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Agenda item 35:

The Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration: report of the Trusteeship Council . 333

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

AGENDA ITEM 35

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

1. Miss ROESAD (Indonesia), supported by Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark) asked whether, in view of the importance of the question before the Committee, it would be possible to have a verbatim record made of the meetings at which it was discussed.

2. Mr. COHEN (Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories) explained that no verbatim reporters were available for the Fourth Committee. However, the summary records would be made as full as possible and representatives could also consult the sound recording if they so wished.

STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

3. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom) noted the great importance which his Government, and indeed the United Nations as a whole, must attach to the decision taken by the General Assembly the previous year (resolution 860 (IX)) and to the decisions which would be taken at the current session. As was well known, the underlying reason was that the independence of the Gold Coast was imminent and that for the past forty years the fortunes and future of the peoples of Togoland under British administration had been intimately linked with the fortunes and future of the people of the Gold Coast.

4. He had already congratulated, in the Trusteeship Council, the Chairman and members of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, 1955. Lest some of the difficulties which the United Kingdom Government saw in certain of the proposals contained in the Mission's report (T/1206 and Add.1) might be thought to cloud the broad issue, he wished to assure the Committee that the United Kingdom Government, as the Administering Authority for Togoland

under British administration, unequivocally accepted the Mission's recommendation (T/1206, para. 103) that the views of the inhabitants should be ascertained by means of a plebiscite. His Government also fully accepted the further recommendation (T/1206, para. 131) that the plebiscite, organized as it must be by the Administering Authority itself, should be supervised on behalf of the General Assembly by a United Nations plebiscite commissioner, supported by appropriate staff, appointed by the Secretary-General. Those were the starting points of the Committee's consideration of the issue.

5. On certain aspects of the question there might be divergent views among the members of the Committee; they were complicated matters which would require careful thought and discussion, but they need cause no diversion from the basic course on which the United Nations, with the full support of the United Kingdom Government, was now set.

6. The United Kingdom delegation had never sought to conceal the fact that it was the considered view of its Government, which had had the responsibility for guiding the peoples of the Trust Territory for the past forty years, that the interests of those people would be best served if they shared the independence of the Gold Coast as soon as that country became a sovereign State. It felt that that would be the best outcome of the long period of careful and devoted tutelage, first under the mandate and then under trusteeship, which the people of Togoland had experienced under British administration.

7. In the last analysis, the greatest importance must be attached to the wishes of the people themselves, and the United Kingdom Government was ready to agree that they should have the opportunity of expressing their wishes in the manner he had described. However, consultation by means of a plebiscite was a formidable undertaking in which the collaboration and goodwill of all concerned was needed, a fact which was borne out by the great care which the Visiting Mission had devoted in its report to the arrangements for a plebiscite.

8. One of the Visiting Mission's recommendations which would require most careful study by the General Assembly was its proposal (T/1206, para. 108) that the results of the plebiscite should be assessed separately in four distinct areas of the Territory, which it had designated. The Mission had evidently given the most earnest thought to that recommendation before putting it forward; it was an innovation which would raise many difficulties and which had occasioned serious doubts in the minds of the United Kingdom Government and delegation and, he presumed, of other delegations also. He was convinced that the Mission had considered its conclusions on that point to be in the best interests of the inhabitants themselves and that it had been actuated solely by the highest principles.

9. In considering such a small Territory as Togoland under British administration it might have been assumed that the peoples of the Territory should follow the normal procedure when their wishes were being consulted—that the views of the majority should prevail over the views of the minority. That was what was understood by normal democratic processes. It was also the usual conception of a plebiscite. Indeed, it could be argued that that whole recommendation of the Visiting Mission, based as it was upon an assessment of the present state of public opinion in various parts of the Territory, prejudged the result of the plebiscite itself. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom delegation realized that there were certain arguments in favour of the proposal and if, after full discussion, it was the view of the majority of the members of the Committee that the recommendation should be accepted by the General Assembly, then the United Kingdom Government would be prepared to accept it also. They would do so because of the particular circumstances of Togoland under British administration; but they could not agree that the procedure should be regarded as normal or as a precedent for other Territories where the circumstances might be entirely different.

10. The second important recommendation made by the Visiting Mission concerned the form of the questions to be put to the people of Togoland under British administration. That recommendation gave rise to some difficulty. The two questions proposed by the Visiting Mission were (T/1206, para. 105):

“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?”

11. There was no necessity to dwell at length on the practical difficulties which had impelled the United Kingdom delegation to say in its memorandum to the ninth session of the General Assembly (A/2660) that the United Kingdom would seek to lay down its trusteeship when the Gold Coast became independent. The difficulties had been fully stated at the time, and they had not altered. After the date of Gold Coast independence it would be impossible, if trusteeship continued, for Togoland under British administration to be administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast, as it was at present. The existing arrangement was possible only because the United Kingdom Government at present had the ultimate responsibility for the Gold Coast. If any part of the Territory remained under trusteeship after the date of Gold Coast independence, some new arrangements would therefore have to be devised and such new arrangements would be bound to involve a serious dislocation in the life of the inhabitants of any part of Togoland under British administration which might elect against integration with the Gold Coast.

