



Tenth session
Agenda item 35

THE TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM AND THE FUTURE OF THE TRUST
TERRITORY OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION: REPORT
OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Daniel MASSONET (Belgium)

1. At its 530th plenary meeting on 30 September 1955, the General Assembly referred the following item of its agenda to the Fourth Committee:

"Item 35. The Togoland Unification Problem and the Future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British Administration: Report of the Trusteeship Council" (A/3046; T/1206, 1206/Corr.1 and Add.1, 1214, 1215; T/SR.648 to 651).

2. A number of groups and political parties in Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration requested the Committee to hear oral statements by their representatives. Of the ten requests made, three came from Togoland under French Administration - from two Juvento groups (A/C.4/302 and 303) and from the Parti togolais du progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo (A/C.4/309). There were six requests from Togoland under British Administration - from the Togoland Congress (A/C.4/307 and 323), the Convention People's Party (A/C.4/310 and 311), the Northern People's Party (A/C.4/312) and the Togoland Reformation Movement (A/C.4/318). A further request, covering the two Trust Territories, came from the All-Ewe Conference (A/C.4/305).

3. At its 471st meeting, the Committee decided by a roll-call vote of 40 votes to 3, with 13 abstentions, to grant the request submitted by the first Juvento group. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, United States of America.

Abstaining: Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

4. At its 475th meeting, the Committee decided, by 35 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions, to grant the second Juvento group's request for a hearing. At its 478th, 482nd, 490th, 494th, 496th, 504th, 514th and 518th meetings, it decided to grant the requests for hearings submitted by the other organizations.

5. The Committee considered the Togoland unification problem and the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British Administration at its 528th to 547th meetings.

6. At the 528th meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom, the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Togoland under British Administration, made a preliminary statement (A/C.4/324).

7. At the same meeting, the Committee heard statements by Mr. S.G. Antor and Mr. S.K. Odame, representatives of the Togoland Congress. At its 529th meeting, it heard Mr. A.A. Chamba, representative of the Togoland Congress, Mr. J.A. Nagba, representative of the Northern People's Party, Mr. J. Mensah, representative of the Convention People's Party (Akan Krachi Electoral Constituency), Mr. F.Y. Asare, representative of the Convention People's Party (Buem Electoral Constituency), Mr. S. Togbe Fleku, representative of the Convention People's Party (Ho District),

Mr. S.K. Kumah, representative of the Convention People's Party (Kpandu District), and Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference. At its 530th meeting, statements were made by Mr. Mama Fousseini, representative of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo, Mr. R. Ajavon, representative of the Parti togolais du progrès, and Mr. A.I. Santos, representative of one of the two Juvento groups. At the 534th meeting, Mr. N. Amegah, representative of the other Juvento group, made his statement. The Togoland Reformation Movement did not send a representative to the Fourth Committee, but submitted a written memorandum (A/C.4/325).

8. From the 530th to the 535th meetings, petitioners answered questions put to them by members of the Committee.

9. At the 536th meeting, the Committee heard Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance of the Gold Coast Government and a member of the United Kingdom delegation.

10. At the same meeting, the Committee began the general debate on the question, concluding its discussion at the 544th meeting.

11. A draft resolution and a number of amendments were placed before the Committee, which examined them from its 538th to 547th meetings.

12. At the 537th meeting, India submitted a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.428), revisions of which were introduced by its sponsors at the 538th, 544th and 545th meetings. The third revision of the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.428/Rev.3) reads as follows:

"Section A

"THE FUTURE OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 860 (IX) adopted on 14 December 1954, by which the Trusteeship Council was requested to consider the arrangements to be made to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British Administration as to their future, without prejudice to the eventual solution which they might choose,

"Having received the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3046) transmitting the special report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration, 1955 (T/1206 and Add.1), the observations of the representative of the United Kingdom (T/1214), and the official records of the relevant meetings of the Council,

"Noting the opinion of the Trusteeship Council that the views expressed in the special report of the Visiting Mission provide in general a useful basis for determining the arrangements to be made in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 860 (IX),

"Taking note also of the views expressed by the various local political groups orally before the Fourth Committee during the hearings,

