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

Report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for the Trust Territory of Togoland under British Administration

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Letter dated 15 June 1956 from the United Nations
Plebiscite Commissioner to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to send herewith to you my report on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscite that has been held in the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom administration, to be submitted to the Trusteeship Council, in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution 944 (X), of 15 December 1955, for its consideration and for transmission to the General Assembly at its eleventh session.

(Signed) Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto

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

CHAPTER I

BASIS AND NATURE OF THE PLEBISCITE

A. Terms of Reference

1. There are many important elements in the General Assembly's records of the debate on the Ewe and Togoland unification problems that should be studied in relation to the Plebiscite that has now been held to decide the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom administration. In direct connexion with this report, however, it is recommended that in any case the four following documents be consulted:

- (i) The letter dated 21 June 1954 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General with an explanatory memorandum. This letter is contained as document A/2660 in the General Assembly's official records for the Ninth Session, for agenda items 35 and 52.
- (ii) Resolution 860 (IX) of the General Assembly, of 14 December 1954.
- (iii) The Special Report on the Togoland Unification Problem and on the Future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration (Document T/1206 of 18 October 1955) of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, 1955.
- (iv) Resolution 944 (X) of the General Assembly, of 15 December 1955.

2. The reader should also be provided with a copy of the excellent Plebiscite Atlas that the Administering Power has prepared, in which the results of the Plebiscite are given ward by ward with a detailed map of the Territory showing ward headquarters.

B. Resolution 944 (X)

3. It is the Assembly's resolution of 15 December 1955 that provides directly the basis for the Plebiscite. The action that the United Kingdom Government took to organize and conduct the Plebiscite stems from its recommendations. The United Nations' intervention is the one provided for in this resolution. In the understanding that the resolution consists of two parts (Part I - The Future of Togoland under British administration, and Part II - The Future of Togoland under French administration) only the first part of that document is here reproduced, as the one having a direct bearing on the Plebiscite to which this Report refers. Following is the text of Part I of resolution 944 (X):

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 860 (IX) of 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 of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 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 its 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 United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, 1955, 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 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 of the Charter, to continue to exercise its functions at either 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."

C. Character of the Plebiscite

4. Summarizing the situation that has led to the Plebiscite, the decision to conduct it is directly connected with the United Kingdom's statement attached to

its letter of 21 June 1954, to the effect that: "... The United Kingdom Government, as provided for in articles 2 and 5 (a) of the Trusteeship Agreement, administer the Trust Territory as an integral part of the adjoining Territory of the Gold Coast. This is possible under the present constitutional relationship between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast is now, however, in the last stage of constitutional development before independence. When, as will happen within a measurable period, the Gold Coast assumes full responsibility for its own affairs, it will no longer be constitutionally possible for the United Kingdom Government to administer the Trust Territory as an integral part of the Gold Coast...". Numerous other pertinent considerations on this point should be examined in the full text of the document referred to above. In consequence of the facts referred to, and on the basis of public opinion as sounded out by the United Nations Visiting Mission of 1955 in Togoland, a Plebiscite was recommended by the General Assembly for the purpose stated in operative paragraph 2 of the General Assembly's resolution 944 (X).

D. The Alternatives

5. It is well to note, in the first place, that the questions to be put to the voter are essentially the same ones recommended by the Visiting Mission in paragraph 105 of its Special Report, the only fundamental difference being that in the course of the debate in 1955 the word "integration" was abandoned and the word "union" was adopted in connexion with the manner in which Togoland under United Kingdom administration may choose to join the Gold Coast as an independent state.

6. In recording an official report on the first Plebiscite that has been held in a Trust Territory I consider that it is important to refer here to the complex character of the questions asked of the voter. Without an explanation of this point, and bearing in mind the established practice that questions in a Plebiscite should be extremely simple, criticism could be levelled against the Organization of the United Nations for having adopted these texts in its resolution. Unfair criticism might also be made against the people of Togoland, of many of whom it has already been remarked that they seemed at a loss to understand fully the issues of the Plebiscite, allegedly because of illiteracy.

7. The General Assembly took the only advisable course in this matter, and it should be totally unfair to blame the illiteracy of some of the people in the Trust Territory on this point, it being possible to quote competent and authoritative sources to the effect that illiteracy may by no means be adduced to bar a people from expressing its wishes concerning its national future. It may be assumed that a considerable number of the people of Togoland did not understand the full extent of what they were voting for, but it is only fair to clarify that whereas in Upper Silesia, Schleswig, Allenstein and Marienwerde, Klagensfurt or the Sarre, the highly literate people of Europe were asked extremely plain questions (Do you want to unite with Poland or with Germany, with Denmark or with Germany, with Austria or with Yugoslavia) to which a child in Africa could have replied, in the case of the people of Togoland questions were put that persons of a higher education in any country of the world would not readily seize unless the full background of the matter were made available to them.

8. For one thing note must be taken of the terms that are obligatory in the Trust System and which make it impossible to refer to this Territory with one word. Then, again, the many and varied aspects that the Togoland debate has taken, the dubious character of some of the alternatives that might be explored in that situation, as compared to the clear-cut choice that is offered to a territory lying between two independent countries, are to be considered.

9. But there is another fundamental fact to be weighed in this case. The Visiting Mission of 1955, being under mandate to ascertain as far as possible the wishes of the population, and faced with the task of suggesting alternatives for the Plebiscite, took the logical course of trying to satisfy the expressed desires of the leading and opposing parties. The Mission says, in the pertinent part of its paragraph 105 "... The first question should clearly be whether the people desire integration with the Gold Coast, as urged by the CPP and the NPP. As regards the second question, the Togoland Congress has asked that Togoland under British administration should remain under trusteeship, after its separation from the Gold Coast has been formally achieved, pending the ultimate settlement of its political future at a later date...". It is on this basis that the alternatives were worded in this same paragraph of the Mission's Report.

10. It is on record that Delegates who feared the text of these alternatives called the General Assembly's attention insistently to the objections that could

be foreseen, and undertook to suggest what seemed simpler and clearer terms for the alternatives or in any case for one of them. This course was explored as far as it could go. The majority was logically won by the desire to cater to the precise wishes of leaders of public opinion in Togoland.

11. Still another possibility was considered at the General Assembly, which was the suggestion by a delegation to conduct the Plebiscite on the basis of only one question, to which the answer would be yes or no. But in the special circumstances attending this case it was felt that those who would vote in the negative would in fact be given no alternative, and even delegates who had criticized the texts proposed felt that it was best to accept the Mission's recommendation, to insure that the people have two alternatives and precisely those that were of their choice.

12. The proposed alternatives having been accepted by an ample majority, both the United Nations Representative and the Administering Power felt that it would be improper and extremely hazardous to try to explain the questions to the people, it being almost impossible to avoid in that case expressions which might be interpreted as an effort to influence the voter towards one or the other of the two alternatives.

13. The Administrator carefully instructed his personnel to refrain from making such explanations and to leave that task to the parties. The parties did give on no few occasions, in important rallies, legitimate explanations of the alternatives. On other occasions emphasis was laid on explaining the opposite alternative, with all of the negative characters that an opponent of that course could find in it. Distortions were made, some of them because of failure to seize the nature of the issues, others quite maliciously. Bearing in mind all of the circumstances and particularly the difficulty that had been encountered at the General Assembly on this point, the United Nations' intervention in this matter was only to the effect of stating clearly the precise text of the questions. This problem having come to a crisis late in January, to the extent that amendments to the existing regulations had to be considered, I intervened on one occasion to request of the Administering Power that distortion of the alternatives should not be declared a punishable offence for fear of discouraging bona fide citizens from trying to interpret texts that needed indeed clarification.

14. But before concluding with this point, surely it will be obvious to the reader that intelligent and experienced political leaders would not have advanced proposals to the Visiting Mission without having a very precise idea of what was sought with them. This will be seen clearly in the chapter of this Report dealing with Political Aspects of the Plebiscite, as from paragraph 137.

E. The Four-Unit Partition

15. Delegates to the General Assembly surely recall the proposal contained in the Visiting Mission's Special Report, paragraph 108, to determine the future of each one of four distinct parts of the Territory separately, not by a majority of the total vote in the Trust Territory but by a majority of votes within each one of those four units. This proposal was defeated at the General Assembly when an amendment to include paragraph 108 of the Visiting Mission's Report failed to carry the necessary majority. But in this manner the issue did not appear clear to persons who had followed the debate from a distance, mainly in Togoland, and this made it seem necessary to me, in assuming a direct responsibility in this Plebiscite, to state my understanding of this point before the General Assembly adjourned.

16. Upon my arrival at Accra I was in effect insistently questioned on this point. At the Airport, on 9 January, I was asked by Mr. B.D. Dorkenoo, a senior reporter of the Daily Graphic, to make a statement on this issue. I explained that although I was in a position to make that point clear at once I wanted to pay my courtesy calls before making any substantive statements. When the point was again raised on 12 January, I did not make a statement but referred the reporter to what I had said on this subject in my address to the General Assembly on 15 December, namely:

"... I wish to refer specifically to paragraph 108 of the Report of the Visiting Mission. As the Delegate of Mexico I pointed out insistently to the Fourth Committee the grave objection that was obvious to me in the proposal that the result of the Plebiscite be assessed on the basis of a division of the Territory in four Districts. This is one of the few important points in the Mission's Report with which the Delegation of Mexico could not agree. Notwithstanding this scruple, which was stressed with great insistence, my Delegation bore in mind that this partition was advanced by very respectable interested parties, and announced that it would follow the majority of the Fourth Committee on this point. The Liberian amendment on this point having been defeated

it is my understanding that the Assembly rejected that proposal in this resolution. Consequently, if the Administering Authority holds the Plebiscite on the basis of the Territory as a whole, I as Commissioner would have no ground to raise an objection on that point, although I know very well that it is the General Assembly who has reserved the right to determine what it may deem pertinent on this subject...".

17. The Daily Graphic published this paragraph on 13 January. Still, at the press conference held on that same date, and later in a "pen portrait" published on 8 and 9 February, Mr. Dorkenoo drew attention to this matter and laid stress on the latter part of my statement of 15 December. (See paragraph 498)

18. In due course the Administering Power asked my views on this matter for the purpose of determining in what manner the results of the Plebiscite should be communicated to me. I accepted the Administration's proposal that these be given to us ward by ward, so that the General Assembly may be at liberty to decide on the matter what it deems best.

F. The Conduct of the Plebiscite and United Nations Intervention

19. International intervention in plebiscites, which so often had a collective character after the first World War and on occasions concerned directly the League of Nations, has offered new and important aspects in this first Plebiscite to be held under the supervision of the United Nations in a Trust Territory.

20. The reader may well recall that in many European plebiscites, involving delicate and explosive problems, the operation was placed entirely in the hands of a Plebiscite Commission, which actually took over the Government of the plebiscite area, issued a postage stamp to accrue funds, appointed and dismissed personnel and, in cases where the police force had to be changed, the Commission was provided with adequate military bodies of various nationalities. It is true that even such wide powers did not permit some of the most highly controversial plebiscites to be brought to satisfactory conclusions, whereas in other parts it is felt that it has been possible to conclude fair plebiscites without an intervention of this type.

21. Little is revealed in documents as to what possibilities may have been explored for the conduct of the Plebiscite in Togoland. Attention is drawn to paragraphs 4 (c) and 50 and 51 of the memorandum attached to the United Kingdom Permanent Representative's letter to the United Nations of 21 June 1954.

22. It is the United Nations Visiting Mission's Special Report (paragraph 128) that first "recognizes that responsibility for the organization and conduct of the Plebiscite will of necessity rest primarily upon the Administering Authority in view of its responsibilities in the Trust Territory under the Trust Agreement ...".

23. In coming to this conclusion the Visiting Mission had felt bound to state in paragraph 111 of its Special Report " ... As matters now stand both the Administering Authority and the Gold Coast Government have expressed their preference for the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast. The Mission therefore has suggested, in order to avoid any possible accusations of partiality in the conduct of the Plebiscite, the appointment of a Special United Nations Commissioner with appropriate ancillary staff to serve as United Nations Observers. Such an appointment would create confidence among all political parties and sections of the people of Togoland under British administration and reassure world opinion as to the absolute fairness of the Plebiscite".

24. The Visiting Mission clearly envisaged for the United Nations Commissioner and his personnel a function of observation and supervision (paragraph 130 of its Special Report). The Plebiscite Commissioner would be empowered to observe all stages of the Plebiscite and to make representations to the representative of the Administering Authority (paragraph 131). He would ensure the co-ordination of the activities of the Observers and direct their work (paragraph 131). He should be given all necessary facilities (paragraph 131). He should report to the General Assembly (paragraph 132). Other functions of the Commissioner are to be seen in paragraphs 174, 206 and 208 of the Report of the Visiting Mission, within the same criterion.

25. Only in two points of the Visiting Mission's Report is the concept of consultation to be seen, in a limited sense. In accordance with paragraph 174 he and the representatives of political parties should be consulted regarding the symbols for the balloting, and in accordance with paragraph 206 for the purpose of declaring invalid the results of the Plebiscite in any particular District.

26. Observation was contemplated in detail by the Visiting Mission, and several of the paragraphs of its Special Report refer to the functions of the Observers. It records (paragraph 130) that the presence of Observers was also envisaged and

expected by the Administering Authority. Paragraph 131 recommended for the Observers the power of making representations under the direction of the Commissioner. The number of Observers (paragraph 133), special observation tasks (paragraphs 169 and 202), the presence of Observers when ballots were counted (paragraph 203) are other points carefully considered in the recommendations of the Mission.

27. But the recommendations of the Visiting Mission were subjected to a general discussion at the Fourth Committee, important proposals were studied and some of them were incorporated in the Resolution. It is an amendment of the Greek delegation that introduced a new and fundamental element which had hardly been considered by the Visiting Mission in its stage of the work: consultations in a general manner throughout the Plebiscite, as may be seen in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution. Farther ahead, in operative paragraph 4 of the Resolution, in adopting as a basis for the Plebiscite the arrangements proposed in Chapter IV of the Special Report of the Mission, a Liberian amendment obtained that this should be done "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".

28. The element of consultations and the power to propose additional measures, which easily took the required majority and met no serious opposition on the part of the Administering Power, are most important factors which set the pattern for an advanced and fortunate degree of co-operation between the Organization and the Administering Authority. The Commissioner, who would have been appointed in the original conception to observe, to supervise the Plebiscite, and make representations on its conduct, and was requested to report to the General Assembly on the conduct of the Plebiscite and in particular on the extent to which it has constituted a fair and free expression of the wishes of the people concerned, was now, by the powers provided for in the resolution, committed to seek actively the fairness of the Plebiscite, co-operating to that effect with the Administering Power and endeavouring to obtain the people's co-operation to that end.

29. By being consulted at every stage of the Plebiscite and being called upon to propose additional measures in order to secure a free and neutral atmosphere for the Plebiscite, the United Nations representative was bound to watch the Plebiscite with the most positive attitude and avail himself of these powers to aid in seeking its success. The conduct and main responsibility for the Plebiscite were left to the Administering Power, but a new and carefully negotiated degree of intervention had been attained for the Organization. Only in the grave case of his recommendations being unjustifiably ignored could the Commissioner consider himself not bound to some extent by the results of the Plebiscite. The General Assembly showed, in adopting this course, its active and most legitimate interest in the plebiscites to be carried out in Trust Territories. The Administering Power, in voting in favour of this resolution and abiding by its provisions, gave proof of a high and enlightened spirit of co-operation with the world Organization.

G. The guidance for our work

30. I have understood clearly, in fulfilling the work that was assigned to me by the United Nations, that it was my paramount duty to insure the success of the precise type of co-operation that had been agreed in a manner that would be satisfactory and gratifying to all parties concerned.

31. I have felt that it was the earnest wish of the General Assembly that the Plebiscite in Togoland be conducted in all fairness, and I was aware that an important precedent was being set. Everything encouraged me to believe that I could expect the same attitude from the Administering Power. Obviously the main concern in this operation was the interests of the people. Our part in the Plebiscite, on the other hand, should be played with the discretion, the courtesy and the consideration due to the Administering Power.

32. I have striven to bring into the Plebiscite the influence of the great prestige of the United Nations, to let the people know widely of our presence and of our interest in their future, to inspire in everybody full confidence in a Plebiscite with which we were so intimately associated. I have toured several times throughout the Territory and have co-operated with the Administering Power to urge every eligible person to register and to vote for the alternative of his

choice. Consequent with this attitude, my co-operation has been aimed at obtaining that in every way the Plebiscite that was offered to the people could be regarded as a fair opportunity to express their will.

33. The intervention of the United Nations in the Plebiscite in Togoland is to the detriment of nobody and was meant fundamentally to insure a just relationship in an operation of interest to public opinion in the world. I should not doubt that all parties concerned have acted with sincerity in their pursuits, but the Plebiscite was necessarily a clash of interests and views in which it has been imperative that the terms of reference be scrupulously maintained and that no deviation be permitted that could endanger this important operation. I trust then that the attitude that I have found it necessary to assume at certain stages of the Plebiscite will be understood by the parties concerned bearing in mind that in the presence of a misunderstanding or an important disagreement it was the United Nations, based on the authority of a resolution of the General Assembly, who was in a better position to assist in solving the issues satisfactorily.

CHAPTER II

UNITED NATIONS PARTICIPATION IN THE PLEBISCITE

A. Appointment of a Commissioner

34. After the draft of resolution 944(X) had been approved at the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, it was my honour to be elected in a secret ballot at the 549th session of the Committee, on 13 December 1955, to be recommended to the General Assembly to fill the post that is provided for in operative paragraph 3 of the resolution. The General Assembly approved my appointment at its 556th plenary meeting on 15 December.

35. Upon my appointment I requested to be allowed a few days in connexion with my work as Mexican delegate to the Fourth Committee and also in connexion with my duties in the Mexican Foreign Service, from which I was taking temporary leave. I remained in Mexico City from 18 to 26 December, and on this latter date returned to New York City. My letter of appointment and contract were signed on 26 December 1955, as from my departure from Mexico City.

36. The Organization gave me a rank equivalent to that of Under-Secretary General for the fulfilment of my duties. The Mexican Government, for the same purpose, granted me the rank of Ambassador.

37. I remained in New York City until 30 December in connexion with the appointment of personnel and other arrangements that were being made and in contact with the United Kingdom Permanent Mission to the United Nations concerning the organization of the Plebiscite, and then proceeded to my post via Paris. It was arranged through the Secretariat that I would fly from Paris to Lomé, in Togoland under French Administration, on 7 January, to reach Ho and Accra on the same date by land, but Air France having cancelled that service it was necessary for me to fly to Lisbon and there join the second group of the United Nations personnel, with whom I arrived at Accra on 9 January.

38. I was received at the airport at Accra by Sir John Dring, who had been appointed Plebiscite Administrator by the Administering Authority, as well as by Captain P.E. Hamilton, Aide-de-camp of the Governor, Mr. M. de N. Ensor, Principal Secretary of the Department of External Affairs and Lieutenant Colonel Leslie G. Young, and was then taken to Government House at the Castle of

Christiansborg, where I was the guest of Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, Governor of the Gold Coast, until 12 January.

B. Appointment of the Observers and Staff

39. In accordance with the pertinent part of paragraph 3 of resolution 944(X) the Secretariat, in consultation with me, proceeded to appoint the Observers and the Staff that would assist me in the task I was entrusted with. This personnel was drawn from various departments of the Secretariat. On 28 December a list of officials suggested as Observers was brought to me. I obtained in conversation with the Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Acting Director of the Trusteeship Division, the information that was available regarding their qualifications, and I thereupon approved that panel. It was as follows:

Mr. Rahat Bokhari
Mr. E.D. Brodnax
Mr. J.J. Cebe-Habersky
Mr. V. Fabry
Mr. C.J. Jakhelln
Mr. Witold L. Langrod
Mr. Wellington Lee
Mr. Julio Martell
Mr. Brian Meredith
Mr. J.M. Quimper
Mr. J.P.S. Rajasooria
Mr. J. Van Wijk
Mr. Marshall Williams

40. The Secretariat, in virtue of the same paragraph of the resolution, expressed its desire to appoint also the following staff to accompany me:

Mr. Heinrich A. Wieschhoff, Acting Director of the Trusteeship Division	Principal Secretary
Mr. George Howard, Trusteeship Division	Political Affairs Officer
Mr. Shiv K. Shastri, Office of the Under-Secretaries without Department	Senior Counsellor
Mr. R. de Roussy de Sales, Department of Public Information	Information Officer

Mr. Victor Mills, Executive Office of the Secretary- General	Administrative Officer
Mrs. Marie Van Bever, Office of Legal Affairs	Secretary
Mrs. Paule Côté, Department of Economic and Social Affairs	Secretary
Mr. Robert Bruce	Field Service Officer
Mr. Marcel Vandenabeele	Field Service Officer
Mr. Vidar Binger	Field Service Officer

I also agreed to these appointments and thanked the Secretariat for them.

41. It is pertinent to mention here an element which is ordinary in United Nations operations but which attracted considerable attention abroad. In a total group of 24 persons sixteen different nationalities could be counted.

C. Transportation to Accra

42. The Secretariat immediately took the necessary steps for the transportation of this personnel and the corresponding equipment to Togoland. As a preliminary step the Administrative Officer left at once for Accra, where he arrived on 27 December, and immediately established contact with the corresponding officials of the Administering Authority to arrange for accommodations, transportation, supplies, etc., for the operation.

43. The personnel then proceeded towards the Gold Coast in two main groups. The first, consisting of Messrs. Wieschhoff, Howard, Cebe-Habersky, Jakhelln, Fabry, Van Wijk, Rajasooria, Martell, Quimper, and Mesdames Van Bever and Côté, left New York City on 5 January, by Pan American Airways, and arrived at Accra on 7 January. The second group, composed of Messrs. Meredith, Brodnax, de Roussy de Sales, Williams, Bokhari, Langrod and Lee, left New York on 8 January by Pan American Airways via Lisbon, and arrived at Accra on 9 January. Messrs. Bruce and Vandenabeele arrived in Accra on 7 January. Messrs. Binger and Shastri arrived in Accra on 17 and 18 January respectively.

44. All of this personnel has remained in the Territory until the end of the operation with the exception of Mr. Wieschhoff, who, as Secretary of the Trusteeship Council, had to return to New York on 29 January to attend the session of the Council, after which he again came to Togoland on 8 April, and Mr. Shastri, who was released from his duties in the operation because of the death of his infant child.

D. Headquarters

45. As I was leaving New York City on 29 December a telegram was received from Accra informing that certain difficulties encountered in point of accommodations and transportation to the various points in the Territory of Togoland might make it necessary to maintain our offices at Accra. I had announced at the General Assembly on 15 December - after due consultation with representatives of the United Kingdom Government and of the Secretariat - that I would establish Headquarters at Ho, in Togoland. I maintained this decision and my official Headquarters were opened there, but it proved necessary to hold at the same time an office in Accra during the initial period of the work. Although a part of the personnel had to stay in Accra during this first period, it will be seen later in this report that I spent the greater part of the period of registration in different points throughout the Trust Territory and was accompanied always by the highest ranking officers in my staff. The office at Ho in the meantime was under the care of the Senior Counsellor. At the end of my third visit to Ho (from 8 to 15 February) I was provided a residence, Bungalow No.23 in the residential area. After the end of the registration period, it being proved that we could maintain communications with every point in the Territory through the Field Service, the personnel that was at Accra also moved to Ho, accommodations were obtained for all, the Office was enlarged to a total of five rooms in a central and adequate building, and only a small station was kept thereafter at Accra, attended by an officer of the Field Service. Another Field Service officer was kept at Tamale to maintain contact with the Observers in the north.

E. The Observers

46. The Observers were appointed, in the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly, to assist the Commissioner in the supervision of the Plebiscite. The nature of their function is carefully studied in several paragraphs of the United Nations Visiting Mission's report, where the importance of the work of these officers was considered.

47. Before leaving New York City I was introduced to the Observers by the Under-Secretary General for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories at a meeting in the General Assembly building. The Principal

Secretary was also present. I addressed them on that occasion, outlined the work to which they were assigned, explained what was expected of them, and stressed the impartiality that we were bound to show and the special caution that was needed in this connexion. Each Observer was informed of the documents that would be needed for his work. It was known by the United Nations Visiting Mission's Special Report that there existed fourteen electoral districts either totally or partly in Togoland under United Kingdom Administration, but that in the case of Gonja the part of that district that lay in Togo was too small to be considered a separate unit for the purposes of the Plebiscite. The Secretariat, on the basis of this information, had secured the services of thirteen officers. Each officer was assigned to his post beforehand tentatively but I cautioned the Observers on the possibility of a reduction of districts or a rearrangement of them and announced that I would confirm their definitive posts upon arrival at Accra.

48. The thirteen Observers had arrived at Accra before 10 January. On that day we met again and a final briefing was given to them. I again cautioned them that we would be compelled to show great restraint, even in personal conversations, in connexion with certain important political developments in West Africa because of their special bearing on the alternatives that would be put to the voter in the Plebiscite. Special care was requested of the Observers in connexion with the text of the alternatives in the Plebiscite, bearing in mind that any special reference to any one of them could be interpreted as a step towards prejudicing the voter in one way or another.

49. The Observers were asked to settle down in their jurisdictions for the duration, not to leave their posts at any time during registration and only on special occasions afterwards, asking their neighbour in such exceptional cases to take their place. They were told that the United Nations expected of their well established qualifications that they would show endurance and devotion for their work in the circumstances in which they would have to live for the following four months.

50. I reminded the Observers that they were now called upon to act as a qualified diplomatic personnel, and that they would find that tact, discretion and determination would be as necessary in Gushiegu or Bimbilla as in larger

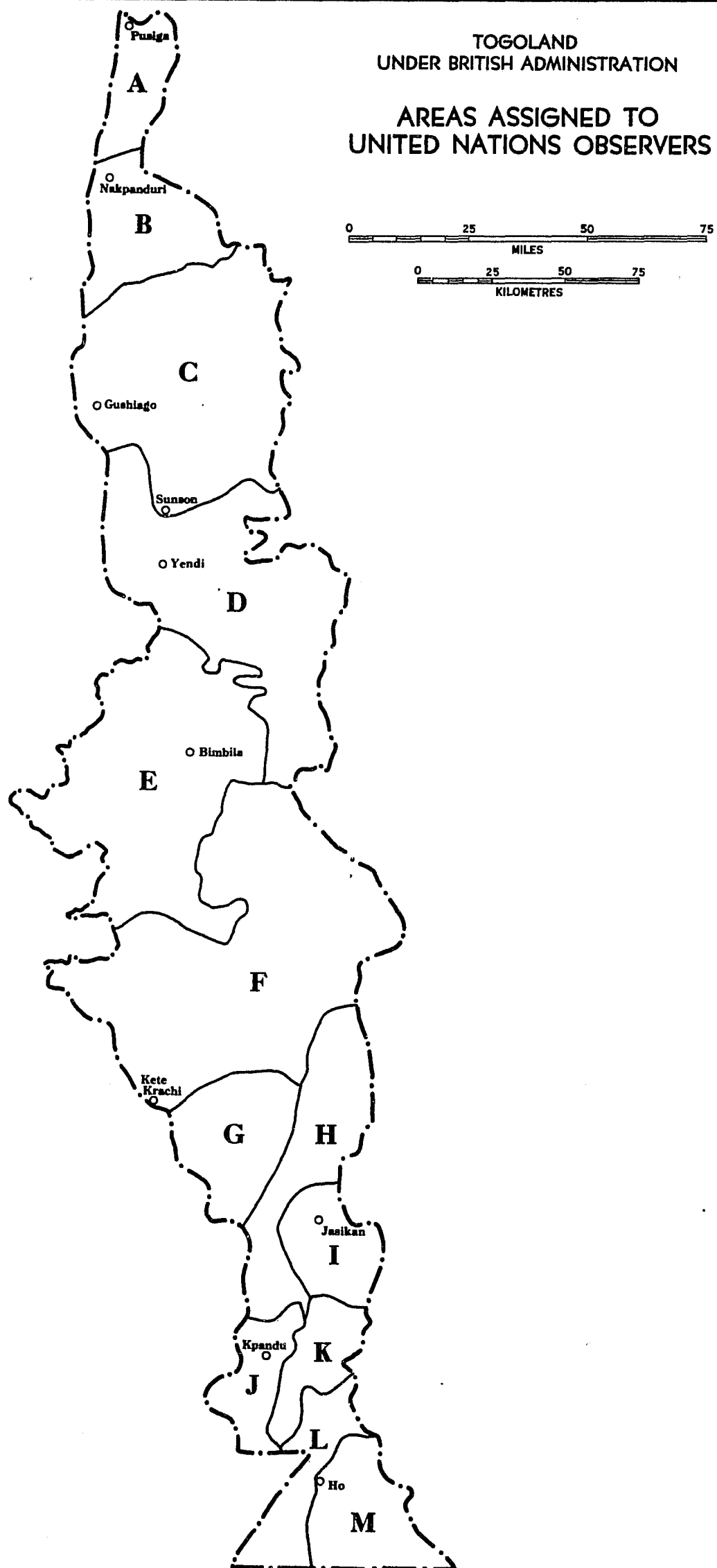
centres. Special consideration was given to one point. Both the Visiting Mission's special report and the British Order in Council recognized the Observers power to make representations, whereas the resolution did not specify this point. After careful study of the matter and having heard the viewpoint of the Plebiscite Administrator, it was thought best to leave the right to make representations only to the Commissioner. Consequently I requested the Observers officially not to make representations. However, I have already referred to the nature of the work entrusted to these officials. In view of the friendly and co-operative relation that was immediately established between them and the registration personnel, in point of fact matters of urgency very often have been talked over with great frankness and in an expedite way in the field between them and the registration officers without one instance of friction, intrusion or disagreement. The Administrator himself, in the course of his frequent tours throughout the Territory, has many times asked and obtained the Observers' impressions on numerous aspects of the conduct of the Plebiscite in the most co-operative manner.

51. It will be seen in the Order in Council issued by the United Kingdom Government for the Plebiscite that, as expected, the districts were in fact rearranged. They were now not thirteen but nine. It seems needless to say, however, that this left the same territory and number of population to be covered. Consequently, two Observers were destined to each one of the four Southern Districts. At no point has it been felt that more personnel than the necessary has been kept in the field and indeed on polling day it was necessary to accredit every member of the staff to assist the Observers in the wide observation duties that were assigned to us for that occasion.

52. Reference is now made to the final distribution of the Observers. In the attached Map 1 is shown the area under the jurisdiction of each one of them. To understand this clearly, the table below shows not only the district but the local councils or parts thereof assigned to each Observer. On the left-hand side in the table below are shown the letters of the alphabet with which each area may be located in Map 1.

TOGOLAND
UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

AREAS ASSIGNED TO
UNITED NATIONS OBSERVERS



<u>Area in Map</u>	<u>Observer</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Headquarters</u>	<u>Local Councils or parts thereof</u>
A	E.D. Brodnax	Kusasi	Pusiga	East Agolle and the part of Agolle that lies in Togoland
B	J.P.S. Rajasooria	South Mamprusi	Gambaga	Bunkpurugu, Yunyoo, and the part of Nalerigu that lies in Togoland
C	Julio Martell	North Dagomba	Sunson	Chereponi, Sunson, and the part of Gushiegu that lies in Togoland
D	J.M. Quimper	South Dagomba	Yendi	Yendi, Yelzori, Kworli, and the part of Mion that lies in Togoland
E	Wellington Lee	Nanumba-Gonja	Bimbilla	Bimbilla, Dakpam, Nakpa, Juo, Alfai, and the part of Kpembe that lies in Togoland
F	Witold L. Langrod	Akan-Krachi	Kete-Krachi	The western section of Krachi
G	Rahat Bokhari	Akan-Krachi	Kete-Krachi	Sections of Western Krachi and Akan
H	V. Fabry	Buem, Akan and Krachi	Jasikan	Nkonya, West Biakoye and the eastern sections of Akan and Krachi
I	J. Van Wijk	Buem	Jasikan	East Biakoye, Buem and Likpe-Lolobi
J	J.C. Jakhelln	Kpandu	Kpandu	Akpini, Anfoega and Ablode
K	J.J. Cebe-Habersky	Kpandu	Kpandu	Gbi Hohoe and East Dain
L	B. Meredith	Ho	Ho	Yingor and Dutaso
M	M. Williams	Ho	Ho	Anyigbe, Asogli and the part of Adaklu that lies in Togoland

53. Areas G and H, suggested by the representative of the Administering Power, were arranged on the basis of accommodations and transportation facilities.

54. All Observers would be accommodated in the Territory with one exception. While I was still in New York representatives of the Administering Power informed us of their desire to accommodate the Observer for South Mamprusi in Gambaga, in the Gold Coast, just outside of the Trust Territory. Considerations were made for this proposal against which it seemed unreasonable to object. Although reluctantly I accepted this suggestion and upon visiting this district I was convinced that the advice given us had been justified. Accommodations were not available in South Mamprusi and the registration officers who of all necessity had to be in the field there were subjected to real hardships. According to the arrangements made, the United Nations Observer for South Mamprusi slept in a rest-house in Gambaga but spent all of his time in the Territory visiting in the daytime the various parts of his area.

55. On 10 January it was my pleasure to introduce each of the Observers, as well as all of the members of the staff, to the Governor, at a party given for that purpose by Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke at the Castle of Christianborg.

56. On 11 January the first group of Observers left for their posts in Southern Togoland. The Observers assigned to the northern section of the Territory left for their stations on the following day.

57. Immediately upon their arrival at their duty posts each one of the Observers got in contact with the corresponding officials of the Administering Authority, who showed themselves to be most helpful and provided them the best accommodations available. These were in many cases not luxurious, but generally equivalent to those given to the registration officers and assistant registration officers themselves. As a rule they were allotted rest-houses, and those in the Territory as a rule do not have running water. Throughout the entire Territory there is no electricity for lighting of houses. In the case of some of the stations, like Sunson and Bimbilla, drinking water had to be fetched from Yendi or some other far distant place. Essential supplies were not easily obtained. However, these were the conditions in which the Administering Authority's registration personnel was accommodated, and all of these officials,

in an atmosphere of sincere and spontaneous friendship and helpfulness, did always everything that was within their power to accommodate the Observers. Officers of the Administering Power at Ho and Tamale did their best to provide them with whatever was essential for their function.

58. An automobile, a refrigerator (run by kerosene), a typewriter, a road-map, were the standard equipment for each Observer. They were all given the means of hiring an interpreter, a chauffeur, and the necessary help for their own house-keeping.

59. I visited each of the Observers at least four times at his station during the Plebiscite. Usually I was accompanied by members of the staff. The Administrative Officer visited each Observer at least three times. The Field Service officers were constantly in touch with them.

60. It will be easy to understand to what extent the work of the Observers was fundamental to my own if it is considered that, apart from the 4,000 miles that I have travelled throughout the most salient parts of the Territory, the knowledge of the Plebiscite in Togoland that I am able to transmit in this report is solidly based on the fact that each Observer has covered probably the same mileage in a smaller area, by automobile, bicycle, on foot, in a canoe, going to the remotest villages in every ward within his area.

61. I was very conscious of the direct relation with these officers that was assigned to me by the provisions of the General Assembly's resolution. Fifteen circulars of instructions were issued to them. During the registration period alone I received a weekly report from each of the Observers. Later this report was sent every fortnight. I have studied and noted carefully each item in these works and have personally replied to every one of them and commented on the various points raised. I have asked on numerous occasions for additional data and some of the Observers have been called several times for consultations or for special instructions. Each Observer was asked to draw a sketch map of his district, showing the wards and as many as possible of the villages visited by him. One special request was the attention that should be paid to the question of boundaries, border towns on the location of which there might be a dispute, possibilities of infiltration from either side of Togoland. Other special tasks

have included information on the situation of traditional chiefs, their influence on the voting population and the ties or connexions of chiefs and voters across the borders.

62. The relation of the Observers with all persons connected with the Plebiscite has been useful and pleasant and it is proper to say that many problems have been solved in their jurisdictions not by means of a representation but in the course of a conversation within the sound and sincere friendship and co-operation that had been established.

63. Lastly I should record that their relations have in no way been limited to the official. Traditional chiefs, prominent members of the community, school-teachers, school-children, political leaders, all sections of the population have welcomed the presence of these officers and established with them a lasting friendship and it is obvious that they shall be remembered kindly in the areas in which they have lived during four months in close and cordial contact with the people of Togoland.

F. Relations with the Press, Radio and Various Institutions

64. The most friendly welcome was accorded to the United Nations group by the newspapers of the Gold Coast and Togoland, and particularly by the leading newspaper in Accra, the Daily Graphic. The arrival of the Administrative Officer and of the first group of personnel, my own arrival, statements made in answer to special points raised by the reporters, press releases from my office, various developments in the Plebiscite, were invariably given special prominence.

65. At my press conference in Accra on 13 January the following newspapers were represented:

Daily Graphic.	by 1 Reporter
Ashanti Pioneer	1 Assistant Editor
West African Worker	1 " "
West African Review	1 Reporter
New Nation	1 Assistant Editor
Ghana Evening News	1 " "
Ashanti Times	1 Reporter
The Standard	1 "
Vernacular Literature Bureau	1 Managing Editor and 4 Assistant Editors and 1 UNESCO Consultant
Gold Coast Information Service	1 Staff Reporter

66. The main point brought up at this press conference was the question raised by a reporter of the Daily Graphic on the proposal of a four-unit partition of the Territory in the assessment of the Plebiscite to which reference has been made in paragraph 16.

67. The Gold Coast Information Service, in Accra and in Ho, was particularly courteous and helpful in its attitude towards us. The Trans-Volta/Togoland Page, which is published in Ho, and the Northern Territories Page, printed in Tamale, carried always an abundant information on the Plebiscite and on the participation of the United Nations in it.

68. The Radio also co-operated willingly in our work, and press releases from my Office were always given special attention in broadcasts.

69. Numerous invitations to speak to schools and other institutions, mainly on the work and aims of the United Nations, were taken care of by the Information Officer, by several of the Observers and by myself.

G. General Outline of Work During the Operation

70. The first consultations with the Governor, the Administrator and the Department of External Affairs, contact with other offices in Accra, the press conference referred to above, the need of waiting until the Observers had settled down in their districts and contact had been established with them, the first circulars of instructions and other tasks made it necessary for me to remain in Accra until the 16th January.

71. Early in the morning of the 17th I started out for Ho on my first visit to Togoland, accompanied by the Principal Secretary, the Political Affairs Officer and the Information Officer. On that day and on the 18th we saw registration at various points in Ho, in Matse, Dzolo Kpuita, Vane, Fume, Golokwati and Kpandu. I held meetings on the 17th with the Administrator and with the leading representatives of political parties.

72. On the 19th January I flew to Tamale accompanied by the Principal Secretary and the Political Affairs Officer. On the 20th we visited Sambu, Yendi, Sunson and Bimbilla, where I met the Administrator. On the 21st we visited Gambaga, Nalerigu, Nakpanduri, Bunkpurugu, Yunyoo and the Registration Officers' quarters near Bongpulugu. On the 22nd we visited Bawku, Pusiga, Tempene, Wurinyanga,

Nadigri, Kpekpira Natinga, Boku and Worikambo. Some of these points had to be reached by foot. In all of these places I observed registration. On the following day other points were visited in Kusasi District, we returned to Bawku and Tamale and from there on 24 January flew back to Accra.

73. From 25 to 27 January I was the guest of the Governor of the Gold Coast in his tour of Southern Togoland. With him I witnessed registration in several centres in Ho, in villages on the Shia Road, in Kpetoe Agotime, in Hohoe, Kpandu, Jasikan, Baika, Teteman, Borada, Koloenu, Vakpo, Anfoega, Golokwati, Fume, Vane and other points.

74. On 30 and 31 January the Political Affairs Officer and I visited Kpandu, Kete-Krachi, Jasikan and other points where I conferred with the Observers and watched registration.

75. On 2 February the Political Affairs Officer and I flew again to Tamale, reached Bawku and Fusiga, and from those points made a tour throughout Togoland, covering Worikambo, Tempane, Nakpanduri, Bimbago, Bende, Bunkpurugu, Yunyoo, Bongpulgugu, Gbindire, Fulo, Gushiegu, Gbogo, Tuwa, Pion, Sunson, Sekpiegu, Wapuli, Natago, Zagbeli, Chereponi, Yendi, Laganya, Lepusi, Makayeale, Bimbilla, Dogban, Wulasi, Lungni, Kpandai, Kete-Krachi, Kpetchu, Tapa Zongo, Tapa Breniase, Amanyaa, Worawora, Apesokubi, Jasikan, Kadjebi, Menuku, Jinjinso, Mempeasem, Cement Pasi, Ahamansu, Mpeyo, Hohoe, Golokwati, Leklebi Dafo, Leklebi Duga, Ve Hoeme, Fume, Vane, Dzolo Kpuita, Matse, to reach Ho on 8 February. In Ho I witnessed the last stage of registration.

76. I remained in Ho until 15 February and on that date went to Accra for consultations with the Governor and the Administrator on the Voting Regulations. Having returned to Ho on 23 February, I again visited all of the Observers in March. On 7 and 8 March the Political Affairs Officer and I visited Jasikan, Nsuta, Guaman, Kadjebi, Jinjinso, Cement Pasi, Asatu, Dodi Papase, and Kpedze. This visit was connected with the situation that had been observed in Cement Pasi in the last stage of the period of registration. On 14 March I again left Ho and, via Kpandu, Kete-Krachi and Bimbilla, reached Yendi on the same day and Gambaga, Fusiga and Bawku on the following day. On 16 March I visited Sunsen and Tamale and on 17 March returned to Ho via Grube, Chindiri, Mamata, Kete-Krachi, Akroso, Okomfukrom, Wurupong, Ahenkro, Golokwati.

77. On 6 May I left Ho to visit the Observers for the last time before polling and watch the arrangements that had been made for that stage of the Plebiscite. On that day I visited Kpandu, Kete-Krachi, Bimbilla, and spent the night in Yendi. On the following morning I visited polling stations in Gnani, Zabzugu, Nakpali, Larabanga and other points in the Yelzori and Kworli Local Council areas, and after a meeting with the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator proceeded north through Gushiegu and Gambaga to reach Fusiga that evening. On 8 May I visited Fulimakcm and Widana, in the Kusasi District, where the polling stations were shown to me. After that I visited Nakpanduri, Gambaga, Gushiegu, Sunson, Wapuli, Saboba, Nalolli, Paliba, Demon, Yendi, Bimbilla, Kpandai, and slept at Kete-Krachi. On Polling Day, 9 May, I began my tour of Southern Togoland visiting 26 polling stations, and reached Ho that evening.

78. In the early stages of the Plebiscite I have called on all of the traditional Chiefs in the towns that I have visited and, in reply to their greetings, I have explained the aims of the United Nations, the meaning of this Plebiscite and the nature of our intervention in it, its great importance as the first instance in which the future of a Trust Territory is to be decided in accordance with the freely expressed will of the people, and I have urged the people to register and to vote, whatever the alternative of their choice may be.

79. All of the regular services of the office have been maintained scrupulously, both for the political work directly concerned with our participation in the Plebiscite and for the administrative matters that are taken care of normally by the staff. Numerous studies have been conducted at the office and all of the members of the staff have lent me a most valuable co-operation. A considerable volume of correspondence has been handled and officers in the staff and myself have always been available to representatives of the Administering Power, to leaders of political parties and to any other persons wishing to take up matters of my competence.

80. The essence of the work done in this operation will be seen in the following chapters, especially in those that refer to relations with the Administering Power and political aspects of the Plebiscite.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONS WITH THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY

(a) Basis of Relationship

81. Our intervention in the Plebiscite involved, on one hand, coming in direct contact with a people that has been moving towards self-government and has become accustomed to make unrestricted use of the political freedom that obtains in Togoland under United Kingdom administration. In their attitude towards the Administering Power, it will be seen by correspondence included in Chapter VIII of this Report, political parties feel themselves at liberty to press their points in very unambiguous terms.

82. On the other hand this work brought us in close relation with the representatives of a Member of the United Nations who, by virtue of official documents signed with the Organization and on the basis of the Trusteeship System which is incorporated in the Charter, has been recognized formally as the responsible authority for the administration of the Territory.

83. The consideration due by a representative of the United Nations to an Administering Authority and the notion that our presence in Togoland must not be used as a disruptive element had to be weighed in direct relation with our function in the Plebiscite and with our duty to be sure that the people's interests were duly safeguarded in accordance with the Resolution of the General Assembly.

84. But whereas political parties were at liberty to maintain their contact with me as closely or loosely as it would suit their interests, the nature of the operation with which we were concerned - a plebiscite organized and conducted by the Administering Power in consultation with a United Nations Commissioner - imposed on the Administrator and myself the closest day-to-day co-operation in order to abide by our terms of reference.

85. Although it is sought to obtain the people's views on fundamental issues and although in this Plebiscite several direct consultations were made with political leaders, it is not an established practice anywhere that electoral legislation, safeguards, revision of registers, polling arrangements, etc., be discussed publicly or negotiated with the parties. In an operation subject to international

supervision it was understood that my part in the consultation of such matters was one more element that put me in contact with the Administration with the interests of the people in mind.

86. Such circumstances pointed to a co-operation in which obviously a sincere, cordial and clear relationship between the representatives of the Administering Power and myself would be essential. It should be based on the terms of the General Assembly's Resolution. A clear delimitation of our powers and competence and high consideration for each other's position would be a fundamental condition. If my function was honored by the Administrator, and if he had been given the conduct of the Plebiscite, I should not be expected to intrude publicly in his work in a manner that would seem to undermine his authority or the respect to which he was entitled.

87. It is with sincere gratification that I acknowledge the attitude assumed by the Administering Power towards this co-operation. It will have been seen in the Visiting Mission's Special Report, paragraph 130, that they envisaged and expected United Nations observation of the Plebiscite. Delegates who were present in the debate on Togland at the tenth session of the General Assembly will remember that the United Kingdom delegation did not oppose United Nations intervention, even in the degree in which it was fixed by subsequent amendments in the Indian draft.

88. I am grateful to the Minister for the Colonies of the United Kingdom for his statements on 13 and 15 December 1955 and for the assistance offered by him in the name of his Government and the Government of the Gold Coast. The United Kingdom delegation to the Fourth Committee maintained a close contact with me while I was in New York and provided me with valuable information for the commencement of my work. Upon my arrival at Accra I was the guest of the Governor of the Gold Coast at Christiansborg Castle and was later invited to accompany the Governor on his official tour of Southern Togoland. On 18 January, at a formal reception at Government House, we were introduced by the Governor to the highest ranking Government officials and prominent members of the society of Accra. On the evening before my departure from Accra, on 24 May, I was the Governor's guest of honour at a formal dinner at the castle. Members of my staff and myself are particularly grateful to the Regional Officer at Ho and Mrs. T.A. Mead, whose guests we have been on numerous occasions. They and the

Assistant Regional Officer and Mrs. D.A. Anderson offered us every facility during our stay in Ho. We are indebted to the Chief Regional Officer at Tamale and Mrs. S. MacDonald-Smith for their hospitality when we have visited that station. We are obliged to the Government Agents in Ho, Kpandu, Jasikan, Kete-Krachi, Yendi, Gambaga and Bawku, to the Principal Secretary of the Department of External Affairs and Mrs. de N. Ensor, to Lieutenant Colonel Leslie G. Young and Mrs. Young and to many other officers of the Administering Power for their courtesy and hospitality.

89. But I must express my special recognition to the Plebiscite Administrator, Sir John Dring, with whom I have co-operated closely during the Plebiscite and with whom I have maintained most sincere and cordial relations. I am obliged to him for his courtesy but especially for his high regard for the United Nations, for his sense of fairness and for his determination to conduct a clean Plebiscite.

90. I am indebted to the assistant Plebiscite Administrators, Messrs. O. Robin Blair and Evan Lewis, and to the Registration and Assistant Registration Officers, and other members of the Administration.

91. The courtesy shown to us, on the other hand, was never carried to the point of embarrassing our position and officers of the Administration were always conscious of the freedom in which we should want to act in connexion with our responsibilities in the Plebiscite.

92. The Administering Power has welcomed the supervision of the United Nations and has in every way facilitated its work. It was obvious to me from the beginning that they have wanted to conduct a Plebiscite every aspect of which could be made known to us and through the United Nations to public opinion in the world.

93. In the circumstances in which we have co-operated aloofness would have been neither possible nor desirable. It should be noted that if the Plebiscite had not been conducted with fairness in the first place a friendly relation would have been impossible. In the second place, it will be seen in this Report that no consideration has kept us from insuring the fulfillment of our terms of reference.

94. In the beginning of our consultations a point had to be made clear, as will be seen in paragraphs 102 to 106.

95. Late in the course of the operation, in the month of April, an important disagreement arose between us to which reference is made in paragraphs 222 to 230.

96. Numerous other points have been discussed with sincerity and straightforwardness and agreement has almost invariably been reached.

(b) First Consultations

97. The consultations that should take place between us, in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of the Resolution of the General Assembly, were handicapped in the beginning of this operation.

98. At the plenary meeting in which Resolution 944 (X) was approved in the General Assembly on 15 December Mr. H.L. d'A. Hopkinson, Minister for the Colonies in the Government of the United Kingdom, and Mr. Barry Gidden, Representative of the United Kingdom at the Fourth Committee, communicated to me the intention of their Government to enact immediately a basic instrument, an Order in Council, in order to permit the immediate organization of the Plebiscite abiding by the timetable that is recommended in the last paragraph of the Visiting Mission's report. In the same manner it was intended to issue the Regulations for the first period of the Plebiscite.

99. I regret that for me it would have been impossible to leave at once for any point, Accra or London, where I could have taken part in the work connected with this step. I expressed to the representatives of the United Kingdom that I was aware that these steps must be taken at once and that I trusted that the recommendations of the Visiting Mission would be strictly abided by.

Mr. Hopkinson assured me that this was the intention of his Government and that Chapter IV of the Mission's Report provided a good guidance.

100. I did understand that a copy of the Order in Council would be sent to me to New York and that I would be expected to acknowledge the receipt of it and to comment on it. I was told at the Secretariat that the United Kingdom delegation expected this document to be received in New York around 26 or 27 December. As I left New York on 30 December my itinerary was taken by the United Kingdom delegation.

101. In Paris, through the Mexican Ambassador, I received on 6 January two copies of the printed issue of "The Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship

(Plebiscite) Order in Council, 1955", sent to me by the Secretary of State from London on 2 January. (See paragraphs 289 to 292 and Annex I-A). The note in this document "made 22 December 1955, laid before Parliament 30 December 1955, and coming into operation 31 December 1955" made it clear that contact between us in those dates would not have been possible.

102. I immediately studied this document with great care and on the following day addressed to Mr. H.L. d'A. Hopkinson, Minister for the Colonies, the following letter:

"Dear Mr. Hopkinson:

On my way to the Gold Coast I received here yesterday, from His Excellency the Secretary of State for the Colonies, two copies of The Togoland under United Kingdom Administration Plebiscite Order in Council. Barry Gidden had told me that you would be good enough to send me this important document probably here. I hasten to acknowledge receipt of it and hope that you will kindly express my thanks to His Excellency, the Secretary.

I have immediately read the document and have taken due note of its most important points. I am happy to have this information in connexion with the work that I will commence already the day after tomorrow, on my arrival at the Gold Coast.

I have noticed the wording in which the questions for the plebiscite are put in the Order in Council. It is my understanding that the United Kingdom Government are not at present at liberty to speak officially of the independence of the Gold Coast in a document of this nature, as it was done during the debate at the Fourth Committee, and I am sure that it is because of this that the questions are not worded here as in the General Assembly's Resolution. Still, knowing very well that you are indeed bent on carrying out this plebiscite in the terms of the Resolution, I have felt no doubt that His Excellency the Governor of the Gold Coast and the distinguished Plebiscite Administrator will be in a position to take the steps that they will deem pertinent to that end.

At this point I have wanted only to acknowledge receipt of the Order and to thank you very much indeed for the provisions contained in Section 11, as well as for the valuable information that I have obtained from the reading of this fundamental instrument. I trust you will excuse me for not being able to use official stationery for this communication since I am on my way and have no other means to reach you now than this personal letter.

May I take this new opportunity to thank you for all the courtesy shown to me, and may I express to you my faith that this plebiscite is going to be organized and conducted in a manner that will do honor to your Government and will enable me to report to the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly on the true expression of the will of the people of Togo under British administration. Although I shall be mainly in contact with the Governor of the Gold Coast and the Plebiscite Administrator, I hope also to be in correspondence with you. In any case I do hope to see you again in New York this year.

Yours sincerely,.

Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto
United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner

103. On the morning after my arrival at Accra, on 10 January, I took up with the Governor of the Gold Coast and the Plebiscite Administrator the point of the alternatives. I remarked that neither of the two alternatives had been conveyed precisely. The Governor gave his serious consideration to this point, reiterated that it was the purpose of his Government not to deviate in anything from the terms of the General Assembly's Resolution, but remarked that it could be assumed that in the preamble to the wording of the alternatives were contained the elements of the independence of the Gold Coast. I said that I had not failed to note the preamble and asked if, it being possible to interpret that the independence of the Gold Coast was referred to in it, the Governor felt empowered to make the alternatives known to the voter precisely in the terms of the General Assembly's Resolution. The Governor thought this could be done but, logically, he would obtain legal advice before taking this step. I expressed no objections concerning the Registration Regulations, issued by the Governor on 31 December and which it would have been in his power to amend.

104. Only an hour later, the Administrator brought to my Office a public notice, of which 150,000 copies had been distributed some days before throughout Togoland in English, Ewe, Twi, Hausa and Dogbani. In this leaflet (see Annex III-A), which was the official notice issued by the Administering Power to voters and was printed by the Government Printer at Accra, the text of the alternatives was drafted in terms corresponding precisely to those put forth in operative paragraph 2 of the United Nations Resolution. The Department of External Affairs had taken this action. I immediately communicated to the Governor and to the Administrator that I was satisfied on this point and considered the issue settled.

105. It is necessary to include here, however, the rest of the correspondence that was exchanged on this matter. My letter to Mr. Hopkinson had been received in London when he no longer held that office. The new Minister for the Colonies, Mr. John Hare, sent me on 13 January the following reply:

"Dear Señor Espinosa:

It falls to me to thank you most cordially for your letter of 7 January to my predecessor, Mr. Henry Hopkinson, about the Togoland under United Kingdom Administration Plebiscite Order in Council. I am indeed glad to learn that you consider that the information contained in this fundamental instrument will be of value to you in your work in the Trust Territory.

In preparing this Instrument it was, of course, necessary for the legal draftsman to word the questions so that they not only convey the precise sense in which they were accepted by the General Assembly, but also are phrased in legally unambiguous terms. It was for this reason that the expression "upon the relinquishment of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of their responsibility for the Government of" (which is the normal way in which the grant of independence to a British Colonial territory has been described in previous constitutional instruments) is employed instead of a direct reference to the "attainment of independence". I am sure that you will appreciate that to the layman the two expressions are synonymous, and I am told that in posing the questions in the local vernaculars it will be easier to translate the questions as phrased in the General Assembly's resolution rather than as phrased in the Order in Council.

If you have other points of a similar kind about the plebiscite perhaps you could now discuss them with the Governor who will, I am sure, be pleased to do all he can to clarify anything about which you may be in doubt.

May I take this opportunity to wish you every success in your most responsible task as United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and to say that I share your conviction that the plebiscite will be organized and conducted in a manner which will enable you to report to the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly on the true expression of the will of the people of Togoland under United Kingdom administration.

Yours sincerely,

John Hare

and to this letter I replied on 31 January in the following terms:

"Dear Mr. Hare:

I wish to thank you very sincerely for your kind letter of the 13th instant. You must forgive me for being late in referring to it since I have been in various parts of Togo all these days.

You will remember that in my letter to Mr. Hopkinson I expressed confidence that the Governor and the Plebiscite Administrator would surely be in a position to take the pertinent steps in connexion with the matter to which I had referred. Having taken this point up with them on the 10th instant they showed me that day the notice - of which 100,000 copies had been distributed - in which the two questions were put, not only in the vernacular but also in English, in the precise terms of the United Nations Resolution, which is surely the unequivocal way in which the alternatives should reach the voter.

I immediately informed Sir Charles and Sir John that I was entirely satisfied on this point and thanked them for their attention.

The importance of this issue may be easily seized considering that both the Administrator and I have found it necessary that I issue today a public statement reiterating which is the official text of the questions in order to offset serious distortions of it which have been published these days in Togo.

I thank you once more for your kindness and wish to say that I have indeed received a most deferent and wholehearted cooperation here from the Governor, the Administrator and all of the officials appointed for the Plebiscite.

Yours sincerely,

Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto
United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner

Mr. Hare's acknowledgement of this letter, dated 7 February, is as follows:

"Dear Señor Espinosa:

I thank you for your letter of 31 January about the form of presentation of the Plebiscite questions. I am indeed very pleased to learn that, by describing the alternatives in the leaflets distributed to the Togolanders in the precise terms of the United Nations Resolution, you consider that the alternatives will reach the voters in an unequivocal way and that the Governor and the Plebiscite Administrator have thereby resolved your doubts on this point to your entire satisfaction.

I am also glad to receive your confirmation that there is wholehearted co-operation between you, the Governor, the Administrator and all the officials appointed for the plebiscite. I am confident that this co-operation will ensure that the plebiscite is carried out in the most effective manner.

Yours sincerely,

John Hare

(In handwriting: I hope that if you are passing through London I shall have the pleasure of meeting you)"

106. Having this written assurance of the Administering Power that the terms of the Order in Council had meant to convey the precise sense in which the questions were accepted by the General Assembly, and that to the layman the two expressions are synonymous, I felt that the matter should be considered satisfactorily concluded.

107. In all documents issued since then (see Regulation 3 e in the Plebiscite Regulations, Annex I-G, and all documents in Annex III) the text of the alternatives is given precisely in the terms approved by the General Assembly's Resolution.

(c) Other Consultations

108. Considering that contact with the Administrator has been continuous it has been thought best in this Report to record each important consultation in its corresponding Chapter, mainly in those that refer to political aspects of the operation and to the conduct of the Plebiscite. Only a summary of these consultations is given below as a record of the manner and the extent to which the corresponding provision of the General Assembly's Resolution has been abided by:

109. On 10 January at Christiansborg matters relating to the Order in Council and the Registration Regulations were discussed with the Governor and the Administrator.

110. On 17 January a meeting with the Administrator was held in Ho to discuss registration. Later on that same day another meeting was held with him in connexion with points raised by political parties on that same date (see paragraph 387).

111. From 25 to 27 January, being the guest of the Governor in his tour of Togoland, various aspects of registration were examined with him.

112. During the Governor's visit to Togoland leaflets appeared in which several important texts were altered. The action that could be taken in this case and others that might arise (see paragraphs 301 and 302) was examined on 26 January.

113. On 26 January and on 1, 8 and 21 February consultations were held in connexion with the voting Regulations (see paragraph 307).

114. On 1 February amendments to the Regulations concerned with paragraph 302 and matters connected with the voting Regulations and the Order in Council were discussed with the Solicitor General.

115. On 15 February (see paragraph 451) a consultation was held by the Administrator and myself with political leaders for the selection of symbols.

116. On 21 February, at a meeting at Government House in Accra with the Acting Governor, the Plebiscite Administrator, the Attorney General, the Principal Secretary of the Department of External Affairs and the Secretary of the Governor, matters concerned with the voting Regulations, an amendment to the Order in Council, Voting Petitions Regulations, appointment of a Special Judge and other subjects were discussed (see paragraph 296).

117. On 15 February I was consulted by the Administrator in connexion with the possibility of a joint statement on the matter of outsiders participating in the Plebiscite in Togoland.

118. During the months of March and April consultation between the Administrator and myself was constant and was mainly connected with arrangements for polling as may be seen in paragraphs 449 to 472.

119. In April correspondence was exchanged with the Governor in a matter concerning external influence in the Plebiscite (see paragraphs 222 to 230).

120. During the entire operation I have met with the Administrator in Ho, Accra, Bimbilla, Yendi, Bawku, Ahamansu and other points and various matters have been discussed.

121. I have mentioned (paragraph 50) the constant contact that the Observers have maintained with Registration Assistants, with Registration and Assistant Registration Officers, with Government Agents, with the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators and with the Administrator himself.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE PLEBISCITE

(a) Connexions with Neighbouring Territories

122. It would be difficult to understand the situation that has brought the Western half of Togoland to a Plebiscite without a knowledge of its relations with the Eastern half of the Territory. It should be even more useless to try to understand that situation without a clear idea of the political development of the Gold Coast, a country with which Togoland under United Kingdom administration has been more closely tied, during the past forty years, than with Togoland under French administration. But whereas such information can be requested in the terms of the Charter, and is readily provided, for the two Trust Territories, Administering Powers are not legally bound to submit political information concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories.

123. It is not thought generally that the United Kingdom Government's communication of 21 June 1954 (document A/2660), making known to the General Assembly that the Gold Coast was then in the last stage of constitutional development before independence, was meant as political information submitted in accordance with some obligation, moral or legal, on the evolution of a Non-Self-Governing Territory. It is felt, rather, that this fundamental political fact was then adduced merely to establish the conclusion that when the Gold Coast assumes full responsibility for its own affairs - which the United Kingdom Government announced would happen within a measureable period - it would no longer be constitutionally possible for the United Kingdom Government to administer the Trust Territory of Togoland as an integral part of the Gold Coast.

124. However, the first of the facts to which I have referred above became immediately an essential element to the operation for the Plebiscite in Togoland. It is in fact only one striking instance of the innumerable connexions to be found between the two Territories, in the Plebiscite as in other aspects of their political development. It seems obvious that political draftsmen of the Administering Power - who often do refer at least in a broad outline to essential elements of the political development of the Gold Coast in their Report on the Trust Territory - are surely at pains to draw a line between Articles 73 (e) and 88 of the Charter in the case of two territories that are administered as one.

125. It is with these considerations in mind that I offer here my formal assurance that references which in this Report must of all necessity be made to developments in the Gold Coast should by no manner be construed as steps of a representative of the General Assembly to go beyond the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter. In the course of a task entrusted to me in connexion with a Plebiscite in a Trust Territory I have found myself closely and officially connected with a great, non-self-governing country, in a critical and most interesting stage of its development. I should not like it to be thought that undue advantage has been taken of this exceptional position. I must give my assurance then that the information I have obtained on certain political developments - of which I shall use as little as possible and only where I am literally compelled to do so - is meant exclusively to make understandable to the General Assembly vital aspects of the Plebiscite in Togoland which would stay out of its reach if we were to strain our efforts under the false illusion that it is possible to judge the Plebiscite, and to come to an important decision on it, strictly within the weakly defined boundaries of Togoland.

126. I am sure that there has never been any intention to withhold from the General Assembly any data that was found necessary for this debate, but it is clear now that delegates to the eighth, ninth and tenth sessions of the Assembly were handicapped to follow certain developments that are now known to affect the Plebiscite. Such information is in no way curtailed or censored by the Administering Authority and is of common knowledge to readers of newspapers and important periodicals in West Africa, but it does not reach delegates of the General Assembly in a comprehensive form. I must recognize with gratitude that whatever data I have needed has been readily furnished to me by representatives of the Administering Power and it is in this atmosphere that I have been able to assemble an important information which is relevant to our matter.

127. However, in due reciprocity to the deference that has been shown to me, I have preferred not to include in my report any other facts than those that are entirely indispensable. I wish instead to suggest that perhaps the United Kingdom Government, which has shown its great consideration to the General Assembly in the course of this debate and has always endeavoured to lay before it the full facts of the situation and to assist the Assembly in every way to reach a

fair decision, might want to provide it, as political information submitted voluntarily on a Non-Self-Governing Territory or in any other suitable form, with the necessary data. It is my belief that, since Togoland has been living not only administratively but politically as one same unit with the Gold Coast, all of the political background in which the present situation has evolved should be made known to the Organization in sufficient detail. It is not enough to state that a constitutional crisis in the Gold Coast has delayed or endangered a solution that is vital to the Trust Territory. Considering that delegations are bound to judge the issues bearing in mind the aims and programmes of parties, ideological affinities, etc., it would surely be useful to provide them with an ample and impartial information, based mainly on official statements of leaders, that would shed light on the character of movements, economic matters, the situation of chieftancy, political balance in the country, and constitutional points that are of no less interest in Togoland than in the Gold Coast, especially if it is borne in mind that the General Assembly is called upon to consider the union or separation of the two Territories politically.

128. I shall refer briefly to some of the points that should be given special attention:

129. It is of course obvious that the entire operation for the Plebiscite in Togoland is based on the announcement that the Gold Coast is about to attain total independence. It is this consideration, of far-reaching consequences for the development of Africa and the emancipation of dependent peoples, that justifiably impressed enlightened people in the world and made many delegations feel that it would not be wrong to depart from the old plan of reunification of Togoland if it were the true will of the majority in Western Togoland to unite with a promising, modern, all-African State.

130. This prospect earned general esteem to the extent that the Plebiscite was conducted not on the basis of an accomplished fact but on a mere announcement of something yet to happen, on the basis of confidence justifiably placed on the word of a distinguished member of the Organization of the United Nations.

131. It seems needless to say that, no matter how correctly the Plebiscite has been conducted, it would have been impossible to consider it a successful and fortunate operation if this premise for any reason had failed to be sustained.

132. Immediately after the General Elections that brought the present Government of the Gold Coast into power, shortly before the debate on Togoland was taken up at the General Assembly on the basis of the letter of the United Kingdom Government of 21 June 1954, a movement of far-reaching consequences was launched in Ashanti against the party in the Government. While the party in the Government was pressing for a declaration of independence the movement in Ashanti was seen to grow to very important proportions, and as a consequence of this, around the time when this matter was debated at the tenth session of the General Assembly and especially during the months when the Plebiscite was being conducted, a constitutional crisis developed in the Gold Coast that seemed to endanger seriously the grant of independence to the Gold Coast.

133. Togoland is related to that crisis not only because of the implications of Gold Coast independence on the Plebiscite but because a movement in Togoland is allied with the National Liberation Movement of Ashanti in opposition to the Government.

134. When the alternatives for the Plebiscite were discussed at the General Assembly in 1955 and the first of them (the union of Togoland under United Kingdom administration with an independent Gold Coast) came under review, delegates were logically desirous of knowing in which manner the union of Togoland with the Gold Coast would be effected if that alternative happened to be the choice of the majority. The legitimate interest of the Assembly, which was not sufficiently debated then, will surely be stressed now that the results of the Plebiscite are known. The answer to this point (see paragraphs 180 and 184) is to be found in important political events now taking place in the Gold Coast.

135. The Plebiscite is now concluded. One party, which contended in it in favour of the first alternative on the basis of the government proposals according to which Togoland would be united with the Gold Coast in the unitary, central form of government that it has always upheld, now claims victory considering that the first alternative won a total margin of over 25,000 votes. An important political development in the Gold Coast (and Togoland), the General Elections that are to be held probably in the month of July, 1956, could have the effect of reversing these results. If the Convention Peoples' Party, which now holds the Government of the Gold Coast and Togoland, were to

lose these elections the union of Togoland with an independent Gold Coast in the form envisaged by them could not take place. If victory should favour the coalition of forces that constitute the opposition in the Gold Coast (one of the greatest of which is a political movement in Togoland that has favoured the second alternative) the union of Togoland with the Gold Coast, in case it is found viable, could only be envisaged through the federal system that is contained in the proposals of the opposition (see paragraphs 173 to 180), which has always been the essence of the second alternative in the Plebiscite (see paragraph 139).

136. In the case of some events in the Plebiscite, stages of them that happened in Togoland may be separated from those that took place in the Gold Coast, for instance in the unfortunate incident in which Mr. J.P. Kona, representative of the Togoland Congress in South Mamprusi, was involved in the first days of May. Other matters, such as the letter of the Togoland Congress which is quoted in this Report after paragraph 231 would remain unintelligible to delegates if they are not informed of the political balance in the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast to which that letter refers. Paragraph 232 of this Report records the important visit that Messrs. Kojo Botsio and R.R. Amponsah made to Yendi as the Plebiscite was coming to its climax. It is necessary to provide delegates information that will enable them to see what forces in the Gold Coast these two leaders represent and that will permit them at least to infer - at a moment when it is thought that the Ya-Na was hesitant about the Plebiscite - what topics may have been raised by chance during the courtesy calls that the distinguished visitors paid in hurried succession to the Paramount Chief of the Dagombas.

137. But it is especially important to weigh the influence that the development of independence in the Gold Coast has had not only on one but indeed on both of the alternatives of the Plebiscite in Togoland. If we remember that a general association lasting forty years has permitted Togoland officially - first by the Mandate and later by the Trust Agreement - to develop smoothly as an integral part of a land that was moving towards self-government, whereas efforts to include the Territory in a reunification of the two halves of former German Togoland have met with failure, there is little cause for wonder if in the end the prospect of association with an independent Gold Coast has attracted Togoland's of both fields, in one way or another.

138. Persons who bear in mind that the two alternatives in the Plebiscite were:

Do you want the union of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast?

Do you want the separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under Trusteeship, pending the ultimate determination of its political future?

and who had followed the efforts of the General Assembly and of representatives of Togoland to re-unify the two halves of Togoland are at times under the impression that the issues in the Plebiscite were essentially the union of Togoland with the Gold Coast or its separation from the Gold Coast.

139. But at this point I must request careful re-reading of an element that had at times appeared during the Togoland debate and which the Visiting Mission of 1955 brought especially to the attention of the General Assembly. In paragraph 105 of its Special Report the Visiting Mission proposed the essence of the alternatives just mentioned above. But only one page before coming to the wording of the questions to be put to the voter, in paragraph 102 of the Report, the Mission had offered fundamental data to appraise this matter. The first part of that paragraph, which is worth special consideration, reads as follows:

"Two main views have been put forward before the Mission. The first view favours integrating Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast when the latter becomes independent, and the second favours establishing the identity of Togoland under British administration as separate from the Gold Coast as a preliminary to allowing the people of Togoland under British administration to choose whether (1) to federate with the Gold Coast, or (2) to unite with an independent Togoland under French administration, with the territories thus unified to be federated eventually with the Gold Coast..."

The rest of this paragraph, which should be seen in the Report, shows which parties favoured each one of these views, and the support that the Mission felt each view had in various parts of Togoland.

140. Bearing this element in mind reference will be made farther ahead, as from paragraph 154, to the federal proposals for the Gold Coast and Togoland that have been made by the National Liberation Movement and its Allies.

(b) Separation for the Conduct of the Plebiscite

141. For the purposes of the Plebiscite it should be readily recognized that the association of Togoland with the Gold Coast was an important obstacle and that an ideal condition, a theoretical setting which is sought for every Plebiscite and which is rarely ever attained, would have been that the total separation or isolation of Togoland be achieved in order to ask it then freely to express its views. Members of the United Nations are of course aware that a formal separation - whether preliminary to a type of union with the Gold Coast or not - is sought by the second alternative in the Plebiscite, and that the General Assembly is committed to achieve it if it is considered that this alternative has won the Plebiscite in a part of Togoland. But referring here to the ideal condition that is desirable for the conduct of a Plebiscite I cannot but feel respect for the efforts that were made at the General Assembly during the tenth session to obtain the separation of Togoland from the Gold Coast for the purposes of the Plebiscite. It is to be assumed on this point that when the General Assembly declined to make this attempt the majority concluded that it would have been futile and perhaps entirely artificial if a special and costly effort had been made to give Western Togoland momentarily the feeling that it was independent and apart from neighbours who are known to have such an important bearing on its destinies. The Plebiscite has been conducted then without stopping in any way the daily association of the two lands and merely on the basis of the determination, correctness and impartiality of the Administering Power, in an operation in which the United Nations has played a special role.

142. In this manner it has been necessary to overcome important obstacles. They should not be exaggerated and it must be stressed that the operation was never endangered with the grave situations that are recorded in certain famous European plebiscites. Problems had to be solved in connexion with the possibility of infiltration, the qualifications of registration and polling personnel, and above all regarding external influence.

143. Togoland exists as a unit from the viewpoint of Trust, but because of an allowance in the Trust Agreement it does not exist administratively as a unit. We have already seen how the two halves of the Territory are closely tied with neighbouring zones in the Gold Coast with whom their representatives sit and

discuss everyday business in District or Local Councils or in their Native States units. Outside of the Report for the Trusteeship Council I know of no other link that brings together, for instance, Mamprusi or Kusasi with Ho, whereas everything brings Ho together with Anlo or Peki, in the Gold Coast, and Kusasi or Mamprusi with the little town of Nalerigu, also in the Gold Coast. It is an act for this Plebiscite, the Order in Council, that has established districts or areas that are totally separated - merely for the purposes of the Plebiscite - from areas in the Gold Coast, and the Plebiscite is the only major act which has referred in these times to all of Togoland and exclusively to Togoland, it being in the hands of the Governor, not of the Government of the Gold Coast.

144. Togoland under British administration is administered in fact by the Government of the Gold Coast, but the Government will surely want to point out that in fact it administers itself since it is itself a part of the Government of the Gold Coast, having followed with it the same constitutional developments and having gone along with it in a parliamentary type of government. One of the arguments that have been brought forth against the proposal that Togoland have a separate Legislative Assembly is that this could only have been done in case a total separation were envisaged, since the Executive is drawn from the Assembly.

145. It is remembered that out of 104 constituencies for the whole of the Gold Coast and Togoland fourteen lie totally or partly in Togoland, men have been elected in Togoland for them and are in this manner intervening in the Government. One Minister in the Cabinet of the Gold Coast and one Ministerial Secretary are Togolandese who are Members of the Legislative Assembly for Togoland districts. Foremost leaders of the opposition in Togoland are members of the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast.

146. As far as the intervention of the United Nations in the Plebiscite is concerned, a determined effort was required to disassociate our operation from the Gold Coast. Transportation to Togoland is through Accra, as is the mail. Telegrams abroad have to be spelled over the telephone to Accra. All necessary supplies come from Accra. It was only with a clear determination to stay in the Territory that it proved possible to leave merely one-man service stations at Accra and Tamale and to retain all of the personnel in Togoland.

147. Having paid a courtesy call to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Government of the Gold Coast (and consequently of Togoland) I felt bound to explain to him that the restraint we would show in connexion with political developments in that part of West Africa should not be seen as lack of consideration towards the Gold Coast but as an attitude that we must take because of the bearing of those developments on the issues of the Togoland Plebiscite.

148. In the North it was necessary to act with care in regard to an old and traditional relation maintained across the boundary. The Na-yiri, Paramount Chief of the Mamprusis and other peoples in the area, has great numbers of his subjects in Togoland and his influence on the Plebiscite could be foreseen. Coming through Nalerigu I felt bound to pay to this distinguished Chief the courtesy call that is customary for all visitors to the area, but I requested that we should not speak of the Plebiscite. When the United Nations Observer for South Mamprusi was leaving that district in May, at the conclusion of the Plebiscite, the Na-yiri explained that he had avoided coming in contact with him during the Plebiscite knowing our position.

149. In Yendi the Ya-Na, Paramount Chief of the Dagombas, lives in Togoland but has a great many of his people across the line in the Gold Coast.

150. In the South of the Territory it is a well known fact that great numbers of Ewes live in both sides of the boundary and a connexion between them with regard to the Plebiscite often became apparent.

(c) The Constitutional Crisis

151. The Convention Peoples' Party in Togoland is but a branch of the party that holds the Government in the Gold Coast. In Togoland also this party holds the majority of the seats in the Legislative Assembly.