12. It might be argued that the question of the form of the alternative to integration did not greatly matter, since the substance of the alternative would be the same, but as the Administering Authority the United Kingdom Government had a moral duty towards the inhabitants of the Territory in advising on the manner in which their wishes were to be consulted. The United

Kingdom Government would be reluctant to offer to the inhabitants of Togoland under British administration an alternative which, as he had just explained, was in its opinion fraught with difficulties and not in their best interests, i.e., a continuance of trusteeship for all or part of the Territory. His Government therefore felt that the question which should be put before the people was whether they wished to join an independent Gold Coast or not. He would make no predictions, but in the event that part of the Territory did not wish to join an independent Gold Coast, then indeed both the United Kingdom Government and the United Nations would be faced with a new situation which would require earnest and urgent consideration by both parties to the Trusteeship Agreement.

13. The United Kingdom delegation would listen carefully and anxiously to the opinions which might be expressed in the Committee, either in favour of the Mission's recommendation or against it. There would be further opportunity to exchange views, both on that matter and on the recommendation relating to the subdivision of the Territory, and he felt confident that a solution would be reached on both points which would rally the great majority of the members of the Committee to the United Kingdom's point of view.

14. The United Kingdom Government was anxious that a definitive decision should be reached on the issues now confronting the General Assembly. The eyes of countless people in Trust Territories in Africa and elsewhere would be upon the Committee and the General Assembly; indeed, it was no exaggeration to say that for all of them the reputation of the United Nations would depend upon its ability to demonstrate that, once the time for a decision had arrived, it could take that decision firmly and clearly and with a full and proper sense of its responsibilities to the people of the Territory concerned.

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

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

15. The CHAIRMAN welcomed the petitioners to the debates of the Fourth Committee. At the same time he appealed to them to maintain the calm and dignity they had shown in the past and to refrain from personalities. They were prominent actors at an important juncture in history and he felt sure that they would so comport themselves that future generations would look with respect on the memory of those who had worked for the future of the people of both Togolands.

16. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) said that the peoples of Togoland had lived together for many

years before the Europeans came to colonize Africa. The violation of Togoland's territorial integrity shortly after the end of the First World War had intensified the growth of national consciousness. The division of the country between France and the United Kingdom had been made worse by the fact that each Administering Authority in its own way had impeded civil, cultural and social progress. In Togoland under British administration that process had taken a special form. From 1922 to 1951, the Governor had legislated for the Northern Section as part of the Northern Territories Protectorate of the Gold Coast and for the Southern Section as a separate and distinct unit. The two sections had been governed under separate laws and had always been regarded and treated as two distinct units.

17. The United Kingdom had gone to considerable lengths in its attempts to establish artificial ties between peoples in Togoland and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. For instance, the area marked Mamprusi on the ethnic sketch map annexed to the Visiting Mission's report (T/1206/Add.1, annex IV) had been linked to the Mamprusi state and was governed as part of the Gold Coast although it properly formed B'Mobas territory. The situation was similar in the case of the Dagombas and of the Gonjas, where the existence of a few hundred Gonjas in an area in the Trust Territory had been used as an excuse to link the Nawuris to the Gonia state. The procedure of detaching portions of Togoland from the body of the country had created great confusion in representation and electoral procedure. Such evils would be perpetuated in any plan for a plebiscite unless the boundary lines were decisively redrawn and separate institutions created. The problem could be seen more clearly from the United Kingdom map of the Native states and the constituency map of the Gold Coast on which the last elections had been based. He submitted copies of those maps for the information of the Committee. It was illuminating to compare them with the Colonial Office map, of which he was also submitting a copy.

18. From 1922 to 1930 the United Kingdom had tried to carry out the same procedure in the more advanced Southern Section of Togoland, but with no success. Its failure had greatly reinforced its decision to create a demarcation between North and South and to govern each separately under separate laws, as though they were distinct autonomous entities. Since 1951, despite many changes in various aspects of administration and life, occasioned for the most part by the increasing pressure of nationalist sentiment in both Togolands, the United Kingdom had continued to maintain that division. The situation with regard to schools, roads, economic development and political freedom was far from good in the Southern Section of the Territory but the Northern Section was in a far worse plight. The double dismemberment of Togoland under British administration—separated from Togoland under French administration and divided into Northern and Southern Sections—had made its peoples easy victims to the self-interest of the United Kingdom and its agents.

