiscite because:

(a) It will encourage all those going to the polls to vote in accordance with the dictates of their conscience;

(b) Minority opinion could be properly represented in a direct plebiscite;

(c) Those who participate would be in a position to know the effects of their votes immediately after going to the polls (this, in our view, is the essence in any plebiscite);

(d) Those who participate would vote directly for the issue facing them—"the future of Togoland under United Kingdom administration";

(e) All participating will be sure that their votes are cast for the views they hold;

(f) It also serves as a check on any form of coercion. (The possibility of any organized terrorists threatening all above the age of twenty-one who may satisfy the electoral regulations is almost absent.)

Why we disrecommend the electoral college system

Our arguments against the electoral college system are, in brief, the opposites of the arguments advanced in favour of a straightforward plebiscite.

The electoral college system is unsatisfactory because:

(a) Minority opinion cannot be represented. In a constituency of 240 pro-integrationists and sixty unificationists it is quite apparent that the integrationists would win the election to the electoral college. The result is that the votes of the sixty unificationists would be unjustly swallowed up by the integrationists in that constituency.

(b) If the electoral college system were adopted, those participating in the first elections would not know the effects of their votes and, above all, would be voting for personalities and political parties instead of the grave issue facing them—the future of British Togoland.

(c) Those who vote in the first elections could not be sure whether the person elected to represent them in the electoral college would vote for the ideology for which he stood at the time of his election. If he changed his views at the last moment, then those who voted for him are grossly misrepresented.

(d) In the electoral college system it would be necessary to create constituencies of equal population. The local council areas differ greatly in population as these were created upon the wishes of the people living within the area. The creation of new constituencies of equal population will, no doubt, cause a lot of delay and make this problem facing the people of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship drag on unduly.

(e) If the electoral college system were adopted, the few hundred elected to vote at the final stage would be left at the mercy of all within the Territory. This would encourage coercion, and the like.

Should the United Nations General Assembly insist on retaining all the confusing and impracticable questions in their resolution of December 1954, then the only means whereby the views of the inhabitants of this Territory could be ascertained is by adopting this most unsatisfactory method. For it would be necessary to select people who can understand the implications involved in each of these possibilities to participate in the final decision to be taken. That is why we, of the Convention People's Party (Togoland), have recommended that the questions to be put should be reduced to two and should have direct bearing on the issue facing us.

Our views on federation

According to a publication in *The Daily Graphic*⁵ of 13 August 1955, the leader of the Togoland Congress, Mr. S. G. Antor, and leaders of the opposition parties in the Gold Coast are alleged to have signed a constitutional document addressed to the Governor of the Gold Coast in which they have agreed to form what they termed "indissoluble federal union", of which British Togoland forms one of the component parts. We feel therefore that there is now no difference of opinion between the Convention People's Party and the Congress as to our future relationship with the Gold Coast. The Congress have now agreed that we must continue our association with an independent Gold Coast. The only point of controversy at the moment is whether that association should be under a unitary form of government or under a federal system.

Federation of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship with any other territories is an internal matter to be settled by the territories concerned. Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship cannot, therefore, say that it is federating with the Gold Coast if the Gold Coast is not prepared for federation.

Considering the unbalanced economy of the various administrative regions which form the present Gold Coast State, we agree with the recent decision taken by our own elected Legislative Assembly that a federal system of government will tend to bring hardship to those living in poorer regions. We support a unitary form of government for the Gold Coast and British Togoland together, and we endorse the Government's intention of placing more emphasis on regional devolution.

Eligibility to participate in the plebiscite

This is another complex question on which we would like to express our opinion. The future status of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship is a matter affecting not only those who are

⁵ Published at Accra, Gold Coast.

natives to British Togoland but to all those who are resident in British Togoland. We agree also that it is a matter affecting life as well as property.

We suggest, therefore, that persons under the following categories, who should also satisfy the conditions set down in the Local Government Electoral Regulations of 1951, should be considered qualified to take part in the plebiscite:

(a) All those who themselves or either of whose parents were born in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship, and who have paid their annual rates to local authorities within the Territory and have been duly registered as voters, should be considered qualified to participate in the plebiscite; and

(b) All non-British Togoland (be they French, British or Portuguese subjects) who have:

(i) Resided in the territory for not less than six months by the time of registration, or have immovable property within the territory; and

(ii) Are duly registered as voters; and

(iii) Have paid their annual rates to local authorities within the Territory, should also be eligible to participate.

Registration

We recommend also that for the purpose of this all-important plebiscite, a matter which affects generations yet unborn, the electoral registers which were compiled during the first local government elections of 1951 be revised.

We feel the revision of the registers is necessary because since the last local government elections, many have attained the age of twenty-one, some have died, and an appreciable number of non-British Togoland who were disqualified to vote on account of lack of residential or property qualification are now qualified to participate.

Date for the plebiscite

The Togoland question has been dragged over seven solid years. You would perhaps notice that all interested parties are anxious that a test of opinion should be organized as soon as possible. This would save the inhabitants the thousands of pounds spent every year on delegations to the United Nations and on public rallies, and give them the peace of mind that is requisite in planning developments for their future welfare.

We suggest, therefore, that the United Nations be urged to accord this matter all urgency and to request the Administering Authority to make all necessary arrangements for a test of opinion to be held in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship not later than March 1956. We pray that the Administering Authority will co-operate with the United Nations in this matter.

Conclusion

You have seen for yourselves what the manifest aspiration of the majority of the Chiefs, Cocoa Farmers and people of all walks of life in Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship is.

We are aware that the final solution of the problem now facing us lies not in shouts of "ablode" or "Freedom" but in the choice of the people. We are confident that when the time comes the people of British Togoland will demonstrate to the world that integration of their territory with an Independent Gold Coast is the expressed wish of the majority.

Finally, we wish you God's guidance in all your undertakings, and pray that you may have a safe journey back to the United Nations, New York, to continue your onerous duties.

For and on behalf of the

Convention People's Party in Southern Togoland:

(Signed) Philip Kwaku KEH
Regional Chairman

Solomon Togbe FLEKU
Regional Executive Member

Jonas Charity TEFÉ
Regional Executive Member

Simon Wellington KUMAH
Regional Secretary

B. Togoland Congress

1. MEMORANDUM FROM THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PRESENTED TO THE MISSION AT ACCRA ON 11 AUGUST 1955

Welcome

You are welcome. We hope you will enjoy your mission and we wish you success in all your findings.

Credit tot British system of administration

We are grateful to the United Nations for its interest in our affairs and also to Great Britain for her system of administration, inherent with self-government, which has given our country a decisive political lead over our sister, French Togoland, in the face of the same problems of differences between the more highly developed tribes in some areas than others.

Regret administrative union

It is the British system, therefore, in general and not any extraordinary administration in Western Togoland in particular which accounts for self-government—our country made merely a trailer to the Gold Coast. The Administering Authority did not observe the classification of the mandates adopted after World War I. Togoland belonged to the class "B" Mandates, i.e., those meant to preserve the Mandated Territory as an entity, but was reduced in practice more under the Trusteeship System to class "C", i.e., those that imply administration somewhat as annexed part to the Mandatory Power's own territory.

Economic resources: commercial progress

The commercial development of the country has been the result of the Territory's production of cocoa, the export of which is all labelled in the name of the Gold Coast. Accumulated profits from this industry are not made to benefit the Territory directly. The usual commercial port for the export of British Togoland cocoa is Lomé in French Togoland, for indisputable geographical and economic reasons. Road improvement in the country is merely a follow-up of the needs of increasing commerce. The Government of the Gold Coast has planned iron mining near Yendi, in the Trust Territory, the information of which was released in a recent press conference in London by the Gold Coast Minister of Trade and Labour, when he said, *inter alia*, that the iron deposits in question were "fairly high grade" reported in *The Daily Graphic* of 29 June 1955; although the existence of valuable mineral resources claimed by our political leaders had often been termed "hypothetical" by the Administering Authority in order to underrate the economic strength of Togoland and to deceive the public to hail integration as a special favour. The position of Togoland however goes much deeper into the very conditions of the political and economic future of the Gold Coast than most people realize or care to realize. The Volta River project is an obvious proof, and we are not prepared to accept such a subordinate constitution as integration with the Gold Coast. *We know the truth and the truth shall prevail.*

Special attention to certain districts

The Central Government has been hypocritical in planning development with the motive to exploit the Territory to benefit the Gold Coast. Some special attention has been given to some sections of Kpandu District because it is a district whose District Council overlaps with the Gold Coast and the Government is particularly anxious to stimulate this interest and also to camouflage the facts from the people beforehand in view of inundation and loss of private property which that area is bound to suffer from the Volta River project.

The Volta River project

It is best we say a word on the project. We are not against the project itself but we are against the approach. We feel that the people must be told its social effects and not be made to believe, by attractive exhibitions, that all was well. We feel also that it could be conducted by stages, using more local capital than foreign if the Finance Minister's disclosure is correct that "the sum total of the assets of the Gold Coast Government and the Cocoa Marketing Board, which has been invested abroad, was £190 million" (*The Daily Graphic*, 13 June 1955). We strongly feel that this is a fine

opportunity for private investment of farmer's cocoa surplus profits in their individual behalf to secure and cushion their livelihood against the inevitable event of failure of the cocoa industry. We further feel that the project is of both political and economic interest to French Togoland, which has the right to Togoland re-unification with the reclaim of the Volta River as the international boundary. With her larger iron deposits adjoining with those of British Togoland but with no source of power, French Togoland as well as ourselves may benefit from joint economic planning. As adjacent African neighbours, the geographical world must mean more to us than the existing political world in our struggle for economic independence and stability. A greater emphasis on power production with foresight to meet the demands of general industrialization instead of being obsessed with one industry is what we think is necessary, and there should be no reason to hurry with the scheme.

No safeguard of Togoland interests

In the absence of legislative and administrative organs specifically for Togoland, our interests have never been fully safeguarded obviously. Moreover the CPP Government is often opposed to public criticism and certain actions of the Cabinet have produced national shock to intelligent public opinion in the Gold Coast, viz., refusal of the Government, in spite of substantial allegation against the Cocoa Marketing Board and its Agent, the Cocoa Purchasing Company, to appoint a commission to unearth mistakes.

The Governor has not used his discretionary powers to stop such corruption and perhaps with intention not to delay self-government for the Gold Coast. *But self-government, in our opinion, is ability to listen to advice and correct mistakes and handle situations tactfully.* Every nation makes mistakes and this universal weakness is not what matters, but individual realization of the existence of that weakness and the need for reform. We have therefore lost confidence in the Governor and we want a separate High Commissioner appointed directly by the Queen for Western Togoland to safeguard our interests.

Education and social services

An outside observer may mistake the external and material progress for which the present Central Government is notable for achievement of standards and internal quality. In education a system of fee-free to the lower primary level has been turning out a large quantity of shoddy pupils without proper classroom accommodation and equipment. We have heard also of a new plan to replace vernacular by English as a medium of instruction for infants, thus offering education with no adequate background. Education and social services have shown productive quantity but have suffered much lowering of standards. We feel that with a good educational system the present ten years' primary course can be covered in seven years with better results as it is in French Togoland and can even be improved by a good use of vernacular background.

Appointments and the Civil Service

Except through nepotism and party favour, Togoland has not been given due Civil Service and executive appointments in their country. We have heard it mentioned in Government reports of one or two appointments in the senior rank, but we have not seen these natives posted in the Territory. The posts in the Territory are mainly given to persons from the Gold Coast. Nepotism also prevails in educational institutions. For example, the only graduate second in qualification to the Principal of St. Francis Teacher Training College, Bla (Hohoe) is a Togolander, but the education authorities have been attempting to prefer for the post of Vice-Principal a less qualified Gold Coast man. In the Mawuli Secondary School, Ho, there has been a secret plan to oust an American pioneer from the post of a Principal to make place for a member of the staff from the Gold Coast; although, if Africanization of the services of the Territory were the rule, there are about five Togoland graduates in the same school (as against only two from the Gold Coast), one of whom could be made Principal.

Demand for control of Togoland Civil Service

The Administering Authority has announced the handing over of the Gold Coast Civil Service to the Gold Coast All-African Central

Government with effect from 31 July 1955. Since British Togoland has also been declared ready for self-government, we demand a separate legislature of our own to which our Civil Service will be directly responsible.

Tribalism encouraged

The Administering Authority has been encouraging tribalism against the national interests and entity of the Trust Territory. Accordingly, the Northern Section of Togoland since the Mandate system had, by the influence of the Gold Coast Dagomba tribe, been arbitrarily divided from the Southern Section, and administered within the Gold Coast Northern Territories. The agitation and successful withdrawal of Krachi recently from the Northern Section was proof that this division of Togoland into sections was arbitrary.

The Trans-Volta/Togoland Region has similarly been established recently on the British assumption to satisfy the demands of the Ewe tribe for unification, while the cry for Togoland re-unification in these long years, or at least re-constitution of Western Togoland into one administrative unit by status, has not been met. Regional administrative units in the Gold Coast, however, obey the rule of status—and Ashanti, for example, has not been made to include parts of the colony inhabited by the Akan tribes to circumscribe all Akans into one region. Why then should disrespect for international status be allowed in Togoland?