152. It will be remembered that the Convention Peoples' Party, under the slogan of "S. G. now!" (the initials S. G. are used popularly in the Gold Coast to refer to self-government) came into power in 1951 with an electoral victory of thirty-four out of the thirty-eight constituencies in an Assembly in which not all of the seats were as yet available by popular election. On 10 July 1953 a motion was passed by overwhelming majority at the Legislative Assembly authorizing the Gold Coast Government, as soon as the necessary constitutional and administrative arrangements were made, to request the Government of the United Kingdom to pass an act in Parliament declaring the Gold Coast to be a Sovereign and Independent

State within the Commonwealth. After a wide national consultation the Government proposed to the United Kingdom important amendments to the existing constitution, and under this revised constitution General Elections were held again for the Legislative Assembly and, again on the basis of an open bid for independence, the Convention Peoples' Party obtained a victory on 12 June 1954 and is now in power with a support of eighty Members of the Assembly, out of 104. Six of the constituencies in Togoland had returned CPP candidates.

153. Barely three months after these elections, in the month of September 1954, a senior linguist of the Asantehene, Mr. Baffour Osei Akoto, launched in Ashanti an important movement, the National Liberation Movement, directed against the Convention Peoples' Party. Strong resentment was expressed against the CPP, against people of the Colony, and against cocoa marketing policies. The statements made then should be consulted to weigh the grievances that were disclosed against the Government. One important aspect of this movement is that it had the support of the Asantehene and of the Asanteman Council (the house of chiefs of Ashanti) and that it came out in defense of Ashanti traditions and soon became the centre of a strong action of Ashanti nationalism. It should be borne in mind that three months before twenty out of the twenty-one Ashanti constituencies had been won by CPP men. A situation of violence ensued (documents should be consulted to see which of the two sides committed the first act of violence and which of them has resorted to it more often) and it is now thought generally that Members of the Legislative Assembly for Ashanti do not find it safe to visit their constituencies. It is alleged by one side that this is so due to the fact that they have lost the confidence of their constituents, and by the other side it is contended that a wave of lawlessness and violence in Ashanti is what does not permit them to return.

154. But our concern here is the part of the National Liberation Movement's programme that is considered the most salient and surely the one that has brought it more closely together with a movement in Togoland: the proposals for a federal form of government. Although such items as the price of cocoa and grievances against people in the Colony were stressed on 5 September, as the movement was being launched, since that early date federalism was highlighted in the press as the paramount aim of the movement. It will be remembered that at different stages of the debate on Togoland the possibility of a federation of a

unified Togoland with the Gold Coast has been mentioned. Since the first announcement of the launching of the National Liberation Movement some of its representatives mentioned to the press that it was hoped to obtain the support of the Togoland Congress. Petitioners returning from New York after the ninth session of the General Assembly are quoted as commenting favourably on federalism as a common goal of the NLM and Ewe unificationists.

155. According to press reports that I have examined an important meeting was held in Kumasi on Sunday the 24th October 1954 between leaders of the NLM and sixty representatives of other parties and movements, and this is the first public or formal occasion on which the Togoland Congress is reported to have come in contact with the NLM.

156. Although strong local feelings, the prestige of the Asantehene, the rights of chiefs in the modern State, respect for well established Ashanti traditions, have been the leit-motiv in the Ashanti movement since its inception and well into the year of 1955, and although the movement has been openly accused of coming in the way of Gold Coast independence, it is considered now, in the light of official statements, that leaders in that Region do not contemplate staying out of an independent Gold Coast.

157. Although the essence of the platform of the Togoland Congress has been Ewe unification and the protracted prospect of unification of the two Togolands that has been discussed at the General Assembly, paragraph 102 of the Visiting Mission's Special Report should leave no doubt in readers' minds that the prospect of joining an independent Gold Coast - which many times had been hinted during the Togoland debate and is considered to have complicated the issue of unification from an international point of view - is now openly in the platform of the Togoland Congress. I must call attention to a poster used very widely by the Congress in the final stages of the Plebiscite (see Annex 4, D) in which "Unification - Independence - Federation" are the catchwords.

158. The evolution of parties in Togoland should be considered weighing their situation between an ideal of unification in a complex process aired slowly in the General Assembly and the actual fact of everyday association in such an interesting and attractive political reality as the Gold Coast. In this relation parties from Togoland, as those from Ashanti and from the Northern Territories,

have found logically, groups or programmes that they would like to oppose and parties or platforms with which they might naturally become associated in order to add strength to their opposition and thereby attain their purposes.

159. Deeply-rooted and most respectable and noble feelings of kinship of groups have had to be harmonized with the fact that political movements cannot afford to be exclusive if they are not viable as independent units, and with the fact that limited political ambitions have no chance to stand against great and skillful national movements appealing to the people in programmes as far-reaching and as alluring as the bid for independence that was launched since 1948 by the Convention Peoples' Party. Constructive racial feelings have not been superseded in this phenomenon. They have merely made room to admit the need of a wider sphere of action in which the great national issue is not fought but it is made clear that the smaller entity should be given its place and is not to be engulfed with a total loss of personality in the greater unit.

160. It should be borne in mind that the Gold Coast - a country that has been recognized as a viable independent unit considering its size and number of inhabitants - has brought into political association four or five distinct units. Traditionally in this ensemble there have been four fundamental units: the Colony Region (although it is now divided into an Eastern Colony Region and a Western Colony Region), Ashanti, the Northern Territories and the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region. We have commented that Togoland as we envisage it from a Trusteeship viewpoint disappears in this arrangement as a unit and this fact creates a conflict between the Northern Peoples' Party and Togoland unificationist groups. Northern Togoland, it will be remembered, is administered as a part of the Northern Territories and the Northern Peoples' Party wish it to be considered a part of that Region. Southern Togoland is surely the fundamental or most important part of the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region, in which are also incorporated territories of the Gold Coast.

161. A wide political demarcation having been defined, a process which is common to the entire world could no longer be stopped. No matter how local a movement might be believed to be in its inception, and whatever the origin and ideals of the movement might be, if it is to outstrip any other political force with which it may come in conflict in a country in which things are to be decided by a secret

ballot it must widen its programmes, make them palatable to the average voter, and reach out for support as far as territorial boundaries will permit it. A very few years of such political association are enough to intertwine all movements in the country.

162. Ashanti with its strong and clear individuality, Togoland with the possibility of exploring further in the General Assembly the prospect of a re-unification of the two halves of former German Togoland, and the Northern Territories alleging that they are a Protectorate, unlike the Colony or Ashanti, and have rights to claim in a Treaty that is still in force, were soon confronted with the need of coping with a sweeping programme of independence launched from the Colony and which was seen to penetrate everywhere not with an invasion by foreigners but by means of local people who were won over to the same ideals. It must be remembered that the Convention Peoples' Party obtained its hold in Ashanti almost exclusively with Ashanti men. In its turn the NLM has penetrated in the same way in the Colony, not so in Togoland or the Northern Territories, where contact was established by alliance with existing parties.

163. Meeting in the same Legislative Assembly in the proportion of twenty-four men of three or four different sources, in opposition to eighty representatives forming one solid block of political opinion, made it obvious that only a new programme with sufficient elements in common to all aggrieved, with a mystic, and with ability to draw attention to flaws that they find in the Administration, could bring together parties in the opposition and hope to attract important men from the other side and from the public in general, with a view to winning the majority.

164. The matter of prices paid to farmers by the Cocoa Marketing Board was a most attractive item in 1954, when the world market price soared to 305 shillings per load of 60 lbs. and the farmer was only getting 72. A year later the function of an institution of this type was more readily understood when prices collapsed and farmers could continue to grow cocoa with a guaranteed price.

165. A very important matter was the discussion of the rights of chiefs. In what manner the impact of the movement for independence and the advent of a modern African State within a constitutional conception made its effects felt upon the ancient institution of chieftaincy in the Gold Coast and Togoland is a matter

of great depth. It is generally felt by nationalists that in times of old chiefs were instruments in the hands of a colonial power to facilitate its domination in the country. But within the present constitutional structure, with the bulk of public affairs in the hands of civil, non-traditional administrative bodies like the District and Local Councils or the judicial system, the process for enstooling and destooling chiefs being in the hands of elders and subject to an established practice which may be brought about very democratically, it is the strong national savour of the institution that makes it highly attractive and both sides in the present dispute are surely sincere in their declarations that chieftaincy is one of the most characteristic traditions in the country and should be preserved. United Nations Observers during the Plebiscite were instructed to study the situation of traditional chiefs in their districts and have recorded numerous facts of manifest interest. Whether it can be proved or not that until recent times chiefs were empowered to inflict corporal punishment and order executions, of a ritual or other nature, today one of the most extraordinary things to be noted in Togoland or the neighbouring territories is that a chief, who usually attends his public business in the open, surrounded by his elders, by the door of his very ordinary compound or under the village tree, may exert his influence over hundreds of thousands of persons without an army and with no other weapon than his great moral authority.

166. To what extent it is reasonable to expect that these traditional authorities, with their influence so vastly recognized, remain out of politics, is obviously a thorny matter on which I should be excused from commenting, each delegate being in a position to draw his own conclusions.

167. The Convention Peoples' Party having been in power during the sharp evolution of these years, it is accused of having flouted the rights of chiefs and persons wishing to appraise this matter impartially should read carefully documents of the time to guide their judgement. Here it must be said that it is extremely hazardous to conclude that chiefs are grouped only on one side of the present dispute. The Convention Peoples' Party denounces that the National Liberation Movement draws its strength from the support that has been given it by Otumfuo the Asantehene, Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh II - surely one of the most distinguished chiefs in West Africa - and by the Asanteman Council, which is the house of chiefs of Ashanti. But it may be verified that this intervention did

not keep the seven native States that form the Brong-Kyempim Federation in Ashanti (Dormaa, Techiman, Drobo, Suma, Odumase, Wiase and Abease) from siding with the Government, as did the Bechemhene, the Kumawuhene, the Asokorehene, whereas this element in the programme of the National Liberation Movement did win the feelings of other chiefs outside Ashanti. In the Plebiscite chiefs' influence can be detected in numerous instances either for one or for the other of the parties. The Togoland Congress is allied with the National Liberation Movement. Yet its brilliant penetration in the North of Togoland during the Plebiscite had mainly the effect of using the secrecy of the ballot to attract towards its programmes numerous voters who were in this manner brought away from the influence of the Na-yiri, the Ya-Na and other chiefs who favoured union with the Gold Coast. In paragraphs 210, 232, 233, 246 and 247 will be seen instances of Chiefs disclosing their feelings in favour of either of the alternatives in the Plebiscite.

168. A major conflict in the constitutional crisis is precisely a point connected with chieftaincy, the State Councils (Ashanti) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1955, which withdrew certain powers (the right of appeal of Chiefs other than the Paramount) from the jurisdiction of the Asanteman Council. This delicate step, which was passed with the strong CPP majority in the Assembly among other reasons because "Government considers that disputes on matters of a constitutional nature have tended by reason of the fact that certain Chiefs have indulged in overt political party activities, to be determined or appear to be determined without impartiality..." caused great resentment in Ashanti and is alleged to have come in the way of the co-operation that the NLM and its Allies might have given to the Constitutional Adviser.

169. But the essence of the conflict is surely in the fear and resentment with which parties in the opposition, in Togoland as well as in Ashanti and the Northern Territories, look upon such a great concentration of power in a native government precisely at the time when independence is in the offing. Accusations of one of the two sides against the other at this stage are bitter, and they should be read in the authentic texts. In essence the Government is accused of deciding things at its will with no consideration for other interests, of corruption, of mismanagement of major issues, of fascism, whereas the party

in power contends that the opposition is tribalist and retrograde and that its movement is intended to stop the grant of independence. It is impossible to summarize these charges correctly in a study that is bound to be totally impartial on the issues, and it is recommended that the two sides be fully heard.

170. What has come out clearly in this dispute is the matter of concentration or devolution of power. The opposition parties state that the defense of their Regional rights is to be found in a federal system. The Government shows itself ready to allay their fears by means of a system in which devolution of power from the Centre to the Regions would be secured, but feels that a State with only 100,000 square miles and less than four and a half million inhabitants, with long strides to make in its development, would be unduly handicapped in a federation.

171. Efforts of the Government to get in touch with representatives of the NLM in December 1954 and during the year 1955 did not bring about a meeting. Having taken up the matter at the Assembly, a Select Committee was appointed to study the matter of federal proposals and a second chamber but it failed to enlist the co-operation of the opposition. The opposition had suggested the appointment of an Adviser as a mediator, but agreement on this point was not reached later. On 9 August 1955 the strong majority that supports the Government at the Assembly approved the report of the Select Committee in which the Government was requested to consider the establishment of regional councils and the functions that they were to perform, and approval was given to the Government's intention to invite through the Secretary of State for the Colonies the services of a person with the requisite knowledge and experience to advise the Government on these matters.

172. Twenty-two opposition Members of the Legislative Assembly walked out of the Assembly on this occasion. It is reminded here that eight of them represented Togoland constituencies. The representatives in the Assembly who favour the Government chastised the opposition strongly, denouncing its action as childish and claiming that they did not even have a blueprint of their proposals.

173. It is at this moment that proposals for a federal constitution for the Gold Coast and Togoland were put forth in writing. It is an important period in connexion with our Plebiscite considering that the United Nations Visiting Mission arrived in Accra on 10 August. On 12 August the NLM and its Allies submitted to the Governor of the Gold Coast proposals to make the Gold Coast an

"indissoluble federal union". The document was presented by Mr. S.D. Dombo, Chairman of the Northern Peoples' Party and leader of the official opposition at the Assembly, and Mr. R.R. Amponsah, Secretary of the National Liberation Movement. In it the Togoland Congress is a signatory as a movement allied with the NLM, the NPP, the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, the Muslim Association Party, the Ghana Youth Federation, the Asante Youth Association, the Ghana Congress Party, the Ghana Nationalist Party, the Ghana Action Party, the Anlo Youth Organization (the four latter have since merged with the NLM).

174. It does not seem necessary to reproduce the entire proposals since on the 21st May 1956 the NLM and Allies, after studying the Government's proposals, have published a new text of their own.

175. The press in 1955 stressed three points in the preamble of the federal proposals:

Firstly, that "the territories and peoples now comprised in the Gold Coast and Togoland were brought together without any regard for ethnic, social, historical or other affinities by the forces and events generally referred to as the scramble for Africa".

Secondly, that "there is not enough consciousness of national identity to make possible, easy and at the same time democratic unitary government", and

Thirdly, that "in the absence of this consciousness the safest course is to ensure that not all of the powers of government are concentrated at the centre, but that a substantial part of them is retained in the component territories where people have learnt the habits and attitude of living together for some time".

176. The component regions of the federal union "the Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland, with such changes in the boundaries as might be determined later" are referred to in a manner in which the conflict between the Northern Peoples' Party and the Togoland Congress is left aside.

177. The Legislative power would be vested in a federal parliament, which would consist of the Queen, represented in the Gold Coast by a Governor General, an Upper House and a Lower House. The executive functions would be vested in a Council of Ministers. A Council of State was proposed, composed of the Governor General, the Heads of the four Regions, the Federal Prime Minister, the four Regional Prime Ministers, the Federal Ministers of Defence, External Affairs, Interior and Justice, to advise the Governor General in the exercise of all the

powers assigned to him in the Constitution. There would be regional legislatures with two houses each. Numerous other points are considered. A constituent assembly was proposed which should be composed of elected representatives, representatives of territorial councils, and of such bodies as a preliminary conference of all political parties and movements, to be called by the Government of the Gold Coast, should appoint.

178. In accordance with the motion passed at the Legislative Assembly and upon request by the Government of the Gold Coast the Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed Sir Frederick Bourne, K.C.S.I., as Constitutional Adviser, to advise the Gold Coast Government and all parties on problems connected with devolution of power from the Central Government to Regions. Sir Frederick arrived at Accra on the 26 September 1955. The first objections made against his mission by the opposition were met by the Government by widening the Adviser's powers, but after the amendment of the State Councils Ordinance co-operation to this expert was refused by the opposition. The Constitutional Adviser's report was aware of the Plebiscite in Togoland as it listed the Regions ("Should Togoland or most of it fall to the Gold Coast before the new Constitution has been finally drafted the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region could be added to the list"). His recommendations for devolution of power may be inferred from his comment on the federal proposals of the opposition: "The proposals are based on a revolt against excessive centralization; this can surely be corrected by less drastic administrative changes than those so far recommended by the NLM. The Gold Coast with its component parts working as a team has a great future not only as a prosperous member of the nations of the world but as an example to numerous less developed communities in the African continent. The opportunities now available may not recur."

179. To discuss the Report of the Constitutional Adviser and matters arising therefrom, including matters raised in correspondence by the Asanteman Council and by the NLM and its Allies, the Prime Minister convened the "Achimota" Conference (it takes its name from the Achimota University College at Accra), to which it was endeavoured to secure the attendance of all important parties and movements.

180. I do not doubt that the Administering Authority will place the Reports of the Constitutional Adviser and of the Achimota Conference at the disposal of delegates as kindly as it has made them available to me. They are of fundamental importance because, notwithstanding that the Achimota Conference failed in its efforts to obtain the co-operation of the NLM and its Allies, these developments are considered an uninterrupted sequence of the constitutional evolution of the country on the basis of which, on 20 April, a White Paper was published with the proposals of the Government of the Gold Coast for an Independent Ghana. On 21 May the opposition's own proposals were published. These very concise documents should be read in full, and it does not seem proper to summarize them considering that on the basis of these proposals, as the platform of the two sides in a General Election, the fate of the country is to be decided probably in the month of July, 1956. I have not appended these texts to my Report although their relation with the Plebiscite in Togoland has already been pointed out. I do not doubt that the Administering Power would be willing to make them available to the General Assembly or to delegates.

181. A final and decisive point remains to be considered in the constitutional crisis, which is of direct interest to our Plebiscite. Reference has been made to the fact that the movement in Ashanti arose notwithstanding that all but one of the constituencies in that Region were in the hands of Convention Peoples' Party Members of the Legislative Assembly. Since the launching of its programme the NLM and Allies have steadfastly maintained that the time to solve the constitutional conflict is precisely the period before the grant of Independence and that they would "resist with all the power at their disposal any attempt to decide the future constitutional position and government of this country without a general election having been held before independence". To a statement made to this effect on 1 March 1956, the Convention Peoples' Party replied on the following day with a strong declaration in which it was reminded that in its Manifesto for the 1954 General Elections it had been made absolutely clear that a bid for immediate independence was its platform ("Do not allow yourselves to be misled by those who have betrayed us in the past and who would sell our heritage to the imperialists for office and power. Give Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP your mandate to complete the task of liberating Ghana from colonialism and foreign domination. The forthcoming General Election is more than an ordinary election.

It is the occasion for a vote of confidence in the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah who, on being voted into office again as Prime Minister, will immediately carry out the second part of Nkrumah's historic motion of destiny of 10 July 1953, by asking the British Government to declare Ghana a free, sovereign and independent State within the Commonwealth").

182. During the time that has elapsed since the General Elections of 1954 the CPP has pressed for a declaration of independence, the NLM for new general elections. The crisis that developed in these circumstances came to its climax when on 11 May 1956, immediately after the Plebiscite in Togoland, the Secretary of State for the Colonies made a statement to the House of Commons a part of which is the following:

"...Since the present constitution was introduced there has arisen a dispute within the Gold Coast about the form of constitution which that country should have when it achieves independence within the Commonwealth.

Efforts have been made to bring about a reconciliation between the major parties but they have so far met with no success.

I have been in close touch with the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast on these matters: It is the considered view of his Government that the time has now come for the Gold Coast to assume full responsibility within the Commonwealth for its own affairs.

I have made my view clear to him that because of the failure to resolve the constitutional dispute we can only achieve our common aim of the early independence of that country within the Commonwealth in one way and in one way alone: that is to demonstrate to the world that the peoples of the Gold Coast have had a full and free opportunity to consider their constitution and to express their views on it in a general election.

I have told Dr. Nkrumah that if a general election is held Her Majesty's Government will be ready to accept a motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth passed by a reasonable majority in the newly elected Legislature and then to declare a firm date for this purpose..."

183. On 15 May the ceremonial opening of the Legislative Assembly in Accra took place. In his formal address the Governor of the Gold Coast made a very precise review of the origin and development of the constitutional crisis, referred to the recent statement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and announced that as soon as the Government's proposals for a constitution were debated, "...the Government will go to the country. It will seek a mandate from the

people that they desire the immediate grant of independence and wish these proposals, in the form finally approved by this House, to form the basis of the self-governing constitution..."

184. Farther ahead in his speech the Governor referred to the Plebiscite in Togoland, "...The Plebiscite, to which I referred when I last addressed you, has now been held in Togoland and the majority of the inhabitants of the territory have voted in favour of union with the Gold Coast. It now remains for the Trusteeship Council to examine these results at its forthcoming meeting and for the United Nations then to determine the future of the Trust Territory..."

185. The announcement was hailed with cheers and expressions of enthusiasm in which it was impossible to distinguish which of the two sides was more elated. As I left the country on 25 May, the people's attention was focused everywhere on the impending electoral campaign.

186. The relation of this crisis with the Plebiscite in Togoland will be obvious to anybody. During the early stages of the Plebiscite, when the movement in Ashanti was rising constantly and the Constitutional Adviser had been boycotted and the Achimota Conference was considered a failure, a feeling of pessimism spread throughout the country and persons who have not been in favour of the Independence of the Gold Coast felt confident that it would not come about. The public in general did not understand in what manner the crisis could be solved. On 3 April, immediately after the Governor's return from England, I payed him a courtesy call and discreetly expressed my concern, from the viewpoint of the Plebiscite, in connexion with the political situation. The Governor did not hesitate to communicate to me, confidentially, that steps on which agreement in principle had been reached would have made the situation clear by the time my Report came to the Trusteeship Council.

187. The Administering Power's motives are not questioned, even by persons who feel that a declaration of independence has been delayed, because parliamentary practice has become deeply rooted in the Gold Coast and Togoland in the five years in which it has developed, and it is generally accepted that the United Kingdom Government has wanted to transmit to the new country, as a political legacy, its own sense of balance of internal forces.

188. But, being unable to prejudge the results of General Elections, it is proper to point out that although the Convention Peoples' Party considers itself now in a position to claim victory in the Plebiscite because the first alternative has a majority of votes in the Territory, if the General Elections were won not by that party but by the amalgamated opposition, it would have to be concluded that the second alternative has won the Plebiscite because union of Togoland with the Gold Coast in that case could only be envisaged through the federal system which is advocated by the opposition and which is clearly contained in the proposals that were made to the United Nations Visiting Mission for the second alternative, as it may be seen in paragraph 102 of the Mission's Special Report.

189. In concluding this matter I wish to express my sincere respect to the parties that have contended for both of the alternatives in the Plebiscite. The Convention Peoples' Party has every reason to be proud of its staunch and brilliant struggle for the independence of the country, and its ideals of African emancipation have won general admiration. It is clear that the Convention Peoples' Party has accepted a handicap, in order to solve a national crisis, when it considered that it was already entitled to receive an independent country. As for the Togoland Congress, seeing the enthusiasm and faith with which their people flocked to the polls on 9 May, it was not difficult to recognize in the greater part of their voters the live flame of a prospect that has failed to make headway at the General Assembly, Ewe' and Togoland unification. The recommendation of the Visiting Mission, which the Congress supported, for an assessment of the Plebiscite in four separate units, failed at the tenth session of the General Assembly. It may be proposed again. In any case their alternative has been given an additional chance by an extraordinary development that could actually reverse the results of the Plebiscite, the General Elections.

(d) Political Parties Contending in the Plebiscite

190. Three main political parties or movements were concerned with the Plebiscite in Togoland: the Convention Peoples' Party and the Northern Peoples' Party for the first alternative, and the Togoland Congress for the second alternative.

191. There are no laws in the Gold Coast or Togoland concerning the requisites for the formation, register, etc., of political parties. This movement is entirely free and no record is kept officially of parties except for the accomplished fact that they exist and become known over the years. No restriction is placed on this. It is customary for a party on occasions to sign its name and add "and Allies", and in this manner names are added which are not really known as parties or which represent small groups or very respectable individuals.

192. One fourth name was mentioned in connexion with the Plebiscite, the Togoland Reformation Movement, which disassociated itself from the Plebiscite since an early stage. It had applied for an oral hearing at the General Assembly in 1955 but failed to appear in New York. When I first came to Togoland I received a telegram from it advising that it could not send representatives to my meeting with political parties at Ho on 17 January. I tried to arrange to see them at Golokwati or Kpandu but they were unable to meet me there. I again tried to see them at Hohoe during the Governor's tour but they failed to appear. In view of the fact that it was said in their telegram that they were hesitant about taking part in the Plebiscite, I replied that it was the hope of the United Nations that all parties and persons in Togoland would participate in this test. Eventually, being invited by the Administrator to attend the meeting of 15 February to select symbols, the Togoland Reformation Movement declined the invitation advising that they had decided not to take part in the Plebiscite. I have been informed that Mr. M.C. Batse is the leader of this group but that it has very few attendants (in Misc. 20, Chapter VIII, see a belated démarche by this movement).

193. The Convention Peoples' Party in Togoland is actually a branch of the same party in the Gold Coast, but its leaders in the Territory are Togolandese or persons established there many years ago. In Ho Mr. Philip K. Keh is the Regional Chairman and Mr. S.W. Kumah the Regional Secretary. Mr. S.T. Fleku is the Organizing Secretary. In all of the Districts they have Propaganda Secretaries. The Plebiscite Campaign in the North was actually organized by Mr. J.H. Allassani, who is Minister of Education in the Government of the Gold Coast but whose fundamental position is as Member of the Legislative Assembly for the Togoland Constituency of Dagomba East. The CPP won six seats in Togoland in the 1954 Elections.

194. The Northern Peoples' Party is active in Northern Togoland to the extent that in the General Elections in 1954 it won there five seats. The meeting of 15 February to select symbols was attended by Mr. Salifu Imoru, National Propaganda Secretary of the NPP. Mr. Salifu Imoru stated to us that he came from Pusiga but the Togoland Congress contends that his residence is in Tamale, in the Gold Coast. On 15 February the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress sat at the same table with the Representative of the NPP for the meeting to select symbols and did not object to his presence. But on 21 February (see TC/31 in Chapter VIII) the Congress took exception to the Administrator's decision to invite a representative of the NPP to that meeting. The Administrator's position in this case (see UKFA/22 in Chapter VIII) is entirely correct. No law in the country comes in the way of relations of parties across the line between Togoland and the Gold Coast, and there is of course no doubt that the Northern Peoples' Party is the leading political force in Northern Togoland.

195. The Togoland Congress has its national headquarters in Hohoe, in Southern Togoland. It has clarified (see TC/31, in Chapter VIII) that it is not a party but a movement. Its best known leader is Mr. S.G. Antor, Member of the Legislative Assembly, who has come many times to New York as a petitioner in the Togoland debate. Communications by the Togoland Congress and Allies are usually signed by Mr. Antor, by the Reverend F.R. Ametowobla and Mr. Kodjo Ayeke, who are also Members of the Legislative Assembly, by Messrs. Edward Datsa and A.K. Tse, by the National Chairman of the Togoland Congress and by Togbui Hwusu, Chief of Ho Domo. The Congress has numerous representatives in the Territory. We have spoken of its connexions with movements in the Gold Coast in the past months. The Togoland Congress won two seats in the 1954 General Elections, but an independent Member of the Assembly, Rev. F.R. Ametowobla, is also associated with it.

196. In the Gold Coast the Convention Peoples' Party and the Northern Peoples' Party are at odds (the NPP is the official opposition), but in the Plebiscite in Togoland they acted together in favour of the first alternative and their representatives have been seen in the North in one same propaganda van. The Togoland Congress has signed several documents in the Gold Coast as an ally of the Northern Peoples' Party and other organizations, but their views concerning

the Plebiscite were entirely opposed, and we have seen that the Congress objected to the presence of an NPP representative at an official meeting. The NPP desires Northern Togoland to remain incorporated in the Northern Territories Region, whether the country becomes a federation or not, whereas a party that has always stood for the rights of Togoland logically wishes at least the Western half of it to remain as a unit.

(e) Relations with Political Parties

197. The first communications received from parties were a telegram from the Togoland Congress dated 13 January, regarding certain problems in the Plebiscite and requesting an interview, and a letter from the CPP dated 21 January with a message of welcome and mention of some problems.

198. In the afternoon of 17 January I met the representatives of the Togoland Congress and Allies in Ho, and immediately afterwards I met leaders of the Convention Peoples' Party. I was accompanied by the senior members of my staff and by the two Observers in Ho.

199. I noticed with concern on that first occasion that the Togoland Congress maintained an attitude of extreme opposition towards the Administration, to a point where co-operation seemed difficult to secure. I was reassured, however, when the leaders who attended the meeting replied, in answer to a question by me, that they did not advocate an interruption or cancellation of the Plebiscite. I regret that requests were made to which it would have been impossible to agree without a deviation from the terms of the Assembly's Resolution. Their complaints were very numerous and it will be obvious by the written ones that are reproduced here in Chapter VIII that this atmosphere brought about a strained relation in the early stages of the Plebiscite. I made earnest appeals to the representatives who were present to conduct their campaign bearing in mind the good name that the Territory had earned in the General Assembly and to let the polls decide the issues. I assured them that our presence was meant to guarantee the interests of the people and the fairness of the Plebiscite. I offered my services in whatever points were of my competence. But I have referred already to the delicate relation that we were appointed to maintain. Consultations were being held **constantly** with the Administering Power, but I could not accept to intrude publicly in the Administrator's work and insisted that complaints on the conduct

of the Plebiscite must in the first instance be brought directly to him. The relation with this great political movement and the evolution that it underwent during the Plebiscite will be better appreciated in my letters to them of 18 January, 25 and 27 February, and in their communications to me of 13 and 22 February 1956, which are as follows:

UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER

H O

18 January 1956

Dear Mr. Antor,

In acknowledging receipt of your telegram of the 13th instant I mentioned to you, in my telegram of that same date that I would gladly reply to all the questions you had asked or might wish to ask on Tuesday, 17 January at 4.30 p.m., at Ho.

After having listened yesterday to you and the other Representatives of parties that were present at our meeting at the office of the Regional Officer - where we have talked, according to your wishes, without the presence of representatives of the Administering Authority, I wish to state the following:

(1) As I have said yesterday, as well as on numerous previous occasions, my function in regard to the Plebiscite in Togoland under United Kingdom administration is stated in the Resolution of the General Assembly of 15 December 1955. My understanding of this function was further referred to in the statement I made to the General Assembly on that date upon my acceptance of the post of United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner. You will receive from our office in Accra a translation of this statement. You will notice I have stressed the powers given to me by the General Assembly. You will also notice that I declared it to be my purpose to avoid carefully any undue interference in the sphere of action of the Plebiscite Administrator of the United Kingdom.

(2) In your telegram of the 13th instant you referred to the relationship of the Administering Authority with the United Nations Commissioner as established in the Resolution and drew attention to the fact that the first Regulations for the Plebiscite had been issued before my arrival at Accra. In reply I must state that the Administering Authority has been in constant contact with me regarding the measures to be taken for the organization and conduct of the Plebiscite since 15 December, that is to say, since my appointment by the General Assembly. The United Kingdom's Minister for the Colonies mentioned to me on that date the intention of his Government, in order to abide by the timetable recommended by the Visiting Mission and accepted by the Resolution, to proceed at once to enact an enabling instrument and issue the first regulations. I stated that I had no objection to offer, provided that the recommendations of the Visiting Mission, incorporated into the Resolution, were abided by. As I have mentioned to you yesterday, Mr. Antor, I have given careful study to the above-mentioned documents and do not find a point on which the Administering Authority may be said to have deviated from the recommendations referred to. I asked if you had any deviations to point out and you said you had very many. I will refer to those that were mentioned by you.

(3) You objected strongly to the decision to register only residents of Togoland - who could prove a residence of at least twelve months during the past two years - and not to register Togolandans who live outside the territory. Other persons present at yesterday's meeting referred to this point and you delivered to me a letter signed by T.G. Geddie, Tagboto and A.K. Tse referring to the same objection. It was my duty to inform you and the other persons concerned, yesterday, that the decision of the Administering Power on this point was based on the precise recommendations of the United Nations Visiting Mission contained in paragraphs 151 and 152 of its 1955 Report. I find it necessary to state very clearly that, with all the consideration and respect that is due to your viewpoints on this important issue, it is impossible for me to consider any representation against this decision. As I stated yesterday, this part of the regulations is based on a Resolution that has been approved by the General Assembly and which I am pledged to observe.

(4) You objected yesterday to the period of 35 days that has been established for registration. There again, I am sorry that I cannot consider any representation since the Administering Authority has followed precisely the recommendation of the Visiting Mission, as accepted by the Resolution of the General Assembly. To that effect I quoted to you yesterday paragraph 161 of the Visiting Mission's 1955 report.

(5) You objected yesterday to the practice of demanding tax receipts for the periods 1954-55 and 1955-56 in registering voters. I have gladly communicated your viewpoints to the Administering Authority, which had not been informed thereof directly by you. The Administering Authority, on this point, has wished to base its actions on the recommendation of the Visiting Mission as contained in paragraph 153 of its report. In the latter part of that paragraph it is said... "The Mission considers that to restrict participation in the Plebiscite on grounds of local taxation would be objectionable in principle and has therefore not recommended the payment of the basic rate by those liable as a qualification for voting in the Plebiscite. It considers however, that the presentation of a tax receipt when registering would be the primary and normal manner of establishing proof of residence in the Trust Territory". The Authority draws attention to the fact that in the Regulations and in all official notices it is clearly stated that tax payment is not a qualification to register. Notwithstanding, the Administrator had advised me yesterday morning that he had ordered new measures to be taken in order to leave no doubt on this point.

(6) In this connexion you referred yesterday to "Form B" and said to me that you considered the note referring to the presentation of tax receipts as a violation of the point that tax payment is not a qualification to participate in the Plebiscite. I said to you yesterday that I took note of your opinion on this point, but that I did not feel that your viewpoint could go undisputed, and that I could do no more than transmit your opinion to the Administering Authority. I stated clearly that I did not share your opinion.

(7) You have contended yesterday that time has been lost in registration because of doubts or difficulties in connexion with the presentation of tax receipts. You speak in your letter of great numbers of such cases. Observers of the United Nations in the field have not reported such an acute situation in any point in the territory. Your representations on this point have however been communicated to the Administering Authority, though it is noted that they should have been made directly to it. I have been informed that the Authority regrets that you have not given it an opportunity to consider such complaints and investigate them.

(8) Regarding the possible loss of time to which you refer I am obliged to note, on the basis of official data made available to me, that in the first five days of the 35 day period established for registration, 25 per cent of the total number of potential voters (according to the register of the 1954 elections) has registered in Southern Togoland.

(9) You mentioned yesterday that you would like the registration period to be lengthened for another two weeks, and in writing you request that the registration period be lengthened to 31 March. The period, as I have said before, is the one recommended by the Visiting Mission and accepted by the Resolution I am pledged to abide by. I regret therefore that I see no ground to suggest that this be altered.

(10) On this point, I was gratified to note your statement that you do not wish to see the Plebiscite postponed or cancelled and that it is not the policy of your Party to advocate such postponement or cancellation. I also noted that other Representatives present shared your views on this point.

(11) You have stated yesterday that the Administering Authority is under obligation to appoint for all of the posts connected with the Plebiscite persons from outside the Territory and the Gold Coast. I must draw your attention on this point to paragraph 129 of the Visiting Mission's report. It was recommended that the Administering Authority adhere to the purpose announced by the Governor of appointing a Commissioner who would not be a member of the Gold Coast Public Service. This has been done. The same was recommended regarding the Governor's desire to fill responsible positions in the administrative organization for the Plebiscite with

expatriate officers. The Administering Authority has furnished evidence, that will surely be also available to you, that this has also been done.

I have endeavoured to reply to all of the specific points to which you have referred. I asked you to substantiate other points before I could take them up and shall await your written statement. I shall reply to all your representations.

Some of the remarks you have had to make fall within my competence as United Nations Commissioner. Others may only be used by me, as information coming from a Party in the Territory, for the purpose of the report that I am bound to submit to the General Assembly.

I must once more stress that all legitimate complaints regarding the manner in which the Plebiscite is being conducted should be addressed to the Plebiscite Administrator. A legal process is established for such cases and citizens must abide by it. I may say for instance that I have transmitted to the Administrator the case you have brought to my attention regarding cancellation of a number of forms of registrants and that the Administrator has gladly given orders for the corresponding investigation, but that he would have been ready to do so at once if the parties concerned had applied to him. If voters do not apply to the Administrator in such cases, the United Nations Commissioner may only note, for the purposes of his report on the Plebiscite, that parties and citizens are not availing themselves of the recourse offered to them by the laws of the Territory.

Yours truly,

(Signed) E. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO
UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER

HON. S.G. ANTOR, M.L.A.,
GENERAL SECRETARY,
TOGOLAND CONGRESS,
H O H O E

CC. to:

Hon. F. Ametowobla, M.L.A., Ho
Hon. Kodjo Ayeke, M.L.A., Ho
Mr. Edward Datsa
Mr. A.K. Tse, National Chairman,
Togoland Congress.
Togbui Howusu, Ho-Dome.

A few days after the meeting with the Administrator for the selection of symbols, I received from the Togoland Congress the following letter:

COPY

United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner,
Plebiscite Commissioner's Office,
HO.

Togoland Congress and Allies,
c/o The Secretary General,
Togoland Congress,
Hohoe.

13 February 1956

Sir,

With reference to your letter to Mr. Antor dated 18 January 1956, especially sections expressing regret that some complaints made to you as Plebiscite Commissioner were not directly made to the Plebiscite Administrator (e.g. paragraph 7), we wish to make the following observations.

There are two questions at stake in the issue of the future of Togoland under United Kingdom administration, namely integration with the Gold Coast or Separation from the Gold Coast. The United Kingdom as the Administering Power, the Gold Coast Government and a section of the people in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship clearly stated before the General Assembly of the United Nations that they favoured and advocated for integration.

A Plebiscite Administrator as agent of the Administering Power is therefore an interested agent. So are all expatriate officers of the Gold Coast Public Service who, unfortunately, are now filling "responsible positions in the administrative organization for the Plebiscite" in accordance, though, with the recommendations of the United Nations Mission, chapter 4, paragraph 129.

This was recognized by the Visiting Mission and the General Assembly. It is because of this recognition that a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner was recommended and appointed to supervise the conduct of the Plebiscite at all stages. For this purpose a team of observers has been appointed to help him.

We maintain that the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and his team form the one and only neutral body in the territory to which complaints concerning the conduct of the Plebiscite could be lodged for consideration and prompt action.

It is on the strength of this understanding that the complaints lodged by the delegation of the Togoland Congress and its allies on 17 January 1956 were lodged with you, the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner.

Further in matters which require immediate attention and remedy, such as registration of voters within a specified time, legal processes referred to in your letter, but hitherto unknown to us as applicable within the stated time for registration, are out of question.

We do not, you could see, regard the United Nations Commissioner as a mere observer; but as the umpire in this important Plebiscite to decide the future of our country.

We hope that in future the Plebiscite Commissioner will discharge his onerous duties without fear or favour and maintain our confidence in and enhance the prestige of the United Nations Organization which has entrusted him with the great responsibility of supervising the Plebiscite.

We do recognize the Plebiscite Administrator as the organizer of the plebiscite arrangements just as we recognize the United Kingdom Government as the Administering Authority. We also appreciate the work he is doing.

We wish to thank you for the good reception given us, the consideration given to our points and your readiness to listen to us.

We are,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Togbui Howusu

S.G. Antor

F.R.K. Ametowobla

K. Ayeke

E.K. Datsa

A.A.K. Tse

To this letter I replied in the following terms:

Ho, 25 February 1956

Dear Sirs,

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 13 February, which was received in this Office on the 20th instant. In it you refer to my letter of 18 January to Mr. S.G. Antor, Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress.

I understand that one of the services I am in a position to render for the conduct of this Plebiscite is to make clear its precise terms of reference in order to facilitate the relations of all parties concerned.

I am quite aware of paragraph 111 of the United Nations Visiting Mission's Special Report. When the General Assembly decided that it was the Administering Authority who should conduct the Plebiscite, it bore in mind the considerations to which this part of the Visiting Mission's work refers. This was one of the reasons for the appointment of a Commissioner for a Plebiscite which in any case should be supervised by the United Nations, Togoland being a Trust Territory.

You are aware that in the pertinent part of the Visiting Mission's Report the appointment of a Commissioner was recommended primarily "in order to avoid any possible accusations of partiality in the conduct of the Plebiscite". The recommendation also bore in mind that "such an appointment would create confidence among all political parties and sections of the people in Togoland under British administration and reassure world opinion as to the absolute fairness of the Plebiscite".

Political parties contending in this Plebiscite may feel themselves at liberty to use for their purposes whatever legitimate elements in the background of the Togoland debate they should wish to stress. I, as United Nations Commissioner, cannot presume the partiality of a State that is a Member of the United Nations in the conduct of a task entrusted to it by the United Nations.

My paramount concern in the fulfilment of my duties is to ensure the success of a Plebiscite of great consequence, the first to be obtained in a Trust Territory, that is wanted by the people of Togo, which is organized in the

terms of a United Nations resolution and is meant primarily to give the people of Togoland a fair opportunity to decide on its own future. I have worked to this end, in my constant consultations with the Administering Power and in the appeals that have been made to the people and to the parties to obtain their fullest co-operation. I cannot but hope that the greater efforts of parties and citizens will be concentrated on trying to obtain the greatest possible support of public opinion for the alternative they favour, rather than on any negative attitude towards the success of the Plebiscite. I shall report to the General Assembly on all complaints received during the Registration period. But I must report at the same time that upwards of 193,000 persons have been registered, out of a population of 423,000, an extraordinary achievement that does great honour to the people of Togoland, to the parties engaged and to the Administrator. Now it will be up to each of the contending parties to draw to its alternative by legitimate means as many of these 193,000 voters as possible. Representations on the conduct of the Plebiscite are in order, they are useful and they show the interest of citizens in the defence of their rights and in the manner in which their public interests are taken care of. Every complaint that has been made known to me, either in an original letter or in a copy, will be reported to the General Assembly, but if on the other hand it becomes obvious and can easily be proved that the Plebiscite has been conducted with fairness, in accordance with the terms of the United Nations resolution and the recommendations of the Visiting Mission and with constant acceptance of the suggestions or requests of the United Nations Commissioner, the submission of great numbers of complaints that are not substantiated may well bewilder delegates at the General Assembly and could be interpreted as a systematic effort to invalidate the Plebiscite whereas what the world Assembly surely expects of the parties in Togo is a patriotic and dignified effort in the great task that is before them, that of having their alternative take the majority.

In any case, if a political party acting in this Plebiscite is intent on substantiating a charge of partiality, surely it will be recognized nevertheless that an objectionable act could only be construed as showing partiality if it

had been brought to the knowledge of the Administrator and the action called for had not been taken. The responsibility for the organization and conduct of the Plebiscite has been placed primarily on the Administering Power. It is obvious then that representations on the actual conduct of the Plebiscite should in the first instance be brought to the attention of the Administrator. I made it clear in my address to the General Assembly that I would not intrude in the functions of the Administrator. I sincerely feel that one of the guarantees we have for the successful conduct of this Plebiscite is the fact of having established our competence in a matter in which we are all so closely bound. My powers and function are honoured by the Administering Authority, I must show equal respect for theirs. Constant consultation takes place between the Administrator and myself and I need hardly say that I am always guided by the wish of representing the interests of all parties concerned. Yet it is clear that I should not be the intermediary for representations regarding the immediate, direct responsibility of the Administrator, not only to avoid an undue interference but because a direct application by the plaintiffs is sure to obtain a more expedite and immediate attention, as has been proved by so many instances in the Registration period. As you are aware by my letter of 18 January, I did willingly transmit to the Administrator the complaints you brought to me, action was taken on them immediately, but the Administrator did not fail to point out that he would have been ready to take such action earlier if the cases had been brought to his knowledge without delay.

I am glad that you have been good enough to send me copies of your communications to the Administrator and am also in receipt of copies of the Administrator's replies to you. All of these communications have been carefully studied and noted in direct connexion with the reports of the United Nations Observers in the field, and these elements will be used in my report to the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. If after having applied to the Administrator you still believe that you can substantiate a fundamental complaint, it would be entirely in order for you to bring it to me.

I am sure that all parties engaged in this Plebiscite bear in mind, in carrying forth their aims and their work, that an accusation of partiality is a most serious charge, which may reflect as much on the moral integrity of the accused, if it is proved, as on that of the accuser, if it is groundless.

I am happy to see, in the eighth paragraph of your letter, that you do not regard me as a mere observer. Your conclusion is correct. I must assure you that the contrary would have been an unwarranted error.

Indeed it is gratifying that you recognize the readiness I have always shown to listen to your representations and to reply to all questions put forth by you. You will recall, for instance, that in the concluding paragraphs of my letter of 18 January I said that some of the remarks that you had had to make fell within my competence. You were not aware of the consultations that had taken place between the Administering Authority and myself in connexion with the Order in Council and the first regulations; I gladly informed you of them and was pleased to discuss with you this point, which is of my competence and in which I considered your interest very legitimate and pertinent. In the same manner I discussed with you other points regarding the terms of reference of the Plebiscite, such as the question whether born Togolanders residing abroad could register, and also the term established for registration. Regarding the difficulty you had encountered on the point of presentation of tax receipts I said in two of my paragraphs that I had gladly communicated your viewpoints to the Administering Authority and informed you of what the Administrator advised me he would do. On all points which were of my competence I was pleased to give you a reply. Even in those cases in which my answer had to be negative it was always my purpose to show you my most distinguished consideration for your views.

I must refer now to the last paragraph in page 1 of your letter of 13 February and hope that you will be good enough to clarify its meaning. I trust that the person who drafted this letter and who has expressed hopes that in the future I would discharge my duties without fear or favour did not mean to assume the responsibility of implying that in the past or at present I have been or am under these influences. I trust it is borne in mind that this letter is being addressed to the Representative of the United Nations. It would be impossible for me to take a light view on any unclear reference to my conduct and if this point were not satisfactorily explained, I would be forced to take the corresponding action without delay.

I am conscious of having lent my efforts for the successful conduct of this important Plebiscite. In the consultations that take place with the Administering Power I have invariably borne in mind the legitimate interests of the people of Togo and of the Members of the United Nations. I have travelled several times throughout the entire Territory and been in direct contact with representatives of all parties concerned. It has been my pleasure and the pleasure of the Observers who are with me to assist you and your representatives in numerous instances. I am gratified that your organizations have taken such keen interest in this great test of public opinion and have sincere respect for your ideals. I do not doubt that your efforts will be directed to upholding the traditions of civic virtues of the people of Togoland.

I trust you will not hesitate to clarify the point to which I have now referred and that you will give me your answer as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto
United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner

Messrs. Togbui Howusu
S.G. Antor
F.R.K. Ametowobla
K. Ayeke
E.K. Datsa
A.A.K. Tse
Togoland Congress and Allies
c/o The Secretary General
Togoland Congress
Hohoe

I then received another letter from the Congress, the text of which is:

Togoland Congress and Allies,
c/o Mr. S.G. Antor,
Togoland Congress Officer,
HOHOE
British Togoland.

22 February 1956

The Plebiscite Commissioner,
The Plebiscite Commissioner's Office,
HO.

Sir,

Mr. S.G. Antor, the Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress who was our delegate as the representative of the Togoland Congress and its allies, has come to report back to us the outcome of the meeting he and the representatives of the C.P.P. and N.P.P. had with the United Kingdom Plebiscite Administrator and you on 15 February 1956.

Accept our thanks for inviting him to the meeting. We understand that you have however, rejected outright the "One-Ballot Box - Two-Ballot-Papers - Envelope" proposal (No. 1 in our plan) which we submitted through him. We feel really dismayed and disappointed. We do not agree that this proposal is more complicated than the "One-ballot-paper - two ballot-boxes" plan which was used once and for the first time during the General Election in the Gold Coast and in Togoland under British Trusteeship in 1954. For whatever happens the electorate have to be educated for the polling day and if an early decision is taken and these proposals of ours are adopted, the time between now and May 9th is long enough to educate the electorate.

We maintain and affirm that a method which must be put across to the voters but which reduces the chances of fraud and unfair practices to the minimum is preferable in principle to a familiar plan fraught with opportunities for fraudulent practices in which some people are already versed.

We enclose further details of our proposals for you to study.

We understand that you have not been given powers to change the organization of the plebiscite arrangements made by the Administering Power even those proved to be open to fraudulent practices and therefore amendable.

But the importance of this Plebiscite cannot be understated and the need for fairness is even greater than in any ordinary general election.

In the event of fraudulent practices which give a very large majority to the winning side, the losing side, already regarded as a disgruntling loser, has the difficult task of proving as many cases of irregularities as may materially necessitate a change in the final result in the face of cold figures.

You will agree that such a thing may not be possible for the losing side. For irregularities brought to light could at best be instances and not exhaustive lists of fraudulent practices carried out. Secondly, it will be impossible to relate these instances with actual figures which will necessitate a change in the results.

The United Nations cannot be expected to spend time, energy and so much money over an important Plebiscite only to lay the result aside on the evidence of a few instances of irregularities. The Administering Authority will do everything to defend her good name and organization. The United Nations agents in the field cannot be expected to say they had not been able to take the trouble to prevent fraudulent practices brought to their notice. In any case a post-mortem report on fraudulent practices, that could have been prevented, would do nobody any good in these circumstances even if the United Nations Commissioner and his team would submit it. Finally, no side in the Plebiscite issue may be keen enough to ask for another Plebiscite in face of all the difficulties stated above.

Our paramount conviction is that fraud MUST be prevented as far as possible before, and not complained of after, the results of the Plebiscite are known.

Because of the points made above, we wish to apply after three days to the Secretary-General of the United Nations either:

1. to empower the Plebiscite Commissioner in the field to make necessary changes (e.g. those we submit) in plans made so that fairness can be guaranteed;

OR 2. to appoint another official with sufficient powers to make such changes as will ensure safeguards proposed in our plan.

We shall be willing to clarify further to you, if necessary, the steps we wish to take.

We enclose a statement of some of the fraudulent practices which occurred during the 1954 Gold Coast General Election and which our proposals are intended to prevent. We maintain that no people eager to ensure fairness in the Plebiscite can ignore these fraudulent practices.

We and our followers cannot be blamed if we decide not to vote because not only are the gates for corrupt practices left open, but the corrupt practices are condoned directly or indirectly in this very important Plebiscite. We want absolute guarantee for fairness; for the result will seal the fate of our country forever.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) S.G. Antor, Sec.-Gen., T.C.

F.R.K. Ametowobla, Independents

A.K. Tse)
E.K. Datsa) Youth

My reply to this letter was the following:

Ho, 27 February 1956

Dear Sirs,

I have received your letter dated 22 February.

At a meeting on 15 February, which had been called by the Plebiscite Administrator for the purpose of selecting symbols to be used on the ballot boxes in this Plebiscite, following a recommendation that has been accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution of 15 December 1955, the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress introduced a proposal to depart from the method adopted in the resolution for the balloting.

I explained in great detail and with all due consideration to Mr. Antor the reasons why I did not feel that I could recommend this departure from a course decided by the General Assembly. I went with Mr. Antor to greet the other gentlemen in his party and explained the situation to them, and they left the premises showing satisfaction with the explanations I had given.

The Administrator has received a letter from you on this point - a copy of which was sent to me - and advises me that he is giving his consideration to your written representations.

As I have done at every instance, I am prepared to consider representations from you, to assist you in anything I may and to explain the General Assembly's position.

But in the present case we must first clarify one point.

You mention in your letter that you wish to apply to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in connexion with two suggestions. May I say that my appointment is by the General Assembly of the United Nations and that my powers are established in a resolution that can only be modified by the General Assembly. You are at liberty to write to the Secretary-General when you desire.

If after weighing these considerations you wish to take up with me any matters concerning the conduct of the Plebiscite please inform me so and I shall be at your disposal.

In connexion with the last paragraph of your letter I should deem it unfortunate if any of the parties concerned were to decide not to vote. This Plebiscite is being conducted by the wish and under the strict supervision of the United Nations, with whom the people of this Trust Territory and the issues at stake are so closely bound, appropriate measures are being taken to safeguard the legitimate interests of all parties concerned, a representative of the United Nations is here to insure the fairness of the Plebiscite, and, these circumstances prevailing, the abstention of any of the parties could not be justified to the world Organization, whereas their full participation would permit them to prove to the United Nations the strength and justice of their cause.

In several communications you have used the expression "post-mortem". It is convenient to bear in mind that this Plebiscite in itself is not a decision but that its results, together with the sincere and active part Togoland

may take in this matter, will be elements that will enable the General Assembly to reach a decision concerning the future of your people.

Yours sincerely,

Messrs. S.G. Antor
F.R.K. Ametowobla
A.A.K. Tse
E.K. Datsa

(Signed) Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto
United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner

Togoland Congress and Allies
c/o the Secretary General
Togoland Congress
Hohoe
British Togoland

200. A crisis arose in January when three leaflets (which may be seen as Annex V, C, D and E) were distributed in the Territory. Two of these leaflets reproduce the United Nations' letterhead and appear as if they were signed by me, whereas the sentence quoted is not my own but a paragraph of the Report of the Visiting Mission. In one of the leaflets that paragraph is quoted in a curtailed form, thus giving an erroneous impression in the matter of tax receipts. The first leaflet (Annex V, C) gives an information that was not in accordance with facts.

201. The Administering Power was very justifiably disturbed with these publications and, considering that they involved statements made by me, inquired what action I was prepared to take on the matter (see paragraphs 301 and 302).

202. I spoke on this matter to the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress and stressed the serious inconvenience that was caused by publications of this nature.

203. Considering the wide distribution given to the leaflets I felt myself bound then to make known the precise statements that I had made on 17 January and consequently issued a press release that the Daily Graphic kindly published on 31 January. Although the leaflets were known to come from only one source, no reference was made to any party in this release.

204. In a correspondence exchanged with me later, the Togoland Congress admitted that it had released two of the leaflets and offered to investigate the one in which the Visiting Mission's paragraph 153 is curtailed. The Congress explained its views on the reasons for making a publication on these subjects and apologized for the inconvenience that had been caused.

205. I have not received from the Togoland Congress a letter clarifying the expression contained in their letter of 13 February to which I referred in mine of 25 February. Towards the middle of March the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress visited me in my Office and on that occasion assured me that there had been no intention to write that sentence in a manner that could offend me.

206. During the Plebiscite I met constantly leaders of parties in action mainly in connexion with Registration. Representatives of both sections of opinion visited my office on very few occasions but came to social receptions at my residence. They often met with the Observers in the course of their work and were assisted in whatever problems they mentioned. Several representatives of the Togoland Congress made complaints in Kete-Krachi, early in February, on acts of hostility against them, and the Observer followed closely the police investigation. Mr. Ali Tchontchonko, a Togoland Congress representative coming from Togoland under French administration, came to the United Nations Observer at Sunson to complain that he had been beaten up in the compound of the Chereponi Fami. The Observer directed him to the Government Agent and followed carefully the police action by which the case was investigated and the persons found guilty were tried. Mr. J.P. Kona, representative of the Togoland Congress in South Mamprusi, came many times in contact with the United Nations Observer in connexion with his activities. Mr. Allassan Chamba, representative of the Congress in the Nanumba-Gonja District, came to our Observer in Bimbilla in connexion with certain difficulties he had encountered. Mr. A. Odame, a well known Togoland Congress representative who is the Regional Secretary in Buem, discussed several problems with the Observers in Jasikan and personally with me, and was assisted in specific cases that he had raised. Mr. A.H. Simpson, Regional Secretary of the Congress in Kpandu visited the Observers several times in connexion with his work in the Plebiscite.

207. Other official meetings with leaders of parties were, together with the Administrator, on 15 February for the selection of symbols and on 19 April concerning the arrangements for Polling Day.

208. Representatives of the Convention Peoples' Party and of the Northern Peoples' Party came less often to the Observers. Representations from the CPP usually came in written form and referred to matters of external influence, some acts by Registration personnel in the Buem Akan Area (complaints on this score referred to in CPP/4, 'in Chapter VIII were belated), and the fetish that was invoked by a Togoland Congress representative in Abutia Kloe in violation of a regulation. Persons to whom the prestige of the Territory is dear were concerned with the incident of the fetish, which should be ascribed no greater significance than curses that are made in other countries. Tu Aku was punished by the law and by a traditional authority and it is felt that the vote was not altered greatly although on 9 May six bits of paper were found in the ballot box for separation from Abutia Kloe in which voters declared that they favoured the CPP but had voted for the second alternative for fear of the fetish. The Convention Peoples' Party did not press this point after Polling Day.

(f) External Influence

209. It will have been realized, seeing the geographic form of the Territory, its situation between Togoland under French administration and the Gold Coast, its connexions with the Gold Coast in practically every field and the implications of the Plebiscite on the Togoland unification problem and the prospect of Ewé unification, that influence coming from the West and from the East was to be expected in this operation as something practically inevitable. Unlike infiltration in the Register, the influence of movements and leaders across the boundaries in many cases could not be avoided or even detected. Other influences should obviously not be permitted. Constant alertness was necessary throughout the entire operation to determine which interventions were illegitimate and must be stopped.

210. We have referred to the vast influence of chiefs in the North, especially in the case of the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusis, who is in the Gold Coast but is the traditional chief of numerous people in the Territory, and the Paramount Chief of the Dagombas, whose residence is in Yendi and whose people are also established both in Togoland and in the Gold Coast. The earnest assurance that the Na-yiri gave to the United Nations Observer in South Mamprusi that he had been totally neutral in the Plebiscite surely must have been meant to state that he did not engage in

illegal acts concerning it. Great chiefs in the North, caught in a turmoil of influences of the Northern Peoples' Party, the National Liberation Movement and the Government, found themselves torn between grievances against the party in power and their paramount desire in this Plebiscite to see their people re-unified by voting for the first alternative. Strong influences were obviously brought to bear on these chiefs by agents from all quarters, trying to win them to their cause in this crisis, but what is more, the secrecy of the vote permitted these influences to be brought directly on the voters.

211. The main influences to be feared were from persons connected with the Gold Coast Government on one side - the party in power being directly concerned with the first alternative - and from important leaders of the Togoland unification movement in Togoland under French administration.

212. It is fortunate that, in any case, this aspect of the Plebiscite in Togoland was opened with written statements both from the Togoland Congress and the Convention Peoples' Party in which it was vehemently requested that Togoland be left to air their differences alone and that outsiders be barred from taking part in the Plebiscite.

213. While I was still in Accra, the press announced on 13 January that the campaign in favour of the first alternative would be opened on the following day with a rally in Jasikan at which the main speaker would be Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance of the Gold Coast. After the courtesy call that I paid to Mr. Gbedemah on that day I am grateful to him for having called me on the telephone asking me to see a statement that would appear in the press on the following day. The note that appeared in the Daily Graphic on Saturday, 14 January was as follows:

"At an exclusive interview with the GRAPHIC Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance, stated that no Cabinet Minister who was not a native of Togoland would participate in the Plebiscite campaign.

Mr. Gbedemah was commenting on a press statement that he was billed to speak on integration at Jasikan on Sunday. That, he said, was not correct. He would not be at any other rally in Togoland before the Plebiscite is held.

His belief, he went on, was that the stage had now been reached in the Togoland issue when, for political reasons, his presence was no longer necessary.

There were among the leaders of CPP and the supporters of integration, the Minister added, natives of Togoland who were capable of carrying on the campaign".

214. During the Governor's tour of Southern Togoland I discussed this point with him and received assurances of the same nature of Mr. Gbedemah's statement. At several points during this visit to Togoland, persons who attended meetings asked the Governor why had Ministers of the Gold Coast come to Togoland, and the Governor replied publicly that the Ministers of Local Government and Agriculture had come on official Government business, and that if anybody knew that they engaged in political activities the matter should be taken up immediately with the Administrator.

215. It was rumoured that at a meeting of the Minister of Agriculture with farmers in Kete-Krachi points might have been raised that were more concerned with politics than with agricultural problems of that area, but it was impossible for the Observers or for me to ascertain this.

216. At the same time reports were received that the distinguished leader of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, M. Sylvanus Olympio, had made his appearance in the East Akan area on 20 January. The Chief of Ahamansu informed that M. Olympio had made a speech there and stated that this should be regarded as an undue interference of foreigners. Other reports are to the effect that he confined his actions to conferring with Togoland Congress leaders and visiting registration centres, and that he had payed a courtesy call on the Kadjebihene.

217. I am informed that M. Olympio came to Ho in the first days of April. On 10 May he called on my Office while I was absent but I met him shortly after at the Information Centre, where I introduced him to the Governor and to the Administrator and conversed with him and with CPP leaders in Ho.

218. The Convention Peoples' Party (see CPP/3 in Chapter VIII) complained that Messrs. S.T. Agbeko and Attiogbe, coming from Togoland under French administration, had conducted a house to house campaign in the District of Ho, using a photograph in which Mr. S.K. Banerji, Chairman of the United Nations Visiting Mission of 1955, is seen addressing a Togoland Congress rally in Ho. A distorted caption was used to convey the impression that the United Nations favoured the second alternative in the Plebiscite. A police investigation requested by the Administrator confirmed this activity and a copy of the photograph (see Annex V, B) was obtained. This took place in the first week of February.

219. Another photograph of Mr. Banerji in a Togoland Congress meeting with a distorted text, which may be seen in Annex V, A, was distributed in leaflets at the opening Plebiscite rally of the Togoland Congress on 11 March at Kpandu. The Administrator was informed of this by the Police.

220. On 15 February the Administrator consulted me on the advisability of issuing a joint statement regarding activities in the Plebiscite by persons resident outside of Togoland under United Kingdom administration. It would have been to the effect that neither existing legislation nor plebiscitary practice make such activities illegal but would have stated that the Government of the Gold Coast had agreed that Ministers of the Government and persons holding office under the Government, other than those who represent constituencies in Togoland, would refrain from electioneering and from addressing political meetings in Togoland until the vote had taken place. This statement was suggested in reply to the representations that were being received from both sides. I explained to the Administrator the dangers that I could see in this course, mainly that intrusion from neighbouring territories had really taken place only in minor proportions, that persons who had come to the Territory were under the impression that this activity was illegal and had shown great restraint in whatever activities of theirs were known, that both sides had pleaded that only Togoland take part in the Plebiscite, and that if a statement were made suggesting that there were not barriers to this infiltration the situation could deteriorate seriously. Instead of making a statement on this matter, appeals were made to both parties to keep external influence out of the Plebiscite in accordance with their own declared wishes.

221. The Administration was keen on maintaining that, the Government of the Gold Coast being parliamentary, a member of it that was at the same time a Member of the Legislative Assembly for a Togoland constituency and consequently a Togolander, should not be barred from taking part in the Plebiscite. It is on this basis that Mr. J.H. Allassani, who is a Togolander and the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Dagomba East, attended the big CPP rally at Hohoe on 25 March as the principal speaker. Mr. Allassani was very prominent in the organization of the CPP campaign in the North and on Polling Day assumed the simple role of a Polling Agent. No representations were made against his activities.

222. A serious problem arose in this matter when on 11 April a letter from the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress dated the 9th communicated to me that on 23 March orders had been given by telephone to the Senchi Ferry not to stop the service until 11:00 PM so that the Minister of Finance could cross it towards Togoland. The Secretary General of the Togoland Congress informed in his letter that he had left Hohoe early in the evening and at a point 13 miles from Accra had met Mr. Gbedemah's car and followed it across the Volta at Senchi and on to Ho. The Togoland Congress seemed informed in detail of Mr. Gbedemah's activities on 24 March and of the meetings he had during this trip with representatives of the Convention Peoples' Party. In support of this communication it was suggested that the register of the Senchi Ferry be consulted.

223. Having taken this matter up on 12 April with the Administrator I was informed a few days later by Sir John Dring that the inquiries he had made confirmed the reports submitted to him and to me by the Togoland Congress. Consequently, I at once addressed to the Governor of the Gold Coast the following representation:

18 April 1956

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to inform You that the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress, in a letter dated the 9th April, has communicated to me data by which it could be presumed that Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance of the Gold Coast Government, visited various points in Southern Togoland from the 23rd to the 25th March, in circumstances in which it is to be inferred that his activities were political and closely connected with the Togoland Plebiscite.

I regret to say that, having immediately brought the point to the attention of the Plebiscite Administrator, the inquiries that he made at my request bore out the truth of these facts.

I must refer to the commitment of the Government of the Gold Coast in connexion with the Plebiscite, as stated by the Administrator to the Togoland Congress in a letter of 28 March and by Mr. Gbedemah to the press on 15 January.

His Excellency

Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke

Governor of the Gold Coast

Accra

I remember that You referred to this decision in answering questions in public ceremonies during Your visit to Togoland late in January.

Bearing in mind the relation of the Gold Coast with the alternatives put to the voter in the Togoland Plebiscite, I feel that the fairness of the Plebiscite, which has been so scrupulously maintained, makes it imperative that these commitments should be strictly abided by.

I regret that the intervention referred to has taken place and must consequently request of You that the above be brought to the attention of the Government of the Gold Coast and that formal assurances be sought that acts of this nature will not take place again.

I take this opportunity to reiterate to You, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto
United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner

224. At the same time I addressed the following letter to the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress:

18 April 1956

Sir,

I refer again to your letter of 9 April with which you have provided me information regarding a visit to Togoland by Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance in the Government of the Gold Coast.

I am now in a position to say that the inquiry that was immediately made on this point by the Plebiscite Administrator confirms that Mr. Gbedemah was in Togoland on the dates referred to, and the circumstances attending his visit lead me to believe that his activity was of a political nature, connected with the Togoland Plebiscite. I have learned this with concern.

It has been pointed out to me that the decision of the Government of the Gold Coast, in the terms of the letter addressed to you by the Plebiscite Administrator on 28 March was to the effect that Ministers of the Government

Mr. S.G. Antor
Secretary General
Togoland Congress
P.O. Box 85
Hohoe

and Ministerial Secretaries, other than those who represent constituencies in Togoland, will abstain from addressing political meetings in Togoland until the vote has taken place.

But I bear in mind that in Mr. Gbedemah's statement to the press, published on 15 January, it was said that no Cabinet Minister who was not a native of Togoland would participate in the plebiscite campaign.

My attention has been called to the fact that, while Gold Coast members of the Convention Peoples Party are barred from coming to Togoland in the present situation, you are known to go frequently to Kumasi, as Secretary General of the Togoland Congress, engaged in political activities and alliances that I am told are directed against the Convention Peoples' Party there, and that no obstacle is put in your way in this connexion, nor indeed am I aware of any law that forbids persons or groups from Togoland to take part in political activities in the Gold Coast or vice-versa.

It has also been pointed out to me, in official representations of the Convention Peoples' Party, that persons coming from Togoland under French administration have used photographs with distorted captions misconstruing Mr. Banerji's presence in a Togoland Congress rally in 1955.

However, referring specifically to the points that you have brought up in your letter of 9 April I must say that I am opposed to activities of undue external influence on the Plebiscite. Consequently, I have accepted your complaint as a legitimate one and I have addressed a representation to His Excellency the Governor of the Gold Coast.

Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto
United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner

225. On 25 April the Governor of the Gold Coast replied to my note in the following terms:

660/1

GOVERNMENT HOUSE
ACCRA

25th April, 1956

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 18th April in which you refer to the visit by Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance, to Togoland between the 23rd and 25th March.

2. At the beginning of this year, after consultation with Your Excellency and myself, Gold Coast Ministers voluntarily offered an assurance that no Minister who was not a native of Togoland would participate in the Plebiscite campaign. In making this assurance it was their intention that Ministers should not attend or speak at public meetings or rallies held in connexion with the Plebiscite. It was not the Ministers' intention that they should dissociate themselves, for the period of the Plebiscite, from the Togoland supporters of their Party; nor was it their intention that no Minister should enter Togoland during this period. As Your Excellency is aware, both Mr. Asafu Adjaye (at that time Minister of Local Government) and Mr. Jantuah (Minister of Agriculture) have openly visited Togoland in the course of their ministerial duties; but, so far as I am aware, they were at pains not to attend or to speak at any public meetings organized in connexion with the Plebiscite.

3. With the greatest respect to Your Excellency's views on the matter of Mr. Gbedemah's activities during his recent visit to Togoland, there does not seem to me to be any issue of principle which would prevent Gold Coast Ministers from taking the fullest part in the Plebiscite, if they so wished. It is the view of the Plebiscite Administrator, which I share, that participation in Plebiscite activities by persons resident outside British Togoland is neither illegal nor objectionable according to recognized plebiscitary practice.

4. In the instance to which you refer in your letter, Mr. Gbedemah appears to have visited Togoland to meet some of his Party organizers and sympathizers,

Señor Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto
United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner

and to have been at pains to ensure that these meetings were private and that no publicity attached to his movements. I see nothing objectionable in this. I know of no legal or other powers which could be used to prevent Gold Coast Ministers from entering Togoland or from taking a full part in the Plebiscite campaign, if they so wished, save their own voluntary undertaking which appears to have been misconstrued by the Togoland Congress. I am confident that Your Excellency can continue to rely on the assurance given by Gold Coast Ministers that no Minister who is not a native of Togoland will attend or speak at public meetings or rallies held in connexion with the Togoland Plebiscite.

With renewed assurances of my highest consideration,

I have the honour to be
Your Excellency's Obedient Servant,
(Signed) C.N. Arden-Clarke
GOVERNOR

226. On 30 April I addressed a new note to the Governor as follows:

30 April 1956

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to refer to Your Excellency's note No. 660/1 of the 25th April, in connexion with a visit to Togoland by Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance in the Government of the Gold Coast.

I am convinced that, apart from the specific commitments that the Government of the Gold Coast has announced regarding the abstention of their Ministers in connexion with the Togoland Plebiscite, the necessity that they refrain from visiting the Territory for political activities for the Plebiscite does not stem from voluntary undertakings but from the fact that one of the alternatives in the Plebiscite asks of the voter in Togoland if he wishes the union of his Territory with the Gold Coast. It is obvious that in these circumstances the presence of Ministers of that country in Togoland, with the purpose of influencing

His Excellency
Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke
Governor of the Gold Coast
Accra

the people to vote for that alternative, would be contrary to the free and neutral atmosphere that we are committed to secure.

I must further draw the attention of Your Excellency to what is said in paragraph 111 of the Visiting Mission's Special Report in connexion with this point. Your Excellency and the Government of the Gold Coast will surely appreciate that this matter concerns my function directly.

In connexion with the powers to which Your Excellency refers in paragraph 4 of Your Excellency's note, I do not doubt that it would be unnecessary to appeal to those contained in Sections 16(b) and 17 of the Constitution of the Gold Coast, or to the fact that the Plebiscite is placed by the Order in Council in the hands of Your Excellency, because I am certain that the enlightened Government of Doctor Kwame Nkrumah, which has always commanded my sincere respect and highest consideration, and Doctor Gbedemah himself, would not hesitate to offer to Your Excellency their full co-operation if their attention is drawn to the fact that this point is one that could reflect seriously on the appraisal of this Plebiscite.

I have co-operated wholeheartedly with Your Excellency's Government and with the parties contending in the Plebiscite, and have assumed responsibilities for instance in the supervision of printing of ballot papers, upon request to protect not only the interests of the parties but also the position of the Administering Power. I have made appeals to the people, such as the one now in possession of the Administrator to be issued on the 3rd May, giving full assurances of the fairness of the Plebiscite.

It is on the basis of the above considerations and in virtue of the function given to me by paragraph 4 of the General Assembly's resolution 944 (X) that I must ask Your Excellency to request of the Government of the Gold Coast that their Ministers, other than those holding Togoland constituencies, refrain from coming to Togoland in political activities connected with the Plebiscite.

I avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto
United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner

227. Disquieting news had been spread to the effect that Mr. Gbedemah had again visited the Territory at the time my first representation was sent to the Governor. But now it was announced officially that the Minister of Finance had been given an important mission to fulfil with the World Bank. He left Accra for Washington on 29 April.

228. At the same time it was announced at Yendi and Ho that the Prime Minister would visit Northern Togoland on 6 May.

229. I then received a note from the Governor, dated 2 May, the text of which is as follows:

"Your Excellency:

I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of the 30th April. I have forwarded a copy of it to the Prime Minister.

With renewed assurances of my highest consideration,

I have the honour to be
Your Excellency's Obedient Servant

(Signed) C. N. Arden-Clarke
GOVERNOR"

230. In the manner in which this affair developed I have considered that it is my duty merely to submit the full facts of it to the consideration of the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. I am pleased to add that almost immediately after my second note to the Governor it was announced that the Prime Minister had cancelled his trip to Northern Togoland. The Prime Minister told me personally as I was leaving Accra that this visit, which was in no way connected with the Plebiscite, had been cancelled in deference to my representation.

231. I must quote here, also, the letter that Mr. S.G. Antor, Secretary General of the Togoland Congress, sent me on this matter on 20 April, which reads as follows:

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P. O. BOX 85,
HOHOE

20th April, 1956

Sir,

EXTERNAL INFLUENCE OVER TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

Referring to your letter of 18th April, 1956, in reply to my previous report of April 9, I am to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation for the conclusions you have arrived at after your painstaking efforts to enquire into the circumstances leading to my report under discussion.

2. I am particularly happy to note the following statement in paragraph 2 of your letter under reply:

"I am now in a position to say that the inquiry that was immediately made on this point by the Plebiscite Administrator confirms that Mr. Gbedemah was in Togoland on the dates referred to, and the circumstances attending his visit lead me to believe that his activity was of a political nature, connected with the Togoland Plebiscite. I have learned this with concern."

3. I must point out, however, that no one but the United Kingdom Government alone who is responsible for the Constitutional Order in Council, 1954.

4. This Constitution provides for Togoland representation in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly. I was elected into the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly in accordance with those provisions contained in the Constitutional Order in Council referred to above.

5. In the Gold Coast Legislature itself, there is an official Opposition in accordance with British Parliamentary procedure and I happen to be a member of the Official Opposition in the Legislature under the provisions in which the Official Opposition has been able to form a Coalition.

6. I merely participate in those meetings referred to in your letter in my capacity as a member of the Parliamentary Opposition in the Gold Coast

H.E. THE U.N. COMMISSIONER
P.O. Box 103,
HO,

cc. The Plebiscite Administrator
Ho.

Legislature. Therefore, if my participation in those meetings were to be considered illegal and unconstitutional, it is the author of the Gold Coast Constitutional Order in Council who is responsible and who really commits the crime and not me and I am grateful that you have been able to take due notice of that.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
(Sgd.) S.G. Antor
Secretary General

232. One last event should be recorded in this chapter. On 19 April Mr. R.R. Amponsah, Secretary of the National Liberation Movement, arrived in Yendi coming from Kumasi, accompanied by the Amakomhene, a Chief from Ashanti, and another person. During the entire Plebiscite, although I had rumours from West Krachi that agents of this movement had made an appearance, I could not confirm that they had ever come. We have commented (paragraph 162) that whereas the NLM moved into the Colony with its own branches, in the Northern Territories and in Togoland contact was established very carefully not by a direct penetration but by means of alliances with existing parties. This seems so much the more logical in the case of the Plebiscite in Togoland considering that the NLM is equally allied with each of two political parties or movements which were at odds in the Plebiscite. Considerable concern was shown in Yendi when it was known that Mr. Amponsah had visited the Ya-Na, who at the time seemed undetermined in his attitude towards the Plebiscite, and it was thought that he had brought him a message from the Asantehene aimed at influencing the Ya-Na against the Convention Peoples' Party. Bottles of soda water hit Mr. Amponsah's car as he drove through Yendi. It was brought to the attention of the Ya-Na that he had belittled himself by accepting Mr. Amponsah and the two other persons as delegates entitled to speak for the Asantehene since only a linguist or a chief of high hierarchy was qualified for a mission like that one.