19. The Visiting Mission had shown considerable understanding and statesmanship, but the situation resulting from long years of United Kingdom domination could not easily be grasped in a two weeks' tour. The incident concerning the Bunkpurugu-Naba mentioned in annex I of the Visiting Mission's report was one indication of how easily visitors could be misled. The chief's repudiation of his support for Togoland unifica-

tion had been made in writing after the Visiting Mission had left the chief's territory. It should be noted that the chief was unable to write. The communication would appear to have been written by one of the interpreters accompanying the Mission, who had been appointed by an agent of the United Kingdom and had remained behind after the Mission had left in order deliberately to misrepresent the chief. In that connexion it was noteworthy that while the Mission frequently quoted the opinions of paramount chiefs and sub-chiefs it failed to mention that they were dependent on the Government for all or substantial parts of their livelihood.

20. The Visiting Mission appeared to have been misled on the statistics relating to the ethnic composition of Togoland. Paragraph 53 of the report indicated that both the Dagombas and the Nanumbas extended from the Gold Coast into Togoland. In fact, however, the Nanumbas lived completely within the Trust Territory, and so it was inaccurate to imply that both peoples had greater ethnic ties to the Gold Coast than to Togoland.

21. The Gold Coast Government, supported by the Governor of the Gold Coast, employed the entire civil service, including the police, to conduct an unprecedented propaganda campaign in Togoland under British administration to convince the people to accept integration and to discourage the members of any organization seeking unification with Togoland under French administration. He cited an incident involving the arrest of twenty-five Togoland, Congress Party members, in the Gold Coast to show that there was a working co-operation between the Gold Coast police and judiciary, United Kingdom agents and Convention People's Party (CPP) Native courts, designed to wear down Togoland's national aspirations. Prior to the Visiting Mission's arrival, meetings of the chiefs in both the Northern and Southern Sections of Togoland under British administration had been told by Administration officials that the Visiting Mission would be visiting their area in August and that if they asked for integration they would remain with the United Kingdom but if they asked for unification they would be turned over to the French. Earlier in the year, the Governor himself had been reported to have made similar statements at Krachi, Jasikan and Anfoega. The Togoland Congress had protested against the Governor's activities in a telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but to no avail.

22. In those circumstances, it was patently absurd to expect, as the Visiting Mission did, that the Administering Authority would conduct any electoral activity, let alone a plebiscite, with any degree of impartiality. Other reasons disqualifying it for that task were the fact that it would, as usual, employ Native supporters of the CPP and, possibly, expatriate officers to conduct the plebiscite. The expatriate officers in the Togoland civil service had just been placed under the Gold Coast Government. Even if they had remained responsible to the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, they served the interests of the Gold Coast Government and the United Kingdom and worked for integration.

23. The demand of the United Kingdom and the United Kingdom-controlled Gold Coast Government for the integration of Togoland with the Gold Coast was advanced for the most selfish reasons. The United Kingdom's ulterior motives must be exposed if the

General Assembly was clearly to appreciate the role about to be played by the representatives of United Kingdom interests in West Africa. He drew the attention of the Committee to the "most secret" document (T/PET.6/L.11) which laid bare the reality of United Kingdom plans for the area. The importance of the Volta River scheme to the United Kingdom and the extraordinary and corrupt measures envisaged to promote it deserved careful attention.

24. As far back as 1924, the Gold Coast Colonial Government had drawn up proposals for the construction of a dam at Ajena. The plan called for the inundation of large areas of land and was designed to produce electric power for the exploitation of the Ejuanema bauxite deposits and water for the irrigation of the Accra plains and the operation of canals in the lower reaches of the Volta. Togoland would have derived scant if any benefit from it. However, the United Kingdom had met with great resistance from the population, which objected to having a part of the country inundated, and strong international resistance, since at that time Togoland had been a mandated territory. Those two obstacles provided the clue to the United Kingdom Government's subsequent strategy.

25. Various investigations of the Volta basin had been made on behalf of certain commercial interests in 1938, 1939 and 1949. A detailed report prepared by Mr. St. John Bird on behalf of West African Aluminium Ltd. and dated September 1949 had estimated the total cost of the project at £26,526,000. Despite the fact that neither the magnitude nor any other significant aspect of the project had been altered, the figure had now grown to £144 million as estimated in 1952 in the Gold Coast Government's White Paper. No explanation for the vastly inflated figure had ever been given. In 1950, a British-Canadian aluminium mission had reported that the Volta River project was a sound proposition that would produce 210,000 tons of aluminium per year. Both the Gold Coast Government and the United Kingdom Government had eagerly indicated their willingness to shoulder the responsibility for the works construction essential for carrying out the scheme. In 1951, representatives of the Gold Coast Colonial Government and the aluminium companies had discussed final details with the United Kingdom Government. As a result of that meeting, the vital directors of the scheme were to be the Gold Coast Government, the aluminium companies and the United Kingdom Government. The estimated division of the proposed capital expenditure made it quite evident that the United Kingdom had a very large interest in the project.