"Noting further the statement of the United Kingdom Government that the Gold Coast will attain independence in the near future, and that in consequence it will be impossible thereafter for Togoland under British Administration to be administered as at present,

"1. Accepts the recommendation of the Visiting Mission contained in its special report that the wishes of the inhabitants of Togoland under British Administration as to their future should be ascertained by plebiscite;

"2. Recommends that the Administering Authority of Togoland under British Administration, in pursuance of Article 76 b of the Charter of the United Nations, take steps to organize and conduct without delay, under the supervision of the United Nations, a plebiscite in respect of the Trust Territory in order to ascertain the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants in regard to the union of their territory with an independent Gold Coast;

"3. Decides to appoint a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner who shall exercise on behalf of the General Assembly the powers and functions of supervision defined by the Visiting Mission in its special report, and who shall be assisted by observers and staff to be appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with him;

"4. Recommends further that the plebiscite be organized and conducted on the basis of the arrangements proposed in Chapter IV of the special report of the Visiting Mission, subject to such modifications of detail as are agreed upon between the Administering Authority and the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner;

"5. Requests the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner to submit a report on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscite to the Trusteeship Council for its consideration, and for transmission to the General Assembly at its eleventh session in order that the latter may in consultation with the Administering Authority, assess the results and determine the further action to be taken on the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast and in the light of all the circumstances and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement;

"6. Requests the Trusteeship Council in virtue of the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement and the Charter to continue to exercise its functions either at its regular or special sessions as may be necessary and to take into consideration any matter that may arise, or be referred to it, in respect of the Trust Territory.

"Section B

"THE FUTURE OF TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

"The General Assembly,

"Noting, with regard to Togoland under French Administration, the statements made by the Administering Authority, as recorded by the Visiting Mission in its special report, to the effect that the Authority itself, taking into account the views of the Territorial Assembly, contemplates holding in due course consultations with the inhabitants of the Territory to ascertain their wishes in respect of the future of the Territory,

"Noting also the statements by the representative of France both in the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council to the effect that his Government supports in principle the proposals made by the Visiting Mission,

"Noting also the view expressed by the Visiting Mission that following the political reforms at present contemplated by the Administering Authority, steps will be taken to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory as to their future,

"1. Endorses the conclusion of the Visiting Mission in respect of Togoland under French Administration that the implementation of the contemplated political reforms will play a helpful role in enabling the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory as to their future to be ascertained at an early date;

"2. Recommends that this consultation of the population be conducted, as in the case of Togoland under British Administration, under the supervision of the United Nations;

"3. Requests the Trusteeship Council at its forthcoming regular session to undertake a special study of this matter in consultation with the Administering Authority and to report thereon to the General Assembly if possible at its eleventh session."

13. At its 538th meeting, Liberia introduced a number of amendments to the Indian draft resolution. These amendments were revised by their sponsor at the 542nd, 544th, 545th and 546th meetings. The fourth and final revised text of these amendments (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4) reads as follows:

"1. Before the sub-title 'Section A - The future of Togoland under British Administration', add the following title:

'THE TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM AND THE FUTURE OF THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION:';

"2. At the end of paragraph 1 of the preamble, add the following, which is the text of General Assembly resolution 860 (IX):

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

"3. In operative paragraph 2, after the word 'inhabitants' insert the following:

'(a)';

"4. In the same paragraph, after the words 'Gold Coast', insert the following:

'or (b) separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political future,';