Turning Western Togoland into Ewe and Dagomba colonies

The division of Western Togoland into two sections to serve the interests of the Ewe and Dagomba tribes respectively results in a state in which Togoland affairs are distorted by the Administrative Authority and the wishes of the Gold Coast people are allowed or encouraged to influence our domestic politics. Unless the influence is removed in actual practice by reforming Togoland into one administrative unit to decide its future behind closed doors, the plebiscite will be disturbed and delayed.

The Northern problem

It is clear from the latest 1948 Census figures that about 106,000 B'Mobas, Kokombas, Chokossis, Kotokolis and Bassaris who have their tribes extended to French Togoland with about the same number of population have been subordinated to the interests of only about 43,000 Dagombas with related tribes in the Gold Coast (Mamprusis and Gonjas) who favour integration with the Gold Coast. The position in the North is that the Togoland chiefs are subject to big chiefs from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, and that a peculiar system of feudalism still exists.

Popular voting is unknown in the Northern Section, only voting under the dictate of big chiefs supported by the Administering Authority is in practice.

The Northern Territorial Council and the Northern People's Party (NPP) interfere with the affairs of the Togoland people and there has been much overlapping constituencies with the Gold Coast Northern Territories. Although the people are intelligent, *they lack the necessary education for declaration of constitutional wishes.* Their interests must therefore be protected from dictates and misrepresentations.

The Buem-Krachi problem

Buem-Krachi is not the home of Ewes, but a district of different tribal groups with their local aspirations. There is a current agitation against sectarian management of their schools whose policy conflicts with that of the local councils. The Education Committee of the Buem-Krachi District Council has recently called for hand-over of the management of the schools directly to the local authorities in the area in line with progressive local government in other countries. We endorse this view and beg the United Nations Visiting Mission to examine this question.

Unification movement

In condemning tribalism we do not, however, want the impression to be carried that we have no concern for the unification of the Ewe and Dagomba tribes. What we want to point out is that integration on tribal proposition in Togoland may only benefit the Dagomba tribe at the expense of other tribes and harm the main Togoland unification followed by federal union between adjacent states, and to the tribal groups across the frontiers.

It is wisdom shared also by the majority of Anlos who, although belonging to an Ewe tribe in the Gold Coast, have always been our brothers and friends in the struggle for unification as opposed to selfish integration. In an address to the last United Nations Visiting Mission, reported in *The Daily Graphic*, Tuesday, 9 September 1952, Mr. C. H. Chapman, now Deputy-Speaker of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, on behalf of Keta district, told the Mission that "Ewes of the Gold Coast also supported the unification movement and hoped that the Missioners would recommend a solution to the benefit of our people and the good name of the United Nations".

The Togoland problem

Political confusion in the Territory has originated from the implementation of the document entitled *The future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship*⁶ and marked "Most secret" (see United Nations document T/PET.6/L.11), jointly prepared by the Administering Authority and the CPP Government of the Gold Coast through which the Administering Authority allows and continually encourages the importation of selfish ideas from the Gold Coast, supported by irresponsible elements of the Territory whose aim is to eclipse the real wishes of the Togoland people by using corrupted opportunists among the natives as tools to mislead the public and to betray the just cause of Togoland re-unification. We are right in saying that the western frontier between Togoland and the Gold Coast is no problem at all, for it entails no future uncertainties; but the eastern boundary, which divides Togoland brutally under two different administrations, often diametrically opposed, is honestly the dangerous zone to be tackled first. Nothing can convince us to deny this simple truth. *This is our cry and let honesty be our judge in this matter.*

The Convention People's Party is foreign to Togoland

It has often been wrongly said that the CPP represents Togoland interests. The Convention People's Party is a foreign organization and the Togoland branch of it cannot claim to be independent of the parent Gold Coast body from whom it is bound to receive directives. Moreover, the members of the Togoland branch include many Gold Coast people resident in Togoland, with different national interests. We are not opposed to the existence in the Territory of any political party whose ideology may differ from that of the Togoland Congress, provided it has its origin and its headquarters in the Territory, deals only with matters connected with Togoland and receives no directives from outside. But we are opposed to the existing Togoland branch of the Gold Coast CPP which is responsible for more confusions in Western Togoland politics and which does not in any way represent Togoland wishes.

Present legislative system

It has often been said also that the recent constitutional changes affecting Togoland have taken place in due consultation with the people. We do not know how this could be possible in all these years that our demand has been for unification and for the fact that there has been no exclusive Togoland organ to be consulted as representative of the people. Assuming that the Togoland branch of the CPP was the consultative body, what had become of the demand of this group for Togoland to become a federal unit during the framing of 1952 Constitution which is now in force? If the Gold Coast was essentially a unitary State, could a "Northern Ireland Constitution" at least not be possible in the case of British Togoland in the light of her problem? Did the idea of integration originate from Togoland? Should such a foreign and imposed idea outweigh the freely indigenous idea of unification? What freedom has the Togoland branch of the CPP to seek the national interests of Togoland under the hush of the party whip from the Gold Coast? What meaning have the words "consultation" or "wishes" of the people hitherto had in the dictionary of the past constitutional affairs of British Togoland? We, the Togoland Congress, are not only moved by national sentiment to demand re-unification and independence for Togoland. Politically, *Togo-*

land presents problems of its own which are different in degree and in kind from those in the Gold Coast.

Not only does Togoland need greater attention, but the present legislative system cannot deal effectively with Togoland affairs. Little parliamentary time can be devoted to matters affecting our country and, while the Legislative Assembly continues to be dominated by Gold Coast members, little interest will be shown in our affairs.

The Indian draft resolution

Our demand is for immediate re-unification and independence of the two Togolands. We have observed with regret however that the Indian draft resolution,⁷ amended and adopted⁸ by the United Nations General Assembly, has made no provision for this urgent demand; and only presents the following anomalies:

(1) Time of unification with French Togoland is indefinite and not dependent on the immediate decision of British Togoland.

(2) Integration with the Gold Coast is, however, simultaneous with the date of self-government.

(3) Choice of unification with French Togoland has been a matter to be determined by plebiscite only in British Togoland, although it is a matter for both Territories to decide together.

(4) No provision was made for British Togoland to possess its own separate constitutional organs before self-government to declare legal acts of union with other states.

The merit of the Indian proposal may only lie in the fact that it ensures self-government for British Togoland but bound up with Gold Coast self-government. In fact it was an attempt to evade the real Togoland problem of unification merely to favour the British designs.

Ascertainment of the wishes of the people

We commend highly, however, the British love of freedom by which opportunity to ascertain the people's wishes according to the rule of the Charter has been possible. We beg to submit, however, that there are no true public organs existing exclusively for Togoland to determine indigenous opinions to help the Visiting Mission assess public attitude correctly.

Present organs incompetent

The Trans-Volta/Togoland Council and the Northern Territories Council are not competent to decide the future status of British Togoland because they overlap with the Gold Coast. The local and district councils are also incompetent because they have lost touch with public opinion. The local council elections due this year have been postponed by the Government, obviously to favour her. Moreover some of these councils overlap with the Gold Coast. State councils of traditional rulers are undemocratic and therefore cannot represent public opinion. In the North, few and minor tribes are made lords over the majority and minority or proxy wishes, made to dominate majority wishes. Voting is by dictates of big Gold Coast Northern Territories chiefs and Togoland chiefs are, in most cases, made subjects of those chiefs.

In the Southern Section, the majority of paramount chiefs, especially among the Ewe tribe (where their status is *primus inter pares*), had been appointed during the introduction of the amalgamation in 1936 of small individual and autonomous divisions for the formation of states which served as basis for the establishment of former Native Authorities, and such heads cannot, in the strict sense, speak for the parochial divisions under them.

Plebiscite for immediate unification

We are certain that we shall gain an overwhelming victory over the integrationists when a true plebiscite is held for immediate unification. We want to make the point clear that our demand is definitely for unification together with independence. The date of unification should not therefore be indefinite. If Togoland unification cannot be simultaneous with self-government because of the delay of the French administration, then the question of integration is premature as an alternative to unification, since it

⁶ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 35 and 52, document A/2660.

⁷ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 35 and 52, documents A/C.4/L.370 and A/C.4/L.370/Rev.2.

⁸ General Assembly resolution 860 (IX).

introduces gross partiality into the issue for the plebiscite at this time. The question of breaking away from the Gold Coast for its own sake has never been raised by Togoland unificationists because we contemplate federation between Togoland and the Gold Coast in the long run. We only demand unification first, before anything else. We have to point out also that our demand for unification and independence is inseparable. The Trusteeship Agreement for French Togoland must therefore be terminated simultaneously with self-government for British Togoland. If this proper action is beyond the competence of the United Nations, then some way should be found to enable British Togoland to stand alone as an independent self-governing entity until the question of Togoland unification is ripe for treatment either by making its union with the British Commonwealth provisional or by direct appeal to Britain to reconsider her hurried proposal for integration or by the United Nations assuming direct responsibility in which Britain is also included. Unless Western Togoland is in the best position to determine its future, it will be unfair to make us suffer any inconvenience now out of no fault of our own or be forced to answer a partial or irrelevant question for plebiscite, because of inexpedient delay of self-government for Eastern Togoland.

Supplement to legislative operation

In our opinion, British Togoland must possess a legislative organ in order to make her union with the Gold Coast constitutionally legal or to enable her to stand alone pending unification. A referendum on the question of Togoland unification will then follow as a supplement if the proposed legislature fails to give final judgement and requires reference to the country. What we need at the moment, therefore, is a true organ to process or determine our wishes in a national representative body without outside interference, and a lasting constitutional machinery which we can employ always to further our future status and correct past mistakes. A legislative organ for British Togoland is a prerequisite if solution of the Togoland problem is to be a reality.

In the interest of world peace

Besides our internal need, which is a legislative organ to handle our affairs, we have to consider also the external affairs in the interest of world peace. Firstly, the question of membership in the French Republic (since the French Union is not the counterpart of British Commonwealth) or in the British Commonwealth is not of primary importance to us, because we are not fighting for an isolated State. Our union with adjacent African neighbour States, bound to follow sooner or later, is enough to ensure common defence. We feel that a United States of West Africa or union between prospective self-governing adjacent States based on mutual respect now will bestow real security and peace upon these parts of the world rather than divisions bound up with the affairs of Europe which had often driven us in the past to take up arms against our own families by the dictates of the quarrels of our "masters" in Europe.

Secondly, we are convinced that no one can set right the genesis of colonial states in Africa. Any attempt to change the colonial states which have come to stay both in name and in history such as Togoland, Gold Coast, Gambia, Dahomey, Nigeria, etc., will demand an overhaul of the whole existing national system in most parts of Africa which will only invite the old troubles of tribal feuds and confusions which the advent of these states has overcome—no matter how artificial—or adversely set a precedent of integration, of "swallowing up" of smaller states by bigger ones without learning the lesson of the history of the cause of wars in Europe. It means therefore that although the colonial states are inevitably the prospective nations, useful also for the purpose of killing tribalism in Africa, they must not necessarily be regarded as permanent European tools to prevent genuine federation of these states in the best interest of the African people. The long-sought peace for Europe will also go a long way to materialize if the colonial powers can come together to denounce their rival claims over our territories and plan not only their own unity but the unity of Africa as well.

We, the Togoland Congress, strongly feel that besides the possibilities of our unexploited economic resources, and the sanity of Togoland people reflected by our political struggle without violence in all these past years of provocation, there may be most

reasonable security of all the past Administering Authorities on cordial terms—Germany, Britain, France—(each of whom has made some good contribution in Togoland) are invited as joint patrons sitting with the new self-governing Togoland Government at the event of unification to draw an economic plan for the self-governing, unified Togoland States. A dangerous international precedent or "scramble" for Trust Territories will then be avoided in the interest not only of the internal unity and security of Togoland but also of world peace. By this convention, Togoland may be independent of rigid ties and can make union with any of the adjacent territories, either on the basis of federation or customs union, thus preserving her identity clearly as opposed to vague integration. We are convinced also that the idea of federalism is appropriate constitutionally even in the exclusive case of union of British Togoland with the Gold Coast because the question involves union of previously existing areas of different (statutory) governments.

Demands

We demand accordingly:

1. *Reconstruction of Western Togoland immediately into one administrative unit with a legislative organ:*

(a) To deal effectively with Togoland affairs;
(b) To put Western Togoland on parity with French Togoland;

(c) To control the Togoland Civil Service, which is separate from the Gold Coast with effect from 31 July 1955.

2. *Self-government now for British Togoland within the British Commonwealth pending unification.*

3. *Referendum on question of Togoland unification versus integration to pass through a separate legislative organ for Western Togoland (Vide 1 (a)).*

4. *Re-establishment of the Joint Togoland Council in the form of a joint committee of the legislatures of Eastern and Western Togoland to prepare grounds for Togoland unification and federation with the Gold Coast.*

(Signed) JOHN AMANIE
Chairman

A. W. SIMPSON
for Secretary-General

Hohoe, 6 August 1955

2. ADDENDA TO THE MEMORANDUM FROM THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PRESENTED TO THE MISSION AT HOHOE ON 26 AUGUST 1955

The following addenda refer to certain points raised in the memorandum of 11 August 1955 from the National Executive of the Togoland Congress:

A. Legislative Assembly for Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship

1. Our request is as follows:

That a legislative organ shall now be created which, together with the Administering Authority, shall constitute the government of the day, and which should be responsible for the administration of the Trust Territory on the event of the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. This alone will avoid any form of political association which will involve annexation of the Trust Territory in any sense or would have the effect of extinguishing its status as a trust territory—see General Assembly resolution 326 (IV).