26. While the project was a necessary step if Togoland's mineral resources were to be exploited, it must be borne in mind that it would create an artificial lake about 2,000 square miles in area, nearly one-third of which would be in Togoland, displacing a minimum of 35,000 people in the process. That would scarcely be in accordance with article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement, which would constitute a real obstacle were Togoland under British administration to remain a Trust Territory. The United Kingdom, however, had learnt from its experience with the 1924 scheme. It intended to manoeuvre Togoland under British administration from the protection of the United Nations into a position where, through the puppet Gold Coast Government, it could exploit Togoland's mineral resources without restraint.

27. Some benefits might be expected to accrue to Togoland from such a vast project, but that was not

the case. The Gold Coast Order-in-Council guaranteeing the rights of the mining companies would include the power to expropriate land. It was clear from the 1949 report by Mr. St. John Bird that the sum paid for such land would be minimal. Furthermore, only Europeans would be employed on supervisory duties and skilled work on the project; the Africans would naturally serve as labourers or at best as semi-skilled workers. While the European workers would be provided with a clubhouse and single quarters, the compound system was recommended for housing Africans, with some provision of married quarters for selected employees. It was to be feared that the term "selected" would designate obedient employees who would help to keep their African brethren in subjection. As for the compound system, it had already been shown elsewhere to be an exceptionally objectionable treatment of Africans in their own land.

28. The United Kingdom, the puppet Gold Coast Government and the aluminium companies stood to gain from the Volta River project. If they were to do so at the expense of the Togoland, they must destroy the effectiveness of Native interests and the possibility of interference by other nations, especially in the United Nations. Their plan was to force Togoland into the arms of a completely subservient and corrupt Gold Coast Government, thus at one stroke restricting its possibility of complaint to the irresponsible Gold Coast legislature and concealing the entire situation from the eyes of the world. It must be admitted that the United Kingdom's strategy was excellent, albeit undemocratic and in violation of United Nations agreements and the rights of many peoples. That it had come close to success must be laid at the door of the United Nations itself, which had permitted both France and the United Kingdom to evade complying with direct instructions on the proper administration of Togoland.

29. He invited the members of the Committee to consider just what Togoland was being urged to integrate with. For some time there had been an open scandal in the Gold Coast in connexion with the Cocoa Marketing Board and its subsidiary the Cocoa Purchasing Company. The operations of the Cocoa Marketing Board had been the subject of petitions to the Secretary of State for the Colonies from all the organizations in the Gold Coast and Togoland except the Convention People's Party. The matter was under consideration in the United Kingdom Parliament. When representations had been made in the Gold Coast legislature concerning the improper behaviour of the Board, the Minister of Trade and Labour had replied that the proper course of action would be to bring in a motion for debate, not to ask for a commission of inquiry. The refusal to institute a commission of inquiry had strangely enough been supported by the Governor. While it was possible that Ministers in the Gold Coast might be involved in the operations of the Cocoa Marketing Board, it was hard to see why the Governor should resist every effort to expose the Board to public scrutiny.

30. The strange uses to which the Gold Coast Government put its funds extended into the realm of international affairs. The Gold Coast Government had recently sent £1,000 to Haiti ostensibly for flood relief. But there had been flood conditions in the Gold Coast itself and in India and Pakistan for which no such assistance had been forthcoming. Was it a coincidence that in 1954 the Haitian delegation had come out strongly against integration, and could India and Pa-

kistan be safely ignored because they already supported integration? His party deeply regretted the insulting implication that the Haitian Government could be bought.

31. The Gold Coast could not truly be called a nation in its own right; it had yet to establish a constitution acceptable to the country as a whole. A substantial majority of the Gold Coast peoples declared that they could not accept independence based on a constitution sent through the post from London by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Gold Coast Prime Minister. They contended that no foreign Power could make a constitution for another nation. They had requested the British Government to set up a constituent assembly or a constitutional convention immediately. In its proposals for a federal constitution, the official opposition in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly had declared that unless a constituent assembly was established to draft a new constitution for the Gold Coast, it could not accept the United Kingdom's plan for independence in 1956. The importance which the United Kingdom itself attached to the constitutional crisis could be seen from the fact that the Secretary of State had dispatched a constitutional adviser to the Gold Coast Government. It was a matter of regret that the members of the Visiting Mission had been unable to acquaint themselves with the constitutional crisis or, at least, that no mention of it appeared in their report.

32. The Convention People's Party claimed the majority in the Legislative Assembly and supported all the United Kingdom's plans, from the mail-order Constitution to the integration of Togoland. It should be borne in mind, however, that the last general elections in the Gold Coast had not been fought on the constitutional issue. Any claim for majority support for the Constitution in the Legislative Assembly therefore belied the situation. It was far closer to the truth to state that the vast majority of the Gold Coast peoples objected to the integration of Togoland into their country before Togoland itself was independent and the Gold Coast had a constitution acceptable to its people. They understood clearly that for peace and tranquillity the peoples of Togoland must be left to decide their own future, after their unified country had achieved independence. The fact that he and two other Togoland in the legislature had signed some proposals for a federal constitution did not indicate that the Togoland Congress favoured integration with the Gold Coast. The people of Togoland must be able to call the country their own before they could join even a federated Gold Coast.

