

UNITED NATIONS  
TRUSTEESHIP  
COUNCIL



Distr.  
GENERAL

T/1292  
8 December 1956  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Sixth special session  
Item 2 of the provisional agenda

THE FUTURE OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TOGOLAND  
UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

Report of the Referendum Administrator in Togoland  
on the popular consultation of 28 October 1956

Note by the Secretary-General: The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit herewith to the members of the Trusteeship Council the report of Mr. Guy Perier de Féral, Conseiller d'Etat, Referendum Administrator in Togoland, on the popular consultation of 28 October 1956. This report was communicated to the Secretariat by the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations on 8 December 1956.

56-34066

/...

75 p.  
map

Lomé, 9 November 1956

By entrusting the functions of Referendum Administrator to a Conseiller d'Etat, the Government of the French Republic wished to indicate clearly its desire that the preparation and conduct of the referendum should be carried out impartially, uninfluenced by local politics.

This is the construction which should be placed on the first clause of article 3 of Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956, specifying the date and procedure of the referendum to be held in Togoland:

"The referendum shall be organized and directed by a Referendum Administrator".

The Referendum Administrator appointed by the Government was therefore placed in a position of complete independence from the High Commissioner of the Republic in Togoland, who was, however, instructed to place at his disposal such facilities, officials and equipment, as he might require to carry out his task.

With the help of assistants appointed by and responsible only to himself and acting in accordance with the stipulations and within the framework of the Decree of 24 August 1956, the Referendum Administrator and the Administrator alone organized and directed the preparations for the referendum, the result of which he was to announce, as provided in article 17.

The Referendum Administrator was to request action from the High Commissioner only in respect of matters reserved to him by law. In point of fact, he had recourse to the High Commissioner's territorial powers on only one occasion when he requested the High Commissioner to fix the list of electoral districts on the basis of his proposals. With that one exception, all measures concerning the referendum were enacted in the form of orders or instructions over the signature and on the responsibility of the Referendum Administrator. They were registered separately from the High Commissioner's enactments and were included in the Journal Officiel under a separate heading entitled "Enactments of the Referendum Administrator".

On the nomination of the officers of the Conseil d'Etat, I was appointed Referendum Administrator in Togoland by Decree No. 130 of 23 August 1956.

Mindful of the responsibility of the task entrusted to me, I organized my staff in such a way as to ensure that the conduct of the referendum was strictly impartial; in this I had the full support of the Minister for Overseas France.

/...

I decided, first, that arrangements for the referendum should be organized and carried into effect by officials of the Ministry for Overseas France, appointments being strictly limited to those who had never lived in Togoland. Secondly, I decided that the supervision of the preparations for and the conduct of the referendum should be undertaken by members of high administrative courts and of judicial bodies independent of the executive authorities, who, again, had never held office in Togoland.

I felt that I should thus be able to ensure that the voting on 28 October 1956 was carried out in an objective manner.

In instruction No. 1 of 3 September 1956 I defined the functions of the referendum officials as follows:

"The referendum officials shall be assigned to the administrative circonscriptions by the Referendum Administrator. They shall be stationed in the chief town of each circonscription and shall be responsible for the technical operations involved in preparing, organizing and conducting the referendum provided for by Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956. The commandants of the circonscriptions shall place the necessary staff and facilities at their disposal. The referendum officials shall maintain contact with the referendum assistants appointed as observers to supervise the operations in accordance with their own instructions.

The referendum officials shall:

- (a) give effect to the procedure for the entry and erasure of names on the electoral lists in accordance with article 6 of the Decree and shall inform the population of the time-limits and other particulars of the procedure for entry and erasure either during their tours of the circonscriptions or through any publicity media at their disposal;
- (b) transmit immediately to a magistrate any requests for entry or erasure submitted to them within the statutory time-limits. They shall, where appropriate, be informed by the assistants of any requests which the latter may receive and shall forward them according to the same procedure.
- (c) provide for the notification and publication of rulings given by the magistrate in accordance with the provisions of article 7.

The electoral list shall be completed and finally closed on 12 October 1956 by the administrative-mayor of the commune or the chief of the circonscription, as provided in the Decree.

/...

- (d) establish, in accordance with article 10 of the Decree, committees for the distribution of referendum voters' cards and supervise the operations of such committees from 15 to 27 October 1956.

They shall act as chairmen of such committees, or, if prevented from doing so, shall in each case appoint an alternate on behalf of the Referendum Administrator

They shall inter alia ensure that each political party which has given notice of its intention to take part in the referendum is invited to appoint an accredited representative, who must be a registered voter in the Territory, to sit on the committee. With the assistance of the members of the committee, they shall prepare returns of the cards issued.

Cards which cannot be issued to persons entered on the electoral list at the time of the committee's visit to a given place may be claimed by the persons concerned at the final meetings of the issuing committee and in any case not later than midnight, Saturday 27 October.

- (e) established by the prescribed date and after consultation with the administrative-mayor of the commune or the chief of the circonscription and with the approval of the Referendum Administrator, the Polling Committees and define the area of their jurisdiction.

These Committees shall be set up in conformity with the provisions of article 12 of the Decree and in such a way that voters can take part in the referendum without undue difficulty, particularly so far as distance is concerned.

The list of Polling Committees, with an indication of their location, shall be published on Saturday, 13 October 1956. It shall be posted in the chief town of the commune or the circonscription and on the door of each Polling Committee.

- (f) if possible, act as Chairman of the Polling Committee in the chief town of the commune or circonscription or, if necessary, of any Polling Committee in which they consider that incidents may arise.
- (g) appoint on behalf of the Referendum Administrator the chairmen of the Polling Committees in cases where they do not act in that capacity themselves. They shall also appoint the two assessors provided for by the Decree and call for the appointment to the said Polling Committees of representatives of the political parties participating in the referendum, in accordance with article 12 of the Decree and the provisions of paragraph (d) above.

/...

- (h) request the Referendum Administrator to provide an adequate supply of ballot papers, of both types, envelopes, and regulation forms.
- (i) prepare the report on the counting of votes by the Committees over which they preside and collate the results received from the other Polling Committees in the commune or administrative circonscription. They shall submit a certified true copy of the tabulation of votes drawn up by each Committee to the referendum assistants and transmit the original report with the annexed ballots and envelopes, where necessary, to the central office designated by the Referendum Administrator. They shall ensure that the referendum voters' cards handed to the Committee at the time of voting are kept in safe custody by the Committee.
- (j) as chairmen of the Polling Committees, they shall forward written objections against the regularity of the procedure followed and issue receipts for such objections.
- (k) with regard to the propaganda campaign, which shall end at midnight on 27 October, the referendum officials shall make available special boards for the display of posters. They shall allocate such boards to the political parties in the order in which notices of their intention to take part in the referendum are received by the Referendum Administrator and shall inform the parties of this order.

They shall ensure that each party makes use of the boards in accordance with its rights.

With regard to public order, as chairmen of the Polling Committees, the referendum officials shall be responsible for the maintenance of order in the Polling Committees and shall have all the rights to which the law entitles them in this connexion. They shall, where necessary, inform the administrator-mayors of the communes or the chiefs of the circonscriptions of any threats to the public order arising during the electoral campaign or on the day of the vote which are reported to them by the Referendum Administrator's assistants, or of which they themselves have evidence.

Such information shall be evaluated by the administrator of the commune or the chief of the circonscription, who shall continue to be responsible for the maintenance of public order in the circonscription. He shall have sole discretion with regard to the measures necessary to ensure the maintenance of public order and the use of the forces at his disposal.

It is the responsibility of the chief of the circonscription, should the case arise, to request the Commissioner of the Republic to make available whatever additional facilities may be necessary to ensure the maintenance of order."

A second instruction of the same date defined the functions of my assistants who were to observe the referendum and to whom I attached the greatest importance:

"The assistants shall represent the Referendum Administrator as observers in the circonscriptions to which they are assigned.

They shall supervise the operations provided for in the Decree of 24 August 1956 specifying the date and procedure of the referendum with a view to ensuring that such operations are administered impartially and in accordance with the regulations. They shall not participate in the organization of the measures provided for in the Decree or in the corresponding Executive Orders or in the actual operations, but they shall ensure that the necessary action is taken at the local level for the organization and conduct of the consultation of 28 October 1956.

They shall maintain continuous supervision over the operations and shall immediately bring to the attention of the referendum officials and the Referendum Administrator any administrative omissions, errors or irregularities that they may observe. In no case, however, shall they take direct action to remedy such omissions or to rectify such errors or irregularities.

The assistants shall not be responsible for signing the official documents relating to the electoral consultation such as revisions of the list, or reports on the distribution of cards or the counting of the votes, but at the end of each stage of the procedure provided for in the Decree, they shall issue a report attesting to the regularity of such operations as they themselves have witnessed or reporting any omissions, errors or irregularities that they may have observed.

Their supervisory functions shall mainly relate to the following matters and shall be discharged in the following manner:

- A. With regard to entries on or erasures from the electoral list, they shall ensure that the procedure provided for in part II of the Decree is carried into effect within the time-limits specified and is made known to the public throughout each circonscription either by the posting of notices or by other forms of publicity.

The assistants shall not be entitled to request the entry or erasure of a voter's name, but shall transmit any application for such entry or erasure they may receive from a political party or an individual to the referendum officials, who shall refer it to the judicial authorities.

Similarly, the assistants shall accept the comments or complaints, if any, that may be submitted to them on such matters. They shall forward them to the referendum officials who shall be responsible for taking whatever action may be necessary.

They shall also notify the Referendum Administrator of such comments or complaints and shall, if possible, annex the text to their report. Should such comments or complaints be submitted orally, they shall ascertain the complainant's identity and verify that he is a voter in the Territory. They shall draw up a statement of the complaint bearing the signature or fingerprint of the person or persons concerned.

- B. With regard to the distribution of cards, the assistants shall ensure due compliance with the provisions of part III of the Decree; to this end, they shall, whenever possible, accompany the distribution committees to the scene of operations.
- C. The assistants shall also ensure that the Polling Committees established give voters an opportunity of taking part in the ballot without having to travel unduly long distances. They shall ensure that the physical arrangements in the voting rooms guarantee the secrecy of the ballot.
- D. In accordance with the established practice, the maintenance of order in Polling Committees shall be the responsibility of the chairmen of the Committees. The assistants shall have free access to all Polling Committees. They shall ensure by personal inspection during the voting that the ballot is open to all voters and that all the operations are conducted in an atmosphere of freedom.

If, in their view, the independence of the voters is threatened either by the presence of disturbing elements in the room, in the vicinity of the polling place or in the area in which voting is taking place or if they learn that steps have been taken by any persons at the approaches to the voting place to prevent voters from appearing or to intimidate them, they shall immediately communicate such information to the referendum officials. The latter shall bring the matter to the attention of the chief of the circumscription so that action can be taken to ensure the independence of the ballot. They shall submit a report to the Referendum Administrator.

In accordance with article 9 of the Decree, they shall also ensure that:

- (a) the Polling Committees are composed as prescribed in article 12, particularly in so far as the representation of political parties is concerned;
- (b) no card is issued on the day of the ballot;
- (c) that sufficient quantities of both types of ballot paper and envelopes are available.

- E. Immediately after the hour set for the closing of the polls, which must be respected in all cases, the assistants shall ensure that the votes are counted publicly and impartially in the various Polling Committees.

They shall not take part in the counting of votes, for which the Polling Committees alone shall be responsible. Nevertheless, if, in their opinion, some ballots have been miscounted, they shall inform the Referendum Administrator accordingly. They shall also ensure that:

- (a) the report on the counting of votes is drawn up by the Polling Committees forthwith;
- (b) uncontested ballots are immediately burnt;
- (c) contested or invalid ballots are all annexed to the report;
- (d) the copy of the report is in conformity with the original signed by the members of the Committee.

A copy of the tabulation of the results shall be prepared and signed by the members of the Committee and handed to the assistant when the original is sent to the referendum official.

They shall ensure that the envelope containing the original report and the annexed ballots is forwarded with due speed and safety to the centres designated by the Referendum Administrator.

After the counting of the vote, they shall report on the conduct of the referendum as a whole and state the results. They shall mention any objections submitted in accordance with the provisions of article 18 of the Decree which they have received and for which they shall issue a signed receipt.

The final report prepared by the assistants shall include a reference to such objections and to the grounds therefor.

- F. With regard to the maintenance of public order, particularly during the propaganda campaign and on polling day, it should be noted that:

Responsibility for the maintenance of order is vested in the chief of the administrative circonscription who alone has the necessary means of action at his disposal.

The assistants shall transmit to the referendum officials, who shall in turn transmit to the Chief of the Territory any information that has come to their knowledge or any complaints which they have received and which may have some bearing on public order, particularly in connexion with the opening of the propaganda period



laid down in article 20. They shall be informed in advance by the chief of the administrative circonscription, through the referendum official, of any declaration of intention to hold a propaganda meeting submitted by a political party.

The chiefs of administrative circonscriptions shall decide on their own responsibility whether to prohibit a meeting which might seriously jeopardize the maintenance of public order. The assistants shall immediately forward a report, with a statement of reasons, to the Referendum Administrator indicating in particular whether, in their opinion, the prohibition will not or has not restricted the freedom accorded to all parties to conduct propaganda in connexion with the referendum.

- G. The assistants shall give every facility to accredited Press correspondents to follow the referendum operations."

.....

The appointment of referendum officials, their assignment to circonscriptions, the appointment of assistants and their assignment as to circonscriptions observers were dealt with in my Orders No. 1 and No. 2 of 31 August 1956.

In addition to the fifteen administrators responsible for planning and carrying out the physical arrangements, I obtained the services of two members of the Council of State: Mr. Pierre LANDRON, Councillor of State, and Mr. GUILLAUME, Senior Auditor; two members of the Audit office: Mr. MARTIN and Mr. Gérard PIROT, Senior Auditors; four judges of the administrative courts: Mr. Fernand FAGNCT (Paris), Mr. Gaston NAMIN (Lille), Mr. Edmond LUCE (Bordeaux) and Mr. Robert BOISSONNET (Montpellier); six judicial officials, including four from the Ministry of Justice: Mr. René BERAUD, Mr. Pierre CHABRAND, Mr. Pierre FRANCK and Mr. Yves ROCCA and two from the courts: Mr. Jean PUCHEUS (Seine) and Mr. Jean HOURTOULLE. In addition, two officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. de QUIRIELLE and Mr. EGAL, were seconded to assist me. The Referendum Administration thus had a staff of thirty-two.

They all took up their duties immediately. A heavy and often delicate task lay ahead of them. I shall give a chronological account of the work of organizing and directing the referendum which was undertaken by the Referendum Administration.