Method

Constituencies shall be formed exclusively within the Trust Territory on population basis. There shall be fifteen constituencies in all.

2. Qualification of voters

Togoland nationality:

(a) A person whose father and grandfather were born in any part of Togoland;

(b) A person who is eighteen years of age, the minimum age accepted for paying local rates; except that people at school up to secondary school level shall not qualify;

(c) A person who pays the annual rate for the year preceding the time of registration;

(d) Ex-convicts (where convictions were on criminal grounds) shall after five years of serving their sentences qualify to vote;

(e) Sanity is a prerequisite.

3. Voting shall be by secret ballot on the basis of universal adult suffrage, subject to the qualifications above.

4. Procedure

(a) A new register of voters shall be prepared according to the qualifications laid down;

(b) The register shall be published and made available for public scrutiny for fourteen days;

(c) Courts shall be provided for hearing complaints regarding omissions and disqualifications;

(d) Complaints shall be made to courts provided for the purpose within twenty-one days from the date of publication of the registers;

(e) Sufficient time shall be provided for the courts to hear cases pending;

(f) A revised register shall be published soon after the courts have completed the hearings of cases due;

(g) A date for voting shall be announced and adequate arrangements shall be made for voting on election day;

(h) Presiding officers, returning officers and polling assistants shall be provided by the administering authority. A candidate shall provide two polling agents at each booth;

(i) Counting of votes shall start 2 1/2 hours after voting has closed, if all boxes are assembled.

Until the administrative union of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship and the Gold Coast is ended:

(a) The proposed legislative assembly shall be fully financed from the common revenue of the Gold Coast and Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship;

(b) Before the administrative union is ended, adequate arrangements shall be made for the administrative and financial separation.

B. Referendum

1. We want a referendum to decide finally the Togoland unification problem. By referendum we mean the method by which all adults who qualify as specified below shall determine by secret ballot the wishes of the majority of the people of the two Trust Territories of Togoland.

2. The referendum shall be held in the two zones of the Trust Territory of Togoland at the same time. This shall be so because:

(a) Any decision taken in one zone on the Togoland unification problem necessarily affects the destiny of the other;

(b) Results in one zone should not prejudice the minds of people in the other zone.

3. The referendum shall be arranged, conducted and supervised entirely by a United Nations Special Commission resident in Togoland for the purpose of the referendum. This provision will make the referendum uniform, fair and impartial in the two zones of Togoland.

4. We suggest the following alternative issues on which a referendum should be held in each of the two zones of Togoland.

(a) *Togoland under British administration*

(i) Unification of an independent Togoland under British administration with an independent Togoland under French administration; *or*

(ii) Unification (of British Togoland) with an independent Gold Coast.

(b) *Togoland under French administration*

(i) Unification of an independent Togoland under British administration with an independent Togoland under French administration; *or*

(ii) Union (of French Togoland) with the French Union.

5. The Togoland unification problem shall be decided by the total majority of votes on the alternatives of the referendum namely:

(a) Unification of the two independent zones of Togoland; *or*
(b) Disintegration of Togoland.

6. A new register of voters shall be prepared by the Special Commission appointed by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

7. Qualifications of voters

Togoland nationality:

(a) A person whose father and grandfather were born in any part of Togoland;

(b) A person who is eighteen years of age; the minimum age accepted for paying local rates; except that people at school up to secondary school level shall not qualify;

(c) A person who pays the annual rate for the year preceding the time of registration;

(d) Ex-convicts (where convictions were on criminal grounds) shall after five years of serving their sentences qualify to vote;

(e) Sanity is a prerequisite.

8. Any naturalization shall be after the referendum.

9. Procedure

(a) The register of voters prepared by the Special Commission appointed by the General Assembly of the United Nations shall be published and made available for public scrutiny for fourteen days;

(b) Courts shall be provided by the Special Commission for hearing complaints regarding omissions and disqualifications;

(c) Complaints shall be made to courts provided for the purpose within twenty-one days from the date of publication of the registers;

(d) Sufficient time shall be provided for the courts to hear cases pending;

(e) A revised register shall be published soon after the courts have completed the hearing of cases due;

(f) A common date for voting in both zones of Togoland shall be announced by the Special Commission and adequate arrangements shall be made for voting on referendum day;

(g) Presiding officers, returning officers and polling assistants shall be provided by the Special Commission appointed by the General Assembly of the United Nations;

(h) Counting of votes shall start 2 1/2 hours after voting has closed, if all boxes are assembled.

C. Should any of the following terms: "plebiscite", "referendum", "election" be used by supporters of the unification movement in the various submissions, they should be understood as explained in "B" above.

Witness to mark:

S. G. ANTOR

(Signed) John AMANIE
Chairman

S. G. ANTOR
Secretary-General

3. RESOLUTION OF THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS AND ITS SUPPORTERS PRESENTED TO THE MISSION AT HO ON 30 AUGUST 1955

Bearing in mind the fact that the Togoland issue has developed to a stage where the United Nations must have to decide upon the freely expressed wish of the people, and

Considering the fact that the only method by which the freely expressed wish of the people of Togoland could be ascertained could only be a referendum based on universal adult suffrage and the secret ballot, and

Noting from past experience that the Administering Authorities could, by various means and methods, embarrass and confuse the people at any time when the suffrage and the secret ballot should be applied,

Let it be resolved and it is hereby resolved,

That without a separate legislature that will advise the Governor in Council having been established for Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship and the people entrusted with powers to make possible their aspiration for self-determination to be achieved, the Togoland Congress and its supporters may not accept any referendum to operate.

Dated at Ho this 30th day of August, 1955.

(Signed) S. G. ANTOR
Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress
F. R. AMETOWOBLA
Unificationist

C. All-Ewe Conference

MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE MISSION AT HO
ON 30 AUGUST 1955

THE EWE PROBLEM

1. The Ewe unification problem, which is now included in the general term of the Togoland unification problem, has been before the United Nations since 1947. The General Assembly of the United Nations has, each year, passed resolutions calling for measures to be taken with the intention of speeding up its solution.

2. In the first place, the United Nations has given its blessings to the following measures proposed jointly by the Administering Powers, France and Great Britain:

Amelioration of frontier difficulties

- (a) Removal of strictions on the free movement of persons and their belongings across the frontiers;
- (b) Creation of a conventional Zone which will do away with the difficulties arising from the existence of a customs barrier.

Fiscal

- (a) Approximation of head taxes payable in the two zones of Togoland;
- (b) Approximation of direct and indirect taxes in the two zones.

Cultural

- (a) Introduction of the teaching of French in the post-primary schools of the British zone and, reciprocally, the teaching of English in the post-primary and secondary schools of the French zone;
- (b) Establishment of a university fund to enable students to continue their studies in the universities of France and Great Britain.

Political

Setting up of a Permanent (Franco-British) Consultative Commission with a Secretariat for Togoland Affairs.

3. In later years, the General Assembly substituted for the Permanent Consultative Commission first an enlarged Consultative Commission and then a Joint Council for Togoland Affairs.

4. The All-Ewe Conference has since been looking in vain for the practical implementation of the above measures. Except that a person can cross the frontiers with money up to £5 and without the production of a regular passport, none of the other measures summarized (in para. 2) above has been implemented. As to whether or not they have, in fact, been implemented no doubt the Mission may wish to find out on the spot.

5. The plight of the Ewe people continues to be practically the same as it was before the matter was sent to the United Nations for solution.

Togoland integration

6. A new suggestion by the Administering Powers, which appears to find support in certain quarters in the United Nations, is the proposal to integrate Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship into the Gold Coast when the latter becomes independent. It is suggested in some of those quarters that this would

go a long way to solve the vexed question of Ewe unification. In support of which various figures of the Ewe population in the three zones of their homelands have been given, viz. Gold Coast proper: 376,000; Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship: 139,000; and Togoland under the trusteeship of France: 176,000.

7. If, however, reference is made to the report⁹ on the Ewe problem prepared by the Secretariat and submitted to the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, it is recorded that

"According to official estimates the Ewe and Ewe-speaking people numbered some 800,000 in 1947 divided as follows: some 330,000 in the south-eastern part of the Gold Coast, some 126,000 in Togoland under British administration and some 290,000 in Togoland under French administration."

In the French Togoland Government bulletin, *Le Togo Français*, dated 20 June 1945, the Ewe population in French Togoland is given as 411,749. It is a remarkable thing that whilst the Ewe population has grown in the Gold Coast and British Togoland, it has fallen by nearly half in French Togoland. The explanation appears to be that the French, since the appearance of the Ewe problem before the United Nations in 1947, no longer regard the Ewe-speaking Ouatchis and Minas as belonging to the Ewe stock.

8. The All-Ewe Conference has opposed and continues to oppose the integration of British Togoland with the Gold Coast on the ground that this will lead to a permanent division of the Ewe people, for France will also "arrange" a popular consultation which will favour the integration of French Togoland with Dahomey or the French Union or the French Republic.

9. That this contention is not an idle speculation is borne out by articles in responsible French newspapers such as *Le Monde* and *Combat*, extracts of which are attached as annexes 1 and 2.¹⁰

10. Recently also, in French Togoland, the newly elected Territorial Assembly, of which all the members belong to the officially inspired and sponsored pro-French parties, the Parti togolais du progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo, declared, in a resolution adopted in the very first session of its life, for the "integration of French Togoland with the French Union and the early termination of the trusteeship". The text of the resolution appears as annexure 3.¹¹

11. Thus it is clear that the consequences of the integration of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship with the Gold Coast will be a permanent international frontier between an independent Gold Coast (with which part of Togoland is integrated) and a French territory with which the other part of Togoland is equally integrated.

12. The All-Ewe Conference believes that, had the resolutions of the United Nations been implemented by the Administering Authorities—in particular, had the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs been elected on the basis of Universal Adult Suffrage as resolved by the United Nations—the solution of the Ewe problem would have been in sight if not already completed. But the All-Ewe Conference notes with regret that the sound measures proposed by the United Nations have consistently been obstructed by the Administering Authorities by means of subterfuges.

13. Having for a long time advocated a plebiscite by the people to ascertain their wishes in the matter, the All-Ewe Conference welcomes the United Nations resolution¹² to have a popular consultation of the people of British Togoland, the Southern Section of which is an integral part of the Ewe homeland, in order to find out their real wishes. Such a consultation should take place *under the impartial auspices and direct supervision of the United Nations* if the people are to be allowed to exercise their right of choice untrammelled by covert and overt coercion and administrative restrictions on their liberty.

14. Since the adoption of the United Nations resolution, the implementation of which forms part of the work of the present

⁹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 12, documents A/C.4/195, A/C.4/195/Add.1 and A/C.4/195/Add.2.

¹⁰ Deposited in the United Nations archives and available for consultation.

¹¹ Also deposited in the United Nations archives.

¹² General Assembly resolution 860 (IX).

Visiting Mission, the officially inspired, sponsored pro-French parties of Togoland under French trusteeship have reflected the French Government's policy in their demand for the integration of French Togoland with the French Union and the early termination of the Trusteeship Agreement.

15. Thus in both zones of Togoland two clear-cut demands have emerged: integration versus unification and federation with the Gold Coast. It is the view of the All-Ewe Conference that since these two clear-cut aims have emerged, the test of public opinion should no longer be confined to Togoland under British trusteeship; it should be extended to cover the other half of Togoland also, namely Togoland under French trusteeship.

16. With regard to the method of testing public opinion, the All-Ewe Conference believes that the soundest, fairest and most democratic means of a plebiscite should be used; it should be based on the principle of universal adult suffrage; new lists should be compiled specifically for this purpose; the qualifications required for entry on the lists should be the same and based on one common procedure for both zones; the actual test should be by secret ballot.

17. As already stated the whole of this exercise should be under the direct and active control of the United Nations.

18. The Mission should reject any proposal to accept the views of local councils or other such statutory bodies as expressing the real wishes of the people. This must be so because in the British zone the elections were held at a time when, following a resolution of the United Nations, the pro-unification party considered that the elections to and constitution of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs should receive precedence over the purely local government elections and therefore boycotted them. Furthermore, the Administration postponed the local government elections, obviously with a view for their being used to thwart the real wishes of the people.

19. In the French zone, the elections have consistently been rigged and there has never been the introduction of universal adult suffrage as recommended by the United Nations (*vide* annexure 4).¹³

20. The same argument applies to any suggestion that there should be electoral colleges to ascertain the wishes of the people. Apart from the fact that electoral colleges are small enough to be unduly influenced, the British zone people have already had practice in the direct expression of their views; they have taken part in local and general elections within the last few years. To go back to electoral colleges would be a throw-back as undemocratic as they would be unrepresentative of the people who have elected the electoral colleges.

21. In face of the above, it would be a farce to seek to have popular consultations by consulting these unrepresentative bodies. Only a plebiscite on the basis of universal adult suffrage will yield satisfactory results reflecting the wishes of the people themselves.