33. The members of the Committee would recall the great outcry that had been raised in Togoland under British administration against the artificial division of the country into Northern and Southern Sections. It was with some consternation therefore that he found that the long record of the Togoland people's expressed wishes had been violated by the Visiting Mission's recommendations. The division of the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration into three plebiscite units was at variance with the ethnic and cultural ties of the people involved. It was designed to serve only the interests of the United Kingdom. United Kingdom spokesmen in the United Nations had repeatedly justified the cleavage of the country into North and South. It was surprising therefore to see from the United Kingdom's statement on the Visiting Mission's report (T/1214) that the United

Kingdom now wished to wipe out the demarcation line that it had long and successfully defended. He would prefer that the United Kingdom should keep its victory. The demarcation had been established by the United Kingdom and it should remain for the plebiscite.

34. In a memorandum submitted to the General Assembly at its ninth session (A/2660) the Administering Authority had stated that when the Gold Coast assumed full responsibility for its own affairs it would no longer be possible for the United Kingdom Government 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. The objectives of the Trusteeship System being self-government and independence, he was in full agreement that the time for their attainment was at hand.

35. Between 1922, when the United Kingdom had received responsibility for administering its section of Togoland, and 1949, not a single Togolander had been appointed or nominated to serve on the Gold Coast Legislative Council or on any statutory board or similar institution in the Trust Territory or the Gold Coast. No legislative, executive or judicial organs had been created in the Trust Territory and no Togolander had served on such organs in the Gold Coast. In 1950, in the face of irresistible pressure from the inhabitants of the Trust Territory, the Governor had nominated one man to serve on the Legislative Council. In 1951, a two-stage election held in the Gold Coast and in the Trust Territory had enabled two Togoland in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly. It was not until 1954 that the peoples of Togoland had succeeded in electing five members from the Southern Section of the Trust Territory to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly. Despite that long record of the persistent exclusion of Togoland from legislative, executive and judicial organs, objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement had been reached, for the Togoland in the Gold Coast had been schooled by resistance to run their own affairs. They could do so whether integrated with the Gold Coast, as the United Kingdom desired, or as an independent entity, as they themselves desired.

36. Generally speaking, the Visiting Mission's report seemed to have been based on an Anglo-French agreement to absorb their respective parts of Togoland into their empires. The United Kingdom had requested a plebiscite in Togoland under British administration and the Visiting Mission had recommended one. France had opposed a plebiscite and the Visiting Mission had not recommended one for Togoland under French administration. It was difficult to see where the Mission was defending the interests of the African people and was not merely subservient to the behest of the two Administering Authorities. The Visiting Mission's recommendation that there should be four plebiscite units was not—as some contended—a means of ensuring a true expression of popular opinion, with eventual separation from the Gold Coast for at least part of Togoland. Not only did the Mission avoid a proper statement of the choice to be put before the people but it openly declared its expectation that, regardless of the result of the proposed plebiscite, the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration must be integrated into the Gold Coast or the French empire. Paragraph 124 of the Visiting Mission's report bore out his contention. It was clear

that the choice presented to the people of Togoland under British administration would be oppression by the United Kingdom through its instrument the Gold Coast Government or oppression by the United Kingdom directly. In any case the Togoland problem would drag on for many years, thus shattering his people's illusion that a plebiscite might satisfy once and for all their desire for independence. But the years of training in resistance to the two oppressors had not been in vain: Togoland would settle for nothing less than a proper means to express its desire for independence.

37. Such a proper means differed in a number of important respects from the Visiting Mission's recommendations. To yield to France's wishes was nothing less than a betrayal of the high purposes of the United Nations. It was vital that the plebiscite should be conducted simultaneously throughout Togoland. If the United Nations or any of its bodies side-stepped that imperative duty, popular opinion in Togoland would be deliberately misrepresented and the problem would continue to drag on before the eyes of the world and disgrace the United Nations.

38. The Visiting Mission's formulation of the choice to be put to the Togoland people was quite unacceptable. For the people of Togoland under British administration the choice should be: first, independence and secondly, integration with the Gold Coast.

39. Even with a proper formulation of the choice and a plebiscite conducted simultaneously throughout the country, that plebiscite might still fail to reflect opinion properly for two reasons. First, neither the United Kingdom nor France should be made responsible for an electoral activity in the outcome of which they had a vital interest. The conduct of United Kingdom agents and employees in the 1954 elections and the deliberate delay in holding the 1955 local council elections in order to influence the Visiting Mission was sufficient evidence that the two Administering Authorities would spare no effort to obtain the result they wished. The United Nations itself must assume complete responsibility for the actual technical details, in every respect. The provision of United Nations observers and inspectors would not be enough, in view of the wily methods adopted by the United Kingdom, which had even succeeded in misleading the Visiting Mission. Secondly, it was essential to ensure that only Togoland voters voted in the elections. In previous elections votes had been cast by British subjects such as Nigerians, Gambians, Sierra Leonians and people from the Gold Coast. The problem was a complex one, since there were many Togoland residents in the Gold Coast who had been driven there to find work but who still regarded Togoland as their home. It could be properly considered only by the United Nations body conducting the plebiscite. Nevertheless, while it could not be settled by so large a body as the Fourth Committee, the Committee could at least express itself in such a way as to direct appropriate consideration to the issue.