## CHAPTER I

### PUBLICITY FOR THE REFERENDUM

The Statute of Togoland established by Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956, pursuant to article 8 of the Law of 23 June 1956, known as the loi-cadre, was promulgated in Togoland by publication in the Journal Officiel of Togoland (No. 888), on 30 August 1956, at the same time as Decree No. 56-848 of the same date concerning the timing and procedure for the referendum under the same article of the Law.

The first concern of the Referendum Commission was to inform the people of Togoland of the provisions of the Statute and the Decree instituting the referendum, and to call their attention to the importance of the vote they were asked to take. This vote called for the participation, for the first time, of all the men and women of Togoland over twenty-one years of age whose names were on the electoral lists.

The instructions were that this publicity was to be kept strictly objective. The provisions of the Statute were to be explained and commented on so that the people would understand its meaning and structure, but this publicity must in no way amount to an appeal or recommendation in favour of the Statute. The important point was that the voters should choose freely, without pressure of any sort, whichever of the alternatives they preferred.

The text of the Statute of Togoland, and the text of the decree specifying the date and organization of the referendum, were posted at the Town Hall of Lomé, at the headquarters of the administrative circonscriptions, and at all post offices.

500 copies of the Journal Officiel were printed, some for posting in public places and the rest for distribution.

The referendum officers were given instructions to organize meetings or palavers in every village and to inform the village chiefs, notables and adult inhabitants orally of the gist of the Statute, to announce the referendum and explain the alternatives offered, and to point out the possibility of requesting new registrations or deletions from the electoral lists.

On 30 and 31 August I personally spoke to the referendum officers and observers, urging the former, as soon as they arrived in the circonscriptions to which they had been assigned, to publicize the texts of the Statute and referendum and the questions to be asked, and asking the latter to see to it that this publicity remained objective.

The reports of the referendum officers and observers bring out the following points:

An intensive publicity campaign was conducted at Lomé under the supervision of Mr. Landron, Conseiller d'Etat, the observer for the commune and Cercle of Lomé, with a view to making known the provisions of the Statute, the fact that a referendum was to be held in the near future, and the meaning of the election. Large numbers of copies of the Statute and the public notices were distributed.

At Tsévié, many lectures on the Statute and the referendum, strictly objective in approach, were given to the Chiefs, notables and voters. The observer noted a steady movement of the population toward the Gold Coast, whose frontier is only 50 kilometres away or even less. Many electors were absent.

At Palimé, many copies of the Statute were distributed and the observer found by talking to the voters that they were acquainted with the general provisions of the Statute and understood the importance of the questions submitted to the population. The observer stated that later a brochure had been issued giving the text of the Statute, translated into Ewe by a school teacher, Adadgo Binder, Conseiller de circonscription, and a member of the Parti togolais du progrès. The brochure was later distributed by the Party in other communes and cercles.

At Anécho, all the copies of the Statute and of the notice to the electors were distributed in the first half of September. The observer, Mr. Pirot, Audit Commissioner, reports that 2,500 copies of the Statute and 4,000 copies of the notice were distributed at Anécho. On 20 September the referendum officer requested further printed copies of the Statute and the notice. A similar publicity drive was made throughout the administrative circonscription, and the Statute was distributed and posted in all the villages.

At Tabligbo, the observer, Mr. Namin, Administrative Court judge at Lille, mentions the useful publicity tours of the villages to inform the people concerning the Statute, the referendum, and the questions to be answered. He found that in the villages in the East, protected by the forests and the Mono River, enrolment on the electoral lists was 60.3 per cent but that in the villages of the West the exodus toward the Gold Coast had so affected the adult population that in some instances only 27 per cent of the registered adult population could be entered in the electoral lists. He remarks that the women took an interest in the referendum and understood the provisions of the new Statute and the scope of the referendum better than the men.

At Nuatja, the observer, Mr. Martin, Audit Commissioner, states that the village chiefs and notables were assembled, in his presence, at Tetetou by the referendum officer. Explanations were given concerning the provisions of the Statute, the decree on the referendum, the possibility of new registrations and the choice of alternatives. The role of the observer was explained and the people were informed that any complaints or objections could be addressed to him. Subsequently, the representatives of CUT, including Mr. Guedze, the most influential of them locally, did approach him in connexion with requests for new registrations and the holding of public meetings.

Similar meetings took place at Kpedome and Nuatja during the Adjas festival, and later in the villages of Mono East.

The observer at Atakpamé, Mr. Pagnot, Assistant Referendum Administrator and Administrative Court judge in Paris, mentions the publicity tours made for the benefit of the people in the Akpasso Subdivision until 10 September, and in the Atakpamé Subdivision until 16 September.

At Sokodé, the observer, Mr. Pucheus, judge at the Seine Court, testifies that the referendum officer gave an impartial explanation of the Statute and the organization of the referendum. The attention of the people was at all times carefully drawn to the desire of the referendum organizers to ensure complete freedom of voting, this being, moreover, guaranteed by the presence of an independent observer to whom the citizens could make their complaints and objections direct at any time.

At Lama-Kara, Mr. Chabrand, magistrate at the Ministry of Justice, states that during numerous palavers copies of the Statute and the referendum and notices to the public on the subject of the revision of electoral lists were distributed in large numbers.

On 20 September he confirmed this activity and stated that he had "seen nothing to indicate that even a very small part of the population may be deliberately excluded from the vote". But he did note that as a result of bad harvests, part of the Cabra population was preparing to leave the country and look for work in the South.

At Mango a programme of visits was undertaken, beginning early in September. All cantons were visited except for two which were cut off by the floods and could not be reached. The observer in this circonscription, Mr. Guillaume, Auditeur at the Conseil d'Etat, mentions that the visits were carried out in the face of incidents of all kinds - vehicles bogged down, canoe crossings, and journeys on foot or by bicycle. Sixteen meetings were held, before audiences varying from a few dozen to several hundred persons. The Statute, the purpose of the referendum, and the meaning of the questions were explained. He states that the explanation was invariably impartial; and the importance of the referendum and the fact that it was to be conducted by universal suffrage were impressed on the people. He notes that the voters also indicated their satisfaction at the large number of polling places to be provided. He notes, after checking the lists and making oral inquiries in the villages, that the electoral lists were very accurate. However, a large number of registered persons were absent for economic reasons, and would not return to the villages to vote.

At Dapango, visits were made to the Chief of Dapango, and the Paramount Chief of Pana for publicity purposes, and explanations were given concerning the Statute, the referendum and the role of the Referendum Commission. Many villages were visited by the referendum officer and by the observer. On each occasion an unbiased talk was given on the purpose of the Statute and the referendum.

The observer notes that the census of the population was very thorough but that the people were opposed to the registration on the electoral lists of persons traditionally considered incompetent, insane, blind, paralytic, leprous and senile persons.

These are the general observations made by the referendum officers and observers. They indicate that through the efforts of the Referendum Commission the population was given an adequate knowledge and understanding of the referendum of 28 October and of its importance, apart from the propaganda made by the political parties. In this connexion it will be noticed that in the last phase before the referendum the parties opposed to the Statute abandoned one of the points in their propaganda, namely the contention that the population of Togoland was being asked to vote on a text with which it was not properly acquainted.

## CHAPTER II

### ELECTORAL CIRCONSCRIPTIONS

According to article 4 of the Decree, the vote was to take place in each commune or electoral division and in each administrative circonscription. In implementation of this article, the electoral circonscriptions were established by an order of the Commissioner of the Republic (Order No. 767 of 4 September 1956), issued by virtue of his legal powers but in conformity with my suggestions. The operative part of this order reads as follows:

"The electoral circonscriptions in which the voters will take part in the referendum to be held on 28 October 1956 shall be the following:

- Mixed commune of Lomé
- Cercle of Lomé
- Mixed commune of Anécho
- Cercle of Anécho, excluding the Subdivision of Tabligbo
- Subdivision of Tabligbo
- Mixed commune of Tsévié
- Cercle of Tsévié
- Mixed commune of Palimé
- Cercle of Klouto
- Mixed commune of Atakpamé
- Cercle of Atakpamé, excluding the Subdivisions of Akposso and Nuatja
- Subdivision of Akposso
- Subdivision of Nuatja
- Mixed commune of Sokodé
- Cercle of Sokodé
- Mixed commune of Bassari
- Cercle of Bassari
- Cercle of Lama Kara, excluding the Subdivision of Niamtougou
- Subdivision of Niamtougou
- Cercle of Sansanné Mango, excluding the Subdivision of Kandé
- Subdivision of Kandé
- Cercle of Dapango."

The electoral circonscriptions thus defined coincide exactly with the administrative circonscriptions existing on 30 August, the date of publication of the decree setting the date and laying down the procedure for the referendum. I felt that the boundaries of the administrative circonscriptions hitherto used as constituting electoral divisions - in which the political parties have already crossed swords - should not be altered either at the request of any party or by

/...

the Administration on its own initiative. There also seemed to me to be no point in creating within the existing circonscriptions electoral wards not justified by the size of the circonscriptions or the number of voters. Any change in that respect would not only have been contrary to the clear intentions of the Government; it might also have changed the electoral balance in a particular circonscription and distorted the significance of the ballot for that district. It would have been wrong for the Referendum Commission to lend itself to any interference with the traditional electoral system, or to any sub-dividing calculated to affect the results of the voting in a way which might have seemed tendentious.

For that same reason I refused to take account of an administrative order of the Commissioner of the Republic dated 30 August 1956, discussed by the Government Council on 9 August and recommended by the Territorial Assembly on 28 August, but not yet officially published, whereby the village of Gblainvie was included in the territory of the mixed commune of Tsévié. Apart from the juridical reasons which I felt militated against taking the change into account, it seemed to me that there was no justification, when determining the electoral circonscriptions, for transferring this village from one district (the Cercle of Tsévié) to another (the commune of Tsévié). The change may be justified from the point of view of communal organization, but it might have been looked upon as a political manoeuvre made because of the referendum. It was my duty to prevent any such suggestion.

The order setting forth the list of electoral circonscriptions was officially circulated, in view of the urgency, by means of public notices posted at the Lomé town hall, in all the offices of the administrative circonscription and in all post offices. It was published in the Official Journal of Togoland (No. 890) on 6 September 1956, and was also reproduced in the Press.



CHAPTER III  
ELECTORAL LISTS

Article 4 of the Decree of 24 October 1956 called for participation in the referendum of "persons of both sexes who have attained the age of twenty-one and have been inscribed on the electoral lists or shall be added thereto pursuant to articles 6 to 8 hereunder".

The electoral list was that established at the usual date of 31 March 1956 and as supplemented by the record of additions and removals prepared pursuant to the Decree of 7 July 1956 (articles 4 and 5).

This Decree - issued pursuant to Act No. 56-619 of 23 June 1956, which authorized the Government to introduce the necessary reforms and take the necessary measures to ensure the development of the territories under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Overseas France - and in particular titles III and IV, articles 10 and 15, provided for the introduction of universal direct suffrage for citizens of both sexes, without regard to their status, provided that they had attained their twenty-first year, and it prescribed a special revision of electoral lists for that purpose.

Under the terms of Decree No. 56-669 of 7 July 1956, which is thus applicable to Togoland, the administrative commissions, which under the general legislation in force were responsible for the revision of electoral lists, were to prepare, between 19 July and 18 August 1956, the record of additions and removals amending that list.

The decisions of the Judicial Commission were to be rendered not later than 10 September 1956 and notified not later than 12 September 1956, and appeals could be lodged not later than 17 September. A time-limit expiring on 27 September was laid down for a ruling by the Magistrates, and the ruling had to be notified not later than 30 September.

The adjusted electoral list, embodying additions and removals and finally closed by the administrative commission, was to be published on 20 September 1956 and remain in force until 31 March 1957.

These were the provisions applicable to all overseas territories, including Togoland, a Trust Territory administered under French law.

/...

For the purposes, however, of the referendum, provision was made in articles 6 to 8 of Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956 for a special revision procedure in Togoland under which final additions to the electoral list could be made as follows:

Any person whose name has been omitted may request that it shall be entered on the list.

Every registered voter may request the entry of any name that has been omitted or the removal of any name entered on the record of additions and removals.

Such a request may also be made by the administrator mayor of a commune or by the chief of an administrative circonscription. Requests for entry or removal, together with the necessary justification, shall be accepted from 10 to 25 September 1956.

Each request shall be considered by a Magistrate, who shall rule thereon within fifteen days, and not later than 10 October 1956.

Every ruling of the Magistrate shall be made known within two days from the date on which it was made. It shall be published forthwith.

The electoral list shall be completed and finally closed on 12 October 1956.

\*

\*                   \*

The task of the Referendum Commission was to facilitate the application of the special revision procedure in every possible way.

The Commission was not, however, empowered to influence in any way the work of the administrative commissions or the giving of rulings in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Decree of 7 July 1956 but was simply to ensure that the electoral list, which was to serve as a starting point for the final revision procedure prescribed by the Decree of 24 August 1956 (whose application I was to ensure), would be published on 1 September 1956.

After reminding the local administration of the time-limit of 1 September and verifying the publication of the electoral list on that date, I therefore concentrated on the task of acquainting the people with the conditions and time-limits for examination of any request for entry or removal.

/...

In General Instruction No. 3, I drew attention to the provisions of the laws and regulations in force concerning the composition of the electoral college. There is no need to reproduce those provisions here, because they are generally known and have not been modified in any way in connexion with their application in Togoland.

The public notice prepared by me on 3 September read as follows:

Electoral Lists for the Referendum - Entries and Removals

The Conseiller d'Etat and Referendum Administrator hereby notifies the people of Togoland as follows:

The referendum provided for by the Decree of 24 August 1956 will be carried out on the basis of universal suffrage.

The electoral list was published in each circonscription on 1 September.

Persons of both sexes who have attained the age of twenty-one and have been inscribed on the electoral lists or will be added thereto as indicated below are called upon to participate in the referendum.

Any person whose name has been omitted from the electoral list may, either personally or through a person already registered, request that it be entered thereon.

Any person whose name is entered on the electoral list may request the removal of any name improperly entered.

Requests for entry or removal, together with the necessary justification will be received from 10 to 25 September 1956 at the Magistrate's Court or at the office of the commune, cercle or subdivision, as the case may be.

Requests will be examined by the competent Magistrate within fifteen days and not later than 10 October 1956.

The electoral list will be completed and finally closed on 12 October 1956.

The Referendum Administrator asks voters:

1. to verify in person or through another voter that their names have been entered on the electoral list published on 1 September;

/...

2. in case of omission, to request, within the prescribed period of 10-25 September, that their names be entered on the electoral list;

3. subject to the same conditions and time-limits, to request, if there should be occasion to do so, the removal of names improperly included in the electoral list.

I re-issued this notice on 10 September and had it publicized by the Press and the radio, not only in French but also in the chief vernacular languages of the country.

In addition to the broadcasting of the notice by the Lomé radio station, loud-speaker vans announced it to the people in the towns of Lomé, Anécho and Tsévié and in the neighbouring localities every day between 10 and 25 September.