22. And now as to the questions for the plebiscite. These should reflect not only the point of view of the Administrations, namely, integration with the adjacent territory, but also the desire of the people, that is, the removal of the international boundary. The questions should therefore be two: "Do you want integration?"; "Do you want unification with eventual federation with the Gold Coast?" Put in a positive way, the questions would be: "I want integration"; or "I want unification with eventual federation with the Gold Coast".

23. To sum up the Togoland problem is the problem of the unification of ethnic groups: the Ewes, the Dagombas among others. The problem cannot be solved by merely taking the majority view of the whole territory; it must be the view of the ethnic groups concerned.

24. The All-Ewe Conference is convinced that its solution of unification and eventual federation with the Gold Coast will solve all the known present difficulties. The Ewes will be brought together and so will the Dagombas. But integration may solve the problem of one, but not of the other.

¹³ Deposited in the United Nations archives and available for consultation.

25. The direct and active supervision of the United Nations is essential if a plebiscite or popular consultation is to take place in an atmosphere of freedom and liberty to make a real choice.

(Signed) A. M. SIMPSON
General Secretary of the All-Ewe Conference

D. Parti togolais du progrès

MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE MISSION BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT LOMÉ ON 7 SEPTEMBER 1955

[Original text: French]

It is always a pleasure for us to greet the members of the Visiting Mission of the Trusteeship Council. We welcome you as friends, for we are aware of the disinterested efforts which the United Nations has made since its inception to promote the economic, social, cultural and political advancement of non-self-governing peoples.

Your purpose in coming to Togoland under French administration today is, of course, to observe the progress which the Administering Authority has accomplished in these various directions since the previous Visiting Mission came here three years ago.

There are some who view each of your visits as simply an opportunity for agitation calculated to draw your attention to them. Does strength require noisy demonstrations in order to be felt? A country like ours, the natural evolution of which has been retarded by spurious nationalists who have inconsiderately confused the minds and fomented sterile agitation, is at present enjoying tranquillity and peace thanks to the unremitting effort which the Parti togolais du progrès has made for years to convince our people that our actions should be guided exclusively by our country's real interests.

The people of Togoland are now convinced that our country has more to gain from frank and honest co-operation with the Administering Authority than from a systematic opposition nurtured in an atmosphere of factitious tension.

By its resolution 860 (IX), adopted at its 512th plenary meeting held on 14 December 1954, the General Assembly decided

"...in view of the eventual revision or termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, that steps should be taken, in the light of the particular circumstances of the Trust Territory, to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants as to their future, without prejudice to the eventual solution they may choose whether it be independence, unification of an independent Togoland under British administration with an independent Togoland under French administration, unification with an independent Gold Coast, or some other self-governing or independent status;"

and requested the Trusteeship Council

"...to dispatch a special mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration to make a special study of these problems".

The object of your Mission is clearly defined in these words. We sincerely believe that you will approach your task with complete objectivity, undecieved by aspirations which you will no doubt be asked to accept as realities.

It is in that belief that the Executive Committee of the Parti togolais du progrès is happy to welcome you to Togoland.

Ultimately, truth always prevails. For many years the question of the unification of the Ewes has been the overriding question, the only one to have caused impassioned debate in the Fourth Committee. The competent organs of the United Nations, deceived by clamorous vociferations, were so convinced that such a question did in fact exist that the first Visiting Mission, that of 1949, under Mr. Khalidy's chairmanship, spoke enthusiastically of the national character of the Ewe question as a problem which required urgent solution.

You know that, although everything was against us, we have steadfastly challenged the validity of the movement supporting the unification of the Ewes and have shown how its advocates

were seeking selfish ends. We made no attempt to conceal how dangerous this artificial Ewe question, supported by the Fourth Committee, could be to the peaceful development of our country.

Events have proved that we were right. The General Assembly has deleted the Ewe unification question from its agenda once and for all.

Today you are told about the unification of the two Togolands. That is a real problem, and we might mention that we were the first to raise it at a time when the unification of the Ewes took precedence over everything else in the United Nations.

The unification of the two Togolands is a good idea, but how is one to go about it? Would not the inhabitants of British Togoland prefer integration with the Gold Coast? That, we think, is the true subject of your study.

But before you begin your study we should like you to be convinced, without a shadow of doubt, that the views of the Parti togolais du progrès reflect those of an overwhelming majority of the population in the southern part of the country. It is hardly news to you that our party, together with our friends, the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo, are the only representatives of the Territory in Parliament and in the Territorial Assembly. Consequently, while we sincerely wish to co-operate with the United Nations, we would not take a kind view of any failure to take our views and aspirations into account.

We must make that preliminary point because, while forestalling misunderstandings between the United Nations and ourselves, it conditions our party's attitude towards any resolution affecting our country's life and future.

The problem of the unification of the two Togolands reflects the determination and desires of those Togolandese who remember our country as it was under the German occupation—great and prosperous.

The vicissitudes of the First World War resulted in the arbitrary partition of Togoland. The populations of the two zones under different administrations are naturally aware of the wrong done to them. Still they are equally aware that the Togoland unification problem, which but for the ill-advised embroilment in the Ewe question might have been resolved a few years ago, is now an extremely delicate question.

Since the end of the war, the social, economic, cultural and political development of the two sections of Togoland has proceeded more rapidly under two different systems. As a result, the people of French Togoland, while staunchly opposed to the merger of their country with any other, nevertheless feel today that they have closer ties with the populations of French territories than with the people of British Togoland who, for their part, have been brought up in closer relationship with their neighbours of the Gold Coast. How then can unification materialize without harm to the cultural and moral interests of the inhabitants of the one or the other section of Togoland?

Moreover, these difficulties were mentioned in General Assembly resolution 860 (IX), part of the preamble to which reads:

"Noting the new situation described in the statement of the United Kingdom Government to the effect that the Gold Coast will assume full responsibility for its own affairs within a measurable period, and that it will thereafter no longer be possible for the Administering Authority to administer the Trust Territory in accordance with articles 4 and 5 of the present Trusteeship Agreement,

"Noting also the view of the Administering Authority that the progress of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory has been such that, at the same time as the Gold Coast assumes full responsibility for its own affairs, the people of Togoland under British administration will have reached a stage of development when the objectives of the International Trusteeship System will have been substantially achieved and that the Trusteeship Agreement should therefore be terminated,"

The integration of British Togoland into the Gold Coast was, of course, the only question submitted to the Fourth Committee for consideration and it is one which can in no way concern French Togoland. Yet, the operative part of General Assembly

resolution 860 (IX) refers to the possibility of a unification of an independent Togoland under British administration with an independent Togoland under French administration. These words reflect precisely the embarrassment of the Fourth Committee which, despite itself, had to take into account the essential object of its agenda item: The Togoland unification problem.

While we have never underestimated the difficulties which the methods of unifying the two Togolands present, neither have we at any time wished to sacrifice our people's present and future interests. For that reason, we have always made it clear that the only form of unification acceptable to the people of French Togoland was the integration of the non-viable minority of British Togolandese as part of the viable majority of French Togolandese.

We cannot, at this juncture, however, listen to talk about an independent French Togoland unified with an independent British Togoland. It must be clear to everyone that such a solution would inevitably lead to the absorption of the unified Togoland by the economically more powerful Gold Coast.

The people of French Togoland will not agree to the loss of their territorial identity or of the benefits of many years of endeavour to follow the lead given by France.

The people of British Togoland are free to determine their own future. If they choose integration with French Togoland, we shall welcome them as brothers whose culture and education are different but who can speedily adapt themselves to our way of life and thinking.

A new political experiment is now under way.

Substantial reforms will be carried out in the Territory under the Act of 16 April 1955.

Henceforth, the Territorial Assembly of Togoland will have political powers. No important action can be taken in the Territory without consultation with the Assembly.

A Government Council has just been established. Each of its members has specific functions. All will surely work together. Henceforth, Togolandese will participate in the administration of their country.

Moreover, the draft legislation relating to overseas municipalities is now before the French Parliament. Consequently, in a few weeks' time, Togolandese will be given an opportunity to hold responsible communal posts at Lomé, Aného, Atakpamé and Sokodé.

Are we to jeopardize the success of experiments of such significance to the future of our country under the fallacious pretext that the people of British Togoland cannot decide their future without seeking our opinion, even though they have been separated from us for some forty years?

For these reasons the Congress of the Parti togolais du progrès, on 22 June 1955, unanimously adopted the motion¹⁴ which henceforth constitutes the basis of its action and political objectives. We gladly quote the motion because it defines our position with respect to the United Nations and to the Administering Authority. Moreover, it is a reply to all the questions raised under General Assembly resolution 860 (IX), concerning the political future of Togoland under French administration and Togoland under British administration.

The motion is worded as follows:

"Assembled at Lomé this Wednesday, 22 June 1955, on the eve of the entry into force of the Act of 16 April 1955, the Congress of the Parti togolais, consisting of the representatives of the Executive Committee, sectional chairmen and secretaries representing every section, cantonal chiefs and their representatives, delegates of the party to the Territorial Assembly of Togoland, the party's parliamentary representatives, and eminent Togolandese distinguished for their activities on behalf of and services to the party, is gratified to note:

"The establishment of the Government Council;

¹⁴ This motion, *mutatis mutandis*, was subsequently submitted to the Territorial Assembly on behalf of the Parti togolais du progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo by Mr. Nicolas Grunitzky and Mr. Mama Fousséni. It was unanimously adopted by the Assembly on 4 July 1955.

"The broadening of the Assembly's powers; and

"The consolidation of secondary communities;

"*Considering* that, by the Act of 16 April 1955, the Territorial Assembly is authorized to express its views on political questions affecting the Territory,

"*Considering*, moreover, that by virtue of the Act of 16 April 1955 the Territory is making a great advance towards the objectives set forth, on the one hand, in the Trusteeship Agreement and, on the other, in the French Constitution,

"*Regretting*, nevertheless, that an unruly minority continues to regard United Nations supervision as a motive for sterile agitation, which is harmful to the full development of the Territory's new institutions,

"*Considering*, finally, that United Nations supervision has, in consequence, become a heavy burden for Togoland,

"*Realizing* that it is necessary to define the general objects which the party proposes to achieve in the immediate future and which are to enable it to co-ordinate its subsequent activities in the spirit of its programme,

"*The Congress*,

"*Proclaims* the wish of the Togolandese for the permanent preservation of the Territory's identity and administrative and financial autonomy;

"*Affirms*, at the same time, the desire of Togoland to continue its development in close association with France;

"*Rejects* categorically any type of unification the consequence of which would be a weakening of Togoland's ties with France.

"*Noting* the country's economic, cultural, social and political advancement,

"*The Congress*, anxious, above all, for a definitive settlement of the country's future which would dispel the uncertainty that, under the provisional régime, besets the subsequent development of its various activities, believes that the time has come to approach, first the French Government and then the United Nations, concerning the question of the termination of the trusteeship system and the question of the political future of Togoland.

"In that spirit, the Congress of the Parti togolais du progrès, forcefully recalling the wishes of the populations,

"That the Territory's identity, by which they set great store, should be permanently preserved; and

"That they should not be cut off from a French community, embracing both Europeans and Africans, without the moral, cultural, economic and financial support of which this identity cannot be preserved in the present-day world;

"*Requests* the French Government

"*To give careful study* to the future status of Togoland within the French system;

"*Specifies* herewith that such status should carry with it explicit guarantees as to the following:

"Maintenance of the territorial, administrative and financial autonomy of Togoland, to the exclusion of all possibility of its being merged with any neighbouring French territory;

"Opportunities for Togolandese to participate fully in the conduct of their local affairs;

"Maintenance of a single electoral college and progressive establishment of universal adult suffrage;

"Representation of Togoland in the Assemblies of metropolitan France.

"*The Congress of the Parti togolais du progrès*

"*Requests* the French Government, once the status of Togoland is settled, to take all steps to put an end to the trusteeship system, if necessary after renewed consultation of the populations, and counts on it to defend its decision before the United Nations, citing the wishes of the populations of Togoland and of their elected representatives in its support;

"*Calls upon* the representatives of the Territory in the Assemblies of metropolitan France to present to the appropriate authorities, and to defend the requests set forth above; and

"*Empowers* the party's representatives in the Territorial Assembly to sign this resolution."

The resolution passed by our Congress received such unanimous support from Togolandese that the Togoland Territorial Assembly fully endorsed it at its meeting on 4 July 1955.

This Assembly, as you well know, is composed of the accredited representatives of the entire country.

In conclusion, we therefore affirm:

(1) That the vast majority of Togolandese opposes any form of unification which would cut French Togoland off from the French community;

(2) That the Parti togolais du progrès will accept only those United Nations decisions or resolutions which take the operative part of the resolution set forth above properly into account.

Statement on behalf of the Parti togolais du progrès by Dr. Ajavon, Senator for Togoland, international representative of the party.

E. Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo

MEMORANDUM, DATED 5 SEPTEMBER 1955, PRESENTED TO THE MISSION BY THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

[*Original text: French*]

The traditional Chiefs of the North and the people for whom they are responsible and whose confidence they enjoy welcome the Third United Nations Visiting Mission.

We wish the members of the Mission a pleasant stay on our soil and hope that the international Organization itself will continue to prosper.

We should like to mention that the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo is the most representative political organization in the country. It has a membership of more than 600,000 of the inhabitants, or half the population, of Togoland under French administration; in other words, the opinions we express are well founded, in accordance with the basic principles of democracy.