- "5. In operative paragraph 3, replace the word 'Commissioner' by the following:
'Commission consisting of three representatives of Member States to be designated by the Fourth Committee, and approved by the General Assembly';
- "6. In the same paragraph, replace the word 'who' by the word 'which', and the word 'him' by the word 'it';
- "7. In operative paragraph 4, replace 'Chapter IV' by the following:
'paragraph 108 of Chapter III and Chapter IV';
- "8. In the same paragraph, after the word 'such' and before the word 'modifications' insert the word 'minor';
- "9. In the same paragraph, replace the word 'Commissioner' by the word 'Commission';
- "10. At the end of the same paragraph add the following:
'and such additional measures as may be proposed by the Commission in order to secure a free and neutral atmosphere for the plebiscite;';
- "11. In operative paragraph 5, replace the word 'Commissioner' by the word 'Commission';
- "12. After operative paragraph 2 of section B insert the following paragraph:
'1. Accepts the recommendation of the Visiting Mission contained in its special report that the wishes of the inhabitants of Togoland under French Administration as to their future should be ascertained by plebiscite;'. "
14. At the 543rd meeting, France introduced a number of amendments (A/C.4/L.431) to the first revised version of the Indian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.428/Rev.1). At the 545th meeting, it withdrew its amendments after India had presented the second revision of its draft resolution (A/C.4/L.428/Rev.2).
15. At the 544th meeting, Guatemala introduced an amendment (A/C.4/L.432) to operative paragraph 5 of section A of the second revision of the Indian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.428/Rev.2). Guatemala withdrew its amendment after India had revised the paragraph in question in the third revision of its draft resolution (A/C.4/L.428/Rev.3).
16. At the 545th meeting, the representatives of Haiti and Venezuela proposed a verbal amendment which was accepted by India and incorporated in section B of its draft resolution (A/C.4/L.428/Rev.3) as operative paragraph 2.

17. At the 546th meeting, the Committee heard additional statements by Mr. Antor and Mr. Odame (Togoland Congress), Mr. Olympio (All-Ewe Conference), Mr. Amegah (Juvento) and Mr. Kumah (Convention People's Party). It was also informed of a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Committee by Mr. Ajavon (Parti togolais du progrès).

18. At the 547th meeting, India accepted a verbal amendment by the representative of Greece proposing the addition of the words "in consultation with a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner" after the words "take steps" in operative paragraph 2 of section A. India also accepted a verbal amendment proposed by the representative of Venezuela for the addition of the words "By direct and democratic methods" at the end of operative paragraph 1 of section B.

19. At the 547th meeting, the Committee voted on the revised draft resolution of India and the amendments of Liberia. The results of the voting were as follows:

The first amendment (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, para. 1), to add a new title to the draft resolution, was rejected by 23 votes to 10, with 15 abstentions.

The sub-title of section A of the draft resolution, "The future of Togoland under British Administration" was adopted by 30 votes to none, with 20 abstentions.

The second amendment (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, para. 2), relating to the first paragraph of the preamble, was adopted by 30 votes to 12, with 8 abstentions.

The first paragraph of the preamble, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 30 votes to none, with 17 abstentions.

The second, third, fourth and fifth paragraphs of the preamble and operative paragraph 1 were adopted by 44 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions.

The third and fourth amendments (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, paras. 3 and 4), relating to operative paragraph 2, were adopted by a roll-call vote of 20 votes to 17, with 16 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Burma, China, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Egypt, Guatemala, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, France, India, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Bolivia, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Greece, Haiti, Indonesia, Israel, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

Operative paragraph 2, as amended was adopted by 26 votes to 6, with 18 abstentions.

The fifth and sixth amendments (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, paras. 5 and 6), relating to operative paragraph 3, were rejected by 26 votes to 22, with 5 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 32 votes to 5, with 14 abstentions.

The seventh amendment (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, para. 7), relating to operative paragraph 4, was rejected by 15 votes to 13, with 24 abstentions.

The eighth amendment (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, para. 8), relating to the same paragraph, was rejected by 12 votes to 7, with 33 abstentions.

The ninth amendment (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, para. 9) was not put to the vote.

The tenth amendment (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, para. 10) was adopted by 30 votes to 13, with 7 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 4, as amended, was adopted by 24 votes to 5, with 21 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 5 was adopted by 39 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 6 was adopted by 46 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

Section "A" of the draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 38 votes to 5, with 10 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Belgium, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The sub-title of section "B" of the draft resolution, "The future of Togoland under French Administration", as adopted by 30 votes to 4, with 18 abstentions.

The first and second paragraphs of the preamble to section "B" were adopted by 44 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.