I also had 50,000 copies of this notice distributed in French and in Mina, the most common of the vernacular languages. In a letter of 8 September I asked all papers in Togoland to publish the notice. The text of my letter was as follows:

Sir,

The people of Togoland are being called upon to cast a vote of exceptional importance for their future on 28 October. It is essential that the men and women of Togoland who have attained the age of twenty-one and have been included in the electoral lists should participate in the referendum, which will be conducted according to the principle of universal suffrage and by secret ballot.

The Decree of 24 August 1956 makes provision for a final period from 10 to 25 September so as to enable any person whose name has been omitted to request that it be included in the electoral list and any person registered to request the removal of a name improperly included.

Requests to that effect, made either to the office of an administrative circonscription (commune, cercle, subdivision) or direct to the Magistrate's Court will be examined by the competent Magistrate within fifteen days and not later than 10 October 1956.

On 12 October the electoral list will be completed and finally closed.

I appeal to the entire Press of Togoland to publish the notice which I had Radio Lomé broadcast on 3 and 4 September.

/...

I should accordingly be grateful if you could insert this notice, a copy of which is enclosed, in one of your forthcoming issues.

I have the honour to be, etc.

The editor of the dissident Juvento newspaper negreta returned the notice and the letter to the office of the Referendum Administrator without reply, enclosing merely some JUVENTO propaganda tracts.

The editor of the newspaper La Vigie togolaise, which supports the CUT, replied on 15 September and said that his paper had "decided not to collaborate with the local authority until such time as democracy and self-determination were respected in Togoland". He said further that "publication of such a document would constitute an act of high treason towards the Togolese people."

The editor of the newspaper la muse togolaise, which is also a dissident Juvento organ, returned the request for publication and the notice without comment and enclosed an issue of the paper containing articles hostile to the referendum.

The Chairman of Juvento wrote on 24 September: "We regret to inform you that Togoland, an organ created by and for our movement, reserves the right to publish or not to publish any notices which you would be pleased to have appear in the newspapers of the territory."

La Flèche and Le Progrès, which are organs of the Parti Togolais du Progrès, did not publish any issues during the period prescribed for the revision of the electoral lists. The paper now known as Togo Républicain, which is the chief newspaper at Lomé and is officially neutral, published the notice in a prominent place on 7 and 10 September.

The Press of the Unité Togolaise thus refused to support the Referendum Administrator's efforts to make the procedure for electoral revision fully effective. The letters received indicated that the attitude of these newspapers was dictated by the fear that by publishing the notice they would give the impression of supporting the principle of the referendum.

\*

\*

\*

In view of the difficulty experienced by the voters in drafting requests for entry or removal, I had the Referendum Administrator's Office prepare a model form of request to the Magistrate, which was printed in several thousand copies.

/...

The assistants acting as observers were supplied with these forms and then distributed them and gave applicants all the assistance required for completing them. The forms were also made available to the public in administrative and Magistrates' offices.

The notices to the public and the request forms for entry or removal were published in Journal officiel, No. 892 of 6 September 1956.

\*

\*

\*

Although the Press of the Unité Togolaise refrained from co-operating, the CUT, Juvento and MPT parties instructed their adherents to request inscription on the electoral list, either because they intended at the time to participate in the referendum and vote in favour of the continuation of the Trusteeship System or - and this is more probable - because they had planned to vote in the municipal elections to be held in the communes de plein exercice.

At any event, 17,367 requests for inscription and 841 requests for removal were received. Most of these requests came from individuals, the chiefs of circonscriptions using the procedure provided for in article 6 for the purpose of obtaining the removal of the names of deceased persons and the elimination of double entries. It was then found that many requests were not supported by adequate justification and that the collective lists submitted to the referendum assistants and the clerks of the Magistrates' Courts included the names of voters already entered. The final result of this procedure was that a total of 5,547 names were entered and 154 removed.

The effect of the procedure was particularly noticeable at Anécho, where Mr. Pirot, the observer, transmitted 1,300 requests and was thanked by CUT; at Palimé, where 7,390 requests led to 2,116 inscriptions; at Lomé, with 3,077 requests; and at Tsévié. These are all towns and regions where the Unité parties have adherents.

The following table shows the number of requests received and of court rulings made in each electoral circonscription.

/...

	Requests		Rulings	
	Inscriptions	Removals	Inscriptions	Removals
Commune of Lomé	1,741	325	571	5
<u>Cercle</u> of Lomé	1,436	24	169	-
Mixed Commune of Anécho	925	375	880	88
<u>Cercle</u> of Anécho	53	5	53	5
Tabligbo Subdivision	2	-	2	-
Mixed Commune of Palimé	7,390	34	2,116	-
<u>Cercle</u> of Klouto	41	-	41	-
Mixed Commune of Tsévié	55	11	55	-
<u>Cercle</u> of Tsévié	442	-	289	-
Mixed Commune of Atakpamé	13	-	13	-
<u>Cercle</u> of Atakpamé	12	8	12	7
Akposso Subdivision	15	12	15	10
Nuatja Subdivision	3,914	-	140	-
Mixed Commune of Sokodé	62	8	59	-
Mixed Commune of Bassari	40	-	36	-
<u>Cercle</u> of Bassari	53	-	52	-
Mixed Commune of Lama Kara	385	-	305	-
Niamtougou Subdivision	350	1	615	1
Mixed Commune of Sansané-Mango	29	38	29	38
Kandé Subdivision	40	-	36	-
<u>Cercle</u> of Dapango	-	-	-	-
	17,367	841	5,547	154

It is appropriate now to consider the growth of the Togoland electorate at the various stages of its progress towards attainment of the franchise and to determine the percentage of persons inscribed on the electoral list by circonscription.

It appears from the information in the reports submitted by the French Government to the United Nations General Assembly that in recent years the number of voters has followed an upward trend as is illustrated by the following table:

/...

YEAR	POPULATION	REGISTERED VOTERS			PERCENTAGE OF		PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
		Men	Women	TOTAL	Men	Women	
31.3.1947	921,884	7,963		7,963	100%		0.86%
31.3.1948	944,446	12,179	614	12,793	95.2%	4.8%	1.35%
31.3.1949	971,824	12,522	596	13,118	95%	5%	1.35%
31.3.1950	982,263	16,096	731	16,827	96%	4%	1.71%
31.3.1951	998,660	27,317	1,263	28,580	95%	5%	2.86%
31.3.1952	1,014,669	47,224	3,646	50,870	93%	7%	5.01%
31.3.1953	1,029,946	99,000	14,279	113,279	87%	13%	11.00%
31.3.1954	1,052,318	120,031	31,068	151,099	79%	21%	14.36%
31.3.1955	1,069,318	147,900	42,764	190,664	77%	23%	17.83%



CERCLES - SUBDIVISIONS - LOCALITIES	Population on 1 Jan. 1956	Number of Voters on					
		31 March 1956		1 September 1956		12 October 1956	
	1/		%		%		%
LOME - Commune	38,967	7,823	20.07	8,058	20.67	9,022	23.15
Subdivision	41,449	6,485	15.64	8,413	20.29	11,890	28.68
ANECHO - Commune	7,560	2,656	35.13	2,943	38.92	3,719	49.19
Anécho Subd.	135,756	33,098	24.38	60,916	44.87	62,412	45.97
Tabligbo Subd.	42,822	10,357	24.18	18,592	43.41	18,398	42.96
PALIME - Commune	8,517	1,300	16.32	3,290	38.62	3,454	40.55
remainder of Cercle	51,611	10,745	20.82	20,904	40.50	23,303	45.15
TSEVIE - Commune	9,506	1,416	14.90	2,246	23.62	2,750	28.92
remainder of Cercle	87,146	18,247	20.93	26,063	29.91	26,167	30.02
ATAKPAME - Commune	9,029	2,158	23.90	2,372	26.27	2,386	26.42
Atakpamé Subd.	47,874	16,766	35.02	19,279	40.27	19,284	40.28
Akposso Subd.	45,274	8,818	19.47	16,020	35.38	16,023	35.39
Nuatja Subd.	26,787	8,578	32.02	12,198	45.53	12,327	46.01
SOKODE - Commune	7,629	2,507	32.86	3,457	45.31	3,613	47.35
remainder of Cercle	80,502	24,124	29.96	39,621	49.21	40,079	49.78
BASSARI - Commune	10,067	2,981	29.61	4,132	41.04	4,168	41.40
remainder of Cercle	50,259	15,630	31.09	21,925	43.62	21,937	43.64
LAMA-KARA							
Lama-Kara Subd.	141,092	43,192	30.61	63,548	45.04	63,853	45.25
Niamtougou Subd.	45,272	9,886	21.36	11,204	24.21	11,818	25.54
MANGO							
Mango Subd.	39,322	10,336	26.28	16,567	42.13	16,585	42.17
Kandé Subd.	29,994	7,741	25.80	11,064	36.88	11,100	37.00
DAPANGO							
Cercle of Dapango	126,597	37,841	29.90	53,171	42.00	53,171	42.00
TOTAL TOGO :	1,084,032	282,775	26.08	425,983	39.29	437,459	40.35

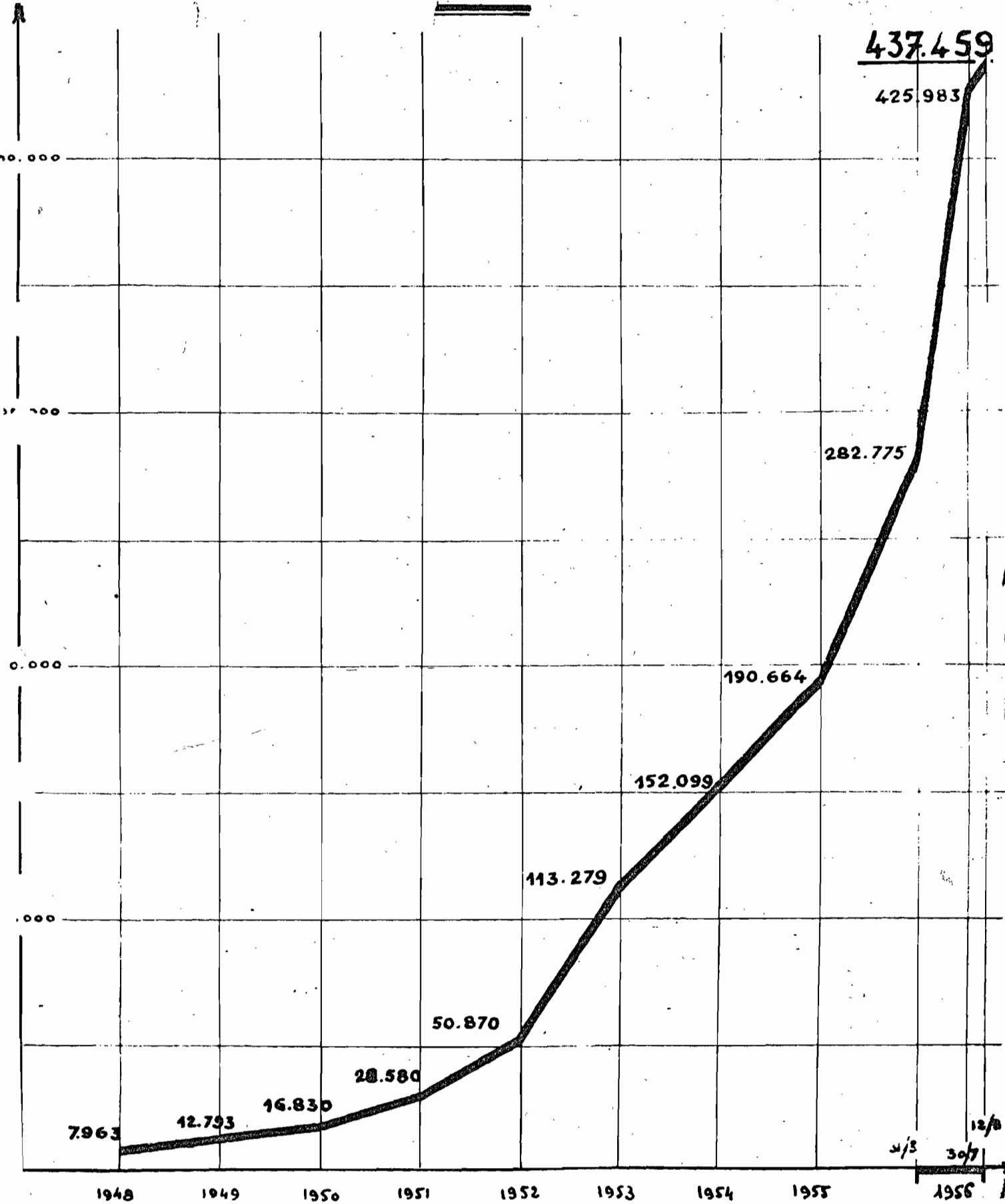
1/ Including 1,277 "non-indigenous inhabitants" (French and aliens).

/...

PERCENTAGES OF REGISTERED VOTERS  
in relation to the total population of Togoland  
from 1947 to 1956

DATE.	TOTAL POPULATION	REGISTERED VOTERS	PERCENTAGE
31-3-1947	921,884	7,963	0.86%
31-3-1948	944,446	12,793	1.35%
31-3-1949	971,824	13,118	1.35%
3-1950	982,263	16,827	1.71%
31-3-1951	998,660	28,580	2.86%
31.3-1952	1,014,669	50,870	5.01%
31-3-1953	1,029,946	113,279	11.00%
31-3-1954	1,052,318	151,099	14.36%
31-3-1955	1,069,318	190,664	17.83%
31-3-1956	1,084,032	282,775	26.08%
1-9-1956	1,084,032	425,983	39.29%
12-10-1956	1,084,032	437,459	40.35%

Growth of the Electorate from 1948 to the end of 1956  
(Figures as at 31 March of each year)



These figures demonstrate the heightened awareness by the inhabitants of Togoland of their responsibilities for the management of public affairs and give some idea of the extent to which the franchise has been extended to additional population groups, and particularly to women.

These figures should be compared with those showing the number of persons entered on the electoral lists on the three following dates out of a population which on 2 February 1956 was 1,084,032:

31 March 1956, usual date for the publication of the electoral lists, electorate 282,775, or 26 per cent;

1 September 1956, date of publication of the revised list pursuant to the Decree of 7 July 1956 (universal suffrage), electorate 425,983, or 39.29 per cent;

12 October 1956, date of publication of the list completed pursuant to the Decree of 24 August 1956 (referendum), electorate 437,459, or 40.35 per cent.

The growth of the electorate by circonscription is illustrated in the accompanying table.

It is also necessary to determine the percentage of registered voters in relation to the total number of persons over twenty-one years of age.