At the ninth session of the General Assembly, our petitioner Mr. Mama Fousséni, commissioned to speak on our behalf, presented and developed our arguments, in accordance with the instructions which we had given him, at the 453rd meeting of the Fourth Committee on 2 December 1954. Those are still our arguments and our attitude towards the Togoland problems which have been our concern for ten years remains unchanged. We shall only summarize them here.

(1) *Unification of the two Togolands.* We desire this, just as our political opponents do, but we cannot conceive of it outside the French Union, for we feel that the minority in British Togoland should join Togoland under French administration, which is twice as large and has twice the population. We wish to emphasize that unification can and should take place within the framework of the French Union, which alone seems to offer us all the necessary guarantees and is not, *per se*, an obstacle to our development.

(2) *A new problem has arisen.* It is the problem of United Nations Visiting Missions and the effect of their visits.

While we are grateful to the United Nations for the concern it has always shown in dealing with our problems, we draw its attention to the fact that its supervision is becoming a source of agitation in the Territory. We should therefore like to see an end of the supervision which the United Nations exercises over the French administration.

At its first meeting, on 4 July 1955, the new Territorial Assembly adopted a resolution, addressed to the French Government and the United Nations, in which we expressed the wish that Togoland might be freed of the burden it has to bear.

Since the last Visiting Mission, in 1952, new factors have arisen, chief among them being the *loi française* of 16 April 1955, dealt with below.

Under the terms of the *loi française*, a new body was established in Togoland, the Government Council, through which the people of Togoland will henceforward be able to participate in the administration of their country. Moreover, under this Act, the powers of the Territorial Assembly will be broadened, so much so that we are satisfied that the Act and the considerable changes it introduces constitute an important step towards our complete emancipation and self-government. It is in the light of these new gains that the Territorial Assembly, together with the great majority of the people of Togoland, has proclaimed its wish that a suitable status, preserving the identity of the Territory and its administrative and financial autonomy, should be established once and for all. In the opinion of the Territorial Assembly, this is an essential condition, without which it would be impossible to achieve anything worth-while in Togoland. Thus we reaffirm our intention to remain in the French Union. All these reasons impel us to urge the United Nations to see to it that a final solution is found which will put an end to the trusteeship status and will exclude any unification outside the French Union.

With regard to the problem of independence. The word "independence" is a slogan, a favourite theme of our political opponents, and our hostility towards it remains unchanged. The best form of independence at present is association with France within the French Union, for the reasons set forth below, which have lost none of their validity.

(1) *From the economic point of view*, our country is essentially agricultural and even in this one sphere there is still room for tremendous improvements, which our own financial resources are inadequate to cover. We are in constant need of additional funds, which France supplies. Since the end of the war, the help furnished by French taxpayers has enabled us to give our country sorely needed educational and health facilities. Today we are in a position to fight against any disease whatever and the number of children we can educate places us in an enviable position with respect to the rest of tropical Africa. None of these achievements would have been possible without the assistance of France. For those reasons we shall continue to maintain, and now more strongly than ever, that to grant us independence at the present time would be tantamount to sentencing us to death. This is the opinion that wisdom dictates.

The *loi française* of 16 April 1955 shows the determination of France to lead us as quickly as possible towards complete emancipation, in fruitful association with France, within the framework of the great family that constitutes the French Union. We feel that such an association is the more advantageous to us in that France is resolved to safeguard our individuality within this Union.

(2) *From the cultural point of view*, too, there is no lack of arguments to condemn premature and, therefore, fatal, independence. We shall still need France to train our teachers, doctors and technicians. The impetus which France has given to our little country in this field cannot but be a source of gratification, although there is a marked disproportion between the people of the north and those of the south, who form the majority of the Togolanders at French universities. All this shows that we are making slow but sure progress with France, and that is why we wish to continue this progress within the French Union. Any change at the present time would paralyse the development that is taking place.

France should therefore remain in Togoland in order to continue our emancipation by associating us more and more closely in the management of our affairs by further expansion of the democratic body which it has just given to our country and which enables us to start our apprenticeship forthwith.

All this can go forward only if there is peace and order. That is why we are asking the Visiting Mission to curb the agitation caused by its periodic visits and to consider, together with the French authorities, the preparation of a final statute to be approved by the people of Togoland by means of a free consultation of popular opinion, in order to put an end to the artificial problems of Togoland, a constant source of agitation among the minorities.

(Signed) AYEVA Issiyou

F. Mouvement populaire togolais

MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE MISSION BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON 5 SEPTEMBER 1955

[Original text: French]

The MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE TOGOLAIS is happy to welcome you.

Concern for the future of this country makes it our urgent duty to submit to you our hopes and wishes.

Political liberty

The MPT requests you to make representations to the Administering Authority in order to ensure that all political parties, and not one alone, may enjoy political liberty (freedom of speech, of assembly and of petition). Although all parties are free to hold meetings at Lomé, outside the capital some chiefs will not authorize meetings except for one political movement.

Consequently, the masses are not able to express their views freely, election results do not reflect the true face of the country and the information which you will gather during your mission is not likely to be very accurate, for chiefs and civil servants will not tell you what they really think, for fear of losing their posts and certain advantages; under pressure from most of the chiefs, who carry out the orders they are given, the peasants are obliged to submit petitions to you which do not represent their own points of view.

We therefore urge you to make special representations to the Administering Authority in order to ensure absolute neutrality on the part of the Administration during the popular consultations and respect for the last paragraph of article 10 of the Trusteeship Agreement.

Self-government

The recently established Government Council does not meet our aspirations. Such an institution is already out of date. We want to have our own little parliament and our own ministers, just like our Gold Coast neighbours.

We ask for self-government to be granted to us in the near future.

Unification

This is the dearest wish of all Togolanders. We therefore desire a quick solution of this problem by means of a plebiscite organized under international supervision.

Establishment of the Joint Council

Pending the organization of this plebiscite, we ask for the re-establishment of the Joint Council proposed and accepted by the two Administering Powers themselves and approved by the Trusteeship Council in 1950.

Universal suffrage

We ask that universal adult suffrage may be adopted for the elections.

Ending of trusteeship

We are against any premature termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, for we do not think that our period of trusteeship should end until we are able to have independence.

Hoping that our petition will receive your kind attention, we thank you in advance and urgently request the United Nations to make representations to France in favour of granting us as quickly as possible:

(1) Self-government;

(2) Political liberty, without which the people of Togoland would be unable to express freely their aspirations and their wishes.

(Signed) Dr. Pedro OLYMPIO and thirteen other members of the Executive Committee of the Mouvement populaire togolais

G. Comité de l'unité togolaise

1. MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE MISSION AT LOMÉ
ON 5 SEPTEMBER 1955 BY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

[Original text: French]

The Ewe problem, unification and independence of Togoland

In Togoland today attention is focussed on political questions, particularly the question of unification and self-government or independence. There is no need to reproduce in this memorandum the arguments in favour of the unification of our Territories and of the independence which is to follow unification, for they have already been stated by our representatives before the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

In 1947 the Ewe inhabitants of Southern Togoland asked for the consolidation of their territory, which was divided between the two zones of Togoland and the Gold Coast. Since that time, other tribes have joined in the consolidation movement, so that we now request the unification of the two Togolands, which include other tribes in addition to the Ewes. The various resolutions which the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted after hearing our representatives clearly show an understanding of the need for the unification of the two Territories of Togoland. In this connexion we shall quote only paragraphs 7 and 8 of the operative part of resolution 750 A (VIII):

"The General Assembly

"..."

"Recommends to the Administering Authorities the re-establishment of the Joint Council [15] with the power to consider and make recommendations on the question of unification, as well as on all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories, and to serve as a means of ascertaining the opinions of the inhabitants of the Territories concerning any proposed changes in the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement for either of the Territories;

"Re-emphasizes its recommendation that, through the Joint Council and in other ways, the Administering Authorities adopt measures to promote common policies on political, economic and social matters of mutual concern to the two Trust Territories, and expresses the opinion that the implementation of this recommendation requires that the Administering Authorities accord to each Territory simultaneously a large measure of progress towards the objectives of Article 76 of the Charter and harmonize in all major respects the political, economic, social and educational policies and systems applying in the two Trust Territories;"

This resolution shows that the General Assembly clearly understands the situation in Togoland. It has often been said in United Nations circles that the Togoland question is a complex and difficult problem. The real difficulty in its solution lies with the Administering Authorities, who oppose any solution which is not in line with their interests and their desire to maintain Togoland, if not in its present colonial status, at least in their empire under another label. Thus, since the last visit by a United Nations Visiting Mission in 1952, the two Administering Authorities have refused to give effect to any of the General Assembly resolutions relating to the unification of the two Togoland Territories.

In Togoland under French administration, the local Administration has abolished all political liberties—public meetings, public demonstrations and the like—for all those who are working for unification and independence. The report submitted to the General Assembly stating that the majority of Togoland's are opposed to the re-establishment of the Joint Council, a body proposed by the General Assembly of the United Nations to solve the difficulties in the way of unification, is only an expression of its hostility to that project. We suggest to the members of the present Visiting Mission that they should inquire into the true wishes of the population with regard to the Joint Council, for it is no longer a secret that it was at the request of the local Administration, and not at that of the population, that the Parti togolais du progrès opposed

¹⁵ The Joint Council for Togoland Affairs.

the re-establishment of the Joint Council. It is regrettable that the Administering Authority persists in its refusal to re-establish the Joint Council, for this Council is the only means by which the different points of view on how to achieve unification can be reconciled.

On the United Kingdom side, the local Administration, represented by the Nkrumah Government, proposes that Togoland under British administration be integrated with the Gold Coast. The United Kingdom is behind this new proposal, and we have no doubt that it was put forward as a result of an agreement between the United Kingdom and France in order to reaffirm and maintain the partition of Togoland as carried out in 1919. It has been argued that the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast would enable the former Territory to attain self-government at the same time as the Gold Coast and that, in view of its small population and lack of material resources, it could not be given self-government separately. Nothing is said about the desire of the inhabitants to unite with their blood brothers of Togoland under French administration to form an independent State. It is becoming increasingly evident that the two Administering Authorities are determined to absorb the two parts of Togoland into their empires. In other words annexation, which the mandates system and later the Trusteeship System were designed to avoid, is to be effected under the aegis of the United Nations itself.

When the Togoland problem was discussed in the Fourth Committee in December 1954, the representative of France protested vigorously against the accusation that France was preparing to make Togoland under French administration a part of the French Union. An article published in the Paris newspaper *Le Monde*, which was cited in that connexion, was said to represent the personal opinion of the editor.¹⁶ Since that time, however, other newspapers have taken up the same theme. An article published in the newspaper *Combat* on 9 and 10 July 1955, contained the following key passage:

*"The French Administration has for its part always applied the policy that it considered the most likely to lead to the incorporation of Togoland under French administration into the French Union. It has even given serious thought to attaching the Territory under its trusteeship to Dahomey."*¹⁷

The Togoland Territorial Assembly, which was newly elected following the adoption of the Act of 16 April 1955 and which consisted solely of members of the Parti togolais du progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo, made the following declaration under its first resolution, adopted on 4 July 1955:

"Affirms at the same time the desire of Togoland to pursue its development in close association with France.

"Categorically rejects any form of unification which would weaken its ties with France."

Under the same resolution, the Assembly described United Nations supervision as a heavy burden on Togoland and called for the termination of the period of trusteeship.

We would point out in this connexion that, as the elections which produced the present Assembly were not free but rigged, the parties working for the unification and independence of Togoland refused to take part in them.

Independence

The Administering Authorities in both zones of Togoland have succeeded in setting up administrative bodies—in one, the Trans-Volta/Togoland Regional Council and in the other, the Togoland Territorial Assembly—with a view to achieving their common purpose: the permanent partition of Togoland. Togoland's true interests cannot be safeguarded until its inhabitants are masters of their own destiny, that is until they attain self-government and independence. This is why we have always advocated independence for the two Territories of Togoland with a view to the pacific settlement of the problem of unification.

¹⁶ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Fourth Committee, 459th meeting.*

¹⁷ *"Les perspectives d'une levée de tutelle au Togo français," Combat, 9 and 10 July 1955.*

No one, and least of all the Members of the United Nations, should be surprised by the request for Togoland's independence, since the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Togoland under French administration expressly provides that

"The French Government, in its capacity of Administering Authority for this Territory under the terms of Article 81 of the Charter of the United Nations, undertakes to exercise the duties of trusteeship as defined in the said Charter, to promote the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System laid down in Article 76."¹⁸

The Government of the United Kingdom, which assumed the administration of the western part of Togoland at the same time as the French Government assumed the administration of the eastern part, declared to the General Assembly of the United Nations last year that, as the purposes of trusteeship had been achieved in its territory and the inhabitants of Western Togoland could be regarded as having attained their majority, they would be granted complete independence at the same time as the Gold Coast.¹⁹ The French Government, on the contrary, is reluctant and is indignant that the inhabitants of Togoland under French administration should express their desire to enjoy complete and unqualified independence at the same time as their compatriots in Western Togoland. Furthermore, it is imposing savage repressive measures and is holding rigged elections to fill the administrative organs with persons who are willing to submit to the colonial régime. This memorandum gives detailed information on the measures adopted by the French Government in order to delay, if not render impossible, the advancement of Togoland under French administration from the status of a colony to the status of a sovereign and independent nation.

