



Eleventh session
Agenda item 39

THE TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM AND THE FUTURE OF THE TRUST
TERRITORY OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

Part I - The future of Togoland under British administration

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. F.H. SOWARD (Canada)

1. At its 578th plenary meeting on 15 November 1956, the General Assembly decided to allocate to the Fourth Committee the following item on its agenda.

"The Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration: reports of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and of the Trusteeship Council."

The report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner (A/3173 and Add.1) related to the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscite held in Togoland under British administration on 9 May 1956, while the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3169 and Corr.1) consisted of separate sections dealing respectively with the future of Togoland under British administration and the future of Togoland under French administration.

2. At its 551st meeting, the Committee decided to grant the requests of the following organizations to be heard by it in connexion with this agenda item:

Organizations from Togoland under British administration

Togoland Congress

Convention Peoples Party

Organization from Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration

All-Ewe Conference

Organizations from Togoland under French administration

Mouvement de la Jeunesse togolaise

Mouvement populaire togolais

Parti togolais du Progrès and

Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo^{1/}

3. At the same meeting, it was agreed that the Committee should study first the future of Togoland under British administration and at a later date deal with the future of Togoland under French administration. At the following meeting, it was, however, agreed that the petitioners could voice their opinions concerning the future of both Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration in a single statement.

4. At its 567th meeting, at the conclusion of its consideration of the future of Togoland under British administration, the Committee decided that it would present forthwith a separate part of its report on the present agenda item dealing with that aspect. Accordingly, Part I of the Committee's report, dealing with the future of Togoland under British administration, is presented herewith.

5. At the 552nd meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom informed the Committee that on 18 September 1956 his Government had announced that, subject to Parliamentary approval, the Gold Coast would attain its independence on 6 March 1957. Subsequently, information concerning the revised constitutional proposals of the Gold Coast Government for independence was made available to the Committee by the United Kingdom delegation.

6. At the same meeting, the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner made a statement presenting his report.

7. The general debate on the future of Togoland under British administration was begun at the 553rd meeting, but was interrupted at the following meeting in order to enable those petitioners who were present to make statements to the Committee.

^{1/} These requests are reproduced in document A/C.4/329. The Parti togolais du Progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo submitted a joint request.

8. Accordingly at the 554th meeting, the Committee heard statements from Mr. A.K. Odame, Miss Regine Asamany, the Rev. F.R. Ametowobla and Mr. S.G. Antor on behalf of the Togoland Congress, and at its 555th meeting from Mr. F.Y. Asare and Mr. S.W. Kumah on behalf of the Convention Peoples Party. At the 556th meeting, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio spoke as representative of the All-Ewe Conference, Mr. A.I. Santos as representative of the Mouvement de la Jeunesse togolaise and Dr. André Akakpo as representative of the Mouvement populaire togolais. (The greater part of the statements of the last three petitioners related to conditions in the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration.) Certain of the above-mentioned petitioners also made supplementary statements at the 566th meeting at the close of the general debate. Finally, it should be noted that the Parti Togolais du Progrès and the Union des Chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo did not have representatives present at that stage of the Committee's discussions.

9. During the 557th and 558th meetings, members of the Committee addressed questions to various petitioners.

10. The general debate on the future of Togoland under British administration was resumed at the 559th meeting and continued until the 565th meeting.

11. During the course of the debate Canada, Ceylon, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Haiti, India, Liberia and Nepal submitted a joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.435) on the future of Togoland under British administration by which the General Assembly would:

- (1) express its approval of the union of the Territory of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast and accordingly invite the Administering Authority to take such steps as were necessary to this end;
- (2) resolve, with the agreement of the Administering Authority, that, upon the date on which the Gold Coast became independent and the union with it of the Territory of Togoland under British administration took place, the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 63 (I) of 13 December 1946 should cease to be in force, the objectives of trusteeship having been attained;
- (3) request the Government of the United Kingdom to notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations as soon as the union of the Territory of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast had been effected;
- (4) request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to

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communicate to all Members of the United Nations and to the nineteenth session of the Trusteeship Council the notification by the Government of the United Kingdom referred to in paragraph 3. Subsequently, Burma and Sudan (A/C.4/L.435/Add.1) and Pakistan (A/C.4/L.435/Add.2) associated themselves as co-sponsors with the other delegations which had submitted the joint draft resolution.

12. At the 562nd meeting, Belgium submitted an amendment (A/C.4/L.436) to the joint draft resolution by which the words "Resolves with the agreement of the Administering Authority" in paragraph 2 would be replaced by "Notes, with the Administering Authority". At the 565th meeting, the amendment was withdrawn, but a separate vote was requested on paragraph 2.