Out of a total registered population of 1,084,032 on 2 January 1956, the number of young people under twenty years of age, both male and female, was roughly 486,000, and between twenty and twenty-one years of age roughly 19,000, amounting to a total of 505,000, which gives a potential electorate of about 575,000 persons.

As the number of registered voters was 437,459 on 12 October, the ratio of registrations to potential electorate was 75.8 per cent. It is actually higher than that, because the above total of 575,000 persons must be reduced by the number of persons who are mentally incapacitated, in prison or absent, the number of itinerant workers employed in the Gold Coast, where they sometimes remain for one or two years in succession, and the number of aliens, in particular fishermen, who comprise several thousand persons.

Bearing in mind, as has already been pointed out, that in Togoland the registration of births, deaths and marriages was introduced by a decree of 21 April 1954 and is thus a fairly recent phenomenon and is not, moreover, everywhere obligatory, and that an attempt is often made to evade registration because it is

/...

the basis of the personal tax, and having regard to the means of investigation available to the Administration (and the technical difficulties involved in carrying out the additional registration of 154,684 voters within a period of six months), it is possible to affirm that the electoral list published on 12 October comprises virtually all persons of voting age.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION AND ISSUE OF REFERENDUM VOTERS' CARDS

The relevant provisions are those of articles 9, 10 and 11 of Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956, which read as follows:

"Article 9. Every person whose name is entered on the electoral list shall receive a special card called a referendum voter's card.

Such cards shall be issued from Monday, 15 October 1956, to Saturday, 27 October 1956.

No card shall be issued on the day of the ballot.

Article 10. Such cards shall be issued by committees, each composed of the following:

A representative of the Referendum Administrator, as chairman;

A member of the municipal council in a commune, or of the Conseil de circonscription in an administrative circonscription;

One representative of each political party which has given notice of its intention to take part in the referendum, appointed by his party.

Article 11. Each card shall specify the polling place at which the holder is required to attend on the day of the referendum".

It will be clear from these provisions that the French Government was anxious that every precaution should be taken to ensure that only persons actually registered on the electoral lists should take part in the referendum.

The decree, indeed, provides that the cards should be issued only to the voter himself, to "every person", within a prescribed period which excluded the day of the ballot, when the last-minute haste would have afforded a good opportunity for personation. The task of issuing the cards was given to a committee whose chairman was appointed by the Referendum Administrator without reference to local political considerations, and whose members included a representative of the council of the commune or circonscription concerned, i.e., an elected official, and a representative of each political party taking part in the referendum. These arrangements permitted the card holder's identity to be thoroughly checked, and prevented the cards from being handed over to a political party which would have used them to enable its agents to vote in the name of the real holders.

Further checks were provided by the polling committee at the time of balloting, as follows:

"Article 14: On entering the voting room, the voter shall produce his referendum voter's card .....The fact that the voter has voted ..... shall also be confirmed on the referendum voter's card, which shall be stamped with the date and initialled by a member of the Polling Committee. The card shall be retained by the Polling Committee."

This was a further check on the voter's identity, since if he was not in possession of his card he could not be permitted to vote unless he could furnish proof of his right to do so.

Finally, the retention of the card after the voter had voted not only ensured that he was not tempted to vote twice but also provided an additional accounting check at the time of counting the votes, since the number of ballot papers found in the box had to agree both with the number of marginal annotations in the electoral lists and with the total number of cards retained by the Committee.

The cards were printed by a firm in France under the supervision of the Ministry of Overseas France. The number of cards ordered was 524,000 to cover a number of electors which was as yet unknown but seemed likely to amount to between 440,000 and 460,000 electors, according to the statistical probabilities, with a 10 per cent margin of safety and a 5 per cent allowance for cards which would be wrongly made out and would have to be re-issued after checking.

I arranged for detailed instructions to be sent on 12 and 19 September to the referendum officers responsible for the physical completion of the cards in accordance with the electoral lists and for the installation and operation of the issuing committees, and to the assistant administrator - observers, whose duty it was to verify that the lists corresponded with the set of cards prepared, to supervise the composition and procedure of the committees and to ensure that the cards were issued to those entitled to receive them.

The following are the main points of the instructions on this subject given to the referendum officers and the assistant administrator-observers:

"The committees responsible for issuing referendum voters' cards to the voters must be set up in sufficient numbers to enable all the cards to be issued between Monday, 15 October, and Saturday, 27 October 1956, inclusive. Contrary to the regulations in force in the past four elections to the National Assembly or the Territorial Assembly, no cards may be issued on the day of the ballot. The attention of voters must be specially drawn to this point and the issuing committees must not fail to remind them of it.

"The referendum officers will nominate the chairman of each issuing committee, acting on my behalf and in virtue of the powers vested in me under the Order of 4 September.

"The member representing the municipal council, in the mixed communes, and the member representing the Conseil de circonscription, in the cercles or subdivisions, will be designated by those councils.

"The committee will be completed by one representative of each of the political parties which have notified me of their desire to take part in the referendum. For this purpose, I shall ask each party to let me know the name of its representative in each electoral district and I shall notify you accordingly. The referendum officer will contact this representative and ask him to submit the names, first names, family particulars, occupation and address of the Party's representative for each issuing committee. Such representative must be a voter within the area of the committee of which he is to be a member.

"Each committee will keep a record of its proceedings on forms which will be sent to you. This record must give an account of all action taken, giving particulars of place, time and persons, and of decisions taken with regard to persons attending under a false identity. The records must be kept with the greatest care and each incident must be reported in it immediately, since only entries made while the committee is in session are above suspicion. The record is to be drawn up daily by the chairman of the committee and signed by the members".

The physical work of preparing the cards was carried out between 12 September and 10 October under the direction of the referendum officers, with the assistance of staff provided mainly by the Education Department and other public departments or recruited from among literate young people. This staff, under the careful supervision of the referendum officers and of the assistant administrator-observers, carried out a considerable task which demanded great conscientiousness and devotion. In the process of preparing the cards, it was possible to eliminate immediately a number of double registrations, arising mainly from inversions of names and first names or from changes of name made by voters in all good faith and according to custom at various times in their lives. Finally, note was taken of any deaths which had occurred since the preparation of the lists. All this made it possible, as appropriate, to request the judicial authorities to order the deletion of the names of deceased persons, to rectify obvious material errors or to suspend the issue of cards which unquestionably referred to the same individual.

I had reserved the right to determine the list of issuing committees under an order on the recommendation of the Referendum Officers. For this purpose, the



Referendum Officers were required to submit suggestions to me before 1 October, and I had issued the following instructions with regard to their submission:

The lists of issuing committees and polling committees had to be prepared simultaneously, but account had to be taken in determining the jurisdiction of the issuing committees of the location of and the area covered by the proposed polling committees planned. Each issuing committee could have several polling committees within its area, but in no circumstances could a polling committee be shared between two issuing committees.

The orders setting up the issuing committees, which were signed on 5 October, were immediately communicated to the Referendum Officers and published by them at the seats of the administrative circonscriptions concerned. They were published in the Journal officiel of Togoland, No. 893, dated 8 October 1956.

The Referendum Officers to whom I had delegated my powers under Order No. 3 of 4 September 1956 immediately proceeded to appoint the Chairmen of the committees; they were generally selected from among officials or notables who had had as little as possible to do with party politics. They requested the Councils concerned to nominate one of their members and made contact with the local officers of the political parties for the electoral district.

The non-participation of CUT, JUVENTO and MPT was complete except at Lomé, where the Municipal Councillors elected on the CUT list, Mr. Moses Krauss AQUEREBURU, Mr. BEN APALOO (JUVENTO), Mr. AMEGEE LOUIS, Mr. Joseph SANVEE and Mr. Simon de FANTI, were approached, accepted the invitation, and regularly attended the issuing committees in the town. The absence of representatives of those parties did not, however, prejudice the work of the committees, which were carefully supervised by the assistant administrators.

The Referendum Officers reported on the establishment and installation of the committees. Before the committees began their work, the Referendum Officers took care to instruct the chairmen and members of the committees in the task they were to perform. They held meetings of committee members in various places in the circonscriptions in order to explain to them the decree on the referendum procedure and to give them practical instruction with regard to the issue of cards.

A publicity campaign was launched to draw the attention of the voters to the importance of the card-issuing procedure. It a notice dated 18 October which was

published in the Press and announced by radio, I called upon the voters to claim their voters' cards and to ease the task of the issuing committees.

The issue of cards began, as ordered, on Monday, 15 October. The operations were somewhat slow at first, as a result both of the inexperience of the chairmen and members of the committees and of the detailed nature of the formalities required, which included looking up the applicant's name in the electoral lists, interrogating him in order to check his identity, requiring his signature or fingerprint, giving explanations of the voting formalities and indicating the polling committee. Since the cards were issued in the presence of all the voters of a village, in other words virtually under their supervision, it occasionally happened that the voters themselves pointed out double registrations or informed the committee that a registered elector had left to work elsewhere. This happened in several villages in the cercle of Tsévié. The assistant administrator-observers noted how careful the electors were to follow the calling of the electoral roll and to check the issue of cards, with the exception of some minor incidents.

At NIAMTOUGOU, for example, several polling committees confiscated cards presented by illiterate persons which were made out in the name of a third person; in these cases, it was not possible to determine whether they had been received in error from the issuing committee or whether they were intended, in the simple minds of these electors, for a kind of proxy vote.

The good faith of card holders was not to be doubted, and the annotations in the records effectively eliminated the possibility of fraud.

At Lama Kara, the Chairman of the issuing committee had the cards of Mr. Sama François BETCHASSI, "his little brothers", and his wives taken to their home. Mr. BETCHASSI complained about this irregularity, but it seemed that this Chairman, in putting family amenities before the observance of his duty, had been prompted by a desire to oblige a relative.

In this same commune, however, according to the assistant administrator-observer's report, duplicate cards were collected and it was often the holders themselves who returned them.

At Tsévié II, Mr. Paul HONIGLO, the Chairman of the committee, gave evidence of zeal but was imprudent enough to send cards to the village chief of Kpali for distribution by him. Warned in time, the Referendum Officer intervened and succeeded in recovering the cards and having them distributed in the proper way by the committee, after sternly reprimanding its Chairman.

/...

It seems that the issuing committees at Palimé and Klouto were deceived in some instances, as several persons attempted to vote with cards which did belong to them. The matter has been referred to the parquet at Lomé. A more serious matter is that the committee chairman of Palimé has admitted issuing 613 voters' cards without ticking off the names of the holders; I was unable to ascertain exactly what his motives were.

At atakpamé (Nuatja), 69 cards were duplicated owing to an error in the copying of the lists. These cards were withdrawn by the Polling Committees.

At Gboto (Anécho), Mr. DJADA, on the instructions of BOGLE AMOUZOU, the son of the chief of Tabligbo, began to collect voters' cards a few days before the ballot. He was arrested by the gendarmerie and taken to Anécho, where the offence will be dealt with by the judge.

At Tsévié on 28 October, KEDOKE AKAKPO, a farmer at Dévé, was apprehended for obtaining on false pretences the card belonging to Mr. MISSIEMANVA ATTOSSE (card No. 135). In the same district, ATTITEO GOMADO signed and appropriated card No. 125 belonging to Mr. GBLOMATSI ADOSSI. The two offenders were arrested and taken to Lomé police station.

It seems that at Palimé instructions were given by CUT and JUVENTO that the cards should be collected and sent to the respective party headquarters. By doing this, the parties had hoped to check on abstentions.

Such incidents were quite rare, on the whole, and are to be explained by the size and novelty of the operation, which led to mistakes; in other cases they were due to the political attitude towards the new Statute taken up by the opposition parties.

According to the electoral lists, the number of cards made out was 437,459. According to the statements drawn up by the issuing committees, the number of cards issued was 409,566, leaving a difference of 27,893, which is attributable partly to recent deaths, partly to the departure of registered electors, to work in the Gold Coast and partly to the invincible lack of interest of some voters who resisted all appeals.

CHAPTER V  
POLLING COMMITTEES

The principles underlying the organization of the various elections in France, which have been extended to the territories of Overseas France, are the same as those which governed the organization of the referendum.

The membership of the Polling Committees differed, however, from the norm in that provision was made for the representation of the political parties.

Article 12 of Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956 provides:

"A Polling Committee (bureau de vote) for a maximum of 1,500 voters, shall be set up in each commune or electoral sector and in each administrative circonscription.

"Each Polling Committee shall be composed of at least five members, as follows:

"A representative of the Referendum Administrator as chairman;

"Two assessors appointed by the Referendum Administrator;

"One representative of each political party which has given notice of its intention to take part in the referendum, appointed by his party.

"If any political party fails to appoint a representative, or if such representative is absent, any voter present who can read and write shall be appointed to fill the vacancy."

Under Instruction No. 1 Dated 3 September, the referendum officers were asked to study the establishment of polling committees with special reference both to their location and to the delimitation of their areas.

The committees were to be set up in accordance with the provisions of article 12 of the Decree and "in such a way as to enable voters to take part in the referendum without undue difficulties, especially as to the distances involved".

The referendum officers received oral reminders of instructions when meetings or inspections were held in the circonscriptions of the Territory.

While reserving the establishment of Polling Committees to the Referendum Commission in cases where a decree by the Referendum Administrator would be required, I authorized the referendum officers on 4 September to make arrangements for the appointment of the chairmen and assessors of the Polling Committees.

The location of the Polling Committees and the selection of the polling places were considered with great care, and no decision was taken until routes had been studied and the sites examined on the spot; every effort was made to save the voters unduly arduous or long journeys, which would in most cases be made on foot, since means of rail or road transport exist only along the centre line and the major routes crossing the Territory and this might have deterred the voters. An effort was made to increase the number of Polling Committees in order to reduce the distance from voters' homes to the polling stations and also to lighten the Polling Committee's workload. The number of villages placed under any given Polling Committee was carefully arranged so that the number of voters would not exceed 1,000 with some exceptions. The purpose of this was to speed up the balloting and counting operations.

Under orders issued over my signature and published in the Journal Officiel No. 893 of 8 October 1956, a total of 459 Polling Committees were set up.

There is no need to give a full account of the physical arrangements of the polling stations, which were designed in such a way as to ensure the secrecy of the ballot. Thus, private booths as prescribed by law were set up in each voting room in order to conceal the elector's choice of ballot-paper and the placing of the ballot-paper in an envelope.

The ballot-box arrangements were made by the Referendum Officers under the supervision of the Assistant Administrator-Observers. Each ballot-box was fitted with two padlocks of different types, so that when the Chairman and an assessor or a representative of a political party had each been given a padlock key, neither could open the ballot-box without the other.

Tables and chairs were provided, together with the lamps which would be needed for counting the ballots; the count was bound to take place at dusk or even later, in view of the rapidity of nightfall in these latitudes. It appeared that the count of the ballot-papers would take an hour and a half at least, and the preparation of the record as long again, which would bring the close of business to about 8 p.m. in the case of a small station and possibly much later than that in the case of a busier station, or of a station where the voting might have given rise to disputes.