...²⁰

2. LETTER, DATED 17 SEPTEMBER 1955, ADDRESSED TO THE MISSION BY THE GENERAL CHAIRMAN OF THE COMITÉ DE L'UNITÉ TOGOLAISE

[Original text: French]

Further to the hearing that you were good enough to grant to the Executive Board of the Unité togolaise on Wednesday, 7 September 1955, at 3 p.m., I have the honour to reaffirm our proposals for the achievement of the independence and unification of the two Territories of Togoland.

Independence

After several years of campaigning in the two Territories of Togoland for the unification of our Territories, it has become clear that unification will be unattainable so long as the two Territories remain under the administration of two rival Powers, France and the United Kingdom. We have witnessed the abandonment of various projects advanced by the two Administering Authorities to facilitate unification, such as the Consultative Commission, the conventional zone, the joint fund for higher education, measures for the relaxation of customs regulations and the Joint Council.

We have therefore decided to seek the full and simultaneous independence of the two zones of Togoland as the first essential step towards unification. We are aware of the risk we run in calling for independence first, for independence (since the granting of independence to Togoland under British administration is now being considered) may result in the permanent incorporation of one part of Togoland into another State, rendering future secession impossible. It is therefore essential that we should state precisely the kind of independence that we have in mind.

Firstly, no prior condition should be imposed regarding the future association of independent Togoland with another State or association of States.

¹⁸ Official Records of the General Assembly, First Session, Part II, Supplement No. 5, Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Togoland under French administration, article 2.

¹⁹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Annexes, agenda items 35 and 52, document A/2660.

²⁰ The other parts of the memorandum are not directly concerned with the question of unification of the two Territories of Togoland and the future of Togoland under French administration.

Secondly, a plebiscite should be organized and supervised by the United Nations in order to afford the adult inhabitants of both Territories an opportunity for the democratic expression of their opinion on two questions:

(a) Independence preceding the unification of the two Territories, or

(b) Independence of one Territory forming an integral part of another sovereign State or association of States.

It is understood that preparations must be made for the independence of the two zones.

It is generally recognized that this preparation is being actively carried out in the British zone, where there is sincere and loyal collaboration between the Administering Authority and the population with a view to accelerating this preparation and enabling the inhabitants to govern themselves at the earliest possible moment.

The administrative organs established there, such as village councils, district councils, regional councils and even the Legislative Assembly, are manned by indigenous inhabitants, trained locally or in England, and the members elected to the councils have the opportunity to attend special courses given by experts brought from England for that purpose or by professors from the Gold Coast University. Such preparation has not yet begun in Togoland under French administration. It is not enough to issue decrees or enact laws establishing administrative organs, as is done in our Territory. What is needed is to give these organs vitality by educating the masses who elect their members and by training those who are members of these assemblies or councils. Let us consider a specific example: the municipal council of Lomé. An election was held for the members of this council. None of the elected members were introduced to the work of community administration by booklets, courses or a period of training in a municipal council in metropolitan France. This municipal council has no rules of procedure; the members meet twice yearly to approve the preliminary budget and the final budget prepared and presented by the administrator, who is the mayor. The sessions normally last one day only. Thus the Lomé municipal council is largely window-dressing, but it must be admitted that it is the best-organized council in Togoland under French administration and has the most able members, some of whom have, on their own initiative and at their own expense, taken French correspondence courses on the organization of municipalities. The other municipal councils in Togoland under French administration exist in name only.

There must also be freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly—in short, political freedom—in order to ensure a sound and lasting democracy.

It is clear from the foregoing that the Administering Authority must not only accept in principle the fact that the inhabitants must eventually be granted their independence but it must also establish a date by which independence will be granted, to make it possible to determine the kind of preparation needed.

With regard to Togoland under French administration, we urge the members of the present Visiting Mission to insist that Togoland under French administration shall achieve independence at the same time as Togoland under British administration.

Today we have men in Togoland under French administration who are capable of guiding the destiny of the country. With the assistance of United Nations technical experts, pending the complete Africanization of our staff, the granting of independence in two years may be contemplated.

Unification

This problem will no longer be within the jurisdiction of the United Nations when the two zones of Togoland become truly independent. We are convinced that the majority of Togolanders of every shade of opinion desire the unification of the two Territories and that this almost unanimous desire will greatly facilitate the work of those who will be called upon to draft the procedure by which this unification is to be achieved.

In submitting these proposals, which we had occasion to outline during the recent hearing of 7 September, we have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) Augustino DE SOUZA

H. Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise²¹

1. MEMORANDUM DATED 3 SEPTEMBER 1955, PRESENTED TO THE MISSION BY MR. BEN APALOO

[Original text; French]

[The memorandum opens with a study of various possibilities for settling the future of Togoland. All the solutions, save that of independence, are rejected as inadequate or unacceptable.]

VI. Togolese independence, or Ablode

The object is to achieve the independence of Togoland under French administration and Togoland under British administration, so that the two Territories may, by an act of their own sovereignty, form one single free nation.

This aspiration originally was not formulated, but was implied by the All-Ewe Conference and was later put forward by both the Togoland Congress and the Comité de l'unité togolaise, but as a second request. It has rapidly gained ground during the last five years, under the very strong impetus of Juvento and of circumstances, until it has become what it is today, a basic and categorical demand for Togolese independence, or *Ablode*.

1. This aspiration, which is intrinsically collective, knows no limits but those of the whole of Togoland and does not emanate from any one particular ethnic group, but from all Togoland, without exception. That is because it is founded upon human nature itself: man is born to live in freedom and in society. It is pre-eminently a national aspiration. In their efforts to deny it this character, its opponents claim that it represents no more than the ambitions of a handful of agitators, but with the passage of time the truth is prevailing more and more over this slander.

2. The authenticity of the Togoland's desire for independence is attested to by its spontaneity, its persistence in the face of opposition and its popularity.

(a) This desire is deeply rooted in a common ground of democracy, which is to be found in most of the local institutions and is preserved and intensified by the outstanding personal qualities of the people, to which the first settlers paid a tribute and which have gained recognition again and again—namely, a lively intelligence at the service of immense vitality, and a capacity for development which is equalled only by a strong attachment to the land and to all that is sound in our traditions.

It is fitting at this point to pay an especially well deserved tribute to the Ewes, who may rightly be regarded as the leaven of the Togolese people and the pioneers of their emancipation.

(b) Just as the temper of steel is the measure of its worth, so is the authenticity of the Togoland's desire for independence demonstrated by its endurance in the face of the constant trials to which it is subjected.

These trials are denial of political liberty, repression and corruption and are dealt with briefly in annex I of this petition.²²

(c) Rooted as it is in the very qualities of the people, it can subsist only on the ardour of the whole people. For that reason it is essentially a popular aspiration and, at the same time, the ideal of the élite.

With townsman and peasant alike, among the masses and among the élite, this aspiration towards independence is expressed with unqualified fervour, coming from the very depths of their being as a tremendous hope, a vehement protest against all opposition and an absolute allegiance to human destiny: *Ablode, Ablode, Ablode*.

Because this general enthusiasm is undoubtedly a mark of popularity, how much more so is the fact that this idea has, to a great extent, become part of the folklore of the entire country.

²¹ As noted in annex II of this report, two rival groups, each of which disputed the right of the other to speak on behalf of the Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise (Juvento), presented memoranda to the Mission. Mr. Ben Apaloo is the spokesman of the first group, Mr. Napo Badji of the second.

²² Not reproduced in this report.

3. This aspiration is a true goal, for it alone makes it possible for all other aspirations to be realized. It is, therefore, in itself final and irrevocable.

4. Considering that Togoland is both an under-developed area and a Trust Territory, the following are essential for its independence:

(a) To begin with, there must be free and universal suffrage, so that its inhabitants, being fully represented, may exercise full powers of initiative and responsibility in sovereign assemblies;

(b) Through the force of this political lever and the enthusiasm it is bound to arouse, all the living forces of the country must be mobilized and used to the full, and qualified international experts must be asked to assist in the work of promoting a stable and modern social, economic and financial structure;

(c) The selection of the élite, which has been more or less at a standstill since 1952, must be intensified (see *Report of the Trusteeship Council covering the period from 22 July 1953 to 16 July 1954, Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Supplement No. 4*, pp. 203 and 224), and they must be given broader training, especially in Togoland under French administration, while the education of the masses must be speeded up by more adequate methods, including the introduction of the vernacular languages for instruction.

All these things are comparatively easy of achievement; at all events, other peoples have managed to achieve them or are in course of doing so, and the Togoland's are certainly capable of doing what others have done.

The sole difficulty lies in the stubborn opposition of the two Administering Authorities, which is as crafty in the case of the British as it is brutal in the case of the French. Nevertheless, with the assistance of the United Nations and the blessing of God, the Togoland's will overcome their opposition.

Conclusion

The logical conclusion of the foregoing study is the following: independence is the only aspiration which is general in origin and scope, authentic, final, and simple, if not easy, to achieve.

The Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise concurs in this conclusion all the more readily because it is in perfect harmony both with the impetus which gave it birth and the ideal towards which it aspires.

The Jeunesse togolaise does not aspire to power; its sole aim is dignity and peace. It wants to build a nation that corresponds to the people's capacities and to make of this land the repository of all its hopes, not a paradise, of course, but simply its land—a land where men earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, in the full enjoyment of freedom and in the fear of God.

Hence it is not willing to go on living in the shadow of another nation, no matter how mighty or illustrious; it wants to work out its own destiny in the community of free peoples.

There is an even more serious consideration; we still remember the warnings our fathers gave us nearly forty years ago: "Look at Ouidah, Grand-Popo and Agoue, once such flourishing towns and now dead." Today we ourselves can see Dahomey, once so full of vitality, slumbering gently while its neighbour, Nigeria, is in full spate. And what can we say of the Gold Coast?

Our eyes are suddenly open to the danger that threatens us: disintegration and death. (See annex V.)²³

We are a young and dynamic people. We do not want to become living corpses. That is why Independence is a matter of life or death for the Togolese people. *Ablode! Ablode! Ablode!*

(Signed) Ben APALOO
National Chairman

E. K. ESSIEN
General Secretary

Joseph Firmin ABALOO
Assistant General Secretary

²³ Not reproduced in this report.

2. MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE MISSION BY MR. NAPO BADJI
AT LOMÉ ON 7 SEPTEMBER 1955

[Original text: French]

I. Discontinuance of Visiting Missions. Arrangements for a Special Permanent Supervisory Committee, headed by a United Nations High Commissioner, to lead Togoland to final and complete independence. This is called for under Article 81 of the San Francisco Charter, which provides that:

"Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself."

II. Annulment of the Trusteeship Agreements for Togoland and removal of the present Administering Powers: the United Kingdom and France to keep only consuls in Togoland, just like all other nations, until 3 July 1956, upon which date the consuls could be replaced by ambassadors.

III. Discontinuance of Togolese representation in foreign national assemblies (European or otherwise) and election of a Togolese representative to the United Nations.

IV. Dissolution of the territorial assemblies set up by the present Administering Authorities.

V. Immediate establishment of a Joint Togolese Assembly (comprising representatives from both Territories) with legislative powers and authority to draw up a draft constitution and a draft national declaration of human rights to be submitted to the approval of the people by a popular referendum with secret ballot.

VI. Immediate proclamation of the principle of independence, with specific stipulation on the part of the United Nations that there is to be no interference from any foreign ideology (French Union, Commonwealth, attachment to any other country) until true independence is achieved. Date of Independence: 3 July 1956.

VII. Immediate withdrawal of French and British armed forces.

VIII. All judicial, civil, financial (taxes, customs, etc.), military and public-security institutions to come within the competence of the Joint Togolese Assembly.

IX. All non-Togolese elements, European or otherwise, at present in the service of Togoland to come under the authority of the Joint Togolese Assembly with regard to their appointment, remuneration and supervision, their engagement to be effected by contract between the Joint Togolese Assembly and their countries of origin.