40. It might be pertinent to ask at that juncture whether the United Kingdom had submitted any information to the General Assembly to the effect that the Gold Coast had attained full sovereignty under Article 73 of the Charter or whether Togoland was being requested to reduce its status from that of a Trust Territory to that of a colony before it had attained the objectives of Article 76.

41. In conclusion, he urged the Committee to go forward with a simultaneous plebiscite in the two Togo-

lands and to let the world know that the United Nations could indeed unify and free a people from oppression.

42. Mr. ODAME (Togoland Congress) expressed, on behalf of the Togoland Congress in Buem-Krachi and of the people of Togoland as a whole, his sincere appreciation of the work done by the Visiting Mission, and in particular of its special report on the problem under consideration. Although his organization accepted that report in principle, there were a number of important points with which it was unable to agree. For example, it felt that non-Togoland residents residing in Togoland under British administration should not be allowed to take part in the plebiscite, regardless of the length of their period of residence. It would be a mockery of democratic processes if persons who were not Togoland residents by birth or naturalization were allowed to take part in the plebiscite. On the other hand, Togoland residents from the French zone who paid rates, resided and owned property in Togoland under British administration should be allowed to take part in the plebiscite, since the two Trust Territories were struggling to regain their heritage which had been divided under the Mandates System of the League of Nations and the United Nations Trusteeship System.

43. The people of Togoland, fruitlessly sending representatives to the United Nations for many years, were beginning to feel that Member States were either indifferent to their fate or afraid of offending the United Kingdom and France, the Administering Authorities. Togoland residents were now dispersed all over West Africa, from Northern Senegal to the Congo. All were looking to the United Nations to redeem the pledges that had been made to dependent countries, especially the Trust Territories, of which Togoland was the most advanced.

44. The Administering Authorities had violated both the letter and the spirit of the Trusteeship System. They had integrated and incorporated the two Trust Territories into their respective régimes as if they were colonial possessions. In deliberate violation of the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements, they had set up administrative unions which went far beyond the scope of the authority vested in them by international treaty. By so doing, they had created conditions in Togoland which made a plebiscite a most unsatisfactory means of ascertaining the true wishes of the people in regard to their political destiny.

45. The developments in the situation in the two Togolands up to 1952 and the recommendations of the United Nations since then were described in chapter I of the Visiting Mission's report. The present constitutional position was that under the provisions of the 1954 Order-in-Council, the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration were divided into 104 constituencies, from each of which a member was elected to the Legislative Assembly by direct suffrage. The Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet were appointed from the Legislative Assembly. The powers of the Legislative Assembly extended to nearly all fields of day-to-day administration of the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory. The ordinance on electoral provisions passed in late 1953 in anticipation of the 1954 Constitution provided for a uniform system of universal adult suffrage by secret ballot, under which persons of 21 or over having British nationality or protected status were qualified

to vote. In the case of the Trust Territory, six of the total number of constituencies lay wholly within the Territory, one almost entirely within it and eight partly in the Territory and partly outside it. That fact showed how far the administrative union between the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory had been carried. The wishes of the Togoland people, who had already been incorporated into the Gold Coast through the constituency arrangements, could hardly be determined by a plebiscite as suggested in the report of the Visiting Mission. On 8 March 1955, the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast had said in the Legislative Assembly that the Government's policy of integration was quite clear and that the regional officers were carrying out that policy. In the face of such a statement, a plebiscite could not be regarded as a democratic means of ascertaining the desires of the people.

46. Turning to the questions of local, district and regional government, he noted that two regions had been established covering contiguous areas of the Gold Coast and the Trust Territory, to wit, the Northern Section of Togoland under British administration which formed part of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, the latter being made up of areas inhabited by tribes of mainly Sudanese origin; and the Southern Section, which was combined with the neighbouring area of the Gold Coast predominantly inhabited by Ewes from the Trans-Volta Togoland region. In each region there was a statutory regional council whose function was to advise the Government and the regional administration on matters affecting the welfare and future of the inhabitants of the region. That supported the contention that the United Kingdom Government, in concert with the Government of the Gold Coast, had already integrated the Trust Territory into the Gold Coast, in violation of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement.