It was arranged that the following documents, specified in my Order No. 9 of 4 October 1956, should be laid out on the polling station table:

Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 setting forth the statute of Togoland;  
Decree No. 56-848, 24 August 1956 specifying the date and procedure of the referendum to be held in Togoland pursuant to Article 8 of the Act of 23 June 1956;

Instruction No. 3 of 6 September 1956 by the Referendum Administrator on the conditions for registration in the electoral lists;

Order No. 8 of 3 October 1956 by the Referendum Administrator specifying the times of opening and closing the polling stations on 28 October 1956 and the time of expiry of the period allowed for the submission of regarding the operations of a Polling Committee.

All these documents might be needed for reference, in order to determine a voter's disputed right to vote or a voter's claim to a vote, to settle a question regarding the counting of ballot-papers, or to decide any cases of void ballots which might arise.

Forms on which to report the counting of votes were designed as clearly as possible and prepared for use in counting the ballots.

Finally, in the last few days before the referendum, the Chairmen of the Polling Committees were trained in their technical duties by the Referendum Officers in the presence of the Assistant Administrator-Observers.

The pink ballot-papers, bearing the inscription, "The Statute of Togoland, as set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956, and termination of the Trusteeship System established pursuant to the agreement of 13 December 1946", and the white ballot-papers, bearing the inscription "Continuation of the Trusteeship System established pursuant to the agreement of 13 December 1946" were ordered in France in a quantity large enough to cover the losses or the deterioration which could occur in the Territory of Togoland at the end of the rainy season, when the transport of large parcels sometimes presents difficult problems if flooded rivers have to be crossed.

The standard-type envelopes, bearing the inscription "Referendum of Togoland, 28 October 1956", in which the ballot-papers were to be placed, were also made in Paris.

The polling stations were duly provided with an equal number of ballot-papers and envelopes, all necessary precautions being taken to prevent thefts.

\*

\*           \*

Despite their refusal, I was very anxious to leave open every opportunity for members of parties not participating in the referendum to take part in the establishment of the Polling Committees, a course in which I was justified by the fact that at Lomé the Municipal Councillors of CUT and JUVENTO had agreed to take part in the card-issuing committees. The CUT leaders were not unaware of this, since Mr. Sylvanus OLYMPIO mentioned the fact to me in a conversation on 21 October. At that time, I renewed my offer to him of seats in the Polling Committees which would enable his representatives to supervise the count. This offer was rejected, and the Municipal Councillors of Lomé who were members of CUT, with one exception, Mr. Simons de FANTI, refused in writing to act as assessors, giving various reasons. The same attitude was adopted by CUT at Anécho, where the persons appointed notified me in writing of the instruction to abstain which had been issued by the party at Palimé and Tsévié. On the other hand, at Station No. 3 at Akposso-Ezime, Mr. Clément MISSELLE, an assessor, gave the CUT after his name as his affiliation.

Despite the absence of representatives of the parties which opposed the Statute, the membership of the Polling Committees, which were properly constituted and which, furthermore, included two assessors appointed by me, offered a guarantee of good faith. There was a double check on their actions, one carried out by the large number of persons constantly passing through the voting room and the other by the assessors I had appointed, as well as by the Referendum Officers and the Assistant Administrators, who made spot checks on the operation of the Committees several times during the day.

No complaints were made against the members of the Polling Committees and apart from some counting errors affecting void ballot-papers, which were easy to correct, their operations on the whole were quite in order. No member of the Polling Committees was accused of fraud; on the contrary, they seem to have been very careful to detect duplications and to withdraw cards which were unlawfully held, reporting these matters in the records.

CHAPTER VI

DECLARATIONS BY THE PARTIES

Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956 provided in articles 10, 12 and 20 that all political parties which had declared their intention to participate in the referendum would be represented on the committees issuing the referendum voters' cards and also on the Polling Committees (bureaux de vote); only these parties were to have the right to exhibit posters on boards specially reserved for the display of electoral posters.

It was consequently necessary for the Referendum Commission (Délégation générale au referendum) to ascertain the attitude of the political parties in Togoland.

As soon as I arrived at Lomé, therefore, I had to find out what groups or movements actually existed in Togoland, giving the term "political party" the broadest possible connotation.

From information given me by the High Commissioner of the French Republic in Togoland, to whom the parties had made a declaration of establishment; from my own inquiries among prominent Togoland; and from the Press and the reports of United Nations Visiting Missions to the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration, I learned that the following groups, in chronological order of establishment, could be considered political parties:

Comité de l'Unité togolaise: 13 March 1941;

Parti togolais du Progrès: 9 April 1946;

Union des Chefs et des Populations du Nord: 16 July 1951;

Jeunesse du Nord Togo: 16 July 1951;

Mouvement de la Jeunesse togolaise - JUVENTO: 25 September 1951;

Rassemblement des jeunes Togolais: 13 March 1953;

Mouvement Populaire Togolais: 16 August 1954.

Their attitude may be briefly described as follows:

The Parti togolais du Progrès, the Union des Chefs et des Populations du Nord, the Jeunesse du Nord Togo and the Rassemblement des jeunes Togolais, through their Chairmen and principal leaders, approved the Statute, thus opting for the termination of trusteeship. In the North, however, some Chiefs appeared to

/...



regret that France should voluntarily relinquish the administration of their institutions, and to be apprehensive about the transfer of control to the leaders of the Parti togolais du Progrès, who came from the more advanced circles in the South.

The Comité de l'Unité togolaise and the Mouvement de la Jeunesse togolaise (JUVENTO) were implacably hostile to the Statute, though recognizing its merits, and stated that they could not agree to any referendum which was not conducted under United Nations supervision.

The Mouvement Populaire Togolais was more non-committal.

In effect, therefore, the publication of the Statute and the announcement of the referendum did not produce any change in the attitude of the rival parties.

A declaration had been filed with the Journal officiel du Togo in respect of all these groups, which are "associations" within the meaning of the Act of 1 July 1901.

Apart from these associations there were no de facto groups that could, by a liberal interpretation of the term, be regarded as political movements.

These inquiries convinced me that no parties would be left out of the invitation which I proposed to extend to them to participate in the referendum.

First, by Order No. 5 of 20 September 1956, I appointed a time limit by which the political parties had to file the declaration provided for in articles 10, 12 and 20 of the said Decree.

This Order provided:

"Article 1. The time limit within which political parties present in Togoland are required under articles 10, 12 and 20 of the Decree of 24 August 1956 to declare their intention to participate in the referendum authorized by article 8 of the Act of 23 June 1956 shall expire at 0000 hours on 5 October 1956.

"Article 2. Such declaration shall be made in writing and signed by the Chairman competent to act for the party and by the officers. It shall be deposited with the Referendum Administrator at his offices at Lomé or addressed to the Referendum Administrator by registered post.

"The acknowledgement of the receipt of the said declaration shall be invalid unless it states the position of the declarant

party with regard to the choice to be made by the people of Togoland by referendum between:

- "(a) the Statute of Togoland, as set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956, and the termination of the Trusteeship System established pursuant to the Agreement of 13 December 1946; and
- "(b) the continuation of the Trusteeship System established pursuant to the Agreement of 13 December 1946."

This Order was inserted in Journal officiel du Togo No. 892 of 21 September 1956, communicated to the Press and broadcast by radio, together with a notice to political parties in the following terms:

"The Conseiller d'Etat and Referendum Administrator hereby reminds the political parties in Togoland:

"that the voters of Togoland are summoned to take part, on Sunday 28 October 1956, in the referendum authorized by article 8 of the Act of 23 June 1956;

"that, under articles 9 and 10 of the Decree concerning the issue of referendum voters' cards, every person whose name is entered on the electoral list shall receive a referendum voter's card;

"that such cards shall be issued by committees, each composed of the following:

- "(a) a representative of the Referendum Administrator, as Chairman;
- "(b) a member of the municipal council in a commune or of the Conseil de circonscription in an administrative circonscription;
- "(c) one representative of each political party which has declared its intention to participate in the referendum, appointed by his party;

"that under article 12, concerning the organization of the ballot, each Polling Committee shall be composed of at least five members, as follows:

- "(a) a representative of the Referendum Administrator, as Chairman;

"(b) two assessors appointed by the Referendum Administrator;

"(c) one representative of each political party which has declared its intention to participate in the referendum, appointed by his party;

"If any party fails to appoint a representative, or if such representative is absent, a person who can read and write shall be designated from among the voters present to fill the vacancy;

"that under article 20, concerning propaganda, only those political parties which have declared their intention to participate in the referendum may exhibit posters on boards specially reserved for the display of electoral posters.

"Arrangements have been made for the political parties of Togoland to participate in these electoral processes on an equal footing, and so satisfy themselves of their propriety and honesty, and to use poster propaganda, likewise on an equal footing.

"The purpose of these arrangements is to ensure the impartiality of the ballot to be held on 28 October.

"Every party should weigh the significance of the guarantees and facilities for publicity offered by the Decree and reach a decision accordingly.

"Since the committees which are to issue the referendum voters' cards must be set up and in operation by 15 October, I must ask political parties to notify me by 0000 hours on 5 October whether they intend to participate in the referendum.

"I have therefore issued, on 20 September, an Order specifying the procedure and time limits applicable to the declaration to be made to me by each party concerning its position with respect to the alternative offered by article 2 of Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956.

"I shall immediately communicate to the referendum officers and to the assistant observers the decision of each political party and the name, as transmitted to me, of the party's local correspondent. It will be the function of this correspondent to furnish to my representatives the names of those voters in the circonscriptions, communes, cercles or subdivisions whom it is desired to appoint to the committees for the issue of voters' cards and the Polling Committees."

This notice, together with a copy of the text of the Order, was served on party chairmen through the administrative channel on 23 September. I received a copy of the certificate of service signed by the chairman of the group

concerned; in this way the latter acknowledged that he had been informed of the time limit for declarations of participation and had received the Order and my notice to the parties.

Only Mr. BEN APALOO, the Chairman of the Mouvement de la Jeunesse togolaise - JUVENTO - on whom the notice and Order were effectively served, refused to sign the certificate of service tendered to him.

Wishing to give this group an opportunity to explain its position, I decided to write to the Chairman (letter dated 1 October reproduced in the annex to this report). Mr. BEN APALOO's reply was a communication, dated 8 October, in violently polemical language (communication likewise reproduced in the annex).

I had now satisfied my conscience that this group had been given every opportunity to participate in the referendum.

Mr. Sylvanus OLYMPIO, Vice-Chairman, and Mr. FREITAS, a member, of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise called on me on 19 September and asked me for particulars concerning the organization of the referendum. They seemed to oppose the very idea of the referendum, but reserved their decision.

On 2 October I also received a visit from Mr. Pedro OLYMPIO, Chairman of the Mouvement Populaire Togolais, who was in doubt concerning the position his party should adopt.

Declarations from the parties which decided to participate in the referendum reached me in the following order:

Parti togolais du Progrès: 11.15 a.m., 24 September 1956;

Union des Chefs et des Populations du Nord: 12 noon, 24 September 1956;

Rassemblement des jeunes Togolais: 3 p.m., 24 September 1956;

Jeunesse du Nord Togo: 9 a.m., 26 September 1956.

In their declarations these parties stated that they opted for the Statute of Togoland, as set forth in Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956, and for the termination of the Trusteeship System established pursuant to the Agreement of 13 December 1946.

Acknowledgements of receipt for these declarations, numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4 and reading as follows, were delivered to them on 24 September and 3 October:

/...

"The Conseiller d'Etat and Referendum Administrator of Togoland,

"Pursuant to Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956 which prescribes the date and procedure for the referendum authorized for Togoland, and in particular articles 10, 12 and 20 thereof,

"Has received from the ..... party, represented by ..... , at ..... hours on ..... , a declaration to the effect that the said party intends to participate in the referendum and to adopt the following position with regard to the choice offered in the referendum:

.....  
.....

"Lomé, 1956."

Dr. Pedro OLYMPIO, Chairman of the Mouvement Populaire Togolais, wrote to me from Lomé in the following terms on 4 October:

"The Referendum Administrator, Lomé

"Sir,

"The MPT party has the honour to inform you that it will not participate in the referendum to be held on 28 October 1956.

"I have the honour to be, etc.

"(Signed) Dr. P. OLYMPIO

"Chairman of the MPT."

When 0000 hours on 5 October arrived the Comité de l'Unité togolaise and the Mouvement de la Jeunesse togolaise - JUVENTO - had taken no action on the notice sent to them. Their silence had to be interpreted as a tacit refusal to participate in the referendum.

On 8 October, by a notice inserted in Journal officiel No. 893 of 8 October 1956, I informed the people and the referendum officers and assistant observers of the positions adopted by the political parties:

"The Conseiller d'Etat and Referendum Administrator has received, pursuant to his Order No. 5 of 20 September 1956, under which the political parties of Togoland were given a time limit expiring at 0000 hours on 5 October 1956 for the purpose of stating their positions with regard to the alternatives offered by the referendum, declarations in writing from the following:

/...

- "1. Parti togolais du Progrès: receipt delivered 11.15 a.m.,  
24 September 1956;
- "2. Union des Chefs et des Populations du Nord: receipt delivered  
12 noon, 24 September 1956;
- "3. Rassemblement des Jeunes togolais: receipt delivered 3 p.m.,  
24 September 1956;
- "4. Jeunesse du Nord Togo: receipt delivered 9 a.m., 26 September 1956.

"These parties have stated that they would opt for:

"the Statute of Togoland, as set forth in the Decree of  
24 August 1956, and the termination of the Trusteeship  
System established pursuant to the Agreement of  
13 December 1946.

"Consequently, these parties, which have duly made a declaration  
under articles 10, 12 and 20 of Decree No. 56-848 of 24 August 1956,  
are entitled, pursuant to the said articles, to appoint representatives  
to the committees for the issue of voters' cards and the Polling  
Committees. They are entitled, in the order stated, to exhibit  
posters on the notice boards reserved for the purpose.

"Guy FÉRIER de FÉRAL

"Lomé, 5 October 1956."

Every political party which had declared its intention to participate in  
the referendum accordingly transmitted to me a list of the persons named by that  
party to be responsible, in each voting district, for designating party  
representatives to the committees and Polling Committees.

The names of these persons in the districts were immediately communicated  
to the referendum officers to enable the latter to establish the membership of each  
issuing committee and Polling Committee from among the nominees so designated.

CHAPTER VII  
PARTY PROPAGANDA

A. Public meetings

The relevant legislation in force in Togoland is to be found in the Act of 30 June 1881, as amended by the Act of 28 March 1907, which was extended to Togoland on 11 April 1946.

The organizers of public meetings are not required to give any previous notice to the administrative or police authorities.

Meetings may not be held in public thoroughfares. They must normally finish before 11 p.m., but in localities where public establishments are not required to close until later they may continue until the prescribed closing time.