233. I do not think it is necessary to stress the connexion that was seen with this episode in the official visit that Mr. Kojo Botsio, Minister of State of the Gold Coast, made to Yendi on 22 April. Mr. Botsio officially inspected developments in the Administration, public works, rural water development, housing etc. In its external appearance his visit is unobjectionable from the viewpoint of the Plebiscite. As every other distinguished visitor to Yendi he paid a call to the Ya-Na. Nothing is known officially of the subjects on which they conversed. On 26 April the Ya-Na announced publicly his intention to vote for the first alternative.

(g) The Plebiscite Campaign

234. The early stages of the Plebiscite are not distinguished with important rallies or printed publicity. An opening rally of the Convention Peoples' Party at Jasikan on 14 January did not come about and very few people showed up at the place where it had been announced. The parties seemed concentrated, especially those favouring the second alternative, on getting great numbers of their followers registered.

235. In the ensuing period of setting up of the Registers, which was considered a dead stage in the conduct of the Plebiscite, propaganda and publicity were also slow. Parties at that stage seemed to be active mainly in a door to door propaganda and some vans with loudspeakers, mainly of the Convention Peoples' Party, began making their appearance. Posters used are shown in this Report as Annex IV.

236. It was on 6 March that the opening rally of the Togoland Congress was announced and I was invited officially to attend it. On that date I sent telegrams to all parties, the essence of which is contained in the following press release:

"The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner has addressed all parties contending in the Togoland Plebiscite to express to them his certainty that their action will honour the civic traditions of Togoland. He has stressed that the attitude their political groups will take in explaining to the people the importance of the issues at stake will permit them to show at the polls the strength and sincerity of their cause. In order to leave parties total freedom and as a token of perfect impartiality that the United Nations Commissioner is here to maintain he is informing today all political parties that he has been obliged to decide not to attend any

political rally. However, on the occasion of the first rally of each party he will ask two United Nations Observers to attend the meeting, though not to take part in it and to convey personally to the leaders his cordial greetings. The Commissioner shall observe with the keenest interest and high consideration these demonstrations, which it was the privilege of the United Nations Visiting Mission, in a different stage of ascertainment of public opinion in Togoland, to attend in person. In the present stage the Commissioner is sure that the parties will understand his attitude as a safeguard of their common interests. He has given to each of them his pledge that he will observe the same policy with all other parties. The Commissioner has reiterated to the representatives of parties his gratification with the great interest of their followers in this Plebiscite in which the people of Togoland will give evidence of their maturity and determination to decide their own destiny."

237. The rally of the Togoland Congress took place at Kpandu on 11 March. It was attended by the two Observers stationed there. It was considered that approximately 1,200 persons were present at the meeting, which was very well organized and at which the main speakers were Mr. S.G. Antor, the Reverend F.R. Ametowobla, Mr. Kodzo Ayeke, and Mr. A.M. Simpson, who is the Regional Secretary of the Togoland Congress in Kpandu. The issues of the Plebiscite and the advantage of voting for the second alternative were explained.

238. On 18 March a rally of the Togoland Congress, with an attendance of approximately 500 persons, was held in Kadjebi. The Kadjebihene objected strongly to this meeting, Kadjebi being a town with a CPP majority, but he was convinced with the Government Agent's decision that there were no grounds to deny access to any party to any point in the Territory.

239. On 8 April the Togoland Congress held another important rally in Jasikan, with an attendance of from 500 to 800 persons. The main speakers were Mr. S.G. Antor, Mr. A. Odame, Miss Gladys Bensah, Mr. John Ammaneh and the Stool-father of Borada.

240. An important rally, although its attendance was not above 500, was held by the Togoland Congress in Kete-Krachi on 29 April.

241. But by far the most important rally of the Togoland Congress was the one held in Ho on 6 May. The main speakers were Mr. S.G. Antor, Reverend F.R. Ametowobla, Mr. Kodzo Ayeke and Mr. Kofi Dumoga, Organizing Secretary for Ho West. Numerous chiefs in their full attire entered the town in an impressive parade and a great number of lorries brought into town several thousands of persons. It was surely the rally with a greater number of attendants during the entire campaign.

242. Several minor, local meetings of the Congress took place. At Apesokubi and Pusupu-Bontibo two such meetings were held on 15 April.

243. The Convention Peoples' Party really had only one great rally. It was held on 25 March in Hchoe - a significant fact considering that this important town is the home of the National Secretariat of the Togoland Congress - and had an attendance of approximately 3,000 persons. It was well organized and orderly. The same two Observers attended this opening rally. The speakers were the Krachiwura, who disallowed persistent rumours that he had changed sides, the Kadjebihene, the Chief of Buem, Mr. S.W. Kumah, Regional Secretary of the CPP, and especially Mr. J.H. Allassani, Minister of Education in the Gold Coast and Member of the Legislative Assembly for East Dagomba. Mr. Allassani's speech - in which he stressed that Togoland was poor but would be in a much greater plight if it separated from the Gold Coast - made a profound impression and was often quoted after the rally.

244. On 6 April there was a meeting of the Joint Dagomba, Konkomba and Nanumba Youth Association in Yendi. Although only 100 persons are thought to have attended, it was nevertheless considered a meeting of importance because of rumours that had circulated to the effect that the Konkombas of that area would either vote for the second alternative or abstain in view of the situation of inferiority in which they had been maintained under the rule of the Dagombas. Strong support for the CPP was expressed at this meeting. One of the consequences of this movement was that the Sunson-lana, the most important chief in the area, resigned to the post of Chairman of the Local Council of Sunson in the first days of April thereby giving satisfaction to the Konkomba demands. Having the majority in that area the Konkombas wanted a full control of the Sunson Local Council. The Chairmanship was given to an important leader, Mr. Nɔjoka Namuel, President of the Konkomba Development Youth Association.

245. Considerable importance was attached to the meeting of Chiefs held in Jasikan on 22 April. Chiefs supporting both parties were present, and the main resolution approved was one exhorting the people to vote. Originally, it is reported, some of the chiefs that met planned to make certain demands as a condition for taking part in the vote, but it is said that Mr. F.Y. Asare obtained that demands be made after the Plebiscite and gave the meeting a turn in which expressions of support for the first alternative were the dominant note.

246. But perhaps the most important meeting in the North was the one held in Yendi on 26 April, in front of the Ya-Na's residence, with an attendance of approximately 300 chiefs, among which were twelve divisional chiefs. The Ya-Na referred to the fact that his attitude towards the Plebiscite had been doubted. Consequently he wanted to announce how he would vote. He discarded publicly the symbol of the second alternative and raised the one for union with the Gold Coast and made it known that he would vote for that alternative. He said he could not force anybody to vote in any given way but wanted everybody to know what he would do. The Government Agent, who had been invited to be present, spoke then to the chiefs who were present and warned that the Plebiscite must be kept free of violence, that representatives of the second alternative should not be obstructed and that anybody who violated the regulations would be punished.

247. The development of the Plebiscite reveals a struggle in many points of the Northern section of the Territory which was not foreseen in the early stages of the operation. It being known that chiefs in the North wanted above all the immediate union of the Territory with the Gold Coast and that their authority was acknowledged by tens of thousands of voters, it was thought that the vote there might go in a solid block for the first alternative. But on one side numerous political complications developed. The Government was seen to back out hurriedly from a proposal to cut Mamprusi into three districts against the wishes of the Na-yiri. Soon the concept of federation made great inroads in this area. The Northern Peoples' Party, who is a signatory of the federal proposals and at the same time wanted the union of Togoland with the Gold Coast at once in the terms of the first alternative, was seen for some time in such a nebulous position that persons favouring the first alternative feared early in April that either the entire North might be lost for them or in any case only a low vote would be recorded.

248. In these circumstances a remarkable campaign by the Togoland Congress obtained many votes for the second alternative in the North. Whereas the first efforts of the Congress in that area, in January and February, were limited in scope, in the latter stages Messrs. Chamba, Freku, Hevi, Eaku, Kona, and other representatives of the Togoland Congress were extremely active. In the struggle

for Bunkpurugu Mr. J.P. Kona seems to have been involved in a serious incident which came to my knowledge in two phases. Late in April it is reported that either Mr. Kona or his followers barred entrance to Bunkpurugu to eighty persons closely connected with the Na-yiri. Some days later Mr. Kona visited Gambaga. There he was beaten up by five men and taken to Nalerigu to the Na-yiri, who released him and offered him escort back to Bunkpurugu. But I was not in a position to follow the police action taken on this latter part of the affair, all of it having taken place in the Gold Coast. Nakpanduri in the last days of April was covered with symbols of the first alternative. One week before polling the situation was reversed and finally that town was won by union only by a small majority. Nakpali, whose chief was one of those to cheer the Ya-Na's decision to vote for union, voted almost entirely for separation. The same is to be noted in Worribogo, Tindan, Kukuo and other points under the jurisdiction of the Kworli-na, and in places in North and South Dagomba. South Mamprusi was won for union only with a small margin.

249. It is with sincere gratification that I am able to record here that violence was not in the programme of any of the parties and that incidents were remarkably few. Aside from the appeals that were made by the Administrator and myself, it must be said that leaders of parties constantly stressed to their followers that the Plebiscite was not a common election but a great national issue, that it was a matter of interest to public opinion in the world, and that Togoland's civic traditions, which had already earned such a good name, must be maintained.

(h) Ruth Galevo

250. With the agreement of the Administering Power a step was taken early in April to attract the attention of school children towards the Plebiscite in the only way in which it should be brought to that section of the population, on a level above party politics or inclination towards any of the two alternatives. I opened a contest for children of middle schools to write an essay of not more than 200 words on the significance of the Plebiscite, in the form of a call to the people.

251. Although the children were given barely two weeks to prepare their work, 500 essays were received, from 72 different schools.

252. Ruth Galevo, a fourteen-year-old girl from Form II in the E.P.C. Middle School of Kpedze won the first prize (ten pounds sterling in money, books to the value of ten pounds, a diploma, a flag of the United Nations, a present from my wife, and a stay of three days at our headquarters in Ho) which was awarded to her at my residence in Ho in a ceremony attended by traditional chiefs, the most important political leaders of both sides, distinguished residents of Ho and teachers and students. The text of her essay was published in English and a vernacular language (Ewe, Twi and Hausa) with her photograph in a poster that was displayed in prominent places throughout the Territory shortly before polling day. It reads as follows:

"My dear and beloved people of British Togoland, as one of your little children I have gratefully accepted the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner's kind invitation to speak to you about the importance of the impending plebiscite of which you are all aware.

United Nations stand for the protection of Human Rights, and their past and present achievements are countless. On Wednesday, 9 May, they will ask you for the first time in our country's history to take a definite DECISION on a major issue. This request is not only a big opportunity for which we cannot be too grateful, but a very great RESPONSIBILITY.

Our country's future either good or bad will depend on the choice you will make of one of the two alternatives set before us. Upon you therefore rest our immediate and future destinies. Whichever choice you may decide to make, you must first count the cost.

My beloved people, we your children humbly request you to bury your differences and get together for a wise and noble choice. After all, we are all brothers and sisters, we are not enemies. I think famous men and women are famous everywhere, likewise fearless people are fearless everywhere.

For sound judgment and a wise choice we humbly pray for God's guidance.

I remain,

my beloved Men and Women of integrity,

Your loving daughter,

Ruth Galevo."

253. The second and third prizes were awarded to Michael Kwasi Edze, of K. L. A. Middle School, Kete-Krachi, and Emmanuel Agbekey, of the Roman Catholic School, Ho. Letters of thanks, each with one pound sterling, were sent to seventeen other young writers.

CHAPTER V

THE PLEBISCITE AREA

A. Boundaries

254. The United Kingdom's report to the Trusteeship Council for 1954 on the administration of Togoland records that "Togoland under United Kingdom administration is a narrow strip of territory averaging about 40 miles wide and about 320 miles long, lying between latitude $6^{\circ}20'$ N. and $11^{\circ}11'$ N. and longitude $0^{\circ}27'$ W. and $0^{\circ}54'$ E. Its southernmost boundary lies some 25 to 30 miles from the sea and it has, therefore, no coastline or ports. It comprises an area of 13,041 square miles of which 7,196 form the Northern Section and the remaining 5,844 square miles the Southern Section".

255. When it was decided at the General Assembly that a Plebiscite should be held in the Territory it was obvious that this would require a very precise knowledge of the exact boundaries of the area to which the operation is confined. It was generally known that a demarcated line exists between Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration, but with the Gold Coast it was borne in mind that the Territory has been united administratively with it for many years, that District and Local Council areas and even wards weave into the Territory coming from the Gold Coast or vice-versa, that in administrative maps Togoland is not shown as a unit, that Togo's northern half disappears in the region of the Northern Territories and the southern half forms one region together with areas in the Gold Coast, and in view of these facts doubt was expressed in the General Assembly as to whether a line actually existed between Togoland and the Gold Coast.

256. The Mandate Agreement signed between the League of Nations and the Government of the United Kingdom is content with describing the portion of Togoland that was put under British administration as "that part of Togoland which lies to the west of the line laid down in the Declaration signed on 10 July 1919", and the Trusteeship Agreement of 1946 follows the same pattern and merely records in its first article that "the Territory to which this agreement applies comprises that part of Togoland lying to the west of the boundary defined by the Franco-British Declaration of 10 July 1919, as

delimited and modified by the Protocol of 21 October 1929, executed by the Commissioners appointed in the execution of article 2(1) of the said Declaration."

257. How far Togoland extended to the west is a point that was given no attention in these documents. Emphasis was laid on the line of partition between the portion that came under British mandate and the one put under French administration. That line between the two halves of Togoland, which was afterwards carefully delimited and to which we shall refer presently, is up to this date indeed a very live and precise boundary, and if the General Assembly has intervened with respect to it it has been with the purpose of easing frontier proceedings in this line during the years in which the subject of unification of Togoland was studied at the Organization.

258. The doubts raised on this point were by no means unfounded. The association permitted by the Mandate and Trust Agreements has in fact turned the boundary between the Gold Coast and Togoland into a dormant or unoperating line, but a notion of it has not been totally abandoned. The line is not used and at the same time it could not be deleted. Officers concerned with the Trusteeship report find it a necessary reference. Tribes who are divided by this line resent it. The Paramount Chief of the Mamprusis, the Na-yiri, is among leaders who have requested that this "imaginary boundary" be removed. It is to be seen in maps which are prepared in connexion with matters in the Trust Agreement and I am now in a position to appreciate that it is faithfully reproduced in such cases in its general outline. However, from the mere tracing of a line, following not inaccurately the true demarcation, to a precise and detailed delimitation as that required for a Plebiscite, in which it is indispensable not to include in one territory villages or districts belonging to another, an important difference existed which had to be regarded as a serious problem involving a responsibility.

259. The first definitive delimitation of boundaries between German Togoland and the Gold Coast Colony is to be found in section 1, article IV, of the "Agreement between Great Britain and Germany respecting Zanzibar, Heligoland, and the Spheres of Influence of the two Countries in Africa" which was signed in Berlin on 1 July 1890. It reads as follows:

"The boundary between the German Protectorate of Togo and the British Gold Coast Colony commences on the coast at the marks set up after the negotiations between the Commissioners of the two countries of 14 and 28 July 1886; and proceeds direct northwards of the 6°10' parallel of north latitude; thence it runs along that parallel westward till it reaches the left bank of the River Aka; ascends the mid channel of that river to the 6°20' parallel of north latitude; runs along that parallel westwards to the right bank of the river Dchawe or Shavoe; follows that bank of the river till it reaches the parallel corresponding with the point of confluence of the River Deine with the Volta; it runs along that parallel westward till it reaches the Volta; from that point it ascends the left bank of the Volta till it arrives at the neutral zone established by the Agreement of 1888, which commences at the confluence of the River Dakka with the Volta...."

260. Mention of a Neutral Zone will have been noticed in this paragraph of the Agreement. It is of little use to refer to it here. It had been established by an Agreement between the two countries on 14 March 1888, and it was disposed of in the Agreement of 14 November 1899, which used the River Daka as the frontier at that point. Here it is only relevant to note that the Neutral Zone was as far as the frontier appeared delimited then.

261. Article V of the Agreement of 14 November 1899 merely established that:

"In the neutral zone the frontier between the German and English territories shall be formed by the River Daka as far as the point of its intersection with the 9th degree of North latitude, thence the frontier shall continue to the North, leaving Morozugu to Great Britain, and shall be fixed in such manner that Gambaga and all the territories of Mamprusi shall fall to Great Britain and that Yendi and all the territories of Chakosi shall fall to Germany."

No other reference than this last very general indication seemed available regarding the northern part of the frontier.

262. It was at the Government Agent's Office at Bawku that I saw and studied for the first time a copy of the northern half of a justly famous German engineering achievement, the Sprigade maps of 1907 (Togoland in two sheets, sheet 1, Information on German protected territories. Concluded 1 September 1907, Volume XXI, 1908, at the scale of 1:500,000). This important document is quoted often as an authoritative reference in publications on German, British and French frontiers in West Africa.

263. Whereas the Convention of 14 November 1899 gave a mere general direction as to the manner in which the boundary should be delimited, the Sprigade map left no doubt that a careful and minute demarcation of the frontier between the Northern Territories and Togoland had been achieved not later than 1907. That part of Togoland's boundaries is given in the Sprigade map with a heavy shaded line, which in the table of references is shown as "Schutzgebietsgrenze definitiv bestimmt", border of protected territory definitively established.

264. Copies of the Sprigade map were subsequently obtained in New York and are available at the Secretariat. Attention is drawn to the precision with which the border of Togoland and the Northern Territories is traced, from a point due west of Yendi to the north, until a point is reached which was the intersection of Togoland, the Northern Territories and the French Territory of the Haute Volta.

265. It being obvious that a demarcation had been completed, the Department of External Affairs at Accra took up this matter and obtained for us copies of the publication "African (West), Confidential, Gold Coast (Further Correspondence relating to the Anglo-German Boundaries)" edited by the Colonial Office in London. Numbers 651 and 768 of this publication, edited in 1907 and 1908, gave the required information.

266. It is upon the basis of a Convention signed by the two countries in Berlin on 26 September, and in London on 2 December 1901, that the Boundary Commissioners were able to carry out a work of survey and triangulation that led to the definitive agreement concluded by an exchange of notes at Berlin on 25 June 1904. The boundary, according to this final agreement, is the following:

"From the 9th degree of north latitude the boundary follows the thalweg of the Daka (Kulukpene) upwards to its junction with the Kulusulo; from thence the thalweg of the Kulusulo upwards (to a distance of 1 kilom. beyond its intersection with the road from Sambu to Sung; then a line running west, at a distance of 1 kilom. from that road), to its intersection with a meridian which passes half-way between the most easterly and the most westerly point of intersection of the 9th degree of north latitude with the Daka (Kulukpene); then this meridian to the north of its intersection with the Daka (Kulukpene); then again the thalweg of the latter upwards to its intersection with the road from Bulugu to Nayoro (Naijoro); then a straight line drawn from the last-named point of intersection to the point where the road from Jebega (Djebega) to Makumboro crosses a certain stream; then the thalweg of this stream downwards to a distance of 1 kilom. beyond its intersection with the road from Sokelo to Somayili (Somajili); then a line drawn 1 kilom. to the west of the Sokelo-Somayili (Somajili)-Naiyoboli (Naijoboti)-Yahapa (Fahapa)-Tintarage-Gimbendi (Gjimbende) road to the point where it intersects the

southern boundary of Mamprusi, with the proviso that the villages of Karvison and Narabare fall to Germany, and that the boundary-line in the neighbourhood of these two villages shall in each case be deflected towards the west in the arc of a circle of 1 kilom. radius, drawn from the house of the Chief of each village as centre.

From the last-named point of intersection the boundary runs east along the southern boundary of Mamprussi to a point about half-way between the villages of Tintaraga and Gimbendi (Gjimbende), which point forms the junction of the territories of Dagomba, Chakosi (Tschakossi), and Mamprussi.

At this point a pillar has been erected by the Anglo-German Boundary Commission, and from it the boundary proceeds in straight lines in a northerly direction, as marked in the following manner by the posts erected by that Commission:

To a post placed about 1 kilom. east of Gimbendi (Gjimbende).

Thence to a post placed about half-way between the villages of Gimbendi (Gjimbende) and Yelangu (Jilano).

Thence to a post placed about 1 kilom. south-west of Jegehu (Dschaguhuga).

Thence to a post placed on the road from Naghpanyaraga (Naponjalaga) to Naghpansona (Nakpansona), at a distance of 1 kilom. from Naghpanyaraga (Naponjalaga).

Thence to a post placed between Naghpiegu (Nakpegu) and Naghpanyaraga (Naponjalaga).

Thence to a post placed on the road from Majamam (Madschemam) to Kwangina, at a distance of about 1 kilom. west of Mbanga (Mbana).

Thence to a post placed 1 kilom. east of Makpe (Mwakpe) or Dausuili (Dasuile).

Thence to a post placed on the road from Bankpa (Bamkpa) to Tundi (Tumti), at a distance of about 1 kilom. east of Bankpa (Bamkpa).

Thence to a post placed on the road Kampore-Nansukuma (Nasiko) at a distance of about 1 kilom. east of Kampore.

Thence to a post placed about 2 kilom. west of Nossisiri (Nasissir).

Thence to a post placed about 3 kilom. west of Tinsunga.

Thence to a post placed on the road from Shishi (Schischi) to Pughpariendi (Punkpariene) about half-way between the two villages.

Thence the boundary follows in a north-westerly direction a circle drawn from the house of the Chief of Shishi (Schischi) as centre, with a radius equal to the distance between that house and the last-mentioned post, until it meets the line drawn between that post and a post placed on the road between Shishi (Schischi) and Dongfoana (Danfoana).

Thence it follows that line to the last-mentioned post.

Thence it follows a straight line drawn in the direction of a post placed about 1 kilom. north-west of Kpatua, until it meets the circle drawn in a north-westerly direction with the house of the Chief of Kpatua as centre, at a radius equal to the distance between that house and the last-mentioned post. It then follows that circle until it reaches that post.

Thence in a straight line to a post placed about half-way between Dhantuho (Diandugu) and Pialagu (Pialogu), and thence in straight lines as follows:

To a post placed about 1 kilom. east of the village of Warikung (Watikjun).

Thence to a post placed about 1 kilom. east of the village of Barrabawku (Baraboka).

Thence to a post placed about 1 kilom. east of the village of Sugure (Segure).

Thence to a post placed about half-way between the villages Zoli (Sule) and Bugare (Bugure).

Thence to a post placed about half-way between the villages Koka and Bugare (Bugure).

Thence to post placed about half-way between the villages Koka and Sinimunaba (Siliminab).

Thence to a post placed about half-way between Ganwaka (Gbawa) and Pusaga (Pussiga).

Thence to a post placed about half-way between Ganwaka (Gbawa) and Nkogo (Nikogo).

Thence the boundary follows in a northerly direction the meridian drawn through the last-mentioned post until it meets French territory."

267. In Map 2 in this report will be seen the official "Map of the Frontier Between Gold Coast and Togoland by the Boundary Commission 1902", which gives the boundary from the 9th parallel of North latitude to the boundary of the French Sudan. This document, IDWO No. 1798, is the original map adopted by Count Zech and Captain W.J. Johnston R.E., forming the Boundary Commission of 1902, and

which was agreed upon by the British and German Governments to be used by the 1904 Boundary Commission. As will be seen in the attached copy it was adopted by the British War Office in January 1904 and was revised in November 1905, that is to say immediately upon the completion of the work of the 1904 Boundary Commission. The two Governments then undertook the beaconing of the line from the 9th parallel of North latitude to the French Sudan and completed that work on 30 December 1904. On that date the Commissioners of the two countries submitted their report.

Following is the list of the beacons erected:

1. One beacon on the road from Nabpapakhale to Dene on the right bank of the River Kulusulo at the point where the river crosses the road.
2. One beacon on the road from Nabpapakhale to Kpabiya on the right bank of the River Kulusulo at the point where the river crosses the road.
3. One beacon on the road from Kpabiya to Sambu on the right bank of the River Kulusulo at the point where the river crosses the road.
4. One beacon on the road from Sambu to Sung on the left bank of the River Kulusulo at the point where the river crosses the road.
5. One beacon on the right bank of the River Kulusulo at the point where that river cuts the meridian which passes half-way between the most easterly and most westerly point of intersection of the 9th degree of north latitude with the Daka (Kulukpene) River.
6. One beacon on the road from Sekwe to Sambu at the point of its intersection with the Daka - 9th degree meridian mentioned above.
7. One beacon on the road from Sekwe to Sanduli at the point of its intersection with the above-mentioned meridian.
8. One beacon on the road from Sanduli to Gondulaire at the point of its intersection with the above-mentioned meridian.
9. and 10. Two beacons, one on either side of the River Daka (Kulukpene) at the point of its intersection with the above-mentioned meridian.
11. and 12. Two beacons, one on either side of the River Daka (Kulukpene) at the point where the river crosses the road from Naiyoro to Bulugu.
13. One beacon on the road from Jebega to Nakumboro on the right bank of a certain stream, the Bansabudo, at the point where the river crosses the road.
14. One beacon on the road from Nyanson to Kashiero in the thalweg of the River Bansabudo at the point where the river crosses the road.

15. One beacon on the road from Jebega to Nyanson on the left bank of the River Bansabudo, here called the Sakpale, at the point where the river crosses the road.
16. One beacon on the road from Dunyakho to Nyengali on the left bank of the River Bansabudo, here called the Teha, at the point where the river crosses the road.
17. One beacon on the road from Nyengali to Salla on the right bank of the River Bansabudo, here called the Belle, at the point where the river crosses the road.
18. One beacon on the road from Tindon to Salumpeguba on the left bank of the River Bansabudo, here called the Barra, at the point where the river crosses the road.
19. One beacon on the road from Sokelo to Yaraboa on the left bank of the River Bansabudo, here called the Kuldocho, at the point where the river crosses the road.
20. One beacon on the road from Sokelo to Somayile on the right bank of the River Bansabudo, here called the Kuldocho, at the point where the river crosses the road.
21. One beacon on the right bank of the River Bansabudo, here called the Kuldocho, at a distance of one kilometre to the north of its intersection with the Sokelo-Somayile road.
22. One beacon on the road from Yaraboa to Janpinsi at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
23. One beacon on the road from Somayile to Janpinsi at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
24. One beacon on the road from Karvison to Tambugho at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
25. One beacon on the road from Tambugho to Naiyiboli at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
26. One beacon on the road from Narabare to Tambugho at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
27. One beacon on the road from Narabare to Sandua at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
28. One beacon on the road from Tintaraga to Gimbendi at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
29. One beacon on the boundary about one kilometre east of Gimbendi.

30. One beacon on the road from Gimbendi to Jeguhu at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
31. One beacon on the road from Jeguhu to Naghpansona at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
32. One beacon on the road from Naghpanyaraga to Naghpansona at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
33. One beacon on the road from Naghpanyaraga to Naghpiegu at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
34. One beacon on the road from Majaman to Kwanginga at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
35. One beacon on the road from Mbang to Makpe at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
36. One beacon on the boundary about one kilometre east of Makpe.
37. One beacon on the road from Bankpa to Tundi at the point where the boundary crosses the road.
38. One beacon on the road from Kampore to Nansukuma at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
39. One beacon on the road from Kampore to Sambugu at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
40. One beacon on the boundary about two kilometres west of Nossisiri.
41. One beacon on the road from Nossisiri to Gambaga at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
42. One beacon on the boundary about three kilometres west of Tinsunga.
43. One beacon on the boundary at the point where the Tinsunga-Shishi road is crossed by the road from Nakpanduli to Dawatte.
44. One beacon on the road from Shishi to Nakpanduli at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
45. One beacon on the road from Shishi to Pughpariendi at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
46. One beacon on the road from Nadegre to Gbochere (Bugare) at the point where the boundary cuts the road.
47. One beacon on the road from Shishi to Dongfoana at the point where the boundary cuts the road.

48. One beacon on the road from Kpatua to Kwatria at the point where the boundary cuts the road.

49. One beacon on the boundary about one kilometre north-west of the chief's house in Kpatua.

50. One beacon on the road from Dhantuho to Pialagu at the point where the boundary cuts the road.

51. One beacon on the road from Duri to Dasubana at the point where the boundary cuts the road.

52. One beacon on the boundary about one kilometre east of Waticung.

53. One beacon on the boundary about one kilometre east of Barrabawku.

54. One beacon on the boundary about one kilometre east of Sugure.

55. One beacon on the road from Zoli to Kagbiri on the right bank of the River Tamde at the point where the river crosses the road.

56. One beacon on the boundary about half-way between Zoli and Bugare.

57. One beacon on the road from Keka to Bugare at the point where the boundary cuts the road.

58. One beacon on the road from Koka to Sinimunaba at the point where the boundary cuts the road.

59. One beacon at a distance of 4-1/2 kilometres due south of the beacon on the Pusaga-Ganwaka road mentioned below.

60. One beacon on the road from Pusaga to Ganwaka at the point where the boundary cuts the road.

61. One beacon on the road from Nkogo to Ganwaka at the point where the boundary cuts the road.

62. One beacon on the left bank of the River Kulapalogo at a distance of 3,910 metres due north of the beacon on the Nkogo-Ganwaka road.

63. One beacon at a distance of 4,585 kilometres due north of the last-named beacon the point of intersection of the boundary with the boundary of the French Sudan.

268. An important point is to be noted in the correspondence on the boundaries to which reference has been made above. In visiting Northern Togoland today an uninformed person would be impressed with the manner in which compounds of

villages are scattered in border areas and would not fail to detect a problem of demarcation. It was precisely this feeling that prompted Captain H.B. De Voeux, British Commissioner for the demarcation of 1904 and 1905, to state in a letter of 6 January 1905, to the Acting Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories that:

"Finding the whole of the country North of Shishi to be full of scattered compounds, a village (so-called) being often a collection of compounds covering an area of 5 or 6 square miles, the German Commissioner and I determined to cut the boundary from beacon to beacon so as to definitely decide once and for all which compounds are British and which German. We should have found this work very difficult if we had to rely on the Boundary Commission map of 1902, as this portion of the map is merely a compass sketch, unchecked by latitudes, and with villages covering 5 square miles marked by a dot on the map. We were, however, able to do the cutting very accurately by aid of the excellent map made by Freiherr von Seefried and Count Zech after the completion of the Anglo-German Boundary Commission of 1902. Freiherr von Seefried kindly allowed me to make a tracing of his map showing this portion of the boundary, a copy of which I enclose... - The boundary having been accurately cut it was decided by the two Administrative Officers accompanying the Commission to mark it permanently by erecting cairns made of stones and swish, about 4 feet high, at intervals of about 150 yards all along the boundary, from the point of intersection of the German and French boundaries to beacon No. 43 south of Shishi. The Administrative Officers are now carrying out this work together and, if they continue at the rate at which they began, they should very soon complete it."

269. This was the situation when Togoland, after the First World War, was wrested from Germany and put under mandate. During the fifty years that ensued since the cairns of swish and stone were set up, not only has the frontier fallen into desuetude but it is also to be realized that the strong torrential rains that are characteristic of that latitude have washed out the cairns in the greater part of the Territory. Few people are aware of the presence of the beacons, which are of concrete. At some points an Observer might be informed by villagers that a concrete pillar found in a field of yam has been pulled out some years ago. At other points he will collect rumours that somewhere in the vicinity one of the beacons whose precise location we know by the list given above is supposed to exist.

270. I have visited personally, with the Government Agent and the Observer in the area, the two beacons which in the list enclosed take numbers 60 and 61. The first is between Pusiga and Ganwaka and the second between Nkogo and Ganwaka, in the district of Kusasi. The latter of these pillars show a D (for Deutsch) on one side and an E (for English) on the other. It is known to our Observer that beacons 62 and 63 exist and that the latter is a small pyramid of stones. A Registration Officer stationed in Kusasi has explored all of the line in that district, has located shallow wet-season ditches or trenches which marked the frontier, has seen other pillars and has been shown where a beacon has been lost through erosion. It is between pillars 60 and 61 that a young Togolander had recently moved out of his father's compound to build his own only a few yards within the Gold Coast at a point where this can be determined without the aid of an engineer, by drawing a straight line between the beacons. This young man, whose name is Aragun-Awini, was refused registration when the Officers registered the population of Terango, by the border. The Observer in Kusasi also visited beacons in the frontier with French Territory and with Togoland under French administration.

271. The Observer in South Mamprusi, aided by the school-master at Nakpanduri, found beacon No. 42 also marked with the letters D and E. He was told of the location of beacon No. 41 but could not find it. To the South, he was informed that beacon No. 40 can be found easily although people in that area are reluctant to speak of this line.

272. If the rains had washed out the cairns and most of the beacons are lost in the bush, the Surveyors on the other hand had availed themselves of a human element which proved more lasting. In all of the correspondence on the boundaries to which I have referred above it can be seen that the Commissioners were instructed by their Governments to "make the necessary explanations and distribute flags to the various local chiefs concerned". In flat, unaccidented land where surveyors find few or no streams, ridges, hills or other natural points to indicate the line, the information confided to the people has proved a valuable element and it is possible to say that in principle people in border villages, unless the villages have been recently created, actually know if their settlement is in Togoland or the Gold Coast. The Germans caused a strong

impression on the population of Togoland and are remembered with respect for their national characteristics of discipline, love for order and spirit of work. Many stories are told of chiefs, on either side of boundaries, who have interred or hidden otherwise flags in order not to surrender them. Old men are still to be found who served with the Germans or got their education in Germany or were in any other way directly aware of their administration.

273. It will have been seen in paragraph 444 that 123 objections in South Mamprusi were entered and won by the Registration Officer himself. This was done in order to correct an error. Ward D, in the Local Council of Nalerigu, was cut by the old German line so that only the part of it in Togoland could be registered, and in doing this it was feared since the beginning that Jawoni, Nambi and Jimbale actually were in the Gold Coast. Villagers were registered in the understanding that an investigation would be conducted and this proved that Jawoni is clearly in the Gold Coast. The Chief of Nambi being a young man could not tell the United Nations Observer if his village was in Togoland or in the Gold Coast, but all of the elders remembered that the Germans had never crossed the stream that runs nearby the village and that they had always been under British rule. Two small villages take the name of Jimbale. One is definitively in Togoland and the other in the border area. The elders stated that as far as they could remember the Germans had never crossed the stream that runs across the village. Two compounds, lying east of the stream, were registered, and the three that were to the west were taken out, together with the registered persons of Jawoni and Nambi, at the Revising Court.

274. Along the line in numerous instances villagers declared to the Registration personnel that they were in the Gold Coast and were keeping out of the Plebiscite.

275. In North Dagomba the United Nations Observer expressed concern in the early stages of registration regarding the possibility that persons from Nyansang, a village in the Gold Coast, might be registered. A close watch of this situation reveals that such instances never occurred, although villagers from Nyansang did apply in good faith wanting to do "what their brothers were doing" (Dagombas are dominant at this point on both sides of the line) and were disappointed when the Officers rejected them.

276. In the Nanumba-Gonja area the Registration Officer feared that Ekumdipe might be in the Gold Coast. The United Nations Observer informs that the investigation of the case leaves no doubt that the village is in Togoland.

277. It was felt during the period of Registration that nowhere else would the problem of boundaries be important. It is fortunate that a good 60 per cent of Togoland's boundaries with the Gold Coast are waterways, the Volta, the Alabo, the Daka (the Daka is called the Kulukpene in some German documents; it is the boundary in two separate stretches of the line), the Kulusulo, the Bansabudo (the Bansabudo is a weak stream which, nevertheless, in a very short stretch takes the different names of the Sakpale, the Teha, the Belle, the Barra, the Kuldocho). These rivers would have offered a ready reference to solve any dispute.

278. But it must be remembered that in Southern Togoland two artificial or topographical lines remained: the 6°20' parallel of North latitude between the rivers Aka and Dchawe or Shavoe (the Alabo), and the parallel, farther North, that runs from the Alabo river to the Volta.

279. As regards the 6°20' parallel, no conflict ever existed. Three Togoland Local Councils touch this southernmost boundary of the Territory: Dutaso, Adaklu and Anyigbe. For Dutaso and Anyigbe this parallel is the precise border between them and the Gold Coast areas of Western Tongu, Upper Tongu, Central Tongu, Avenor and Dzodze. As for the Togoland Local Council of Adaklu, almost all of which is in the Territory, it does protrude with a small bulge into the Gold Coast, but no difficulty was encountered to segregate from Adaklu - for the purposes of the Plebiscite - the villages of Ahunda, Have, Ahumkofe, Boso, Kpodzi (in Ward G) and Avedzi, Nanakofe, Kpelaho, Hamanane and Helemekpe (Ward H) which are in the Gold Coast.

280. As regards the parallel between the rivers Alabo and Volta, although this old German line is today a precise separation between the Togoland Local Council areas of Ablode and Yingor and the Gold Coast areas of Peki Guan and Awudome, and although it was thought that no conflict had arisen or could possibly arise, important errors were brought to the attention of the Administration at the stage of the Revising Courts. Objections were introduced and won by a person acting in the name of a political party against all of the eligible inhabitants (40) of

the towns of Ziavi Bamefedo and Hlefi Bakpa appearing in the Register, on the grounds that the said towns belonged actually to the Gold Coast.

281. As regards the frontier of Togoland under British administration with Togoland under French administration I do not attempt to reproduce it here. After the Declaration of 10 July 1919, the Franco-British Togoland Boundary Commission of 1927-1929 made a precise delimitation which may be studied in the Protocol of 21 October 1929 and the corresponding official map (see Map 3). All data concerning this line is available at the Secretariat, but it is an active frontier, known to everybody and which at no time has offered any doubt regarding its demarcation, though it will be seen in another chapter (see paragraphs 399 to 420) that the line had to be watched in connexion with an entirely different problem, the possibility of infiltration. One other frontier must be mentioned, which is, at the extreme north, the line between Togoland under British administration and the French Territory of the Haute Volta. This boundary is totally covered by the river Kulupielugu.

B. Administrative or Electoral Units

282. In this report it is irrelevant to refer to the Divisions or States, which are areas demarcated for the organization of traditional authorities, not directly concerned with the conduct of the Plebiscite. For the purposes of the Plebiscite the units that must be borne in mind are the Districts, the Local Councils, the wards and sub-wards and the villages.

283. It will be seen by the Order in Council (see Annex I-A) that nine Districts were established in the Territory for the purposes of this Plebiscite. Within them are 34 Local Councils, or parts thereof. Within each Local Council there may be twenty, thirty or more wards. Three hundred and forty-four wards were established for the Plebiscite. Within each ward may be comprised from a portion of one town to five, ten or more villages.

284. As regards the establishment of wards, it will be remembered that the Order in Council empowered the Governor, among other things, "for the division of each District into Wards", and Regulation 3 of the Registration Regulations refers to the manner in which the wards are defined. The "Instrument under Section 3 of the Local Government Ordinance" to which the Regulations refer is Part II (Registration of Electors) of The Electoral Provisions Ordinance 1953, which

provides that "for the purpose of the registration of electors under this Ordinance the Minister (of Local Government) may, from time to time, by Order divide any electoral district into wards: provided that, in so far as local government wards are established within any electoral district, such local government wards shall also be wards of such district for the purpose of this ordinance". This last proviso would make it necessary to inquire in each Local Council how each ward has been established and which are its limits, usually not defined precisely and not going beyond an enumeration of the villages included in it, although in some points in the north a delimitation actually is envisaged between wards. Schedule 1 to the Registration Regulations refers to this. Lists of them were available to my Office since the beginning of the operation. Another unit should be mentioned, the sub-wards, which each Registration Officer was given the power to create for Registration and which were subsequently liquidated, although they were again considered where it was necessary to offer to the voter additional polling stations in the last phase of the Plebiscite.

C. Maps

285. My Office and the Observers were handicapped from the beginning by a serious lack of maps useful for the purpose of our intervention in the Plebiscite. The Gold Coast has a first class Survey Department, many important works have been done in it, and it should be said to begin with that full photographic maps of the Gold Coast and Togoland are available. But these latter would have been of little use for our work, the location of villages and political boundaries and administrative or electoral divisions being our main concern. We were all provided with the very good Road Map of the Gold Coast, which shows also the Territory, but whereas this document is indispensable for travel, which was one of our constant activities, it is only at the scale of 1:500,000, the boundaries of the Territory are shown without the necessary precision, and a great number of the important villages - to say nothing of innumerable smaller ones - are not shown. A much better map exists, AFRICA, in sheets, at the scale of 1:125,000, and three parts of it, Bawku-Gambaga, Chereponi and Bongo-da, showing portions of Togoland, were obtained by my Office. But this map does not show the

Territory's boundaries and above all it is not complete for Togoland and only the northern and southern extremes of the Territory can be studied in it. Even this map proved out of date if we consider the imperfections and additions that were discovered in the field by Registration Officers and Government Agents of the Administering Power in the course of the very thorough and painstaking work that was necessary for the conduct of registration. Surely the data thus obtained will provide an invaluable information that may be used for future maps.

286. The excellent map which is attached to the Administering Power's Plebiscite Atlas, showing the ward headquarters for all of Togoland as established for the Plebiscite, was prepared by the Gold Coast Survey Department, during the Plebiscite. Such information, which was clear to the Registration personnel, and individually to each Observer, was not available to my Office since the beginning of the operation in a clear, over-all manner which would facilitate maintaining an accurate picture of the registration throughout the Territory, and it was difficult to visualize localities not shown on maps. Each Observer was instructed to draw by himself a sketch map of his area, showing even if approximately the wards delineated in his jurisdiction, and these sketch maps have been of obvious use to me to follow their actions. Lists of the wards and even of the villages included in them were provided to my Office by the Administration from the beginning, but to the best of my knowledge - due surely to the short time in which this operation had to be prepared - no accurate map was available during the operation for all of Togoland.

287. In the following pages may be seen the maps that should be consulted to follow the Plebiscite:

Map 1 shows the distribution of the United Nations Observers in the various districts.

Map 2 shows Document IDWO 1798, which is the official "Map of the Frontier Between Gold Coast and Togoland by the Boundary Commission 1902" showing the boundary from the 9th parallel of North latitude to the boundary of the French Sudan.

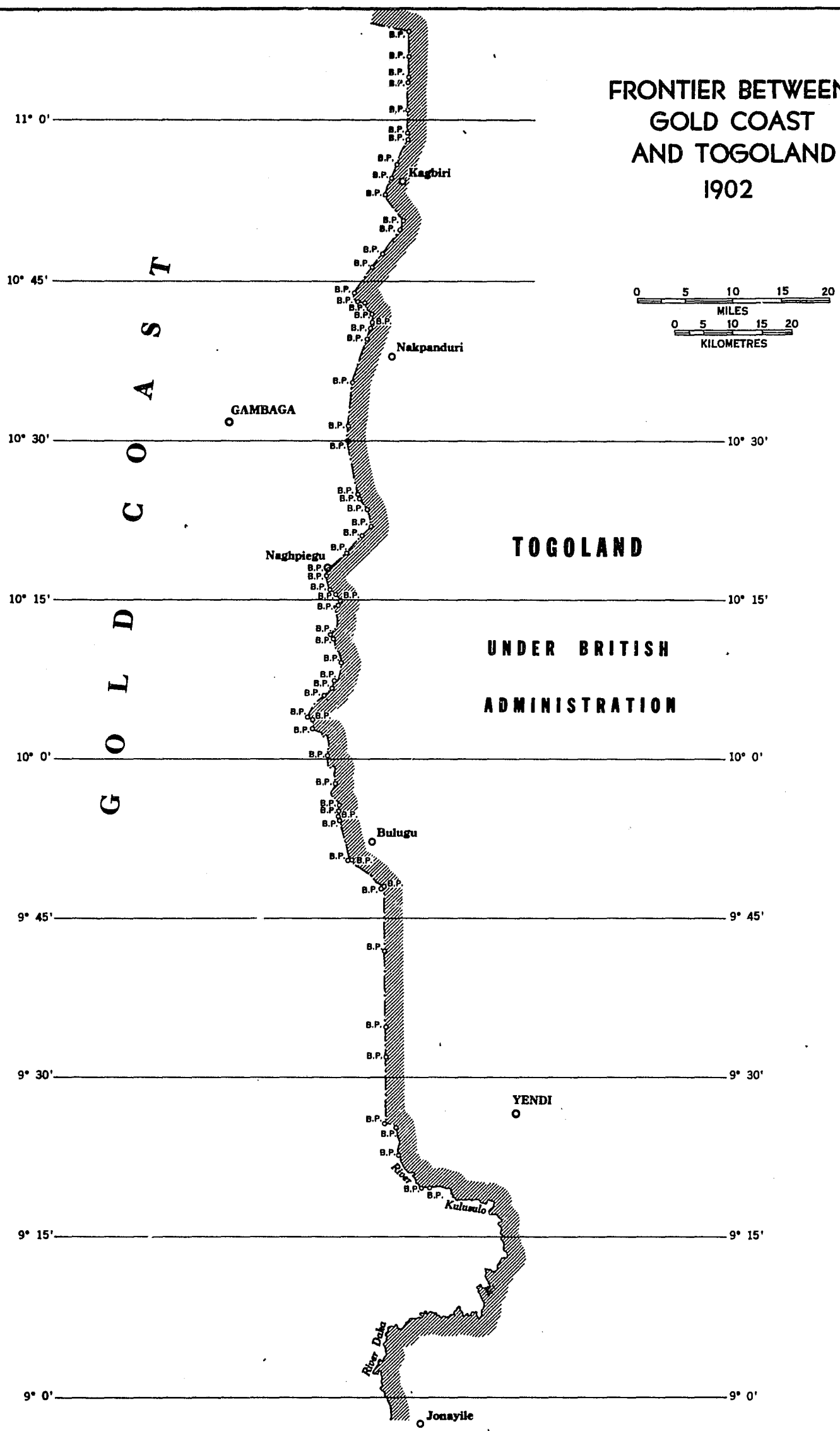
Map 3 shows the map illustrating the Final Report of the Franco-British Togoland Boundary Commission 1927-1929, in which is delimited the boundary between Togoland under French administration and Togoland under United Kingdom administration.

Map 4 shows the map referred to in article IV of the Anglo-German Agreement of 1 July 1890 (Togoland), in which may be seen the frontier agreed upon from a point in the Coast to the region in which the Volta River becomes the boundary between Togoland and the Gold Coast.

Map 5 shows a map of Togoland with the Electoral constituencies that formerly lay wholly or partly in the Territory, and in which will be appreciated the portions of such units that overflowed into the Gold Coast.

Map 6 shows the Districts that were established by the Order in Council, wholly within Togoland, and the Local Council areas, or parts thereof, within each District, with their names.

FRONTIER BETWEEN
GOLD COAST
AND TOGOLAND
1902



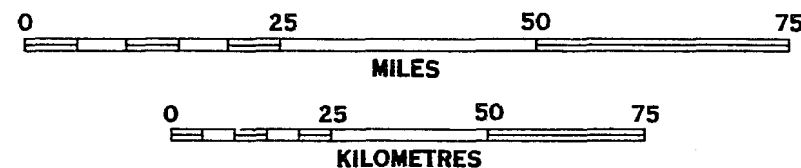
U P P E R

V O L T A

FRANCO-BRITISH
TOGOLAND BOUNDARY
1927-1929

11°

149, 148
147
Pusiga
146
145
144
143
142
141
140
139
138
137
136
135
Nakpanduri
134
133
132
131
130
129
128



10°

Chereponi

10°

126
125
124
123
Demon
122
121
120
119
118

TOGOLAND

TOGOLAND

9°

9°

U N D E R

U N D E R

B R I T I S H

F R E N C H

A D M I N I S T R A T I O N

A D M I N I S T R A T I O N

117
116
115
114
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109
108
107
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105
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102
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Djerepana
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TOGOLAND

TOGOLAND

UNDER

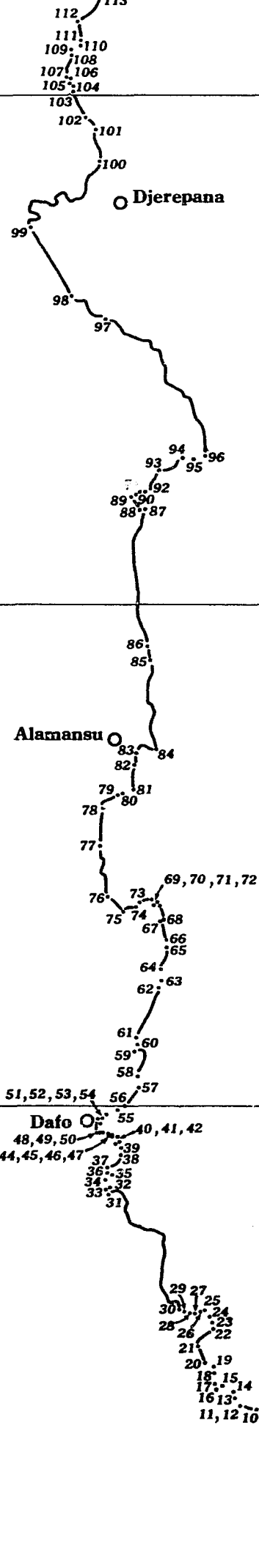
UNDER

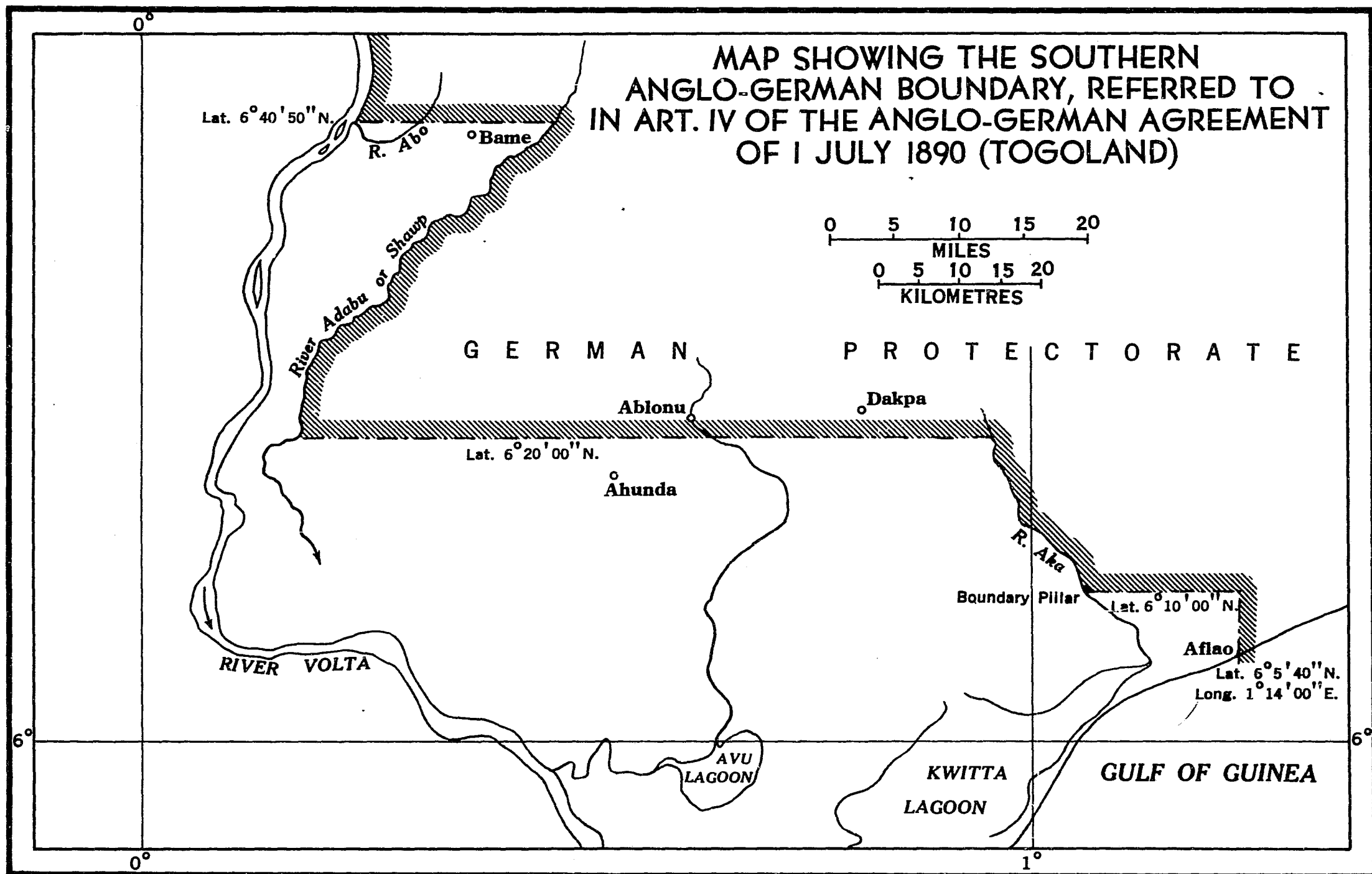
BRITISH

FRENCH

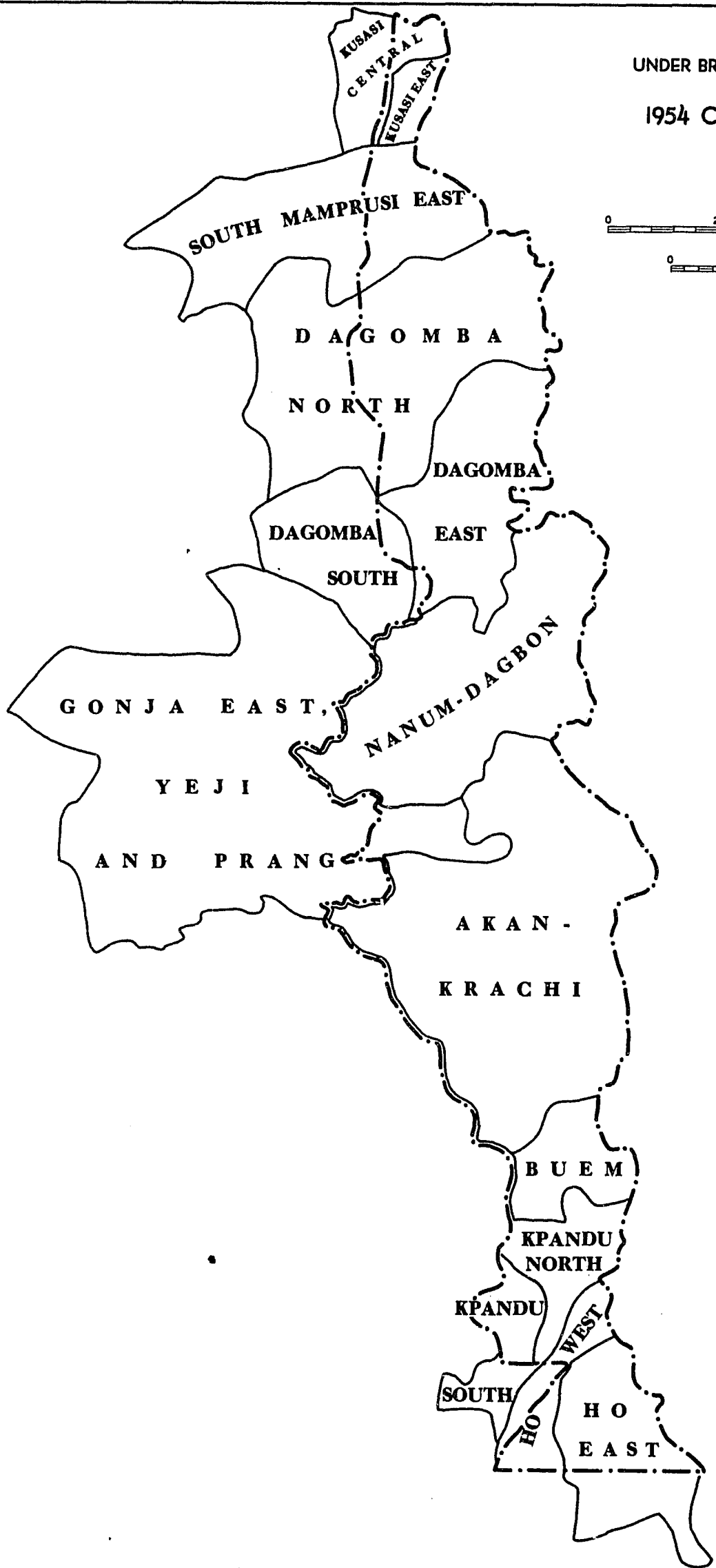
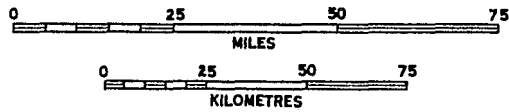
ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION



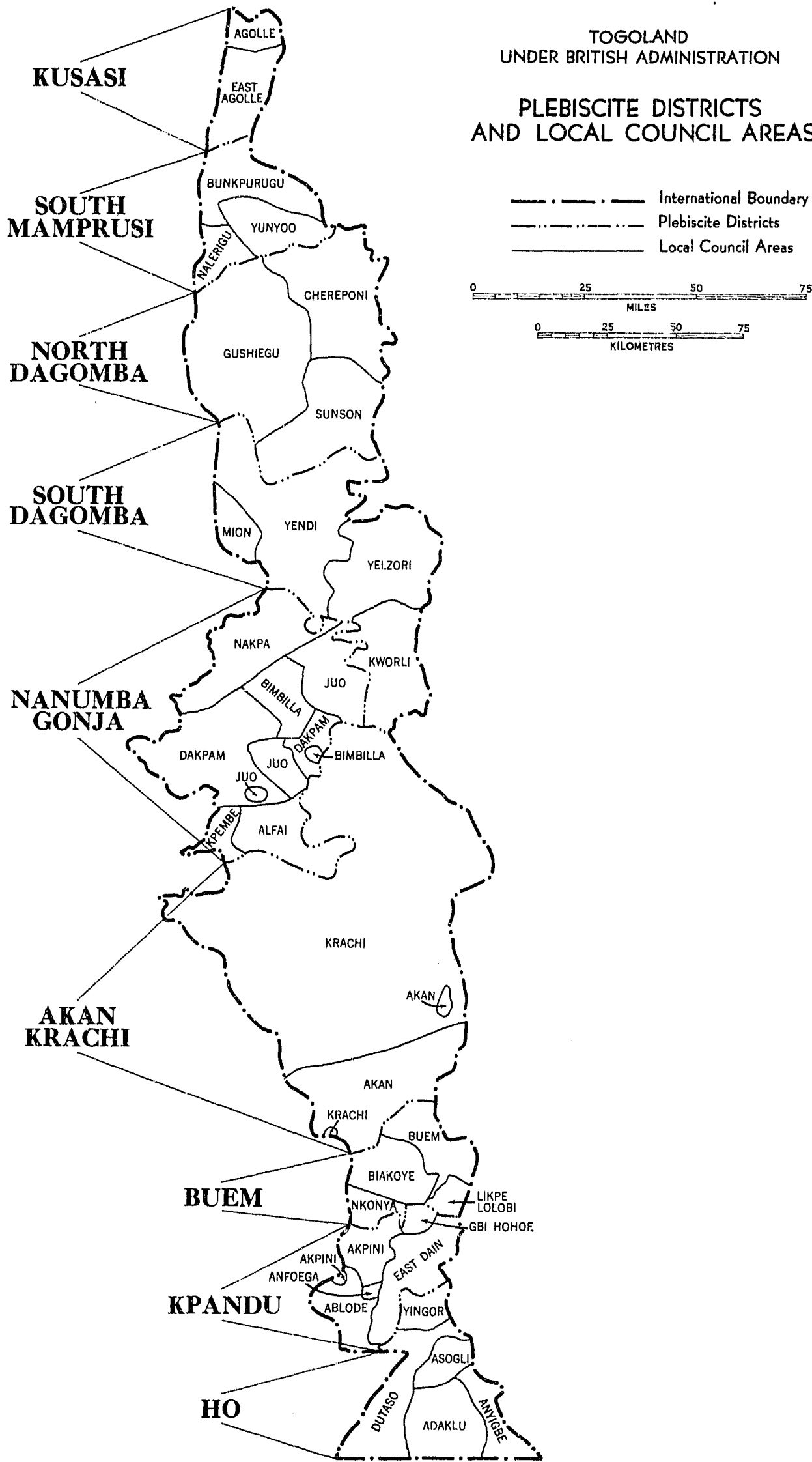


TOGOLAND
UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION
1954 CONSTITUENCIES



TOGOLAND
UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

PLEBISCITE DISTRICTS
AND LOCAL COUNCIL AREAS



CHAPTER VI

ORGANIZATION OF THE PLEBISCITE BY THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY

A. Legal Provisions

288. Immediately upon approval by the General Assembly of resolution 944 (X), on 15 December 1955, the Government of the United Kingdom proceeded, in compliance with operative paragraph 2 of the resolution, to organize the Plebiscite.

289. For this purpose a basic instrument, the Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship (Plebiscite) Order in Council, 1955, was passed by Parliament in London and came into operation on 31 December 1955. Its text is attached to this Report as Annex I-A.

290. The Order in Council lays down in general the basis for a Plebiscite to be held in Togoland under United Kingdom administration, gives the alternatives to be put to the voter, establishes the qualifications and disqualifications for applicants, provides for registration, for an appeal concerning the Register, for the appointment of an Administrator and of a Judge or Judges for one or more Special Courts, and for other appointments. Attention is drawn to Section 11, in which provision was made for the facilities to be given for the due discharge of the functions of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and the Observers and it is stated that representations may be made by the United Nations Commissioner and the Observers. As an enabling document, it is broad in its lines and leaves to the Governor the power to provide for the different stages of the Plebiscite.

291. From the United Nations viewpoint I have made special remarks in connexion with this document in paragraphs 98 to 106 of this report.

292. As regards the Administering Power, this Order in Council is their legal source for all action concerning the Plebiscite. The Order empowers the Governor, subject to the provisions of that document, to make provision by regulation for the registration of voters, to constitute offices and appoint persons to fill them, and generally for the purposes of the Order.

293. In consequence of the powers conferred on him by the Order in Council the Governor issued three distinct provisions, the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration)

Regulations, 1955, the Togoland Plebiscite Regulations, 1956, and the Togoland Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1956, to which reference will be made below.

B. Amendment to the Order in Council

294. On 1 February, being at the Office of the Solicitor General in connexion with amendments to Registration Regulations on which my opinion had been requested, the Solicitor General drew my attention to Section 10(2) of the Order in Council, which reads as follows:

"The Plebiscite Administrator may, if he considers it desirable so to do in the light of any decision of a Special Court relating to any dispute concerning the result of the voting in any District, declare that the result of the voting in that District is invalid, and direct that the voters registered in each Ward of that District shall be given a further opportunity of voting for the purposes of the plebiscite."

The Solicitor General failed to understand why, if a vote had to be considered invalid in one ward, this having no effect on neighbouring wards in all of the district, this should impose a re-vote on the entire district.

295. We examined this point in the light of the corresponding recommendation of the United Nations Visiting Mission's Special Report, which is in paragraph 206, and I could see that whereas in the Mission's recommendation room might be left to interpret it as a meaning that the re-vote might be ordered in a ward or wards within a district, and whereas there might be doubt as to what the Mission considered a district, the Order in Council had gone to the extreme of establishing in unequivocal terms that the re-vote may be done in all of the district or not at all. I concurred fully with the views of the Solicitor General.

296. At the meeting that was held at Government House on 21 February, and which was attended by the Acting Governor, the Plebiscite Administrator, the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, the Secretary of the Governor and myself, general agreement was met on that the terms of the Order in Council at this point were too rigorous.

297. I was asked if the possibility still existed that the votes be counted by four separate units as proposed in paragraph 108 of the Visiting Mission's Report, and I reminded the meeting what the situation was on this point, as may be seen

in paragraphs 16, 17 and 498 of this report. The Governor had offered that the results would be given to us ward by ward in order that the General Assembly might decide what it considered best. In this discussion it seemed logical to all that if the computation of votes was going to be done by wards this was one more reason why the invalidity of the results in one ward should not determine that a re-vote was also necessary in other wards in a whole district, unless the issues were clearly connected. It was also stressed that if a new vote were ordered in areas where everything had been done correctly and there was no reason for a new operation, people would probably react coldly to a request to go again to the polls, and the results of a legitimate vote would be unfairly prejudiced. 298. A text was agreed upon which the Administering Power submitted to its Parliament and which on 1 April was passed as an amendment to the Order in Council. It is as follows:

"(2) The Plebiscite Administrator may, if he considers it desirable so to do in the light of any decision of a Special Court relating to any dispute concerning the result of the voting in any District, declare invalid the result of the voting in any or all of the Wards in that District and direct that the voters registered in each Ward in respect of which such a declaration shall have been made shall be given a further opportunity of voting for the purposes of the Plebiscite."

C. The Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1955

299. This document, which had obviously been prepared beforehand, together with the Order in Council, wishing to abide by a time-table that foresaw registration beginning on 10 January, was issued on the same date of the Order in Council, 31 December. Upon arrival at Accra I examined with great care these Regulations, which it was within the powers of the Governor to amend, but I found no point in them that could be objected.

300. The Regulations provide for the constitution of wards for the Plebiscite, for registration, for the exhibition of registers, for claims and objections, for the holding of an open Court by a Revising Officer to examine claims and objections and settle the Register finally. The Regulations establish sanctions for various offences.

D. Amendments to the Registration Regulations

301. During the period of registration some irregularities took place that made it seem necessary to the Administering Power to amend the Regulations. In a village in Togoland, the name of which it seems unnecessary to record here, the Chief took an attitude of defiance towards the Registration Officer and is known to have collected from applicants in the ward their registration receipts. At the same time, leaflets appeared in the Territory in which matters connected with the qualifications of voters and statements made by me to political parties, were published in an objectionable manner, either departing from true facts or reproducing only parts of statements in a way that would deceive the public regarding important issues. Reference to this situation is made in paragraphs 200 to 204 of this report. At the same time a publication was made in a town in Southern Togoland in which the text of the alternatives for the Plebiscite was grossly distorted.

302. On 26 January the Administrator asked me if I would agree to amendments that would consider such acts punishable offences, and on 1 February I was brought in contact with the Solicitor General on this point. The circumstances in which this matter had developed surely did not give me any ground to object to these amendments.

303. The same was not the case for the draft of an amendment to the effect of considering a punishable offence the publication of any matter reasonably calculated to deceive the public as to the alternatives of the Plebiscite. As will have been seen in paragraphs 5 to 14 of this report, I was conscious that the people of Togoland had been given an unfair burden with texts for the alternatives that were difficult to interpret and which we could not undertake to explain. The publication that had prompted the Administering Power to act in this matter was a malicious distortion and there was the danger that more of these publications might be made. Yet I was more concerned with the risk of discouraging persons from trying in good faith to interpret the elaborate texts that had been placed before them. Other aspects of this problem were discussed. The Solicitor General and the Administrator accepted my viewpoint and an amendment was not made on this subject.

304. Annex I-D contains the amendments referred to above, as well as a modification in the First Schedule to the Regulations, relating to wards in the Krachi Local Council.

305. Annex I-E in this report reproduces Amendment No. 2 to the Registration Regulations, according to which the First Schedule is modified in connexion with wards in Kusasi District.

306. Annex I-F in this report contains Amendment No. 3 to the Registration Regulations, modifying the First Schedule again on wards in the Krachi Local Council.

E. The Togoland Plebiscite Regulations, 1956

307. A draft of these regulations was first made known to me by the Administrator in Ho on 26 January. He sought my agreement particularly, on that occasion, for an interpretation of paragraph 175 of the Visiting Mission's Report that would provide for two Polling Agents at each booth not for each one of the parties but for each of the groups of opinion (see paragraph 454). Other points, in which reference was made to United Nations personnel, and the subject of a two-hour lunch recess, were discussed on that occasion. These regulations were again brought to my attention by the Solicitor General on 1 February, and a galley proof was sent on 8 February to my Office in Ho, where it was examined by some of the officers in my staff and myself. Finally this document was discussed a fourth time at the meeting with the Acting Governor, the Administrator and other officials on 21 February at Christiansborg Castle.

308. This elaborate document follows, as was recommended by the United Nations Visiting Mission, the voting procedure established by the Electoral Provisions (Assembly Elections) Regulations, 1954. It was studied by us bearing in mind the text of the 1954 Regulations, the remarks contained in several paragraphs of the Visiting Mission's Report, and recommendations in the Canham Report on the manner in which polling had been conducted in 1954.

309. There were few observations on our part. Regulation 33, by mere oversight, included the United Nations Observers among the officers on whom it was made mandatory to maintain the secrecy that is referred to in that provision. This was corrected at once and I offered that I would take it upon myself to stress that point in instructions to the Observers. I called attention to Regulation 29

and was under the impression that a modification would be made in it. The Visiting Mission recommended in its paragraph 203 that ballot boxes should be opened and the ballot papers counted only in the presence of a United Nations Observer. I did not make any specific request regarding Regulation 29 because I felt it was incumbent on myself to take the necessary steps to comply with the Mission's very appropriate recommendation, and this in fact was done so scrupulously on Polling Day.

310. I felt bound to call the attention of the Administrator and other officers to the fact that the introduction of a lunch recess was a departure from the 1954 Regulations. Considering that the term of twelve hours for voting in 1954 had been too long, and that there had been disorder for lack of an established hour for lunch, this innovation might be justified, but two hours were obviously too much. There was general agreement on this at the meeting with the Acting Governor on 21 February, and the term was reduced to one hour.

F. The Togoland Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1956

311. The precedent that might be consulted in connexion with this document is The Election Petitions Rules, 1954, but it is difficult to establish the correct relation, this latter instrument being meant to regulate petitions in General Election "...with a prayer, as for instance that some specified person should be declared duly returned or elected or that the vote shall be recounted or that the election should be declared void or that a return may be enforced...".

312. In the case of the Election Petitions Rules 1954, action is obviously circumscribed to the electoral district for which a candidate may have been elected. In the case of the Togoland Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1956, "no petition may include matters which relate to more than one ward". The Visiting Mission had in mind an "electoral district" in its paragraphs 204 and 206. If the subject of complaint includes several wards, as many petitions should be submitted as there are wards comprehended. It is not foreseen that the Judge could render a decision concerning the Plebiscite as a whole, and this has seemed entirely unobjectionable to me in a matter that is to be assessed by the General Assembly.

313. Although the Administering Authority, in consultation with me (meeting with the Acting Governor on 21 February) made provisions to discourage frivolous and

fraudulent petitions (Regulations 9 and 16) in accordance with the recommendation of the Visiting Mission, the limitation of the area of a petition to one ward was not meant in that sense. It should be easy for petitioners to submit as many petitions as the wards that may be affected. But furthermore, it will be seen that this point was borne in mind when the amendment to the Order in Council was made and that the Administrator need not confine the re-vote to only one ward if it is obvious to him that the matter affects the surrounding ones.

314. In accordance with the recommendation of the Visiting Mission's Report, paragraph 208, we agreed at the meeting with the Acting Governor on 21 February that the term for the lodging of petitions be shortened to fourteen days.

G. Plebiscite Administrator

315. It will be remembered, by paragraph 129 of the Visiting Mission's Special Report, that the Governor of the Gold Coast expressed the desire of entrusting the administration of the Plebiscite to a person who was not a native of the Gold Coast or Togoland and was not in the service of the British Crown in respect of the Government of the Gold Coast or Togoland. Section 17 of the Order in Council incorporated this provision, and with it in mind Lieutenant Colonel Sir John Dring, K.B.E., C.I.E., J.P., was appointed Plebiscite Administrator. The United Kingdom Permanent Mission to the United Nations furnished me in New York a short biography of Sir John Dring by which I was informed that this distinguished official was born in 1902 and was educated at Winchester College and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. He joined the Guides Cavalry in 1923 and the Indian Political Service in 1927. Sir John was Assistant Private Secretary to the Viceroy from 1930 to 1932 and was Revenue Commissioner for the North West Frontier Province in 1947. In the following year he was appointed Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State. He retired from Pakistan in 1952.

316. Late in November 1955 Sir John reached Accra in the capacity of Adviser to the Governor of the Gold Coast on possible plebiscite arrangements in Togoland under United Kingdom administration, and was subsequently appointed Plebiscite Administrator. Section 7 of the Order in Council makes the Administrator responsible for the conduct of the Plebiscite, subject to any directions given by the Governor under the provisions of that instrument.

317. Sir John Dring made Ho his headquarters but travelled constantly throughout all of his jurisdiction to direct and supervise the different aspects of the operation and maintain contact with all of his officers as well as with the leaders of political parties, and with other sections of the population. His attitude towards the United Nations was always one of highest consideration and of a wholehearted and sincere co-operation. All aspects of the conduct of the Plebiscite were made known to us and the consultations provided for in the General Assembly's resolution were kept up scrupulously in a cordial, frank and friendly relationship.

H. Other Appointments

318. Considering the longitudinal form of the Territory and other features in its administration, Togoland was divided for the purpose of the administration of the Plebiscite in two halves, the Northern one comprising Kusasi, South Mamprusi, North Dagomba, South Dagomba and Nanumba-Gonja, and the Southern one including Akan-Krachi, Buem, Kpandu and Ho. An Assistant Plebiscite Administrator was appointed for each half, Mr. Evan Lewis for the Northern section and Mr. O. Robin Blair for the Southern one. The Administrator gave each one of these experienced and able officers a considerable degree of autonomy.

319. In Accra the Governor availed himself of the services of the Department of External Affairs and particularly of its Principal Secretary, Mr. M. de N. Ensor, whose experience in the matter was fully appreciated by the United Nations Visiting Mission in 1955. Lieutenant Colonel Leslie Young in that Office maintained a close liaison with the United Nations Personnel. Legal aspects of the Plebiscite were taken care of by the Attorney General, Mr. G.M. Paterson, and the Solicitor General, Mr. A. Lonsdale.

320. The intervention of Chief Regional Officers, of Regional Officers, and of Government Agents in the Plebiscite has been watched with considerable attention by political parties contending in the Plebiscite, and some remarks, which rarely ever took the form of a representation, have come from those sources. The United Kingdom's Report on the administration of Togoland to the Trusteeship Council for 1954 states in its paragraph 67 that:

"In the Northern Territories, including the Northern Section of the Territory, the Governor is represented by a Chief Regional Officer whose headquarters are at Tamale in the Northern Territories. In the

Southern Section he is represented by the Regional Officer in charge of the Trans-Volta/Togoland Region with headquarters at Ho in the Territory. Responsible to these two officers are the administrative officers, or Government Agents, in charge of or stationed in districts. In the North Government Agents are stationed at Bawku, Gambaga, Yendi and Salaga. In the Southern Section they are stationed at Ho, Kpandu and Jasikan, the last named district comprising of the Akan or predominantly non-Ewe areas of the section having a sub-station at Kete-Krachi where an administrative officer is also stationed. These administrative officers are responsible for the general administration of their districts and, in co-operation with the professional and technical departments, for the welfare of the inhabitants and for the guidance of local authorities. Although the Government Agent keeps in closest possible touch with all aspects of local government in his area, he holds no statutory position with the local authorities. It is his function however to advise them and report to the Minister of Local Government on their affairs. In the Northern Section and in the Krachi sub-district of the Southern Section administrative officers also exercise magisterial functions."

Farther ahead, in paragraph 69, that Report adds the following:

"Until recently Administrative Officers were appointed exclusively by the Secretary of State who retains responsibility for the careers of these officers within the framework of the Unified Colonial Service (now known as the Overseas Civil Service). However, in 1952 legislation was enacted which provided for members of the Junior Civil Service, for indigenous officers of the Senior Civil Service appointed after April 1952, and for any existing officer who so opted, to become members of the Local Service of the Gold Coast and the Territory, control of which is vested in the Governor. It was also provided that after 1 November 1952, all expatriate officers appointed on non-pensionable terms for a specified period should be members of the Local Service."