X. The private interests of foreigners, European or otherwise, to be guaranteed by the Joint Togolese Assembly.

Lomé, 24 July 1955

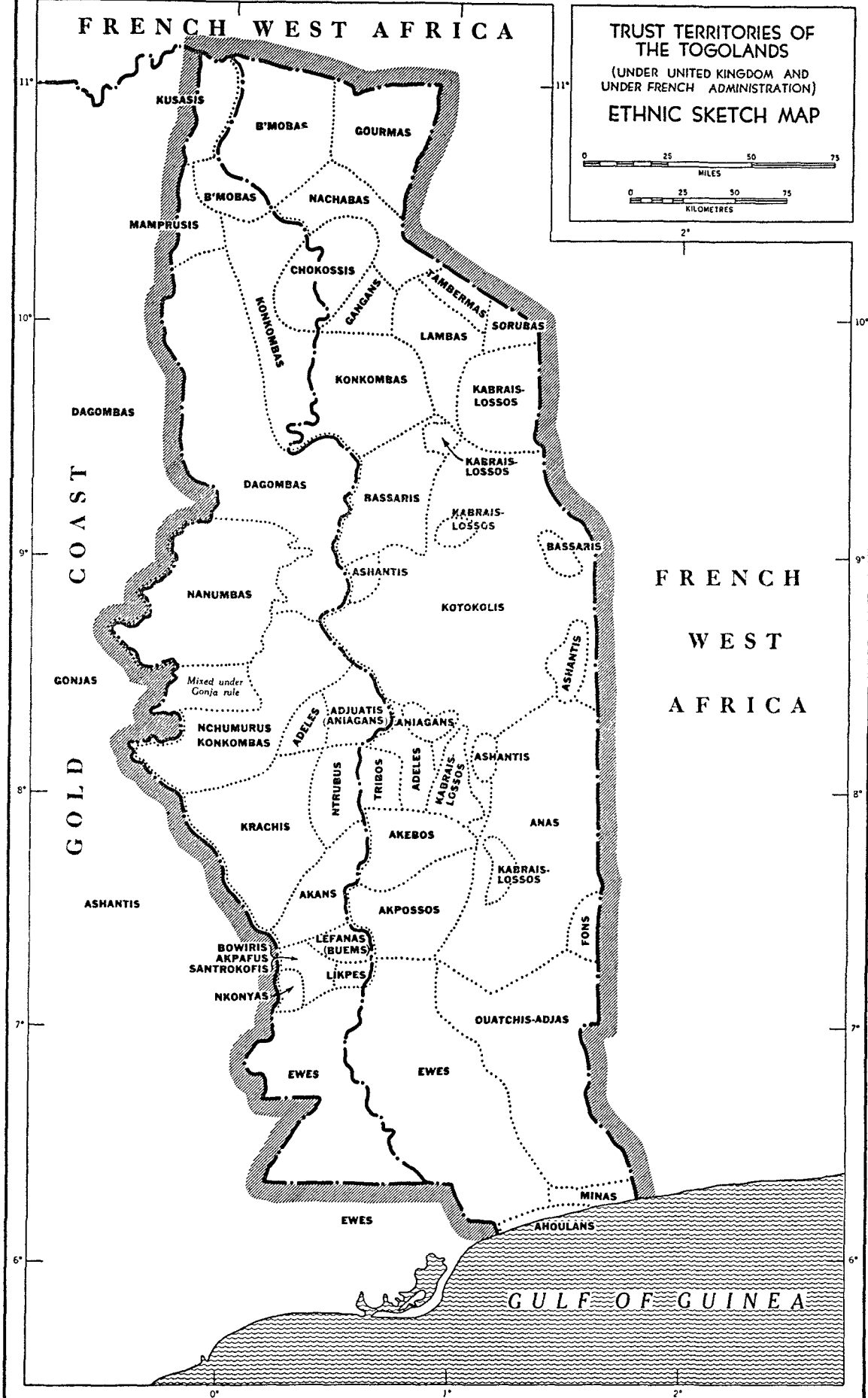
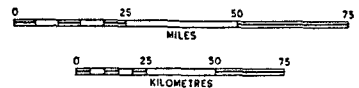
Napo BADJI
National Secretary, National Executive Committee

Mokpokpo H. DRAVIE
Secretary for External Relations

Nicodeme AMEGAH
*Secretary of Internal Co-ordination,
General Secretary of the Political Department*

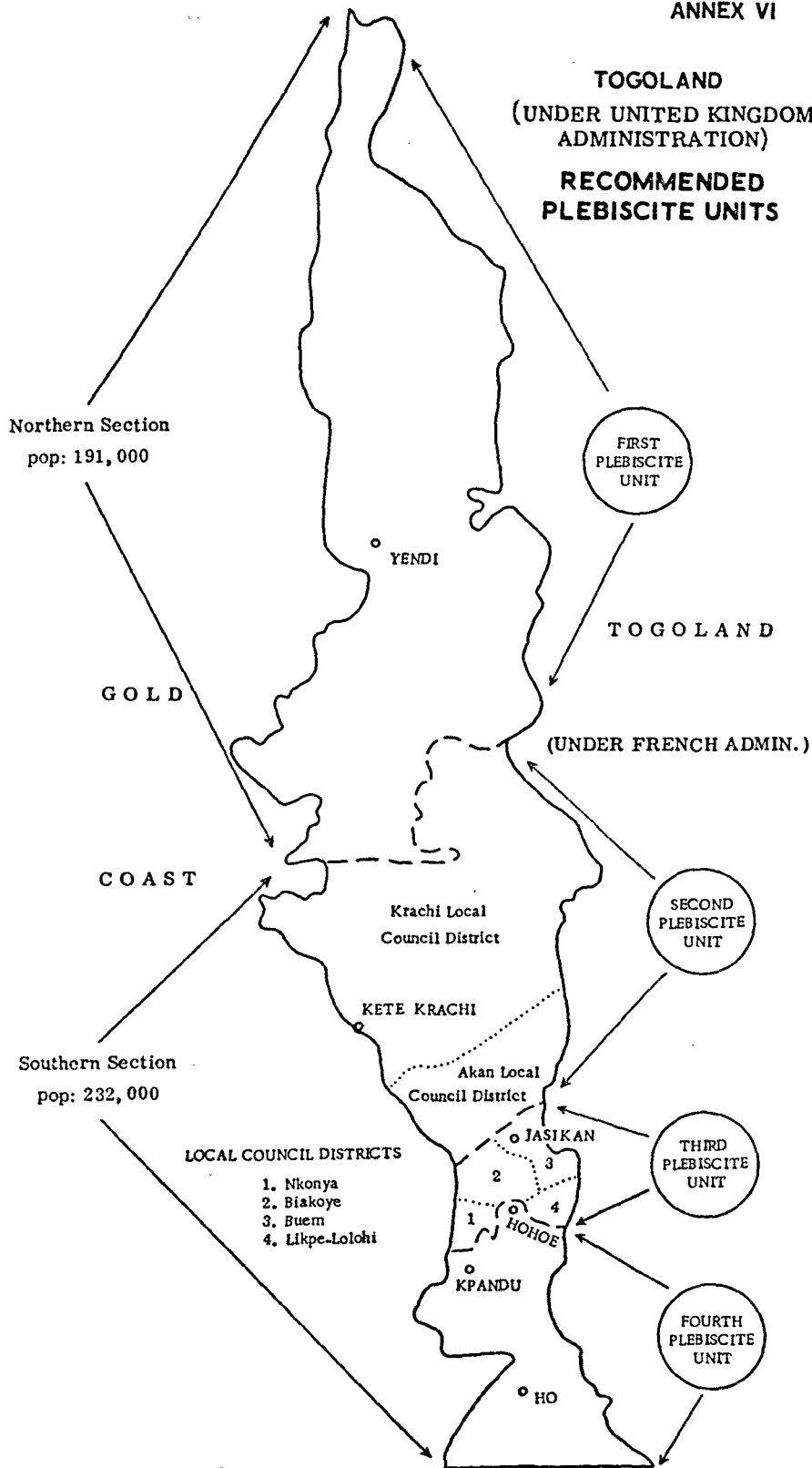
FRENCH WEST AFRICA

TRUST TERRITORIES OF THE TOGOLANDS
(UNDER UNITED KINGDOM AND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION)
ETHNIC SKETCH MAP



TOGOLAND
(UNDER UNITED KINGDOM
ADMINISTRATION)

**RECOMMENDED
PLEBISCITE UNITS**



MAP NO 817
APRIL 1956

UNITED NATIONS

**STATEMENT MADE BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AT
THE 648th MEETING OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL ON 21 NOVEMBER 1955¹**

1. It is my duty at the outset to offer my apologies to the President, and the members of the Council, for the fact that the United Kingdom Government has not been able to circulate written Observations on the Special Report of the Visiting Mission to British and French Togoland. The reasons for this will, of course, be apparent. Although the Mission accomplished its task expeditiously and submitted its report in due time, some of the problems to which their report has given rise are complex, whilst others are of profound importance and have required very elaborate consultation between Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the administration of the Territory. I hope, however, that you will allow me to request that this statement of mine be circulated separately, as a Trusteeship Council document, as the Observations of the Administering Authority on the Mission's report.

2. We are here today to consider a further important step towards the final solution of a problem which has occupied much of the time and thought of this Council in recent years—the problem of the future of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship. It is almost exactly a year since I addressed the Fourth Committee on the same subject, and this year, as on that occasion, I have the good fortune to be accompanied by my distinguished friend, Mr. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance in the Gold Coast Government, who has joined the United Kingdom delegation for the Togoland discussions. You will, I am sure, share my pleasure that he is with us again.

3. Since the Council last discussed Togoland in July of this year, the Visiting Mission appointed in March has visited the British and French Trust Territories and has completed its Special Report. I should like, on behalf of the United Kingdom Government, to congratulate the Chairman and members of the Mission on the efficient and conscientious way in which, in the space of three months, they discharged the whole of their arduous task. The report bears witness to the thoroughness, impartiality and high sense of duty with which the whole task was approached.

4. This is not to say that the United Kingdom Government has found the Mission's recommendations free from all difficulty. The issues which the Mission had to face are as I say both complex and delicate, and it was inevitable that any recommendations for their solution, however impartial and however carefully considered, should in their turn raise problems and difficulties. If in the course of my remarks I am forced to dwell on the difficulties as they present themselves to the United Kingdom Government, I know that this will not be taken as detracting in any way from our recognition of the good work that has been done.

¹ The representative of the United Kingdom requested that this statement should be considered as his Government's observations on the Special Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration, 1955.

5. In the normal course it would have been our wish—and I am sure also yours—that the Council should now embark on a full and detailed discussion of the Mission's views on the many important issues which arise in connexion with the execution of the General Assembly's resolution of the ninth session. We are, however, confronted by unusual circumstances in that the Council's report to the General Assembly must be presented in time for its consideration at the present session² which, as we are all aware, is due to end on December 10th. The stage which we have reached, moreover, in the affairs of British Togoland gives an unusual prominence to the part to be played henceforth by the General Assembly itself. This derives from the fact that last year the United Kingdom Government proposed that the time had come when steps should be taken to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement between the General Assembly and the United Kingdom Government for the administration of British Togoland. In these circumstances I suggest that it will make for the general convenience of all concerned and will not, I hope, be regarded as a dereliction of duty on the part of the Trusteeship Council if, on this occasion, it does not embark on the usual exhaustive discussion that is its practice in its more normal functions. The view which I am expressing does not, however, mean that I suggest the Council need do no more than forward the Mission's report to the General Assembly without expressing any views on the recommendations.

6. While, therefore, I now wish to deal with the substance of the report, I shall endeavour to concentrate on certain essentials and for the time being reserve my comments on a number of other important aspects of it.

7. The main recommendation is that the wishes of the people of British Togoland should be ascertained by means of a plebiscite. I should say at once that as regards this recommendation the United Kingdom Government finds no difficulty whatever. Whilst the holding of a plebiscite anywhere is no light undertaking, and whilst it is evident from the meticulous care which the Mission themselves have devoted to the detailed arrangements that the present case is no exception to that general rule, it is widely accepted that a plebiscite is the fairest form of consultation in a case like this. The United Kingdom Government are satisfied that no other method would be feasible.

8. As regards the manner in which the plebiscite is to be held, the Mission have made important recommendations both in respect of the questions to be put to the voters and in respect of the subdivision of British Togoland into distinct areas for the purpose of assessing the result. Since both these aspects of the Mission's report seem to the United Kingdom Government to raise important problems, I will deal with them carefully in turn.

² Tenth session of the General Assembly.

9. I should like to discuss first the proposal for subdivision into areas. It is not, of course, proposed that two separate plebiscites should be held in British Togoland, but merely that the voting results in the single plebiscite should be obtained in such a way as to enable the northern and southern parts of the territory to be separately treated if the plebiscite shows that this is in accordance with the will of the people in each area. Special recommendations have moreover been made to ensure that the division between the North and the South, if such a division has to be created, should be drawn as closely as possible in accordance with the exact wishes of the population. I refer to the recommendation for a central area which would in turn be subdivided, for the purpose of ascertaining the results of the plebiscite, into parts. It could be argued with some force that this whole recommendation of the Visiting Mission, frankly based as it is upon an assessment of the present state of public opinion in the North and South respectively, to some extent prejudices the result of the plebiscite itself. It could further be contended that the very conception of a subdivision into areas is contrary to the essential purpose of a general test of public opinion such as is now proposed. Is it not the very object of a plebiscite to discover the wishes of the people? Must not the wishes of the people, in accordance with free democratic practice, be interpreted as meaning the wishes of the *majority* of the people? Is it not therefore right that the will of the majority should govern the whole result, and that the minority should loyally abide by that result whatever it may be? These questions are not easy to answer.

10. Furthermore, we must bear in mind the very serious practical results which would ensue if such a precedent were to be generally adopted. In any territory there is bound to be at least one minority opinion on fundamental questions affecting the future of the territory as a whole. Yet if we are to look forward to a process of fragmentation whenever there is a test of public opinion similar to that now proposed for British Togoland, the prospect is indeed disturbing. The result, as the Visiting Mission must fully have realized, could be none other than the break-up of viable political and economic units and the frustration of true constitutional progress. I do not wish to dwell further on the recommendation. At the present time I feel that it is a recommendation, as I have said, on which others both in this Council and in the General Assembly, may have important views, and the United Kingdom delegation will comment further in due course.

11. I now come to the questions to be put to the voters in the plebiscite. The Council will recall that the two questions recommended by the Visiting Mission read as follows:

(1) Do you want the integration of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast?