Each meeting must have a committee composed of at least three officers. The officers are responsible for maintaining order, preventing any breach of the law, ensuring that the meeting does not deviate from its original purpose and forbidding any speech contrary to public order or morality or any instigation to the commission of a serious offence. Unless previously appointed, the officers are elected by the assembly. The officers are responsible for all breaches of statutory provisions.

There is, nevertheless, a tacit agreement in Togoland between the political parties and the local administration responsible for the maintenance of order. Although they are not bound to do so, the political parties notify the administrator-mayor of a town or the commandant de cercle of their intention to hold a meeting in a given locality and of the proposed date and time.

The purpose of such notice is to enable the local administration to take precautionary police measures designed to guarantee order in public thoroughfares and to prevent any violent encounter between parties holding opposing opinions. The procedure is advantageous both to the parties, which thus obtain police protection, and to the administration, which is assured that it will not be caught unawares by a sudden outbreak of disorder. This arrangement, which is in no way inconsistent with the law since it is voluntarily observed, reflects the peace-loving traditions of a population which is prone to invective but seeks to avoid any recourse to physical violence. The occasional blows that are exchanged are not so

much the results of political discussion as the culmination of racial or personal rivalries intensified by the heat of an election.

I also found that the political parties were anxious to respect the traditional authorities, and even to win their goodwill. Both in the North and in the South, the consent of a village chief seems to be required before a public meeting can be held. The political parties may voice their disapproval of a chief's decision, and even call on a higher administrative authority to force him to withdraw his objection, but none of them will ever openly defy him. Persons credited with mystic powers are also canvassed and their decisions respected.

Notwithstanding these special local factors, and disregarding the allegations that in the past freedom of assembly had not been respected (a fact about which I could obtain no conclusive evidence), I took pains to safeguard the free exercise of the right of assembly during the period of my stay in Togoland.

This right, which is a principle embodied in the Constitution of the Republic, can only be subordinated to requirements of public order.

The administrative authorities responsible for maintaining order may, as a precautionary measure, prohibit a public meeting which is obviously liable to degenerate into a brawl; they may also disperse a meeting, either at the request of a chairman who finds that he is unable to control the assembly or on their own initiative if there are any clashes or violence.

I draw attention to this rule, which has been repeatedly confirmed by the courts, in the aforementioned Instruction of 3 September addressed to my assistants.

"Chief officers of administrative circonscriptions shall have the sole power to prohibit, on their own responsibility, any meeting which is likely to result in a serious breach of the peace. Assistants shall immediately send a full report to the Referendum Administrator stating, inter alia, whether in their view the prohibition so imposed tends to restrict or has restricted the freedom guaranteed to political parties to conduct propaganda campaigns before the Referendum."

I also recalled these principles in my letter to the General Chairman of the CUT in answer to his protest of 8 October 1956, to which I shall refer later.

/...



"I wish to assure your party", I wrote, "as indeed all parties, that the right of assembly, which is an established principle of the Constitution of the Republic, is inviolable and subject only to such conditions as are prescribed in the law in force.

"Nevertheless, the Commissioner of the Republic is responsible for the maintenance of public order and he must therefore intervene whenever he is satisfied that a breach of the peace either has been or may be occasioned by the violent clash of two opposing factions. Such action, however, must always be justified and, in principle, cannot be taken except at the request of the officers responsible for the conduct of the meeting or where a rising wave of excitement threatens an outbreak of violence."

I shall show how the right of assembly was exercised during the period between 1 September 1956 and 28 October 1956, which was the day fixed for the Referendum.

Despite the fact that the period of propaganda was not due to begin until 15 October, political campaigning did in fact begin the moment the referendum was announced. The campaigns were conducted either at "private" meetings, especially common in the South of Togoland and attended not only by party card-holders but also by guests (these meetings, usually attended by a hundred or more people, enabled the party leaders to establish personal contact with their supporters and to give them directives and campaign orders; it was there that propaganda was organized and groups of electioneers formed, who were subsequently escorted, sometimes to places many kilometres away, to take part in spectacular demonstrations) or at public meetings, where members of opposing parties seldom ventured to appear and where an adversary would have had no chance to voice his dissent.

The following, subject to mistakes and omissions, is a list of the meetings held by the various parties.

COMITE UNITE TOGOLAISE

1	September:	Private meeting, Lomé . . . . .	500	persons
2	"	Public meeting, Lomé . . . . .	300	"
9	"	Members' meeting, Atakpamé . . . . .	300	"
10	"	Women's branch meeting, Lomé . . . . .	100	"
13	"	Private meeting of nationalists . . . . .	1,000	"
12	"	Public meeting, Atakpamé. . . . .	500	"
15	"	Women's congress, Lomé . . . . .	1,000	"

/...

17 September:	Women's branch meeting . . . . .	500 persons
23 "	Public meeting, Tové Mission (Tsévié). . . . .	300 "
24 "	Women's branch meeting, Lomé . . . . .	500 "
26 "	Public meeting, Palimé . . . . .	600 "
29 "	Public meeting, Tokoin (Lomé). . . . .	500 "
30 "	C.U.T. Congress, Anécho. . . . .	1,000 "
30 "	Private meeting, Tsévié . . . . .	70 "
3 October	Women's branch meeting, Lomé . . . . .	200 "
7 "	Private meeting, Tsévié . . . . .	100 "
9 "	Women's branch meeting, Lomé . . . . .	200 "
12 "	Public meeting, Lomé . . . . .	2,000 "
15 "	Public meeting, Tabligbo . . . . .	500 "
15 "	Public meeting, Tsévié . . . . .	400 "
16 "	Women's branch meeting, Lomé . . . . .	700 "
17 "	Private meeting, Palimé . . . . .	150 "
18 "	General assembly, Lomé . . . . .	2,000 "
22 "	Public meeting, Gbatope (Tsévié) . . . . .	200 "
23 "	Women's branch meeting, Lomé . . . . .	500 "

JUVENTO

14 September:	Public meeting, Lomé . . . . .	1,500 persons
14 October:	Members' meeting, Lomé . . . . .	300 "
14 "	Private meeting, Tsévié . . . . .	400 "
21 "	Private meeting, Lomé . . . . .	200 "

MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE TOGOLAIS (MPT)

20 September:	Public meeting, Anécho . . . . .	200 persons
27 "	Public meeting, Lomé . . . . .	3,000 "
30 "	Public meeting, Lomé . . . . .	500 "

PARTI TOGOLAIS DU PROGRES (PTP)

7 September:	Public meeting, Atakpamé . . . . .	200 persons
9 "	PTP Congress, Tsévié (Gbatope). . . . .	4,000 "
28 "	Public meeting, Atakpamé . . . . .	300 "
30 "	PTP Congress, Lomé . . . . .	500 "
5 October:	Private meeting, Atakpamé . . . . .	100 "
7 "	PTP Congress, Attitognon . . . . .	3,000 "
8 "	Public meeting, Tsévié. . . . .	800 "
10 "	Members' meeting, Atakpamé. . . . .	300 "
12 "	Public meeting, Atakpamé . . . . .	800 "
13 "	Public meeting, Tokoin . . . . .	1,000 "
14 "	Meeting on occasion of Prime Minister's visit to Atakpamé . . . . .	5,000 "
17 "	Public meeting on occasion of Prime Minister's visit to Tsévié . . . . .	5,000 "
14 "	Public meeting, Tsévié . . . . .	1,500 "
18 "	Public meeting, Sokoâé . . . . .	600 "
19 "	Public meeting, Amoutivé (Lcré) . . . . .	200 "
21 "	Public meeting, Dahomey branch . . . . .	600 "
25 "	Public meeting, Yoruba branch, Lomé . . . . .	500 "
31 "	Demonstration at Anécho on occasion of Prime Minister's visit. . . . .	2,000 "

RASSEMBLEMENT DES JEUNES TOGOLAIS (RJT)

12 September:	Members' meeting. . . . .	30 persons
19 "	Members' meeting. . . . .	27 "
26 "	Members' meeting. . . . .	28 "
17 October:	Members' meeting. . . . .	26 "
19 "	Public meeting (with PTP), Amoutivé . . . . .	200 "
21 "	RJT Public meeting, Madjikpeto. . . . .	300 "

These lists show that the two main parties both courted the voters in the South, where each of them held numerous meetings, but that the PTP did not venture into Palimé, which was a CUT stronghold, or into the town of Anécho, where the voters were fairly evenly split, while the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise did not campaign in the central zone, at Atakpamé and Sokodé, where it seems to have had few supporters.

In that connexion, I received vigorous protests from the CUT complaining that the right of assembly, whose inviolability I had emphasized, was in practice nullified by administrative action.

On 24 September, I received a telegram signed by Mr. Augustino de Souza, General Chairman of the CUT, informing me that the public meeting which his party had planned to hold at Atakpamé, and of which, in accordance with the usual custom, he had given notice to the Administrator-Mayor of the Atakpamé commune, could not take place because of the opposition voiced by the local chiefs.

In addition to that telegram, he sent me a copy of a letter he had written to the High Commissioner. His version of the incident was as follows: the Administrator-Mayor, after assuring the local representative that he was free to hold the proposed meeting and that, if the need arose, he would see that public order was maintained, had advised him to seek the consent of the traditional chiefs; a joint meeting had later been held, under the chairmanship of the Administrator, between representatives of the CUT, representatives of the PTP and the traditional chiefs. The chiefs, supported by the PTP representatives, had opposed the proposed meeting, threatening to prevent it, if necessary, by force. Faced with that risk, the CUT supporters had been forced to forego their plans. Mr. de Souza concluded that the Administrator had secretly brought pressure to bear on the chiefs in order to persuade them to adopt a position hostile to the CUT. That was a disturbing allegation, and it may perhaps be true that the Administrator, without exerting any direct influence on the traditional chiefs - who are members of the PTP and radically opposed to the CUT - had reflected on the difficulty he would have in protecting the CUT speakers from the South against maltreatment by the numerous local supporters of the PTP at Atakpamé, which is the birthplace of Mr. Grunitzky, the Prime Minister, and had breathed a sigh of relief on hearing the violent objections of the chiefs.

Nevertheless, the CUT representatives had only to persist in their demands and the Administrator would have been obliged to guarantee their safety. The fact that they gave in confirms the statement which I have already made, namely that the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, while resentful of the authority of the chiefs and calling on the Administration to silence them, does not dare to defy them openly for fear of incurring even more direct hostility from a whole section of the country. Such was the impression I gained from my assistant's report, from the two letters I received from Mr. de Souza, from the copy which he sent me of his letter to the High Commissioner and, finally, from the information which I gathered on the spot at Atakpamé.

A similar incident occurred on 21 September at Nuatja. Mr. Martin, assistant and observer, had taken action on my instructions to ensure that the CUT meeting would in fact take place; the Chief Subdivisional Officer had informed the CUT representatives that they were entirely at liberty to hold a meeting and that he would be responsible for maintaining public order. Here again the CUT came up against the authority of the traditional chief of Nuatja, DAMHOU, who stated that neither he nor his supporters could agree to a public meeting of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise at Nuatja. After long palavers the CUT leaders who had come from Lomé withdrew, realizing that feeling was running high and that a brawl was likely. There is a special problem here resulting from the existence of a highly developed social structure, which is traditional in some regions, and from the sometimes superstitious fear of the consequences of defying the established authority.

It would, however, be going too far to say that the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise encountered this opposition everywhere; the party undoubtedly has to thank the Referendum Administration for the fact that it was able to hold meetings at Anécho, where I intervened to terminate the period of silence in memory of King LAWSON VI, on whose death the town had been enjoined to go into mourning for many months. The letter in which the Prince Regent of Anécho told me that in view of the political circumstances he would release the inhabitants of Anécho from further observance of the customary mourning was published in the local press. Thus both the CUT and JUVENTO were able to hold a meeting, attended by about 1,000 people at Anécho. They were likewise able to hold a meeting at Tabligbo on

15 October, which was attended by 500 people, again owing to the efforts of the assistant, who urged the population to remain calm. Mr. Sylvanus OLYMPIO, who had ventured into the Ouatchi country, an area hostile to the Ewe race, had to be protected on his return by the gendarmerie against the anger of the inhabitants of AFAGNAGAN, who tried to attack him.

At Mission Tové, on 23 September, Mr. LUCE, assistant and observer, managed to get the Parti du Progrès to agree that the loudspeaker vans the party uses for publicity purposes would not disturb the CUT meeting.

Thus, on my instructions, the Assistants took steps to ensure that the right of assembly was respected.

The very fact that three political parties refused to take part or refrained from taking part in the referendum prompted me still further to give them the greatest possible scope for expressing their opinions. I treated them on a footing of absolute equality with the parties which had officially stated their intention to participate.

I maintained this attitude unchanged, despite a rather unfortunate incident which obliged me to serve a warning on the political parties. Travelling to Tabligbo on 15 September, Mr. Sylvanus OLYMPIO had been escorted by a uniformed bodyguard. These young men, who were members of the CUT, wore khaki uniform, a military cap with a cockade (an open hand - the sign of unity) and green epaulettes with a golden star; they took it upon themselves to exercise police duty on the public highway. They were arrested and taken before the magistrate of Anécho, who seized their articles of uniform. I had reason to fear that the appearance of this bodyguard, which stirred up unfortunate memories of certain para-military formations, would be the signal for serious riots if the Parti du Progrès were to form its own militia on similar lines.

I issued a public warning to the parties, couched as follows:

"The Conseiller d'Etat, Referendum Administrator, hereby notifies you as follows:

"Desiring that the opinions of the parties may be expressed in all freedom during the period preparatory to the voting on 28 October, in accordance with the principles of the Constitution of the Republic, I have made no change in local customs with respect to the holding of public meetings.

/...

"Such meetings may therefore be held under the general responsibility of the leaders of the political parties and the individual responsibility of their chairmen, in accordance with existing custom and with no limitation other than that prescribed by law.

"Such freedom, which is necessary if the electors are to be informed of the implications of their vote, presupposes that the parties will display good sense and discipline.

"It would be regrettable if violence, threatened or actual, led to the prohibition of a meeting, or to its dissolution, by a decision which, the authorities of the Territory, being responsible for the maintenance of public order, would feel it their duty to take.

"I must point out to the political parties that they are forbidden to employ private militia, wearing para-military uniforms and insignia, with the object of ensuring order either at public meetings or on the public highway.

"The formation of such militia or groups, apart from reviving unfortunate memories of totalitarian, anti-democratic procedures, is indictable under the Act of 10 January 1936, which is applicable to Togoland, and may give rise to charges under the Code, with possible proceedings against the organizers of such militia or groups and against the wearers of uniforms.

"Such practices must cease forthwith. I am issuing a firm warning to all political parties in this connexion.