321. It will be useful to bear this information in mind if points are raised at a later stage concerning the intervention of these officers in the Plebiscite. The Governor felt at liberty to use their services in the same manner in which other expatriate officers were being called upon. It will be readily seized, bearing in mind the extraordinary experience of these officials in local matters, that they played a paramount role in the selection of personnel for Registration and Polling, but furthermore, in some places the influence of some of the most efficient of these officers on the conduct of the Plebiscite seemed greater than that of the Registration Officers in the area.

I. The Expatriates

322. Reference must again be made to paragraph 129 of the Visiting Mission's Report to remind that the Mission endorsed the Governor's intention of filling responsible positions with expatriate officers. This term, which though disliked is irremediably established in West African usage, has at times been misinterpreted at the General Assembly. In the Gold Coast and Togoland an expatriate is any person, of any origin, that is not a West African. An Englishman, a Pole, or a person of African blood born in the West Indies are equally regarded as expatriates. In the present case all of the officers were British with the exception of two Poles, two Czechs, two West Indians, one Dane, one Canadian, and one United States citizen.

323. The task of securing the services of a sufficient number of expatriates was a serious one and much irritation was caused in the various departments from which they were drawn. Sixty-three persons were obtained, who were appointed Registration Officers or Assistant Registration Officers during the registration period. For polling expatriate officers were again employed as Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers. The six persons that were appointed Revising Officers at the time of the settling of the Registers were likewise expatriates.

J. The Registration Assistants

324. Under the Administrator and the two Assistant Plebiscite Administrators, there were three positions in the registration personnel. There were 10 Registration Officers, all of them expatriates, 53 Assistant Registration Officers, also expatriates, and 310 Registration Assistants, all of them Africans.

325. In principle two Registration Officers were assigned to every District, and to each Assistant Registration Officer were assigned one or possibly two local council areas. One Registration Assistant was appointed for almost every ward, possibly with some sub-wards under his jurisdiction. At times the area to be covered by a Registration Assistant was a part of a large town, in other cases it might sum up several villages.

326. The brunt of the clerical work of registration has been borne by the African Registration Assistants, though not to the same degree the responsibility. The effort to give responsible positions to expatriates, in an administration that is speedily being Africanized in personnel, is due to the consideration that Africans

would rarely ever be above suspicion of inclinations or connexions towards one or the other of the alternatives in the small and politically alert communities in which they were to act, and it was foreseen that complaints would be directed against them.

327. Consequently, Africans were given the position of Registration Assistants in a task of "considerable responsibility", in the terms used in the Administrator's instructions, but in a relation in which any cases of doubt should be referred to the Registration Officer or Assistant Registration Officer, men who were constantly touring their districts to discharge those duties and to keep a close supervision of the work. The hard work of the Registration Assistants was outlined in precise, meticulous instructions. All of these contain stern warnings that the Registration Assistant must be impartial and caution him on the consequences of not living up to this standard. In the instructions it is forbidden to Assistants to explain the questions of the Plebiscite or to advise anybody as to how he should vote. "If you do so you will have failed in your duty as a Registration Assistant." There are clear recommendations on general behaviour. In the instructions to the Assistants in the South an advice is given which would be proper in any latitude: "Do not behave as if you were more important than you are." The Northern Assistants were not spared similar admonitions. Their instructions end with these words: "Be impartial. Be vigilant. Be energetic. Be courteous. Show common sense."

328. It would seem that there was little left in which a Registration Assistant could show partiality, bias or perfidy. Yet the numerous accusations made against this personnel by one of the parties contending in the Plebiscite made it necessary for us to watch this situation.

329. The main problem with which the Administration was confronted was the selection of the most qualified persons for this work. The aim was to choose the best educated men so that they might be in a position to understand their work and explain registration to the people. It was difficult to find persons in these circumstances with no political inclination, but what was avoided as far as possible was the appointment of persons with direct ties with parties and obviously unfair or biased. A man would not be discharged merely because it was proved that he was in favour of a given party if no accusation could be substantiated against his actual conduct in the work entrusted to him.

330. Many of the accusations of the Togoland Congress allege that all Registration Assistants were Convention Peoples' Party men. But at my meeting with political leaders favouring the second alternative, on 17 January, one of the representatives offered to obtain a copy of the instructions to Assistants because his younger brother was a Registration Assistant. Mr. A. Odame, leader of the Togoland Congress in the Buem area, told me in March that of a total of seventy to eighty Registration Assistants in that area perhaps seven or eight were Togoland Congress men. It has been impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of this situation for obvious reasons.

331. Observers in Kpandu provided me with an information by which it is seen that in that district out of 54 Registration Assistants, 20 were school teachers, 12 Secondary School graduates, 2 were full-time officials, 7 part-time officials, and 13 private persons. Other reports revealed a similar situation in various districts. A telegram from the Togoland Congress sent in connexion with another phase of this problem (see Chapter VIII, TC/17) says literally in a part of its text "Nearly all Registration Assistants engaged Plebiscite registration Togoland are teachers stop...". It seemed reasonable to believe that impartiality might be sought more successfully in this section of the people than elsewhere. Yet, Mr. Odame, an outstanding leader of the Togoland Congress, contends that the teachers are inclined to the Convention Peoples' Party for considerations connected with their career.

332. I would be in a position to quote reports from the Observers in all of the districts to the effect that the Registration Assistants have performed their duties with efficiency, with fairness and courteously. Still, in a personnel of more than 300 men it should seem a miracle if exceptions had not existed. Several of the Assistants had to be dismissed because of inefficiency or other shortcomings. During the proceedings of the Revising Court at Jasikan, the Observer in that area reports that the Revising Officer was greatly displeased with acts of the Registration Assistant in Kadjebi in the registration period that were revealed at this latter stage showing a biased conduct. At the Revising Court it was also revealed that the Registration Assistant at Wurupong, Mr. Otibu, was guilty of accepting from two C.P.P. representatives forms that were not filled or signed in his presence and which were made out in the name of persons decidedly under age. These cases were brought to the attention of the Administrator by me, and

I am informed by the Administrator that they have been taken up with the corresponding authorities with a view to prosecuting them.

333. It is known to me that in the first week of registration the Assistant at Worawora was held responsible for having registered some 200 persons without asking them for their receipts or any other proof of residence, and that he was reprimanded and directed to post a list notifying those persons that their receipts were invalid. But an attitude which then seemed entirely wrong - not requesting tax receipts - was not judged in the same light ten days later. In fact, this unfortunate Registration Assistant was reprimanded shortly after because on the basis of his first experience he had put a notice over his table stating that applicants for registration should pay the 1955-56 tax levy or "else they will not be registered". It was at the suggestion of the United Nations Observer that this sign was promptly removed. The Register for ward D (Ntundo) in the Local Council of Nkonya, had to be cancelled on 14 January because of mistakes or omissions of the Registration Assistant. I am informed that in the early stages of registration this Assistant was easily confused and revealed a quick temper.

334. Schoolmaster G. Prebbie, Registration Assistant at Ve Hoeme (ward E of the East Dain Local Council, in the District of Kpandu East) was the object of a complaint in which it was generally alleged that he was a C.P.P. man whereas the village was predominantly T.C. An officer of my staff accompanied the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator in the investigation of this case, early in February. The complaint was not sustained, a misunderstanding was cleared, and the United Nations Observer in the area reported that the conduct of Mr. Prebbie was above reproach.

335. In West Biakoye a complaint was made against two Registration Assistants for Bowiri Kwamikrom and Bowiri Odumase. It was found that these officers were, respectively, the Chairman and the local Secretary of the C.P.P. in Biakoye, but upon further investigation it was revealed that the accusation came from the Chief of Bowiri and was prompted mainly by the fact that the two persons in question were involved in an action to destool the Bowirihene. The Observer in West Biakoye could not confirm that the acts of the two Registration Assistants had at any time been objectionable.

336. Complaints were made against the Registration Assistant at Ward D1, New Ayoma (see in Chapter VIII, document TC/3) and the Observer in the area investigated the case and noted that three persons, Raphael Abedzo, Vincentia Adzoa and A. Atunro, had been sent away by the Registration Assistant. Upon questioning the Assistant the Observer was informed that there had probably been a misunderstanding because at the time there were no forms for doubtful claimants (form G) available.

337. A complaint received towards the end of January (see TC/10) regarding the same Registration Assistant and the Assistant Registration Officer was investigated. The Observer in the field reported on 25 January that up to that time eleven persons had been rejected in Ward D1 (New Ayoma) on grounds of insufficient residence and age, that of the 430 persons registered 117 had been at one time doubtful claimants but had proved to the satisfaction of the Assistant Registration Officer that they were qualified for registration. He added then that registration in Wards D1 and D2 already exceeded the 1954 registration figures.

338. A complaint was received against Mr. Ntim Hayford, Registration Assistant in Ward K, Guaman, in the Buem Local Council, on 2 February. It was said that this Assistant was still laying too much stress on tax receipts at that late date and that a Tax Collector was known to have accompanied him in his journeys to villages in the ward. It is understood that the Registration Officer acted at once on this complaint. The United Nations Observer had commented on 18 January that registration was progressing very slowly in this Ward, but added that the Assistant Registration Officer had seriously warned the Assistant that he must not impede registration. On 27 January the Observer was present when sixty persons were admitted to the Register after careful questioning.

339. But the most noteworthy case in this matter is that of Mr. Sam Kwaku Mottey, the Registration Assistant for Ward B-1, in which is the town of Cement Poasi. Complaints made against him were to the effect that he was a Convention Peoples' Party representative, that his temper was violent, that he had to be told to remove a C.P.P. flag from his porch, near the registration table, that he was biased. He was seen several times, for instance on 18 January, surrounded by large crowds of people who pressed their complaints or requests in an unruly manner. A series of charges against this Assistant were investigated by the Assistant Registration Officer. Charged with having deviated from his itinerary

to go to a C.P.P. town instead of going to a Togoland Congress town as announced, he admitted to that and was severely reprimanded. He was accused of not wanting to be at Cement Poasi on Wednesdays, market day, when Togoland Congress people came and wanted to be registered. The Assistant Registration Officer upheld him, it being proved that market day does not help registration precisely because it brings in an influx of non-residents, many of them coming from Togoland under French administration. The Assistant proved that there had been commotions on such days that should be avoided. The Assistant was then accused of issuing forms out to C.P.P. men and not to T.C. followers, and of being ready to register C.P.P. applicants at any moment but T.C. men only at precise official days and hours, but none of these charges could be proved. Then the action against this Assistant was dropped entirely and a simple request was made to the effect that, if Mr. Mottey was of C.P.P. inclinations, the other party should have a representative to assist him. This latter request was accepted and Mr. Tennyson Owusu Afari, an active member of the Togoland Congress enjoying a very good reputation, took a chair beside the Registration Assistant as his Aide, and as from that moment the two men worked in perfect harmony, as will be seen in paragraphs 411 to 420.

340. The practice of appointing Aides to Registration Assistants, which finds no legal fundament, was followed at several points usually to balance the situation between the two parties.

341. I have felt sincerely that Registration Assistants have in general fulfilled their duties correctly and with efficiency. I am under the impression that although the Administration endeavoured earnestly to enlist only persons that had no political tendencies, hoping to find these mainly in schools, when it proved that this was not possible in all cases, it was sought to balance appointments to some extent, and on the other hand to have the expatriate Registration Officers watch their actions carefully. In these circumstances, substantiated accusations only point to a minimum of misconduct, hardly worth stressing if it is considered that the painstaking efforts of the Assistants, their devotion to their work, their untiring tours throughout the villages in their wards, account for the fact that the period ended with over 46 per cent of the total population of Togoland in the Registers.

K. Polling Personnel

342. The Administrator was handicapped with a shortage of qualified personnel to man the polling stations and booths that were necessary to accommodate voters throughout the country within the very satisfactory plans that were made to that end. Considering that 408 stations, many with several booths, were set up, it will be seen that this required a personnel of close to 2,000 men. At the stage of registration things had been facilitated by appointing expatriates for the responsible positions. Obviously it was out of the question to think of enlisting the services of 408 expatriates to fill at least the position of Presiding Officer in every one of the stations. Consequently the personnel for polling was totally African, was selected with great care and was briefed very adequately and it will be seen farther ahead that it has fulfilled its duties with distinction and remarkable efficiency.

343. In the stage of planning of these arrangements, and on the basis of experience in the registration period, there was apprehension on the point of leaving the stations totally in the hands of a personnel to which the parties might object, considering that any disorder on Polling Day might have far-reaching consequences. Expatriates were enlisted again for the position of Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers. In connexion with polling they had on 9 May a role of supervision and were constantly inspecting the stations and the booths in their jurisdiction.

344. When it first became known to me, on 15 March, that the Administrator was contemplating the possibility of bringing African personnel from the Gold Coast I spoke at length with him on the serious objections that this step might bring about. The Administrator, after a careful study of the acute problem with which he was confronted, aided by the Regional Officer at Ho and Government Agents in the various areas, explained to me some days later that he would find it possible to man every station in the South with native Togoland personnel duly qualified for the work, but in the North, though by far the greater part of the stations would be in the hands of Togoland personnel, there was a shortage that could not be met. In the South, actually there would be slightly more than the number of persons needed, and consequently thought had been given to the possibility of sending men from the South to the North. Two main problems were encountered

here. A man drawn from his ward, to serve in a far-distant one, would lose his right to vote that day. Secondly, a man from Southern Togoland - and this is an unfortunate fact that I could not contest - risked being considered by the local population in many points in the North as more of an alien than a Dagomba coming from across the line in areas in the Gold Coast adjoining Northern Togoland. Seeing that there was no alternative I did not sustain my objection and am informed by the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator in the Northern section that approximately 120 persons from the Gold Coast were employed on 9 May either as Presiding Officers or Polling Assistants out of a total of nearly 500.

L. Police

345. Requests were made by one of the parties, the C.P.P., for an adequate policing of border areas, both on the side of Togoland under French administration and on the side of the Gold Coast, but the Administration considered that it would have been impossible to enlist the sufficient number of men to maintain this service efficiently.

346. For Polling Day very adequate arrangements were made and close to 1,000 men of several forces, mainly the Gold Coast Police (which is the same for the Gold Coast and Togoland) and the Local Authority Police, were on duty. Generally it was only necessary to post one constable at each station, inhabitants of the Territory being well known as a very law-abiding people.

M. Forms Used in the Plebiscite

347. A total of seventeen printed forms (which will be seen as Annex II to this Report) have been used in the Plebiscite.

348. The use of each of these forms is explained in referring to each of the stages of the conduct of the Plebiscite in Chapter VII of this report.

CHAPTER VII

CONDUCT OF THE PLEBISCITE

A. The Timetable

349. In order to understand clearly the timetable that will be given below and to follow the various measures taken by the Administering Authority to conduct this operation it will be good to bear in mind that a Plebiscite is fundamentally divided in two stages: REGISTERING and VOTING.

350. Between these two paramount aspects of the operation there is a prolonged span, in which certain important tasks are performed and that in the case of the Togoland Plebiscite has been referred to as THE MIDDLE PERIOD. In point of fact those steps are directly connected with REGISTRATION and carry that aspect of the Plebiscite almost to Polling Day.

351. REGISTERING and VOTING are equally important and require precise legislation, careful preparation, all possible precautions, but whereas REGISTERING consumes a lengthy period and is followed by more than two months of painstaking and patient tasks to make the Register complete and definitive, VOTING takes place in one day.

352. Truly enough, before the Plebiscite can be considered concluded, VOTING is in its turn followed by a critical stage, that of the petitions that are made to a Special Court. If the petitions are overruled, the Plebiscite has come to an end. If a grave and well-founded case is involved in a petition the Judge's decision may well invalidate the Plebiscite, or part of it, and a new operation would be necessary.

353. Following is the timetable that was kept in the Togoland Plebiscite:

Jan. 10 - Feb. 13 Registration. Applicants filled and signed a form and if qualified were included in the Register.

Feb. 14 - March 12 Disposal of last cases of doubtful applicants; after careful investigation the claimant was either finally admitted or rejected. Typing and checking of Registers. Public exhibition of Registers.

March 13 - April 3	Receipts of claims ^{1/} and objections. People <u>claimed</u> that they should have appeared in the Register and had not found their names in it, or <u>objected to</u> the inclusion of somebody who in their opinion was not qualified, and should be omitted from the Register.
April 4 - April 13	Preparation and exhibition of statements of claims and objections.
April 13 - April 19	Publication of six days notice that a Revising Officer would hold an open Court to examine claims and objections.
April 20 - May 3	Revising Officers held their open court, examined claims and objections and settled the Register finally.
May 9	POLLING DAY
May 10 - May 23	The period to lodge petitions to be investigated by the Special Court.

B. Registration

(a) General conduct of the work

354. Registration began at 8:00 o'clock a.m. on 10 January and was concluded at 6:00 p.m. on 13 February 1956. The term of thirty-five days used is the same one that had applied for the 1954 General Elections, and is the one recommended in paragraph 161 of the Visiting Mission's Special Report. It was not possible to accept requests that this period be extended (see paragraph 199). There is no doubt that it was sufficient, considering that by the end of it 194,230 persons appeared on the Register, out of a total population of 423,000.

355. The work was done by a total personnel of 10 Registration Officers, 53 Assistant Registration Officers and 310 Registration Assistants (see paragraphs 322 to 341). 344 Registration Centres were established, in principle one for each ward

^{1/} The reader is cautioned that the word "claim" has been used in this Plebiscite with a different meaning in two stages of the Plebiscite. In the period of registration an applicant made a "claim" to be registered. In the period of settlement of the Register persons made "claims" to the effect that they should have been included and were not.

or subward, under the care of a Registration Assistant, whose work was constantly supervised or directed by an Assistant Registration Officer or a Registration Officer. All of these centres have been visited either by me or by a United Nations Observer. They were established either in some public building or in the open, under a tree, the equipment of the Assistant being a table, 2 or 3 chairs, a pen and ink or an indelible pencil, the corresponding forms. Outdoors papers were kept in place by means of a stone.

356. In the larger towns, especially in the South, many Registration Assistants found it possible to stay at the Centre, and people would come to it to register in a steady flow. In other cases, especially in the North, the Assistant has found it necessary to travel with all of his equipment to each village to register the people he could assemble. An itinerary of his whereabouts, in this case, should be posted at the Centre. In numerous areas the Registration personnel has had to make several tiring trips to far-distant and inaccessible villages to examine the cases of doubtful claimants or give a new opportunity to villagers who had not yet registered.

357. Various methods were used to inform people of the Plebiscite and get them to register. It has been said that both the Administering power and the United Nations have appealed to the people to register and vote. The aid of the authorities, especially of the Chiefs, has been sought successfully, especially in those cases in which the personnel had to come from a distance to visit a village. Usually chiefs ordered gong gong to be beaten to have the people come forth. A successful practice was usually to register first of all the Chief and his family, then the elders, and thereupon, in most cases, the entire village followed suit. But aside from this special mention must be made of the Cinema Vans, which toured the Territory and attracted the attention of people towards the Plebiscite and Registration by means of effective moving picture programmes.

(b) Forms used

358. Facsimiles of all of the forms used by the Administration for this Plebiscite, from A to U, will be found appended to this Report as Annex II. Those used for Registration were J, A, I, F, B, G and C.

359. Form J is a card used by Registration Assistant Officers to notify a person that he has been appointed a Registration Assistant and to which ward he is assigned.
360. Form A is a "Notice to Intending Voters", posted in prominent places in each ward and subward, advising the people where and to whom they must apply to register.
361. Form I is a poster, which is shown at the Ward Headquarters, announcing that the site is a Registration Centre for Ward X of Local Council Z.
362. Form F is the "Itinerary" that the Registration Assistant for each Ward was bound to post with other notices in prominent places to keep applicants informed of the places he is visiting and where he might be located in the course of his duties.
363. Form B, surely the most important document in the Registration, is the "application to be registered". In its upper part the applicant would write his name, occupation, address, ward and council, and subscribe to statements assuring that he was qualified to register. If he was illiterate the Assistant would help him fill the form, and would witness to his mark. The form afforded place for references to qualification and for proof of residence, mainly by tax receipts. The lower part of the form was the receipt. It was signed by the Registration Assistant, torn out and delivered to the applicant, to be presented on Polling Day.
364. Form G is a request for further evidence of qualification. If no doubt existed in the mind of the Registration Assistant, we have seen, he filled in Form B and delivered the lower part to the applicant as a receipt, thus concluding the case. But if an applicant had not satisfied the Registration Assistant about his qualification he was treated as a "doubtful claimant". Form B was retained by the Registration Assistant, the lower half was not torn out to be given to the applicant. Instead of that he was given Form G, in which he was informed that his case had not been proved and that he should see the superior Officer, a Registration Officer or Assistant Registration Officer, and provide whatever new evidence he had. In that case, in the meantime, his name was inscribed in a "List of Doubtful Claimants" in a form C, until the case was cleared.
365. Form C was the Provisional Register. In it the Registration Assistant, on the basis of the forms B that he had cleared, would inscribe the number, name, address, occupation and remarks of each registrant in a simple list. Generally the Registration Assistants used one sheet for each letter of the alphabet and inscribed applicants by alphabetic order by the first letter of their last name. This same form C was used for the list of doubtful claimants.

(c) Qualifications

366. Qualifications were established following precisely the recommendations of the Visiting Mission's Special Report. The Order in Council establishes clearly in Section 6 (2) that every person who:

- (i) is of the age of twenty-one years or upwards at the date of his application; and
- (ii) has resided in Togoland for a period of at least twelve months, or for periods amounting in the aggregate to twelve months, during the two years immediately prior to the date of his application

would, subject to the provisions of that section, be entitled to apply to be registered as a voter in the Plebiscite in a Ward in which he was a resident at the date of his application.

367. These were the qualifications given in Form B, and in the publication called "How to Register for the Plebiscite in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship". In the instructions to both Northern and Southern Registration Assistants these were given as the precise qualifications and no others were given.

368. Still, it will be seen later (paragraphs 370, and 378 to 396) that important difficulties arose in connexion with both qualifications and with the allegation that another qualification - presentation of tax receipts - was being enforced.

(d) Disqualifications

369. The disqualifications established by the Order in Council are to be seen in Section 6, Subsection 3, (a), (b) and (c) of that document, Annex I-A. The General Assembly had been apprised (paragraph 154 of the Visiting Mission's Report) that these were the disqualifications prevalent in local government elections by the Local Government Ordinance of 1951, and the same were recommended by the Visiting Mission in paragraph 154 of its Report.

(e) Evidence of Age

370. There being no civil register in Togoland for births, and there being on the other hand a high percentage of illiteracy, cases of doubt arose constantly in the Plebiscite concerning young men or women who wished to register and seemed to have reached the age of 21 but were themselves uncertain as to whether they had precisely the required age or were just short of it.

371. Twenty-one years of age are accepted, very widely though not unanimously in the world, as proof of having reached the degree of capacity required of an elector. It will be recalled that some parties in Togoland had requested that persons from the Territory be admitted to vote at the age of eighteen, which is the age at which they have begun to pay their taxes, and an interesting point was made on this question by the Delegate of Guatemala at the General Assembly. The recommendation of the Mission having been accepted, the Administrator's problem has been to avail himself of whatever possible resources to ascertain whether persons could honestly be assumed to have reached the age of twenty-one.

372. Registration Assistants were instructed, if in doubt concerning the age of a male applicant, to ask him for a birth or baptismal certificate, but knowing too well that the first of these documents practically does not exist in Togoland, and that in the case of the relatively few persons that are christened, very often baptism has taken place long after birth, stress was laid on asking the applicant when he began paying his annual rate. Since this obligation begins at the age of eighteen, he should have paid for the 1952-53 period and should have paid subsequently the three years that followed.

373. In some places in the North women do not pay taxes. In general in the case of a female applicant the Registration Assistant has been asked to bear in mind that a woman who has had two children is probably over twenty-one. In this criterion the Administration has not merely wished to uphold the sound consideration that a mother of two children has surely come of age. An important native custom is observed for this conclusion. It is usual that girls marry around the age of seventeen or eighteen and would have their first child within the following year, but after this first childbirth the young wife retires to her mother's home and remains with her, caring for her child, for two or three years, after which she joins her husband and then probably has a second child, which may be safely calculated to be born when the mother is over twenty-one.

374. Physical features of young persons have been considered, and Chiefs and elders have been able to offer considerable assistance to ascertain the age of applicants. Questioning has been strongly based on custom. Men have been asked in many places not how many years they are old but how many crops they have helped collect, or how tall they were when a given event took place.

375. Almost invariably young persons rejected have been boys and girls acting in good faith, who were excited with the prospect of taking part in the Plebiscite and who honestly believed, or in any case hoped, that they had reached the necessary age. The rejection has usually impressed them and those attending and left everybody convinced that the applicants were merely persons whose desire to take part in national affairs was greater than their age. However, in paragraphs 332 and 447 it will be seen that a Revising Court had to deal with several dishonest cases in which persons acting with party interests in mind involved young persons in illegitimate applications.

(f) Evidence of Residence

376. By far the greatest difficulties in the period of Registration were those encountered for establishing a person's residence in British Togoland. The General Assembly's resolution, accepting a recommendation of the Visiting Mission to the effect of admitting to the Register bona fide residents in Togoland, with a rather short period of residence, did not go uncontested. Strong representations were made to me, as will be seen in paragraph 199 by the Togoland Congress and persons associated with that group, who would have preferred that Togoland's by birth, wherever they may be resident, be allowed to vote, and that foreigners in Togoland be barred from this privilege. I showed myself always ready to explain in great detail and with high consideration the fundamental reasons that had made this course seem impracticable, aside from the fact that nothing in the established practice of the Trusteeship system permitted to withhold from a foreigner any of the rights accorded to the "inhabitants of a Trust Territory" (Article 76 b of the Charter). Above all, the Administration was bound by the precise wishes of the General Assembly, as expressed in its resolution, which the Administering Power had incorporated in its own legislation for that purpose. Still another claim was received from a group of persons of Takoradi, in the Gold Coast, who would have wanted Togoland's in the Gold Coast to be permitted to vote by proxy. It will be recalled that in paragraph 182 of the Visiting Mission's Special Report, after considering the inconveniences of allowing a vote in absentia, the recommendation was made that only persons appearing themselves at the appropriate polling stations should be allowed to vote in the Plebiscite.

377. One first point must be mentioned, which in this Plebiscite has proved purely hypothetical but which should be considered for similar cases in the future. The Visiting Mission's intention (paragraph 151) was to recommend as proof of bona fide residence a period which extended "beyond the time when the population became generally aware of the possibility that the future of the Territory might be determined by plebiscite...". In consequence of this, in paragraph 152 a term of two years was proposed. But in that same paragraph allowance was made for temporary absences which should not be construed as non-residence during the two-year period if they did not constitute more than half the period in question. On this basis, which could reduce the term of residence already to one year, the precise qualification was laid down in paragraph 154 of the Visiting Mission's Special Report, to the effect of having "resided within the Trust Territory for a period of at least twelve months during the two years immediately preceding registration". In these terms, which were faithfully incorporated in the Administering Power's legislation, it is felt that an applicant could have proved that he had established his residence in Togo on 9 January 1955 and had remained in the Territory ever since, which would give him a residence of "at least twelve months during the two years immediately preceding registration". The gap that appears in the fundament of this recommendation seems to have concerned the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator for the Northern Section, who provided in his instructions that "a voter must have lived in British Togoland for a period of six months each out of the two years ending on the day he applies", but this very logical provision, considering the background of the matter, could not be sustained in the light of the Visiting Mission's paragraph 154 (b) or the Order in Council. It is fortunate that, to the best of my knowledge, no cases occurred in which this issue could have arisen.

(g) Tax Receipts

378. The important problem that arose in connexion with proof of residence was the matter of presentation of tax receipts, and important representations were made on this matter. It is a point of substance on which, rather than attempting to place the blame on anybody, it seems well to lay before the General Assembly the facts of the case.

379. It seems necessary to remember in the first term the precise wording of the Visiting Mission's recommendation (paragraph 153) that is accepted by the General Assembly's resolution. In the latter part of that paragraph it is said "... The Mission considers that to restrict participation in the Plebiscite on grounds of local taxation would be objectionable in principle and has therefore not recommended the payment of the basic rate by those liable as a qualification for voting in the Plebiscite. It considers, however, that the presentation of a tax receipt when registering would be the primary and normal manner of establishing proof of residence in the Trust Territory".

380. The Order in Council does not establish payment of taxes or presentation of tax receipts as a qualification for registering. Nor was such qualification stated in any other provision or publication of the Administration.

381. But it will be noticed that the latter part of the Visiting Mission's paragraph that we have just quoted says "...It considers, however, that the presentation of a tax receipt when registering would be the primary and normal manner of establishing proof of residence in the Trust Territory". Still more specifically, in the preceding (No. 152) paragraph, which bears precisely on the matter of residence as a qualification, after establishing that a two year residence is sufficient, the Mission clearly recommended...". In the event of claims or objections, tax receipts, for those liable, would serve to establish prima facie evidence of residence, as would enrolment on the existing register of electors". (It is well to bear in mind, regarding this last sentence, that in the 1954 general elections payment of taxes was a qualification).

382. The Administering Power feels that it is in strict consonance with this consideration that Regulation No. 5 (2) of the Registration Regulations provided that "a person delivering Form B in accordance with paragraph (1) of this Regulation shall produce such receipts for rates paid to a District or Local Council in Togoland within the previous two years or such other evidence of payment of such rates as he has in his possession". And Form B itself contains a note worded as follows: "Such receipts for, or other evidence of payment of, rates paid to a District or Local Council in Togoland within the previous two years as the applicant possesses should be produced with this form."

383. Whereas in the North of Togoland the rule is that citizens are very disciplined and compliant in the payment of their taxes, in the South it is not infrequent that a person who has not seen his way clear to paying his basic rate is nevertheless keen on taking part in a political issue. In criticizing the Administering Power for the demand of presentation of tax receipts, stress was laid from the beginning on the fact that tax payment was not a qualification, and it was stated that the Administering Power was insisting too much on presentation of tax receipts as proof of residence, which of course implied paying the tax for those who were not up to date on that point and who felt that to satisfy the direct purpose they had in mind they were being pushed to pay taxes.

384. It is stressed by persons who opposed presentation of tax receipts that no other of the means of proof of residence is referred to in Form B. But as against this the Administering Power reminds that its note on Form B says precisely "Such rate receipts... as the applicant possesses... should be produced with this form". It is unquestionable that if an applicant for registration had in his possession tax receipts he should, in the terms of the recommendations that had been accepted, produce them. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that such receipts, when presented, have been stamped with the word "Plebiscite" to avoid their being used illegally by another applicant, putting forth a fraudulent claim. It is obvious that if a person who had tax receipts but could prove his residence by other means refused to present the receipts, the possibility existed that these might find their way to the hands of a person that could not prove his residence except with such receipts.

385. No instrument of the Administering Power's legislation mentions payment of taxes as a qualification. In paragraph 39 of the Administrator's instructions to Registration Assistants in the South, on "ways of proving residence", rate receipts are listed in the third place among six ways of proving residence. Two other means ("Questioning him" and "Questioning other people in his presence for example the chief and his elders") are indicated before resorting to the tax receipts. In paragraph 40 it is said clearly to the Registration Assistants: "For a Local Council election or an Assembly election it is essential to have paid rate. For the Plebiscite it is not an essential qualification to have paid rate, but it is (to quote the Visiting Mission's Report) the primary and normal manner of establishing proof of residence in the Trust Territory". In the instructions to

Registration Assistants in the North it is said in this connexion "For the purpose of the Plebiscite it is not essential for a person to have paid his rate, but production of a tax disc is the best method of 'establishing proof' of residence in the Trust Territory'."

386. It should be said that there is a point where the Administrator was brought by these circumstances to a closer relation with tax collection than might have been desirable. In most cases collection of taxes has a term established in different dates by the District or Local Council, but January is a month when taxes are being collected or are overdue in many areas. In Instructions to Registration Assistants in the South, in paragraph 42, which contains detailed directions, most of them very liberal, in connexion with the presentation of tax receipts, in one point Assistants are directed to suggest that an applicant who does not have his 1955-56 receipts might want to go and pay that rate and come back with the receipt to be registered. If the applicant were not willing to do this, the Registration Assistant should tell him that he would have to give the application to the Registration Officer for him to decide whether to accept him or reject him (it had been established that in all cases of doubt the decision should be left to a superior officer). Further instructions were to the effect that, if upon meeting the applicant a second time he had not paid, the Registration Assistant should treat him as a "doubtful claimant". Similar instructions were given in the North.

387. I was informed over the telephone on 15 January by two of the Observers in the field, of the difficulty that was seen looming, and consequently decided to exchange views with the Administrator on this point. At our meeting in Ho in the morning of 17 January I found that the Administrator had received numerous reports on this problem and was concerned with it. I asked one of the United Nations Observers to express at this meeting his impression on this issue. The Observer said it could not be stated that a crisis had arisen but it should be admitted that there was a situation in which two issues, one administrative and the other registration for the Plebiscite, were in danger of being confused. The Administrator confirmed that his direct experience had suggested that a new step would be in order to leave no doubt that a person might register even if he did not want to pay his rates. The Administrator had on his table a draft, not yet

completed, which he offered to show me later in the day, containing new instructions to his Officers. It was difficult to disassociate the two issues that had been seen to come too close, but it would be done for the sake of not hindering in any sense the Registration. It would be stressed that there are other means of proving residence even in case a person were not willing to produce tax receipts.

388. In paragraph 199 will be seen the representations that were made to me by the Togoland Congress and allies on 17 January on this point. I felt sincerely that with the measures taken at that early stage, and considering the pace at which Registration was progressing, the problem that had arisen would be solved completely. This is proved by the fact that 46 per cent of the total population was registered in the 35-day period, and a careful observation of this situation leaves me no doubt that voters in Togoland cannot be said to have been deprived of a legitimate opportunity to register for lack of time.

389. As from 17 January new instructions were issued by the Administrator, and as a result of this measure practically everywhere in the South, applicants with one receipt or none at all were admitted in great numbers on the mere identification of the Chief and elders of a village. Either this was done outright, when the Assistant was convinced of the identification, or otherwise applicants were temporarily accepted in the list of doubtful claimants, and when the Registration Officer came to inspect the work of the Registration Assistant public meetings were arranged, usually under the village tree or any other public place, where the cases were disposed of.

390. It is easy to prove that applicants had been admitted since the beginning with only one receipt or with none, but the limited number of such cases points to the fact that Registration Assistants, conscious of the direct responsibility that fell upon them if they admitted considerable numbers of applicants without being covered by as solid a proof as tax receipts, had been cautious. The Administration has admitted that during the first week of Registration some Assistants may have shown over insistence on the presentation of tax receipts because of a strict interpretation of their instructions. It is fair to bear in mind the scruples that surely moved the Assistants to be cautious, considering that the responsibility of a Registration Assistant could well have been concerned if, on the contrary, applicants

had been admitted too liberally, without any written evidence. With the terms of reference on which this work was commenced the problem that arose was inescapable. It was detected in good time and remedied at once.

391. A Tax Collector is said to have appeared at one or two Registration Centres but action was promptly taken to remove him.

392. Another problem arose in direct connexion with the above. In a town in the South, apparently through connexion with the Registration Assistant, writs of summons were served on several persons who had just registered for the Plebiscite and who had not paid their taxes. They were to be fined. The Reverend F.R. Ametowobla, a Member of the Legislative Assembly who was active in the Plebiscite in favour of the second alternative, brought this case directly to the knowledge of the Administrator, who immediately took the necessary action for the writs to be withdrawn.

393. This, however, was only the beginning of a difficult problem. The Administrator assures me that he issued instructions to his Registration personnel to treat as confidential any information they had regarding persons registered who had not paid their taxes. After the case referred to in the preceding paragraph the Administrator still intervened in several cases of persons upon whom writs of summons had been served. But he was soon told by Local Council authorities that the writs had no connexion with the Plebiscite and that persons who had not paid their taxes were being prosecuted in the same manner in which this had been done every other year. Reference to this situation will be seen in several complaints enclosed in this report. Though I discussed the case with the Administrator, I was convinced that he could do nothing further in this matter.

394. The course followed after 18 January in cases of applicants without tax receipts was to resort to public identification. Applicants have been identified by the Chief or the elders, usually under the village tree. In other cases, the Chiefs have vouched for the testimony of respectable citizens who know the applicants. In small communities with an honest and law-abiding population, an illegitimate attempt would have been called down by attendants even if not actively engaged in the Plebiscite. Even in communities where only one of the two parties was represented, it is felt that Chiefs and elders would not have lent themselves to a fraudulent inscription in the Register.

395. Having examined registration papers personally in numerous centres, I am in a position to state that in Southern Togoland not less than 25 per cent of the applicants have been registered either with no receipts or with only one.

However, since it will be seen in Chapter VIII of this Report (TC/35) that my conclusion to this effect has been contested, I wish to record here the following data:

396. A sample check in twenty wards in the five Local Councils in Kpandu District shows that 24 per cent of persons registered had both tax receipts, 43 per cent had receipts for one year only, and 33 per cent were registered without any tax receipt. The precise figures are given below:

	<u>Total of Persons Registered</u>	<u>With both tax receipts</u>	<u>With 1 tax receipt</u>	<u>With no tax receipts</u>
EAST DAIN LOCAL COUNCIL				
Ward C (Ve Koloenu)	302	30	110	162
Ward H (Fodome Hloma)	1,006	344	383	279
Ward O (Have School)	569	184	238	147
Ward Q (Tafi Mado)	426	242	126	58
GBI HOHOE LOCAL COUNCIL				
Ward H (Hohoe Ahado)	704	69	401	234
Ward B (Hohoe Tsevi)	445	61	321	63
Ward H (Wegbe)	806	149	454	203
ABLODE				
Ward A (Aveme Beme)	620	84	221	315
Ward I (Awate Dzifadzi)	249	1	78	170
AKPINI LOCAL COUNCIL				
Ward A (Kpandu Tsakpe)	1,050	251	437	362
Ward J (Alavanyo Wudidi)	873	182	260	429
ANFOEGA LOCAL COUNCIL				
Ward B (Anfoega Dzana)	747	161	395	191
Ward D (Anfoega Akukome East)	587	169	138	280

397. In the sixteen wards of the Buem Local Council, in the District of Buem, 33.1 per cent of persons registered either had no tax receipts or had the tax receipt for one year only. Following are the corresponding figures in four of these wards:

BUEM LOCAL COUNCIL	<u>Total of Persons Registered</u>	<u>With no receipts or only one</u>
Ward A (East Borada)	400	172
Ward C (Borada Ufwemlekpakro)	340	168 (49%)
Ward I (West Jasikan)	407	191
Ward L (Nsuta)	578	148

398. In the East Akan-East Krachi area the United Nations Observer estimated that less than 25 per cent of persons registered had shown both tax receipts, approximately 20 per cent produced tax receipts for one year only, and 55 per cent had no tax receipts.

(h) Infiltration

399. If it is borne in mind that the Trust Territory is a strip of land running for three hundred miles from North to South, with a width of scarcely forty miles, adjoining two territories with which the alternatives of the Plebiscite are closely connected, it is not difficult to justify the apprehension that was revealed by many Delegates at the General Assembly during the tenth session, regarding the possibilities of a mass infiltration of applicants for registration or voters, coming from the neighbouring territories to swell the ranks of Togoland with whom their political views are closely tied.

400. In another section of this report (paragraph 440), regarding the work of the Revising Courts, it will be possible to appreciate to what extent the number of illegitimate claimants discovered was little. It is gratifying to record that, as a whole, the fear of a general and important infiltration has proved unfounded, and that with the exception of one important area and some individual cases to be found in other parts of Southern Togoland, registration was not confronted seriously with this problem, and the Registers set up for public inspection remained unchallenged in the greater part of Togoland during the period for claims and objections.

401. It is in connexion with this point that the United Nations Observers have maintained their closest watch, and I have followed with utmost care their Reports.

Outside of the fact that Registration has been done in the open air or in an open room, under the vigilance of all persons who have wanted to follow it, special checks have been made by the Registration Officers and Assistant Registration Officers when the Registration Assistant seemed to be in trouble, and in most cases our Observer has been present when the case was cleared.

402. Several elements have been used as reference to compare the Registration figures for the Plebiscite. In the South it has been very common to do this against the registration figures of 1954. In the North it has been felt safer to check with the nominal roll, that is to say the list of tax payers. Another reference has been the 1948 census allowing for the growth of population and deducting the percentage of persons under 21. In the South the safest guide has been the 1954 register for the General Elections. It is to be taken into consideration, of course, that a Plebiscite must of all necessity arouse a greater interest than a General Election and that not only the Administering Power but the representatives of the United Nations have encouraged people to register and vote. Figures of 120 or 150 per cent mentioned in connexion with Registration, it should be borne in mind, are an estimate of the percentage of persons registered as compared with the 1954 elections.

403. Following is a table in which may be seen villages or wards throughout Togoland, along the border areas, in which the rise of registration figures has been specially watched:

Registration figures in a series of Border Communities

SOUTHERN SECTION

<u>Local Council</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Registration 1956</u>	<u>Registration 1954</u>
Anyigbe	A Ffette West	277	226
	B Kpetoe Central	366	368
	C Kpetoe East	377	364
	H Amule	359	89
	J Dagpa Dzadzefe	145	134
	K Dagpa	277	361
	L Dagpa Have	246	130

<u>Local Council</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Registration 1956</u>	<u>Registration 1954</u>
Asogli	E Ho Takla	438	345
	F Ho Dome North	440	195
	G Ho Dome South	476	340
	H Ho Bankoe North	758	253
	I Ho Bankoe South	610	332
	J Ho Ahoe	357	213
	K Ho Ahliha	318	244
	L Ho Heve	230	124
Dutaso	Q a. Atikpui) b. Nyive)	423	409
	F Shia	445	334
	M Anfoeta Gbogame	467	347
Yingor	J Kpedze Awlime (Including Duga)	857	498
	K Kpedze Todze (Including Dafo)	663	255
East Dain	O Have	569	302
Akan	B1 Cement Poasi	2,158)	814
	B2 Jinjinsu	565)	
	C1 Ahamansu East	734	427
	C2 Ahamansu West	427	611
	M1 Kadjebi East	1,052	606
	M2 Kadjebi West	1,615	458
Biakoye	C1) Akpafu Todzi North	531	216
	C2) Adorkor		
Buem	A Borada East	400	278
	B Borada West	332	239
	H Jasikan East	374	567
	I Jasikan West	407	428

<u>Local Council</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Registration 1956</u>	<u>Registration 1954</u>
Nkonya	F Wurupong South	462	272
	G Wurupong East	579	403
	H1 Wurupong West	647)	297
	H2 Burbuila	655)	
Krachi	A1 Kete-Krachi East	764	382
	G Akrosu	451	n.a.
	O2 Mpeyo	349	n.a.
	C2) Includes Chinderi	642	512
	C3)		
Akpini	A Kpandu Tsakpe	1,050	600
	B Kpandu Gabi	816	466
	C Kpandu Aloï	620	411
	D Kpandu Fesi	694	565
	E Kpandu Agbenohoe	728	488
	F Kpandu Dzogbesianti	486	324

NORTHERN SECTION

<u>Local Council</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Registration 1956</u>	<u>Nominal Roll Figures</u>
Nakpa	Db Lepusi	415	412
Yendi	C a) Demon)	661	776
	b) Kpanjenba)		
Yelzori	C a) Shieni)	933	875
	b) Zabzugu)		
Gushiegu	F a) Bogu)	522	523
	b) Pulo)		
Sunson	D Saboba	600	912
Bunkpurugu	B1 Bunkpurugu	1,178	1,055
	C1 Nakpanduri	597	499
	Jambali	39	69

404. Although towns close to border areas were given special attention a watch has been kept in fact on the registration figures of all of the wards in the Territory, it being borne in mind that attempts of infiltration need not be limited to frontier towns in a narrow territory of land such as Togoland under United Kingdom administration.

405. In the table above it will be noted that increases recorded usually do not go above 120 to 150 of the 1954 registration figures, which is the proportion in which the Plebiscite registration generally exceeded that of 1954. In Ward B1 of the Akan District, however, a sharp rise of 300 per cent of the figures of the General Elections pointed to a special situation to which reference will be made in paragraphs 411 to 420.

406. Amule in the District of Ho, with 359 persons on the Register as compared to only 89 in 1954, was carefully investigated by our Observer. Notwithstanding that the village is close to the border with Togoland under French administration, nothing suspicious was ever disclosed, the figures tallied with the population of the village and neighbouring compounds and it had to be concluded that registration in 1954 had been abnormally low. The same is considered to hold true for Kpedze and for Have.

407. Several explanations are advanced for the increases or decreases to be seen in registration figures. In some cases it is felt merely that the General Elections of 1954 aroused little interest in certain towns, whereas in the case of the Plebiscite a great national issue was involved and the Administration and the United Nations earnestly called on the people to register and to vote. Registration in 1954 surely was not as efficient as in 1956 and it is felt that numerous small villages or compounds were left out then, whereas in 1956 the Registration teams visited practically every place in the wards.

408. In the case of the larger towns, such as Ho or Kpandu, an increase in the population is obvious in official statistics.

409. In numerous cases the phenomenon is accounted for by an influx of seasonal labour or by an outflow of it. In the important area of West Kpandu the Local Council of Ablode always lagged behind and ended up on 13 February with a lower figure than the one for 1954. On the other hand, North of Kpandu, in the Local Council of Nkonya, it will be seen that Wurupong West and Burbulla show a very

strong increase over 1954. Having been instructed to conduct a special investigation in Nkonya the United Nations Observer was informed that a considerable number of workers had entered the area coming from the Local Council of Akpini in the District of Kpandu. Akpini, however, also showed an increase over 1954. A complicated situation is revealed in which workers from Ablode seem to have moved to the Gold Coast and possibly to Akpini, and labourers from Akpini settled in Nkonya.

410. Many areas in the North where a heavy registration was expected were a source of disappointment to party leaders when it was seen that in a village of less than one hundred persons ten or fifteen men were away, working in Southern Togoland or in Ashanti. In such cases it could well happen that thirty or forty persons failed to appear in the Register because the wives of the absent men refused to make an appearance at the Registration Centre, and it is discussed to this moment if this is due to custom or shyness. At Bunkpurugu, in the District of South Mamprusi, where an important clash between the two alternatives was obvious, registration was low until the last week of the period, when a considerable number of seasonal workers seem to have managed to return from the South in time to make an important contribution for their alternative.

(i) Cement Poasi

411. In the figures given above it will have been seen that an area comprising Wards B1, B2, M1 and M2, show a strong increase over the 1954 registration. In this situation, the case of Cement Poasi, with more than 300 per cent of the 1954 registration figures, was a source of serious concern for the Administrator during the first stage of the Plebiscite.

412. East Akan, during the Registration period, was the liveliest spot in all the Territory and it was obvious that both parties contending in the Plebiscite were keen on testing their strength here. The reports of the United Nations Observer in the area are replete with accounts of incidents, friction, complaints, agitation and problems of every order. Agents particularly of the Togoland Congress were very active during the latter part of January and the first two weeks of February and the Administrator and his staff were constantly called upon to solve important issues.

413. On a map of Togoland, in the East Akan and East Krachi area, will be seen a line of busy towns in a rich cocoa-growing zone running almost parallel to the border with Togoland under French administration at a distance of one to six miles from it. Kadjebi, Menuku, Jinjinso, Mempeasem, Cement Poasi, Ahamansu are the most outstanding of them. One side contended that the place was being invaded by persons from Togoland under French administration, and the other side maintains that persons from Peki-Guan, in the Gold Coast, were being brought there to register. But these accusations had to be weighed carefully, bearing in mind that persons from both of those sources might very well be legitimate residents in this area.

414. It was a week before registration concluded, when figures were already soaring far beyond the 1954 mark, that a telegram of the Togoland Congress (see TC/21 in Chapter VIII) was received by the Administrator claiming that upwards of 3,000 persons in towns in this area had been refused registration. The Administrator was accompanied by a person in my staff when he investigated this situation. Having met the Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress at Ahamansu, Mr. Antor said to the Administrator that he had not seen this telegram and agreed that the figures were grossly exaggerated. Mr. Antor gave an explanation and offered apologies to the Administrator on this point in a letter that is recorded in Chapter VIII of this report as TC/25.

415. It had been noticed from the beginning that considerable numbers of persons were being registered at Cement Poasi, notwithstanding the accusations that had been heard against the Registration Assistant. But as soon as opponents of the Registration Assistant were obliged and an Aide was appointed, a very friendly co-operation of these two officers became apparent and figures rose at a still higher pace. I was present at Cement Poasi on 7 February when the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator and the Assistant Registration Officer investigated the case. Upon being asked if anything suspicious had been detected both the Assistant and the Aide replied that everything was in order and that they were both satisfied in every way with the conduct of registration.

416. After the relaxation of the tax-receipt problem, and especially after the co-operation of the Assistant and his Aide had been established, persons of both parties had been admitted by these two officers without tax receipts or with only one. Being at a loss now to understand the situation, the Administration decided

to go back to the system of putting applicants with no receipts on the doubtful claimants' list, to be cleared by the Registration Officer with the Chiefs and elders. It was the impression of the Administrator at one time that both parties might have transgressed.

417. Agitation in the area continued until the end of the period. Party agents complained loudly that there was a shortage of forms B in Registration Centres - a point which was never confirmed by any United Nations Observer in any area in the Territory - but as the period came to a close, party agents were left with considerable numbers of applications in their hands. In the presence of the United Nations Observer in East Akan, a party agent complained to the Registration Officer that he had been left with three hundred applications in his hands (the Observer believes the bundle that was shown only contained one hundred) because the Registration personnel had not waited for the applicants whose papers he held to come to the Centre. The agent agreed, nevertheless, that the Regulations had been strictly abided by, that the period of registration was over, and that the applicants should have appeared in person.

418. In the stage that followed registration, the Administrator, in consultation with me, conducted a discreet investigation in the Cement Poasi area, unofficially. This effort failed because it was found that nominal rolls were totally unsatisfactory and the census figures proved also inaccurate.

419. Late in February, it was said that hundreds of objections would be filed by one of the parties in the East Akan area. When that stage of the Plebiscite was reached, however, only five objections were submitted, and these were finally withdrawn and costs were assessed against the objector.

420. It is obvious that an attempt to register illegitimate applicants was made and it is entirely possible that some got in the Register, but surely in very limited numbers. Most applicants of this type were probably rejected in the investigation of doubtful claimants or were among those that did not appear and whose applications were left in the hands of agents on 13 February after six o'clock.

(j) End of Registration

421. Registration ended with a great rush in the last days and with overtime work on the part of the Registration teams. Seeing that the period was coming to an end and that there was still pressure from applicants, the personnel was instructed not to lose time in the case of claimants subject to the slightest doubt. These were to be put immediately on the doubtful claimants' list, thus insuring their entry in the Register if they could later prove their case. In this manner Registration concluded with a total of 2,158 doubtful claimants pending. The Administrator never seemed convinced that this step was legally founded. He took it as an additional measure aimed at insuring that everybody, of whatever party, throughout the Territory, had been given a fair chance to be registered, and bearing in mind that in Togoland as in many other places, applicants are wont to come at the last minute.

422. The total figure of registration announced then, as of 13 February, subject to corrections, to the disposal of doubtful claimants and to the Revising Courts' decisions on claims and objections, was 193,451, that is to say, more than forty-six per cent of the total population of Togoland under United Kingdom administration.

423. Apart from those minor irregularities that are reviewed here, which had to be expected in an operation as vast as this Plebiscite, it would be unfair to say that anybody entitled to vote in the Territory was left without an opportunity to do so. The high figures of registration alone would be enough to bear out the extraordinary efficiency with which this stage of the work was conducted. These figures compare favourably with those of plebiscites in any other part of the world.

424. On the contrary, it is correct to stress the impartial and untiring efforts of the Administrator and of other officers to make registration available to everybody. In several paragraphs of this report will be seen many of the steps taken to accommodate complainants, to solve problems brought up, to arouse the interest of the population in the Plebiscite and to get as many applicants in the Register as possible. A case in point is that of the village of Nyive - "British Nyive" as it is usually called - a small place close to the border with

Togoland under French administration. Because the villagers held a grievance against authorities of the Local Council of Dutaso, and mainly because they considered that it was wrong that they should be attached to that Local Council instead of the adjoining one, they had decided to abstain from registering. I accompanied the Regional Officer, in the last week of registration, when he came to the village, promised the inhabitants that he would support their case at the Ministry of Local Government because he considered that it was well founded, but urged them to register and to vote. They were promised in the meantime a special registration team and a separate polling station. I was glad to address the Chief and other members of the village, as I had done so also in other similar cases. In the case of Nyive it was considered openly that their vote would go to the second alternative. No account of such indications was held when a problem arose and efforts were made to accommodate any legitimate complainants from whatever side they might come.

C. Settling of the register

(a) Liquidation of Doubtful Claims

425. The setting up of the Register, to which the period 14 February to 12 March refers in the timetable of the Plebiscite, involved in the first place action on the part of the Registration personnel to liquidate the cases of doubtful claimants remaining. By 20 February, the 2,158 cases had been disposed of, 1,067 were included in the Register, whereas 1,091 were definitively rejected.

(b) Typing of Registers

426. The following stage in this period was a strenuous work of typing. A sufficient number of good typists and of typewriters in good working condition was one part of the problem. An important aspect of this work was the spelling of names in typewriters with a standard keyboard, whereas an alphabet with special letters is used in the Territory for certain phonetic equivalences.

427. The checking of names was done almost in all cases with great accuracy, especially where the Registration Officer was a person who undertook to do the work personally, with two Assistants, checking the typewritten register with the handwritten one and with the forms B. Still, in those places where our Observers

had maintained a specially close and cordial relation with Registration Officers, some of them aided in checking the lists and are aware of the errors that could be committed. A limited number of the claims submitted at a later period were due to omissions in the typing of the Registers.

(c) Exhibition of the Registers

428. As 12 March approached, Registration Assistants who had been asked to report again for duty on the 10th of that month were briefed on the work that they would now do, aided by a Police Constable, in the areas assigned to them, in connexion with the claims and objections that would be entered after the Register was exhibited. It was announced that Registers would be exhibited for public inspection at appropriate places on or before 12 March and until 3 April.

429. The forms used for this work, H, D, E and K, will be found in Annex II to this Report.

430. Form H is a notice, to be posted in prominent places for the purpose of informing the public that the Registration Officer for a given local council area or areas had made a list of all persons that he considered entitled to be registered as voters, and that the list published might be seen at a given place at the hours shown in the notice.

431. Form D was used by persons who felt that they had been unduly omitted from the Register and filed a claim to be included.

432. Form E, consisting of Part I and Part II, was used for filing objections. Part I was signed by the objector and filled by him to the effect that he objected to the inclusion of a person in the Register. The grounds for the objection were to be given in this form. Part II of Form E was served on the person objected to.

433. In connexion with form E, the personnel used also form K, which is a proof of service of part II of form E.

434. Complaints heard in connexion with this period of the plebiscite referred to delay in setting up the Registers, to the places where they were exhibited, and to the use of form H. It was said that in some wards the Register was not ready on 12 March and it is possible that this did occur in a very few of the wards entrusted to the less efficient of the Registration Assistants, but surely

no major setback was caused and at no place was there a delay of more than ten or twelve hours. The Registers were made available in prominent places, chosen objectively to permit the people to examine them easily. I have examined lists of such places for the vital Buem Akan region and saw that they were schools, prominent stores, the post office or other places on which most of the people agreed. A United Nations Observer pointed out that it might be objectionable to exhibit the Registers at the house of chiefs, many of the Chiefs being considered politically biased, and suggested that schools be preferred. But it will be seen in TC/39, in Chapter VIII of this Report, that the Togoland Congress, on the contrary, objected to schools and suggested that the houses of chiefs be used. A considerable number of forms H were posted, although it is thought by some parties that more of these should have been issued so that one be shown in each village.

435. Claims and objections came slowly, but in a last minute rush, at the very close of the period, a considerable number of them were submitted and caused some inconvenience. The Administrator, in consultation with me, accepted fifty-seven claims submitted by the representative of the Togoland Congress in Buem, not by the claimants themselves, brought at the last moment. Failure of the Registration Assistant to be at his place had been reported. Furthermore, in the Regulations it was not provided specifically, as was the case for Registration, that the claimant must appear in person.

436. The period for submission of claims and objections ended with an unexpected result. Only 210 claims and 435 objections were entered in the entire Territory.

(d) The Revising Courts

437. It may be noticed in the Order in Council that the office of "Revising Officer" is not specifically provided for as are those of the Administrator or the Judge of the Special Court. Section 5, sub-section 2 (b) of the Order in Council merely provides that the Regulations which the Governor is empowered to make shall make provision, among other things, for "... an appeal against the inclusion or exclusion of the name of any applicant in or from the Register by any person aggrieved thereby". The Revising Officers are thus appointed by the Governor, in the same manner as the Registration Officers, in virtue of the

general powers given him in Section 7, sub-section 3 of the Order in Council. This explains the character of the "Revising Courts". The function is entrusted to a Revising Officer (carefully selected amongst persons with legal experience and a high reputation) and his actions are carried out in a "Revising Court", but it should be noted that in these terms the Court is purely administrative, and that no appeal is provided for and the decision of this Officer is final.

438. This is the practice generally followed in plebiscites, and it should also be borne in mind that the United Nations Visiting Mission had recommended for this point (paragraphs 165 and 166 of its Special Report) the existing practice for General Elections, which is this same one. The fact that there can be no appeal from these decisions in the logical development of a plebiscite or an election places a great responsibility on the Administering Authority and on the officers appointed. All of the United Nations Observers concur in that the Revising Officers selected for this operation have shown wisdom, dignity and impartiality in dealing with their cases, and no representations from the political parties are recorded against any of them.

439. The following persons were appointed to hold their Courts in the Districts shown below:

Mr. J.B.H. Gobel, Assistant Secretary Establishment Secretary's Office, former Government Agent and Magistrate	Ho District
Mr. J.H.D. Dickson, Assistant Secretary Department of External Affairs, former Government Agent and Magistrate	Kpandu District
Mr. C.H. Cooke, C.I.E., Barrister, Reserve Settlement Commissioner	Buem and Akan-Krachi Districts
Mr. H.E. Devaux, Barrister, Deputy Land Boundary Settlement Commissioner	Kusasi and South Mamprusi Districts
Mr. J.E. Lloyd, Education Officer	North and South Dagomba Districts
Mr. J.M. Ramsay, Conservator of Forests	Nanumba-Gonja District

440. Following is a table showing by districts the claims and objections submitted and the result of the Revising Courts' decisions:

DISTRICT	C l a i m s			O b j e c t i o n s		
	Submitted	Sustained	Rejected	Submitted	Sustained	Rejected
Ho	3	2	1	76	13	63
Kpandu	41	17	24	172	46	126
Buem	80	19	61	63	26	37
Akan-Krachi	20	-	20	0	-	-
Nanumba-Gonja	24	6	18	1	1	-
South Dagomba	17	17	-	0	-	-
North Dagomba	6	6	-	0	-	-
South Mamprusi	19	14	5	123	123	-
Kusasi	0	0	-	0	-	-

441. Out of the 210 claims submitted, eighty-one were successful and 129 were overruled. A total of 435 objections were submitted, out of which 209 succeeded and 226 were rejected by the Revising Officers.

442. The modification in the total figure of Registration was in this manner a very small one. After adding to it eighty-one successful claims and deducting from it 209 objections sustained, the final figure of persons registered to vote in the Plebiscite was 194,230.

(e) Important Cases of Claims and Objections

443. The greater part of the claims sustained were cases in which errors had been committed by the Registration personnel or by typists who made the Register that was exhibited to the public. Objections referred usually to insufficient residence, insufficient age, criminal records.

444. The 123 objections in South Mamprusi were entered by the Registration Officer to correct a situation referred to in paragraph 273 of this Report concerning villages in the Gold Coast.

445. A similar case was the one of the villages of Ziavi Bamefedo and Hlefi Bakpa. A representative of the Convention Peoples' Party, who is by profession a surveyor, proved that these villages are within the Gold Coast and won his objections against the total registered population, twenty-nine persons in the first case and eleven in the second.

446. In Kpandu, seventy-six objections against workers allegedly with insufficient residence were overruled and costs were assessed against the objector.

447. The Revising Officer for Buem found that eleven persons objected to in Wurupong, in Nkonya Local Council, were school children who had never applied to be registered. In view of the fact that this case appears to involve dishonesty not only on the part of the political agent who submitted the registration applications but also on the part of the Registration Assistant, it has been brought to the attention of the corresponding authorities.

448. The only form used in connexion with the Revision of Registers was Form L, with which was exhibited a statement of all claims and objections entered in a given ward and persons making claims and objections, or those against whom objections were made and who wished to contest them, were asked to present themselves at the Revising Officer's Court. It showed the time and places where the Officer would hold his Court from 20 April to 3 May.

D. Polling

(a) Planning for Polling Day

449. It was borne in mind by the Administrator that the culminating stage of the Plebiscite, though lasting only a few hours, called for a very detailed planning and great care and precautions to avoid any unfortunate development at that decisive point. Since January the Administrator and his staff were working on arrangements for this stage. Time for voting, secrecy, security in the printing of ballot papers, construction of booths, perforating machines, instructions to the personnel, notes to polling agents, etc., were studied in minute detail. Many suggestions were considered, some of them advanced by ourselves, which might seem superfluous now that the excellent results of Polling Day are known. The Administration preferred to adopt what might seem excessive precautions than to risk any mismanagement on Polling Day.

450. It was clear in the mind of all that the Administration should follow at this point the pattern already established in the Electoral Provisions (Assembly Elections) Regulations, 1954. This is what the Visiting Mission had recommended, especially in paragraphs 127, 173 and 174 of its Special Report, and the Plebiscite Regulations, which had been consulted with me, were on the basis of

this system. The modifications to which paragraph 173 of the Mission's Report refers were understood to be mainly those deriving from the fact that the polling was not for candidates for an election, but for alternatives in a Plebiscite. Consequently, the arrangements should provide for two ballot boxes, one for each of the two alternatives, placed behind a screen or in a separate chamber that would adequately insure secrecy, each of the boxes being distinguished by a symbol. The voter should be given one ballot paper, he would go behind the screen, locate by means of the symbol the box representing the alternative of his free choice, and deposit in it his vote. As it is said in the Mission's Report, this remarkably simple and safe system is greatly liked throughout the Territory.

(b) Meeting for the Selection of Symbols

451. In consultation with me and in accordance with the terms of paragraph 174 of the Visiting Mission's Special Report the Administrator issued an invitation on 28 January to those political organizations known to be active in Togoland to meet with him and with me at his Office in Ho at 10:00 A.M. on 15 February, in order to select the symbols that would represent each of the alternatives. The invitation was issued to the Convention Peoples' Party, the Togoland Congress, the Northern Peoples' Party and the Togoland Reformation Movement. The Togoland Reformation Movement, to which reference is made in paragraph 192 of this Report, declined this invitation and announced at this stage that it had decided not to take part in the Plebiscite. Five days after the meeting (see TC/31 in Chapter VIII) the Togoland Congress objected to the fact that a representative of the Northern Peoples' Party was invited to this meeting. Minutes of the meeting which were kept in my Office record the following:

"At 10:00 o'clock A.M. on 15 February, the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner came to the Office of the Plebiscite Administrator, in Ho, where he met the Administrator, the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator for the Southern Section, Mr. S.W. Kumah, Regional Secretary of the Convention Peoples' Party in Ho, and Mr. Salifu Imoru, National Propaganda Secretary of the Northern Peoples' Party.

The Togoland Congress and Allies had announced that Mr. S.G. Antor, Secretary-General of that movement, would attend the meeting. After having waited fifteen minutes hoping that Mr. Antor would make his appearance, the meeting began. It was explained to the representatives who were present that in accordance with a recommendation of the Visiting Mission, the

Administrator would choose two symbols for the two ballot boxes for the Plebiscite, but that this would be done in consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and with them. A list of approximately thirty symbols, some suggested by the Administrator and some by the Commissioner, was furnished to the representatives to help them make their choice, though it was hoped that they would make their own suggestions. The CPP and NPP representatives agreed to request for the first alternative (union of the Territory with an independent Gold Coast) a clenched fist with the forefinger pointing upwards, white on a black background. As a second choice, they would take a plain circle.

At 10:30 the Reverend F.R. Ametowobla, Member of the Legislative Assembly associated with the Togoland Congress, came to express regret that Mr. Antor had not arrived, and he also regretted that he was not authorized to take his place, but he offered to try to reach him on the telephone. When the business of the meeting seemed concluded, at 10:55, Mr. Antor made his appearance at the Office of the Administrator. The explanation of the proceedings was made again, but Mr. Antor then announced that he must begin by objecting to the balloting system envisaged and wanted to propose a different one. He formally moved that a system be adopted by which each voter would be provided with two ballot papers, one in black for one of the alternatives, another in white for the other alternative, plus an envelope. The voter would then proceed to a screened chamber, would there make his choice of the ballot paper he wanted to use, and would include it in the envelope, which he would seal. The unused ballot paper should be put in a tin with oil that would have been provided in the screened chamber for that purpose. The voter would then come out of the chamber and in the presence of everybody would deposit his envelope in one common ballot box.

Speaking with all due respect to this system, which is still advocated in some countries, the attention of Mr. Antor was drawn to its obvious handicaps which made it subject to criticism in the post-war Plebiscites, thirty years ago. It was slow, counting of the votes imposed on the Counting Officers the meticulous task of opening and destroying thousands of envelopes without destroying the ballot paper contained in them. Attention was drawn especially to the possibility of intimidation, it being obvious that a chieftain could prevail on his associates not to destroy the unused ballot but to produce it as evidence that they had voted right. In one plebiscite in Europe it is believed that armed bands kept near some of the polling centres and requested that voters show the unused ballot papers. Other systems that have simplified balloting are now favoured in most countries. In Togoland, the system tried in 1954 was wanted by voters in general.

The Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress insisted on his proposal and stated that it was in the Commissioner's power to make certain modifications, consequently this one could be adopted. The Commissioner regretted that he could not agree to a departure from the Mission's recommendation, this being meant to please the majority of the people of the Territory. Mr. Antor then spoke to his associates, who were waiting

outside, returned to the room and announced that he considered the system adopted a violation of the secrecy of the vote and that consequently he would not co-operate and would not suggest a symbol.

The Plebiscite Commissioner then reminded Mr. Antor that he knew him since some years ago because he usually comes to the Assembly as a petitioner, and that he is respected there because of this. He stated that the system for balloting had been accepted by a United Nations Resolution and could not be modified because of the will of one party. The Administrator was empowered to choose the symbols, but in doing so he was seeking the help of the most outstanding leaders of the people. As a leader of a very important party, Mr. Antor had a big responsibility. The secrecy of the vote was in no way being endangered. Nobody was asked how he or anybody would vote. Though the inclination of each party was known officially, this point was irrelevant and at this juncture any of the parties could suggest symbols for both of the alternatives and a common agreement would be reached. The purpose was precisely to offer to the people a facility to safeguard the secrecy of his vote and to be able to cast it without outside help or intrusion. This was a service to the people and leaders were bound to assist in this task. The Commissioner formally requested Mr. Antor to give the meeting his co-operation. He then accompanied Mr. Antor to speak with his followers. All of the group accepted then as a symbol a yellow circle for the second alternative (the separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under Trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political future) and accepted the symbol requested by the other part, and the Togoland Congress representatives and their allies left the premises showing satisfaction with the outcome of this meeting".

(c) Suggestions by Parties

452. Notwithstanding the above, the Togoland Congress on 22 February still pressed its proposals for a new balloting system in communications addressed to the Administrator and to myself. In Chapter IV of this Report, after paragraph 199 is shown an important correspondence exchanged with the Togoland Congress which, though directly concerned with the point under consideration here, is recorded in that section to stress another aspect of the Plebiscite.

453. It was only some days later that, in a letter to the Administrator, the Togoland Congress expressed willingness to abide by the adopted system, although it availed itself of this opportunity to bring up points which it felt should be taken care of to duly safeguard the interests of the people in polling arrangements. It became obvious that no reason for disagreement existed since most of the points brought up by this organization were contemplated either in the Voting Regulations or in steps envisaged by the Administrator in consultation with me.

454. The Congress requested in its correspondence of 22 February that "there should be two representatives for each group of opinion at each polling station".

In paragraph 307 it will have been seen that the Administrator and I had agreed precisely on this same conclusion. All other points raised by the Congress were foreseen. A suitable police protection which was now requested, had been carefully planned by the Administrator. The Congress requested that representatives of the two groups of opinion may accompany each ballot box after polling to the counting station and this is a point on which the Administration was particularly keen and which was observed scrupulously on 9 May. Finally, the Togoland Congress asked that the ballot papers be printed by the United Nations, a point to which reference will be made in paragraph 467.

(d) Polling Stations and Polling Booths

455. It is understood that a Polling Station is a centre where people on the Register of a given ward may come to vote. In this station there might be one or more booths, each booth containing, either in a separate chamber or behind an adequate screen, a box for each one of the two alternatives of the Plebiscite. Some stations have been equipped with two or three booths. The maximum has been five booths to one station. The station normally was manned by a Presiding Officer and two Polling Assistants, but it is needless to say that if several booths were used, a sufficient number of additional Polling Assistants were provided for them.

456. The point of departure should logically be, as in the case of Registration, a Polling Station for each ward, but several important considerations necessarily made this matter the object of a very elaborate planning. Before the period of Registration was concluded, Registration and Assistant Registration Officers were already being asked to offer their suggestions for the situation of polling stations.

457. Primarily it was considered necessary to determine the number of persons that could be taken care of in one booth in the course of the eleven hours that balloting would last. Rehearsals and estimates were made in which our own opinion was given consideration. In European plebiscites in which complicated and outdated methods had been used after the first world war, voters usually needed an average of twenty-six seconds to record their vote. Here the system had been

remarkably simplified. Yet an allowance had to be made for a possible unsteady flow of voters, for persons uninitiated, for voters who might not at first be found on the Registers or whose case might offer serious doubt (although they were taken apart by the Presiding Officer so as not to stop the queue their case would take more than the normal time). Wishing to be on the safe side and allowing for no less than a minute a voter (660 voters in the eleven hours) it was decided that each booth should take no more than five hundred voters. If at any station more than that number of persons were registered, the Register would be split and half of the crowd would be directed to one booth and another half to the other. As matters went on 9 May, the Polling personnel was left many hours of leisure. In the planning stage of the operation, the Administrator seems entirely justified in studying measures to seek a steady flow of voters, on one hand, and to cope with the possibility of an uneven flow on the other.

458. The problem of distances was important. Transportation being necessarily the voter's own concern, it was obvious that the great majority of the people would walk to the polling booths. In the case of registration the personnel, over a longer period, had gone to the people in the villages. This being out of the question, on Polling Day it was sought to set up stations in points where they could be conveniently reached by all of the people in a ward. In the North, plans were made so that no voter need walk more than seven miles to the booth and as many back to his house, a distance which is considered there entirely within reason. At the same time, rough roads were hurriedly built at several points to polling stations remote from feeder roads.

459. Other considerations were important in this problem. Villagers often refused to vote within the bounds of a rival village and the booth had to be taken out to neutral ground. We have referred in paragraph 424 to the grievance of the village of Nyive, in the District of Ho. While their case was being examined at the Ministry of Local Government, satisfaction was given to the villagers by providing them a special booth.

460. With all of these considerations in mind, a total of 408 polling stations were established in the Territory, 153 of them in the Northern Section and 255 in the South. In the North, fifty-one of these stations had more than one booth. In the South, forty-four of the stations had several booths.

(e) Arrangements for secrecy - booths and ballot boxes

461. These arrangements are necessarily tedious and meticulous, and are furthermore governed by the inescapable fact that no Administration feels inclined to spend considerable sums for an equipment that is to be used in great quantities but only for a few hours.

462. I am convinced that the Administrator's desire was to make their plans known in every detail to us, but at the same time it soon became obvious that this matter had been the object of a considerable degree of decentralization. The Assistant Plebiscite Administrator for the North provided every one of the Observers in the North and myself with detailed plans of stations and booths in the North by which it could be seen that there would be a zana matting structure in two rooms. In the first of these the Polling personnel sat at a table where the Registers and other equipment were kept. An entrance from this room to the other permitted one voter at a time to pass into the other room - where a table was set up in complete secrecy - and, there being no other door out, the voter must return by the same way and another voter could not be admitted until the screened chamber was again vacant.

463. Shortly afterwards the Administrator invited me to inspect polling arrangements in Ho. A screen in three parts, consisting of a wooden frame covered with baft, was set up on a table to conceal the ballot boxes, as will be seen in Annex VI C. In this arrangement the boxes were clasped together by a wooden frame that fastened them to the screen so that they could not be removed from the table without tampering with the screen. I requested that the boxes should not be together, lest this cause suspicion in some of the voters or leaders of parties, and the Administrator ordered that the boxes be separated by a distance of about three inches. Later it became apparent to us that in the South it was not contemplated to put the screened ballot boxes in a separate room, as in the North, but that they would be set up on a table in the same room, usually a large school-room, in which the polling personnel would be. While the screen was intended to permit the voter to cast his ballot in secrecy, the gap between the surface of the table and the floor permitted the legs and feet of the voter to be seen, this being intended to allow the Presiding Officer to know at any

time if the booth was occupied or vacant. One of the points in which the Canham Report had criticized the 1954 elections was that, there being on one same table behind the screen as many boxes as there were candidates, the gap between the surface of the table and the floor might have permitted an outsider observing the voter's feet to imagine for whom the vote was cast. I drew the attention of the Administrator on this point and numerous tests convinced both his staff and my own that in the present case, only two boxes being used, no chance existed of a voter's choice being revealed unless this were sought deliberately by the voter himself.

464. A very few days later, on 26 April, I was invited by the Information Service to the town of Amedzofe to see the performance of the Cinema Van offering throughout the Territory a very suitable moving-picture entertainment, a prominent feature of which was a short film, shown three times consecutively, to make known to uninitiated persons how they should vote. Here an entirely different booth was shown, in the form of a spiral, in zana matting, and a man was seen entering it and walking around to the point where the ballot boxes were to cast his vote. In this case it was the voter's head, not his feet, that permitted the Presiding Officer to know that a person was in the booth. A very able commentator explained to the public at this juncture that booths were of various types. Stress was placed on a close-up in which it was shown three times how the ballot should be put in the slot.

465. Having visited the North again the day before polling, I saw that ballot boxes, which had been shown to us standing vertically by the Administrator, were put horizontally in the North, as may be seen by Annex VI B.

466. A considerable variety of booths was in fact revealed on polling day, revealing the personal initiative and ingenuity of the Presiding Officer. Some of the arrangements, either in separate rooms or within the same chamber, were set up with great care and personal devotion. One element was common to the various types of booths that made them satisfactory to us; that the element of secrecy was scrupulously safeguarded.

(f) The printing of the ballot papers

467. In their letter of 22 February the Togoland Congress had requested that "ballot papers of the chosen colours and envelopes should be printed by the United Nations. Each should have a water-mark and a U.N. emblem ..." Although I was very willing to assist in every possible way this intervention would have been clearly out of my powers and the nature of our work. But the Administrator, in consultation with me, advised the Togoland Congress that I would be invited to send a representative to be present at the printing of the ballot papers.