The third paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 44 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 1 of section "B" was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 2 was adopted by 45 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

The twelfth amendment (A/C.4/L.429/Rev.4, para. 12), proposing the addition of a new paragraph to the operative part, was rejected by 18 votes to 11, with 21 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

Section "B" of the draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 42 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Belgium, El Salvador, Haiti, Indonesia, Lebanon.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 40 votes to 5, with 8 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Belgium, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Venezuela.

20. Accordingly, the Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

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

A
THE FUTURE OF TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 860 (IX), adopted on 14 December 1954, by which the Trusteeship Council was requested to consider the arrangements to be made to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British Administration as to their future, without prejudice to the eventual solution which they might choose, whether it be independence, unification of an independent Togoland under British Administration with an independent Togoland under French Administration, unification with an independent Gold Coast, or some other self-governing or independent status,

Having received the report (A/3046) of the Trusteeship Council transmitting the special report (T/1206 and Add.1) of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration, 1955, the observations (T/1214) of the representative of the United Kingdom, and the official records of the relevant meetings of the Council,

Noting the opinion of the Trusteeship Council that the views expressed in the special report of the Visiting Mission provide in general a useful basis for determining the arrangements to be made in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 860 (IX),

Taking note also of the views expressed orally by the various local political groups before the Fourth Committee during the hearings,

Noting further the statement of the Government of the United Kingdom that the Gold Coast will attain independence in the near future and that, in consequence, it will be impossible thereafter for Togoland under British Administration to be administered as at present,

1. Accepts the recommendation of the Visiting Mission contained in its special report that the wishes of the inhabitants of Togoland under British Administration as to their future should be ascertained by plebiscite;
2. Recommends that the Administering Authority of Togoland under British Administration, in pursuance of Article 76 b of the Charter of the United Nations, take steps, in consultation with a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, to organize and conduct without delay, under the supervision of the United Nations, a plebiscite in respect of the Trust Territory in order to ascertain the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants in regard to (a) the union of their Territory with an independent Gold Coast; or (b) separation of Togoland under British Administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political future;
3. Decides to appoint a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner who shall exercise on behalf of the General Assembly the powers and functions of supervision defined by the Visiting Mission in its special report, and who shall be assisted by observers and staff to be appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with him;
4. Recommends further that the plebiscite be organized and conducted on the basis of the arrangements proposed in chapter IV of the special report of the Visiting Mission, subject to such modifications of detail as are agreed upon between the Administering Authority and the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, and such additional measures as may be proposed by the Commissioner in order to secure a free and neutral atmosphere for the plebiscite;

5. Requests the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner to submit a report on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscite to the Trusteeship Council for its consideration, and for transmission to the General Assembly at its eleventh session in order that the latter may, in consultation with the Administering Authority, assess the results and determine the further action to be taken on the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast and in the light of all the circumstances and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Agreement;
6. Requests the Trusteeship Council, in virtue of the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement and the Charter, to continue to exercise its functions either at its regular or special sessions as may be necessary and to take into consideration any matter that may arise, or be referred to it, in respect of the Trust Territory.

B

THE FUTURE OF TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

The General Assembly,

Noting, with regard to Togoland under French Administration, the statements made by the Administering Authority, as recorded by the Visiting Mission in its special report (T/1206 and Add.1), to the effect that that Authority itself, taking into account the views of the Territorial Assembly, contemplates holding in due course consultations with the inhabitants of the Territory to ascertain their wishes in respect of the future of the Territory,

Noting also the statements by the representative of France in both the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council to the effect that his Government supports in principle the proposals made by the Visiting Mission,

Noting also the view expressed by the Visiting Mission that, following the political reforms at present contemplated by the Administering Authority, steps will be taken to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory as to their future,

1. Endorses the conclusion of the Visiting Mission in respect of Togoland under French Administration that the implementation of the contemplated political reforms will play a helpful role in enabling the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory as to their future to be ascertained at an early date by direct and democratic methods;

2. Recommends that this consultation of the population be conducted, as in the case of Togoland under British Administration, under the supervision of the United Nations;

3. Requests the Trusteeship Council at its forthcoming regular session to undertake a special study of this matter in consultation with the Administering Authority and to report thereon to the General Assembly, if possible, at its eleventh session.