"The desire to ensure a free vote and to avoid any disorders on the day of the referendum leads me to prohibit the holding of any public meeting on 28 October from midnight to midnight.

"This prohibition follows from my Order No. 56 of 9 October, which has been published elsewhere. It is the only restriction on freedom of assembly and conforms with the provisions applied in France itself at every election. Voters will understand that it is a necessary measure."

This warning bore fruit, for on 21 September, Mr. Sylvanus OLYMPIO, Vice-Chairman of the CUT, came to see me and assured me that he had given orders to his bodyguard not to wear uniform.

Furthermore, the ban on public meetings on the day of the referendum, which, on the same occasion, he admitted by word of mouth to be justified, was generally respected. The assistant at Nuatja, however, informed me that at 6.30 a.m. on 28 October a meeting of the CUT was held at TOHOUN, during which all voters were recommended to abstain from voting. The meeting was interrupted by the

Chef de quartier and the Cantonal Chief, who reminded those present of the ban on public meetings that day, which had been published everywhere.

B. Broadcasting

There is only one transmitter, Radio Lomé, in Togoland. Although controlled by the Government of the Republic of Togoland, it remained strictly neutral during the referendum campaign and confined itself to broadcasting the official announcements of the Referendum Administration.

C. Loudspeaker Vans

The Parti togolais du progrès is the only party which has the use of loudspeaker vans. It has six, with registration numbers TT 4635, 4636, 4637, 4638, 4644 and 4645, belonging to Mr. Emmanuel FIAWOO, Vice-Chairman of the party, who placed them at its disposal. The vans were used to spread propaganda for the referendum on behalf of this party.

D. Aircraft

On the day before the Referendum, the Farti du Progrès, the Union des Chefs et des Populations du Nord and the Rassemblement des Jeunes Togolais hired an aircraft from the Cotonou flying club to drop numerous pamphlets and flags of the Republic of Togoland over the town of Lomé..

E. Posters

These are not usually employed as a means of propaganda. The Togolese public, which is mainly influenced by the spoken word, seldom reads them. The announcement made to the CUT, JUVENTO and MPT that political parties not taking part in the referendum could not post notices on the boards officially reserved for this purpose by my circular of 5 October produced no reaction among them. Even the parties in favour of the statute made very little use of posters, and that only in the final days of the campaign. Such notices as they did post were, moreover, frequently mutilated by the so-called opposition parties. At Palimé, posters were regularly torn down each night, including the official notices of the Referendum Administration.

F. Pamphlets

More frequent use is made of pamphlets in mimeographed form, which can be easily circulated; the unification parties resorted to this means of propaganda by



distributing pamphlets inimical to France and the Government of the Republic of Togoland. Pamphlets and newspapers were often merged. The twelfth number of the newspaper Le National, edited by Tobias HOLLARD, appeared as a mimeographed sheet with a distribution of 500 copies.

G. The Press

The press appears to suffer from a great lack of both material resources and ideas. For lack of funds it is reduced to publishing, at irregular intervals, no more than a single small sheet, sometimes even a mimeographed sheet of commercial letter paper; as for ideas, apart from personal attacks on individuals and the leit-motiv of independence or the union of the Ewes, no general ideas are to be found. It has very little influence. A list of these newspapers and the number of copies printed suffice to show that for want of circulation they have no appreciable effect on the mass of voters:

La Flèche, organ of the FTP, editor Paul TRETOU ADELE, published two numbers supporting the Statute on 10 and 21 September; 500 copies printed.

Le Petit Togolais Libéré, editor Josué S. YAVOI, published one number on 20 October; 1,000 copies printed.

La Vigie Togolaise, a supporter of unification, editor Paul TOMEGAN, brought out three numbers on 17 September, 2 and 17 October reproducing articles from L'Humanité or criticisms of the Referendum Administration; 500 copies printed.

Le National, editor Tobias HOLLARD, an organ of the EUT, published twelve numbers, the last of which was mimeographed; 500 copies printed.

L'Unité Togolaise, an organ of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, produced a single number on 11 October; 1,000 copies printed.

Le Togoland, published by JUVENTO, appeared on 21 September, 4 and 19 October (Nos. 25, 26 and 27); editor Robert ANSAH; 500 copies printed.

Negreta, the official organ of the dissident JUVENTO, editor Evans QUACOE, brought out its first and second (special) numbers; 2,000 copies printed.

La Muse Togolaise, editor K.AZ I brought out two numbers on 20 and 30 September; 500 copies printed.

Only Togo Français, later rechristened Togo Républicain, a bi-weekly publication of 1,200 copies, edited by Mr. MORHOUSE and subsequently by Mr. BRUCE, has the stature of a newspaper. While it tends towards support of the Government, it nevertheless follows a neutral line, refraining from all personal attacks and zealously including regional news and even general news, which ensures it a good standing.

CHAPTER VIII  
MAINTENANCE OF ORDER

Measures to maintain order had to be provided for in case of violent clashes between opposing parties or of subversive action by a party desiring to provoke disorders during the popular referendum with the possible assistance of outside elements.

The High Commissioner had to prepare a security plan for 28 October and to make use for the purpose of the various military and police forces in Togoland.

The report for 1954, submitted in 1955 to the General Assembly of the United Nations lists, at pages 28 and 29, the military and police forces stationed in Togoland. These include an infantry company: one captain, one lieutenant, nine non-commissioned officers and 145 men; the corps of local policemen (gardes de cercle) comprising six Europeans and 420 Africans; the gendarmerie, comprising one officer, twenty other ranks and fifty-five auxiliary gendarmes; and finally, the police, comprising the Chief of Police, four police commissioners, three inspectors, three clerks and 131 policemen, making in all 795 officers and men.

That personnel has remained virtually unchanged during the year 1955-56.

Such were the limited means with which the High Commissioner had to face the hazards of a day on which elections of great importance were to be held, with over 438,000 electors participating.

I am not called upon to describe the measures adopted for the maintenance of order and for purposes of which the following personnel was employed:

Military forces: one infantry company with its officers and non-commissioner officers . . . . .	190
Corps of local policemen, with its officers . . . . .	426
<u>Gendarmerie</u> , with its officers . . . . .	87
Police: commissioners, inspectors and policemen . . . . .	142
Reinforcements: two platoons of gendarmes of twenty-six men and two non-commissioned officers each, brought in from the neighbouring territories . . . . .	<u>56</u>
Total number of officers and men . . . . .	<u>901</u>

I expressed the opinion that the measures to be adopted should not be of a spectacular character, so as not to give the population of Togoland the impression of voting under pressure.

Moreover, in accordance with the regulations in force which provide that the Chairman of the Polling Committee had powers to maintain order in the polling place and its vicinity; accordingly, no ordinary or local policemen were stationed at the door of the polling station or in its immediate vicinity; it was, however, desirable that police be available to the Chairman in the case of towns and important rural centres; this was done generally by placing an ordinary or local policeman a short distance away so that he could be called either by word of mouth or by telephone.

Order was maintained discreetly; it could not have been otherwise with the limited forces at the authorities' disposal: 901 officers and men of the gendarmerie and police for a territory having 1,082,452 inhabitants.

Besides, the military forces available were either employed to guard the frontier between Togoland and the Gold Coast which is habitually crossed by numerous persons, or held in reserve in case serious incidents occurred.

As Referendum Administrator (délégué général), I could express only opinions or make suggestions; accordingly, at my suggestion, the High Commissioner ordered that persons inhabiting the Gold Coast and wishing to enter Togoland in order to vote would be admitted simply on presentation of their voters' card. I further obtained that no obstacles should be placed in the way of the return to Togoland of Mr. Sylvanus OLYMPIO, Mr. SANTOS, and their friends and relatives who were proceeding to Keta on the day of the referendum for a wedding ceremony at which Mr. SANTOS was marrying a relative of Mr. Sylvanus OLYMPIO. The 120 persons attending the wedding party were provided with a laissez passer which enabled them to travel in the course of the day from Lomé to Keta and back without any delay.

Subject to the above reservations, I made no objection to the closing of the Togoland frontier. A similar measure had been adopted by the responsible authorities in Togoland under British administration during the plebiscite of 9 May 1956 held under United Nations supervision and had not given rise to any protest.

I can certify that none of the measures adopted for the maintenance of order on the day of the referendum interfered in any way with the freedom of the vote. The Togoland population was in no way disturbed by the fact that some local police, gendarmes and ordinary police stood ready to take action in the event that certain individuals tried to disturb the peace in the streets or to resort to violence to interfere with the voting at the polling places.

The responsible authorities drew only fifty-six men from the neighbouring territories to reinforce the numbers which are normally sufficient to maintain order; they thus showed their confidence in the wisdom of the people of Togoland. No incident occurred on the day of the referendum, 28 October.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE VOTE

#### A. Appeal to the electors

The date of the referendum had been widely advertised, so that it could be assumed that the bulk of the electorate would know it. However, I thought it advisable to issue a reminder that the referendum would take place on Sunday, 28 October, recalling briefly its purpose and the duty of everyone to vote, as well as the requirements to vote.

The following notice was accordingly circulated by the press, the wireless and in the form of handbills:

"THE REFERENDUM WILL TAKE PLACE ON SUNDAY, 28 OCTOBER - the polling places shall be open from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m.

YOU HAVE THE CHOICE BETWEEN TWO BALLOT PAPERS OF DIFFERENT COLOURS:

PINK BALLOT PAPER: IN FAVOUR OF THE STATUTE OF TOGOLAND AND THE TERMINATION OF THE TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

WHITE BALLOT PAPER: CONTINUANCE OF THE TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

IT IS THE DUTY OF ALL CITIZENS TO VOTE.

On the day of the vote, you will report to the polling place indicated to you when voters' cards were distributed from 15 to 27 October; that place is also mentioned on your card.

Please remember that no card will be distributed on the day of the vote.

DO NOT FORGET YOUR VOTING CARD. YOU MUST SHOW TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLLING COMMITTEE, WHO WILL ASCERTAIN THAT YOUR NAME IS DULY REGISTERED ON THE ELECTORAL REGISTER AND THAT YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY VOTED. THE CARD SHALL BE RETAINED BY THE POLLING COMMITTEE.

VOTING IS SECRET - YOU ARE TO TAKE AN ENVELOPE AND ONE REFERENDUM BALLOT PAPER YOURSELF, GO TO THE BOOTH ALONE, PUT THE BALLOT PAPER YOU HAVE CHOSEN IN THE ENVELOPE AND FINALLY DEPOSIT THE ENVELOPE YOURSELF IN THE BALLOT BOX.

IT IS AN OFFENCE FOR ANYONE TO TRY TO VOTE WITHOUT HAVING RECEIVED A VOTING CARD, OR TO TRY TO VOTE WITH ANOTHER VOTER'S CARD.

\* \* \*

DO NOT FORGET YOUR VOTER'S CARD - IF YOU FORGET IT YOU WILL HAVE TO ESTABLISH YOUR RIGHT TO VOTE.

REMEMBER THAT THE POLLING PLACE CLOSES AT 5 p.m.

THE REFERENDUM WILL TAKE PLACE ON SUNDAY, 28 OCTOBER - VOTING IS SECRET"

B. Results of the vote

Voting began at 7 a.m. on 28 October and ended at 5 p.m. on the same day; votes were counted forthwith on the spot with all doors open and under the supervision of the electors.

The results given in the following table were only very slightly modified following the review of the polling records (438,175 registered voters instead of 438,436; 338,781 voters instead of 338,811; 313,458 pink ballot papers instead of 313,532; 22,320 white ballot papers instead of 22,266; 70,785 abstentions instead of 70,755; the percentages given below are virtually unaffected by these modifications and therefore remain valid).

Registered voters	438,436
Voters' cards issued for the referendum	409,566
Persons voting	388,811
Votes cast	335,778
Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the agreement of 13 December 1946	313,532
White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the agreement of 13 December 1946	22,266
Abstentions (when compared to the number of cards distributed)	70,755

Percentages

(a) Registered voters to whom voters' cards were issued	93.41 per cent
(b) Registered voters who voted	77.27 per cent
(c) Holders of voters' cards who voted	82.73 per cent

/...

(d) Registered voters who voted	76.59 per cent
(e) Registered voters who voted for the Statute	71.51 per cent
(f) Registered voters who voted for the continuance of the Trusteeship System	5.07 per cent
(g) Votes for the Statute, out of total of votes cast	93.37 per cent
(h) Votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System, out of total of votes cast	6.63 per cent
(i) Holders of voters' cards who voted for the Statute	76.56 per cent
(j) Holders of voters' cards who voted for the Trusteeship System	5.43 per cent
(k) Holders of voters' cards who abstained	17.27 per cent

While there is no need to describe in detail the referendum results in all the electoral districts, it is worth analysing the position in those southern communes where the party divisions are most clearly defined, i.e. the communes of Lomé, Tsévié, Palimé and Anécho, which account for the largest number of abstentions (exceeding 20 per cent of the electorate).

Commune of Lomé

Registered voters	9,145
Voters' cards issued	6,691
Persons voting	4,168
Votes cast	3,462
Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	2,860
White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	602
Holders of voters' cards who abstained	2,523
Percentage of holders of voters' cards who abstained	37.70 per cent

Cercle of Lomé

Registered voters	11,831
Voters' cards issued	10,578
Persons voting	4,190

/...



Votes cast	4,079
Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	3,920
White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	159
Holders of voters' cards who abstained	6,388
Percentage of holders of voters' cards who abstained	60.39 per cent

Commune of Palimé

Registered voters	3,479
Voters' cards issued	3,327
Persons voting	1,598
Votes cast	1,553
Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	1,511
White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	42
Holders of voters' cards who abstained	1,729
Percentage of holders of voters' cards who abstained	51.97 per cent

Cercle of Klouto

Registered voters	23,355
Voters' cards issued	19,742
Persons voting	7,112
Votes cast	6,826
Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	6,521

/...

White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	305
Holders of voters' cards who abstained	12,630
Percentage of holders of voters' cards who abstained	63.97 per cent

Commune of Tsévié

Registered voters	2,757
Voters' cards issued	2,620
Persons voting	1,336
Votes cast	1,325

Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	1,318
--	-------

White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	7
Holders of voters' cards who abstained	1,284
Percentage of holders of voters' cards who abstained	49.01 per cent

Cercle of Tsévié

Registered voters	26,209
Voters' cards issued	23,900
Persons voting	16,469
Votes cast	16,427

Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	16,280
--	--------

White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	147
Holders of voters' cards who abstained	7,431
Percentage of holders of voters' cards who abstained	31.10 per cent

/...