47. The present tactics of the Administering Authority and the Gold Coast Government did not justify the determination of the fate of the people of Togoland by a plebiscite. No one knew for certain what the wishes of the people of Togoland under British administration were in regard to self-government or independence because the Administering Authority had not yet put that question directly to them. However, certain representatives of the Administering Authority had already expressed, in the Trust Territory and at the United Nations, the United Kingdom's desire to withdraw from the Territory. During his recent visit to Togoland under British administration, the Governor of the Gold Coast had put it plainly to the people of the Trust Territory that if any of them considered that the Territory should continue for the time being under Trusteeship, they would have to look for some country other than the United Kingdom to take over the administration. That advice to the Togoland, tendered with a description of the advantages of integration with the Gold Coast, left Togoland under British administration little alternative but to cast its lot with the newly liberated Gold Coast. In view of the openly pronounced interest of the Administering Authority in the integration of Togoland into the Gold Coast, and in view of the open interest of the Government of the Gold Coast in integration, the members of the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly could not in good conscience, in the interests of world peace both present and future, sanction a plebiscite.

48. At the eighth session of the General Assembly, his organization had brought to the attention of the Fourth Committee a copy of a secret document (T/PET.6/L.11) prepared by the United Kingdom Government in concert with the CPP Government of the Gold Coast. That document had outlined plans for intensive propaganda in the Gold Coast designed to make it appear that the real wishes of the people were for integration and to inform the United Nations accordingly so that it would give its sanction. Since that time, the secret plan had been methodically carried out by the Gold Coast and United Kingdom Governments. His organization had since secured another document prepared by the United Kingdom and Gold Coast Governments with a view to achieving their aims through intensive propaganda ingeniously designed to favour integration. He read out to the Committee the minutes of a meeting of members of the Department of Information Services in the Gold Coast concerning arrangements for the registration of voters for the forthcoming plebiscite. The document showed that preparations were already being made for the plebiscite although none had yet been sanctioned. It would also appear that the result was regarded as a foregone conclusion, for a new map of Africa published in the United Kingdom showed the two Togolands as part of the Gold Coast and the French colony of Dahomey respectively.

49. The problem of Togoland had first come before the United Nations in the shape of a request for the reunification of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration,¹ in conformity with Article 76 of the Charter. That was still the objective of his organization and of others represented before the Fourth Committee. Thus it would not be in the interest of justice, fair play or world peace, which was the fundamental objective of the United Nations, if a plebiscite were to take place in Togoland under British administration without the holding of a similar plebiscite in Togoland under French administration. A plebiscite in Togoland under British administration could not interpret the freely expressed wishes of the people of Togoland as a whole.

50. The real reason behind the movement for integration lay in the Volta River project and its international financial implications. The Volta River formed the international boundary between Togoland and the Gold Coast at various points, and it was obvious that the development of aluminium production and the production of hydroelectric power could not be legally and practically carried out without the consent of the Gold Coast and the people of Togoland. The British Government and the Government of the Gold Coast had begun their movement for integration concurrently with their plan to develop uranium and aluminium resources and to produce hydroelectric power in the Volta River and neighbouring regions. Thus, prior to 1952 both the United Kingdom and the CPP Government of the Gold Coast, as well as the French Government, had not opposed the unification of the two Trust Territories and had regarded reunification and independence as the legitimate right of the people. In support of that contention he quoted paragraph 36 of the special report of the Visiting Mission (T/1206). Moreover, the United Kingdom had made it clear to the world that it intended to give the Gold Coast self-government, whereupon

¹ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Second Session, First Part*, 11th, 12th and 13th meetings.

all governmental power would go to the Gold Coast Government, and the United Kingdom Government would no longer administer that Territory. At first sight, it seemed peculiar that the United Kingdom Government should show special interest in the integration of Togoland into the Gold Coast, which it would no longer be governing. The answer was that the Volta project could be carried out only after integration.

51. There were several practical difficulties involved in the integration of Togoland under British administration into the Gold Coast that made it an unsound and undesirable means of solving the problem which had arisen out of the statement of the United Kingdom Government that it would be unable to continue to administer Togoland after the Gold Coast had become independent. There was at the moment a serious political crisis in the Gold Coast between the national liberation movement and the CPP Government. That crisis had already resulted in much loss of life and property damage and an attempt had actually been made on the life of the Prime Minister, who was, as a result, under police protection. Neither the CPP Government nor the United Kingdom Government could deny that no minister of the CPP Government could go to Kumasi or Ashanti without police protection. The Ashantis were demanding a federal system of Government in order to protect themselves from the tyranny, corruption and the abuse of power of the present Government. The situation was so serious that neither the Government nor the Governor had been able to settle it and a constitutional adviser had been sent from the United Kingdom to the Gold Coast in order to find a solution to the problem.

52. It was unlikely that the best interests of world peace and of the inhabitants of Togoland under British administration would be served by authorizing the integration of Togoland into the Gold Coast in the existing circumstances. For example, if integration was carried out it would unite Buem-Krachi with Ashanti, because they were geographical neighbours and of the same racial stock. However, the Ashantis were unwilling to participate in the present Gold Coast Government. The Administering Authority and the Gold Coast Government alleged that the people of the northern part of the Trust Territory wished to be integrated with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast because they were of the same racial stock. Geographically speaking, the only direct contact between the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and the Gold Coast proper was through a belt of land occupied and controlled by the people of Ashanti. As a matter of fact, the people of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast were also demanding a federal system of government and were opposed to the unitary form of government advocated by the CPP.