13. At the 564th meeting, a joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.437) on the report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner was introduced by Haiti, India, Liberia and the United States of America, by which the General Assembly would: (1) take note of the report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner; and (2) express its high appreciation of the work carried out by the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and by the United Nations staff under his direction. Subsequently, Peru joined in the sponsorship of that draft resolution (A/C.4/L.437/Add.1).

14. The draft resolutions before the Committee were discussed at its 565th to 567th meetings.

15. In the course of the general debate and of the discussion of the eleven-Power draft resolution, various delegations expressed the view that the majority of the inhabitants of Togoland under British administration had clearly expressed their wish for the union of the Territory with an independent Gold Coast. Since the Gold Coast would become independent on 6 March 1957, the General Assembly was now called upon to give effect to the wish of the majority and to approve the union of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast on that date.

16. A number of delegations expressed reservations concerning the proposed union of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast and were therefore unable to support the eleven-Power draft resolution. Such a union, they considered might render impossible the unification of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, a course which had been advocated by the General Assembly in the past. The results of the plebiscite were not clear for, although there had been an over-all majority in favour of union with the Gold Coast

there had been a majority in the Southern Section of the Territory for separation from the Gold Coast. Moreover, neither the plebiscite nor the subsequent general election had made it plain whether the people of Togoland under British administration wished to be united with the Gold Coast in a unitary State. It would be premature to agree to the incorporation of Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast, while there was as yet no agreed constitution for that future State.

17. Certain delegations, while sharing some of these reservations, nevertheless expressed the general view that the union of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast represented the only practicable manner in which the inhabitants of the Trust Territory could immediately achieve independence, and hence was clearly preferable to the maintenance of trusteeship. Although the constitution of the independent Gold Coast had not been finally determined, the Committee had been informed of the main provisions proposed by the Gold Coast Government. It was preferable for the Committee not to discuss the details, which were a matter for determination by the representatives of the peoples of the Gold Coast and of Togoland under British administration.

18. The eleven-Power draft resolution on the future of Togoland under British administration (A/C.4/L.455 and Add.1 and 2) was put to the vote at the 567th meeting with the following result:

Operative Paragraph 2 was adopted by a separate roll-call vote of 56 to none, with 13 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: None

Abstaining: Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Portugal, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a roll-call vote of 58 to none, with 11 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Suda, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: None

Abstaining: Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Philippines, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela.

19. The text of the draft resolution is annexed to the present report as draft resolution A.

20. The five-Power draft resolution on the report of United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner (A/C.4/L.437 and Add.1) was, in the absence of any request for a vote, declared to be adopted unanimously.

21. The text of the draft resolution is annexed to the present report as draft resolution B.

22. The Fourth Committee accordingly recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions:

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DRAFT RESOLUTION A

THE FUTURE OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The General Assembly,

Recalling that by resolution 944 (X) of 15 December 1955 it recommended, in pursuance of Article 76 b of the Charter of the United Nations, that a plebiscite be organized and conducted in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration by the Administering Authority in consultation with and under the supervision of a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, in order to ascertain the wishes of its inhabitants in regard to the union of their Territory with an independent Gold Coast or otherwise,

Having received the report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscite (A/3173 and Add.1) and having noted in particular the conclusion contained in the report that the plebiscite was held in an atmosphere of freedom, impartiality and fairness,

Having also received the report of the United Kingdom Plebiscite Administrator (T/1269 and Add.1),

Noting that the majority of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory participating in the plebiscite have expressed themselves in favour of the union of the Territory with an independent Gold Coast,

Noting also the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council in its resolution 1496 (XVIII) that appropriate steps be taken in consultation with the Administering Authority for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory to become effective upon the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast,

Having been informed by the Administering Authority that it is the intention of the United Kingdom Government that the Gold Coast shall become independent on 6 March 1957,

1. Expresses its approval of the union of the Territory of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast and accordingly invites the Administering Authority to take such steps as are necessary to this end;

2. Resolves, with the agreement of the Administering Authority, that, on the date on which the Gold Coast becomes independent and the union with it of the Territory of Togoland under British administration takes place, the Trusteeship

Agreement approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 63 (I) of 13 December 1946 shall cease to be in force, the objectives of trusteeship having been attained;

3. Requests the Government of the United Kingdom to notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations as soon as the union of the Territory of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast has been effected;

4. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to communicate to all Members of the United Nations and to the Trusteeship Council at its nineteenth session the notification by the Government of the United Kingdom referred to in paragraph 3 above.

DRAFT RESOLUTION B

REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER FOR THE
TRUST TERRITORY OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The General Assembly,

Having received the report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscite in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration (A/3173 and Add.1),

1. Takes note of the report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner;
2. Expresses its high appreciation of the work carried out by the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and by the United Nations staff under his direction.