468. The paper for the ballots had been discussed at length. Early in March the Administrator advised me that he would probably be forced to use the same paper of 1954, which had been criticized as being too thin and not of a fine quality. After exchanging views on this matter the Administrator tried to obtain a better paper but was informed a few days later that the press in Accra would not take a thicker paper. The printer later told me that a better paper could have been obtained in England but that the order should have been placed at least six months before. To cope with this disadvantage instructions were given to have the slots carefully filed so that the ballot papers could slide in without difficulty.

469. I accepted to intervene in the printing of the ballot papers knowing that it would please one - surely both - of the parties, and since I was especially requested to do so by the Administrator himself, who also seemed keen on protecting his position. Consequently I assigned the Observer at West Krachi to supervise, in my name, this work. I asked for the necessary safeguards so that we would be fully satisfied and in a position to give a satisfactory guarantee to parties concerned, and every facility was offered to the Observer and myself by the highly responsible officers of the Government Printer. The printer furnished a statement by which it could be seen that the printing characters used could not be reproduced in the Gold Coast and that the pattern on the edge of the ballot paper had been obtained with linen. To be in a position to vouch that no ballot papers had been printed before our intervention the United Nations Observer drilled holes in the linen pattern as his special mark, and as from that moment he was always present while the papers were being printed and numbered; simultaneously, in a continuous shift from 7.30 a.m. to 2 p.m. At the end of each day's work the following precautions were taken:

(a) The machine was locked by a 3/8" thick chain and padlocked, the key of the padlock being retained by the United Nations Observer until work commenced again on the following morning.

(b) The electrical current was cut off by removing the fuses, which were placed in the strong room.

(c) The room where the machine is situated was locked and padlocked and these keys also were placed in the strong room.

(d) Numbered ballot papers were placed in the strong room, this was locked and the keys put in the custody of a highly responsible officer.

(e) Spoils and misprints were burned in the presence of the United Nations Observer.

(f) The ballot papers, now in book form, were removed to an adjacent cutting machine, cut to the required size, packed and sealed by the United Nations Observer who then stamped each parcel with the Plebiscite Commissioner's stamp, adding his signature and impressing his personal stamp on the sealing wax at each joint of the string.

(g) The sealed parcels were despatched by Government transport vehicles under police escort. At each station where they were received the United Nations Observers were invited to identify the seal, a specimen of which had been provided to them.

(h) The spare metal plates were melted down in a metal pot and the flongs destroyed under the supervision of the United Nations Observer. The Observer, at the conclusion of the printing, removed from the press the plates from which the ballot papers had been printed and the original line block, and these were destroyed in the United Nations headquarters at Ho on 19 May in the presence of three United Nations officials and the pieces were shown to the Administrator.

470. An additional safeguard was offered by the Administrator to voters by means of a perforating machine which punches a square of twenty-five holes (five by five) and with which, by means of blanks or holes, numerous combinations could be made to mark the district, the local council and ward in which the vote was cast. This perforating pattern, considered better than a water-mark, was the official mark that was indispensable for the validity of the ballot paper.

(g) Meeting with political representatives

471. The Administrator invited representatives of the Convention Peoples' Party, the Togoland Congress and the Northern Peoples' Party to meet with him and with me on 19 April, at his office in Ho, at 10 a.m.

472. Two representatives of the Convention Peoples' Party, Messrs. S.W. Kumah and Togbe Fleku attended. No representative of the Northern Peoples' Party came to the meeting. The Secretary General of the Togoland Congress reached the meeting at 11.5 a.m. All of the Regulations were analysed, especially by the representative of the Togoland Congress, who expressed satisfaction on knowing that the United Nations were supervising the printing of ballot papers. All of the arrangements for polling were revealed by the Administrator, including the steps taken to insure a suitable police protection as requested by both parties. At this meeting both the Convention Peoples' Party and the Togoland Congress agreed in requesting that 9 May be declared a holiday. I regret that the Administration did not find it possible to comply with this wish but was gratified to know that Government workers would be granted the day and that letters would be written to the principal employers, who are very few in Togoland, so that sufficient time would be allowed to employees to vote. At the conclusion of the meeting both the Administrator and I addressed the representatives and expressed confidence that the conduct of the people at the polls would be worthy of the Territory's best traditions.

(h) Forms used for polling

473. Form M is a sign in which the date of polling day and the hours for voting were announced, the alternatives, symbols and colours for the two questions asked in the Plebiscite are shown, and it was announced where the polling stations for a given area were.

474. Form N is a sign in which the alternatives, symbols and colours in the Plebiscite are shown. The text of the alternatives was given in Twi, Ewé, Dagbani and Hausa.

475. Form O is a sign that says "POLLING STATION" and, by means of an arrow in red, indicates the direction in which the station is to be found.

476. Form P is a card by means of which a Returning Officer notified a person that he was appointed a Polling Assistant.

477. Form Q is a card that served as a credential, by which a Returning Officer certified that a person had been appointed either Polling Agent or a Counting Agent for either of the two alternatives.

478. Form R is a "Tendered Votes List", in which were inscribed the names of persons who came to vote, who answered satisfactorily the questions asked in accordance with Regulations, but who came after another person had voted in the place they claimed was theirs. The alternative for which they wished to vote was recorded in this form, in secrecy.

479. Form S is a "Ballot Papers Account" kept by the Presiding Officer at each polling station.

480. Form T is a statement in which Polling Agents were asked, at the conclusion of polling, to state either that there had been no serious errors or irregularities, or which of these had taken place and in what sense had the conduct of the Plebiscite been unsatisfactory.

481. Form U was a statement in which Counting Agents were asked, at the conclusion of the counting, to state either that there had been no serious errors or irregularities, or which of these had taken place and in what sense had the conduct of the counting been unsatisfactory.

(i) Polling Day

482. The Administrator is to be congratulated on the excellent conduct of polling on 9 May. A carefully planned operation was set in motion at the foreseen hour, nothing unexpected came in its way, it did not rain, the polling personnel performed its duties admirably, Polling Agents of the parties were everywhere courteous and co-operative and if fear was felt at any moment it was because of pressure of voters in the early hours, forming long lines at the booths hoping to be amongst the first to cast their votes. The behaviour of the people was exemplary and there were practically no incidents, attempts of personation or other illegal acts of any kind. The time allowed for each voter had been liberal, the flow was steady and in most places polling was concluded long before noon. Enthusiasm was expressed openly, but mixed with an attitude of dignity and awareness that the operation was being watched by world public opinion.

483. To abide by the recommendation that the Visiting Mission had advanced in paragraph 202 of its report, I arranged for the widest possible coverage in the observation that was expected of the United Nations on this day. Thirteen Observers had been living in their respective districts for the past four months and knew their Territory well, but some of them had a very extended jurisdiction and required assistance. Consequently I accredited every man and woman in the staff to take up special duties as Observers on Polling Day. They were assigned especially to the areas of East Krachi, West Biakoye and Nkonya, Kpandu, Ho and the two Dagomba districts. One high-ranking officer was left in charge of the office at Ho and visited polling stations in Ho during the day. Another senior officer was assigned to cover the northern half of Togoland. On my part I left Ho on 6 May and reached Yendi that night and Fusiga on the following day. On 8 May I travelled back southwards, visiting the Observers, the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator for the northern section, and examining polling stations on the way. Having slept that night at Kete Krachi, on polling day at 5.30 I began a thorough tour of Southern Togoland visiting twenty-six stations at Kete Krachi, Otisu, Akrosu, Tapa, Atonkor, Jasikan, Nsuta, Guaman, Kadjebi, Menuku, Jinjinso, Cement Poasi, Ahamansu, Dodi Papase, Dain, Bowiri Anyinase, Hohoe, Golokwati, to reach Ho shortly after the conclusion of polling. I spent that night, till 4.30 a.m. with the Observers at the counting stations in Ho.

484. Throughout Togoland our observations were the same. Good order and a high sense of responsibility, and people literally flocking to the booths at the early hours of the morning. In the afternoon the personnel was seen leisurely taking care of occasional voters and waiting for the hour set for closing the station. Some of the observations made by the United Nations group are given below:

485. In Kusasi a heavy vote was recorded, uneventful, in perfect order. In South Mamprusi, where political disturbances of limited scope were reported a week before, good order was maintained everywhere. Some votes were lost because people placed them on top of the boxes instead of putting them in the slot. In the counting station at Sunson, North Dagomba, sixty-two votes coming from Bakundiba were lost for separation because they did not show the puncture pattern of the perforating machine. At Bawgo, in the same district, 360 votes were lost

for union because only a part of the perforated pattern showed. Votes were also lost in this area because some of the boxes placed horizontally became stuffed and voters coming later placed their ballot papers on top of the box. In Pusuga, in the Bimbilla area, the Observer found that the two boxes were nailed into two separate tables placed in opposite corners in a room. Having called the Presiding Officer's attention to this point, it was immediately corrected. In Katiejeli, in the Alfai Local Council, Nanumba-Gonja District, a CPP van was seen too close to the station and was ordered by the Assistant Returning Officer to withdraw. Ballot papers were found outside the boxes.

486. In the West Akan area, at Atafie, a polling agent objected to the balloting of two girls who seemed to our Observer to be decidedly under age. However, it is remembered that such matters can only be taken up at the period of claims and objections, and nobody whose name is duly recorded in the register can be stopped from voting on polling day. At Kete-Krachi, in the station situated at the Community Centre, the United Nations Observer drew attention to a big CPP flag flying within four hundred yards of the station and the Returning Officer immediately had it removed. At 6.30 packed queues of people were pressing their way forward and the Returning Officer requested one additional police constable. At two other points, Zongo Macheri and Bassare Kwame, in the first hours of voting the lines were disorderly. In Cement Poasi, in East Akan, a considerable disorder took place as voting was to begin. The lorry carrying the ballot papers and other equipment had a breakdown and arrived thirty or forty minutes after six. In the meantime a crowd of about one thousand people pressed against the polling station and had to be dispersed and reassembled by the police. To make up for the time lost it was decided not to close the station during the lunch hour. When I visited the area at about 11 a.m. voting was progressing in the most orderly manner in the three booths and I could only note that the boxes had been placed in the wrong order, first the second alternative and secondly the first one. The polling agents did not object and stated that their people would vote for the symbol, regardless of the order in which the boxes were. The same occurred at Dodi Papase, where voting was orderly. At Amanyia and at Abotoase, in West Biakoye, the Togoland Congress polling agents had been arrested on the basis of libel

charges. Although this appeared to be an entirely normal legal procedure it is considered possible that persons who pressed the charges at this juncture acted with a political motive. The Government Agent having intervened both men were released on bail. The polling agent at Amanyia advised that he had a brother among attendants at the polling station who vouched that everything had been correct in the early stages of the balloting and consequently assumed the responsibility of signing the ballot boxes. The agent for Abotoase arrived at the polling station at 9.30, refused to sign the boxes and withdrew at 10 a.m.

(j) Counting

487. Counting of the ballots commenced on 9 May shortly after the conclusion of voting, generally around seven o'clock, and in most parts it continued without interruption till it was concluded around four or five o'clock a.m. on 10 May. There were ten counting stations, two of them in Ho and one each in the following places: Kpandu, Jasikan, Kete-Krachi, Bimbilla, Yendi, Sunson, Nakpanduri and Fusiga.

488. At every counting station without exception a United Nations Observer was present since the counting began until it was concluded. I was with the Observers at the two counting stations in Ho until the work was finished at 4.30 a.m. on 10 May.

489. Counting was conducted in perfect order and obviously to the satisfaction of the counting agents of the two parties. Boxes were being brought constantly with an adequate police escort and were accompanied from the polling station to the counting station by polling agents of the parties. The seals were broken in every case in the presence of the United Nations Observer and the counting agents. The only points worth recording are a certain number of votes lost as rejected ballot papers mainly because they did not bear the perforated pattern of the puncturing machine. Some cases are reported in which a Returning Officer's decision was challenged by a counting agent and the decision was reconsidered, all of this in an atmosphere of fairness and of great courtesy on the part of either side.

490. At Ho and other important towns results were constantly announced as they were known, until on 11 May the total figures were definitively declared.

E. The Results of the Plebiscite

(a) How the votes were counted

491. Considering the recommendation that the Visiting Mission had made in paragraph 108 of its report to the effect of assessing the results of the Plebiscite in four distinct units, separately one from the other, in view of the debate that this matter had raised and bearing in mind that the General Assembly rejected an amendment to include that recommendation in resolution 944 (X), the Governor of the Gold Coast asked me since the month of January in which form I would prefer to receive the figures of the results of the Plebiscite. I wholly agreed with his suggestion that these be provided ward by ward, so that the General Assembly might be at liberty to take the decision it deems best on this point.

492. In view of the above no effort is made here to review figures in any other way than by grand totals and the basic unit, which is the ward. Because the Plebiscite was conducted administratively on the basis of two halves, a northern one and a southern one, the Administrator has furnished these figures at the end of the corresponding column, and the totals of votes in Districts and in Local Councils are also given to facilitate any computation that may be desired by delegations or by the Assembly itself. The purpose of the Administration, in consultation with me, has been merely to provide the General Assembly with as full and detailed an information as it may need to assess the results of the Plebiscite in the terms of operative paragraph 5 of resolution 944 (X).

(b) The results of the Plebiscite

493. Out of a population of 423,000 a total of 194,230 persons were registered to vote in the Plebiscite. This is 46 per cent of the population of the Territory. Out of 194,230 eligible voters on the register 160,587 valid votes were recorded at the counting stations on 9 May, this being 82 per cent of the number of persons registered and 38 per cent of the total population of Togoland under United Kingdom administration.

494. Out of 160,587 votes cast 93,095 were for the first alternative (the union of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast) and 67,492 were for the second alternative (the separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under Trusteeship, pending the ultimate determination of its political future). In these total figures the first alternative won 58 per cent of the vote, and the second won 42 per cent.

495. Following are the final and official figures of the results of the vote, ward by ward:

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union	Separation	Rejected votes
HO DISTRICT						
Adaklu	A1	Abuadi	620	483	106	377
	A2	Wumenu	160	122	50	72
	B	Kodiabe	240	209	4	204
	C1	Helekpe	340	257	6	250
	C2	Adaklu Kpetsu	65	58	7	51
	D	Waya	412	388	3	385
	E	Sofa	289	269	5	264
	F	Kpodzi	286	266	4	258
Total			2,412	185	1,861	4
Anyigbe	A	Kpetoe West	277	238	153	83
	B	Kpetoe Central	366	299	169	130
	C	Kpetoe East	377	290	111	178
	D1	Akpoko	428	315	107	208
	D2	Agotime Afegame	186	137	32	104
	E	Dremave	305	249	229	17
	F	Ziope	321	270	252	18
	G	a Wudorkpo)	310	278	257	21
		b Tsrigoni)				
	H	Amule	359	278	263	15
	I	Dzalele	291	255	25	230
	J	Dakpa Dzadzefe	145	119	63	56
	K	Dakpa	277	219	200	16
	L	Dakpa Have	246	219	202	16
Total			3,888	2,063	1,092	3

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union Separation votes	Rejected votes
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HO DISTRICT (continued)

Asogli	A	Tokokoe Motte	450	430	22	408	
	B	Tanyigbe Etoe	817	802	17	785	
	C	Akoefe Atsiati	640	603	91	512	
	D	Hodzoga	546	510	3	506	1
	E	Ho Takla	438	383	29	354	
	F	Ho Dome North	440	400	18	382	
	G	Ho Dome South	476	439	34	402	3
	H	Ho Bankoe North	738	682	625	56	1
	I	Ho Bankoe South	610	578	473	92	13
	J	Ho Alioe	357	329	163	166	
	K	Ho Ahliha	318	274	56	218	
	L	Ho Heve	230	223	55	168	
	Total		6,080		1,586	4,049	

Dutaso	A	Abutia Teti	557	508	259	249	
	B	Kloe North	371	316	41	275	
		Kloe South	179	168	39	129	
	C2	a Agoreke) b Kissiflui)	506	408	298	110	
	D1	Sokode Bagble	270	246	18	228	
	D2	Sokode Hoviefe	115	109	13	96	
	E	Sokode Etoe	343	326	163	163	
	F	Shia	445	417	237	180	
	G	Lume Ge	658	633	7	626	
	H	Tsife	776	741	19	722	
	I	a Taviefe Aviefe) b Taviefe Dome)	339	316	29	287	
	J	Taviefe Avenya	453	431	60	371	
	K	Goviefe Todzi	450	421	83	338	
	L	Hlefi Todome	524	482	15	467	
	M	Anfoeta Gbogame	467	432	15	417	
	N	Anfoeta Tsebi	445	440	8	432	
	O	Ziavi Dzogbe	544	492	63	429	
	P1	Akrofu Agove	190	180	0	180	
	P2	Klefe Dome	522	485	32	453	
	Q	a Atikpui) b Nyive)	574	574	321	253	
	Total		8,728		1,720	6,405	

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union votes	Separation	Rejected votes	
HO DISTRICT (continued)							
Yingor	A	Akome Agate	482	473	201	272	
	B	Amedzofe	546	514	70	444	
	C1	Biakpa	245	239	1	238	
	C2	Fume	314	311	39	272	
	D	Vane	718	702	613	89	
	E	Gbadzeme	419	401	6	395	
	F1	Dodome Awuiasu	294	289	28	261	
	F2	Dodome Aveha	486	475	9	466	
	G	Dzolo Gbogame	564	539	118	421	
	H1	Hoe Dzogbefeme	288	281	54	227	
	H2	Klave	101	99	11	88	
	I	Honuta	413	381	103	278	
	J	Kpedze Awlime	857	808	308	500	
	K	Kpedze Todze	663	631	34	597	
	L	Ashanti Kpoeta	594	566	32	534	
	M	Saviefe Agorkpo	589	528	36	492	
	Total			7,573	1,663	5,574	
Total for Ho District			28,681	7,217	18,981		
KPANDU DISTRICT							
Ablode	A	Aveme Beme	618	561	222	336	3
	B	Aveme Danyigba	550	486	106	380	
	C	a Vakpo Afeye)	565	542	267	275	
		b Vakpo Fu)					
	D	Vakpo Adomi	345	316	198	48	14
	E	Wusuta Dzigbe	403	362	156	205	
	F	Wusuta Gadza	387	365	87	274	
	G	Tsrukpe Tota	444	421	22	399	
	H	Awate Todzi	308	263	88	175	
	I	Awate Dzifadzi	257	235	31	204	
	J1	a Botoku Siama)	501	480	31	449	
		b Tsoho Beme)					
	J2	Kpeve	112	92	79	13	
	Total			4,490	1,287	2,828	
Akpini	A	Kpandu Tsakpe	1,036	957	683	274	4
	B	Kpandu Gabi	810	740	418	318	
	C	Kpandu Aloia	618	556	240	316	
	D	Kpandu Fesi	693	638	374	262	
	E	Kpandu Agbenohoe	726	655	95	560	2
	F	Kpandu Dzoanti	475	472	33	439	
	G	Sovie Dzigbe	262	251	46	201	
	H	Sovie Abayeme	417	403	32	371	
	I	Alavanyo Kpeme	347	339	37	300	2
	J	Alavanyo Wudidi	873	833	15	818	
	K	Alavanyo Dzogbedze	756	725	23	701	
	L	Gbefi Hoeme	350	335	135	200	
	M	Tsome Antikpeta	309	257	156	101	1
	Total			7,672	2,287	4,861	

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union Separation votes	Rejected votes
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KPANDU DISTRICT (continued)

Anfoega	A	Tokome	675	604	559	43	2
	B	Dzana	748	630	580	41	9
	C	Wademahe	410	382	381	1	
	D	Akukome East	533	534	530	4	
	E	Akukome West	553	429	409	20	
Total			2,919	2,459	109		
East Dain	A	Ve Deme	231	223	35	188	
	B	Ve Koloenu South	313	308	103	204	1
	C	Ve Koloenu North	303	265	57	208	
	D	Ve Golokwati	359	323	288	35	
	E	Ve Hoeme	356	331	160	171	
	F	Liatl Agbonyira	360	338	260	78	
	G	Liatl Wati	906	877	156	720	1
	H	Fodome Hloma	1,004	945	141	804	
	I	a Wli Afegame)					
		b Wli Todzi)	392	373	198	174	1
	J	Leklebi Duga	544	494	199	294	1
	K	Leklebi Dafo	196	183	37	146	
	L	Logba Tota	500	478	188	288	2
	M	Logba Adzakoe	413	404	5	399	
	N	a Nyagbo Odumase)					
		b Nyagbo Sroe)	579	562	4	558	
	O	Have	573	545	112	433	
	P	Agate	534	522	31	491	
	Q	Tafi Mado	426	402	27	373	2
Total			7,989	2,001	5,564		
Gbi Hohce	A	Hohoe Ahado	704	657	101	556	
	B	Hohoe Tsevi	444	353	92	259	2
	C	Hohoe Tokoni	658	584	116	468	
	D	Hohoe Trevi	304	266	117	149	
	E	Bla	462	437	19	418	
	F	Kpeme	660	588	73	515	
	G	Atabu	584	558	12	543	3
	H	Wegbe	806	776	17	759	
Total			4,622	547	3,667		
Total for Kpandu District			27,692	8,581	17,029		

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union votes	Separation	Rejected votes
BUEM DISTRICT						
Biakoye	A	Akpafu Odomi	424	408	129	279
	B	Akpafu Mempeasem	441	424	35	389
	C1	Akpafu Todzi North	262	258	37	221
	C2	Adorkor	269	250	62	186
	D	Akpafu Todzi South	171	159	7	152
	E	Bowiri Amanforo	564	464	400	64
	F	Bowiri Anyinase	324	260	75	185
	G	Bowiri Kwamikrom	637	497	290	204
	H	Bowiri Takrabe	582	313	222	91
	I	Tsirahin	186	176	121	55
	J	Bowiri Odumase	247	125	118	7
	K	Santrokofi Benua	506	483	384	99
	L	Santrokofi Gbodome	384	355	330	25
	Total		4,997	2,210	1,957	
Buem	A	Borada East	402	376	76	300
	B	Borada West	329	309	200	109
	C	Borada Ufwemlekpakro	342	322	50	272
	D1	New Ayoma	807	748	125	622
	D2	Baika Sonanya	468	447	75	372
	E1	Baglo	468	431	112	319
	E2	a Old Ayoma)	636	586	74	512
		b Lekanti)				
	F	Kute	600	580	87	493
	G	Okadjakrom	592	585	563	22
	H	Jasikan East	374	315	176	139
	I	Jasikan West	407	371	165	205
	J	Atonkor	766	686	640	46
	K	Guaman	475	423	277	146
	L	Nsuta	578	517	278	239
	M	Teteman North	263	251	194	57
	N	Teteman South	524	497	35	462
	Total		8,031	3,127	4,315	
Likpe Lolobi	A	Lolobi Kumasi	723	682	83	599
	B	Lolobi Ashiambi	361	343	34	309
	C	Likpe Mate	622	581	49	532
	D	Likpe Bala	343	317	37	280
	E	Likpe Kukurantumi	383	268	354	14
	F	Likpe Todome	531	492	304	188
	G	a Likpe Agbosome)	400	358	166	192
		b Likpe Kofofidua)				
	Total		3,363	1,027	2,114	

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union votes	Separation	Rejected votes
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BUEM DISTRICT (continued)

Nkonya	A	Ahenkro	711	661	571	89	1
	B	a Ntsumuru) b Paprawusi)	790	593	558	34	1
	C	a Nkonya Kadjebi) b Tayi)	456	512	487	9	16
	D	Ntumeda	493	443	443	0	
	E	Tekpo	423	396	396	0	
	F	Wurupong South	451	294	247	47	
	G	Wurupong East	579	399	366	33	
	H1	Wurupong West	647	386	341	44	1
	H2	Burbulla	655	538	102	435	1
		Total	5,205		3,511	691	
Total for Buem District			21,596		9,875	9,077	

AKAN-KRACHI DISTRICT

Akan	A	Mangoase	254	151	87	64	
	B1	Cement Poasi	2,158	1,828	710	1,118	
	B2	Jinjinsu	565	444	100	344	
	C1	Ahamansu East	734	465	179	285	1
	C2	Ahamansu West	427	289	208	80	1
	D	Kpalimekofe	417	286	125	161	
	E	Brafoasu	359	243	97	146	
	F1	Dodi Papase East	1,579	1,118	540	575	3
	F2	Dodi Papase West	1,324	929	86	843	
	G	Dumevikofe	299	171	11	160	
	H	Amankofe	219	124	34	90	
	I	Gyimpapa	398	230	81	149	
	J1	Worawora North	998	618	488	130	
	J2	Worawora South	1,089	739	590	149	
	K1	Apesokubi East	962	743	355	388	
	K2	Apesokubi West	1,069	871	357	514	
	L	Asato	1,107	938	707	231	
	M1	Kadjebi East	1,052	847	596	251	
	M2	Kadjebi West	1,613	1,269	878	391	
	N	Menuku	815	660	179	479	2
	O1	Tapa Amanya	542	462	445	17	
	O2	Tapa Abotoase	515	354	256	98	
	P	Tapa Breniase	360	302	258	44	
	Q	Otisu	341	255	237	18	
	R1	Apaso West	387	280	268	12	
	R2	Apaso East	348	223	197	26	
	S	Pampawie	396	304	230	74	
		Total	20,327		8,299	6,837	

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total votes	Union Separation	Rejected votes
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AKAN-KRACHI DISTRICT (continued)

Krachi	A1	Kot -Krachi East	764	616	484	132	
	A2	Krachikrom	395	321	236	85	
	B1	Kadentwen	306	265	264	1	
	B2	Tariaso	406	324	321	3	
	C1	a Nkatekwan) b Osirimani)	614	464	436	28	
	C2	Chinderi	356	161	141	20	
	C3	Buafri	186	144	112	32	
	D	Bejamsu	531	373	346	27	
	E1	Akaniam	277	188	178	10	
	E2	Grube	243	186	182	4	
	F1	Buraie	546	318	307	11	
	F2	Panda	898	517	336	181	
	F3	a Zongo Macheri) b Basare Kwame)	709	384	272	112	
	G	Akrosu	461	345	279	66	
	H1	Atafie	491	401	398	3	
	H2	Banka	200	170	168	2	
	I1	Chantai	548	462	455	7	
	I2	Dokoman	144	110	108	2	
	I3	a Dentemansu) b Amanfrom)	360	271	265	6	
	I4	Kpetchu	449	311	306	5	
	J1	Dambai	534	367	338	29	
	J2	Wonkayao	123	96	93	3	
	J3	Abujuro	224	181	178	3	
	J4	Monkra	447	375	356	19	
	K1	-	-	-	-	-	
	K2	Adjuati Odomi	510	356	343	13	
	K3	a Keri) b Kue)	607	517	488	29	
	L1	a Shiare) b Ghiringa)	367	271	266	5	
	L2	Kromasi	57	44	42	2	
	L3	Nkwanta	268	188	160	28	
	L4	a Salifukrom) b Chaisu)	431	309	240	69	
	M1	a Tutukpene) b Akyim)	502	423	303	120	
	M2	Kachebi	371	261	198	63	
	M3	Pusupu	685	550	322	215	13
	M4	Ntrubu Breniase	415	226	175	50	1
	N1	Adumadum	272	211	129	82	
	N2	Adumabin	240	177	154	23	
	N3	Dodo	595	418	133	285	
	N4	Dain	827	746	150	593	3
	N5	Dapa	545	405	179	226	
	O1	Obanda	248	210	22	181	7
	O2	Mpeyo	349	227	141	86	
Total			17,501	10,004	2,861		
Total for Akan-Krachi District			37,828	18,303	9,698		

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union votes	Separation	Rejected votes
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AKAN-KRACHI DISTRICT (continued)

Total for Southern Section of Togoland
under British administration 115,797 98,899 43,976 54,785

NANUMBA-GONJA DISTRICT

Alfai	A	Baiai	521	433	321	112	
	B1	Bladjai North	272	237	52	185	
	B2	Bladjai South	286	246	80	166	
	C1	Bunya East	276	219	183	36	
	C2	Bunya West	356	294	269	25	
	D	Djadigbe	500	419	397	22	
	E	Dodope-Katiejeli	356	272	116	156	
	F	Kabonwele	340	285	2	283	
	G1	a Katiejeli North)	611	470	84	386	
		b Katiejeli (Mome))					
	G2	Katiejeli South	277	174	62	112	
	H	a Kitare)	663	509	246	263	
		b Wasawasa)					
		c Bulao)					
	I1	Kpandai North-east	374	272	108	164	
	I2	Kpandai South-east	308	224	115	129	
	I3	Kpandai West	502	410	292	118	
	J	Longto	406	343	225	118	
	K	a Nankanchi-Munyiba)	427	330	21	309	
		b Leprosarium)					
	L	Tingelento	198	144	144	0	
	Total		6,673		2,717	2,584	
Kpembe	F	a Bankamba)	727	594	449	145	
		b Kojobonipe)					
		c Nangjuro)					
		d Ekumdipe)					
		e Wiaye)					
Total			727		449	145	
Bimbilla	A	Bimbilla North	424	353	325	28	
	B	Bimbilla South	561	398	276	122	
	C	a Kajiso)	938	673	609	62	2
		b Nakpayili)					
	D	Nabayile	312	227	198	28	1
	E	a Nasamba)	498	377	167	210	
		b Jakpafili)					
	F	a Kpabi)	616	515	488	27	
		b Pusuga)					
Total			3,349		2,063	477	

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union	Separation	Rejected votes
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NANUMBA-GONJA DISTRICT (continued)

Dakpam	A	Chamba	257	212	112	100
	B	Dakpam	314	298	294	4
	C	Sakpe	448	371	146	225
	D	a Lungni South)	858	563	408	155
	E	b Lungni North)				
	F	Tali	331	295	262	33
		a Gbumbaliga)	625	517	378	139
		b Gimen				
Total			2,833	1,600	656	
Juo	A	Kukuo	712	634	596	38
	B	Gambuga	235	185	176	9
	C	Chichagi	553	470	400	70
	D	Wulesi East	749	386	339	47
	E	Wulesi West	593	431	348	83
	F	Majiyili	373	240	236	4
	G	Nyankpani	163	108	64	44
	H	Chifilini	540	380	377	3
Total			3,918	2,536	298	
Nakpa	A	Nakpa	273	252	245	7
	B	a Kakpandi)	258	251	244	7
		b Bincheratanga)				
	C	Juonayili	352	266	259	7
	D	a Laanja (Tongo))	415	362	337	25
		b Lepusi)				
		c Makayili)				
	E	Laanja	365	287	280	7
	F	a Bakpaba)	351	317	314	3
		b Lepusi (Guliyansi))				
Total			2,014	1,679	56	
Total for Nanumba-Gonja District			19,514	11,004	4,216	

SOUTH DAGCMBA DISTRICT

Kworli	A	Nakpali (Fon)	113	110	4	104	2
	B	Nakpali (Nayili)	163	149	20	129	
	C	Worribogo	453	416	20	394	2
	D	Tindan	259	203	78	125	
	E	Larabanga	106	104	6	98	
	F	Kukuo	463	299	42	254	3
Total			1,557	170	1,104		
Mion	A	a Sambu)	1,432	1,058	1,050	8	
		b Kulupene)					
Total			1,432	1,050	8		

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union votes	Separation	Rejected votes
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SOUTH DAGOMBA DISTRICT (continued)

Yelzori	A	Zabzugu North	243	217	203	14	
	B	Zabzugu South	588	524	515	9	
	C	a Shieni)					
		b Nakpali (Gbongbongoi))	933	668	653	11	4
		c Zabzugu (Takorayili))					
	D	a Nyamkpala)	521	453	427	26	
		b Sabari)					
	E	Kpaansa	276	253	248	3	2
	F	a Nakpali)					
		b Zabzugu (Kukpaliga))	1,099	949	923	24	2
		c Kuyungli)					
		Total	3,660		2,969	87	
Yendi	A	a Yendi Nayilifon)	1,751	1,349	1,256	57	36
		b Yendi Kuga)					
	B1	a Yendi Balogu)					
		b Yendi Zohi)	2,440	1,910	1,806	93	11
		c Yendi Gagbini)					
	B2	Yendi Kum	776	651	618	27	6
	C	Domon	661	480	362	111	7
	D	a Kuntuli)	772	508	63	445	
		b Sambouli)					
	E	a Kunkon)	469	378	343	35	
		b Kunkonzoli)					
	F	Gbungbaliga	728	583	534	48	1
	G	Adibo	722	579	568	10	1
	H	Malzeri	640	499	471	26	2
	I	Sekpiegu	446	298	282	16	
	J	a Pion)	720	432	346	86	
		b Tuvua)					
	K	Gnani	1,009	713	696	13	4
		Total	11,134		7,345	967	
Total South Dagomba District			17,783		11,534	2,166	

NORTH DAGOMBA DISTRICT

Chereponi	A	a Tombum)					
		b Nansoni)					
		c Chereponi)	2,394	1,995	1,393	541	61
		d Masawase)					
	B	a Wanjoga)					
		b Wanjoga (Kpani))	895	590	398	190	2
		c Bulla-Malimali)					
	C	Wenchiki	528	350	163	186	1
	D	Bumburika	357	303	276	27	

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union votes	Separation	Rejected votes
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NORTH DAGOMBA DISTRICT (continued)

Chereponi (cont.)	E	a Tambom)	1,239	1,033	628	402	3
		b Tojenda)					
	F	a Garimkuka)					
		b Adare)	642	485	292	183	10
		c Kokori)					
		Total	6,055		3,150	1,529	
Gushiegu	A	Katani	799	704	638	64	2
	B	a Gbogu)					
		b Nawuhugu)	1,758	1,599	1,440	156	3
		c Namongbani)					
		d Nabule)					
	C	Gushiegu	1,236	877	852	24	1
	D	a Kpugi)	746	635	569	63	3
		b Namuni)					
	E	Zantili	610	522	316	206	
	F	Bogu	522	454	87	0	367
		Total	5,671		3,902	513	
Sunson	A	Sunson	359	275	271	4	
	B	a Gbinjag)	1,099	764	108	594	62
		b Bakundipa)					
	C	Zagbeli	268	210	134	74	2
	D	Saboba	601	411	260	151	
	E	Sanguli	578	453	431	22	
	F	Nambiri	500	424	415	9	
		Total	3,405		1,619	854	
Total North Dagomba District			15,131	8,671	2,896		

SOUTH MAMPRUSI DISTRICT

Bunkpurugu	A1	Bimbago	603	475	275	185	15
	A2	Binde	443	403	336	63	4
	B1	Bunkpurugu	1,179	970	68	888	14
	B2	Nyapomona	657	599	403	196	
	C1	Nakpanduri	597	538	246	236	56
	C2	Kambatiak	372	325	265	57	3
Total			3,851		1,593	1,625	
Nalerigu	D	a Nyankasia) b Gbintiri) c Tuna)	917	782	515	217	50
	Total		917		515	217	

Local Council	Ward	Polling Stations	Voters Registered	Total Union votes	Separation	Rejected votes
SOUTH MAMPRUSI DISTRICT (continued)						
Yunyco	A	Tambokurugu	235	224	215	4
	B	Gbangkurugu- Bunbuna	1,169	963	134	89
	C1	Yunyoo	1,015	835	492	36
	C2	Nanmong	737	633	490	2
	Total		3,156		1,331	1,193
Total South Mamprusi District			7,924	3,439	3,035	
KUSASI DISTRICT						
Agolle	D1	Pusiga	1,770	1,452	1,394	3
	D2	Widana	3,004	2,470	2,374	30
	Total		4,774		3,768	121
East Agolle	A1,	Woricambo	2,054	1,700	1,678	6
	A2	Kpikpirra-Natinga	1,858	1,513	1,483	6
	A3	Denugu	984	820	796	2
	B1	Bugri	1,903	1,661	1,584	4
	B2	Zabzunde	1,655	1,408	1,328	7
	B3	Wurinyanga	1,786	1,397	1,368	1
	C	Gagbiri	1,052	801	780	4
	D	Tempane	2,015	1,681	1,646	15
Total		13,307		10,663	273	
Total Kusasi District			18,081	14,431	394	
Total for Northern Section of Togoland under British administration			78,433	62,780	49,119	12,707
Total for Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration			194,230	161,679	93,095	67,492

496. Shortly after the final results of the Plebiscite were made known to the public the Togoland Congress Committee in the District of Ho issued a leaflet in which paragraphs 109 and 110 of the Special Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission are quoted in connexion with the possibility that the results of the Plebiscite be assessed considering the Territory in two halves.

497. The Togoland CPP Secretariat at Ho thereupon published a leaflet in which paragraph 2 of Resolution 944(X) is quoted underlining a part of it ("...a plebiscite in respect of the Trust Territory in order to ascertain the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants...")

498. It seems needless to say that my statement to the General Assembly of 15 December (see paragraph 16) at a moment when I was bound to make clear which my position had been in the debate and what was my understanding of the manner in which the Plebiscite could be conducted in the light of an amendment that had failed, does not come in the way of any party that may wish to take this matter up again at a coming session of the General Assembly. I have referred to this point in paragraph 189.

499. It has been made entirely clear that it is the General Assembly who, in the terms of paragraph 5 of Resolution 944(X), has the authority to take a decision on the results of the Plebiscite.

F. The Special Court

500. On 15 May Mr. S.G. Antor, Secretary General of the Togoland Congress, called me on the telephone from Hohoe to inquire which was the process to be followed to lodge petitions to the Special Court. Mr. Antor said to me that he was considering the possibility of submitting petitions and had particularly in mind the meeting at the Ya-Na's home in Yendi to which reference is made in paragraph 246 of this Report, and the presence of the Government Agent in it. He also referred to the arrest of Mr. Soli Freko, a representative of the Togoland Congress in the Alfai Local Council. I communicated to Mr. Antor the information I had on these two points and cautioned him in connexion with the matter of petitions that might be considered frivolous. I made it clear, naturally, that this recourse was open to citizens on their own responsibility and suggested that he get in contact with the Administrator. It will be seen in Regulation 3 (2) of the Togoland Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations 1956 (see Annexes I-H) that a term of fourteen days as from the date of the Plebiscite was set for the lodging of petitions. This term was to expire at 4 p.m. on 23 May. On 23 May, at 3.55 p.m., the Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress came to the Office of the Administrator at Ho and precisely as the time limit was expiring lodged nine petitions.

501. One of the petitions, referring to developments in Ward G-1 (Katiejeli North) in the Alfai Local Council, Nanumba-Gonja District, alleged that:

"On the day of the voting Soli Freko, Regional Secretary of the Party supporting separation, was arrested by the police and locked up from about 9 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. No charge was preferred against him and was released only when the United Nations Observer was made aware of the situation and he went to inquire about the arrest. His arrest intimidated all his followers in that area. The acts complained of was undue influence within the meaning of Regulation 39 (IN 74 of 1956)."

It should be said here that the United Nations Observer in the area did not intervene in this case at all. He knew of the arrest and release of Mr. Freko and reported to me on this as a minor incident on which full information was not available on 10 May. The prayer in this petition, as in all of the other eight

that were lodged by the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress, was to the effect that the voting in the area be declared null and void. Concerning this first petition it will be noted in paragraph 495 that the vote in Katiejeli - as well as in Bładjai, where Mr. Freko was actually arrested - was heavily in favour of separation.

502. Two of the petitions, identical in text but referring one to Ward D-1 of the Agolle Local Council and Ward A-1/B-3 of the East Agolle Local Council in the Kusasi District, and the other to Ward D-2 of the Agolle Local Council and again to Ward A-1/B-3 of the East Agolle Local Council, were based on the charge

"that the Returning Officer-in-Charge of the District refused to admit the polling agents of the groups voting for separation to the polling booths, thus exposing the interests of these groups to any manner of abuse - contrary to Regulation 30 (LN 74 of 1956)".

I am informed by the Administrator that no application was made to accredit polling agents for the second alternative in that area.

503. All of the remaining six petitions alleged that

"...at Chereponi, the Chereponi-Fame on 26 April 1956 arrested five Togoland Congress Propaganda Secretaries and detained them for a whole day; the persons so arrested are Ali Chochonko of Chereponi and four others. Three of them were beaten, and these acts were committed with intent to intimidate the supporters of Separation, and was undue influence within the meaning of Regulation 30 (LN 74 of 1956)",

a matter to which reference is made in paragraph 206 of this Report. In all of these six petitions the following charge was made:

"That at the Polling Station at Wonjaga the Presiding Officer openly told the voters, during the voting, to vote for the 'White Hand', and deliberately misinterpreted the alternative of Separation to mean joining the French Union. This act was committed on the polling day, 9 May 1956. It was done with intent to influence the result of the voting in the plebiscite, and was an illegal practice, within the meaning of Regulation 30 (LN 74 of 1956)".

Another element common to the six last petitions was the following:

"That at Ward A - Chereponi, on the polling day, all rejectable ballot papers were collected by the Presiding Officer and pushed into the ballot box labelled 'Union with an Independent Gold Coast', being an illegal practice, within the meaning of Regulation 43 (LN 74 of 1956)",

but in this last paragraph each one of the petitions referred to a different ward, A, B, C, D, E and F.

504. The Administering Authority had appointed Mr. Justice Cecil Geraint Ames (for sixteen years Judge of the Supreme Court of Nigeria) as Judge of the Special Court that is provided for in Section 8 of the Order in Council. On being notified that petitions had been lodged the Judge left London and arrived in Accra on 31 May. On 1 June he contacted the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress by telephone, asked him to appoint his counsel and asked if he would be ready to have his petitions heard on 11 June. The Secretary General of the Togoland Congress replied that he could not give an answer then but would consult with the Executive Committee of his party. On 2 June the Judge decided that the petitions would be heard in Yendi on 12 June and on such other subsequent days as might be necessary. At the hearing on 12 June the petitioner requested permission, which was granted by the Judge, to withdraw the three petitions to which paragraphs 501 and 502 refer. On 13 June the petitioner withdrew the six petitions to which reference is made in paragraph 503.

505. We had been warned by the Attorney General at the meeting with the Acting Governor on 21 February (see paragraph 313) that no effective measure could be taken legally to discourage frivolous or fraudulent petitions as recommended by the Visiting Mission in paragraph 207 of its Special Report and that it would be necessary to depend to a great extent on the good faith of parties and citizens. Regulation 16 of the Voting Petitions Regulations and the assessment of costs was all that could be done to meet this recommendation. It is now for the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly to judge the action to which I refer in the preceding paragraphs, which has had no other sanction than the assessment of costs. Here I must say only that, in the circumstances that I could appraise at the time the petitions were lodged and in the light of paragraph 208 of the Visiting Mission's Report, it did not seem advisable to await personally the outcome of this matter in the Territory when there was urgent work to be done in order to submit this Report to the Trusteeship Council in due course. The United Nations Observer for East Africa covered the last stage of our work in Accra and Yendi with efficiency and distinction.

CHAPTER VIII. COMPLAINTS

A. Introduction

506. The heavy volume of complaints received in connexion with the conduct of the Plebiscite is not appended as an ANNEX to this Report because that is not the way in which the complaints were treated during the operation.

507. It is of course realized that the study of this matter will seem tedious and unattractive to many readers, and it would be understandable if some persons, out of weariness, should feel inclined to leave Chapter VIII aside and continue with the rest of the Report.

508. But such feelings have not been allowed to prevail in our intervention and one of the outstanding tasks in the operation has been to follow up every one of these complaints in minute detail, to see if there was substance in them and, if that were the case, to follow the action that was taken on them. Regardless of the impression that this volume of representations might cause, it is an integral part of the operation, connected with its most important phases. A true element of the work is given here which will permit readers to appreciate the attitude taken in the Plebiscite by every one concerned with it.

509. It was promised to one of the parties that have very directly contributed to the volume and essence of this Chapter that every one of its complaints would be published. But furthermore, many of the representations were forwarded directly to New York and, in accordance with existing rules of procedure, they were immediately published as communications, whereas the action taken on these and every other complaint is not known to members of the Organization. It seems fair that this phase of the Plebiscite should be recorded in its entirety. The Report, especially in Chapter VII, has endeavoured to summarize the matters dealt on in these representations, but readers should be in a position to consult the authentic texts if they desire to do so.

510. To aid in the understanding of the representations published in this Chapter a work of cross-reference has been made that will enable readers to establish the connexion between a complaint and the action taken on it. On the right-hand margin of each representation the reader is referred to the corresponding document, for instance "see UKPA/34", "see TC/37", "see CPP/7", "see paragraph 162".

511. Documents from the Togoland Congress in this Chapter are distinguished with the letters TC and are numbered progressively, for instance TC/25, TC/26...TC/47.

512. Documents from the Convention Peoples' Party are identified with the letters CPP and the corresponding number, CPP/4, CPP/6.

513. Miscellaneous complaints take the letters Misc., for instance Misc./6, Misc./9.

514. Letters from the United Kingdom Plebiscite Administrator take the letters UKPA, for instance UKPA/34, UKPA/47.

515. If a complaint deals on a subject that is covered in the Report the reader is asked to see the corresponding paragraph. Wherever reference is made to a numbered paragraph one in this Report is meant.

B. Complaints submitted by the Togoland Congress

TC/1

TOGOLAND CONGRESS - BUEN REGION

Ref. No. BR/TC/018

Mr. P.J. Blackwood I.S.D.
Assistant Registration Officer,
c/o Government Agent - Jasikan

National Headquarters
P.O. Box 15
Borada - Buen State
Togoland Under U.K. Trusteeship
10 January 1956

Sir,

Re-Registration of Voters - Ward K -
Santrokofi Benua Godwin Badu - P.A. -
Registration Assistant.

I have the honour to inform you that on the 9th day of January, 1956 at about 11.30 a.m. information came to me that the Registration Assistant at Ward K. in Santrokofi has already started registering the Voters. I went to the spot at about 3.30 p.m. and having questioned him told me that the Assistant Registration Officer instructed him to start registering the people and that he, the Asst. Registration Officer would be visiting him to see him at work; but finding that he was not

forthcoming he stopped the registration. Later on he admitted to me that he was mistaken in registering the people on 9 January 1956. According to him he had already registered the following persons:

1. Daniel Yawo Hoto
2. Floda Abra Mankata
3. John Nimbo

4. Agbezuge Yawo
5. Nuagbee Akosua
6. Akpati Kwadjo

See paragraph
332 and UKPA/48
Enclosure H

Sir, the Buem Region of the Togoland Congress does not mind whoever does the registration provided that the person would do the work honestly and impartially. This registration Assistant has committed an offence against the Plebiscite Regulations and we believe he will continue to commit such errors. In the interest of peace and better administration, therefore, we require that he be changed immediately.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,

(Signed) A. Odame
Buem Regional Secretary
Togo Congress

c.c. G.A. Jasikan
U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

TC/2

TOGOLAND CONGRESS - BUEM REGION

National Headquarters,
P.O. Box 15,
Borada - Buem State,
Togoland Under U.K. Trusteeship

Ref. BR/TC/05

11 January 1956

The Clerk of Council,
Buem Local Council,
Borada - Buem State.

Sir,

I am writing to you in my capacity as a Councillor and the accredited representative of the Togoland Congress in Buem Krachi constituencies both locally and at the United Nations in the United States of America.

That at about 10.30 a.m. this morning I was at the registration centre for Ward "A" when one Mr. Nsor Kwasi came in to register for the forthcoming Togoland Plebiscite. In proving his term of residence he produced two separate basic rate receipts one Official and the other Non-Official alleged to have been issued by Mr. C.A. Yeboah, the registration Assistant for Ward "B" who is at the same time an employee of the Buem Local Council. In view of the national importance implied in the matter I require that Mr. C.K. Yeboah be approached to explain why he had to issue the un-Official Receipt for Basic Rate supposed to have been collected for the financial year 1954-1955.

When Mr. Yeboah was approached he was reported to have cunningly asked for the return of the un-Official Receipt which he tore into pieces and handed back the £1/= basic rate which would appear to have been fraudulently collected from Mr. Nsor. He was reported

to have destroyed the un-Official receipt in the presence of one Elias Odzumoah Ain-soh, the Treasurer and the complainant. The attention of the Clerk of Council was drawn to the matter at the time of the incident.

In view of the foregoing I strongly recommend that Mr. Yeboah be suspended pending investigation into the matter since his conduct and behaviour would appear to highly prejudice the cause of the Plebiscite registration.

See
UKPA/2
Paragraph 4

Please expedite and report immediately.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A. Odame
Councillor, B.L.C. and Buem Krachi
representative Unations.

- cc. 1. Government Agent - Jasikan
2. The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner-Ho.
3. The A.S.P. - Hohoe.
4. The National Secretariat, Hohoe.
5. The File

- - - - -

TC/3

THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS

PLEBISCITE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD AT LOGBA ALAKPETI

12 JANUARY 1956

Chairman: Mr. S.G. ANTOR

Regional Committees:

Regional Committees to meet in the regions during the plebiscite period: Ho, Kpandu, Buem and Akan/Krachi.

Request for Interview:

The Committee decided to send a telegram and a letter to the UN Plebiscite Commissioner care the Regional Officer Ho and care the Ministry of External Affairs Accra for an interview with the representatives of the Togoland Congress to discuss detailed arrangements with him.

Draft Telegram:

"Unations Plebiscite Commissioner care Regional Officer
Ho/the Ministry of External Affairs Accra:
Togoland Congress and allied organizations note
paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of Unations resolution concerning
plebiscite arrangements also relation between Administering
Power and Plebiscite Commissioner stop Further note existing
plebiscite regulations published and operating before arrival,
Unations Plebiscite Commissioner Accra stop Urgently require
immediate interview, Unations Plebiscite Commissioner Ho not
later than Wednesday 18th January, 1956 at 10 a.m. stop
Expecting early reply.
Secretary General Togoland Congress Hohoe"

See paragraphs
97-107 and
199

Draft Letter:

Sir,

Request for Interview

Please note the copy of a telegram sent to you:

"Unations Plebiscite Commissioner care Regional Officer
Ho/the Ministry External Affairs Accra.

Togoland Congress and allied organizations note
paragraphs two, three and four of Unations Resolution
concerning plebiscite arrangements, also relation, between
Administering Power and plebiscite Commissioner published
and operating before arrival Unations Commissioner Accra stop
Urgently require immediate interview Unations Plebiscite
Commissioner Ho act not later than Wednesday 18th January, 1956
at 10 a.m. stop Expecting early reply. Secretary General
Togoland Congress Hohoe"

Points for Discussion:

1. The appointments of asst. registration officers by the Government Agents about whom serious complaints had already been made to the Visiting Mission and the General Assembly of the United Nations and of whom it had been said would not be allowed to interfere with the arrangements and conduct of the plebiscite.

See paragraphs
324-341

2. The appointments of C.P.P. Councillors, C.P.P. Council staffs and C.P.P. party officials by these Government Agents as asst. Registration officers all over the Territory.

Examples:

(a) Jasikan - George Adjavor, CPP Executive member, asst. Registration Officer.

(b) Leklobi Duga: Thompson Klu, CPP Executive member - Asst. Registration officer.

(c) Amedjofe: Jonathan Akotia, CPP Executive member - Asst. Reg. Officer. Ex-convict for dishonesty, out of jail less than five years. These facts revealed to the Govt. Agent, Ho, who insisted upon his appointment as asst. Registration officer.

(d) Bowiri Amanfro - Nelson Kuna, CPP local secretary. - Asst. Registration officer.

(e) Bowiri Anyinase - F.K. Akufo, CPP local secretary. Criminal convict. Out of jail just last year. Asst. Registration officer.

(f) Kpandu Ward "B" - Mr. Lawson, CPP executive member - Asst. Registration officer.

(g) Akpafu Todji - Mr. Kwasi Nyade - CPP local secretary - Asst. Registration officer.

(h) Ho - B.G. Kwasi - CPP Executive member - Asst. Registration officer.

- (i) Avatime Gbadzeme: G.Y. Adzanku - CPP Executive member - Asst. Registration Officer.
- (j) Borada Buem - Mr. Charles Yeboa - CPP Executive member - Asst. Registration Officer.
- (k) Kpandu Tsakpo: T.K. Asamany - CPP Executive member and clerk of a CPP local council. He makes every effort to impede Togoland Congress members in the registration from 10th-13th January. 130 Togoland Congress members have been after Form B, only 38 could succeed in registering their names, whilst the number of persons registered during the period exceeded 200.
- (l) Alavanyo Kpeme: Mr. Dsodzononyo, founder of Kpeme Branch of the CPP - places obstacles on the way of Togoland Congress members based on Tax Receipts.
- (m) Alavanyo Dome: Peter Afun, CPP Executive member - Asst. Registration Officer.
- (n) Gbefi Hoeme: Obri CPP Executive member, combined with the CPP Chief of Gbefi Hoeme to obstruct registrations with Tax receipts tactics.
- (o) Aveme Danyigbe: Agbaaku, CPP Executive member, Asst. Registration Officer. Registered 37 persons from 9th to 10th January. He worked from 9th to 10th and said forms were exhausted but did not come for forms whilst people were waiting to receive forms.

Appointment of Gold Coast natives who are CPP members as Asst. Registration officers by the Government Agents

Examples (a) VE HOME: Ward "E", Mr. G. PREBBIE - CPP from Awudone Tsito in the Gold Coast, Asst. Registration officer.

See paragraph 334

(b) POASE CEMENT: Mr. Samuel Motte - CPP from Awudome Gold Coast, Asst. Registration officer.

See paragraph 339

(c) POASE CEMENT: Mr. ASARE CPP Executive member, from Peki in the Gold Coast, Asst. Registration officer.

(d) LCGBA ALAKPETI: Mr. C.K. DIABOR, CPP Executive member, native of British Kpeve Gold Coast, Asst. Registration officer.

(e) HOHOE: Mr. R.E. DEMANYA from Anyako in Keta district Gold Coast, Asst. Registration officer.

(f) AVATIME FUME: Mr. K.K.A. ZATEY, CPP Executive member from Dzelukofe in Keta district Gold Coast.

(g) HOHOE: Mr. Francis ADJASU - Anyako in the Keta District, Gold Coast, Asst. Registration officer.

Qualification of Voters:

1. "Note" on Form B (Regulations 4 and 5) makes production of rate receipts applicable to everybody not only to doubtful cases as recommended in the Unations Visiting Mission Report 1955 chapter 4 and supported by:

See paragraphs
199 and
378-398

(a) Qualifications 1 - 5 on the same form.

(b) Leaflets in English and the vernaculars informing the people concerned.

2. Resultant confusion:

(a) Some Registration Assistants ask for no rate receipts in respect of some people e.g. Poase Cement.

(b) Some ask for these in case of some people and do not in case of others.

(c) Others insist rigidly on production of two rate receipts (1954/55 and 1955/56)

(d) Formation of unofficial "committees" to assist Registration Assistants in their work by CPP elements e.g. Ho Ashoe recommended by S.W. Kuma, leader of the Integration.

(e) People exempted from payment of rates are disqualified.

3. Togolanders are disqualified simply because they have not resided in the Territory for the past twelve months either because of employment and consequent transfers or because of business requirements whereas non-Togolanders are enfranchised simply because of residence.

See paragraphs
199 and
376-377

We recommend that all Togolanders temporarily resident outside the Territory be allowed to register and vote in their home towns. Also that local committees officially appointed and fairly representative of the two opposing sides on the Togoland question decide validity of claims of these Togolanders and of all people registering.

Further that rate receipts of 1954-55 be used only in doubtful cases to verify residence in the Territory for the past twelve months in the case of all non-Togolanders and in other doubtful cases in case of any.

We recommend also that only Togolanders should vote in the plebiscite to decide the Togoland future and not strangers whose interests are outside Togoland and who are merely resident in Togoland as civil servants, teachers, commercial clerks, farmers, etc. For a person whose home is in the Gold Coast (as is the case with almost all of them) they have only one interest that is integration of Togoland into the Gold Coast.

Noting that the success or failure of the plebiscite depends on the registration of voters we recommend that the registration period be extended to 31st March, 1956.

See paragraphs
199 and 854,
422-424

This is all the more necessary because the information services vans are meant to reach some towns and villages just about the time registration closes under present arrangements.

DELEGATION TO THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER

1. Hon. F.R. Ametowobla, M.L.A.
2. Hon. Kodjo Ayeke, M.L.A.
3. Hon. S.G. Antor, M.L.A.
4. Mr. Edward Datsa
5. Mr. Tse, A.K.
6. The National Chairman, Togoland Congress
7. Togbui Howusu and (Togbui Adiko as interpreter)

REPORT ON IRREGULARITIES

MEETING		PLEBISCITE		
DATE	PLACE	NAME	NATIVE	REMARK
11/1/56	Leklebi Duga	Thomas Klu Asst.R. Officer	Laklebi (Br. Togo)	Would not register anybody unless he or she shows his/her tax receipts for 1954/55 and 55/56.
				See paragraphs 378-398
12/1/56	Biakpa Avatime Ward "C"	Zate Gakpovi A.R.O.	Anlo (Gold Coast)	Would not register anybody unless he or she shows his/her tax receipts for 1954/55 and 1955/56. (reported by Sylvanus Agbesi)
12/1/56	Hohoe Ward "D"	Rodga A.R.O.	Anlo (Gold Coast)	"
13/1/56	Alavanyo Agoxoe Ward "J"	Fridoli gbetse A.R.O.	Asi (Alavanyo Kpeme Br. Togo)	"
11/1/56	Gbefi Tonu	John Pool A.R.O.	British	Requested Yaotse Agbeti of Gbefi to go back to Krachi where he paid his levy previously while he was resident though he is now back home where he has his house, other property and family.

DATE	PLACE	NAME	NATIVE	REMARK
13/1/56	Hohoe Ward "C"	E.K.Atigla A.R.O.	Gbi Kpeme Br.Togo	Would not register anybody unless he or she shows his/her levy receipt for 54/55 and 55/56. Reported by M.K.Adom.
14/1/56	New Ayoma	T.Y.Aseidu A.R.O.		Destroyed applicant E. Atuwo's application form which was filled in because he did not bring along his levy receipts for 54/55 and 55/56 with it.
14/1/56	Gblede Wote and Dafenu	Victor Ayomi A.R.O.	Sokode near Ho (Br.Togo)	Would not register anybody unless he or she produces 54/55 and 55/56 receipts.
14/1/56	Worawora			
14/1/56	Kute		Ayoma (Br. Togo)	
17/1/56	Hohoe			Educational Units have been instructed to carry out wholesale transfer of teachers outside Br. Togoland for new teachers to be brought in - thus disfranchising the teachers.

See UKPA/29
Enclosure B

See paragraph
331

TC/4

No. 566

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS, GOLD COAST

Circuit No.	Time Handed	Office of origin and	Words
38	in	Service Instructions	74
	10:15	Hohoe	

Received	TO: UNATIONS PLEBISCITE CCMMISSIONER
at 3:44	CARE MINISTRY EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
Ho	ACCRA

TOGOLAND CONGRESS AND ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS NOTE
PARAGRAPHS TWO THREE AND FOUR UNATIONS RESOLUTION
CONCERNING PLEBISCITE ARRANGEMENTS ALSO RELATION
BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION POWER AND PLEBISCITE
COMMISSIONER STOP FURTHER NOTE EXISTING PLEBISCITE
REGULATIONS PUBLISHED AND OPERATING BEFORE ARRIVAL
UNATIONS CCMMISSIONER ACCRA STOP URGENTLY REQUIRE
IMMEDIATE INTERVIEW UNATIONS PLEBISCITE CCMMISSIONER
HO NOT LATER THAN WEDNESDAY 18TH JANUARY 1956 AT
10 AM STOP EXPECTING EARLY REPLY

See
paragraphs
97-107

SECRETARY GENERAL

TOGOLAND CONGRESS HOHOE

TC/5

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

Buem Region

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
P.O. BOX 15,
BORADA - BUEM STATE,
Togoland Under U.K.
Trusteeship

January 16th 1956

The Government Agent,
Government Agent's Office,
Jasikan - Buem State

Sir,

Re-Registration of Voters - Borada Ward 'B'

I am directed to bring the following to your information and to request that immediate action be taken in the interest of peace and better administration with particular reference to this question of Plebiscite which is going to determine the political destiny of our own land - Togoland.

See UKPA/2,
paragraphs
1-3

That the Buem Region of the Togoland Congress has detailed Mr. Isaac A.K. Boampong to watch the interest of Togolandese coming to register as voters in Borade Ward 'B'. To our great surprise the Registration Assistant for Ward 'B' in Borada did not do his work this morning and the following persons whose names and annual rate Receipts Nos appear below went to register and could not do so and had to return to their homes and villages without registration:

1. Dina Ayim	1954-55	C225628	1955-56	A539413
2. E.Y. Ayim	1954-55	A538026	1955-56	A538070
3. Okomfuo Akosua	1954-55	A539403	1955-56	C221342
4. P. Kwami	1954-55	A539453	1955-56	C225530
5. Akpandja Kofi	1954-55	A535844	1955-56	Missing
6. T. Akpandja	1954-55	C538095	1955-56	C217172
7. Adjoa Yaa	1954-55	A535859	1955-56	C221301
8. J.A. Tukpe	1954-55	C217070	1955-56	C227468

We regret to inform you that even the Assistant Registration Officer for Ward "B" called up at several times and could not get him. This irregularity was reported to him on the spot.

We wonder why up till now the last paragraph of our letter No. BR/TC/05 dated 11th January 1956 has not been complied with. If justice is to be maintained in this registration then we find no reason for your connivance at this important national issue.

See
UKPA/2,
paragraph 4

Yours faithfully.

(signed) A. Odame
Regional Secretary
T.C. Borada

- c.c. 1. Mr. Ward
Asst. Reg. Officer - Jasikan
2. The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho
3. The A.S.P. - Hohoe
4. The File

TC/6

S.G. ANTOR
General Secretary
Togoland Congress
Hohoe

A.N.Y. Agbatto
T.C. Secretary
P.O. Box 15
Tafi Bador
Via Logba Alakpeti
16 January 1956

Sir,

I have the honour to put this report before you. That yesterday morning 8 am. the Senior Agriculture Officer at Kpeve, who said he is the registration officer came to us and said that those who registered their names with only one Tax receipt 1955/56 and not both 1954/55 and 55/56 are not qualified to register their names as voters.

See
UKPA/1

He therefore cancelled 88 forms which are filled and got their receipts from the people who registered their names. Unless we bring our receipts 1954/55 and 55/56 before registered our names.

We reported to him that our 1954/55 receipt are with the police at Hohoe, but he did not accept it.

He explained and asked much but he refused. I am attaching one of the cancelled forms with this letter.

We need your help as possible to register our names before the time end.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(signed) A.N.Y. Agbatto

(Note: The enclosure referred to above is in the Files of the Secretariat)

TC/7

TOGOLAND CONGRESS - BUEM REGION

Ref. BR/TC/05

National Headquarters
P.O. Box 15
Borada-Buem State
Togoland Under U.K.
Trusteeship

17th January 1956

The Clerk of Council,
Buem Local Council,
Borada - Buem State

Sir,

Rumour circulating in Borada town indicates that attempt is being made to buy over the case reported to you in my letter No.BR/TC/05 dated 11th January 1956 with a camouflage of transferring it to the Finance and Staff Committee of the Buem Local Council.

See
UKPA/2,
paragraph 4

In view of the serious misdemeanour involved I contend that the case is outside the jurisdiction of the Finance and Staff Committee of the Buem Local Council.

I therefore maintain that unless the Government Agent and his staff have some peculiar interest, I do not see the reason why the matter should not be left in the hands of the Central Government Police.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours faithfully

(signed) A. Odame
Buem Regional Secretary,
Togo Congress, Borada.

- c.c. 1. Government Agent - Jasikan
2. The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.
3. The A.S.P. - Hohoe
4. The File.

TC/8

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

THE SUMMARY OF THE REPORTS SO FAR RECEIVED ON
THE EFFECTS OF THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE
REGISTRATION FOR THE PLEBISCITE

Undue influence by the)
Government Agents on the)
Asst. Registration officers.)

1. The Government Agent Ho - Mr. McKay has outright rejected the appointments of a selection requested by himself to be made by the D/Chief of Tanyigbe on the grounds that the person selected was not a CPP member and had gone so far as to insult the Chief whom he himself had requested to make the selection for him.

See UKPA/48
enclosure A

2. Kpandu: Mr. David Heaten boldly told Mr. Michael Seniadjia that if he were a neutral person or a member of the CPP he could appoint him as an Asst. Registration officer but because he was a member of the Togoland Congress he could not appoint him to act as an Asst. Registration officer for Ve Koloenu, although he is a responsible person teaching in one of the leading schools in the area.

See
paragraphs
320-321

3. Jasikan Buem - The Government Agent Jasikan has been reported to have been travelling over the district giving counter-instruction to the Asst. Registration officers to refuse registration of persons suspected to be members of the Togoland Congress and issuing threats to the effect that anyone who would apply for registration and who could produce his tax receipt would be prosecuted. In most villages the inhabitants do not know the difference between the Government Agents and the neutral registration officers. In fact, they do not know the Government Agents in person neither do they know the Registration officers in person.

4. Ho - The asst. Registration officer revealed on the 13th January, 1956 before a large gathering including the Chief and elders that apart from the written instructions, Mr. McKay did issue certain verbal instructions to the asst. Registration officers to register only those persons who can produce levy receipts for

1954/55 and 1955/56 only and any one who would produce only one of these should not under any circumstances be registered.

This information was confirmed by the Asst. Registration Officer in the presence of the Secretary General Togoland Congress on Friday, January 13th at Kpedze Todzi at 5 p.m. in the presence of D/S/Chief of Todze and his Elders.

See
paragraphs
322-323

U.K. Expatriate
Registration
Officers

1. AT GBI WEGBE: Mr. Cox an Expatriate Registration officer tore an applicant's application form after it had been completed by the Asst. Registration officer simply because the applicant produced only one levy receipt for 1954/55 and could not produce 1955/56 receipt.

2. AT TAFI MADO: Another Expatriate Registration officer collected the entire application forms completed up to date by the Asst. Registration officer and destroyed them because the levy collectors in the area have not as yet collected 1955/56 levy in that area although all applicants supported their claims with Receipts for 1954/55 levy. Similar incidents took place at Likpe Mate and at New Ayoma in Buem district. Similar reports are still pouring in from all over the country and by persons who have been the victims of such treatment.

See UKPA/1

Northern British
Togoland (in
Dagomba and Mamprusi
areas

1. BUNKPURUGU: Two Togoland and two Gold Coasters appointed Assistant Registration officers.

2. Government Agent issued verbal instructions to the Native Authority police and staff to inform the people in the towns and villages that only those who voted in the last general elections have right to register. Any one who did not vote during the General elections should not register. Should anyone apply to register who

See
paragraphs
378-398

did not vote during 1954 general election shall be prosecuted and jailed. These threats spread all over the north and people are therefore afraid to apply for form B to have their names registered as voters during the plebiscite. The local authority police and natives of the Northern Territories Protectorate of the Gold Coast are used to conduct the registration.

KETE KRACHI
REGION

The C.P.P. local authority staff are appointed exclusively to conduct the registration. These C.P.P. Assistant Registration officers appoint time and place for registration and instruct the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages to call there at a given time and on a given date when they know themselves they would not be there. Thus people waste a whole day at the registration centre only to find in the evening that no Asst. Registration officer turns up. People who travelled several miles to the registration centres only to be disappointed find it difficult to return there the following day when they are not sure of meeting the assistant registration officer. These delay tactics are intended to frustrate the applicants hopes of becoming participants during the voting in the plebiscite.

See paragraphs
324-341

(Signed) S.G. Antor
SECRETARY-GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

TO: THE UNITED NATIONS
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
STATIONED, HO.

TC/9

The Secretary's Office,
Togoland Congress,
P.O. Box 66,
Kadjebi - Akan

23 January 1956

The Assistant Superintendent of Police,
Gold Coast Police,
Hohoe.

Sir,

"G.C. Police (Kadjebi) Versus Joseph Komla Botsoe -
Attempted to Register in two Wards - Togoland
Plebiscite Registration.

I have the honour most respectfully to submit that the
above case be suspended pending the setting up of the Togoland
Plebiscite Special Courts - (20th April 1956). The only
authorized Court(s) to handle all kinds of Togoland Plebiscite
Offences.

See
UKPA/28,
Schedule A

The Gold Coast Government's Pamphlet entitled "How to
Register for the Plebiscite in Togoland Under United Kingdom."
Refers.

I have the honour-to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant.

(signature: ill.)

Secretary

- c.c. 1. The Plebiscite Commissioner
HO.
2. The Secretary General,
Togoland Congress,
HOHOE.

TC/10

TOGOLAND CONGRESS OFFICE
c/o P.O. Box 6
New Ayoma

24 January 1956

Sir,

According to a report from Jasikan in a local paper, it is said that the registration for Togoland Plebiscite is continuing steadily in a peaceful atmosphere in various wards. But it is very heartrending to point out that the Registration Officer and his Assistant stationed at New Ayoma Ward 6 D1 in the Buem Local Council are still asking and insisting on people who are registering to show their tax receipts, despite a warning letter to them from the Plebiscite Commissioner Ho, dated 18/I/1956.

Many qualified people who are Indigenous Togoland, have been turned off for not producing two tax receipts, though the Chief Farmer and his Elders say that they know such people to be true Togoland.

As this affair is a matter affecting the whole of Togoland, we cannot sit down to see things go bad as such, and therefore to be on the safer side, we ask for an immediate change of these two officers at Ward 6 D I. We beg to bring it out that if the Plebiscite Observers and the Commissioner do not see to this, we will be compelled to put in all efforts to get a just end.

We beg to know also, if the Registration Officer here has been warned with the words of the Commissioner's letter quoted above.

We beg also to bring it out that if this situation is not remedied instantly, then nobody is to blame for the failure of the registration in the Ward.

See
UKPA/7,
UKPA/8,
UKPA/29 and
enclosure (b)

See
paragraphs
337 and 378 -
398

We look forward greatly to seeing things changed on the lines set down by the United Nations.

We beg to be,

Sir,

Your humble Togolanders

1. illegible (x his mark) Chief Farmer
2. Lekente Agoti (x his mark) Chief Linguist
3. Kodjo Emem (x his mark) Asafohene
4. Evans J.K. Agboso Asafoatse
5. M.K. Asamoa Asafoatse
6. Kodjo Kume Atuwu (x his mark) Eve Chief

Copies to: 1. Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho
2. Togoland Congress

TC/11

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

The Branch Secretary,
c/o Post Office Box 15,
Apesokubi.

25 Jan. 1956

Sir,

I have the honour to draw your attention to the following malpractices of the Registration Assistants for the Apesokubi wards in the Akan Local Council area.

1. The Registration Assistants in question bluntly refuse to register many of our people who are qualified with concrete proofs just because they happen to be unfortunately unable to produce, at a time, their tax receipts.
2. They supply their favourites with a large number of the Application Form "B" but restrict them to people who are suspected to be in favour of our party.
3. They have totally abandoned the itinerary for their work and sometimes pass hastily through some of the villages where most of the inhabitants might have gone to their distant farms due to their not being informed before hand of the Registration assistant's coming to those villages.
4. On the whole, the two Registration assistants are partial and should be replaced by more equitable assistants to speed up the Registration impartially before 1st February, 1956.

See
UKPA/29,
enclosure C

The Restoration of fair play in the registration in the Apesokubi wards greatly depends on you timely intervention.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) F.S.J. Ading
Branch Secretary

The Registration Officer,
c/o the Government Agent,
Jasikan

Copies to: The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.
The Secretary General, Togoland Congress, Hohoe.

TC/12

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT,
P.O. BOX 85
HOHOE

30 January 1956

Sir,

THE IRREGULARITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR CONFUSION AND DELAY IN
THE REGISTRATION FOR TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

The attached is the report submitted to the Plebiscite Administrator and his Assistant at a meeting held at Ho in the Plebiscite Administrator's Headquarters Office on the 28th of January, 1956 at 10.00 a.m.

We note with regret that tax receipts are still being used as a qualification for Registration in the plebiscite with intent to eliminate Togoland Nationals from registration for Togoland Plebiscite while at the same time the C.P.P. council staff members exclusively employed by the Registration Officers continue to register any C.P.P. elements and supporters without necessarily requesting them to produce tax receipts.

The United Nations' decision based upon the promise by his Excellency the Governor to the effect that measures shall be taken to check external influence over registration and voting in the plebiscite is being consistently violated by the Gold Coast Government and the C.P.P. party without any checking.

Instances had been pointed out in this report. Further instances are still to be submitted to the Plebiscite Administrator and to yourself in due course.

See UKPA/33
and
paragraph 341
and 378-398

In view of these delay tactics and confusion continuing unchecked we strongly ask that an extension of time for at least two more weeks be granted for the period of registration in order to allow peaceful conduct and co-operation from all sides during the plebiscite.

I hope efforts will be made to permit mutual understanding between the Administrators the Commissioner and the parties concerned.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, .

Your obedient Servant,

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

(Signed) S.G. ANTOR
Secretary General

The Plebiscite Commissioner,
care Regional Officer,
Private Post Bag,
Ho.

OUR REF: NO. TC/IV/56

THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PLEBISCITE COMMITTEE
MEETING AT HOHOE, 24 JAN. 1956

The irregularities responsible for confusion and delay in the registration for Togoland plebiscite.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. S. G. ANTOR

TAX RECEIPTS

REGIONAL REPORTS:

1. Despite the circular issued and signed by the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator and dated 15 January 1956, the Registration Assistants in Akan/Krachi and Buem Districts insist on production of 1954/55 tax receipts as inevitable qualification for registration.
2. The circular dated 17 January 1956 and signed by the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator contradicts the text of his own instructions contained in the first circular dated January 10 and signed by himself.
3. These contradictory official instructions are responsible for the undue delay and confusion now being caused in the course of the registration for the Togoland plebiscite.
4. We attach herewith the texts of the first and the second instructions. (See TC/IV/56 (a) and TC/IV/56 (b)).

See
paragraphs
378 - 398

Example (a)

"The Regional Secretary,
Togoland Congress Office,
Jasikan Buem,
18 January 1956.

"The following persons have been rejected by the Registration Assistant M. VICTOR C.K. DOW of Ward "A" of Lolobi Kumasi who produced their rate receipts for registration since 10 January - Wednesday, 18 January 1956.

1. JUSTINE YAA ADAE -B/120224 of 1954-5
2. VICTORIA AGBEVIVI -B/759719 of 1955-6
3. BALEBINA AKUA -A/668421 of 1954-5
-B/761649 of 1955-6
4. MONICA ABRA -B/760700 of 1955-6
5. THERESIA AFUA -B/760698 of 1955-6
6. MALEWINE AKORSUA -B/120229 of 1954-5
-B/761720 of 1955-6
7. TENEE AKAKPO -A/959871 of 1953-4
-B/761761 of 1955-6

See
UKPA/7,
UKPA/29 and
enclosure (a)
UKPA/33

(Signed) OWUSU AFARE
AG: REGIONAL SECRETARY
T.C. JASIKAN

Witnesses:

1. LAWRENCE KPEITEY - SECRETARY-T.C.
2. ANDREAS MODZA - CHAIRMAN -T.C.
3. GEORGE OGBE KORJOSEY - T.C.

I went to him with the first witness for my verification and he did not deny of the information. I went on to ask him to give their names and he gave only one. MRS. JUSTINE YAA ADAE and asked the witness to go and ask the other six. The first witness therefore went on to go to every individual and got the proved informations."

(Signed) OWUSU-AFARE
AG: REGIONAL SECRETARY
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

ALSO: THE PLEBISCITE
SUPERVISOR
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
JASIKAN-BUEM."

EXTERNAL INFLUENCE:
DURING REGISTRATION:

The Committee finds that although the Mission stated in paragraph 129: "He (the Governor) further told the Mission that he contemplated certain control measures

which would be necessary at the time of registration and at the time of voting to prevent the plebiscite from being influenced by an influx of voters from neighbouring territories", the Cabinet Ministers of the Gold Coast Government are permitted to tour the trust territory during the period of registration, holding secret and informal meetings with Chiefs and peoples in the trust territory.