Commune of Anécho

Registered voters	3,704
Voters' cards issued	3,597
Persons voting	2,579
Votes cast	2,515
Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	2,436
White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	70
Holders of voters' cards who abstained	1,018
Percentage of holders of voters' cards who abstained	28.31 per cent

Cercle of Anécho

Registered voters	61,975
Voters' cards issued	60,872
Voters	47,282
Votes cast	47,152
Pink ballot papers, i.e. votes for the Statute of Togoland set forth in Decree No. 56-847 of 24 August 1956 and the ending of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	46,729
White ballot papers, i.e. votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946	423
Holders of voters' cards who abstained	13,590
Percentage of holders of voters' cards who abstained	22.33 per cent

\* \* \*

The total number of abstentions in the Southern cercles was 46,593.

Do all cases of abstention reflect sympathy with the opposition parties?

I do not think so, as there may be many reasons for abstention, e.g.

absence, illness or work priorities. In order to appreciate the significance of the number of abstentions, it should be compared to the percentage of

/...

ELECTORAL DISTRICT	ELECTORS			VOTES CAST	NUMBER OF VOTES		PERCENTAGES										
	Registered	Cards issued	Voters		For the Statute of Togoland and the ending of the Trusteeship System	For the continuance of the Trusteeship System	Registered electors to whom cards were issued	Registered electors who voted	Card holders who voted	Registered electors who voted	Registered electors who voted for Statute	Registered electors who voted for Trusteeship System	Voters who voted for Statute	Voters who voted for Trusteeship System	Card holders who voted for Statute	Card holders who voted for Trusteeship System	Card holders who abstained
Commune of Lomé .....	9,145	6,691	4,180	3,466	2,864	602	73.16	45.71	62.47	37.90	31.32	6.58	82.63	17.36	42.80	8.99	37.53
<u>Cercle</u> of Lomé .....	11,831	10,578	4,190	4,081	3,922	159	89.40	35.41	39.61	34.49	33.15	1.34	96.10	3.90	37.07	1.53	60.39
Commune of Aného .....	3,704	3,597	2,579	2,515	2,436	79	97.11	69.62	71.69	57.89	65.76	2.13	96.86	3.14	67.73	2.19	28.31
<u>Cercle</u> of Aného .....	61,975	60,872	47,282	47,152	46,729	423	98.22	76.29	77.67	76.08	75.40	0.68	99.10	0.90	76.76	0.69	22.33
Tabligbo Subdivision ..	18,398	18,270	15,495	15,445	15,415	30	99.30	84.22	84.81	83.95	83.79	1.63	99.80	1.94	84.37	0.16	15.19
Commune of Tsévié .....	2,757	2,620	1,336	1,325	1,318	7	95.03	48.46	50.99	48.06	47.80	0.25	99.47	0.52	50.30	0.26	49.01
<u>Cercle</u> of Tsévié .....	26,209	23,900	16,469	16,435	16,288	147	91.19	62.84	68.90	62.68	62.71	0.55	99.10	0.90	68.15	0.61	31.10
Commune of Palimé .....	3,479	3,327	1,598	1,553	1,511	42	95.63	45.93	48.03	44.64	43.43	1.20	97.30	2.70	54.59	1.26	51.97
<u>Cercle</u> of Klouto .....	23,355	19,742	7,112	6,826	6,521	305	84.49	30.43	36.03	29.21	27.90	1.30	95.54	4.46	33.03	1.54	63.97
Commune of Sokodé .....	3,625	3,242	2,418	2,348	2,104	244	89.43	66.70	74.58	64.77	58.04	6.73	89.60	10.40	64.89	7.52	25.42
<u>Cercle</u> of Sokodé .....	40,251	37,425	36,240	36,183	35,994	189	92.98	90.03	96.83	89.89	89.42	0.46	99.47	0.53	96.18	0.51	3.17
Commune of Atakpamé ..	2,347	2,131	1,688	1,652	1,633	19	90.79	71.92	79.21	70.39	69.58	0.80	98.85	1.15	76.63	0.89	20.79
<u>Cercle</u> of Atakpamé ..	19,428	18,201	14,843	14,730	14,477	253	93.68	76.40	81.55	75.82	74.51	1.30	98.28	1.72	79.53	1.37	18.45
Akposso Subdivision ..	16,054	15,526	12,332	11,997	11,593	404	96.71	76.81	79.43	74.72	72.21	2.51	96.63	3.37	74.66	2.60	20.57
Nuatja Subdivision ....	12,336	11,674	9,319	9,277	9,246	31	94.63	75.54	79.83	75.20	74.96	0.25	99.67	0.33	79.20	0.26	20.17
Commune of Bassari ....	4,168	2,593	1,915	1,911	1,902	9	62.21	45.95	73.86	45.85	45.63	0.21	99.52	0.47	73.25	0.34	26.14
<u>Cercle</u> of Bassari .....	22,819	20,421	17,737	17,630	17,446	184	89.49	77.72	86.85	77.26	76.45	0.80	98.96	1.04	85.43	0.90	13.15
<u>Cercle</u> of Lama-Kara ..	63,870	58,356	56,329	56,303	56,163	140	91.36	88.19	96.52	88.15	87.93	0.21	99.76	0.24	96.25	0.24	3.48
Niamtougou Subdivision.	11,818	11,676	10,901	10,858	10,839	19	98.80	92.24	93.36	91.87	91.71	0.16	99.83	0.17	92.83	0.16	6.64
<u>Cercle</u> of Mango .....	16,585	15,468	13,714	13,666	13,548	118	93.26	82.68	88.66	91.87	81.68	0.71	99.13	0.86	87.58	0.76	11.34
Kandé Subdivision .....	11,110	10,565	10,421	10,414	10,411	3	95.09	93.08	93.38	93.73	93.70	0.02	99.97	0.03	98.54	0.028	6.62
<u>Cercle</u> of Depango .....	53,172	52,691	50,713	50,031	31,172	18,859	99.09	95.37	96.25	94.09	58.62	35.46	62.30	37.69	59.16	35.79	3.75
Totals .....	438,436	409,566	338,811	335,798	313,532	22,266	93.41	77.27	82.73	76.59	71.51	5.07	93.37	6.63	76.56	5.43	17.27

	SCUTH	NORTH	TOTAL
Registered Electors .....	211,018	227,418	438,436
Voters' Cards issued .....	197,129	212,437	409,566
Voters .....	138,423	200,388	338,811
Pink ballot papers (Statute).....	133,953	179,579	313,532
White ballot papers (Trusteeship)....	2,501	19,765	22,266
Abstentions <sup>1/</sup> .....	29.78%	5.67%	17.27%
Card holders who voted for the Statute.....	67.95%	84.53%	76.56%
Card holders who voted for the continuance of the Trusteeship System.....	1.27%	9.30%	5.43%
Invalid ballots.....	1.00%	0.50%	0.74%

<sup>1/</sup>  $\frac{\text{Voters' Cards issued} - \text{votes cast}}{\text{Voters' Cards issued}} \times 100 = \text{percentage of abstentions.}$

/...

of the number of abstentions, it should be compared to the percentages of abstentions at previous elections and in Togoland under British administration:

Elections of 17 June 1951	17.38 per cent
Elections of 9 December 1951	29.52 per cent
Elections of 30 March 1952	17.72 per cent
Elections of 12 June 1956	12.94 per cent

Togoland under British administration

Plebiscite of 9 May 1956 (percentage of registered voters who abstained) 17 per cent

Although no general conclusions can be drawn from such comparisons, because of the different customs prevailing in Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, it can however be asserted that there exists in each of the two countries a constant figure of abstentions.

That minimum figure can be estimated for Togoland at between 15 and 20 per cent. I shall take the figure of 15 per cent.

With regard to the commune of Lomé, the CUT voters would be represented at most by the difference between 37.53 per cent and 15 per cent, i.e.

12.53 per cent.

12.53 per cent is equivalent to 1,507 votes.

Cercle of Lomé - 60.39 per cent - 15 per cent = 45.39 per cent  
equivalent to 4,801 votes

Commune of Palimé - 51.97 per cent - 15 per cent = 36.97 per cent  
equivalent to 1,229 votes

Cercle of Klouto - 63.97 per cent - 15 per cent = 48.97 per cent  
equivalent to 9,667 votes

Commune of Tsévié - 49.01 per cent - 15 per cent = 34.01 per cent  
equivalent to 891 votes

Cercle of Tsévié - 31.10 per cent - 15 per cent = 16.10 per cent  
equivalent to 3,847 votes

Commune of Anécho - 28.31 per cent - 15 per cent = 13.31 per cent  
equivalent to 478 votes

Cercle of Anécho - 22.33 per cent - 15 per cent = 7.33 per cent  
equivalent to 2,461 votes

Total number of votes: 26,881.

/...

In order to determine the approximate strength of the opposition parties, the votes cast for "the continuance of the Trusteeship System embodied in the Agreement of 13 December 1946" should be ascribed to them, although the CUT, the JUVENTO and the MPT had recommended total abstention to their sympathizers. This interpretation is a liberal one, since votes for the continuance of the Trusteeship System may also have been cast by officials benefiting from a personal status which they were reluctant to lose as well as by individuals in the Northern region who feared the consequences of a voluntary withdrawal by France.

In any event, the 18,859 votes cast for "the continuance of the Trusteeship System" in the electoral district of Dapango can in no event be ascribed to the opposition.

That vote shows that the Northern populations can, on occasion, take a determined stand; it is an expression of the opposition of the chiefs of Timbou, Namvundjogu and Bidjanga (who exert considerable influence in the area) to two delegates to the Legislative Assembly, Mr. MATEYENDOU and Mr. DIATO, who urged the electors to vote for the Statute. That vote has, in my opinion, no significance with regard to the referendum itself. It will be recalled that, at the elections to the Territorial Assembly of 12 June 1956, Dapango voters hostile to the delegate Mr. MATEYENDOU cast 5,777 invalid votes. The number of votes in favour of the continuance of the Trusteeship System will therefore be reduced to 3,407 in the analysis hereunder.

On the basis of the above reasoning, the strength of the opposition parties can be estimated as follows for the Territory as a whole:

Abstentions (supporters of unification)	26,881
Votes in favour of the Statute	<u>3,407</u>
	<u>30,288</u>

\* \* \*

It is interesting also to compare the political situation in the North of Togoland to that in the South, as shown by the attached tables.

These figures are of some interest if considered in the light of a map showing the races living in Togoland.

\* \* \*

/...

TOGOLAND REFERENDUM

28 October 1956

- Final Figures and Percentages -

	SOUTH	NORTH	TOTAL
Registered Electors .....	211,018	227,157	438,175
Voters' Cards issued .....	197,129	212,437	409,566
Voters .....	138,403	200,378	338,781
Pink ballot papers (Statute) .....	133,940	179,518	313,458
White ballot papers (Trusteeship) ....	2,501	19,819	22,320
Abstentions <sup>1/</sup> .....	29.79 %	5.67 %	17.28 %
Card holders who voted for the Statute .....	67.94 %	84.50 %	76.53 %
Card holders who voted for the continuance of the Trusteeship System .....	1.27 %	9.32 %	5.45 %
Invalid ballots .....	1 %	0.51 %	0.74 %

<sup>1/</sup>  $\frac{\text{Voters' Cards issued} - \text{votes cast}}{\text{Voters' cards issued}} \times 100$  - percentage of abstentions.



Referendum of 28 October 1956

Electoral districts	Registered Electors					Voters				
	Men	%	Women	%	Total	Men	%	Women	%	Total
Commune of Lomé . . . .	6,112	66.8	3,033	33.2	9,145	3,274	78.3	906	21.7	4,180
Lomé Subdivision . . . .	4,955	41.8	6,876	58.2	11,831	2,941	70.1	1,249	29.9	4,190
Commune of Anécho . . . .	1,764	47.6	1,940	52.4	3,704	1,299	50.3	1,280	49.7	2,579
Anécho Subdivision . . . .	42,376	68.3	19,599	31.7	61,975	23,097	48.8	24,185	51.2	47,282
Tabligbo Subdivision . . . .	8,640	46.9	9,758	53.1	18,398	7,362	47.5	8,133	52.5	15,495
Commune of Tsévié . . . .	1,396	50.6	1,361	49.4	2,757	904	67.6	432	32.4	1,336
Tsévié Subdivision . . . .	14,015	53.4	12,194	46.6	26,209	8,933	54.2	7,536	45.8	16,469
Commune of Palimé . . . .	2,051	58.9	1,428	41.1	3,479	1,223	76.5	375	23.5	1,598
Palimé Subdivision . . . .	15,199	65.1	8,156	34.9	23,355	5,860	82.4	1,252	17.6	7,112
Commune of Sokodé . . . .	1,782	48.5	1,892	51.5	3,674	1,165	48.2	1,253	51.8	2,418
Sokodé Subdivision . . . .	22,745	56.6	17,457	43.4	40,202	20,694	57.1	15,546	42.9	36,240
Commune of Atakpamé . . . .	1,163	48.7	1,223	51.3	2,386	773	45.8	915	54.2	1,688
Atakpamé Subdivision . . . .	11,989	61.7	7,439	38.3	19,428	8,966	60.4	5,877	39.6	14,843
Akposso Subdivision . . . .	10,829	67.6	5,196	32.4	16,025	8,041	65.2	4,291	34.8	12,332
Nuatja Subdivision . . . .	7,031	57.-	5,305	43.-	12,336	5,106	54.8	4,213	45.2	9,319
Commune of Bassari . . . .	1,781	49.7	1,802	50.3	3,583	863	45.1	1,052	54.9	1,915
Bassari Subdivision . . . .	11,321	50.2	11,240	49.8	22,561	8,434	47.6	9,299	52.4	17,733
Lama-Kara Subdivision . . . .	25,657	40.2	38,213	59.8	63,870	23,914	42.4	32,415	57.6	56,329
Niamtougou Subdivision . . . .	6,652	56.3	5,167	43.7	11,819	6,278	57.6	4,613	42.4	10,891
Mango Subdivision . . . .	7,564	45.6	9,021	54.4	16,585	6,443	47.-	7,271	53.-	13,714
Kandé Subdivision . . . .	5,499	49.5	5,603	50.5	11,102	5,193	49.8	5,228	50.2	10,421
Cercle of Dapango . . . .	25,095	47.2	28,076	52.8	53,171	23,988	47.3	26,725	52.7	50,713
Totals:	235,616	53.8	201,979	46.2	437,595	174,751	51.6	164,046	48.4	338,797

The attitude of women, in connexion with universal suffrage, is shown by the attached table, from which it will be noted that in some cases the number of women who exercised their right to vote corresponded more or less to that of the men.

\* \* \*

Such are the conclusions to be drawn from the referendum of 28 October 1956.

I hereby affirm that the referendum was conducted in due and proper form, that this popular vote was free from all undue influence. The results were announced by me on 31 October 1956.

(Signed) PERIER DE FERAL

KEY

- I = Registered Voters
- S = Vote for the Statute
- T = Vote for the continuance of the Trusteeship System
- Cercle boundary
- Subdivision boundary
- Electoral districts in which over 50% of the registered voters voted for the Statute
- ▨ Electoral districts in which less than 50% of the registered voters voted for the Statute