53. The people of the Gold Coast were anxious for self-government and in that they had the sympathy and unqualified support of the people of Togoland. The people of Togoland naturally expected reciprocal sympathy for their aspirations for reunification and independence. It was difficult to see why the Gold Coast Government, headed by an African Premier Minister, had taken a stand in favour of the integration of Togoland under British administration into the Gold Coast, which would remove all hope of the reunification of Togoland and its emergence as a State. He contended that the Africans were being made victims of circumstance by the colonial Powers and encouraged

to wage a destructive struggle among themselves for the benefit of those Powers. His organization had recognized that fact and he wished to state that his associates would refuse to fight their African brothers with whom they were struggling towards a common goal. His organization was fighting to be free from the colonial Powers in Africa and he urged his fellow Africans to join in that noble fight. He also urged the people of the United Kingdom, whose love for democracy, peace and justice was admired throughout the world, and the freedom-loving people of France, to join them in demanding that their colonial administrators should leave the Africans alone to solve their differences by democratic processes among themselves, with the moral support and good wishes of the United Kingdom, France and other democratic countries. He beseeched his fellow Togolandians to show the world that the United Kingdom and France had given them a true training in the love of freedom and democracy, and that they had risen above old tribal differences and reached a state of nationhood, and refused to be forced to fight among themselves in matters which were so important to the determination of their status as a nation.

54. The basic principles of the Mandates System and of the International Trusteeship System were at stake. The concept of trusteeship had been established to protect under-developed countries which were unable to stand alone and which might be influenced, coerced or intimidated by great Powers to sell their birthright of independence. The United Kingdom and France had been appointed as trustees of Togoland under the immediate supervision of the Trusteeship Council and the United Nations. To allow the people of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration to give away their precious right of independence through a plebiscite held under abnormal conditions would be incompatible with the basic principles of the United Nations and would constitute a dangerous precedent which might cause the United Nations to fail as the League had done.

55. His organization was convinced that the question of a plebiscite was a very serious matter which must be treated with due deliberation, not in haste. It therefore concurred with the minority report of the Visiting Mission, as set forth in paragraph 107 of the special report, regarding the desirability of setting up separate institutions for Togoland under British administration before a plebiscite was taken. It also contended that the plebiscite must be held in both Trust Territories, because of their common interests. It was clear from the record that the United Kingdom Government as Administering Authority was not neutral in the issue of the future of Togoland. That being the case, it would be incompatible with justice for a plebiscite to be held while the United Kingdom remained as Administering Authority, under its supervision and according to its legal institutions. It was equally clear that the French Government as Administering Authority was not neutral in the case of the struggle of the people of Togoland under French administration for independence and reunification. He noted that Mr. Ajavon, whose organization advocated membership in the French Union, had appeared before the Fourth Committee on various occasions, sometimes as a petitioner and at other times as a member of the French delegation. As the Administering Authorities were obviously not neutral, it could not be said that the people were free to determine their political

destiny. The conclusion was clear and inescapable. In order to bring about normal conditions, conducive to the free expression of the wishes of the people of Togoland under French administration as well as Togoland under British administration, there must be free institutions for both Trust Territories, free from the control of the Administering Authorities.

56. All nations of the modern world had emerged into statehood through methods of trial and error. The internal disputes in Togoland were no exception to that rule. The people of Togoland should not be judged by different standards and thereby be deprived of their sacred right to form a nation. The people of Togoland, to whom a promise of self-government and independence had been made in an international treaty, were about to be cheated out of their most precious rights under that treaty by force, intimidation, coercion and favouritism. They lacked money, strength and bargaining power to state their case on the same terms as the Administering Authorities, but it was their honest opinion that their cause was right. Before they lost their precious right of independence, they urged that the legal issues involved in determining those rights should be submitted to the International Court of Justice for adjudication, so that a permanent record of all the facts and legal implications might be preserved for posterity to show how Togoland had

lost its promised independence. His organization had confidence nevertheless in the democratic peoples of France and the United Kingdom and in their love and respect for law and justice and was still prepared to place its faith in the United Nations and in the machinery established for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

57. Mr. SERAPHIN (Haiti) proposed that the full text of all the statements made by the petitioners before the Committee should be circulated.

There being no objections, it was so decided.

58. The CHAIRMAN reminded the Committee that it had decided, at its 514th meeting, to grant a hearing to the Togoland Reformation Movement and had invited that body, if it was unable to send a representative to New York, to submit its views in writing. The Secretariat had received a memorandum from the organization, which, if there was no objection, would be circulated to the members of the Committee.

It was so decided.²

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

² The text of the memorandum was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/325.