See
UKPA/33
paragraphs
209-233.

Example (a)

Mr. JANTUAH, the Minister of Agriculture accompanied by a number of CPP members of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly held a series of meetings in Krachi town and the neighbouring villages on the 15th of January, 1956.

(b)

Messrs. ASAFO ADJEI, Minister of Local Government and K.A. GBEDEMAH, Minister of Finance, also of the Gold Coast Government toured parts of Togoland during recent weeks holding meetings with Chiefs and peoples of Togoland while the registration was going on in the territory.

(c)

Mr. K.A. GBEDEMAH, Minister of Finance on behalf of the Gold Coast Government and the C.P.P. bought the following vehicles (Land Rovers) licences Nos. AE 2172; AE 2173; AE 2174; AE 2175; AE 2176 and AE 2177 as new propaganda Vans specifically (purchased by Cheque) intended for use during the Togoland plebiscite registration, campaigning and voting. Licences obtained for these vehicles in the name of the C.P.P. Executive in the Gold Coast.

We consider that for peaceful conduct of the Togoland plebiscite administration, these vans should be withdrawn forthwith from the Trust Territory. We further consider that only such inevitable measure will enhance peaceful co-operation from all sides.

CPP COUNCIL STAFF
AND THE GOVERNMENT
AGENTS (REGS. OFFICERS)

The Government Agents who are also Registration Officers have deliberately employed only the members of staffs of the C.P.P. dominated local Councils as Registration Assistants with specific instructions to frustrate the chances of members of Togoland Congress and Togoland nationalists to register for the Togoland plebiscite using that part of the order in Council which provides for tax receipts as a necessary proof for residence.

See
UKPA/33,
paragraphs
320-321
and 341

In the remot areas in Akan/Krachi Buem and Kpoeta, these Registration Assistants deliberately deny those who claim to be qualified for registration the forms "B" with the excuse that the forms supplied them by the Registration officers are exhausted while they reserve the forms for registering members of the C.P.P.

See UKPA/48
Enclosure D

They also misdirect claimants to the official registration centres while they hide in private houses where they instruct only the C.P.P. men hours to call in for forms for registration.

At Obanda in Aken/Krachi district there are over 400 claimants; only two have been registered for the first three weeks of the registration period. In such remote areas, the Registration Officers do not visit the registration centres due to lack of roads.

See UKPA/29
Enclosure E

These Registration Assistants are expected to be at certain sub-stations where they are supposed to register claimants, but for the first three weeks of registration they have not been able to visit such centres. At other places neither the Cinema Vans nor Registration Assitants have been able to visit the area, thus there is complete ignorance of what is taking place regarding the decision to be taken as the result of the plebiscite which is intended to decide the future of the peoples' own country.

For all these confusion and lack of information which was promised to be made available to the peoples of Togoland, we consider that extension of time to at least a fortnight is necessary.

We therefore request the Plebiscite Administrator to grant an extension of time for two more weeks for the registration period.

See paragraph 199

THE WHOLESALE
EMPLOYMENT OF LOCAL
COUNCIL STAFF ON
REGISTRATION DUTIES:

Because the Government Agents decide to employ exclusively the staff members of the C.P.P. Local Councils it has become apparent that some of the Local Councils have now been completely deprived of their normal functions. For example the Yingor Local Council in Ho West.

See
UKPA/33

THE GOVERNMENT
AGENTS AND THE
CPP MINISTERS
VILE PROPAGANDA IN
TOGOLAND DURING
THE REGISTRATION:

Some Government Agents and C.P.P. Ministers are touring Togoland misleading Chiefs and people in the Northern Section of Togoland. Mr. LEWIS, Government Agent, Yendi, is reported to have been touring the Northern areas telling Chiefs and people that there will be two ballot boxes during the voting period of the Togoland plebiscite. One of these two boxes shall be painted black while the other shall be painted white. The white box will stand for Gold Coast and British rule while the black box will stand for unification and French rule.

See
UKPA/33,
and paragraphs
209-233

We consider that such misinterpretation is outright violation of the United Nations General Assembly instructions and decision contained in the General Assembly resolution of 15th December 1955.

We therefore ask that steps be taken to check such misbehaviour.

(Signed) S.G. Antor

S.G. ANTOR
SECRETARY GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

care REGIONAL OFFICE
PRIVATE POST BAG

H O

CC. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
care REGIONAL OFFICE
PRIVATE POST BAG

HO

TC/13

TOGOLAND CONGRESS - BUEM REGION

Ref. BR/TC/018

National Headquarters
P.O. Box 15
Borada - Buem State
Togoland Under U.K. Trusteeship

30th January 1956

The Togoland Plebiscite Administrator,
c/o The Regional Officer,
Ho.

Sir,

Registration of Voters - Togoland Plebiscite
Mr. Kodjo Detso - Dzogbekofe. Buem

I have the honour to put the following before you for
your consideration and kind assistance:-

That Mr. Kodjo Detso of Dzogbekofe in Guaman Ward K,
was refused registration by the Assistant Registration
Officer in Charge on 27 January 1956 on the following grounds;

That Mr. Detso paid his Annual Rate for 1954-55 to
Guaman Local Authority bearing Receipt No. C219758 and paid
1955-56 annual rate to Dodo Amanfrom Local Authority bearing
Receipt No. C832856.

See UKPA/10

Both these annual Rates were paid in Togoland under U.K.
Trusteeship. As a matter of fact Mr. Detso, who is now about
28 years is permanently resident in Dzogbekofe since 14 years
now with his parents who have Cocoa farms in the area. Early
this year by the time he had not yet paid his levy he paid a
visit to some of his relatives in Dodo Amanfrom where he was
forced by the Local Authority to pay.

It is our considered view that payment of the Annual Rate in Dodo Amanfrom does not in any way deprive Mr. Detso from Registering as a Voter in Guaman Ward K, his permanent residential area.

Will you please advise the Assistant Registration Officer in Charge.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) A. Odame

Regional Secretary -
Togoland Congress

- c.c. 1. The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner
2. The Assistant Registration Officer
Guaman Ward K, Jasikan.

TC/14

TOGOLAND CONGRESS - BUEM REGION

Ref. No. BR/TC/018

National Headquarters
P.O. Box 15
Borada - Buem State
Togoland Under U.K. Trusteeship

2nd February, 1956

Mr. H.J. Ward,
Assistant Registration Officer,
Jasikan - Buem State.

Sir,

Registration of Voters - Borada Ward "B"

My attention has just been drawn by Mr. I.A.K. Boampong, who is holding watching brief for the Togoland Congress in Borada Ward "B" that a registration Form has been tendered in by one Isaac Kwasi Ankamah, the Buem C.P.P. propaganda Secretary, supposed to have been submitted by Hon. F.Y. Asare, M.L.A.

On examination I discovered that the form is fraudulent since it does not bear the writing and signature of Hon. F.Y. Asare, whose writing and signature I can vouch for.

See UKPA/28
Schedule A
page 2

Whilst I am taking this case further in the interest of the Plebiscite may I please ask you to lay hand on the Form in question pending investigation.

In any case you will appreciate that Hon. F.Y. Asare has to prove his residence in Borada before applying for Registration.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

(Signed) A. Cdame

Buem Regional Secretary -T.C.

- c.c. 1. The Togoland Plebiscite Administrator,
c/o Regional Officer, Ho.
2. The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner,
c/o Regional Officer, Ho.
3. The A.S.P. - Hohoe

TC/15

TOGOLAND CONGRESS - BUEM REGION

Ref. No. BR/TC/018

National Headquarters
P.O. Box 15
Borada - Buem State
Togoland Under U.K. Trusteeship

2nd February, 1956

Mr. H.J. Ward
Assistant Registration Officer,
Jasikan - Buem State

Sir,

Registration of Voters - Guaman Ward K
Mr. Ntim Hayford - Registration Assistant

I have the honour to put the following before you for your consideration and immediate action. That the registration Assistant in Ward K Guaman has gone against the Plebiscite Registration Regulation by driving away applicants whereas that power has not been vested him. Of the so many reports that have come to us we have to state that one Kwaku Mensah of Dzogbekofe, whose annual rate receipt for 1954-55 is attached herewith for your perusal, was rejected and driven away by him on the ground that his 1954-55 Annual Rate Receipt number was cut off, and that the applicant should look for another rate receipt.

See UKPA/29,
enclosure (f)
and
paragraph 338

Secondly, this registration Assistant always travelled to villages with the Guaman Local Authority Revenue collector to the result that when the applicant is not financially ready to pay the 1955-56 basic rate now then he drives the applicant away.

We consider this sort of action as being most unlawful in as much as the Plebiscite is concerned. In the interest of justice

and fairplay among the natives of Guaman and the strangers in the villages, we require that he be changed immediately or a sub-Assistant from Dzogbekofe be appointed to watch the interest of villagers.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

(Signed) A. Odame

Buem Regional Secretary - T.C.

c.c. The Togoland Plebiscite Administrator,
c/o Regional Officer, Ho.
The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner,
c/o Regional Officer, Ho.

TC/16

TOGOLAND CONGRESS - BUEM REGION

Ref. BR/TC/025

National Headquarters
P.O. Box 15
Borada - Buem State
Togoland Under U.K. Trusteeship

The A.S.P.
Gold Coast Police Force,
Hohoe - B.M. Togoland

Sir,

Registration of Voters - Togoland Plebiscite
Borada Ward "B"

It will appear that the Togoland Plebiscite Regulations are a bit ultra vires as far as the laws of the Gold Coast are concerned. But nevertheless offences arising from the Plebiscite have the chance of being tried in the Gold Coast and Togoland Courts irrespective of who becomes the Magistrate or Judge. In view of this I wish to report to you that there is a case of fraud in Borada Ward "B" where the name of the Hon. F.Y. Asare was submitted for registration.

See UKPA/28
schedule A
page 2

The incident has since been reported to the Assistant Registration Officer (copy attached). If under the circumstances your good Offices permit you to institute an enquiry into the matter I shall be grateful. If you will leave no stone unturned in the interest of Togoland National struggle to enforce law, justice and fair-play it will be greatly appreciated.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,

(Signed) A. Odame
Buem Regional Secretary -
Togoland Congress

- cc. 1. The Togoland Plebiscite Administrator,
c/o Regional Officer, Ho
2. The U.N. Commissioner,
c/o Regional Officer, Ho.
3. The Assistant Registration Officer,
Jasikan - Buem State.

TC/17

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS GOLD COAST

Circuit No.	Time handed		Words	See UKPA/48
60	in 10	Hohce	66	enclosure B
				and
Received	To TM2 PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR			parag aph 331
At 5.5.	PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER			
	CARE REGIONAL HO			

NEARLY ALL REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS ENGAGED PLEBISCITE REGISTRATION
TOGOLAND ARE TEACHERS STOP COMPLETE HALT IS NOTICED SINCE
REOPENING OF SCHOOLS JANUARY 31ST STOP ALL TEACHERS GONE BACK
TO SCHOOL NO REGISTRATION FOR TWO DAYS AT LEAST STOP IMMEDIATE
ATTENTION SHOULD BE DRAWN TO THIS SERIOUS SITUATION AND STEPS
TAKEN AT ONCE TO REPLACE DAYS LOST

SECRETARY GENERAL -
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

- - - - -

TC/18

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. Box 85,
Hohoe

3/2/56

Sir,

REPORTS ON IRREGULARITIES IN TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE -
AKAN/KRACHI DISTRICT

The attached is the report just submitted to the
Plebiscite Administrator for immediate investigation and
appropriate action.

Since the Akan/Krachi district is, in the main,
lacking motorable roads, it has always been difficult for
both the Administrator and his staff as well as the observers
to visit the centres of registration in that area. That has made
it possible for the incidence contained in this report to take
place.

See UKPA/12

I trust a proper means shall be devised to give a checking
on these things.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) A.G. Antor

Secretary General

THE U.N. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
CARE REGIONAL OFFICER
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO.

(Enclosure I. to the above letter)

I.

Sir,

REPORTS ON IRREGULARITIES IN TOGOLAND
PLEBISCITE - AKAN/KRACHI DISTRICT

See UKPA/12

The attached are a series of reports substantiated by written evidence which were reported to the officers responsible and in charge of the respective wards mentioned in the reports.

These Officers admit their inability to reach many of the wards and sub-wards under their jurisdiction. They complained of lack of roads. Thus the CPP Registration Assistants seize the opportunity to conduct foul registration in these areas.

Hon. G.R. AHIA, ESQ., MLA, CPP backbencher and a native of Peki in the Gold Coast has the audacity to arrange and preside over meetings attended by influx of Pekis from the Gold Coast. He has also been able to arrange with the CPP Local Councils in those areas to issue tax receipts for these influx of Pekis to enable them to register as voters during the Togoland Plebiscite in Akan/Krachi district.

See
paragraphs
399-410

We trust immediate steps shall be taken to investigate into this dangerous situation and appropriate measures taken to halt further developments of these types.

It would appear as if the Registration Officers who have always been, and still are the Government Agents who had been, for the past few years, responsible for CPP integration campaign are aware of the situation now being reported upon in the Akan/Krachi district. Therefore, with the evidence now produced it would be appropriate to use these evidence in proving the reports.

We shall be grateful if the outcome of this investigation will be made available to the public.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(signed) S.G. Antor
Secretary-General

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE, HO

c.c. TO THE UN PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE, HO

(Enclosure II. to the above letter)

PLEBISCITE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD AT HOHOE ON
31 JANUARY 1956

See UKPA/12
and
paragraphs
399-410

FRAUD IN THE PLEBISCITE REGISTRATION

CHAIRMAN: S.G. ANTOR

INFLUX OF VOTERS

EXTERNAL INFLUENCE: Contrary to the assurances given to the United Nations Special Visiting Mission by His Excellency the Governor Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke to the effect that "certain Control measures which would be necessary at the time of registration and at the time of voting to prevent the plebiscite from being influenced by an influx of voters from neighbouring territories", Mr. G.R. AHIA, Esq., M.L.A., a native of PEKI in the Gold Coast caused a series of meetings to be held at POASE CEMENT, JINJISO and also at Hohoe with certain elements from Peki on the following dates: (a) at JINJISO on SATURDAY, 21 JANUARY 1956; (b) at POASE CEMENT on SUNDAY, 22 JANUARY 1956 at the E.P. CHURCH room and (c) at HOHOE on SUNDAY, 29 JANUARY 1956 at the Premises of one Mr. E.K. AGBLE, the storekeeper of Messrs. G.B. Ollivant Limited, Hohoe.

At these meetings it was decided to arrange with the registration assistants who are almost all of them C.P.P. officials appointed by the Gold Coast Government Agents who in turn were appointed by the Gold Coast Governor as Registration Officers responsible for the Togoland Plebiscite registration under the Provision of the Order in Council for the Registration of names of people at present resident in Peki in the Gold Coast who shall thereafter be eligible to vote during the Plebiscite.

See
paragraph 341

It should be noted that registration assistants are empowered to register any one provided they are satisfied that such persons are 21 years of age and that they are residents in the territory for the past 12 months without any reference to either the Assistant Registration Officer or the Registration Officer himself.

Such names as were supplied to the Registration Assistants in the Akan/Krachi areas by the Hon. G.R. AHIA could in fact be registered without notice nor any means of checking by either the Registration Officer or his Assistant at places such as (a) POASE CEMENT (b) JINJISO (c) MENUSO (d) PUSRUPU (e) AHAMANSU (f) DODI PAPASE (g) BONTIBOR etc. where due to the enormous influx each year during the main Cocoa Season (October to March) a large number of visitors from all over the neighbouring territories cannot be readily identified.

In consequence gongon was beaten in Peki on Monday, 30 January 1956 requesting all Pekis who had in the past few years been engaged on cocoa plantations in Togoland to submit their names to be forwarded to the remote areas in the Akan/Krachi where the Assistant Registration Officers could visit only once in two or three weeks for registration. The full text of the reports is as follows:-

"E.Y. ABUNU,
c/o P.O. Box 23,
TSAME-PEKI,
1 FEB. 1956."

Dear S.G.,

I have just returned from my home town - Wusuta where I have been purposely to register myself as a voter in the coming plebiscite. But I am very sorry to report to you that I was not allowed to register; because I was told that although I am a native, I am not resident in the area. I was told the European in charge was arriving there in the morning so I have waited to whole of the morning in vain. I came to the Post Office at Vakpo Afeye and booked a call to you at Hohoe. There also I was told you left this morning for Dain. I reported the case to your typist and asked that he informs you as soon as you have returned to the station.

See paragraphs
399-420

It is really a pity that I, a full blooded Togolander should be refused registration and Gold Coast and other nationals to be allowed to register and to vote to decide my fate for me.

Now this is the second part of my letter and it is the most important. I would request you to take immediate steps to check this horrible and dirty game of the C.P.P.

I am now in Peki working and on 30 January 1956 when I was leaving very early in the morning for home, I heard a gongong beaten calling the people of Tsame where I stay to come together and hear some important matter that came from Ahamansu. The message went on that the matter refers to all who own cocoa farms in Togoland and that meetings are being held all over the Peki towns. As I was then in hurry travelling, I was unable to hear the message. This morning on my return from home, I made it the first thing to hear what happened at that meeting. Unexpectedly, the fellow related the whole thing to me. It was as follows:-

"All Pekis who own farms in the Br. Togoland or French Togoland should all go with their house hold at once to the Ahamansu area and to pay their levies so as to register their names for voting during the plebiscite. That Antor asks that all should vote for him so that when he wins he would allow them to stay on their farms in the territory."

So people of Peki have started flocking into the area to get registered so as to be able to vote. I for one have seen in this a new trick of the CPP to get these people in the thousands registered so that when the time comes, they can use their votes against us.

I would therefore request that you keep on the look out from this last minute rush from Peki people getting registered in great numbers as residents in the areas in Togoland when as a matter of fact they are not. You may raise this question very strongly with the Plebiscite Commissioner and to see that even, if all other nationals are to be permitted to vote in the plebiscite the Gold Coast nationals are to be exempted. Because this question of integrating Togoland is a major policy of the Gold Coast Government and its people, we see no reason why they are to be allowed to use their votes against us. Everybody knows where a Gold Coaster's votes may go. We are at war with the Gold Coast Government and people, and so cannot suffer them to decide our fate for us. Mind you, the Pekis and Anlos are being used as Fifth columnists in our ranks in the battle and if you do not take steps quickly then we are doomed.

I am on my way to Kumasi to perform the ceremony of the anniversary of the death of my son. This is to be done on coming Sunday the 5th instant.

Meanwhile I remain asking you to hold the fort against the enemy.

I am registering this letter to be sure that it reaches you safely.

Yours in the bitter struggle,
(signed) E.Y. ABUNU

WRONG NUMBER: It has been discovered that in Ahamansu area in the Akan/Krachi district, incomplete numbers are written on the Counterfoils for the registered persons in order that they might lose their claims as having been registered.

See UKPA/12

Examples: (a) AFUA KODEGU, ward C1, 20 January 1956
No. in Register "27".

(b) KILIAN ADJAYI ward C1, 20 January 1956
No. in Register "42".

These numbers should be preceded by a letter e.g. "K27"
& "A42".

The Examples above have been submitted to the Assistant Registration Officer stationed at Ahamansu, - Mr. BRIGHTWEIGHT on Wednesday 1 February 1956. The Registration Assistant concerned is Mr. LARTEH. Investigations are going on.

REGISTRATION IN PENCIL: It has been discovered that ordinary pencils are used in registering persons with a view to erasing the original names from the forms and substituting them with other names which might be registered finally. A number of these types of suspicious devices had been discovered in Ward "H" Akan Local Council area particularly at BUTABE under MR. THOMPSON, Assistant Registration Officer stationed at DODI PAPASE. The Registration Assistant connected with these foul games is Mr. J.K. BOATENG.

See
UKPA/12

FRAUDULENT REGISTRATION: A number of cases have been noted and appropriate reports made to the Assistant Registration Officer MR. WESTSKIN stationed at KADJEBI where the Registration Assistants in the Akan Local Council area particularly in the villages round Asatu near Kadjebi will merely stamp the tax receipts with the word "PLEBISCITE" and return the receipt to the owner. This is being done to the illiterates in the remote villages. These unfortunate illiterates go to the Registration Assistant who if not sure of the party they belong to ask them to produce their tax receipts without first of all giving them the blank application forms. As soon as these illiterates

See
UKPA/12

produce their tax receipts, the registration Assistants stamp the back of the receipts: "PLEBISCITE" and return the receipts to the owners and tell them that they have been registered: whereas, in fact, they have not been registered and no counterfoil receipts with "NO. IN REGISTER" duly inserted on the counterfoil.

(signed) S.G. ANTOR
SECRETARY-GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

TO THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICER,
HO.

c.c. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICER,
PRIVATE POST BAG,
HO.

TC/19

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS GOLD COAST T.C.

Circuit No.	Time handed in	Office of origin	Words	No.
66	10:15	Hohoe	66	22

Received
at 5:57

TO: TM2
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE HO

STRONGLY PROTEST AGAINST REGISTRATION OFFICER EDGARS
ACTION BUEM DISTRICT INSISTING PRODUCTION OF 1954/55
AND 1955/56 LEVY RECEIPTS AS NECESSARY QUALIFICATION
BEFORE REGISTERING CONTRARY UNATIONS DECISION STOP
THIS HAPPENING IN WARD 21 LIKPE LOLOBI LOCAL COUNCIL
STOP BELIEVE SIMILAR PRACTICE OCCURRING OTHER WARDS
STOP IMMEDIATE ACTION URGED LETTER FOLLOWING

See UKPA/15,
UKPA/19

AGBENYEGA KWASHIE
REGIONAL ORGANIZING
SECRETARY
BUEM REGION

- - - - -
TC/20

TOGOLAND CONGRESS
BUEM REGION

RG. ORGANIZING
SEC. OFFICE,
P.O. BOX 55,
HOHOE

DATE 6 February 1956

SIR,

DELIBERATE REFUSAL TO REGISTER AN
APPLICANT FOR TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

The attached is a true copy of a written and signed statement
by a Registration Assistant working under your instruction.

We note with grave concern that Mr. Edgar, the Registration Officer in charge of the district connives at this sort of gross violation of the decision of the General Assembly of the UNITED NATIONS.

It is very much regretted that the above is permitted in the Registration for Plebiscite being organized and conducted by such an enlightened Administering Authority as H.M. Government. This evidence, it must be stressed, is but an example of a general case. Your immediate and appropriate action, Sir, is anxiously anticipated.

See
UKPA/15,
UKPA/19,
UKPA/20,
UKPA/34,
TC/35 and
TC/36

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) (Illegible)
ORGANIZING SECRETARY
BUEM REGION
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE,
HO

C.C. to: PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE,
HO

MR. EDGAR,
REGISTRATION OFFICER,
HOHOE

SECRETARY GENERAL,
TOGOLAND CONGRESS,
HOHOE

REG. SECRETARY TOGOLAND CONGRESS,
JASIKAN

THE SECRETARY GENERAL,
UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK

VICTOR C.K. DCH,
LOLOBI.KUMASI,
4 February 1956

Dear Sir,

I have rejected one VINCENTIA ADZOA from registering as she could not produce the 1954/55 rate receipt though she is a native of Lolobi.

Mr. E.K. AGBOBLI the bearer of this note would like to know why the said VINCENTIA ADZOA should be treated as a doubtful claimant as she is a real native.

Thanks in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) V.C.K. DOH,
REG.ASSISTANT
L/L WARD "A"

TC/21

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS, GOLD COAST

Circuit No.	Time Handed in	Office of origin	Words
3	10:38	Hohoe	55

Received
at 9:15

TO: TM2
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATION
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
CARE REGIONAL HO-

See
UKPA/13,
UKPA/25,
UKPA/32,
and
paragraph 414

REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS REFUSED REGISTER 1500
APPLICANTS AT AHAMANSU 500 AT BONTIBO 500 AT
BRONIASE 400 AT OBINDA 200 AT AKUM DAPA 600 AT DEIMEVI
BUTABE 200 AT ASATO STOP CASE SUBMITTED GOLD COAST
POLICE KADJEBI STOP DEMAND IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION
AND EXTENSION OF REGISTRATION PERIOD

CHAIRMAN
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

TC/22
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

REGIONAL SECRETARIAT,
P.O. BOX 11,
DODO DAIN,
7/2/56

TELEGRAM SENT TO THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
HO, ON IRREGULARITIES IN PLEBISCITE REGISTRATION
AKAN KRACHI CONSTITUENCY.

The attached is a copy of a telegram addressed to the
Plebiscite Administrator, care the Regional Officer Ho,
7 February, from this Office, to which your attention is drawn.

This matter requires an immediate action before it is
too late.

I remain to be,
Sir,
Yours truly,
(Signed) G.K. Agbobli
REGIONAL SECRETARY

The Plebiscite Commissioner,
Care Regional Office, HO

C.C. Secretary General
Togoland Congress
HOHOE

- - - - -
(enclosure to above letter)

GOLD COAST GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPHS

TO: PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR HO
REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS FOLLOWING WARDS AHAMANSU ASSATO
OBANDA BONTIBO PUSUPU AKANKRACHI AREA INSIST ON RATE
RECEIPTS AS QUALIFICATION REJECTED NINE THOUSAND
APPLICANTS STOP SEVERAL RECEIPTS ISSUED WITHOUT
REGISTRATION NUMBERS BY AKOMPI JINJISO WARD LARTEY
AHAMANSU WARD CL STOP REGISTRATION ASSISTANT AHAMANSU
NEGLECTS WARD SUPERVISIONS STOP HUNDREDS PEOPLE

See
UKPA/25,
UKPA/32,
and
paragraphs
378-398

DISAPPOINTED AT AHAMANSU DUE REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS
ABSENCE TO COUNCIL MEETING CONTRARY OWN ITINERARY
TWENTYFIFTH JANUARY STOP EXTEND TIME TO ENABLE THESE
PEOPLES REGISTRATION REGIONAL SECRETARY TOGOLAND
CONGRESS AKANKRACHI BOX 11 DAIN-DODO

TC/23

POST OFFICE TELEGRAMS GOLD COAST

Circuit No.	Time handed in	Office of origin and service instructions	See
77	3:15	Hohoe	UKPA/15, UKPA/19

TO: TM2
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO

REGISTRATION OFFICER EDGAR REFUSED REGISTERING NINETY
APPLICANTS ,ON FORM G DESPITE ELDERS IDENTIFICATION AT
KUMASI WARD 21 LOLOBI STOP BAPTISMAL TICKETS DEMANDED
BY EDGAR STOP DEMAND IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION

AGBENYEGA KWASHIE
BUEM REGIONAL
ORGANIZING SECRETARY

TC/24
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT,
P.O. BOX 85,
HOHOE

11 February 1956

Sir,

COMMUNICATION CONCERNING INFLUX

The attached is a letter referred to this office stating facts relating to our previous reports contained in our communication dated 31 January 1956. Similar incidents have taken place in Kpedze in Ho District. Men have been rejected. Some managed to have been registered. Full report will be submitted in writing in due course.

See
UKPA/18
and
paragraphs
399-410

2. I trust appropriate action shall be taken and definite assurance be given to ensure that such infiltration shall not affect the Plebiscite.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) S.G. ANTOR

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
HO

C.C. The PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO.

COPY

GILBERT Y.K. AKAH
KUTE-BUKU BUEM
via NEW AYOMA

10 February 1956

The U.N. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
HO
TOGOLAND

Dear Sir,

To your information we have discovered tricks played by Peki inhabitants here. The trick is some of them bought land here and do not reside here permanently. Because of the

Registration they rushed in with their young men and having produced this year basic rate receipt they registered.

For example on 9 February 1956, I travelled with a number of Pekimen and women on a lorry from Hohoe to Kute. Next morning 10 February 1956, I visited the Registration centre I met some of them with the basic rate receipt dated 10 February 1956 and asked for Registration. I put a few questions before one particular Benette Tumawu of Peki, immediately the mother picked up quarrel with me.

By an information they were educated on this subject of Registration and some of them went to Papase area for registration.

To clarify this position Pekis are not Togolandiers and they strongly advocate for integration.

I beg you to take notice of this information and let justice prevail.

Yours truly,
Gilbert Y.K. Akaah
Secretary-Togoland Congress
Kute-Buem

Copy: General Secretary,
Togoland Congress,
Hohoe.

TC/25
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. BOX 85,
HOHOE

11 February 1956

Sir,

TELEGRAM OF 7 FEBRUARY REFERRED TO
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TOGOLAND CONGRESS
AT AHAMANSU BY THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

Steps have been taken immediately to investigate
into the source of the above telegram.

It has been discovered that the telegram was not
sent from the National Secretariat of the Togoland Congress.
It has been revealed however that that telegram was despatched
by the Regional Chairman of Akan/Krachi Region of the Togoland
Congress who is responsible for that Region.

It has been explained that the message refers to a
number of villages around the towns and places mentioned
in the telegram and not to the towns themselves since the
Registration Centres are not meant to exist in every village
and every plantation.

It was further explained that the figures quoted did
not refer to any single day or even a week; but to the number
of persons whose applications were from day to day rejected
since 10 January up to 6 February - (27 days out of the entire
period of registration of 35 days).

This area (in most cases) is out of touch by motorable
roads and the villagers have to travel several miles each day
to the Registration Centres.

See
TC/21
UKPA/13,
UKPA/25,
UKPA/32,
and
paragraph
414

I have to apologize for insufficient explanation afforded you by the telegram message of the Regional Chairman, Akan/Krachi Region of the Togoland Congress and for any inconvenience which such message will have caused.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant
(Signed) S.G. ANTOR

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE,
HO
C.C. THE U.N. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO

TC/26

Ho,
11 February 1956

Sir,

REPORT UPON THE MULTI-MALPRACTICES
THAT HAVE ATTENDED REGISTRATION FOR
IMPENDING TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

Some time ago we had occasion to report to you upon several instances of intimidation and attempts in various forms made by Chiefs, groups and individuals, to scare the people in certain areas from coming forward to register in order to be able to vote at the plebiscite. We are happy to note that you have been doing what you could to remove the difficulties that have been placed in the way of many. But we must have to state that worse things have happened since our last interview, instances of which we give hereunder:

1. Some time ago we were reliably informed that the C.P.P. and for that matter the Gold Coast Government, has been laying plans for letting the registration centres be besieged by people from the Gold Coast, non-Togolandans who should be registered for voting integration at the plebiscite.

See
UKPA/17
and
paragraphs
399-410

On 9 February, Thursday, our secret servicemen reported gong-gong having been beaten in Peki by the order of the Chiefs, summoning the people to proceed to the Ahamansu and Kpedze areas to register in answer to a call for assistance that has been sounded by the C.P.P. A fellow from Peki Avetile, MEDIELE by name it is alleged, offered £200 (two hundred pounds) to cover the cost of transporting the people to the centres indicated.

At about noon three (3) of the lorries carrying Peki people who neither do own farms nor had made Togoland their domicile nor have lived in Togoland for 12 months had arrived in Kpedze. These lorries AD8682 AD.9168 and AC.8092 were under the command of one Mr. Ben Agbley. Thirty (30) of the people went to Lubudo where they intended to register. Others had to be sent back by force by the Kpedze people.

2. Mr. K. Ayeke reports he discovered many registration forms have been made ready at the offices of the Local Council in Bawku in the Gold Coast for registration purpose. There is no reason to doubt the allegation that thousands of people from the Gold Coast have been ferried across the Volta at Krachi and Akrosu to come to register.

3. The Krachiwura, Mr. Henkel the Local Council Clerk Mr. Joseph Kodjo M.L.A. and Mr. Mensah have all been threatening people with abduction if they should come forward to register notwithstanding the fact of their (the people) being Togoland. Mr. Henkel for example, issued a removal order to one ADZOFU from Abutia at Chinderri on 26 January because he had talked about unification. (This incident has been reported to two of the U.N.O observers who were there in the North).

4. At Shia, the Chief refused registration to 7 people because they refused to sign C.P.P.

We hope you would employ your good offices to rectify the anomalies enumerated above.

We are,
Sir,

Your humble servants,

(Signed) F.R. Ametowobla
K. Ayeke

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
HO.

TC/27

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT,
P.O. BOX 85,
HOHOE,
13 February 1956

Sir,

REGISTRATION IN ABOTUASE VILLAGE
NSUHUEM

The attached is the report on the registration of voters at ABOTUASE in the Akan/Krachi district. At the foot of this report you will find another incident on registration at OBANDA also in the Akan/Krachi district.

See
UKPA/18

The report on the registration of children aged 9, 11 and 13 respectively was referred to the Gold Coast Police, Inspector, Kadjebi who has taken statements from both sides.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) S.G. Antor
S.G. ANTOR
Secretary General

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE,
PRIVATE POST BAG,
HO.

C.C. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE,
PRIVATE POST BAG,
HO.

REGISTRATION IN ABOTJASE VILLAGE - NSUHUEM

11/2/56

NAMES	REG. No	WARD	DATE	NUM.OF YEARS
ADZOA KAGLE	K.125	02	8 Feb. 1956	9 years
AKUA AKLAPE	A.67	"	7 Feb. 1956	13 "
AFIWA ATTITSOGBE	A.66	"	"	11 "
AGBEGBO DOH	D.29	"	"	13 "
KWAKU NANEME	N.11	"	8 Feb. 1956	13 "

REG. ASSISTANT -
BLUNYA.

REG. OFFICER -
WESTSKIN - KADJEBI

AYIVI.ALPHONS-OBANDA

AKAN/KRACHI, LEVY

RECEIPT NO.B 940660

for 54/55)

REG.ASSISTANT -

MR.M.K.CWUSU STAMPED

PLEBISCITE ON RECEIPT

BUT FAILED TO

REGISTER HIM ON

8 FEBRUARY 1956

TC/28

OUR REF: NOTC/VI/56

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

PLEBISCITE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD AT
HOHCE CN 13TH FEBRUARY 1956

CHAIRMAN: S.G. ANTOR

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATION ON
FACT-FINDING TRECK IN AKAN/KRACHI
DISTRICT 9 FEBRUARY 1956

REPORT OF SECRETARY:
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

On the 9th of February, 1956 at about 12 noon a number of people who gathered at the entrance of the Kadjebihene's house proved to the Plebiscite Administrator by producing a number of Writ of Summons served on them on the ground that (a) they have paid their basic rates for 1954/55 and 1955/56 but not the Special Rate which does not prove residence. (b) that they have paid their basic rates for 1954/55 but not for 1955/56, the date for the collection of which is due to expire on 31st of March, 1956.

See UKPA/25,
UKPA/26, and
paragraph 393

This proves the previous reports all over the territory that the Local Councils have been using their office of Authority to intimidate applicants desirous to register as voters for the Togoland Plebiscite.

The Plebiscite Administrator however collected the Writs of Summons and handed them over to the Assistant Registration Officer, Mr. WESTSKIN with the instructions that he should see to it that the people are not prosecuted.

RETENTION ON COUNTERFOILS OF
APPLICATION FORMS BY THE
REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS:

At Mempeasem near Poase Cement in the Akan/Krachi district, Mr. SAM the Registration Assistant who is a native of Peki in the Gold Coast was responsible for keeping a large number of counterfoils of Registration Forms belonging to applicants who had been registered as voters for the Togoland Plebiscite. These counterfoils were also taken from Mr. SAM who brought them out of his briefcase by the Plebiscite Administrator who handed them over to the Assistant Registration Officer to be distributed to the lawful owners.

It is to be explained that several complaints were made against the behaviour of Mr. Sam with the result that on the 25th of January 1956, Mr. Owusu-Afare was appointed to assist Mr. Sam in registering the voters. Mr. Owusu however has not been allowed to handle either the counterfoils or the register itself. His duty is merely to assist in filling the forms with the particulars required of the applicants.

See paragraph 339

It has been proved therefore that Registration Assistants could keep the counterfoils which were the property of registered voters for some other illicit purposes.

ABSENCE OF REGISTRATION
ASSISTANT:

At Ahamansu where most of the serious reports regarding mismanagement emanated and for which the Plebiscite Administration Assistant was out to investigate the Registration Assistant who was reported to have left to an unknown village where no car nor lorry could reach. Although he was to explain to the Plebiscite Administrator the facts relating to such reports as having refused to give out application forms to applicants who desired to be registered, and application forms which had been completed and signed by him but the counterfoils of which were not detached to the applicants and no numbers were written on the forms except the letters.

Since the Plebiscite Administrator was unable to meet the Registration Assistant, Mr. Larte, he left instructions that all applicants should see the Assistant Registration Officer, Mr. Braithwaite, on Saturday the 11th of February 1956 and should refer their various complaints to him for his necessary consideration and action.

(SIGNED): S.C. ANTOR
SECRETARY-GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE,
PRIVATE POST BAG,
HO.

c.c. THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE,
PRIVATE POST BAG,
HO.

TC/29

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS, GOLD COAST

Circuit
NO. 66

Time Handed
in 3.15

Office of origin
Hohoe

To TM2 PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
CARE REGIONAL
HO

TOGOLAND CONGRESS VEHEMENTLY PROTEST FRIVOLOUS AND
CONTRADICTORY INSTRUCTIONS BY BLAIR ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR
TO PLEBISCITE OFFICIALS RE PRODUCTION RATE RECEIPTS IN
REGISTRATION STOP BLAIR FIRST INSTRUCTED REGISTRATION
OFFICERS ACCEPT PEOPLE FOR REGISTRATION AT 54/55 RECEIPT BE
PRODUCED OR CAN BE IDENTIFIED STOP BLAIR SECONDLY
INSTRUCTED TO PLACE PEOPLE WITH 54/55 RECEIPTS ON DOUBTFUL
LIST BUT TO ACCEPT PEOPLE PRODUCING 55/56 RECEIPTS STOP BLAIRS
INSTRUCTIONS CONTRADICT THEMSELVES AND UNATIONS RECOMMENDATION
PARAGRAPH 153 STOP BLAIRS INSTRUCTIONS 55/56 RECEIPT IS AN
ATTEMPT TO BRING GOLD COASTERS NOT RESIDENT IN TERRITORY
FOR TWELVE MONTHS TO PARTAKE PLEBISCITE STOP HOW CAN 55/56
RECEIPTS PROVE 12 MONTHS RESIDENCE STOP COMPLY WITH UNO
RECOMMENDATIONS IMMEDIATELY STOP ADVISE BLAIR WITHDRAW
CONFUSING INSTRUCTIONS STOP TENSION GROWING HIGH RE BLAIRS
PARTIALITY FAVOURING BRITISH CIDIPI GOVERNMENTS PLEBISCITE

See UKPA/48
enclosure C
and paragraphs
378-398

KODZO AYEKE
AG SECRETARY GENERAL

TC/30

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. Box 85
HOHOE
20/2/56

SIR,

DECISION ON SYMBOLS

We have, - since our meeting held on the 15th of February, 1956 at the Plebiscite Administrator's Office, on the Choice of Symbols, given a thorough study and search to chapter 4 para 126 which seems to have dealt with the question of symbols and of procedure.

See UKPA/23 and
paragraphs 451-454

2. It appears that there is nothing to prevent the acceptance of our suggestion regarding the symbols and the ballot paper. In fact, the Mission's Recommendations in para 126 (the last sentence) state:

"Since the population was at that time able to acquire familiarity with elections of such a kind, and since all the principal groups of the population of the territory have expressed their wishes for any plebiscite held to be based on similar principles, as well as for a simple system of balloting which would be readily understandable not only to literates but to illiterates as well, the Mission's proposals for the plebiscite adhere closely to the provisions in force in 1954, subject only to certain necessary modifications."

3. In the face of these cold facts we cannot see, how our suggestion which is intended to prevent all types of fraudulent practices known so far to exist in the provisions in force in 1954 General Elections, could be rejected. The object of the Plebiscite differs immensely in character and in nature from the General Elections of members to a legislature whose term of office does not go beyond half a decade. The Mission, precisely therefore recommends "Certain necessary modifications". What we suggest in fact are some of those necessary modifications.

4. The importance of this plebiscite cannot be underestimated and the need for fairness is even greater than in any ordinary General Elections.

I hope therefore that the Plebiscite Administrator as well as the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner will accept the suggestions which we made verbally during the meeting on February, 15th now that it is made clear that the plan for 1954 General Elections leave many doors open for fraudulent practices which could most effectively be checked by our plan.

I am submitting in writing the full details of our plan and I trust you will give it a thorough study. I am convinced beyond any reasonable doubt that after giving this plan the most careful study, you will not at all find it difficult to agree with me that it is the most effective plan which will not only assist the Plebiscite Administrator and the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner in carrying out their onerous duties in connexion with this exemplary attempt by the United Nations to decide the future of a Trust Territory by this new and yet ancient system, but will facilitate also their task, the result of which will add greatly to their eminence in world history.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(signed) S.G. ANTOR
Secretary-General

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
C/O REGIONAL OFFICE,
PRIVATE POST BAG, HO
c.c. THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
PRIVATE BAG, HO

1. BALLOT BOX: One ballot box should be recommended for the casting of votes in the plebiscite. This ballot box should be in the open so that the dropping of ballot papers into the box should be done in the open.
2. BALLOT PAPERS: Two ballot papers in two separate and distinct colours should be provided. Each colour is to stand for one of the two answers to the questions asked for the plebiscite i.e.
 - (a) Union with Gold Coast
 - (b) Separation from the Gold Coast.
3. ENVELOPE: An envelope and a pair of the ballot papers shall be handed to every voter.
4. SCREENED CHAMBER: A screened area shall be provided at each polling station where a voter shall choose which ballot paper he wishes to cast as his vote. This paper shall be put into the envelope. The rejected ballot paper shall be put into a tin having a slot and some oil in it available at the screened chamber.
5. REJECTED BALLOT PAPER - DESTROYED: A tin having a slot and some oil should be available in the screened chamber for disposal of rejected ballot papers.
6. IDENTIFICATION OF BALLOT PAPERS: The back of each set of ballot papers is to be identified by the polling officer and each of the two representatives of the two groups of opinion giving answers on the Togoland question. Any ballot paper not so identified should be regarded as a spoilt vote and be discounted.
7. POLLING AGENTS: For carrying out duties of polling agents for the two groups of opinion there should be two representatives for each group of opinion at each polling station. A pair shall identify polling papers with appropriate marks and a pair shall keep record of voters casting their votes.

8. -DIFFICULT DISTRICTS: In districts where illicit practices could be easily carried out and must be forestalled, (here classified as difficult districts) a United Nations Observer should be detailed to cover polling stations in each. Such districts are Anfoe, Nkonya Akan Krachi, Yendi, Bimbilla and Pusiga.

9. POLICE PROTECTION: Adequate police protection shall be provided at each polling station.

10. PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION FIGURES FOR WARDS: Provisional registration figures for every ward throughout the territory should be provided for the accredited representatives of the two groups of opinion and the U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner.

11. FINAL REGISTRATION FIGURES FOR WARDS: Final registration figures for every ward throughout the territory should be provided for the accredited representatives of the two groups of opinion and the U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner.

12. CHECKING OF VOTES CAST: The number of votes cast should be checked up against

- (a) number of voters registered for each ward
- (b) number of voters who cast their votes in each ward as verified by chosen representatives of the two groups of opinion in the territory and the register of voters.

13. PRINTING OF BALLOT PAPERS: Ballot papers of the chosen colours and envelopes should be printed by the United Nations. Each should have a water mark and a U.N. emblem. These should not be made available to anybody anywhere except in the wards on polling day. This will remove the danger of illicit ballot papers.

14. DESPATCH OF BALLOT PAPERS: Only the number of pairs of ballot papers and envelopes required at each polling station should be produced and parcelled for it.

15. UNUSED BALLOT PAPERS AND ENVELOPES: Ballot papers and envelopes left at each polling station when polling ends should be parcelled and labelled for checking.

16. SPOILT BALLOT PAPERS: A ballot paper shall be considered spoilt if

- (a) it is not in an envelope
- (b) a pair of ballot papers is in an envelope
- (c) an empty envelope is in the ballot box
- (d) marks made by the Polling Assistant and each of the two representatives of the two groups of opinion are not all together behind the ballot paper.

17. SEALING OF BALLOT BOXES: Ballot boxes should be sealed immediately polling is over in the presence of polling officers and representatives of the two groups of opinion.

18. ESCORTING OF BALLOT BOXES TO COUNTING POINT:

Representatives of the two groups of opinion should accompany each ballot box already sealed to the counting point and see it officially delivered and received.

19. COLOUR FOR SEPARATION GROUP: The colour for the separation group shall be yellow.

TC/31

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. Box 85
HCHCE

20 February 1956

Sir,

INVITATION TO SELECT SYMBOLS ALLOCATED
TO THE TWO ALTERNATIVES

Reference to your letter No.TT.9/1 dated 28 January 1956, I am to point out that the Togoland Congress is a National Movement and NOT a political party. At the foot of your letter under reply you showed that your invitation was addressed to the Secretary, Togoland Congress Party, Hohoe. Would you please correct the error and inform this office.

2. We note with obvious surprise that you addressed your letter of invitation to the Secretary, Northern Peoples Party, without showing where that Secretary was.

3. It is undeniable fact that the Northern Peoples Party (NPP) has no Secretary nor office in North of Togoland under British Administration. Obviously your letter was addressed to the Secretary, Northern Peoples Party, Tamale, Northern Territories Protectorate of the Gold Coast, contrary to paragraph 136 of the United Nations Special Visiting Mission's recommendations under chapter four of the Report. See UKPA/22 and paragraphs 194, 196 and 451

4. Mr. Salifu Imoru, N.P.P., has ever since the establishment of the Northern Peoples Party been stationed at that Party's Headquarters Offices in Tamale, the Capital of the Northern Territories Protectorate of the Gold Coast.

5. Unless an attempt can be made to open a new office now upon the receipt of this inquiry, it is a well known fact all over the Gold Coast and in Togoland that the N.P.P. has never, at any time, ever since its establishment, two years ago, opened an office in either Yendi or Bimbilla. No office is in Chriponi,

Bunkpurugu, Pusiga, Gusiegu or even in Kpandai down South, the main towns in Northern Section of Togoland under United Kingdom Administration. No wonder the town and place to which the invitation was sent was carefully avoided. Whereas in the case of the remaining two organizations, i.e. Togoland Congress and Convention Peoples Party, the invitations were addressed respectively to the Secretaries at Hohoe and Ho.

6. We shall be grateful if the Plebiscite Administrator will be kind enough to explain the circumstances which led to his inviting a representative of a political party outside the Trust Territory of Togoland to participate in the choice of symbols for Togoland Plebiscite in violation of the United Nations Special Mission's recommendation.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant
(Signed) S.G. Antor
SECRETARY-GENERAL

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
c/o REGIONAL OFFICE, HO

C.C. THE U.N. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
c/o REGIONAL OFFICE, HO.

TC/32

FROM SECRETARY TOGOLAND CONGRESS KADJEBI TO PLEBISCITE
ADMINISTRATOR CARE REGIONAL OFFICE HO DATED 8/2/56

CONGRESS MEMBERS ASATO WARD I KADJEBI AKAN WILFULLY
RESTRAINED FROM REGISTRATION LARGE NUMBER ARRESTED PREVIOUS
COMPLAINTS KIND CONSIDERATION

See
UKPA/16

FROM SECRETARY TOGOLAND CONGRESS KADJEBI TO PLEBISCITE
ADMINISTRATOR CARE REGIONAL OFFICE HO DATED 8/2/56

CONGRESS MEMBERS KODIBENUM KADJEBI AKAN AREA SUFFER
MALTREATMENTS BEATINGS FORMS FILLED SIGNED REGISTRATION
NUMBERS NONE KICKS ABOUND UNDUE DELAYS PROMPT CONSIDERATION

TC/33

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P. O. Box-85
Hchce

20 February 1956

Sir,

A FAIR AND FREE EXPRESSION OF THE
WISHES OF THE PEOPLES CONCERNED

We have endeavoured to reproduce the entire communications Nos. TA.60/94 and TA.60/114 of 8 February 1956 and 15 February 1956 addressed to this office by the Plebiscite Administrator.

See
UKPA/26
and paragraphs
592-593

2. In paragraph 1 of letter No. TA.60/94, the Plebiscite Administrator states:

"I write to acknowledge your letter dated 3 February regarding reports received by you of irregularities in the plebiscite. I shall be visiting the Jasikan-Kadjebi-Poase area on 9 February when I shall make personal inquiries into the alleged influx of voters."

In paragraph 1 of our Report of 13 February 1956 on the visit of the Plebiscite Administrator to the area mentioned by him, it has been proved that at Kadjebi there existed such irregularities, - vide the writs of summons presented to the Plebiscite Administrator on prosecution by the Local Authority Court in connexion with basic rates based on registration of voters contrary to the Plebiscite Registrate Regulations.

3. Similar incidents were reported to the Plebiscite Administrator from Kpandu Fesi where he caused the fines imposed upon registered voters to be refunded to them and these detained by the Local Authorities, on the same grounds, were released. But at Kadjebi although the Plebiscite Administrator advised the Registration Officer, - Mr. Westskin, to interview the Court and to explain to the Court that it was not proper to prosecute registered voters in connexion with registration

without 1955/56 basic rate receipts, the Government Agent stationed at Jasikan insisted that the prosecution should continue and that the people should be fined. And that was done as a means of threat for those desirous to register in that area as voters who had not yet paid their basic rates for 1955/56 although the financial year for 1955/56 is due to end on 31 March 1956 and that according to the existing law in the country these people could not have been sued for having failed to pay their basic rate when the financial year for 1955/56 is not yet ended.

4. In the same Report, paragraph 2, it was proved to the Plebiscite Administrator that the influx of persons from outside the Territory, contrary to paragraph 129 (the last but one sentence of that paragraph) existed at Mempeasem near Cement Poase where Mr. Sam, the Registration Assistant, and a native of Peki in the Gold Coast brought out from his brief case a large number of counterfoil receipts of registration forms. The Plebiscite Administrator accepted the view that it was wrong for Mr. Sam to withhold those counterfoils from the lawful owners, he did not find it possible to trade the fact relating to their being kept by Mr. Sam. Instead, the Plebiscite Administrator handed the counterfoil receipts over to Mr. Westskin an expatriate who could not differentiate a Gold Coast Peki man from a Togolander nor was there any alternative left for him to hand over the said counterfoil receipts to whoever claims to have owned them without any possibility of proving whether or not such claimant is qualified as a voter.

See
paragraph
339

5. Previously, several complaints were made against a number of irregularities for which Mr. Sam was responsible. Instead of releasing Mr. Sam of his post as Registration Assistant, another man was appointed to assist him. This other man was given definite instructions not to enter any names into the register nor to have anything to do with the Register itself except that he could help filling the names and particulars into the registration forms when applicants applied for to be registered.

6. Further in our Report No. TC/V/56 dated 31 January 1956, we reproduced a letter signed by Mr. E.Y. Abunu, c/o P.O. Box 23, Tsame Peki and dated 1 February 1956 in which it was hinted that truck-fulls of Pekis (Men and women from the Gold Coast) were pouring in to Togoland for the purpose of registration as voters in the Togoland Plebiscite contrary to United Nations Special Mission's Report paragraph 129, the last but one sentence.

7. In paragraph 1 of the Plebiscite Administrator's communication No. TA.60/114 dated 15 February 1956 and addressed to this office, he admits that through his investigation he notes with satisfaction that the unqualified persons (3 truck-fulls from Peki in the Gold Coast to Kpedze in Togoland) who attempted to register were rejected or decided not to submit an application in view of the likelihood of rejection.

8. Then he requests the Togoland Congress, in para. 2 of his letter to file objection to those unqualified voters from the Gold Coast in accordance with Regulation 8(2) of the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulation 1955.

9. These influx having taken place at various parts of the territory in towns, villages and plantations, how is it possible for the Togoland Congress to enter an objection to them when in villages and plantations most of the peoples live in farms and plantations with their families and apart from one another. Should we wait, having known that these influx have taken place for court to be held or should the Administrator take steps to investigate and check these errors before the genuine registers are published in order to have a fair and free expression of the peoples concerned? Will the observers admit that these influx did take place which would mean that the result of the plebiscite does not represent the FAIR and FREE expression of the wishes of the peoples concerned? What would be the reflexion on the result of the plebiscite and the functions of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and his staff? We do not believe that the postmortem examination

See
paragraphs
399-410

on the conduct and procedure of the Plebiscite would do any good to any one.

10. We demand under paragraph 131 of the Mission's Report that the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner make representation to the Representative of the Administering Authority in the Trust Territory, namely, The Governor, in the light of the admissions made by the Plebiscite Administrator in his letter No. TA.60/114 a copy of which is attached herewith.

I have the honour to be,
Sir
Your obedient servant,

See
UKPA/18

(Signed) S.G. ANTOR
Secretary General

THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
PRIVATE POST BAG,
H O

Copy to: The Secretary-General
United Nations
New York

TC/34

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. Bcx 85
HOHOE

23 February 1956

SIR,

I thank you for your letter of 15 February 1956.

I am to state that although the Plebiscite Administrator found it possible to inform you of the steps taken by him, he did not find it necessary even to reply to our communication in which those problems were raised such less to indicate the steps being taken by him.

I regret there has been no indication in your letter under reply as to the kind of steps being taken by the Administrator and the result of such steps taken by him on the questions raised by us.

It would appear to us that the Administrator does not wish to investigate those irregularities we complained of and even if he does, he does not want us to know the result of his investigations. Serious issues had been raised in connexion with the Vans purchased and licensed by the Gold Coast CPP Cabinet Minister of Finance for use in the Togoland Plebiscite. The Administrator said that he was going to refer that matter to the Plebiscite Commissioner. So far no steps have been taken and the Vans are still being used in the Trust Territory which amount to external influence over the Plebiscite. There is the problem of influx from Peki and elsewhere in the Gold Coast. This was also reported to the Administrator who in his letter No. TA.60/114 admitted that his own investigation showed that there was such an influx at Kpedze but that those concerned were either rejected or decided not to submit an application in view of the likelihood of rejection.

Ref.
UKPA/18
See
UKPA/17 and
UKPA/24

There was no prosecution, neither was there any action contemplated except that the Administrator suggested to us to enter an objection in accordance with the procedure set out in Regulation 8(2) of the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulation 1955 which in fact would mean a post mortem examination.

There had been myriads of such instances and I doubt if the Togoland Congress will continue to be satisfied with such passive attitude towards its legitimate rights in a Plebiscite which is to decide the future of the people of Togoland. The Congress is meeting soon to consider what action it will deem necessary and appropriate.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) S.G. ANTOR
Secretary General

THE UN. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
PRIVATE POST BAG,
HO.

c.c. SECRETARY-GENERAL,
UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK

TC/35

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

National Secretariat, -
P.O. Box 85,
HCHOE.

23 February 1956

Sir,

I thank you of your letter of 15 Februaty 1956.

I am to point out that the demand for tax receipt as a necessary qualification for registration was maintained throughout the entire period of registration during the Togoland Plebiscite Registration.

The Plebiscite Commissioner who accompanied H.E. The Governor, Sir Charles Noble Arden Clarke on his tour of Togoland on 26 and 27 January noted that at every point where the Governor halted he was asked by the chiefs and people whether tax receipts were a qualification.

Will the Commissioner please refer to a communication from one of our Organizing Secretaries dated 6 February 1956 to which was attached a note signed by one Mr. V.C.K. Doh, Registration Assistant of L/L Ward A a copy of which is supposed to have been sent to the Commissioner. It is therefore incorrect to say that the report of the U.N. Observers and the personal inquiries of the Commissioner at Registration Centres show that tax receipts were not being requested as a qualification for the Plebiscite.

See
TC/20
UKPA/15,
UKPA/19,
UKPA/34.

I note with satisfaction that the Commissioner had indicated his willingness to co-operate with the Organizations connected with the Togoland Plebiscite and that he had been taking steps to find

out from the Administrator what steps are taken on the various reports we have submitted to both the Administrator and Commissioner.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) S.G. ANTOR
Secretary General

The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner,
Plebiscite Commissioner's Office,
Private Post Bag,
H O.

c.c. to: Plebiscite Administrator, HO.
The Secretary-General,
United Nations,
New York.

TC/36

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

Ref. No. FYAK/08/285.

BUEM REGION

Your Ref. No. TA.60/128

Rg. Organizing Sec's Office
P.O. Box 55,
Br. Trust Togoland
29 February 1956

The Assistant Plebiscite Administrator,
Regional Office,
Trans-Volta Togoland Region,
P.O. Box 47
H O
BR. TRUST TOGOLAND.

Dear Sir,

COMPLAINTS FROM LOLOBI KUMASI

I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated 22 February 1956.

2. Would you be kind enough to serve me with copy of the written and signed statement of Mr. E. Edgar in connexion with his refusal to register the said 90 applicants most of whom were present when he rode away in his car without registering them for further action.

See
UKPA/15,
UKPA/19,
UKPA/20,
UKPA/34,
TC/20.

3. The written and signed note from the Registration Assistant was not, as could be detected from the letter which definitely not by accident, bears no address of an addressee but is intended for any authority concerned with the Plebiscite (UN Commissioner, or Plebiscite Administrator or Political Party) addressed to Mr. R. Edgar. You will therefore agree with me that you have been very hasty in accusing me of INTERCEPTION and MISAPPROPRIATION, a grievous defamation of character for which you may well show why should not be requested to explain. The levity with which you styled the first paragraph of the Registration Assistant's letter in question, viz"careless phrasing".....appears rather amusing. Nonetheless the appointment of a careless Registration Assistant is the responsibility of the person who appointed him or employed him and I thank you for reminding me of such an anomaly.

4. I wonder therefore whether or not you still contest the fact that the Registration Assistant in question (of course not Mr. E. Edgar as you appear to suggest in your letter under reply) working under the instruction of the Plebiscite Administrator, is guilty of gross violation of paragraph 153 of the Special Mission's Report which was accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It was clearly stated in the latter part of my covering letter that that evidence namely (it must be stressed) is but an example of a general case, stands good. Mr. E. Edgar, on more than one occasion, paid no heed to representations made to him on similar irregularities referred to above as a general case.

5. The last paragraph of your letter under reply leaves for further explanation on your part.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

P.Y. AGBENYEGA KWASHIE
REGIONAL ORGANISING SECRETARY
BUEM REGION

Copy to:-

The Plebiscite Administrator,
Ho.

The Plebiscite Commissioner,
Plebiscite Commissioner's
Office, P.O. Box 103, Ho.
The Secretary-General,
Togoland Congress, Hohoe

The Secretary-General,
United Nations,
New York.

Regional Secretary,
Togoland Congress,
Jasikan
Br. Trust Togoland

TC/37

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT,
P.O. Box 85,
Hohoe,

2/3/56

Sir,

POLLING DAY: TOGO PLEBISCITE

Information has reached this office that Teachers' External Certificate examination is scheduled to be held on Wednesday, 9 May 1956.

See
UKPA/36

May the Plebiscite Administrator please check up with the appropriate authorities and change either the date for polling for the Togoland Plebiscite or negotiate for the change of the date for the above-mentioned examination in order to enable candidates for the said examination to cast their votes and inform us on the result of action taken thereon.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

(Signed) S.G. ANTOR
Secretary General

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
C/O REGIONAL OFFICE,
HO.

c.c. THE UN. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
P.O. BOX 103
HO.

TC/38

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

The Branch Secretary
c/o P.O. Box 85
APESOKUBI

5 March 1956

The Plebiscite Administrator
HO

Sir,

Application for Representatives at Court of Revision

The ApesoKubi Branch of the Togoland Congress has the honour most respectfully to apply for a representation of 4 (four) persons who will be present at the Revising Court to seek the interest of its members. It is the ardent desire of this Branch to be represented in all activities of the Plebiscite to avoid repetition of the irregularities which went on here during the Registration.

See
UKPA/35

This Branch will strongly object to any procedure in which it is not represented.

Commanding the above humble requests to your serious attention and consideration,

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Illegible
Branch Secretary.

Copies to:

1. The Plebiscite Commissioner - Ho.
2. The Secretary General, Togoland Congress - Hohoe

TC/39

AIDE MEMOIRS

SUBJECT: Mr. Antor's long distance call to Hō
(Hess Phone No. 74) Noon, 15 March 1956

1. Mr. Antor, in his call, advised that the points which follow below, had been, a few short minutes before, the subject of a long distance call by him to the Office of the Plebiscite Administrator.

2. The points were:

(a) Mr. Antor had gone around the district (presumably in the Hohoe area) with Mr. Lange, Asst. Registration Officer, and had found notices (Form H), but had not found registration lists at places where the notices were located.

See
paragraph 434

(b) Lists were located at schools, frequently far away from towns, and, therefore, away from centres where there were people who might be interested in examining the lists.

(c) In particular, one instance had been observed (by Mr. Antor) of a registration list piled upon a schoolmaster's table along with a profusion of exercise books.

3. Mr. Antor advised that he had stated the following views to the Plebiscite Administrator's office:

(a) In view of the short time devoted to this phase, and the fact that lists could be examined only for a short time during the day, registration lists should be displayed at all ward centres where registration took place, rather than elsewhere.

(b) School masters were not proper custodians of the lists as (i) they frequently took lists with them to their schools and tried to mix the two functions of teaching and displaying lists; (ii) lists were not generally available to people who needed to see them as such people rarely ever had any need to visit a school, which anyway was usually located away from town.

(c) The chief's house was suggested as the place where the lists should be kept as thereby they would always be readily accessible.

4. Mr. Antor stated, finally, that his call was in pursuance of his undertaking to keep the Plebiscite Commissioner informed of all matters which had been brought by him to the attention of the Plebiscite Administrator.

Submitted by: (Signed) M.E. Williams
Marshall E. Williams
16 March 1956

TC/40

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS, GOLD COAST

Circuit No.	Time handed in	Office of origin	Words
90	3.20	Jasikan	61

Received	TO: PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
at 7.7	HO

REGISTRATION OFFICER JASIKAN REFUSED ACCEPT 51
NAMES OF APPLICANTS WHOSE NAMES WERE OMITTED
WARD K LIST REGISTER BRING SUBMITTED BY ODAME
ON THIRD APRIL THEIR ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVE
STOP WE REGARD THIS ACTION INAPPROPRIATE AND
REQUEST IMMEDIATE ADVICE AS THESE PERSONS WILL
HAVE TO APPEAR BEFORE REVISING OFFICER

See
UKPA/37,
UKPA/38, and
paragraph 435

ODAME
REGIONAL SECRETARY
CONGRESS BUEM

TC/41

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

BUEM REGION

BR/TC/018

National Headquarters
P.O. Box 15
Borada-Buem State
4 April 1956

The Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Regional Officer
Ho.

Sir,

This confirms my telegram addressed to you on 3 April 1956 with copy to the Plebiscite Commissioner.

See
UKPA/37,
UKPA/38

Reference my letter No. BR/TC/018 of 30 January 1956 and your reply No. TA/60/75 of 4 February 1956, and my letter No. BR/TC/018 of 2 February 1956 addressed to the Assistant Registration Officer for Buem Local Council Ward K. copies of which were sent both to you and the Commissioner.

I regret to inform you that the following persons had their names omitted from the register for Ward "K" and as they wanted their names to be inserted therein attempted to give notice in the prescribed form in accordance with the regulations:

1. Kodjo Detso; 2. Abra Menyavor; 3. Tete Agbonyina;
4. Kwasi Gagbo; 5. Kwame Amesedji; 6. Christiana Alidjo;
7. Akua Memsas; 8. Kwadjo Agbovi; 9. Abatani Samele;
10. Amina Samele; 11. Kwami Zonu; 12. Akua Zenyo;
13. Adjon Ahotu; 14. Semanu Akoto; 15. Dora Bebi Legbee;
16. Yaotse Legbee; 17. Kwaku Ahotu; 18. Kofi Adehenu;
19. Comfort Adehenu; 20. Komla Dadi; 21. Nsru Sovor;
22. Kwasivi Dade; 23. Ahadzi Sovor; 24. Amenyekpo Dade;
25. Paciance Dade; 26. Agnes Fedas; 27. Voefeto Sovor;
28. Vunkpo Adehenu; 29. Aku Fedpe; 30. Yaa Zidor;

31. Kwasi Akpabli; 32. Kcmlavi Dasi; 33. Adjoaga Kpeli;
34. Adwoa Vinyo; 35. Fedelia Soglo; 36. Yawa Komla Soglo;
37. Agbenyawu Zonu; 38. Zilevu Fofoe; 39. Tsinasi Agomega;
40. Ama Kove; 41. Yaa Kove; 42. Kwasi Kove; 43. Kwaku Gidiga;
44. Martin Kwami Agoh; 45. Awosed Gavos; 46. Adjoa Agbanu;
47. Scmefa Lumos; 48. Mansah Godiga; 49. Ankua Ado Foli;
50. Tsinasi Agomega; 51. Mansa Dagadu; 52. Cephas Kwaku
Vukanya; 53. Simon Kwame Agbonu; 54. Yao Djata.

Unfortunately the Assistant Registration Officer ordered the registration Assistant (African) to come and seize from me the 54 forms I have for the 54 claimants. In the presence of Mr. E.K. Otapah, the Buem Regional Treasurer of the Congress, Mr. Ntim Hayford seized away from me 33 forms which have not yet been filled with names of claimants and attempted to destroy in our presence those 21 forms already completed.

See
paragraph
338

Sir, I understand the Plebiscite Ordinance to mean that claimants should file their claim in writing and appear before the revising Officer in person. If such is the case then I find no reason why I should be prevented from filing the names of these claimants, It is my considered opinion that in the interest of justice and fair play these people should be allowed to appear before the revising Officer for their names to be inserted.

I attached herewith completed form for Kodso Detso which was refused with others the same.

I remain awaiting your instruction on this important matter.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) A.K. Odame
Regional Secretary
Togoland Congress

Copies to:

The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

H.J. Ward, Esq.,
Assistant Registration Officer for Buem Ward K
Dept. of Agriculture, Jasikan.

TC/42

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

REGIONAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE
P.O. BOX 7
KPANDU

7/4/56

Sir,

1. THYMOTHY K. NUKPE)
2. GEORGE AGBO) ARREST OF

On 23 January 1956 at Goviefe Todji, one Mr. Wilson Kofi Ntumie, native of Goviefe who arrived from Kadjebi, wanted to register in his home town as a voter for the forthcoming plebiscite. The Registration Assistant in charge of Goviefe Todji, a C.P.P. member, was not willing to register the applicant and consequently refused to give him the application form on the ground that he was residing in Kadjebi and therefore had to return to Kadjebi and register there. When both of them were arguing on the matter - Messrs. T.K. Nukpe and George Agbo, representatives of the Togoland Congress, came to the spot. Mr. Nukpe explained to the Registration Assistant that since Mr. Ntumie has been residing in Togoland for more than two consecutive years, he had right to register in his home town. They also called the attention of the Registration Assistant to the Registration Regulations which do not stipulate that levy receipts should be produced as a condition for qualification for registration but which the Registration Assistant in question insisted upon.

See UKPA/28
schedule B,
UKPA/43

The Registration Assistant replied with abusive words and the argument resulted into a dispute and the matter has been referred to the Assistant Registration Officer who decided that the applicant should be registered and that was the end of the dispute. Several days later policemen came from Kpandu at the request of the Chief of Goviefe, a C.P.P.

member, and arrested Messrs. Nukpe and Agbo whom the Chief accused of threatening the Registration Assistant. At Kpandu they have been granted Bail and have been asked to attend Magistrate Court at Ho on 23 April.

I have the honour to approach you on behalf of Togoland Congress to intervene in order that the case may be dismissed because the complaint by the Chief was malicious and based on party politics. The matter has once been reported to you by Mr. Kodjo Ayeke, M.L.A.

Thanking you in advance for the help you may give in the matter.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A.H. Simpson

REGIONAL SECRETARY

The PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
C/O REGIONAL OFFICER'S OFFICE
HO.

Copy to: U.N. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO

TC/43

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. BOX 85
HEHE

18 April 1956.

Sir,

EXTERNAL INFLUENCE OVER THE PLEBISCITE

Yet another report has been submitted to us by Mr. Ben Dzikunu of Weta via Agbozeme, Post Office Box 11 in Keta District, Gold Coast Colony to the effect that Plebiscite registration did take place in Weta, Keta district of the Gold Coast Colony and that he himself did register there. He gave his registered number to be D.10.

2. According to him a Registration Assistant was posted to Weta for the purpose of registering voters for the Togoland Plebiscite. He further stated that this officer explained that every Ewe-speaking man is requested to register and vote for the decision on the future of British Togoland.

See UKPA/50

3. In ignorance of the rules and regulations laid down for the Plebiscite registration many people responded to this invitation to have their names registered. Later upon inquiry he understood that persons not resident in Togoland for twelve months or more were not qualified to register. He therefore rushed to the Togoland Congress office to ascertain the facts connected with the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations.

4. After the regulations had been read to him here in the Togoland Congress Office, he decided to submit in full details the report contained in this communication.

5. We consider from this report that countless persons must have been registered in that area in the manner described above without the Registration Officer objecting to such arbitrary act.

We request immediate investigation into this report and we hope that Mr. Ben Dzikunu whose full postal address has been given above shall be contacted for evidence in this case.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

(Signed) S.G. Antor

Secretary General

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
C/O REGIONAL OFFICE
HO

cc. H.E. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
POST OFFICE BOX 103, HO.

TC/44
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. BOX 85
HOHOE

28 April 1956

Sir,

Referring to your letter No. TP.2/113 dated 26 April 1956, I am to state that Mr. BEN DZIKUNU appeared in person to this office with a counterfoil receipt of the Togoland Plebiscite Registration form with a registered number D.10 on it.

In order to assist the Plebiscite Administrator in the conduct of his investigation, he was requested to submit his full postal address for the purpose of our report. The signature of the Registration Assistant was illegible.

See UKPA/50

Since it is hoped that in the conduct of the Plebiscite Administrator's investigation, Mr. BEN DZIKUNU himself would be requested to appear in person, he decided to take with him his counterfoil receipt which he said could be tendered in evidence when he is requested to do so.

In the circumstances, therefore, I can only refer the Plebiscite Administrator to Mr. BEN DZIKUNU's postal address as contained in my letter of 18 April 1956.

I hope that the Plebiscite Administrator will go ahead with his investigation through Mr. DZIKUNU'S postal address which had been made available to him.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

(Signed) S.G. ANTOR

SECRETARY GENERAL

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
C/O REGIONAL OFFICE
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

COPY TO: H.E. THE UN. COMMISSIONER
P.O. BOX 103
HO

TC/45

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. BOX 85
HOHOE

18 April 1956.

Sir,

INFILTRATION AND MALPRACTICES IN REGISTRATION
FOR TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

Hitherto the Plebiscite Administrator insisted continuously on proofs for reports submitted to him in connection with fraud, infiltrations and malpractices during the Togoland Plebiscite registration period.

2. Results of his investigations on these reports had always been that there were no proofs for what he termed allegations in our reports. His investigations, however, did not require evidence from the reporter nor were the reporter's or his witnesses' presence requested.

3. In each of our reports sufficient data was provided for the Administrator to refer to, if he desired evidence to prove the substance of the report.

4. Consequently we have decided in the present report to give every necessary data to enable him to investigate scrupulously and most impartially into this report.

See UKPA/44

5. Ever since 21 March, the Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress started negotiations with the Government Agent, Mr. David Heaton, on the inspection of the voters' register for the various wards in the Anfoega Local Council Area.

6. All efforts to secure police protection during the inspection of the registers in question through the Government Agent had failed. Further efforts were made in other directions for the inspection of the registers of voters in Anfoega area also through the Government Agent since party influence in that particular area was so tense, but without success.

7. Finally it was agreed between the Secretary-General and the Government Agent, Kpandu, that the registers of voters for Anfoega area should be brought to the Government Agent's Office, Kpandu, to enable the Togoland Congress representatives to inspect them. Before arriving at this final conclusion we had merely four days left for the inspection of registers.

8. Of these four days, Friday was a holiday (Good Friday) and most people travel over the week-end for Easter holiday. Sunday was Easter Sunday and Monday was Whit Monday. All these days were holidays and no inspection was possible.

9. Consequently we had one day, the closing day for the inspection. We called at the Government Agent's Office at Kpandu on Tuesday, 3 April, and we discovered that in "Ward E" alone in Anfoega Local Council Area, there were more than 200 registered voters listed as labourers while there were no public works being done in that particular area or anywhere nearby. We happened to know the names of some of these labourers who belong to the road works being done by a Greek Contractor known as Tranakides in the region of Have and Logba. We took a list of these labourers from the register and then entered objection against 73 of them before it was 6 p.m. on that Tuesday. Since Tuesday was the closing day we could do no more.

See
paragraph
446

10. Then with the list taken we consulted the roll of labourers employed by Tranakides and we found that all these labourers were enrolled by Tranakides as his road labourers.

11. Tranakides, however, first entered Togoland under British administration as a Road Contractor on 11 June 1955. Consequently neither Mr. Transkides himself nor any of his labourers could have been resident in Togoland for twelve months or more and we wonder how these labourers were registered piece-meal without ensuring that they had residential qualification.

12. This, indeed, must have accounted greatly for the 33 per cent voters in the Southern Section who were registered without tax

receipts as stated in Plebiscite Administrator's communication No. TP.2/78 of 28 March 1956, paragraph I under the subject "Tax Receipts".

13. I attach herewith for your information and necessary action the names and registered numbers of the labourers who were registered at Anfoega Local Council area but who are in fact labourers employed by a Greek Contractor, Mr. Tranakides whose entry into British Togoland dates from 11 June 1955 (less than twelve calendar months).

14. I shall be grateful if the Plebiscite Administrator will treat this matter with all the urgency it deserves and inform this office of the result.

15. We shall be very much willing to co-operate with the Plebiscite Administrator in any aspect of his investigations connected with this report should we be requested to do so.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

(Signed) S.G. Antor

SECRETARY GENERAL

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
C/O REGIONAL OFFICE
HO
T.U.U.K.T.

c.c. H.E. The U.N. Commissioner
P.O. Box 103
Ho
T.U.U.K.T.

The Secretary-General
United Nations
New York
U.S.A.