(2) Do you want the separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political future?

12. I do not think that it will come altogether as a surprise either to the Trusteeship Council or to the members of the Visiting Mission when I say that this is the recommendation which has caused most difficulty to the United Kingdom Government. I need not restate at length the practical difficulties which impelled us to

say in our memorandum last year, and to repeat in our interventions in the Council and in the Fourth Committee, that we would seek to lay down our own Trusteeship when the Gold Coast became independent. Those difficulties were fully stated at the time, and they have not altered. After the date of Gold Coast independence it will be impossible, if Trusteeship continues, for British Togoland to be administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast exactly as at present. The existing arrangement is only possible because the United Kingdom Government at present has the ultimate responsibility for the Gold Coast itself. It was because this state of affairs would come to an end on the day when the Gold Coast achieved independence that the United Kingdom felt bound to submit the matter to the United Nations in the first instance. It follows that some new arrangements would have to be made. It also follows, I fear, that these new arrangements would involve a dislocation, possibly a serious dislocation, in the life of the inhabitants of any part of British Togoland which might elect against integration with the Gold Coast. It is impossible to be more precise at the present time, because much closer thought would have to be given to the problem than has been possible in the brief period since the Visiting Mission's report became known to us. We should also wish to hear the views of other delegations in this Council and later of members of the General Assembly not represented here. It would be wrong, however, if I were to conceal the serious consequences as the United Kingdom at present sees them.

13. Finally I come to the detailed arrangements for organizing the plebiscite proposed in chapter IV of the report. Here again I should like to pay tribute to the thoroughness and good sense which characterizes these recommendations, in the formulation of which attention has obviously been paid to the experience of the Gold Coast and the Territory in their recent elections. On the all-important question of the definition of responsibility, the Mission are quite clear and in our view accurate. The two material passages are, I think, the following:

Paragraph 128. "The Mission recognizes that responsibility for the organization and conduct of the plebiscite will of necessity rest primarily upon the Administering Authority in view of its responsibility in the Trust Territory under the Trusteeship Agreement."

Paragraph 130. "The Mission regards it as essential, however, that there should be full United Nations observations and supervision at all stages of the arrangements for the conduct of the plebiscite and it has been informed that the presence of United Nations observers is also envisaged and expected by the Administering Authority."

14. If confusion is to be avoided in the minds of the inhabitants and if the plebiscite is to go on as smoothly as we all desire, it is very important that this clear distinction between the two types of responsibility—the Administering Authority's responsibility for "organization and conduct" of the plebiscite, and the United Nations responsibility for "observation and supervision" of the arrangements made by the Administering Authority—should be kept constantly in mind by all who are concerned, and indeed we think that this is the only distribution of responsibility which is realistic and thus acceptable to us. This has a bearing on the respective roles of the two Commissioners mentioned in

the Mission's report—the Commissioner who, as the Mission says, will take charge under the Governor of all arrangements for organizing the plebiscite (an officer of wide experience has already been selected by the United Kingdom Government) and the United Nations Commissioner who, as the Mission propose, should be given the task of directing all the arrangements for the United Nations observers. We welcome the latter appointment and find entirely reasonable all that the Mission say both about his functions and the functions and distribution of the United Nations observers working under him. It is obviously most important that close and friendly relations should exist between the two Commissioners on whatever they are finally called, and I am sure that this is what will happen. It is also, if I may say so, of the utmost importance that the United Nations should select as their Commissioner an outstanding personality with a broad range of experience.

15. I do not propose to comment in detail on the precise procedures which the Mission propose for registration, balloting, petitions and so forth, as they follow the practices to which the people of the Territory are already accustomed. Although there may be points of detail which we may later wish to modify, if necessary after consultation with the United Nations Commissioner, we think that they are certainly on the right lines and shall pay due regard to them in making our arrange-

ments. While indicating this agreement in broad principle with what the Mission proposes, we think that these technical and administrative details are essentially matters for the Administering Authority.

16. I should like to emphasize the time factor. The Visiting Mission's estimate for the completion of the various processes involved is four-and-a-half months from the commencement of registration. While we think that it might be possible to improve on this and to complete the programme in a slightly shorter period, there is clearly no time to be lost if we are to be ready before the rains, and we intend to go ahead with the arrangements, including the special legislation to which the Mission refer, immediately the General Assembly has given its decision. This urgency clearly has a bearing on the appointment and early availability of the United Nations Commissioner.

17. I hope the Council will not feel that I have taken up too much of their time. This is a unique and historic task on which we are engaged. It is a matter of great importance alike to the United Nations, to Great Britain and not least to the Gold Coast that the people of Togoland under British administration should be properly consulted about their future. It is our firm conviction that the report of the Visiting Mission provides a useful basis for determining how this can be done.

**STATEMENT MADE BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE AT THE 648th MEETING
OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL ON 21 NOVEMBER 1955**

[Original text: French]

1. The French delegation wishes first of all to perform the pleasant duty of paying a tribute to the magnitude and the quality of the work done by the Visiting Mission to Togoland. The special report "on the Togoland unification problem and on the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration" submitted today to the Council by the Mission is a valuable document prepared with the greatest care. The analysis of the various questions involved and the search for the most satisfactory solutions are presented to the reader in a very comprehensive, capable and objective manner.

2. The clarity and precision of the style in the French text makes the report easy to understand. The few errors of form to which my delegation feels obliged to draw attention thus refer only to minor points and do not affect the intelligibility of the report as a whole. They should, of course, be corrected, but that should not be hard to do.

3. It is stated in paragraph 88 that: "The Commissioner ensures the application in the Territory of the laws and decrees passed by the central organs of the French Union". It should be made clear that the passage of laws and decrees by the central authority does not automatically entail their application in the Territory. They can only be applied after being passed a second time in the form of an order of the Commissioner of the Republic made in the Government Council.

Again, according to the report (para. 91), "the salaries and allowances of public officials" are classed among the items of expenditure upon which it is obligatory for the Assembly to vote. Actually, however, the salaries and allowances of only some and not all public officials are obligatory items.

4. It is satisfying to note that, on the whole, the proposals and conclusions set forth in the report were unanimously agreed to by the four members of the Mission. On one point, however, one of the members felt compelled to differ from his colleagues in suggesting that, before any popular consultation is held concerning the future of Togoland under British administration, the Territory should be provided with institutions of its own, functioning independently of those of the Gold Coast.¹

5. My delegation, in common with the distinguished representative of Syria, who made this proposal, feels that an administrative union of some forty years' standing between Togoland and the Gold Coast is bound to have created among the people of the Trust Territory a state of mind favourable to integration. It is quite conceivable that the state of mind of those people might perhaps have been different if Togoland had been administered as a self-governing unit. The purpose of giving the Territory its own institutions today would be to re-establish some sort of balance.

6. Such a proposal is obviously prompted by a desire to create an atmosphere of complete objectivity, but can we even imagine how long it would take for the contemplated change in the Territory's institutions to offset the effects of forty years of union with the Gold Coast? However interesting such a scheme might appear, its adoption would very probably lead only to a fruitless postponement of the date for the popular consultation.

7. For this reason the French delegation associates itself with the view of the majority of the Mission's members.

8. In a more general way my delegation feels that it must in principle support the proposals made in the report, which include:

(1) The holding in Togoland under British administration, at the earliest feasible date (in fact within the next few months), of a plebiscite by which the people would be called upon to state their opinion on a solution entailing final political integration with an independent Gold Coast;

(2) The possibility of a popular consultation, in such form and on such date as will be decided, in Togoland under French administration.

9. With regard, however, to the contemplated measures for the organization of a plebiscite in Togoland under British administration, I should like to make some observations.

10. After noting that in the northern part of the Territory public opinion was mainly in favour of attachment to the Gold Coast, while in the south opinion was more equally divided between the supporters of attachment and the supporters of a unified and independent Togoland, the Mission recommends that the Territory should be divided into four separate territorial units and that the results of the plebiscite should be tallied not for the Territory as a whole but separately for each of the units.

11. I shall first point out that this method has the defect of prejudging the results, and by that very fact is apt to influence the ballot.

12. Furthermore, plebiscites and referenda, especially when they are to decide a country's political future, are usually addressed to the entire population of a country. Otherwise, regrettable conflicts and rivalries would arise between the various regions.

13. Another danger of such an arrangement is that it partitions a territory which, though its unity has doubtless never been perfect, has nevertheless in the past been under a single political régime.

14. The Administering Authority has stated that, owing to the geographical situation and small area of Togoland under British administration, it would be difficult to administer the Territory as a separate whole. It therefore stands to reason that a portion of that Territory would be even more difficult to administer.

¹ See para. 107 of the special report of the Visiting Mission.

15. Partitioning, which is objectionable in principle, would appear to be particularly so in the central region, which constitutes the district of Buem-Krachi. In that district, there would be separate consultation of the population in the northern and southern sections. Each of those sections, however, forms too small an administrative unit to be separated from the neighbouring areas. Thus, if the results of the plebiscite were different in the northern and southern sections of the district, the fate of the district would not be as decided by the majority of the population inhabiting it, but as decided by the majority of the population of the neighbouring areas. To the inhabitants of the district, that situation would be an incomprehensible anomaly which might have disastrous psychological effects.

16. Having made these observations, the French Government nevertheless recognizes that in the last resort it is for the Administering Authority—in this case the Government of the United Kingdom—to organize the plebiscite, determine how it is to be conducted and assume responsibility for it. The Visiting Mission has explicitly stated this in paragraph 128 of its report.

17. The various stages of the consultation of the population will, of course, take place under the supervision of the United Nations. It may not, however, be altogether superfluous to point out that the observers designated by the United Nations will be required to keep to their role of providing information and exercising supervision, and to be careful to refrain from any active interference. The Trusteeship Council will have to make that clear in its report, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 860 (IX), paragraph 2, under which it requests the Council to consider what arrangements should be made for the consultation. In the French delegation's opinion, the Council would also be well advised to make suggestions concerning the appointment of the person to be responsible for organizing and generally supervising the plebiscite. The person in question might be chosen from among members of the Council other than the United Kingdom and France or from the Secretariat staff.

18. So far as concerns the details of the electoral régime, my delegation, while leaving it to the Admin-

istering Authority to make whatever steps it consider, most equitable and best adapted to local conditions, regrets only that non-Africans are not to be allowed to vote (annex I to the report, section 10). It is true, of course, that they are only fifty-one in number and that there are perhaps some among them who, not being permanently settled in the Territory, would not satisfy the requirements (particularly those of residence) for voting. Their participation would not therefore be likely to influence the results of the plebiscite.

19. In this connexion, however, it is important to treat the question from the standpoint of principle. It would be both impolitic and unjust not to take account of the particularly important place occupied in the life of certain African territories by categories of citizens who have come from abroad but have adopted the territory as their second fatherland and have wholeheartedly participated with all the resources at their disposal in all aspects of the territory's development.

20. If, however, for reasons based on purely local considerations, reasons which only the Administering Power is in a position to appreciate, it is decided not to allow non-Africans to take part in the plebiscite in Togoland under British administration, the French delegation will not object, provided that such action can in no case be interpreted as constituting a precedent.

21. More generally, my delegation believes it should make the same reservation with regard to various arrangements which are to be made in connexion with this plebiscite but which would not be applicable *ipso facto* in the event of popular consultations held in the future in other Trust Territories.

22. Such are the observations suggested to the French delegation by a perusal of the Visiting Mission's interesting report. They are the observations of a member of the Trusteeship Council, but I would add that they do not have the validity of the observations of an Administering Power, since the only Power which can claim that title is in this case the United Kingdom. France is interested only indirectly, or at any rate not immediately, in the problems raised by the Mission.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1368 (S-5) OF 23 NOVEMBER 1955

The future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration

The Trusteeship Council,

Recalling General Assembly resolution 860 (IX) of 14 December 1954 by which it decided that, in view of the eventual revision or termination of the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under British administration, steps should be taken, in the light of the particular circumstances of the Trust Territory, to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants as to their future, without prejudice to the eventual solution they might choose; requested the Trusteeship Council to consider what arrangements should be made in pursuance of the above decision and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its tenth session; and further requested the Trusteeship Council to dispatch a special mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration to make a special study of those problems and to submit its report thereon in time for the Council to report to the General Assembly at its tenth session.

Recalling its resolution 1084 (XV) of 14 March 1955 by which it decided, in conformity with Article 87 of the United Nations Charter, and in pursuance of the requests addressed to the Council in General Assembly resolution 860 (IX), to dispatch a visiting mission to the

Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration and charged the Visiting Mission to carry out the tasks prescribed in General Assembly resolution 860 (IX),

Recalling further its resolution 1252 (XVI) of 8 July 1955 by which it requested the Visiting Mission to submit to the Council a special report on the subject not later than 1 November 1955,

Having received the special report of the Visiting Mission (T/1206 and Add.1) and the observations of the Administering Authorities concerned thereon (T/1214, T/1215),

1. *Considers* that the views expressed in the special report of the Visiting Mission provide in general a useful basis for determining the arrangements to be made in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 860 (IX);

2. *Decides* to transmit the special report of the Visiting Mission, together with the present resolution, to the General Assembly for its consideration and action;

3. *Recommends* that the General Assembly examine the special report with a view to action being taken to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants as to their future.

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