WARD E - ANFOEGA AKUKOME

M.22	Moshi Isaka	M.14	Dahamuni
M.23	Moshi Harga	M.15	Moshi Kubisa
M.25	Moshi Wusumanu	M.16	Moshi Braima
M.26	Moshi Adama	M.17	Moshi Amadu
M.27	Moshi Tinga	M.11	Moshi Dahamanu
M.28	Moshi Burugu	M.19	Moshi Salami
M.29	Moshi Salami	M.21	Mamprusi Kalim
M.30	Moshi Bila		
M.31	Moshi Salamani	B.22	Busanga Yacyiya
M.32	Mamprusi Kofi	B.20	Bus Salamani
M.33	Moshi Salami	B.21	Bus Mamudu
M.34	Moshi Sedu	B.23	Busenge Bila
M.36	Moshi Abudu	B.24	Busanga Salifu
M.37	Moshi Djabi		
M.38	Mosanga Koka	D.46	Dibuama Frida
M.39	Mamprusi Laley	D.68	Dagati David
M.40	Moshi Basibri	D.69	Dagati Wuremenya
M.42	Moshi Braima	D.70	Dag. Sunya
M.41	Moshi Isu	D.73	Dagati Dzato
M.43	Moshi Salam	D.77	Dagati Kwami
N.11	Narty John	D.76	Dagati Kofi
N.14	Nebra Adolph	D.78	Dagati Wonya
N.12	Nkrumah Kwabena	D.79	Dagati Kwaku
O.10	Obisi Yaw	D.80	Dagati Damba
O.11	Cwusu Kwaku	D.81	Dagati Wenchi
O.13	Odonker Francis	D.82	Dagati Kotibayi
		D.84	Dag. Countryman
K.42	Kramo Isaaka	D.85	Dag. Tanye
K.45	Kalima Isaka	D.86	Dagati Moshi
K.46	Kusase Ayangari	D.87	Dagati Toku
K.47	Kobole Mathais	D.88	Dagati Freping
K.48	Kusase Isa	D.89	Dahamani Mamp.
K.51	Kwotokoli Seidu	D.74	Do Kwadzo
K.56	Kwakwu Kwami	D.90	Do Edmond
K.66	Kwadzo Silber	D.93	Dagaty Botena
K.71	Kusase Laley		
K.72	Kwami Osabutey	E. 8	Edu Kwabena
K.74	Kofikuma Mensah		
K.75	Kofikuma Atakuma	F. 2	Frafra Foso
K.78	Kofikuma Raphael	F. 3	Frafra Abongo
K.79	Kwasi Tette	F. 4	Forson Albert
		F. 5	Fianku Yawo
L. 6	Lagos Issaka	F. 6	Frafra Simpa
L. 7	Losu Nyama	F. 7	Fulani Sambo
L. 8	Lagos Salami	F. 8	Fulani Harona
		F. 9	Fulani Adam

G. 5 Gbede Adjoah
G.17 Grumah Yakabo
G.18 Mama Gruma
G.19 Gao Musa
G.20 Galiba Yakabo
G.21 Gru. Adamu
G.24 Gruma Yakabu
G.25 Griga Tei
G.26 Gridi Kofi
G.27 Gyaping Issack

H. 5 Hemeng Kwame
H. 6 Hausa Geriba

T. 2 Tsede Fofoe
T. 5 Tsede Ester
T.11 Tsede Comfort
T.18 Tsede Yawo

V. 3 Vodzor Kumavie
V. 9 Vodzor Vincent
V.13 Vodzor Anku
V.16 Vodzor Amakuma
V.17 Vodzor Yawavi

WARD B

B.36 Bissabah Comfort
B.37 Bissabah Yawa

D. 6 Doh-Nami Seth Donkor
D. 1 Doh-Nami Seth Donkor
D.25 Dotse Comfort
D.28 Dotse Gladys
D.29 Dotse Afua

M. Moshe Salifu

O.14 Obene Seth
O.15 Okyere Francis

Q. 1 Quarshi Richard

Z. 5 Zongo Salifu
Z. 6 Zamanama Amadu

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

(Signed)

S.G. Antor

SECRETARY GENERAL

TC/46

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT
P.O. BOX 85
HOHOE

25/4/56

Sir,

Information has reached this office to the effect that the authorities of the E.P. Church have scheduled a Presbytery Conference (all pastors, catechists, church elders, presbyters, etc.) to be held at Kpandu on 8 and 9 May 1956.

It may interest the Plebiscite Administrator to learn that the Heads of the E.P. Church are Gold Coast Africans who appear to be sympathizers of the Gold Coast Government Party, the Convention People's Party. The said Conference therefore appears to be deliberately billed to be held on 9 May, the Polling Day of the Togoland Plebiscite.

See UKPA/46

We would be obliged therefore if the Plebiscite Administrator could negotiate with the Authorities concerned so that the said conference be called off; besides we would like you to inform this office the result of your prompt action.

Yours faithfully,

TOGOLAND CONGRESS

(Signed) S.G. Antor

SECRETARY GENERAL

TO THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
C/O REGIONAL OFFICE
HO

COPY TO: H.E. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
C/O REGIONAL OFFICE
HO

THE AG:SYNOD CLERK
E.P. CHURCH
P.O. BOX 18
HO

C. Complaints submitted by the Convention People's Party

CPP/1

CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY
(Southern Togoland Branch)

care P.O. Box 3,
HO.

21 January 1956

Sir,

BRITISH TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

We of the Convention People's Party (Togoland) have the pleasure in welcoming you to our Territory and of wishing you success in the great task of supervising on behalf of the United Nations, the Plebiscite in British Togoland.

2. With regard to the administrative arrangements for the plebiscite, we are happy to note that the Administering Authority has kept within the limits of the provisions in United Nations resolution of December 1955.

3. We would, however, wish to put the following suggestions through you, Sir, to the Plebiscite Administrator for an early consideration.

(a) On the registration form local Council tax receipts for the financial years 1954/55 and 1955/56 are requested as proof of the required residential qualification.

See
paragraphs
376-398

We agree that a measure such as this is highly necessary to ensure that those who register have stayed in the Territory for at least twelve months during the past two years, 1954 and 1955.

Some registration officers are accepting the 1954/55 tax receipt as sufficient proof for the twelve months residential qualification while others insist on both 1954/55 and 1955/56 receipts.

We plead for uniformity in this regard and wish to suggest that the 1954/55 receipts should be accepted as sufficient proof of residence for twelve months. Where an applicant brings only the 1955/56 receipt and the registration officer has cause to entertain any doubt about his twelve months residence, the local chief should be invited to identify the applicant in the presence of one representative from each of the political parties (C.P.P. and the Congress) and a neutral person in the village square, or at a place the Plebiscite Administrator may consider appropriate for the purpose.

(b) There is some amount of fear in the Togoland Congress Camp that the C.P.P. which favours union with the Gold Coast may bring in people from the Gold Coast to increase their number. Similarly, C.P.P. members and supporters fear that the Togoland Congress may repeat the importation of men from French Togoland to swell their number as they did during the last general elections held in the Territory.

See
paragraphs
399-410

To safeguard each side in this connexion, we suggest that adequate police guards should be posted in the villages and towns lying along the borders of the Gold Coast and French Togoland and also in villages which are within five miles from each of these boundaries. This measure is more desirable in the Ewe section of Southern Togoland.

See paragraphs
345-346

(c) Those who may leave the territory for jobs after they had duly registered should be permitted to come back to cast their votes.

(d) In villages where Togoland Congress supporters are in majority C.P.P. leaders and propaganda secretaries are prevented from explaining their point of view on the future of Togoland to the people.

We suggest that policemen should be posted in such villages and towns to ensure liberty of Assembly and freedom of speech. We wish to make particular reference to Hodzo and Ziavi, in the Ho District.

4. The registration has some twenty days more to go and we hope these matters will be given consideration in the earliest possible time.

5. The above is a confirmation of the interview you had with leaders of the Convention People's Party on 17 January in the Regional Office, Ho.

We are,
Sir,

(Signed) PHILIP K. KEH
REGIONAL CHAIRMAN, C.P.P.

S.W. KUMAH
REGIONAL SECRETARY, C.P.P.

THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
c/o The Regional Office,

HO

Copy to: The Togoland Plebiscite Administrator,
c/o The Regional Office,
Ho.

British Togoland.

CPP/2

P.O. Box 55
Kpandu
26 January 1956

Sir,

PETITION

I, on behalf of the Action Troopers of the Convention People's Party, Kpandu, have the honour to lay this humble Petition for your serious consideration.

It is never our wish to complain in any form or to interfere with the works of the Registration Assistants.

But having observed, with profound regret, the incessant rejections, intimidations, leading questions and other maltreatments being given to our Party Members by the Registration Assistant attached to Ward B (a) at Kpandu Gabi, I simply cannot help to point out the foregoing anomalies.

Although rumours indicate that the practices I am complaining of exist in other Wards and Areas, the following is a concrete example for the genuineness of which I can vouch.

See
UKPA/9

In support of my information, I cite the case in which Mr. Nelson Nyavor was involved. The case is that, on or about 16 January 1956, two students appeared before this particular Registration Assistant to register as voters. Nelson Nyavor, bearing No. N 6 on the Voters List - Ward B (a) Gabi, was registered. N. Nyavor is a student in the Presbyterian Training College, Akropong (Gold Coast).

But the second student Mr. Augustine Gane of Kpandu Gabi, who is attending St. Francis College, Hohoe, was rejected by this particular Registration Assistant. Leading Party Members were drained with insulting words when they approached him for an explanation.

Many of our illiterate members were rejected through leading questions. This particular Registration Asst. has no respect for laws and Regulations guiding the Plebiscite.

Indeed this Registration Asst. refuses to respect the registration rules and fails to co-operate with the Chief in his Ward. He rejects freely all workable solutions or identifications from the Paramount Chief who is the most rightful personnel in Ward B (a). But instead, he accepts identifications from Togoland Congress members e.g. Raven Ebudza. He refused to do the work in good faith. He refused to stay in the suggested place (the open front of the Paramount Chief's House).

Fearing his planned intimidations etc. our women folks fail to continue to approach this particular Registration Assistant for registration in Ward B (a).

Whilst trusting that you will probe into this special case,

I remain,
I am,
Your humble Petitioner,
(Signature: ill.)

PRESIDENT
CPP. ACTION TROOPERS

THE REGISTRATION OFFICER,
KPANDU WEST,
KPANDU.

Copy to:

The Plebiscite Administrator, Accra.
The Plebiscite Commissioner, Accra.
The Asst. Plebiscite Administrator, Ho.
The Government Agent, Kpandu.
The United Nations Observers, Kpandu.
Mr. S.W. Kumah, Ho.
The Reg. Asst. Ward B (a), Kpandu Gabi.

CPP/3

Convention People's Party,
Ho District Headquarters,
P.O. Box 55,
Ho.

10 February 1956

Sir,

TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

We have noticed that certain high ranking politicians like Mr. S.T. Agbeko and Mr. Attiogbe both from French Togoland, have been moving about in the Ho district recently conducting open campaigns and interviews with chiefs in connexion with the registration now in progress for the forthcoming plebiscite in British Togoland.

In the Anyigbe Local Council area, Mr. Agbeko has been exhibiting photographs of Mr. S.K. Banarji, chairman of the United Nations Special Visiting Mission of 1955 to Togoland at a rally of the Togoland Congress and he Mr. Agbeko has been making allegations to the effect that the photograph shows the Chairman of the Visiting Mission disapproving of the union of British Togoland with an independent Gold Coast.

See
Paragraph
218

In our opinion, such actions and propaganda are not only deliberately designed to confuse the minds of voters, but are grossly misleading and amount to unnecessary interference from interested outside parties which are allies of the Togoland Congress.

Since it is our desire to keep the issue facing us, British Togoland, at this crucial moment in its true perspective, we are opposed to the presence of and interference from these politicians in particular and any others generally of their calibre. We would further insist that the Administering Authority be advised to take any appropriate steps to prevent any such infiltration and interference until after voting day.

Your co-operation and prompt action in this matter will
be highly appreciated.

Yours in the national service,
(Signed) S.T. Fleku
Organizing Secretary, Ho Dist.

The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner
Ho.

Copies to: The Plebiscite Administrator, HO.
The Secretary, Togoland C.P.P., HO.

CPP/4

THE ASST. GEN. SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
AKAN/KRACHI CONSTITUENCY,
CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY,
POST OFFICE BOX 70,
KADJEBI.

5 March 1956

THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
BRITISH TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE,
Thro: THE GOVERNMENT AGENT,
THE GOVT. AGENT'S OFFICE,
POST OFFICE BOX 20,
JASIKAN.

Sir,

IRREGULARITIES IN TOGO PLEBISCITE
REGISTRATION IN AKAN LOCAL COUNCIL
AREA

We submit herewith the irregularities discovered in connexion with the Togoland Plebiscite Registration in some parts of Krachi and Akan Local Council areas for your personal investigation and early action please:

See
UKPA/31

KADJEBI: On Saturday 11 February 1956, the Assistant

Registration Officer approved of these persons:

1. Eugenia Gbadago 2. Kudadzi Adjima 3. Cephas Ajima
4. Adzo Hayibor and 5. Egoe Libu's registration in the house

See paragraph
208

when one Mr. Dogbe approached him for such purpose. The Registration Asst. knowing very well that the Assistant Registration Officer's house is not the Public Office where such approvals should be made also registered the people without objection. On Tuesday 14 February 1956 when the Assistant Registration Officer was approving some of the Doubtful Claimant forms, we raised an objection to why such approval was being made without the Chief and his elders; for they are

supposed to know the people better. The Officer did not mind the advice as he was already approached by Mr. Alex Mensah in the house. We made remarks that such people would be objected by us when the proper time came up for the objections. The Assistant Registration Officer advised the Registration Assistant for Ward M2 not to give out the names of the people to us, for he hoped to be the Revising Officer and he would not at the time entertain these particular complaints. We began to wonder of the contacts between the two Public Officers and the Togoland Congress.

ASATO: The Congress Leaders through some false means brought some registration forms from Hohoe per Mr. Alex Mensah and shared to the French imported people who have been already given the doubtful Claimant forms to re-register with the new forms. This was reported to the Assistant Registration Officer who never took any action thereof.

DJINJI: In spite of the late instructions to all the Registration Assistants that they should not depend too much on the Levy receipts, the Registration Assistant at this station refused the advice and put all people who were not having such levy receipts on the doubtful Claimant sheets which action has resulted that over eighty people on the Claimant sheets were not attended.

POASE CEMENT: We could not understand the reason why the Togoland Congress Leaders should arrange with the Administering Officer who was in charge of the Registration Officers to bring one Owusu Afari, who is the General Secretary to the Togoland Congress in the Buem District and also a member of the National Executive of the Togoland Congress as Assistant

See
paragraphs
339-340

Registration Assistant at this station whilst there was one Registration Assistant at the station. Such arrangements have let the Poase Cement registration go up four times that of 1954. There have been rumours that Pekis were brought from Peki to register by our Party. This false allegation should not be counted at all as Pekis form 2/3 of the population of this station and they almost own all the immovable properties of the station. It also happened that the few French subjects who own all the immovable properties at this village share the properties with the immigrants from the French Territory so as to qualify them to register. All such irregularities were reported to the Assistant Registration Officer in order to have the headman of the village to approve of all such people as whether they really own such properties, but the Assistant Registration Officer would not mind all such advice.

AHAMANSU: The Registration on 8 February 1956 be revised as Mr. S.G. Antor and members of his party brought some people from the French Territory to register their names on that day. This allegation can be checked up from the Chief of Ahamansu and his various headmen of the various communities.

BONTIBO: The Commissioner should go to check up the registration properly as the registration exceeds the actual population at this station. The Congress got the chance of sending their imported people from the French Territory to this station as they found the Registration Assistant to be weak.

We hope the Commissioner may try his level best to check up the above-mentioned facts and let us hear of the result before the registers come up finally for checking.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) J.R. DABO
ASST. CONSTITUENCY
SECRETARY

c.c.

The Government Agent, Jasikan
The General Secretary. C.P.P., Accra

CPP/5

COMPLAINTS OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY IN BUEM KRACHI DISTRICT
DURING THE REGISTRATION FOR THE COMING PLEBISCITE IN BRITISH TRUST
TOGOLAND

Sir,

1. AHAMANSU: On 8 February 1956, Mr. Antor the leader of the Togoland Congress Party, led a group of people of over 200 known to be French subjects to register as voters in the coming plebiscite at Ahamansu. The Chief and the indigenes of Ahamansu saw this trick and put on a strong objection against the registration of this group of people. Upon this we pray that all those who had their names registered on that day be deleted from the voters list of Ahamansu.

See
UKPA/39

2. POASE CEMENT: We strongly protest against the over increasing figures of registration for Poase Cement. The Assistant Registration Officer for Poase Cement - Mr. Owusu Afari - a Jasikan man and also a Congress Party Secretary is highly suspected during the period of his services. Because the registration figures of Poase Cement has really jumped up in hundreds and we feel strongly that there has been a great influx of French subjects into that area as it is very close to the boundary. We humbly demand that the Revising Officer may recheck the voters list for that area.

See
Paragraphs
339-340 and
411-420

3. BONTIBO AND PUSUPU: These areas being the remotest parts of the Territory, the Togoland Congress directed many of their unqualified supporters to go there to register. We pray therefore, that the Revising Officer may kindly recheck the voters list of Bontibo and Pusupu. For we suspect influx of French subjects into that area also.

4. DAIN DODO AMANFRO: The Farmers' Headman at Dain Dodo, a French subject invited a lot of people from the French territory to register at Dain Dodo. That trick was found out: and there was a big confusion at those places during the registration.

5. NKONYA BURBULA: A Kpandu village. We suspect double registration between Kpandu and this village: we feel that many of the voters have registered at both Kpandu and Burbula and this might be checked before the Plebiscite.

6. BORADA: The registration figures for the Kotokolis, Basares and Kabres in this town have suspiciously increased: we therefore demand recheck of registered voters list.

7. LIKPE BALA: The Assistant Registration Officer who is known to be a member of the Togoland Congress Party connived to forge Form "B" which case has been taken up by the Gold Coast Police: and the public is waiting to know the result of the case.

8. ABUTABE: Mr. Botwe the Assistant Registration Officer for this place met a Congress Party member with a lot of Form "B" acting as Assistant Registration Officer during the registration period: we feel strongly that the matter must be investigated.

We hope that the above complaints will be given an immediate attention and action.

Signed by: ill.
DISTRICT CHAIRMAN
ill.
DISTRICT SECRETARY
ill.
DISTRICT PROP. SECRETARY

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
HEAD OFFICE,
HO

cc. The U.N.O. Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.
The " " Observer, Jasikan
The Government Agent, Jasikan
The Regional Chairman, C.P.P. Ho.
The General Secretary, C.P.P. National Headquarters, Accra.

Note:
Inhabitants
of this
village
are mostly
natives
of Kpandu

CPP/6

THE CHAIRMAN'S OFFICE
P.O. BOX 10
HO

25 April 1956

Sir,

POLICE CHECKS ON ALL MAIN ROUTES BETWEEN BRITISH TOGOLAND AND THE
ADJACENT TERRITORIES

At the meeting held, between you and the Political leaders on Thursday 19 April, at Ho the C.P.P. stressed the need for Police check on all vehicles entering and leaving the Territory from 1 May to 9 May 1956.

see paragraph
472

2. It is common knowledge that the Togoland Congress is one of the allies of the National Liberation Movement in Ashanti. The methods of the N.L.M. are well known to everybody in the Gold Coast and in the Trust Territory - Rioting and Violence.

see paragraph
153

3. For the Past two weeks secret meeting have been held by the leaders of the Congress with Exservice men in certain villages in the Trust Territory. Rumours are also current that members of the N.L.M. Action Groups have had meetings with the Congress at Kpedze, Hohoe and at Biakpa. It is feared that dynamites and the like might be smuggled into the Territory during these last days of the plebiscite, as the Congress have decided to destroy lives of innocent persons in case the plebiscite should result in their defeat. The C.P.P. is therefore appealing to you Sir, to use your Office of Plebiscite Administrator, to order that the checks suggested on the roads should be introduced. This suggestion is in the interest of peace and order.

4. The Congress Rally scheduled for Ho on 6 May is so near the Plebiscite day that we fear that if an influx of French Togolanderns are allowed as is usually the case with Congress Rallies, Juvento

and Unite Togolais members who might have illegally Registered would remain in the Territory to vote.

5. The C.P.P. would be glad if steps would be taken in conjunction with the French authorities in this direction.

I am,
Sir,

(Signed) Philip Keh
REGIONAL CHAIRMAN
C.P.P.

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
HO

Copy to: The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner
Ho

CPP/7

Convention People's Party
Ho District
c/o P.O. Box 55
Ho

2 May 1956

Sir,

On behalf of the Ho District Executive of the C.P.P.,
I wish to place the following report before you for your
consideration and necessary action:

At the District Magistrate's Court, Ho, on Monday
30 April 1956, one Tu Aku, a member of the Togoland Congress was
found guilty and sentenced for beating gong-gong announcing
that any body at Abutia Kloe who voted for the C.P.P. during
the plebiscite would be bitten by a snake or killed by a
fetish known as 'Atando'.

See paragraph
208

The supporters of the C.P.P. at Abutia Kloe have complained
to us that as the result of the invocation of this fetish they
have been virtually rendered incapable of voting freely in the
plebiscite. According to their belief, the 'Atando' fetish
is so powerful that there is the fear that any one who votes
against its invocation will surely die and his or her children
will also fall victims.

See
UKPA/45

Obviously a situation of great fear and intimidation has been
created in this ward at Abutia Kloe and there is much doubt as to
whether voters in this ward will any longer be in position to
exercise their choice freely; besides most of them are also
inclined to refrain from giving their votes at the plebiscite.

In our opinion it is hard to believe that voting at Abutia
Kloe will not be unduly influenced or biased during the plebiscite
owing to the circumstances explained above in which event "the
freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants" could NOT be ascertained.

We therefore wish to place on record our strong objection to any voting being allowed in this ward since the result is unlikely to reflect the true wishes of the inhabitants.

Yours in the national service,
(Signed) S.T. Fleku
S. Togbe Fleku
Organizer, Ho District C.P.P.

The Plebiscite Administrator
HO

Copy to: The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner
HO

D. Complaints submitted by other organizations and individuals

MISC/1

PETITION FOR WITHDRAWAL OF REGISTRATION ASSISTANT

16 January 1956

Dear Sir,

1. Mr. David Heaton, the Government Agent resident at Kpandu, will well remember when he just lately met us chiefs from the Ward "E" of the East Dain Local Council at Ve-Goloknati concerning the present Plebiscite in Togoland, that we objected strongly to the appointment of Mr. Prebie as registration assistant for our ward, the main reasons being that, Mr. Prebie comes from the Gold Coast and does not know the people well enough to transact such duties of the registration assistant without trouble. In addition, we know him to be a CPP fanatic who is not on good terms with most people in the ward. But the Government Agent refused to take our advice and made him the registration assistant - a cause for a high tension now in the ward.

2. Presently, we do complain -

(i) Of a conspiracy between Mr. Prebie and the chief of Vo-Agbome, Togbui Akoto, while on the advice of Mr. Prebie Togbui Akoto caused gongong to be beaten in the morning of the 15th instant informing the people that all people exempted from paying levy, for whatever reason, are not eligible to vote in the Plebiscite. Togbui Akoto himself is a CPP and they both hope to confuse their opponents by this vile propaganda.

(ii) That Mr. Prebie has on more than one occasion refused to register at Ve-Gbodome, without any direction or instruction whatsoever, people exempted from paying levy.

See
UKPA/3
and
paragraph
334

(iii) That Mr. Prebie has openly declared his intention to find all means possible to cause the imprisonment of two young men from Ve-Agbome Messrs. G.Y. Takyi and C.K. Tuadi because they constantly challenge him on his partial behaviour. He also goes about making the vile propaganda about how people will be imprisoned for life or heavily fined in a case of violation of any rule concerning the Plebiscite, instead of helping educate the people to come forward for registering. His hope is to make the opponents of the CPP timid and easy to deceive.

3. Now, in the light of the above, we foresee troubles ahead and therefore give this timely warning that Mr. Prebie's appointment be terminated forthwith and a non-partisan Togolander be made to take his place. Failure to this, if there happens to be any troubles in the Ward, we chiefs concerned and our people should not be held responsible, but the Government Agent - the cause of the present tension in the Ward, and the Plebiscite Staff concerned.

Your sincerely,

1. Togbui Kongong V. Ve-Gbodcme
his x mark
2. Togbui Dzoli Ve Hoeme
his x mark

16 January 1956

DISTRIBUTION:

1. The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho
2. The Registration Officer, Hohoe
3. The Government Agent, Kpandu
4. Mr. S.G. Antor, General Secretary,
Togoland Congress, Hohoe

MISC/2

S P A R K

(A BI-WEEKLY NEWSPAPER)

Published by: Committee on Togoland Liberation Movements

No. 6 Kpedze, Tuesday, 17 January 1956

EDITORIAL

OVER TO YOU: SIR JOHN DRING AND
MR. ESPINOSA DE PRIETO

The "SPARK" reawakening after a brief period of recuperation has today pledged to carry on relentlessly with the struggle for Mother Togoland's final liberation from the evil machinations of Kwame Nkruma's hireling government of the Gold Coast and to expose the manoeuvres of the enemies of Peace and Concord.

The atrocities being perpetrated to the people of Togoland by petty Registration Assistants, who are almost all members of the Integration Party (CPP), carefully selected by the Gold Coast Government's agents to promulgate their unpopular plans to integrate Togoland have been brought to our notice.

See paragraphs
324--341

These Registration Assitants dancing to the tune of their masters' "legatto" voice are creating their own qualifications which cannot be found in any of the resolutions adopted by the Fourth Committee or the General Assembly.

In order to preserve the high ideals and tradition of the United Nations; in order to maintain JUSTICE, PEACE and EQUITY and in order not to create another Korea in this part of Africa, the "SPARK" calls on the Plebiscite Commissioner, Mr. Espinoza and the United Kingdom Government's Sir John to use their high offices to desuade interested Gold Coast Government agents from placing uncalled for obstacles in the way of bona fide inhabitants of Togoland in their desire to show the world how their country should be governed in the future.

WE REPRODUCE HERE BELOW EXTRACTS FROM
CHAPTER IV OF THE SPECIAL REPORT OF THE
VISITING MISSION WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACCEPTED AS A WORKING
BASIS FOR THE PLEBISCITE (TOGOLAND) AT ITS
TENTH SESSION ON 12 DECEMBER 1955

Chapter IV

"Section 153. The Mission was informed that one major difficulty which arose in the 1954 registration related to the requirement that the basic rate be paid in respect of either the current or the previous year... Unless there was further improvement in Local government rate collection machinery by the time of the plebiscite, and if payment of the rate by those liable was a requirement for registration and voting, it may be assumed that in some areas a significant number of people would be disenfranchised. THE MISSION CONSIDERS THAT TO RESTRICT PARTICIPATION IN THE PLEBISCITE ON GROUNDS OF LOCAL TAXATION WOULD BE OBJECTIONABLE IN PRINCIPLE AND HAS THEREFORE NOT RECOMMENDED THE PAYMENT OF THE BASIC RATE BY THOSE LIABLE AS A QUALIFICATION FOR VOTING IN THE PLEBISCITE. It considers, however, that the presentation of a tax receipt when registering would be the primary and normal manner of establishing proof of residence in the Trust Territory.

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

- (a) has attained the age of twenty-one years at the time of registration;
- (b) has resided within the Trust Territory for a period of at least twelve months during the two years immediately preceding registration;
- (c) is at the time of registration residing within the ward in which he or she applies to register;
- (d) is not disqualified by reason of the disqualifications listed in the Local Government Ordinance, 1951."

MISC/3

MEMORANDUM ON THE QUALIFICATION FOR VOTING
IN THE TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

We the undersigned have the honour to draw your attention to the grossly undemocratic and unjust recommendations of the 1955 Togoland Visiting Mission concerning qualification of voters for the forthcoming plebiscite.

In paragraph 154 of the report, with particular reference to sections (b) and (c) the recommendations, in effect, imply that approximately 30,000 non-Togoland residents now sojourning in the Trust Territory, have the right to vote, while approximately 51,000 bona fide Togoland natives sojourning in the Gold Coast on account of employment will be denied that right. (Vide section 147 of the report.)

We wish to emphasize that the "peoples concerned" in this Togoland question are the Togoland residents as stated in Article 76 of the United Nations Charter.

Similarly, we wish to point out that by far the greatest proportion of non-Togoland residents now resident in the Trust Territory are living there temporarily as civil servants, school teachers etc., and most of the Togoland residents now living in the Gold Coast are also temporary residents only.

The Mission concerned itself about difficulties in proving birth or nationality of voters. But we consider that local conditions and customs were not taken into account during their deliberations on this subject and these difficulties are only imaginary in this country.

See
paragraphs
376-377

We consider that birth or nationality will be very easily established and verified if registration and voting are carried out at the places of birth, particularly in the case of Togoland residents temporarily resident in the Gold Coast. This is all the more important as the Territory is divided into four regions for the results of the plebiscite.

In each town or centre a Plebiscite Officer could easily carry out these functions, with the help of a local committee appointed for the purpose. The suggested Local Committees will comprise persons having thorough knowledge of local matters and people, and such persons abound in all areas. This would remove the invidious situation now created, whereby a trader from Lagos (for example) will vote on the Togoland problem whereas a Kpando teacher or trader is disqualified because he works in a town just across the border.

The thousands of other Togolanderns who have shown intelligence and initiative to be employed in responsible positions all over the Gold Coast will thereby be given the opportunity to give mature and reasoned opinion on this all important subject. We maintain that those are part and parcel of the "peoples concerned" according to Article 76 of the Charter.

We therefore consider that the residential qualifications should also be cancelled in respect of Togolanderns temporarily resident in the Gold Coast if justice is to be contemplated.

Signatories:

1. Gbeddie (Govt. Tr. College,
P.O. Box 14, Peki)
2. K. Tagboto, Medical Officer,
Bekuai
3. A.K. Tse, Mawuli School, Ho

MISC/4

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS GOLD COAST

Circuit	Time handed	Office of origin
No. 7	in 3.15	Hohoe of 16

TO: PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER HO

THIS MOVEMENT AND ALLIES NOT YET DECIDED PARTICIPATE

PLEBISCITE UNDER EXISTING CONDITIONS STOP GRATEFUL GRANT

See paragraph 192

INTERVIEW EARLIEST CONVENIENCE/TOGOLAND REFORMATION

MOVEMENT BOX 65

MISC/5

AKPINI RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION

The Secretary's Office
c/o P.O. Box 57
K P A N D O

23 January 1956

Our Ref.: No. ARA/002/56

Sir,

1955-56 LEVY: COLLECTION OF

Numerous reports have reached us from our Ward Associations about how the registration for the forthcoming Plebiscite in Togoland has been turned into Levy Collection Campaign by the Akpini Local Authority. We are not happy about them.

The Rating Authority has had since the filing of notices in July 1955 for Levy collection, the power to demand and exact and enforce payment of the 1955-56 Levy.

The Akpini Ratepayers' Association adopted a resolution in October 1955 calling upon the Government Agent Kpando to advise the Rating Authority to suspend the collection until an up-to-date Nominal Roll was compiled as the existing one was inadequate. A reply to the said resolution stated among other things that plans for compiling the Nominal Roll by the Rating Authority, were adequate and that payment would be encouraged and enforced.

It is therefore groundless that with an adequate Nominal Roll and for eight months, payment could only be enforced at a time when that enforcement will affect the ratepayer's right of vote.

It will further be explained that we are not opposed to payment nor are we indignant at enforcement. The way in which the Rating Authority has employed the 'Registration' as a means of tracking down defaulters is repugnant to us and a threat to our civic right.

See
UKPA/5 and
paragraphs
378-398

The following is the statement of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner in respect of Levy receipts as a qualification for registration. "...The Mission considers that to restrict participation in the plebiscite on ground of Local taxation would be objectionable in principle and has therefore not recommended the payment of the basic rate by those liable as a qualification for voting in the plebiscite...." That means that a ratepayer can register provided it can be proved that he is really eligible without necessarily producing his levy receipt at the time of registration.

But what is happening at present is this: When a ratepayer who has not yet paid his 1955-56 levy is registered and the news gets to the Rating Authority, action is taken against him as having defaulted. Other ratepayers who could be proved as eligible to register but have not at the present moment the money to pay their levy are just scared away - they cannot afford the money to pay any fine that will be imposed and they are afraid of imprisonment when they are convicted.

The ratepayer should be allowed to register without any fear that that will expose him to any action being taken against him. Taking of action against him should not be the direct outcome of his registration as is happening now.

The Rating Authority is alleged to be in league with some of the Registration Assistants who supply names of persons who fail to produce their levy receipts at the time of registration.

We call upon you to warn the Akpini Rating Authority to refrain from such practices. It is said to have an

adequate Nominal Roll devise wherefrom defaulters could be traced. The registration Office is not the right place.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,

(Signed) E.M. Semahbugia
vice CHAIRMAN
AKPINI RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION

(Signed) Illegible
SECRETARY, A.R.A.

THE GOVERNMENT AGENT
KPANDO

Copy to: 1. U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho
2. Registration Officer, Kpando
3. U.K. Plebiscite Commissioner, Accra
4. Akpini Local Council Clerk, Kpando
5. The Gold Coast Press

MISC/6

BAYA/PI/56

P.O. BOX 15
AKPOSOKUBI

24 January 1956

THE REGISTRATION OFFICER
C/O THE GOVT. AGENT
JASIKAN

Sir,

COMPLAINTS

I am authorised by the above association to bring the following complaints to you for prompt action, please:

1. That the Registration Assistants for Wards K1 and K2 of APESO KUBI (AKPOSOKUBI) in the AKAN Local Council Area are intentionally slow at the registration for reasons best known to themselves.
2. That apart from their disregard for the itinerary, they rush through a few of the numerous villages allotted to them without first making the itinerary known to the inhabitants of the villages concerned. As a result, they do not meet most of the people and the number of people registered falls short of normal.
3. That they suppress the application forms (Form B) and only release them sufficiently to their favourites to quicken up the pace of registration in their own camp.
4. That they reject qualified applicants who are unable to produce their tax receipts, regardless of evidences and proofs of their qualified period of stay in British Togoland.

See
UKPA/29
enclosure (c)

To discourage the above tabulated malpractices and to remove all difficulties in the qualified applicants' way, you are humbly entreated to probe into the complaints immediately and supply the aforementioned Wards with additional Registration Assistants who are more honest and diligent to

speed up the work, as the closing date is fast approaching.
People are ready here to do the work voluntarily if they will
only be given the chance.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours in National Course,

(Signed) Illegible

GENERAL SECRETARY

Copy to:

The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho

MISC/7

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND ACTION, PLEASE

THE STANDARD

Vol. 22 Sunday, 26 February 1956

THE TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

From Our Special Correspondent

Registration in connection with the forthcoming plebiscite has now closed, and judging from the number of those who registered, one expects that the polling will be quite heavy. See paragraphs 5-14
The symbols adopted for the voting have been agreed upon by the two main opposing parties - the CPP and the Togoland Congress - and so are the questions to be posed. These are two: Do you favour separation of British Togoland from the Gold Coast or do you favour union with the Gold Coast?

These questions as they have been formed are simple enough; but we wonder if they will mean the same thing to the voter as those originally proposed by the United Nations, namely, (1) Do you want the integration of Togoland under British Administration with an independent Gold Coast, or (2) Do you want the separation of Togoland under British Administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political future?

These questions are definitely more lengthy than those now proposed, but they have the important merit of bringing out the issues involved more clearly. It is good to be brief, but better still to be precise and clear.

Union and integration do not mean the same thing. Political unions imply some sort of agreement between the contracting parties with each side preserving its own identity. Integration, on the other hand, usually implies that form of fusion whereby one side loses its own identity to the

other. It makes all the difference in political life as to which of the two, union or integration, is adopted.

The declared policy of the Gold Coast Government vis-a-vis British Togoland is integration. But it has now become crystal clear that Togoland, whether the British section alone or a united Togoland, strongly desires some form of union with the Gold Coast, partly for economic reasons and partly in order to solve the Ewe-Dagomba tribal questions. If integration is what the Gold Coast is after, why camouflage it with the work union, which has a wider and more favourable implications? This is an important issue and we should call a spade a spade. This question should be seriously rethought before the plebiscite takes place. It is not so simple as all that.

MISC/8

The Office of the Regent,
Gbi Kpoeta

26 January 1956

The Togo. Plebiscite Administrator,
c/o The Regional Officer,
Regional Office,
HO.

Sir,

We the undersigned, have the honour most respectfully to inform you that since a week today, the Registration officer by name Mr. Cox who is stationed at Hohoe and is responsible for the supervision of the registration in our Ward, that is "WARD G" of the Gbi Division, has refused to visit this ward.

2. According to his itinerary, he is supposed to visit this Ward daily, and we would like to know his reason for failing to do so.

See
UKPA/48
enclosure D

3. I have to call your attention to the fact that there are at present 48 doubtful claimants on the list in this Ward which need his attention, and his failure to visit the Ward and perform his duties assigned to him, is a thing which is greatly worrying our minds.

Trusting you will treat this matter as urgent and see that every one does his duty conscientiously.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours Good Friends,

- | | |
|-------------------|------------|
| 1. Atta Yao Atsu | his x mark |
| The Regent Kpoeta | |
| 2. Tsame Koto | his x mark |
| 3. Adzato Merny | his x mark |

Copies to:

(a) The Plebiscite Commissioner,
care The Regional Officer, Ho.

(b) The Secretary-General,
Togoland Congress, Hohoe.

(c) Mr. Cox,
Registration Officer, Hohoe.

W/Wit to marks/signature
Signature: Illegible

MISC/9

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE VAKPO MIDEZO
HABOBO (YOUTH ASSOCIATION) TO THE
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER ON TOUR WITH HIS
EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR, SIR CHARLES ARDEN
CLARKE - VAKPO, 27 JANUARY 1956

We, the undersigned representatives of the MIDEZO
HABOBO, on behalf of the Union, take this opportunity in
welcoming you into our midst.

That this MIDEZO HABOBO is the only recognized Youth
Association, a non Political body, whose sole aim is to
further social, economical and educational advancement in
the Vakpo Division.

That this Union, which has nothing to do with Political
Parties in Togoland, is nevertheless neutral in anything
affecting the destiny of the future of Togoland since
members of the Union are all indigenous citizens of Togoland.

That it is pride to put on record that Togoland is the
first Trust Territory heading to achieve the basic objective
of the International Charter with reference to Article 76(b).

That although the United Kingdom has given a generous
testimony to the effect that the Togoland under United
Kingdom Trusteeship has so far come up to a standard of
achieving the aim of the Trusteeship System, it is
regrettable to say without fear and favour that, we have no
confidence in the Administering Authorities as far as
this Plebiscite in the Trust Territory under United Kingdom
Trusteeship is concerned. We would also add that the
United Kingdom is an interested party furthering the
Integration of Togoland into the Gold Coast for their own
interest, which is best only known to themselves.

That the United Kingdom Government with the C.P.P.
Government in the Gold Coast have now tightened up the

Integration Question by employing their best diplomats all over the territory to frustrate the true wishes of the people to exist as a nation.

That the people of Togoland look forward to recording your name, Dr. Espinosa Prieto of Mexico, The Plebiscite Commissioner of Togoland in the annals of Togoland history for the present and future generations to ponder over for better or for worse in future.

See paragraphs
19-33

That as free human beings, we would humbly wish to bring this fact to your notice that "YOU SHOULD be prepared for all temptations and remember the whole world look anxiously that you will do but justice to your own reputation, to that of the United Nations, to the Administering Authority and lastly but not the least that the wailing of Togoland under U.K. Trusteeship stands paramount in this last minute future status.

We would like to point out that the last Special Visiting Mission, headed by Mr. Banerji, to the Trust Territories, presented their report honestly for which you have now been commissioned and we have good faith in you. As the man in charge of this Plebiscite, we would ask you to clarify these points to the Vakpo Division and all other divisions, where many practices considered inimical to true democracy and freedom are being used by the Government party to sabotage the coming plebiscite.

That should the Local Council Levy Receipts be the criterial for allowing Indigenous Togolanderns to register and cast their votes in this all important national issue? That should the pro Government Assistant Registration Officers appointed continue to impede and retard the rate of registration day in and day out by turning out people with the excuse that there are no sufficient registration forms? What on earth is happening to these registration forms?

See paragraphs
378-398

We also suggest that the time limit for the registration be extended in order to enable all true indigenous Togolanders to avail themselves of the opportunity to register. Upon UNO's implicit faith in you, we submit these points for your perusal and immediate consideration.

We have the honour to be.

President Signature: Illegible

Secretary Signature: Illegible

THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
ON TOUR WITH THE GOVERNOR,
V A K P O

Served copies to:

- (1) THE GOVERNOR OF THE GOLD COAST
ON TOUR WITH THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
V A K P O
- (2) THE GOVERNMENT AGENT,
ON TOUR WITH THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
V A K P O

MISC/10

Yunyo

29 January 1956

Sir,

I wish to bring the following before your attention.

i. The cinema comentator employed in this area in charge of van AD 2427 is displaying an attitude which is strange to the public.

ii. Apart from so many loose tales he shouts the slogan "Persons in favour of integration should clap their hands with cheers" after every cinema shows.

See paragraph 357

iii. This is raising dcubts in the minds of the people whether the cinema van is now a political van.

iv. He has been warned on many occasions, eg: At Jimbale and he apologized, but he still continues the practice.

I shall be grateful if you would take any necessary steps in the matter.

By a neutral Observer

YUNYO

The G.A.
GAMBAGA.

Copy to:

Information Officer Tamale.

N.B. I am forwarding my full particulars to police.

Copy to: PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
CINEMA COMMENTATOR, U.N.T.P. GAMBAGA

N.B. I am forwarding my full particulars to police.

MISC/11

ALL-EWE CONFERENCE

GENERAL SECRETARY'S
OFFICE
P.O. BOX 7
KPANDU

30 January 1956

Dear sir,

I have the honour to forward you herewith attached copy of a letter addressed to the Plebiscite Administrator by the All-Ewe Conference concerning the ballot boxes for the forthcoming Plebiscite.

See UKPA/11

I would be grateful if you could discuss the matter with the Plebiscite Administrator in due course.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A.M. SIMPSON
GENERAL SECRETARY

THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
HO (Togoland under U.K. Trusteeship)

(Enclosure to the above letter)

GENERAL SECRETARY'S
OFFICE
P.O. BOX 7
KPANDU
30 January 1956

Dear Sir,

VOTING BOXES FOR TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

In Northern Togoland, it is alleged that a Government Agent has gone round telling the Chiefs for publicity among their subjects that two voting boxes will be presented on the polling day - one painted black and the other white. The black one will stand for the question of separation from the Gold Coast to French rule, and the white one for union with the Gold Coast under British rule.

See UKPA/33

If this allegation is true, the Government Agent in question does not only create the impression that the Government or the Administering Authority has already made a choice of symbols of its own liking, but has committed a treacherous act of misleading or creating confusion in the minds of the illiterate public on the issue to vote on.

Whether the allegation is true or not, we strongly appeal to you for the sake of fairness and clear voting that the familiar symbols of the two major opponent political parties, Red Cockerel for the Convention People's Party (Togoland) standing for integration of Togoland under U.K. Trusteeship with the Gold Coast, and the Yellow Star for the Togoland Congress standing for Togoland separation from the Gold Coast be adopted for the voting boxes.

Whatever may be the allegation, we strongly protest against voting boxes of the two colours Black and White, for the reasons that rumours about black and white ballot boxes indicating French rule and British rule respectively had been circulating all over British Togoland long before the Plebiscite question has definitely been decided.

Yours faithfully,

A.M. SIMPSON
GENERAL SECRETARY

MR. JOHN DRING,
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
HO.

c.c. His Excellency the
Governor, Accra.
United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner, Ho.
Togoland Congress Secretary
General, Hohoe.

MISC/12

ALL-EWE CONFERENCE

GENERAL SECRETARY'S
OFFICE
P.O. BOX 7
KPANDU

31 January 1956

Sir,

I have the honour to draw your attention to what we have considered to be an act of infringement of the regulations governing the Togoland Plebiscite.

1. On or about 11 January 1956, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast accompanied by Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, Gold Coast Finance Minister and Daniel Chapman, Secretary to the Executive Council of the Gold Coast, has come to Kpandu and officiated in his capacity as Prime Minister of the Gold Coast at the official and ceremonious opening of the Kpandu District Council building despite the protest sent through telegram by Chiefs and people members of the Togoland Congress to him, the Governor, the Regional Officer, the Plebiscite Commissioner of the United Nations and the Government Agent Kpandu, recalling H.M.'s Government's proclamation of 31 July 1955 concerning the Togoland Civil Service. Such acts on the part of Gold Coast Ministers in this time interfere seriously with the Togoland Plebiscite.

2. The Gold Coast political party in power, the Convention People's Party, has recently bought from the United Africa Company, Accra, twelve Land Rover Vans six of which have been licensed under AE.2173, AE.2174, AE.2175, AE.2176, AE.2177 and AE.2172 and sent them to Togoland for operation. These vans well equipped for the purpose are now being used for propaganda

See UKPA/33,
UKPA/48,
enclosure E,
and paragraphs
209-233

in favour of integration of Togoland under U.K. Trusteeship with the Gold Coast (see Ashanti Times Publication of today, page 1, captioned "C.P.P. has 12 new Jeeps for Togo Plebiscite" of which copy is herewith attached).

3. We strongly protest against such fraudulent acts committed by the Gold Coast Government through its party, the Convention People's Party, and firmly appeal to you for the immediate withdrawal of these C.P.P. Vans.

Yours faithfully,

A.M. SIMPSON
GENERAL SECRETARY

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
C/O REGIONAL OFFICER'S OFFICE,
HO.

cc. The Regional Officer, Ho.
The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.
The Secretary General T.C., Hchoe.
The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

The above for your information and action, please.

Kpandu, 31/1/56.
General Secretary
A.E.C.

(Enclosure to the above letter)

ASHANTI TIMES

No.890 - Tuesday, January 1, 1956

C.P.P. HAS 12 NEW JEEPS FOR TOGO PLEBISCITE.

The C.P.P. has taken delivery of 12 out of 27 land rover jeeps to undertake propaganda work in the Togoland area where a plebiscite is to be held on Wednesday May 9, for the people to decide between integration with the Gold Coast and a Unified Independent Togoland.

Rallies are being held daily in villages and towns in the area by the two main parties which will take part in the plebiscite - CPP and the Togoland Congress.

A C.P.P. spokesman told an "Ashanti Times" reporter that after the plebiscite, the land rover jeeps would be distributed among the regions and constituencies throughout the country for party propaganda work. He remarked that the C.P.P. was sure to regain its footing in places "where our membership seems to have been swayed over."

Mr. Eduardo E. Prieto, United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, has stated that his duty is to "supervise and not to instruct what should or should not be done".

MISC/13

Education Department,
Audit Branch,
P.O. Box 53,
Accra.

1 February 1956

The Plebiscite Commissioner,
Ho.

Sir,

We the undersigned, students on bursarial training course presently on practical training attachment to the above department, wish to apply for registration forms on behalf of ourselves and both of our wives.

See paragraphs 376-
377

We understand the question of the eligibility of all qualified students is under consideration, and we expect a favourable decision would soon be taken to enable us to exercise our rights.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) T.K.M. Hotse
and
C.K. Adzabe

MISC/14

British Togoland Ewe Union
c/o P.O. Box 7,
Takoradi.

8 February 1956

Dear Sir,

We are aware of the magnificent work which the Plebiscite officers and commissioners are doing to ensure impartiality in the forthcoming plebiscite in Togoland. We also know of the co-operation which the people are giving the officer and the commissioners.

But there seems one thing, however, which has not been done. At present the majority decision of British Togoland residents in Togoland will be the deciding factor. We are bringing to your attention however the fact that there are thousands of British Togoland residents working in the Gold Coast, whose interests have not been catered for.

See UKPA/21

Supposing the voters in Togoland decided against integration with the Gold Coast by a very narrow majority; this majority could be reversed by the many British Togoland residents in the Gold Coast who are more interested in uniting with the Gold Coast than any other choice.

We in the Gold Coast are only working here, and may indeed, if we do not die, return home some day, on our retirement from work. Thus any decision made now will affect our lives, at a later date, in the same way as it affects the lives of our families, now residing in British Togoland. We may, therefore, be forced should a wrong decision now be made to alienate ourselves from home people.

Thus if the views of Togoland residents, living in Togoland only, are sought, the result of the plebiscite may be inaccurate, and by the time it will have been known to be inaccurate, it will be too late.

See paragraph 376

We remain,
Sir,
Your humble petitioners

Signature: Illegible
" President
" Asst. President
" Secretary
" Treasurer

Signature: Illegible) Members

MISC/15

Ref.No.BSC.8/27

BUEM STATE OFFICE,
P.O. Box 4,
BORADA-BUEM

10 February 1956

Sir,

TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE-PROTEST AGAINST THE REGISTRATION OF
FRENCH SUBJECTS.

We chiefs and members of the Buem State Council, watching closely the registration campaign now on in this district, have discovered that quite a host of Kable and Kotokoli people who are French subjects have registered. The figure of these non-indigenous elements in most of the wards are startling and we are convinced that there is some sort of infiltration into this territory just to assist any of the political parties to achieve its ends.

It is evident that our subjects are cocoa farmers and they employ some of these Kables and Kotokolis on their farms; but their number has wonderfully increased during the present registration. This is a sure sign that a lot of them have been imported for the purpose of voting.

See UKPA/14

These people must not be allowed to register because they are not permanent residents of British Togoland and could not with good conscience determine the future of a land to which they do not belong. As it stands now, when these French subjects are allowed to vote, they will naturally be used as tools and their votes would be subject to the dictate of whoever imported them. This is a very serious affair which must be probed into.

We are the traditional authorities of this land and it is our duty to seek the best interest of our people. We do not want any mistake committed now to mark the future prosperity of our children. We therefore pray that early action be taken

to delete the names of the Kable and Kotokolis from the Register before we go to the polls.

We are, Sir,
(Signature) Illegible

PRESIDENT BUEM STATE COUNCIL
(PARAMOUNT CHIEF)
FOR AND ON BEHALF OF MEMBERS OF
BUEM STATE CCUNCIL

THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT,
ACCRA

Copies to:

The Plebiscite Administrator, Ho
His Excellency the Governor, Accra
The Regional Officer, Ho
The Government Agent, Jasikan

W/to signature:

Signature: Illegible
STATE SECRETARY

MISC/16

Akosiwavi Nyarku
c/o Amuda Nyarku
Aveme Danyigba

19 February 1956

Dear Sir,

UNLAWFUL INTERFERENCE WITH REGISTRATION
FOR TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

On 10 February 1956, when I presented my application (Registration Form B) to Registration Assistant at Aveme Danyigba in the Ablode Local Council area, A Local Authority Police Constable prevented me from handing it over to the Registration Assistant with the reason that I have not previously paid the 1955/56 annual rate. I made him to understand that I was away to Buem and have just returned for registration at home and that my husband also would soon return home for the payment of the annual rate for me and himself.

See
UKPA/40

The Constable did not agree but rather took the form B from me and led me to the Tax Collector. On the way we (the constable and I) met one Mr. Thaddeus Donudenu who approached the Constable in a friendly manner and asked him what happened. The Police Constable told him all about the matter. Mr. Donudenu begged him to allow me to register and after the registration when my husband would pay the annual rate at his return. The Constable thanked him but took me to the Rate Collector all the same. The latter then served me with a criminal summons to appear before the Ablode Native Court at Vakpo on 17 February 1956.

After few minutes the Constable came and told Mr. Donudenu that the Rate Collector wanted to see him. When Mr. Donudenu went to see him, he ordered the Constable

to arrest him because Donudenu had interfered with and obstructed the police constable in the exercise of his duty. Mr. Donudenu was taken to Vakpo and was accordingly charged.

The part of the case in connection with registration was reported to the European Assistant Registration Officer in charge of Danyigba. He later intervened and I was registered upon presentation of another application form B, but the part of the case connected with summons, and arrest of Donudenu still remained. We are to attend Court again at Vakpo on Friday, 24 February 1956.

The action taken against us, Mr. Thaddeus Donudenu and me was based on party politics. It was therefore malicious and of no proper ground.

I would be grateful if you could cause the matter to be properly investigated by the Government Agent Kpandu in order that the police action against us is dismissed since the institution of the action is unfounded.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant

(sgd) Akosiwavi Nyarku her x mark

W/w/to mark:

Sgd: A.M. Simpson

F.O.C.

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
C/O THE REGIONAL OFFICER
HO

Copy to: U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner

THE U.N. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO

The above for your information and action, please

(Sgd) Akosiwavi Nyarku her x mark

Aveme Danyigba, 19/2/1956

W/w to mark:

A.M. Simpson

MISC/17

REGISTERED

Matheo Anku
c/o Mr. J.K. Aryee
P.O. Box 31
Kwamikrom (Buem)

19 February 1956

Dear Sir,

UNLAWFUL INTERFERENCE WITH REGISTRATION
FOR TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

I have the honour to bring to your kind consideration the following matter and at the same time to seek for your intervention:

On 7 February 1956, I have approached the Registration Assistant, Mr. D.K. Samanhyia in ward "G" of Kwamikrom for my name to be registered as a voter for the forthcoming Togoland Plebiscite

Mr. Samanhyia first asked to know my political identity. I told him that I was a member of the Togoland Congress. He then said to me: "I know that you have not resided here for one year that is why we did not ask you to pay the 1955/56 annual rate, consequently you are not entitled to register as a voter for the plebiscite". At this juncture I went back and reported the matter to our local secretary of Togoland Congress. Because I am a native of British Togoland and have resided Kwamikrom over one year. The Registration Assistant deliberately wanted to prevent me from registering. The Secretary asked one Mr. Dale to take me to the Registration Assistant and explain the position to him. There and then the Registration Assistant agreed and registered my name and advised me to pay the annual rate as early as possible.

See
UKPA/41

The following day, 8 February, when I went to pay the annual rate I met a Local Authority police constable who

served me with a criminal summons ordering me to appear before the Native Court on 17 February and the charge was "wilful neglect to pay the 1955/56 annual rate". There have been many C.P.P. members at Kwamikrom who have not yet pay the 1955/56 annual rate but have been allowed to register without any prosecution.

On 17 February, I went to the Kwamikrom Native Court and I was sent from there by the Sergeant in Charge to Dowiri Amanfrom for trial at that native Court. I have been forced by the Sergeant to pay my lorry fare which was 6/- in and out. I pleaded not guilty, but the Court said I was guilty. They fined me £2 (two pounds).

The action taken against me was a malicious one and based on party politics. It was therefore unlawful once it was in connexion with the plebiscite registration.

In the circumstances, I have the honour to beg for your intervention in the matter in order that the conviction is quashed and my money (£2.6.0) is refunded to me, I am being a poor illiterate farm labourer.

For your perusal and return I have the honour to enclose herewith:

the original receipt No. 445204 for 1955/56 annual rate

original receipt No. A731916 for Court Fine = £2.

Criminal Summons L.A. Form 2, No. 12/56

Receipt for Plebiscite Registration No. M 23,

wrongly dated 7.3.1956 instead of 7.2.1956

Yours faithfully,

(sgd) Matheo Anku His x mark

W/w to mark.

THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
c/o THE REGIONAL OFFICER
HO

Copy to U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner
HO

MISC/18

P.O. BOX 1
GBI - HOHOE

21 April 1956

Sir,

PROTEST AGAINST APPOINTMENT OF
MR. S. VULO AS PRESIDENT OFFICER

In view of the fact that Mr. S. Vulo has betrayed the trust placed in him by the public through misbehaviour in and mismanagement of the affairs of the office of Clerk of Council of the Gbi Hohoe Local Council, which fact led to his dismissal, and

2. That the Regional Officer, Ho, representative of the Administering Authority which is an interested party in the integration policy, has been persistently advocating the reinstatement of the said Mr. Vulo in whom the public have lost all confidence;

See
UKPA/42

3. That the said Mr. Vulo shows partisan tendencies,

We the undersigned/marked, representing Ward A in Gbi Hohoe Local Council, on behalf of ourselves and the electorate we represent do hereby register our protest against the appointment of Mr. S. Vulo as a Presiding Officer and demand his immediate withdrawal and replacement.

We are,

Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(sgd) G.G. Agbelengor

I.K. Adiwo his mark x

E.K. Agbemenule

THE RETURNING OFFICER
C/O GOVERNMENT AGENT
KPANDU

c.c. Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Regional Office
HO

H.E. The Plebiscite Commissioner
Post Office Box 103
HO

MISC/19

The Chief Clerk B.Y. Badasu
Obanda, c/o P.O. Box 16
Dode Bain

27 February 1956

Sir,

We the undersigned/undermarked chiefs have the honour most respectfully beg to put this our humble petition before you for consideration. That is our polling station is too far from our village Obanda. Though the village is one there are four chiefs in it and each clan is having his own chief. During the registration period it was divided into two wards named one clan Adoboefie and the other Obanda.

And therefore it was announced that Adoboefie's clan alone are to vote at Breuoniase which is 15 miles from Obanda and the real Obanda are to vote at Krachi which is 30 miles away from Obanda.

See
UKPA/47

We beg that there are many sick persons among those who registered as voters and they are not ready to travel from Obanda to those far distances. As such we beg the authority to see to that and give us a ballot box at Obanda. We hope and trust that this our petition will be granted and approved.

We are yours

(signed) Ado his mark (Adoboe)
Atra Chief his mark
Ahialome his mark
Zongo Chief his mark
Vicent Akonu

Copies to:

Registration Officer, Ahamansu
Registration Commissioner, Ho
District Commissioner
Jasikan Buem.

MISC/20

TOGOLAND REFORMATION MOVEMENT

Headquarters,
P.O. Box 65
Hohoe
Togoland

1 May 1956

The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner,
c/o Regional Office,
Ho, Togoland.

Sir,

The Togoland Reunification Problem

At a meeting of this organisation and its allies - including British Togoland Juvento (Togoland Youth Movement) held last night it was unanimously resolved that the following be communicated to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for early transmission by cable or other quicker means to the United Nations, New York, for immediate action:

"Togoland Reformation Movement and Allies not repeat not accepting as binding Result of Plebiscite and demand that in interest peace plebiscite be called off stop Questions put dont fairly reflect peoples wishes and completely disregard Nationalist demand for Reunification stop Pre conditions for plebiscite not fulfilled stop As Administering Authority prepared grant independence territory let conference be called draft constitutions for independent territory stop Only Independent British Togoland government could decide question of Union with Gold Coast."

See
paragraph
192

I shall be glad if the above be transmitted to the United Nations, New York, at your earliest convenience and oblige and confirm.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) Illegible
Secretary.

E. Observations of the United Kingdom Plebiscite Administration

UKPA/1

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Department of External Affairs
Private Post Bag

Ho 19th January 1956

I personally enquired into the attached complaint yesterday. The Registration Officer found that the Registration Assistant had prepared the original forms incorrectly in regard to the address, the war and the number in Register. He, therefore, cancelled the original forms and issued fresh forms to the claimants concerned. In all there were 34 cancellations and the Registration Officer has 33 cancelled forms. Most of the persons have since been registered. The Registration Officer will, however, check the list to make sure that no one has been omitted. If there should be anyone, whose original form was cancelled, who has not yet registered, he will be summoned by the Registration Officer.

See TC/6,
TC/8, TC/12

Signed: A.J. Dring
Plebiscite Administrator

HIS EXCELLENCY THE UNITED NATIONS
PLEBISCITE COMMISSION,
c/o DEPT. OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
P.O. BOX 1641,
ACCRA

UKPA/2

CO27/SF.16/16.

P.O. Box 20, Jasikan
18 January 1956

Sir,

PLEBISCITE REGISTRATION - BORADA

With reference to your letter of 16 January, the Registration Officer for the Buem Area informs me that he has already investigated your complaint.

2. He confirms that he himself found the Registration Assistant absent from the registration centre when he visited Borada.

Enquiries revealed that the Registration Assistant had vacated his post to go to the latrine some 10 minutes before hand and the fact that his registration papers were laid out on the table indicated that his absence was only of a temporary nature. The Registration Officer returned to Borada at 1400 hours on the same day and found the Registration Assistant back at his post.

See TC/5

3. It would not seem unreasonable for the eight persons you mention to have waited until the Registration Assistant returned. As they did not do so they will have to come to him again to be registered.

4. With regard to the last paragraph of your letter of 11th January, no written reply was sent to you because you called personally at my office and discussed the matter with me. You will recall that I informed you that:

See TC/7

(a) as far as registration was concerned the case of Mr. Nsor Kwasi should be referred to the Registration Officer to investigate, and if satisfied as to his qualifications, to have him placed upon the register.

(b) as far as Mr. Yeboah's action was concerned, the matter would be referred to the Buem Local Council to investigate and take appropriate action against their employee if it was found that he had issued an unofficial receipt for Council funds.

(c) I did not consider that the alleged misconduct of Mr. Yeboah in 1954-55 whilst acting as a local government officer justified his suspension as a Plebiscite Officer, but that this was a matter for the Registration Officer to decide.

With regard to (b) above I refer you to my letter No. 0028/Vol.3/231 (2) of 17th January, 1956 which was copied to you. As a local councillor as well as a local politician, I feel certain that you will ensure that your council deals with this matter as quickly as possible.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant.

Signed: (Illigible)
GOVERNMENT AGENT.

THE REGIONAL SECRETARY,
TOGOLAND CONGRESS,
BORADA.

Copy to: The Registration Officer, Jasikan
The U.N.O. Plebiscite
Commissioner, Ho
Clerk, Buem Local Council, Borada

UKPA/3

0394/VOL.2/177

P.O. Box 45, Kpandu
23 January, 1956

TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE COMPLAINTS AGAINST
REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS

I enclose a copy of a complaint purporting to have been marked by the Chiefs of Ve Gbodome and Ve Hoeme and addressed to the Plebiscite Commissioner, the Regional Officer, Mr. S.G. Antor and myself.

Ref.
Misc/1

2. I say 'purporting to have been marked' deliberately, since their marks have not (on my copy) been witnessed; moreover the first sentence of the letter contains a falsehood of which I do not believe the Chiefs concerned would have been guilty.

3. Realizing that opinion in East Dain Ward E was sharply divided between the parties I took particular trouble over the selection of the Registration Assistant for that ward. I met the Chiefs of the three villages - Agbome (Congress), Gbodome (C.P.P.) and Hoeme (Congress) - and asked if they could agree to recommend to me someone who, whatever his personal political views, would command the confidence of the people generally. They discussed the matter in a friendly manner between themselves and eventually agreed that Mr. Prebbie, the headmaster of the local school, was - in spite of being a non-Togolander - such a person; they all agreed to his appointment.

4. I am somewhat surprised that after all this trouble such a complaint should be made in respect of this particular ward and it is for this reason that I doubt whether the Chiefs whose marks have been made are aware of its nature.

5. The Assistant Registration officer in charge of the ward says he has received no complaints, nor has he any complaints to make, about Mr. Prebbie's work. The U.N. Observer attached to this area also, I believe, confirms this opinion.

6. I enclose two spare copies of this letter in case you should wish to forward them to the Plebiscite Administrator and the Plebiscite Commissioner.

(signed) David Heaten
GOVERNMENT AGENT.

THE REGIONAL OFFICER,
TRANS-VOLTA TOGOLAND REGION,
PRIVATE BAG
HO.

UKPA/4

FIRST INSTRUCTIONS

REGIONAL OFFICE
TRANS-VOLTA TOGOLAND
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

24th January, 1956

SIR,

REGISTRATION FOR THE PLEBISCITE

I have the honour to inform you that I understand that in the evening of the 17th January, representatives of your party raised with the U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner the question of producing rate receipts in connection with the registration for the Plebiscite. You may therefore be interested to read the attached copy of a statement on the question. It clarifies the position, which is governed by Regulations, 1955, and derives from paragraph 153 of the Special Report and the 1955 United Nations Visiting Mission.

See
paragraph 199

2. I may add that the statement was discussed with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner on the morning of the 17th January, and that it was approved by him.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant.

(signed) JOHN DRING
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE SECRETARY GENERAL,
TOGOLAND CONGRESS,
HOHOE
THE REGIONAL SECRETARY,
C.P.P.
HO.

Copy to: H.E. The Plebiscite
Commissioner,
c/o Dept. of External Affairs
Accra

RATE RECEIPTS

Some people have not understood that they can be registered as voters in the plebiscite even though they have only one rate receipt, or even none. Rate receipts are the best way of proving that you have resided in British Togoland for at least 12 months in the last two years. But even if you have no rate receipts you can still be registered if you can prove in some other way that you have resided in British Togoland for at least 12 months out of the last two years. (Of course you must also have reached the age of 21, and must now reside in the ward in which you wish to be registered.)

See para-
graphs 378-398

Therefore, if you have rate receipts for last year and this year you should bring them with you when you come to register because the Registration Assistant will then be able to register you quickly.

If you have only one rate receipt, or if you have none, it will be harder for you to prove that you have resided in British Togoland for the necessary time. You will be asked questions, and you will probably have to see the Assistant Registration Officer. But if he agrees that you are qualified to register he will register you.

Remember - everyone who is qualified to register should come and do so quickly.

(Signed) O.R. BLAIR
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

SECOND INSTRUCTION TO REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS IN SOUTHERN TOGOLAND

55. Doubts about rate: In some places the instructions contained in paragraphs 40-42 of the First Instructions to Registration Assistants regarding the production of rate receipts appear to have been misinterpreted.

56. Rate receipts remain the best and easiest way of establishing residence. If a person claiming registration cannot produce rate receipts he must produce alternative evidence to satisfy the Registration Authorities of his wards failure to pay rate is not in itself a disqualification. Rate receipts are contributory and not compulsory evidence. Several copies of a statement about this are attached; you should keep one and pin up the others, and should explain them to the people of your ward. The cinema vans have also received copies.

57. Note these comments on paragraph 42.

42(a) You do not have to treat as a doubtful claimant everyone who has lost or thrown away his 1954/55 receipt.

If you are sure that he is speaking the truth and that he is qualified to be registered, you may register him.

42(c) Delete paragraph 42(c) and write beside it "see paragraph 57". The following new paragraph 42(c) takes its place:

42(c) "I have not yet paid my 1955/56 rate, but here is my 1954/55 receipt." Stamp it, note it in the box on Form B, give the rate receipt back to him, and say "You have not produced sufficient evidence of residence for me to be able to register you. Would you prefer to go and pay your rate this year and show me the receipt, or to come back when the Assistant Registration Officer is here and convince him that you are qualified to be registered." If he chooses to pay his rate, give the Form B back to him and tell him when and where he should meet you when he has the rate receipt; meanwhile, do not record his application at all. If he chooses to see the Assistant Registration Officer, treat him as a doubtful claimant.

42(f) Apprentices and pupils are normally excused rate by their local councils. It is therefore not surprising if a man who has just left school has not got a 1954/55 receipt, and he need not be treated as a doubtful claimant for that reason alone. (But you will have to satisfy yourself that he is properly qualified - and especially that he is over 21.)

58. Time for investigation of doubtful claimants. Although all applications to be registered must be delivered to the Registration Assistant by the evening of Monday 13th February, it is not essential for the Assistant Registration Officer to decide on all doubtful claimants by then. If he has a lot of them he may continue to investigate them during the 28 days (14th February - 12th March) set aside for the typing of the registers.

(Signed) O.R. BLAIR
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATION

HO
17th January, 1956.

UKPA/5

OFFICE OF THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
c/o Department of External Affairs
Private Post Bag
Accra
c/o Regional Office, Ho.
30 January 1956

I forward herewith a copy of a letter dated January 24th, 1956 from the Government Agent, Kpandu, to the Akpini Rate payers' Association in regard to their complaint dated 23rd, a copy of which was sent to you. I mentioned this case to you recently. The aggrieved persons were brought to me by the Reverend Ametowobla, M.L.A., and the necessary action was taken forthwith to withdraw or suspend the issue of summonses against them.

See Misc/5

(Signed) A.J. DRING
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

HIS EXCELLENCY THE UNITED NATIONS
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
C/O DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
P.O. BOX NO.1461
A C C R A

No.0394/194

Government Agent's Office
P.O. Box 45, Kpandu,
24 January, 1956.

Sir,

TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE
COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION

Thank you for your letter. Prior to the receipt of your complaint, however, the Akpini Local Council had decided to suspend the issue of summonses in connection with non-payment of rate until after the registration period, so that fear of receiving a summons should not debar anyone from registering. Any fines already imposed have been rescinded.

2. Your are correct in your interpretation of the law relating to the production of rate receipts prior to registration. Non-payment of rate does not disqualify anyone from registering but (in the words of the Visiting Mission's report) "the presentation of a tax receipt when registering would be the primary and normal method of establishing proof of residence in the Trust Territory". The position is further explained in a note recently circulated on the authority of the Plebiscite Administrator (copy attached).

See paragraphs 378-398

3. I hope that with this assurance you will advise everyone who is qualified to register. At the same time, as a Ratepayers' Association, you will no doubt advise people to pay their rates.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) David Heaten
GOVERNMENT AGENT

THE SECRETARY
AKPINI RATEPAYERS' ASSOCIATION,
P.O. BOX 57,
KPANDU

Copy to: The Registration Officer,
Kpandu West, Kpandu.
The Asst. Registration Officer,
Kpandu West, Kpandu.
The Clerk to the Akpini Local
Council.

UKPA/6

REGIONAL OFFICE
TRANS-VCITA TOGOLAND
Private Post Bag
Ho
31 January, 1956

TA.60/54

COMPLAINTS BY THE TOGOLAND
CONGRESS PARTY

At a meeting on 28th January with the Congress leaders a number of allegations of a slightly more specific nature than usual were made. Among them were these:

See
UKPA/30

- (a) that rate receipts were being treated as a qualification, not merely as evidence, in Yingor Wards F1, F2, H1, H2 and L. (F2 and L are Mr. Baillie's, the rest are Mr. Bates'.)
- (b) that because the Registration Assistant in Yingor L is a C.P.P. adherent he (i) does not issue Form B to persons who do not produce rate receipts, (ii) demands baptismal certificates or other written evidence of age, to an unnecessary degree, (iii) that he allows the absence of a C.P.P. representative to delay registration, (iv) that he does not stick to his itinerary, (v) that he refused to give Form B to illiterates to take away.

2. I know that you and Assistant Registration Officers have given particular care to this area. I realize that these allegations were not supported by other evidence, and that some of them (such as (iii) - (v) of (b)) may disclose no irregularity even if they are correct. Nevertheless it is necessary to investigate them and I should be grateful if you would report very briefly, in writing, what substance there is in them, if any, and what action has been taken. I enclose spare copies of this letter for the Assistant Registration Officers. I suggest that you invite Mr. Meredith to attend the investigation.

3. I may add that at same meeting the Rev. Ametowobla, M.L.A., agreed to use his good offices to try to get the people of British Nyive to register.

(Signed) R. BLAIR
Assistant Plebiscite Administrator

THE REGISTRATION OFFICER
(Mr. STRONG)
HO EAST
HO

copies to: Plebiscite Commissioner, Accra
Government Agent, Ho

UKPA/7

REGIONAL OFFICE
Trans-Volta Togoland
Private Post Bag
Ho

TA.60/33.

31 January 1956

COMPLAINTS BY THE TOGOLAND
CONGRESS PARTY

At a meeting between the leaders of the Togoland Congress Party and the Plebiscite Commissioner on the 28th January certain complaints were made of a sufficiently specific matters to bear investigation. I should be grateful if you or your Assistant Registration Officers would investigate them, and if the officer who does so would write very briefly to me to say what substance, if any, there is in them and what action has been taken. I enclose spare copies for the Assistant Registration Officers. I suggest that you invite the Observers to attend the investigations.

See TC/10
TC/12

2. (a) I attach two copies of an extract from the minutes of a Togoland Congress Committee meeting, relating to alleged irregularities at Lolobi Kumasi, Mr. Antor reaffirmed the statement that the seven persons had been rejected by the Registration Assistant, not merely listed as doubtful claimants or sent away to pay their rate.
- (b) Mr. Ayeke complained that in New Ayoma, Dzolu and Apesakubi rate is treated as a qualification, not as evidence.
- (c) He also complained that there is undue interference with registration by the chiefs in Kadjebi, Asato and Mena. It was alleged that Congress supporters were not allowed to apply.
- (d) He also alleged that in Gyiagye the Registration Assistant has been cancelling rate receipts without noting them on a

Form B, on the pretext that the forms were not available, thereby making it impossible to produce the receipts when the forms became available.

(e) It is also alleged that at Obanda (near Dain) there were "in the first three weeks of the registration period" only two persons registered out of 400 applicants, and that the Registration Officer had not been there. (It is interesting to note that the meeting at which this complaint was recorded took place on the 14th day after registration began.)

(f) It is also said that ward O.1 of the Krachi Local Council, containing Kwaachi, Apepesi and Obanda, is too big and should be split into two. I should be grateful for your comments.

3. There are also general allegations that in some places forms are only issued to C.P.P. members, that Registration Assistants do not follow their itineraries, and the applicants are required to produce rate receipts before being given a Form B. I should be glad to hear whether you have received any evidence of such practices.

(Signed) R. BLAIR
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

Copies to: Government Agent, Jasikan
U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner, Accra.

The Regional Secretary,
Togoland Congress Office,
Jasikan Buem

18th January, 1956

"The following persons have been rejected by the Registration Assistant Mr. VICTOR C.K. DOH of Ward "A" of Lolobi Kumasi who produced their rate receipts for registration since 10th January - Wednesday, 18th January, 1956.

1. JUSTINE YAA ADAE - B/120224 of 1954-5
2. VICTORIA AGBEVIVI - B/759719 of 1955-56
3. BALEBINA AKUA - A/668421 of 1954-5
B/761649 of 1955-6
4. MONICA ABRA - B/760700 of 1955-6
5. THERESIA AFUA - B/760698 of 1955-6
6. MALEWINE AKOASUA - B/120229 of 1954-5
B/761720 of 1955-6

7. TENEE AKAKPO

A/959871 of 1953-4
B/761761 of 1955-6

(Signed) OWUSU AFARE
AG: REGIONAL SECRETARY
T.C. JASIKAN

Witnesses :

1. LAWRENCE KRPITSY - SECRETARY - T.C.
2. ANDREAS MODZA - CHAIRMAN - T.C.
3. GEORGE OGBE KORJOSEY - T.C.

I went to him with the first witness for my verification and he did not deny of the information.

I went on to ask him to give their names and he gave only one. MRS. JUSTINE YAA ADAE and asked the witness to go and ask the other six. The first witness therefore went on to go to every individual and got the proved information."

(Signed) OWUSU-AFARE
AG. REGIONAL SECRETARY
TOGOLAND CONGRESS

ALSO: THE PLEBISCITE SUPERVISOR
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
JASIKAN-BUEM.

UKPA/8

TA.60/55

REGIONAL OFFICE
TRANS-VOLTA TOGOLAND
Private Post Bag
Ho

2 February 1956

Sir,

EVIDENCE OF RESIDENCE

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 24 January to the Plebiscite Commissioner, which he has referred to me. I do not think you can have read his letter of 18 January, to which you refer, since it in no way challenges or conflicts with the requirements of Regulation 5 of the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations 1955, in which all who apply to register are required to produce such rate receipts as they possess.

See TC/10

2. If you show this letter to the Assistant Registration Officer he will show you the relevant Regulation, and also a statement which makes it clear that rate receipts are merely evidence of registration, not an essential qualification.

3. Since your letter discloses no irregularities there is no need to replace the officers of whom you complain.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Signed: (R. Blair)
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE CHIEF FARMER,
TOGOLAND CONGRESS OFFICE,
c/o P.O. BOX 6,
NEW AYOMA.

SYMA.

Copies to:

Plebiscite Commissioner, Accra
Assistant Registration Officer,
New Ayoma
(Spare: For G.A. Jasikan)

UKPA/9

c/o Government Agent's Office,
P.O. Box 45, Kpandu
3 February 1956

Ref.No.T.A.9/221

Sir,

PLEBISCITE REGULATIONS

I have investigated the complaint which you made in a petition to me dated 26 January and the facts are as follows:

(i) In the case of Mr. Nelson Nyavor, Mr. Poole, the Assistant Registration Officer informs me Mr. Nyavor was accepted for registration because of a statement made by him that he had completed his training course and was now resident in Gabi. Subsequent inquiries reveal that Mr. Nyavor had not completed his course and had returned to his school. Mr. Poole then marked the register "objected to" in accordance with regulation 8 (1) B.

(ii) In the case of Mr. Augustine Gane, another student, Mr. Poole himself examined this applicant and concluded that he was properly resident in Hohoe and so informed and advised him to register there.

See CPP/2

2. The leading questions you referred to are such questions as are necessary to ascertain where no other proof is available, the age or length of residence or place of residence of the applicant in order to be sure that the applicant complies with the

requirements laid down by the United Nations relating to people who are eligible for registration.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) (E.R.E. Atkinson)
REGISTRATION OFFICER
KPANDU WEST

THE PRESIDENT,
C.P.P. ACTION TROOPERS,
P.O. BOX 55,
KPANDU

Copy to:

The Plebiscite Administrator, Accra.
The Plebiscite Commissioner, Accra.
The Asst. Plebiscite Administrator, Ho.
The Government Agent, Kpandu.
The United Nations Observers, Kpandu.
Mr. S.W. Kumah, Ho.
The Regn. Asst. Ward B (a), Kpandu Gabi.

UKPA/10

REGIONAL OFFICE
TRANS-VOLTA TOGOLAND REGION
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

4 February 1956

TA.60/75
BR/TC/018 of
30 January 1956

Sir,

REGISTRATION OF MR. KODJO DETSO
DZOGBEKOFÉ. BUÉM

I have the honour to refer to your letter BR/TC/018 of
30 January, and to request you to advise Mr. Detso that if he claims
to have his name inserted in the register he should give notice in
the prescribed form, in accordance with regulation 8 (1) of the
Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1955, at the
appropriate time - that is, between 13 March and 3 April.

See TC/13

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Signed: (R. Blair)
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

TOGOLAND CONGRESS;
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
P.O. BOX 15,
BORADA,
BUÉM STATE.

SYMZ.

Copies to:

The Plebiscite Commissioner, Accra.
N.J. Ward, Esq.,
Assistant Registration Officer for Buém Ward K,
Dept. of Agriculture,
Jasikan.

UKPA/11

OFFICE OF THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
CARE REGIONAL OFFICE
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

My Ref. No. TP.8/4

8 February 1956

Dear Sir,

VOTING BOXES FOR TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE

I write to acknowledge your letter dated 30 January. I have just arrived from a tour of the Northern Territories during which I visited all registration centres and made extensive inquiries about the progress of registration. I am confident that the allegation against a Government Agent is unfounded and incorrect and can only assume that it arises from some malicious rumour.

See Misc/11

2. In accordance with the recommendation contained in paragraph 174 of the Report of the United Nations Mission the leading political parties in Togoland have been invited to send a representative to a meeting to be held at Ho on 15 February at which the selection of suitable symbols for the Plebiscite will be discussed. The United Nations Commissioner has agreed to attend. I need hardly add that the boxes themselves will be identical and will not be painted black or white.

(Signed) (A.J. Dring)
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

GENERAL SECRETARY
ALL-EWE CONFERENCE
P.O. BOX 7
KPANDU

SYMZ.

Copy to:

H.E. The United Nations
Plebiscite Commissioner.
Accra

UKPA/12

COPY

TA.60/94

c/o REGIONAL OFFICE
HO

8 February 1956

Sir,

I write to acknowledge your letter dated 3 February regarding reports received by you of irregularities in the plebiscite. I shall be visiting the Jasikan - Kadjebi - Poasi area on 9 February when I shall make personal inquiries into the alleged influx of voters.

See TC/18

2. In the meantime I feel that most of the points which you draw can be covered by the following observations.

3. Government Agents are not Registration Officers. I think you are also mistaken in your belief that (Assistant) Registration Officers are unable to reach the wards and sub-wards in their jurisdiction.

4. I note that the allegations have been reported to the officers in charge of the registration and I shall obtain their views upon them.

5. In view of the possible legal consequences I consider it would be unwise to apprise Mr. Ahia of your allegations in order to obtain his comments thereon without your express authority to do so. I shall, therefore, await further intimation on this point.

6. Since you quote no specific instances of any offence under the Registration Regulations I presume that none have to your knowledge taken place.

7. If such abuses as you apprehend are committed they should be reported to the Assistant Registration Officer or to the Police and you should prepare to file objections when the registers are exhibited in accordance with regulation 8 (2).

8. The incomplete numbers alleged to have been assigned to Messrs. Kodegu and Adjayi should not cause difficulty at the polls. Any necessary rectification will presumably have been carried out by Mr. Braithwaite on receipt of your report.

9. It is difficult to accept the conclusions which you draw from the use of an ordinary pencil since you have adduced no grounds for them. The receipt issued at the time of registration would establish any substitution should such a malpractice occur.

10. Finally, the allegation about the cancellation of rate receipts without registration is already under investigation since it was made orally by Mr. Ayeke in your presence when you came to see me on 28 January.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

Signed: (A.J. DRING)
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

MR. S.G. ANTOR
SECRETARY GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
HOHOE

Copy to:
H.E. UN. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO

UKPA/13

TP/2/28

OFFICE OF THE
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

11 February 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

At Ahamansu on 9 February Mr. Antor admitted that he has not seen the telegram sent by the Chairman Togoland Congress on 8 February to the Plebiscite Commissioner and Plebiscite Administrator alleging that Registration Assistants had refused to register 1500 applicants at Ahamansu, 500 at Bontibor and large numbers at other places. Mr. Antor agreed that the figures in this telegram and in the telegram from the Regional Secretary Togoland Congress Akan Krachi sent from Kadjebi on the same date were wrong and baseless.

See TC/21,
TC/25

2. I had met Mr. Antor and his colleagues at Hohoe and they followed me on my trip north of Jasikan, covering Kadjebi, Poase Cement and Ahamansu. This was the area about which the Congress Party had recently raised many complaints - including an influx of bogus registers at Poase from Peki. On the previous day there had been some mild commotion at Asatu and Ahamansu. The situation when we passed through the area was normal. At Asatu the Police are taking action against the Chief for detaining some Congressites. No complaints of rejections or refusals were made.

3. At Ahamansu, owing to the disturbance on 8 February, about 30 persons were given Forms B and told to attend on 11 February for further inquiry in the presence of the United Nations Observer. The Chief and elders of the villages had objected to those persons as being strangers.

4. At Poase Cement the Registration is now about 400 per cent of the number registered in 1954. There will probably be a lot of objections but there was no indication of an influx from Peki.

5. A report from the Assistant Registration Officer, Ahamansu is attached for information.

Signed: (A.J. DRING)
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
C/O DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
P.O. BOX 1641,
ACCRA.

Ahamansu,
8 February 1956

Sir,

I think I should draw your attention to a statement made about me by Mr. Agbobli, area Secretary for the Togoland Congress. I should also like to place on record the circumstances leading up to that statement.

The statement was made by Mr. Antor, and repeated and confirmed by Mr. Agbobli.

Mr. Agbobli said that he visited my bungalow on one occasion (he was uncertain of the date: but he has been to my place on about two occasions - with complaints about one of my Registration Assistants); he said that on his visit I told him that:

1. I was a member of the Gold Coast Civil Service.
2. I did not see why his party wanted to separate from the Gold Coast.

I should like to place on record that I made no such statement. Nor did I, nor do I, ever have such an attitude in my mind.

I should like to state it as my opinion, as an Assistant Registration Officer, that this purposeful untruth is part of a plan to discredit the work of the Plebiscite Authorities in Ahamansu, and perhaps in the Akan-Krachi area.

Now to the incidents. On 6 February, the same Mr. Agbobli already mentioned, and members of his party, were the centres of a disturbance which made it impossible for the Registration Assistant to continue with his work.

They had gathered together a large number of candidates. They claimed that the Registration Assistant did not want to register them. There was some impatience. One man - a candidate - threw the Registration Assistant's papers on the ground.

See
paragraphs
322-323

At this point, the Registration Assistant sent for me. I cautioned the man, and the assembly in general, that such behaviour was an offence under the Plebiscite Authority.

Soon after this, there was another outburst of violent argument, and registration could not be continued.

I say that Mr. Agbobli and his colleagues were centres of the disturbance (I am not accusing them of being solely responsible) because it was the first time that a spirit of contention had been introduced into proceedings; and it was the first time that any candidates has been gathered "en bloc" to be registered. For this Mr. Agbobli and his colleagues were responsible.

See
paragraphs
411-420

The following day, I travelled to Pusupu. Three or four members of the Togoland Congress (one introducing himself as the area secretary) interrupted me during my questioning of doubtful claimants - and spent some time abusing my interpreter and the Registration Assistant. In fact, I was told by my Registration Assistant at Pusupu that they threatened to beat him.

Because of these circumstances, I asked the Government Agent at Jasikan to send police to Ahamansu today in order to preserve order. A policeman did arrive but did not remain in Ahamansu. There was another outbreak, this time larger and more violent, mainly, I think, because the Togoland Congress had brought an ever larger number of candidates to be registered.

I was present when they began to present themselves, and found it necessary to make a statement to the effect that I found the promptings being offered to the candidates to be unsatisfactory behaviour and incorrect procedure on the part of those who had brought them.

The whole atmosphere of registration was completely different from anything I had hitherto experienced in Ahamansu.

Then Mr. Antor arrived. The crowd grew larger. Mr. Antor and his colleagues insisted on my listening to their complaints, which were as follows:

1. The Chief of Ahamansu is a declared C.P.P. man, and has said that no member of the Togoland Congress will be registered in his town.
2. Over 400 of Togoland Congress candidates have been rejected by Mr. Lartey, the Registration Assistant, who lives in the Chief's house and feeds out of the Chief's hand.
3. I, the Assistant Registration Officer, am dormant. I have refused or failed to investigate their complaints.
4. I said that I am a Civil Servant of the Gold Coast and I see no reason why anyone should attempt to separate themselves.

This is the atmosphere in which one had to work on Wednesday 8 February.

I have already commented on point four of the argument, Point 3, is another wilful piece of untruth. Until 8 February, when points one and two were brought to me, the only complaint the Togoland Congress had to make was that certain rate receipts had been found uncompletely written up. In one case drawn to my attention, Mr. Lartey had forgotten his signature. In the rest (about a dozen cases) he had written the register number, but not the register letter. That is, he had written 145 and not K. 145, for example.

I pointed these out to Mr. Lartey; I cautioned him; I checked the incomplete receipts with the Register; added the register number (in no case was it a false registration); and asked Mr. Lartey to return the receipts to the persons owning them, as soon as possible.

On another occasion, Mr. Agbobli, the T.C. Area Secretary, refused to hand over rate receipts in his possession to me. He said that he was going to make a case out of it.

On the morning of 8 February, I met Mr. Blair, Assistant Plebiscite Administrator. I discussed this point of the rate receipts with him. The matter had already come to his attention. He agreed with me that this was secretarial carelessness on the

Assistant's part, and no dishonesty. The Togoland Congress claim that this is a planned attempt on the Registration Assistant's part to keep their people out.

Point 2 scarcely needs comment: it is a complaint made by all the Togoland area secretaries I have met: Ahamansu, Obanda, Pusupu, Bontibo. I have always asked these area secretaries to bring those so-called rejected persons to me. Only once so far, have they materialized - today at Ahamansu.

They came, they claimed, from Bepoase - a village about seven miles from Ahamansu, which the Registration Assistant visits about once a week. Yesterday's candidates were about twenty young men and one girl. It would be difficult to fix their ages, but they looked about eighteen to twenty-two. It was said that they had recently left school. It turns out that they had been attending school in French Togoland. Their admission came when it was discovered that none of them could speak Twi. It does not follow that they should speak Twi (They spoke Ewe); but any school boy, living in Bepoase, in the Akan-Krachi district, would very likely to be able, at least, "to hear" Twi.

At this point, the Chief of Ahamansu arrived, and asked the candidates what they thought they were doing. He said that they were strangers, and were being misled. At once there was an uproar from the Togoland Congress members - and registration was brought to a standstill.

I took the opportunity to explain to the Chief that his action was untimely; that it could be construed as hindering registration. I told him that if he had any objections, they should be stated at the "palaver", when I interviewed doubtful claimants.

I tried after this, to continue registration. But Mr. Antor came up to the table and attempted, in a loud voice which immediately attracted attention, to lay down the law to me. By this time an area Chairman of the C.P.P. had arrived - so again proceedings broke down. I thought it necessary to send to Kadjebi for the police.

From 1.30 p.m. that day, then there was no registration possible.

I made this statement because I object to the repeated threats of violence that members of the Togoland Congress find it necessary to make. I had hoped that Mr. Antor would be more reasonable, but he has only repeated what the members of his party say, with more subtlety.

I certainly object to the statements falsely attributed to myself, made by Mr. Antor and Mr. Agbobli yesterday.

Respectfully Yours,

(Signed) L.E. Braithwaite
ASST. REGISTRATION OFFICER
AHAMANSU

UKPA/14

REGIONAL OFFICE
Trans-Volta Togoland
Private Post Bag
HO

13 February 1956

TA.60/109
BSC.8/27. of
10 February 1956

Sir,

REGISTRATION OF FRENCH SUBJECTS

I have the honour to refer to your letter BSC.8/27 of 10 February, and to inform you that care has been taken to minimize the risk that unqualified persons may be registered. But if any person is of the opinion that this has occurred he is at liberty to scrutinize the registers when they are exhibited (i.e. between 12 March and 3 April) and to enter an objection against any person whom he considers to be unqualified. This objection would then be tried before the Revising Officer's Court.

See
Misc/15

2. It would be impossible to delete all the Kabres and Kotokolis from the registers, as you request, since until there is a successful objection to him the presumption is that anyone who has been registered is legally entitled to be registered. You may be aware that French nationality is not a disqualification for voting in the plebiscite, so long as the voter has the appropriate qualifications by age and residence.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) O.R. BLAIR
for PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE PRESIDENT,
BUEM STATE COUNCIL,
P.O. BOX 4,
BORADA - BUEM

Copy to: H.E. The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

UKPA/15

REGIONAL OFFICE
Trans-Volta Togoland
Private Post Bag
HO

13 February 1956

TA.60/103

COMPLAINTS FROM LOLOBI - KUMASI

I enclose copies of two telegrams of complaint received from Mr. Agbenyega Kwashie at Hohoe. I should be grateful for your very early comments for the information of the Plebiscite Commissioner.

See TC/19,
TC/20, TC/23,
TC/35, TC/36.

2. I should also be grateful for your comments on Mr. Kwachie's letter of 6 February about the case of Vincentia Adzoa.
3. If Mr. Kwashie's statements are wholly unfounded I suggest that his attention should be drawn to section 385 of the Criminal Code, which contains the offence of deceiving a public officer.
4. I am sorry to trouble you with this matter so shortly before you return to your Department.

(Signed) O.R. Blair
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

R.H. EDGAR
ASSISTANT REGISTRATION OFFICER,
c/o ST. FRANCIS TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE
H O H O E

Copies to: Government Agent, Jasikan
Registration Officer, Jasikan
Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

UKPA/16

REGIONAL OFFICE
TRANS-VOLTA/TOGOLAND
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

T.A.60/105

13 February, 1956

COMPLAINTS - KADJEBI AREA

I enclose copies of two telegrams received from the Secretary, Togoland Congress, Kadjebi, for such investigation as you may think necessary, and for your brief comments for the information of the Plebiscite Commissioner.

(Signed) R. Blair
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

REGISTRATION OFFICER
DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE
JASIKAN.

SYMZ.

Copy to:
Government Agent, Jasikan,
H.E. The Plebiscite Commissioner
Accra.

UKPA/17

TP.2/34

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Regional Office
Ho

14th February 1956

I forward herewith a copy of a complaint brought to me by the Referent Ametowobla and Mr. Ayeke on 11 February on which I have the following comments to offer:-

1. Three lorries carrying people from Peki proceeded to the Kpedze area on 9 February. It was found that, though a number of the passengers owned land round Kpedze, they were not qualified to be registered as they had not resided in Togoland for the necessary period. Finally, two persons were registered at Kpedze and one at Lubudo with the consent of the local leaders. The remainder were rejected and returned to Peki. There was no excitement or commotion. The whole incident was handled with admirable common sense. I visited Kpedze and Lubudo on **13 February** to make personal enquiries. I saw Reverend Ametowobla on my return; he was grateful for the action taken.
2. The forms were impounded by the Police. On being questioned Mr. Ayeke said he had no knowledge of the forms being misused. The phraseology of the second sentence is a gross misrepresentation.
3. My enquiries at Kete Krachi did not confirm these allegations. Mr. Adzofu is still there and no evictions have taken place.
4. The Chief has no authority to refuse registration. Particulars are not given.

See TC/26
TC/34

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
HO.
L.

UKPA/18

TA.60/114

REGIONAL OFFICE
TRANS/VOLTA TOGOLAND
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

15th February, 1956

Sir,

REGISTRATION

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 11 February, and to reform you that I await your full report. The incident at Kpedze to which you refer has been investigated, and I note with satisfaction that the unqualified persons who attempted to register were either rejected or decided not to submit an application in view of the likelihood of rejections.

See TC/24,
TC/27
TC/33
TC/34

2. I must point out that the appropriate action where it is thought that unqualified persons have succeeded in being registered is to enter an objection to them in accordance with the procedure set out in Regulation 8 (2) of the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1955.

3. This procedure should be followed with the persons in Abotuase alleged to be under age in your letter of 13 February. Similarly, if Mr. Ayivi Alphons at Obanda submitted before the close of registration an application to be registered, he is at liberty to enter a claim, in accordance with Regulation 8 (1), if his name does not appear in the register when it is exhibited.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your obedient Servant

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

S.G. ANTOR, ESQ.,
NATIONAL SECRETARIAT,
P.O. BOX 85,
HOHOE
SYMZ.

Copy to:
H.E. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER

UKPA/19

Robert Edgar
St. Francis' Training College
P.O. Box 100
HOHOE

16th February, 1956.

COMPLAINTS FROM LOLOBI-KUMASI

Reference your T.A. 60/103 of 13 February, 1956, herewith my comments on the copies of the two telegrams enclosed for the information of the Plebiscite Commissioner.

1. Telegram dated 6/2/56

(a) Allegation wholly unfounded as I do not insist that production of 1954/55 and 1955/56 levy receipts is a necessary qualification to register.

See TC/19
TC/20
TC/23
TC/35
TC/36

(b) I merely insist that before my Registration Assistant registers an applicant, without having to refer that person to me, that the applicant can satisfy my Registration Assistant that his age is 21 or over and that he can produce the necessary two receipts. Failing either or both of these conditions, my Registration Assistant has instructions to issue a G Form and place that person on the doubtful list, when he will be interviewed by me, and on my being satisfied that that person is 21 years of age or older, and or that he has been resident in British Togoland for an aggregate period of 12 months in the past two years, irrespective as to whether or not he ever paid any levy, then I register that Person.

2. Telegram dated 10/2/56

(a) Allegation wholly unfounded. Of 90 persons outstanding on the doubtful list, at Kumasi, where I attended to interview them on 10 February, 1956, 52 did not appear, 20 I had already seen previously and had

referred, while I checked their statements that the levy receipts were lost. Of the balance of 18 who appeared, 11 had lost either one or both levy receipts, and were referred like the other 20, or admitted being too young and were rejected. The remaining 7 were either sick persons and had not paid levy or were too old to pay levy, and those I referred to the Elder and on his evidence I registered these 7, right there and then.

(b) It is true that in cases where a person looks young, isn't sick, and has never paid levy, or at least has paid levy only for the year 1955/56, that I demand the Baptismal Certificate as an aid to determination of age. To date I have had four examples of Baptismal Certificates being altered to bring the applicants date of birth within the age limit. Three of these are in the hands of the Police for possible prosecution.

3. Vicentia Adjos etc.

Reference your para. 2, please note that I replied to the allegations of Mr. Kwashie's letter of 6 February, 1956.

My draft letter was given to Mr. Weatherburn on Friday the 10th, for typing, and he said that he would sign it on my behalf and despatch to you etc. on Saturday the 11th, together with my letter in reply to the general letter received from you for investigation dated 31 January, 1956.

I trust that both letters are now in your possession.

(Signed) R. Edgar
ASSISTANT REGISTRATION OFFICER

The Assistant Plebiscite Administrator.

Copies to:

Government Agent, Jasikan.
Registration Officer, Jasikan,
Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

UKPA/20

TA.60/127

My TA.60/103 of
13th February, 1956.

REGIONAL OFFICE
TRANS-VOLTA TOGOLAND REGION
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

22 February 1956

Sir,

COMPLAINTS FROM LOLOBI KUMASI

I have the honour to refer you to my letter TA.60/103 of 13 February, in which I requested the Assistant Registration Officer to comment upon two telegrams and a letter about registration at Lolobi Kumasi, sent by a Mr. Agbenyega Kwashie, who describes himself as Organizing Secretary, Buem Region, Togoland Congress. Copies of the telegrams were attached to my letter, and Mr. Kwashie sent you a copy of his letter, which was dated 6 February.

See TC/19
TC/20
TC/23
TC/35
TC/36

2. In order to complete your file I send you copies of the Assistant Registration Officer's comments and of my reply to Mr. Kwashie.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) O.R. BLAIR
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

H.E. THE U.N. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
ACCRA

SYMZ.

Enclosures:

- Enclosure (1) Comments by Mr. R. EDGAR
(already reproduced under UKPA/19)
- Enclosure (2) REPORT IN RESPECT OF A LETTER, HEADED
"DELIBERATE REFUSAL TO REGISTER AN
APPLICANT FOR TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE"
SENT TO THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
REGISTERED COPY TO ME

In the company of the U.N.O. Observer, I investigated the attachment to the above letter on 9 February, 1956 at Hunyeasom, and questioned the Registration Assistant Mr. V.C.K. Doe of Ward A, Lolobi Kumasi.

See TC/19

1. I have examined that the circumstances in which the reproduced note was written are as follows:-

A person Vicentia Adjoa being unable to produce a rate receipt for 1954/55 was informed that she would be placed on the Doubtful List. She would go and bring her Rate Receipt, presumably to be registered direct. She at no time surrendered her Form B, and she failed to return as stated.

One E.K. Agbobli who was present and presumably in the company of Vicentia Adjoa, wished to know why this woman should be placed on the Doubtful List, when she was a native of Kumasi although minus her Rate Receipt.

2. My Registration Assistant presumably after attempting to explain referred this person to me.

This person then asked my Registration Assistant for a note, to take to me to explain the procedure.

Hence the reproduction attached to the letter received from the Togoland Congress Party, which is a copy of a note sent by my Registration Assistant to me by the enquirer Agbobli who was also the bearer.

My Registration Assistant informs me he did not enclose the note in an envelope, but addressed it to me in person on the backside.

The note was never delivered to me, and as can be seen, the addressee was not shown on the original.

This note has therefore been reproduced, without my ever seeing it, without my knowledge or approval.

(Signed) R. Edgar

ASST. REGISTRATION OFFICER
WARD 'A' KUMASI.

THE ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
HO.

- - - - -

Enclosure (3)

TA.60/128

REGIONAL OFFICE
TRANS-VOLTA/TOGOLAND
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

22 February, 1956.

Sir,

COMPLAINTS FROM LOLOBI KUMASI

I have the honour to refer to your telegram of 6 February in which you allege that Mr. Edgar insists on the production of 1954/55 and 1955-56 rate receipts as a necessary qualification for registering applicants. I have made investigations and I am satisfied that this allegation is wholly untrue.

2. In your telegram of 10 February you allege that Mr. Edgar refused to register 90 doubtful claimants at Lolobi Kumasi. I have investigated this also, and I find that although there were 90 on the list only 18 of them appeared on that date. Seven were identified and registered; of the other eleven some were told to await investigation of their statements that they had paid rate but lost their receipts, and others were found to be too young and were rejected. Your telegram was therefore so inaccurate as to be false; and no irregularity by Mr. Edgar has been disclosed. He is, of course, entitled to ask for baptismal certificates to be produced where he thinks they would be of assistance.

3. In your letter of 6 February you allege that Mr. Edgar "connives" at a "gross violation of the decision of the United Nations", an injurious accusation which you attempt to support with a copy of a letter addressed to him but which you appear to have intercepted and misappropriated. I have investigated this case also, and I have no doubt that you are aware of all the circumstances, including the fact that Vincentia Adzoa was not rejected (as the letter itself makes clear, despite the careless phrasing of its first paragraph) but was offered the choice of producing her 1954-55 receipt or being treated as a doubtful claimant, in accordance with the normal practice. If, therefore, you will be good enough to define more clearly the "gross violation" of which you accuse Mr. Edgar, you will greatly assist the authorities in deciding whether you should be prosecuted for endeavouring to deceive a public officer, in accordance with section 385 of the Criminal Code.

See TC/19

4. May I suggest that you should make no further allegations unless you are fully satisfied of their truth in every particular?

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) O.R. Blair
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

MR. AGBENYEGA KWASHIE
ORGANIZING SECRETARY, BUEM REGION'
TOGOLAND CONGRESS,
P.O. Box 55,
HOHCE

Copy to:

The Plebiscite Administrator, Ho.
The Plebiscite Commissioner, Accra.
R. Edgar, Esq.

UKPA/21

OFFICE OF THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
c/o REGIONAL OFFICE
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

Ref. No. TP.2/44

16 February, 1956.

Gentlemen,

QUALIFICATIONS FOR REGISTRATION

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 8 February, in which you propose that all natives of British Togoland who are resident in the Gold Coast and who will be so resident on the day of the plebiscite, should be allowed to vote by proxy.

See Misc/21

2. I understand and respect the views which you express, but you will appreciate that the registration regulations had to follow the Visiting Mission's Special Report, since this was adopted by the United Nations as the basis for the plebiscite. If you will refer to paragraphs 143-154 of that report you will see that there was, and is, no possibility of adopting the course you suggest.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your obedient Servant.

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE BRITISH TOGOLAND EWE UNION
c/o P.O. BOX 7
TAKORADI

Copy to:

H.E. the Plebiscite Commissioner
Ho.

UKPA/22

TP.9/15

OFFICE OF THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

24th February 1956

I acknowledge your letter dated 20 February regarding the invitation extended on 28 January to representatives of political parties to attend the meeting held on 15 February when symbols were allocated to the two alternatives in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraph 17⁴ of the Visiting Mission's Report.

See TC/31

2. The intention of the said recommendations was to give an opportunity to the parties actively interested in the plebiscite to assist in the selection of suitable symbols. The invitations were issued after consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and the Regional Officers concerned. There can be no doubt that the Northern Peoples Party is one of the active parties in Northern Togoland. It follows that there has been no violation of the Mission's recommendation.

3. To save delay in the post the letter to the Northern Peoples Party was delivered personally during my tour of Northern Togoland. The representative deputed to represent the Northern Peoples Party at the meeting on 15 February from Pusiga and no comment was made during the meeting on his inclusion. Indeed, it is somewhat surprising to see that your letter under reference was issued five days after the meeting took place.

4. Correspondence will in future be addressed to "Togoland Congress", as requested.

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
P.O. BOX 85
HOHOE.

L.

Copy to:

H.E. The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner
Ho.

UKPA/23

TP.9/16.

OFFICE OF THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
PRIVATE POST BAG
Ho

27th February 1956

I acknowledge with thanks your letter dated 20 February headed "Decision on Symbols".

2. The words "subject only to certain necessary modifications" at the end of paragraph 127 of the Mission's Report refer, in my opinion, to such modifications to the procedure in force in 1954 as were embodied by the Mission in their recommendations. Nevertheless the General Assembly Resolution permitted "such modifications of detail as are agreed upon between the Administering Authority and the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner".

See TC/30

3. Paragraph 173 of the Mission's Report shows that the adoption of the voting procedure followed for the 1954 General Election was recommended as the people in general wanted a simple system of voting and preferable the one with which they had already become familiar. This consideration was the main reason why the Commissioner and I found ourselves unable to accept your proposal for the introduction of coloured tickets and envelopes. Apart from this consideration I should mention that the method of two ballots and an envelope, similar to that suggested by you, was used in a number of the European plebiscites and even there it proved to be unsatisfactory owing to malpractices and intimidation arising over the disposal of the unused ballot papers. I am sure you will agree that it would clearly be inadvisable to experiment on this occasion when the issue at stake is of such great importance and is, as you say, of a permanent rather than an ephemeral nature. The extent of illiteracy in Togoland is another factor which renders the introduction of important changes and the consequent complication of procedure undesirable.

4. The Commissioner and I are in entire agreement with you on the paramount need for fairness and for the preclusion of malpractices and have given careful consideration to your proposals. You will find that the Voting Regulations and the administrative arrangements will cover most of your suggestions. It is intended to perforate every ballot paper with a special sign when it is issued to a voter. The resulting safeguard is as effective as a watermark. The number of votes cast will be checked against the number of ballot papers issued. The number of voters registered will be evident from the register and the issue of each ballot paper will be noted, on the register which will be sealed before the boxes are opened, against the name of the person to whom it is issued. Special provision is also being made regarding unused and spoiled ballot papers and for the sealing and fixing of boxes. The Commissioner will be invited to provide United Nations personnel to supervise the printing and issue of ballot papers. Two polling agents will be permitted at each polling booth for each of the two alternatives and they will be invited to accompany the ballot boxes when they are taken to the counting stations. Finally, the Police will be strengthened as far as possible and will be posted to the best advantage.

5. You have stated that there is some indication that registration was going on in some places after 13 February. I suggest you should substantiate this allegation to enable me to take such action as may be necessary.

6. I feel you may rest assured that the administering staff will ensure that polling is carried out fairly.

7. This letter also covers your letter of 22 February which has just arrived.

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
P.O. Box 85
HOHOE

Copy to:

H.E. U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner
Ho.

UKPA/24

OFFICE OF THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

27th February 1956

Reference the letter dated 23 February, from the Secretary-General, Togoland Congress, I have to report that the enquiries into the allegations contained in the various papers received from Mr. Antor, including those presented to me personally on 28 January, are nearly complete. On their completion I shall send him a reply and will let you have the comments received from the Registration Officers concerned.

See TC/34

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

HIS EXCELLENCY THE UNITED NATIONS
PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO.

L.

UKPA/25

Comments on attached minute about Plebiscite Administrator's visit to Jasikan-Ahamansu area on 9 February.

Parts I and II are covered by my note on Togoland Congress letter dated 20 February.

See

UKPA/26

TC/21

TC/22

TC/25

TC/28

Part III.

I was told that people were waiting at Ahamansu for registration and had been refused application forms. No such persons were produced when I got there. Mr. Antor was present.

The primary object of my trek on February 9th was to enquire into the telegraphic complaints received on 8 February, that "3,700" and "9,000" persons had been refused registration in the Akan area. Copies of the telegrams were sent to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner. I found the complaints to be completely groundless. Mr. Antor agreed with this view and disclaimed knowledge of the telegrams which had emanated from Togoland Congress sources at Hohoe and Kadjebi.

See

UKPA/32

Mr. Shastri accompanied me throughout the day.

(Signed) A.J. Dring

PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

29 February 1956

H.E. THE U.N. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER

HO

UKPA/26

H.E. The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner,
Ho.

Comments on Togoland Congress letter dated
20 February.

Paras. 2 and 3. The Government Agent was of opinion that the cases were not based on information revealed in the applications for registration. He, therefore, declined to intervene.

See
TC/28
TC/33

The basic rate becomes due for payment on a date notified by the Local Council. In the case of Akan the date for the payment of the tax for 1955-56 was 15 September, after which defaulters were liable to prosecution.

Paras. 4 and 5. The registration receipts which I found undistributed were subsequently distributed to the persons concerned. There is no complaint that they fell into wrong hands. I questioned both the Assistants, Mr. Mottey and Mr. Owusu Afari, at Jasikan yesterday and attach a copy of their statement. Mr. Afari is the regional secretary of the Togoland Congress for the Jasikan area. At the time of my visit on 9 February I found most of the registration papers in his possession and think it unlikely that he would have accepted the registration of unqualified Convention Peoples Party followers.

Paras. 6 and 7. I have already reported on this incident. No offence was committed under Regulation 13 as the unqualified persons did not attempt to register and did not make any false claim or statement.

Para. 9. No other specific instance of infiltration was brought to my notice though there was a general complaint about unqualified persons being registered in the Poase Cement area. A special staff is making enquiries and is carrying out a cross check with other available records. My own view is that both parties have transgressed and that this will be evident when claims and objections are admitted. There was no question "of truck fulls pouring into Togoland from the Gold Coast."

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

1 March 1956

(enclosure to above letter)
(No. 1)

Copy

Registration Centre
Jasikan Buem
29th February 1956

I certify that all Form "B" receipts in respect of persons registered at Cement Poase and other villages in Ward B.1. were given to the respective applicants before 6.00 p.m. on the 13th February, 1956, by either Mr. S.K. Mottey or myself in each others presence and in public.

See paragraphs
411-420

Signed: - S.K. Mottey
Registration Assistant

Signed: - E.T. Owusu-Afare
Registration Assistant

The Asst. Registration Officer
Buem Krachi District
c/o Government Agent
Jasikan

UKPA/27

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator

Ho

TP10/17

9th March, 1956

Sir,

REPRESENTATION ON THE REVISING COURT

I acknowledge your letter No. BAYA/P2/56 dated March 5th. The procedure to be followed in regard to the submission of claims and objections and to their decision by a Revising Officer is prescribed in Regulations 8, 9 and 10 of the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations. The person making a claim or objection will be responsible for producing evidence to establish his case. Similarly, notices will be served on persons against whom objection has been raised to enable them to produce evidence to rebut the objection and establish their right to vote. The Court will consist of the Revising Officer alone; there is no provision for the representation of local parties on the Court.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE GENERAL SECRETARY
BRITISH AKPOSSO YOUTH ASSOCIATION
P.O. BOX 15
APESOKUBI

Copy to: His Excellency
The United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner, Ho.

UKPA/28

PCID.43/56

Ho
16th March, 1956

PLEBISCITE (REGISTRATION) REGULATIONS 1955
OFFENCES AGAINST AND ALLIED THERETO

I attach hereto, for information, two Schedules marks "A" and "B".

See TC/9
TC/14
TC/42

2. Schedule "A" gives details of all cases which have come to the notice of Police concerning alleged offences against the Regulations themselves, and Schedule "B" shows similar details of cases which have arisen out of Registration but which are contrary to sections of the Law other than the Regulations.

3. The following is a summary of the two Schedules:

(a) Schedule "A"

Cases reported	- 7
Charges refused by Police	- 3
Cases convicted at Court	- 2
Cases pending at Court	- 2
Cases dismissed at Court	- Nil

(b) Schedule "B"

Cases reported	- 6
Charges refused by Police	- 2
Cases convicted at Court	- 1
Cases pending at Court	- 3
Cases dismissed at Court	- Nil

SNR.SUPERINTENDENT/TVP
GOLD COAST POLICE

THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE
(SPECIAL BRANCH)
POLICE HEADQUARTERS,
ACCRA

(2) No. PCID43/56

Regional Officer Ho
Plebiscite Administrator

Copied to you both as being of possible interest.

SNR.SUPERINTENDENT/TVP
GOLD COAST POLICE
16.3.56

SCHEDULE "A"

A/3173
English
Page 410

DATE OF REPORT AND STATION	R.O. No.	DATE OF OFFENCE	SECTION OF THE LAW AND BRIEF FACTS OF CASE	NAME OF COMPLAINANT	NAME OF ACCUSED	POLICE FINDINGS	COURT FINDINGS
18.1.56 KADJEBI	18/56	18.1.56	Secs. 6 and 13 (b) of Plebiscite Regulations 1955. The accused who had already registered his name as a voter for the Plebiscite at Asatu came around to register his name again at Kadjebi where he was arrested	S.A. OFORI Registration Asst. Kadjebi	Joseph KOMAL BOCHOE OF ASATO	Accepted for Court	Fined £5 or 6 weeks I.H.L. on 3.2.56 fine paid.
24.1.56 Ho	12/56	24.1.56	Sec.13 (b) of the Plebiscite Regulations 1955. On 24.1.56, at Taviefe accused offered his name as a voter in the forthcoming Togoland Plebiscite and told the complainant that he was in Togoland for 12 months whereas he was dismissed from the Gold Coast Police Force as Bandsman only on 12.6.55.	MR.K.F.SMART	M.K.AKUTEY	Charged for Court on 6.2.56	Accused pleaded not guilty he was tried and found guilty. He was fined £25 or 3 months I.H.L. on 29.2.56 (£10 out of fine Paid, Balance to be paid on 14.3.56)
30.1.56 HOHOE	40/56	27.1.56	On 27.1.56, the accused went round and collected six Registration Counterfoil Receipts detached from the Registration Forms of six women on pretext that he was sent by Chief Togbe Dokpo of his family to collect them.	TOGBE DOKPO OF HOHOE	EUSEBIUS AGANYI	No Offense disclosed under the Plebiscite Regulations of 1955. Charge refused on 10.2.56	

(This only became an offence on 4.2.56)

DATE OF REPORT AND STATION	R.C. No.	DATE OF OFFENCE	SECTION OF THE LAW AND BRIEF FACTS OF CASE	NAME OF COMPLAINANT	NAME OF ACCUSED	POLICE FINDINGS	COURT FINDINGS
1.2.56 HOHOE	47/56	31.1.56	Reg.13 (b) of Plebiscite Regulation 1955 On 31.1.56, the complainant discovered two Registration Application Forms at the Registration Centre, Likpe Bala submitted by one Cleophia Onai for registration.	Mr. R. EDGAR Registration Officer Bungalow No.1 HOHOE	LOUIS KOFI TETTEY	Accused charged and bailed for Court on 14.2.56	Pending Court
3.2.56	45/56	2.2.56	On 2.2.56, the accused who is the Buem C.P.P. Propaganda Secretary, presented a Registration Form at the Registration Centre Borada, which bore the particulars of Hon.F.Y.ASARE, M.L.A. for registration and it became known during investigation that he was authorized by Hon.F.Y.ASARE to register him.	Mr. A.K.ODAME Buem Regional Secretary Togoland Congress Party	ISSAC KWESI ANKAMAH alias DUEDU	No offence disclosed under the Plebiscite Regulations of 1955. Charge refused on 6.2.56	-
13.2.56	56/56	13.1.56	Reg.13(b) of the Plebiscite Regulations of 1955. On 13.1.56 the accused submitted a Baptism Certificate in respect of herself to a Registration Asst. at the Lolobi Huyeasem Registration Centre to be registered for the Plebiscite and the Baptism Certificate was found to have been altered.	Mr. R. EDGAR Registration Officer Bungalow No.1 HOHOE	VICTORIA ABRA	Investigation disclosed that a genuine mistake was made in the Baptism Certificate and was later rectified by the keeper of the Baptism Register.	

SCHEDULE "A"

DATE OF REPORT AND STATION	R.O. No.	DATE OF OFFENCE	SECTION OF THE LAW AND BRIEF FACTS OF CASE	NAME OF COMPLAINANT	NAME OF ACCUSED	POLICE FINDINGS	COURT FINDINGS
						Docket Closed Charge Refused "No offence disclosed" on 7.3.56	
14.2.56 HOHOE	61/56	14.2.56	Reg.13(b) of Plebiscite Regulations of 1955. On 14.2.56, the accused went to the Hohoe Registration Centre at Ward "C" and gave her name as Alugba Tosu to the Registration Officer to be Registered. Whilst the Registration Officer was about to register her, a relative who was present informed the Registration Officer that the accused had given a false name.	Mr. W.T.F.COX	ALUGBA ABRA alias AMAKFUINOR	Accused charged and bailed for Court on 6.3.56	Pending Court

SCHEDULE "B"

DATE OF REPORT AND STATION	R.O. No. DATE OF OFFENCE	SECTION OF THE LAW AND BRIEF FACTS OF CASE	NAME OF COMPLAINANT	NAME OF ACCUSED	POLICE FINDINGS	COURT FINDINGS
18.1.56 KADJEBI	37/56 18.1.56	Breach of Illiterates Protection Ordinance Sect.4 (2 and 3) and 7 of Cap. 262. Accused who filled a registration Form for Complainant, an illiterate, failed to make his witness signature to mark.	S.A. OFORI Registration Asst. KADJEBI	STEPHEN KOFI KLU	Under investigation. Suspect at large.	
4.2.56 KPANDU	12/56 27.1.56	Offensive conduct conducive to breach of peace. Sect.140 Cap. 9. Facts: the two accused persons approached the Registration Asst. at Goviepe Todzi with a certain man from a different Ward to be registered and when the Registration Asst. asked them to go and wait for him at their own Ward, the accused persons took offence and abused him that he was being paid two-pence and also banged their hands on his table.	R.K.ANKUDE OF GOVIEPE TODZI	1.T.K.NUKPE 2.GEORGE AGBO all of GOVIEPE TODZI	Charged for Court on 23.3.56	Pending Court
6.2.56 KADJEBI	46/56 6.2.56	Doing an act likely to provoke breach of the peace; Sect.140, Cap. 9 A number of the Togoland Congress Party members gathered at the Registration Centre, Asato. The Chief there arrested two of them	PAUL DOGBE	Nana Osei Bonsu III- Chief of Asato	Accepted for Court	Case pending

SCHEDULE "B"

DATE OF REPORT AND STATION	R.O. No.	DATE OF OFFENCE	SECTION OF THE LAW AND BRIEF FACTS OF CASE	NAME OF COMPLAINANT	NAME OF ACCUSED	POLICE FINDINGS	COURT FINDINGS
			and detained them unlawfully accusing them that they had entered his land to register without permission. Other T.C.P. members who were aggrieved rushed to the town, and the act was likely to provoke breach of the peace.				
8.2.56 KADJEBI	54/56	8.2.56	Threatening: Sect.137 of Cap. 9. The G.A. Jasikan, reported to Police that the Registration Officer, Ahamasu, had been threatened and that he required Police investigation. It was checked up and found that the Registration Officer was not personally threatened but the number of the people pouring into the town was rather threatening and required Police presence.	Mr.L.W.BRATH-WAITE- REGISTRATION OFFICER AHAMASU	-	Charge refused "No offence disclosed"	-
8.2.56 KRACHI	14/56	26.1.56	Threatening: Sect.137 of Cap.9 Complainant a member of Togoland Congress Party at Chendre village went from house to house educating people regarding the Registration and was warned by suspect to leave the house. Complainant took offence and made a complaint of threatening	MR. ISSAC ADJOWU	Mr. William Henkel	Charge refused "Trivial"-on 21.2.56	-

SCHEDULE "B"

DATE OF REPORT AND STATION	R.O. No.	DATE OF OFFENCE	SECTION OF THE LAW AND BRIEF FACTS OF CASE	NAME OF COMPLAINANT	NAME OF ACCUSED	POLICE FINDINGS	COURT FINDINGS
13.2.56 HO	35/56	13.2.56	Assault Cont.Sec.170(1 and 2) of Cap.9. The Complainant William B.K. Attawiah, an Asst. Registra- tion Officer for Ward "J" at Ho-Ahoe, was on 13.2.56 executing his duties as such Registration Officer when the accused came to disturb him, and when asked to leave the place, he became annoyed, and gave the complainant a slap in the ear.	MR. W.B.K. ATTAWIAH	Mr. Richard Glikpo	Charged for court on 24.2.56	Accused plead- ed guilty and was sentenced to a fine of £10 or 2 months I.H.L. on 24.2.56 (Fine paid).

UKPA/29

TA.60/149

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Regional Office
Private Post Bag
HO

15 March 1956

Sir,

COMPLAINTS BY THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PARTY

I have the honour to refer to my letter No. TA.60/53 of 31 January and to enclose copies of the replies which I have received from the two Registration Officers and Assistant Registration Officers responsible for the areas concerned. I comment on the allegations under the marginal letters used in my letter of 31 January.

(a) See Mr. Edgar's minute marked (a).

Mr. Owusu Afare's complaint forwarded by Mr. Antor was that the seven applicants had been "rejected by the Registration Assistant". This cannot be accepted, since it appears that numbers 1, 3 and 6 were properly dealt with by the Assistant Registration Officer as doubtful claimants, number 2 applied later and was similarly dealt with, and numbers 4, 5 and 7 did not apply. If, however, they wish to assert that they submitted applications during the registration period and are qualified to be registered, they are at liberty to enter formal claims to be included on the register.

See TC/12
example (a)

(b) See Mr. Morphy's letter marked (b) and the first paragraph of Mr. West-Skinn's letter, marked (c).

These show Mr. Ayeke's complaints to be groundless, but I have no doubt that examination of the registers at New Ayoma, Dzolu and Apesokubi would confirm that numerous people have registered without rate receipts. If you wish I will cause the used registration forms to be examined for this purpose.

(c) See Mr. West-Skinn's letters marked (c) and (d). I can find no evidence to support Mr. Ayeke's complaint, which was oral and gave no specific instances. I cannot guarantee that there has been no interference but I have no reason to believe that there has been interference to such an extent as to affect the registration of Congress supporters.

(d) See the third paragraph of Mr. West-Skinn's letter marked (c). Mr. Ayeke's allegations have been disavowed by the local representative of his party and appear to be without foundation.

(e) See Mr. Brathwaite's comments marked (e). Mr. Antor's complaint is so contradictory as to be obviously false, and in view of the Assistant Registration Officer's comments I am forced to regard it as a fabrication designed to create a damaging impression without regard for the truth.

(f) I am grateful to Mr. Ayeke for drawing attention to the size of Krachi ward 01. Arrangements are being made to confine it to the villages of Ohanda and Atrafie, and to move Apepesu and Kwachi into wards N4 and 02 respectively.

2. As for the general allegations made by Mr. Antor and Mr. Ayeke, I refer you to the comments of Miss Gordon, Registration Officer, Krachi (marked g), and of Mr. Ward, Registration Officer, Jasikan (marked f).

3. I regret the delay in commenting on these complaints; it has arisen from the need to have them investigated carefully on the spot by the senior officers concerned. I consider that their replies show that thorough investigations have been made, and that much time has been spent in looking into a series of allegations which cannot be substantiated, are actually denied by the chiefs, villagers and registration staff best situated

to judge of their truth and are characterized by a regrettable inaccuracy which could be described in less charitable terms.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
HO.

Copy to: Registration Officer, Jaskian
Registration Officer, Krachi
Government Agent, Jaskian
Government Agent, Keto-Krachi.

Enclosure A

COMPLAINT BY THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PARTY

Reference TA.60/53 of 31 January 1956, I hereby submit a report of my investigations to the complaint as stated in paragraph a: The investigations were made by me in the company of the U.N.O. Observer at Hunyeasem on 9 February 1956.

See TC/12

1. With reference to the extract from the minutes of the Togoland Congress Committee dated 18 January 1956, I questioned V.C.K. Doe, Registration Assistant for Ward 'A' of Lolobi Kumasi and ascertained the following:

2. Numbers 1, 3 and 6, i.e. Justine Yaa Adae, Balebine Akua and Malwine Akosua were reported to me by the Registration Assistant as having been placed on the Doubtful List, because he suspected them all as being under age.

3. I personally interviewed these three persons on 24 January 1956, and heard their statements regarding their ages.

Number 1. Justine Yaa Adae, maintained she was 21 and said she would produce her Baptismal Certificate at a

later interview. She was again interviewed on 10 February 1956, but failed to produce her Baptismal Certificate. This case is still pending.

Number 3. Balbine Akua, admitted being 19 and asked to be given back her Form B, which she destroyed.

Number 6. Malwine Akorsua, admitted being only 17 and was rejected.

As regards numbers 2, 4, 5 and 7 on the extract, the Registration Assistant states that these persons have not at any time submitted a completed Form B to him and he has no knowledge of them. A search of the Register and the Doubtful List failed to disclose their names.

4. I can further recall that the Registration Assistant especially reported cases Nos. 1, 3 and 6 to me, as having been subject of a discussion with Mr. Owusu-Afare, who claimed they should have been put on the Register in spite of the doubts the Registration Assistant had as to their age.

5. Further evidence in respect of No. 2, Victoria Agbevivi, that she had indeed not been rejected as stated, came to my knowledge today, when I was interviewing doubtful claimants at Kumasi. Victoria Agbevivi Rate Receipt No. B 759709 for 1955-56 had a Form B completed for her, which she signed with her own hand, and witnessed by the Regent, all in my presence, which she submitted to me, to have her included on the Register.

I questioned her age, which she said was 18. Her Baptismal Certificate stated she was born in June 1937. I informed her I would have to reject her on the grounds of her age, which I did. I asked her before witnesses if she had ever at any time completed, or had submitted a Form B in her name during the past period of registration to my Registration Assistant. She replied she had never done so.

(Signed) R. EDGAR
ASSISTANT REGISTRATION OFFICER
WARD A.

THE ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
HO.

10/2/56

Copy to: The Registration Officer, Jasikan

Enclosure B

NEW AYOMA,
15 January 1956

COMPLAINTS BY THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PARTY

I have to refer to your TA.60/53 of 31.1.56 and to inform you that I have carried out an investigation of the complaints from New Ayoma and Dzolu, as set out in paragraph 2 (b).

See TC/10

Throughout both these investigations Mr. Van Wuijk, the United Nations Observer, was present; also at New Ayoma was the Area Chief and the Chief Farmer, both of whom had been present on several occasions when I had interviewed doubtful claimants. The Area Chief had no complaints and signed a statement to the effect that he had seen or heard of no one's claim to register being rejected simply because they were not in possession of tax receipts. I attach this statement.

The Chief Farmer at New Ayoma stated in the presence of Mr. Van Wijk, the Registration Assistant, and myself that he personally knew of no case where an application had been rejected because the applicant was unable to produce tax receipts, but that he had heard that a man in the town had a list of such rejections. He quoted a case concerning his own son whose application had been rejected; upon perusal of which it was found that his son had been living in Accra for some years and had only spent eleven months of the past twenty-four in British Togoland. The Chief Farmer seemed unwilling to make a written statement, but as he had made a verbal statement to the effect that he personally was unaware of any rejections being made because an applicant could not produce tax receipts, in front of Mr. Van Wijk, United Nations Observer, Mr. Asiedu, Registration Assistant, and myself, I did not press him to make a written statement.

At Dzolu there were present, in addition to Mr. Van Wijk, the Registration Assistant and myself, the Chief and three stool elders.

The Chief and one other of these elders have been present whenever registration or interview of doubtful claimants has taken place at Dzolu, and I do not think that I can do better than to attach the statement made by the Chief and Elders which speaks for itself.

(Signed) (M.B. MORPHY)
ASSISTANT REGISTRATION OFFICER

THE ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
HO

NEW AYOMA
13 February 1956

STATEMENT BY NANA BEN YAO AKOTO III
AREA CHIEF OF NEW AYOMA

States that in connexion with the query issued by Mr. Ayeke, he has been present on many occasions when doubtful claimants have been interviewed by Mr. M.B. Morphy, the Assistant Registration Officer and has witnessed that no one with or without levy receipts have had their claims rejected, unless they have been under 21 years old or have less than 12 months' residence in British Togoland during the past 24 months.

(Signed) Nana Ben Yao Akoto III
New Ayomahene
13 February 1956

DZOLU
13 February 1956

STATEMENT BY THE CHIEF AND ELDERS OF DZOLU

We the undersigned have at times attended while doubtful claimants to register have been interviewed by Mr. Morphy, the

Assistant Registration Officer for Ward E2 and we have never seen or heard of Mr. Morphy rejecting any applicants simply because he could not produce levy receipts.

(Signed) Nana D.K. Akotia
(Signed) ? ? ?
(Signed) Amankrado. Leo K. Otiku

Witness to signature:

(Signed) Van Wijk U.N. Observer

Likewise we have not witnessed B.W.D. Amowu reject any applicant for that reason.

(Signed) Nana D.K. Akotia
(Signed) Amankrado. Leo K. Otiku
(Signed) ? ? ?

Enclosure C.

COMPLAINT BY THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PARTY
Ref. TA.60/53 of 31 January 1956

Investigations have been made into the complaints which referred to wards in this district with the following results:

Paragraph 2 (b): At Apesokubi possession of rate receipts had never been treated as a necessary qualification for registration and a large proportion of persons registered in both wards produced only this year's receipt. Some in fact produced none at all.

Paragraph 2 (c): If there has been interference with registration in Kadjebi and Asato by the Chiefs, it has taken place away from the "registration centre" and therefore out of the control of the registration staff. Any such interference which may have been going on in these wards would appear to be no more than counter-measures against the Togoland Congress's own activities. I do not recollect the Chief at Asato bothering to attend at the examination of doubtful claimants; at

See TC/11, TC/16
Misc/6

Kadjebi the Chief attended on one occasion, asked several questions but otherwise remained in the background. There have been a few complaints lately regarding difficulties in getting registered but in every case the difficulties had arisen through the interference of Togoland Congress party members with the laid-down procedure for doubtful claimants.

Paragraph 2 (d): No complaint of this nature has been reported to me locally in respect of Jinjisu where a representative of the Togoland Congress party has always been present. The complaint was investigated in the presence of a United Nations Observer (Mr. Fabry) on 13 February 1956. Representatives of the two main parties were present and several others and all agreed that the complaint had no foundation; in fact the local representative of the Togoland Congress Party confirmed that no complaint of that nature had been made by him to headquarters.

As the complaints regarding wards in this area are more or less groundless, no action has been taken.

(Signed) R.W. West-Skinn
Assistant Registration Officer

The Assistant Plebiscite Administrator,
Regional Office TWI,
Ho.

Enclosure D

COMPLAINT BY THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PARTY
Ref. TA.60/53 of 31 January 1956

Further to my reply to the above letter it is noted that I have omitted any reference to Menu. My general comments on Kadjebi and Asato apply equally to Menu where no interference of any kind from the Kadjebihene (the Chief in question) has been noted. The headman of Menu is not concerned as I understand that he is sympathetic towards the Togoland Congress

and is in any case not able to exert much influence locally.
I would point out that there is a village called Menu in the Asato ward and that this may be the village referred to in the original complaint.

Please insert "Menu" after Kadjebi in line 10 of my reply to your TA.60/53 of 31 January.

(Signed) R.W. West-Skinn
ASSISTANT REGISTRATION OFFICER

THE ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
C/o THE REGIONAL OFFICER,
PRIVATE POST BAG,
HO.

Enclosure E

Ahamansu House
Ahamansu
15 February 1956

2 (e) Obanda. I did not visit Obanda until the beginning of the third week of registration, because of transport difficulties. (In any case, Obanda is not the ward headquarters, and I passed this village unknowingly during the second week on trips to Pusupu.)

The claim that "in the first three weeks... only two persons registered..." is not correct, since in the second week of registration, 35 persons had registered in Obanda.

Mr. Fabry, United Nations Observer, can verify this.

No more than 200 people applied for registration in Obanda. I was there nearly every day in the last week of registration - at no time was there a heavy influx of applicants. Nothing, in fact, to suggest the 400 of the T.C. allegation.

See TC/27

2 (f) Ward 01. Of the Krachi Local Council (Kwaachi, Apepesu, Obanda) is definitely too large.

I suggest that for polling purposes, that Obanda be made a centre; and that Kwaachi and Apepesu be either given separate centres as well, or attached to Dain.

(Signed) L.E. Brathwaite
ASSISTANT REGISTRATION OFFICER
AHAMANSU

THE ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR
C/o THE REGIONAL OFFICE
PRIVATE POST BAG
HO

Enclosure F

COMPLAINTS BY THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PARTY

Your TA 60/53 of 31 January 1956

Your TA 60/126 of 22 February 1956

The general allegations mentioned in paragraph 3 of your earlier letter have no foundation in this area, as born out by the complimentary remarks made by Mr. Odame of Togoland Congress, both to Mr. Van Wijk, U.N.O. Observer, and myself on several occasions, during the registration period. He expressed complete satisfaction with all aspects of the registration.

See TC/15

2. Only one instance occurred of a Registration Assistant failing to follow his itinerary. This was within a few days of the start of registration. The man was dealt with by me in the presence of Mr. Van Wijk.

(Signed) H.J. Ward
REGISTRATION OFFICER
JASIKAN

THE ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR,
REGIONAL OFFICE,
T.V./TOGOLAND REGION - HO.

My ref. No. KR/0101/SF.1/4

Department of Social Welfare and
Community Development
P.O. Box 20
Kete Krachi

29 February 1956

COMPLAINTS BY TOGOLAND CCNGRESS PARTY

I understand that you require my comment on paragraph 3 of the enclosure to your letter No. 0027/SF.16/14 of February 1956.

2. None of the general allegations mentioned is applicable to Wards under my immediate control, and I have no evidence of such practices in any of the other wards of Krachi.

(Signed) J. Gordon
REGISTRATION OFFICER
(KETE KRACHI)

THE GOVERNMENT AGENT,
GOVERNMENT AGENT'S OFFICE
JASIKAN

UKPA/30

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Regional Office
Private Post Bag, Ho

15 March 1956

Sir,

COMPLAINTS BY MR. AYSKE - HO WEST
REGISTRATION DISTRICT

I have the honour to refer to my letter No. TA.60/54
of 31 January and to enclose a copy of the Registration
Officer's reply to my letter requesting the investigation of
certain complaints made by Mr. Kodzo Ayeke to the Plebiscite
Administrator on 28 January.

See UKPA/6

2. As you are aware, there was in some wards an over-
insistence on rate receipts in the first few days of
registration, through Registration Assistants misunderstanding
their instructions. If this occurred in the five Yingor
wards it appears to have been amply made up in the rest of the
thirty-five days, as the following registration figures show,
and I do not think that there is any lasting cause for
dissatisfaction:

	<u>1954</u>	<u>1956</u>
F1)	389	306
)		
F2)		488
Hi)	253	289
)		
H2)		101
L	<u>432</u>	<u>594</u>
	1,074	1,778

3. Mr. Ayake's other complaints against the Registration Assistant in Ward L have received no support from the people of the Ward, and appear to be groundless.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant

(Signed) A.J. DRING
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO

Copy to: The Registration Officer,
Ho West
The Government Agent, Ho.

(Enclosure to above letter)

REGISTRATION OFFICER,
HO WEST.

YOUR REF. 60/54 DATED JANUARY 1956.

COMPLAINT BY THE TOGOLAND CONGRESS PARTY

1. Accompanied by the appropriate Assistant Registration Officers and Mr. Meredith, the United Nations Observer for Ho West electoral district, I investigated on 8, 9 and 10 February 1956 the complaints which the Togoland Congress Party leaders made in their meeting with you on 28 January 1956, about Registration procedure in Wards F.1., F.2., H1, H2 and L of the Yingor Local Council.
2. In each of these Wards the chief and his people were asked whether they were satisfied about the course of registration. They replied that they were satisfied. They agreed that in early stages of Registration Rate Receipts had been treated as a qualification but since then the role of Rate Receipts in Registration had been further explained and the early misunderstandings had been removed.

3. After the chief and people in Ward L of Yingor Local Council had expressed their satisfaction with the procedure of registration Assistants they were told of the complaints listed in Section (b) of the first paragraph of your letter. Although the Assistant Registration Officer had given several days' notice of the holding of this meeting the person who had made the complaints was not present to uphold them. None of the gathering agreed that the complaints were justified. It was admitted, however, that during the first days of Registration Rate Receipts had been insisted upon but they were of course no longer demanded as pre-condition of Registration.

4. It would appear therefore that complaint (a) of the Togoland Congress Party, though at one time justified has been removed by subsequent modifications in Registration procedure and complaint (b) is unsupported.

5. I wish to add that the people of British Nyive have agreed to take part in the Plebiscite and registration began in this village on the afternoon of February 10.

(Signed) C.G. Strong
Registration Officer

Assistant Plebiscite Administrator,
Post Office Box 47
HO.

Copies to: PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER, Accra
GOVERNMENT AGENT. P.O. Box 47, HO

UKPA/31

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Regional Office
Private Post Bag
HO

TP 2/65

16 March 1956

I suggest you ask Mr. Dabo to bring these alleged irregularities in the Akan Local Council Area to my notice or to discuss them with me when I go to Jasikan on 20 and 21 March.

See CPP/4

2. I have the following comments to offer and will clarify the position further when I see the Assistant Registration Officer next week. In the meantime, I have discussed the matter with the Government Agent.

Kadjebi. It was a case of dealing with doubtful claimants after hours, presumably because they had travelled a long distance and did not want to miss the appointed date. It seems unreasonable to impute doubtful motives to the Assistant Registration Officer. Registration is not invalid if carried out in a private house and the presence of the chief and elders is not obligatory. Mr. Dabo can enter objections against any person whom he believes has been wrongly registered.

Asato. It is not clear what action was required or what was to be gained by giving forms to persons who had already been listed as doubtful claimants.

Djinji. Strictness was desirable in this area. All doubtful claimants were given at least one opportunity of meeting the Assistant Registration Officer. If these people did not avail themselves of it they can still enter claims to be registered.

Poase Cement. An additional registration assistant was provided owing to the pressure of work. The selection of a man of opposite political views to the admitted views of the original Assistant was intentional. The village headmen were consulted

but there is a marked divergence of political allegiance among them. The possession of immovable property raises a liability to pay rate but is not in itself a qualification for voting in the plebiscite.

Ahamansu. I inquired into this complaint personally on 9 February in the presence of the Chief and Mr. Antor. The persons brought by Mr. Antor were not registered owing to the objections raised by the Chief.

Bontibo. I trust the position will be rectified by the submission of objections if it is in fact as bad as Mr. Dabo paints it.

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO.

UKPA/32

Ref. TA.60/155

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Regional Office
Private Post Bag
HO.

21 March 1956

Sir,

REJECTIONS IN THE AKAN-KRACHI AREA

I have the honour to refer to Mr. Antor's letter of 11 February addressed to me and copied to you, in which he tries to explain away two telegrams of 8 February. One, signed "Chairman Togoland Congress", stated that "Registration Assistants refused register 1500 applicants at Ahamansu, 500 at Bontibor, 500 at Breniase, 400 at Obanda, 200 at Akum Dapa, 600 at Dumevi Butabe, 200 at Asato". The other, signed "Regional Secretary, Togoland Congress, Akan Krachi, Box 11 Dain Dodo", began "Registration Assistants following wards Ahamansu, Obanda, Asato, Bontibor, Pusupu, Akan-Krachi area, insist on rate receipts as qualification rejected 9000 applicants".

See TC/21,
TC/22, TC/25

2. Mr. Antor does not withdraw these figures but explains that they are to be read as referring to the first 27 days of registration, and to "a number of villages around the towns and places mentioned in the telegram and not to the towns themselves".
3. You may be amused to hear that the total number of applicants rejected in all the 68 Akan and Krachi wards in the whole period of registration was only 279, and that most of these were rejected in clearing up the doubtful claimants after 13 February.

At that date - five days after the telegrams - only 26 applicants had been rejected in the entire Akan-Krachi area.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(signed) R. Blair
for PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

H.E. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
HO

Copy to: Assistant Plebiscite
Administrator, HO.

UKPA/33

Regional Office,
HO

TP. 2/78

28 March 1956

On perusing a registration file recently, I found that no specific reply has been sent to your communication containing minutes of a Togoland Congress meeting held at Hohoe on 24 January. Inquiry into some of the cases inevitably took a long time but in the meantime, I think that the majority have been discussed, either on the occasion of your visits to Ho or when we have met on my trips round registration centres.

See TC/12
Misc/33

However, I will now reply seriatim to each representation;

(1) Tax receipts.

In certain places there may have been some over-insistence on the production of tax receipts in the initial stages through misinterpretation of the original official instructions. The final results of registration, however, allay any insinuation that participation in the plebiscite has been restricted in any way on grounds of local taxation. For example, a careful examination has been carried out of the registration application forms in 20 Wards covering 5 Local Council Areas in Kpandu district. Of 10,985 persons registered 24% had both tax receipts, 43% had receipts for one year only and 33% were registered without any tax receipt. The aggregate registration was 41% higher than that of 1954. Similar calculations have been drawn for Ho and Buem Krachi district.

In regard to Mr. Owusu Afare's complaint, example a, inquiry showed that Nos. 1, 3 and 6 were treated as doubtful claimants by the Assistant Registration Officer, No. 2 was similarly dealt with later on and Nos. 4, 5 and 7 did not apply for registration. If, however, they wish to assert that they

submitted applications during the registration period and are qualified to vote, they are at liberty to enter formal claims to be included in the register.

(2) External influence during registration.

In my view the participation in plebiscite activities by persons resident outside British Togoland is neither illegal nor objectionable according to recognized plebiscitary practice. Nevertheless, the Gold Coast Government decided that Ministers of the Government and Ministerial Secretaries, other than those who represent constituencies in Togoland, will refrain from addressing political meetings in Togoland until the vote has taken place. Ministers and their Secretaries must, however, remain free to perform their departmental duties in Togoland. Mr. Jantuah and Mr. Asafu Adjaye passed through Kete-Krachi on their way north. Inquiries reveal that they held no public meetings and that Mr. Gbedemah did not in fact visit Togoland at the time in question.

See paragraphs
209-233

Similarly, objection cannot legitimately be taken to the purchase of loud-speaker vans from Convention Peoples Party funds and to their use in Togoland since the C.P.P., as a party, is directly interested in the plebiscite.

(3) C.P.P. Council staff and Government Agents
(Registration Officers)

Government Agents were not appointed as Registration Officers. Members of the staff of Local Councils were appointed as Registration Assistants according to availability and without regard to political affiliation. The weekly figures for registration show that progress was steady though registration may have been slow to start in some of the remote areas. Particular care was taken to ensure that even the remotest villages were covered and that the itineraries of Registration Assistants were adhered to. The ultimate results, showing an

overall average increase of 31 per cent above the 1954 registration figure, appear to refute any allegation of "obstruction and frustration" by the registration staff.

(4) Wholesale employment of Local Council staff on registration duties.

This concerns the responsibility of Government Agents who no doubt ensured the retention of a skeleton staff adequate to carry on the essential day-to-day functions of the Councils.

(5) Governement Agents and C.P.P. Ministers propaganda in Togoland during registration.

The allegation against Mr. Lewis appears to have been malicious. There has never been any intention of painting ballot boxes black and white. Indeed, it is difficult to perceive any reason for such a statement. No complaints of this nature were made to me during my tour of in Northern Togoland where registration was completed in four weeks and little or no work remained for the final weeks.

See Misc/11

(Signed) A.J. DRING
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE SECRETARY GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
PO BOX 85, HOHOE

Copy to: H.E. United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner
Ho.

UKPA/34

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator
c/o Regional Office
Private Post Bag
Ho

TP 2/77

28 March 1956

COMPLAINTS FROM LOEBI KUMASI

I shall be grateful if you will refer to the letter from Mr. Agbenyega Kwashie, Regional Organizing Secretary, Buem Region, dated 2 February which was a reply to Mr. Blair's letter dated 22 February. Copies of both documents were sent to you and Mr. Kwashie's original letter has been circulated by the Trusteeship Council. Unless you wish for further information on any particular point I feel that no further correspondence is necessary in this connexion.

See TC/20
TC/35
TC/36

(Signed) A.J. DRING
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

H.E. UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER
HO.

UKPA/35

Regional Office,
Ho
17 March 1956.

TP.10/19

Sir,

REPRESENTATIVES AT COURT OF REVISION

I acknowledge your letter dated 5 March.

See TC/38

The procedure to be followed in regard to the submission of claims and objections and to their decision by a Revising Officer is prescribed in Regulations 8, 9 and 10 of the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations. The person making a claim or objection will be responsible for producing evidence to establish his case. Similarly, notices will be served on persons against whom objection has been raised to enable them to produce evidence to rebut the objection and establish their right to vote. The Court will consist of the Revising Officer alone; there is no provision for the representation of local parties on the Court.

I have the honour to be,
Sir
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) A.J. DRING
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE BRANCH SECRETARY,
TOGOLAND CONGRESS,
P.O. Box 15,
APESOKUBI

Copy to: His Excellency
The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner,
Ho
The Secretary General,
Togoland Congress,
Hohoe.

UKPA/36

c/o Regional Officer
Ho
20 March 1956

TP.15/

POLLING DAY

Reference your letter dated 2 March the date for the
Teachers' External Certificate Examination has been changed
to 15 May-19 May.

See TC/37

(Signed) A.J. DRING
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE SECRETARY GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
10 BOX 85, Hohoe

Copy to H.E. The United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner,
Ho

UKPA/37

OFFICE OF THE PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATION

Private Post Bag
Ho
5 April 1956

Sir,

CLAIMS - BUEM WARD K

I have the honour to refer to your telegram of 3 April about claims in Buem Ward K, and to inform you that as I had to visit Jasikan today the Plebiscite Administrator requested me to investigate your complaint. Unfortunately I was informed that you were in Hohoe, and I was therefore able to see only Mr. Ward and Mr. Van Wijk.

See TC/40
TC/41

2. I understand that when you telephoned Mr. Ward at about 3 p.m. on 3 April you agreed to come to see him at once, and I am sure that if you had done so the matter could have been satisfactorily settled. It is doubly unfortunate that you did not call on the Registration Officer when you visited Mr. Van Wijk at about 5.30 that evening.

3. As I am informed that you had discussed the making of these claims on several occasions in the past three or four weeks, it is not clear to me that they deserve any consideration if they were not submitted in the time allowed. Nevertheless, I am prepared to consider the matter further if before 9 May I may receive either a full written exposition of your case, or else a visit from you. You will appreciate that the list of claims and objections has to be exhibited on 13 April, so that I cannot allow you more time.

4. I especially wish to see the claim forms, to learn why the claimants did not submit them themselves, and to be satisfied that they had been duly authorised and signed or marked by the claimants when they were presented.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

Signature: Illegible

ASST PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR.
(on trek at Jasikan)

MR. A.K. ODAME,
BORADA.

Copy: The Government Agent, Jasikan
The Registration Officer, Jasikan
Mr. J. Van Wijk

KY.

UKPA/38

Regional Office
Trans-Volta/Togoland
Private post bag

6 April 1956

TA60/161
BR/TC/018 of
4 April 1956

Sir,

CLAIMS IN BUEM WARD K

I have the honour to refer to your letter
BR/TC/018 of 4 April and to confirm our conversation of
6 April, in which I stated that I would advise the Registration
Officer at Jasikan that the claims in the names of the
fifty-four persons listed in your letter ~~might~~ be accepted as
having been tendered in time, but that before the Revising
Officer went into their merits he would be asked to decide
whether the actual claimants had given notice in writing in
the manner required by the regulations.

See TC/40
TC/41

2. Please submit the claim forms to Mr. Ward by noon on
Saturday 7 April.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Signature: O.R. Blair
ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

Mr. A.K. Odame,
P.O. Box 15,
BORADA.

Copy to:

The Registration Officer, Jasikan
The Government Agent, Jasikan
The U.N. Observer, Jasikan
H.E. the Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

UKPA/39

TP.2/76

Regional Office,
Ho

26 March 1956

Reference the undated "Complaints of the Convention Peoples Party in Buem Krachi district during the registration for the coming Plebiscite in British Trust Togoland" received in this office on 16 March and copied to you, I discussed the position with the District Secretary, Convention Peoples Party at Worawora on 22 March. He told me he was satisfied with the position in general and with the action taken by the Registration staff in the cases which he had represented. He added that no complaints or objections had been raised in the Worawora area.

See CPP/5

Signature: A.J. Bring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR.

H.E. UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
HO.

RYK

UKPA/40

TA.60/173

Regional Office
Ho
26 April 1956

Reference your complaint dated 19 February the Government Agent, Kpandu, inspected the record book in which the case, heard by the Ablode Native Court on 26 February was recorded. He questioned the Registrar, the Treasurer and the Clerk of Council and could find no evidence that the prosecution was instituted as a result of your attempting to register without having paid the tax. He did, however, find an irregularity in the conduct of the case in that the prosecution was not called upon to lead any evidence in support of the charge though you had pleaded "not guilty". The Government Agent, therefore, gave notice of reviewing the case with the intention of quashing the order.

See Misc/16

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

MAD. AKOSIWAVI NYARKU
c/o AMUDA NYARKU
AVEME DANYIGBA

Copy to: The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

UKPA/41

TA.60/159 (2)

Registered

Regional Office
Ho

30 March 1956

The complaint contained in your letter dated 19 February has been investigated by the Government Agent, Jasikan, who found no evidence to support your allegation that the Registration Assistant enquired of your political views or that he was in any way connected with your prosecution for non-payment of the annual rate to the Biakoye Local Council.

See Misc/17

It appears that you were prosecuted with two other persons after you had ignored a request made by the Revenue Collector in December that you should pay your dues. The records show that you pleaded guilty before the Native Court on 17 February.

In that circumstances there are no reasons to justify intervention in the case.

I return the rate receipts etc. enclosed with your letter.

(Sgd) J. Dring

PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR.

Mr. Matheo Anku
c/o Mr. J.K. Aryee
P.O. Box 31
KWAMIKROM (BUEM)

Copy to: The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

eyk.

UKPA/42

TA.14/62

P.O. Box 45, Kpandu

27 April 1956

Sir,

TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE
PRESIDING OFFICERS - KPANDU DISTRICT

I have received your letter of 21 April 1956.

2. I intend to appoint Mr. S.F. Vullo as Presiding Officer for Gbi Hohoe Ward A, since I consider he is well qualified to act in that capacity. I do not share your lack of confidence in Mr. Vullo and would remind you that the political parties have the right to nominate polling agents to observe the conduct of the poll at each station.

See Misc/18

I am,

Sir

Your obedient servant,

(Signature) Illegible

RETURNING OFFICER

Mr. G.G. Agbelengor
P.O. Box 1
Hohoe

Copy to: The Plebiscite Administrator, Ho
The U.N. Observers, Kpandu
J.N. Gibson, Esq., Hohoe

skk.

UKPA/43

TA.60/172

Regional Office
Ho

26 April 1956

The case against Messrs. Nukpe and Agbo referred to in your letter dated 7 April was brought to my notice after it had been taken to Court. I regret it is not possible for me to intervene in the matter once it has become a Court case. In the circumstances justice must follow its course; the case will be decided on its merits.

See TC/42

(Sgd) J.A. Dring

PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

A.H. Simpson Esq.,
Regional Secretary
P.O. Box 7
Kpandu

Copy to: H.E. United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner, Ho

The Secretary-General, Togoland
Congress, Hohoe

EYK.

UKPA/44

TP.2/107

Regional Office
Ho

25 April 1956

Careful enquiries have been made into the complaints contained in your letter dated 18 April regarding difficulties experienced in the inspection of the registers in the Anfoega Local Council area.

See
TC/45

2. The Government Agent, Kpandu, reports that he met you on 20 March during one of his routine visits to Hohoe. He agreed with you that the atmosphere in Anfoega was unfriendly towards the Togoland Congress - just as in Hohoe it was unfriendly towards the Convention Peoples Party - but told you that he did not consider the situation was such as to justify your request for police protection, particularly since the registers were exhibited at the Local Council office, half a mile from the town. On your request the Government Agent agreed that the registers could be inspected in his office since a complete set of registers was available at the Registration Officer's headquarters. You then said you would let the Government Agent know when your representatives would visit Kpandu for this purpose, so that the necessary facilities could be arranged. I recall that you mentioned this arrangement to me when we met in Hohoe on 21 March.

3. On or about 26 March you telephoned to inform the Government Agent that you would inspect the Anfoega registers on the following Wednesday, 28 March. You did not, however, appear on that date but arrived at 2.20 p.m. on Tuesday, 3 April, the last day for the exhibition of registers. It appears that you left before 4 p.m. at which hour your people were still busily filling in objection forms. As an act of grace they were allowed to continue after office hours and they finally delivered some 75 completed forms to the Registration Officer at his bungalow shortly before 6 p.m.

4. The Registration Assistant and the Clerk of Council state that neither you nor any member of the Togoland Congress made any attempt to inspect registers in Anfoega. The Sergeant-in-charge, Gold Coast Police, Kpandu, and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Hohoe, say that they received no request from you or your representative for police protection while inspecting registers in Anfoega. Apart from the meeting in Hohoe on 20 March and the subsequent telephone message, the Government Agent reports that he had no communication, verbal or written, from you on this subject, nor had the Registration Officer.

5. The above facts do not, I fear, tally with the points drawn in your communication. I feel there can hardly be any ground for complaint when you yourself informed me personally of the arrangements you had made with the Government Agent to circumvent the difficulties.

6. Regarding the matters raised in the later paragraphs of your letter I regret I cannot go outside the procedure prescribed in the Registration Regulations for the presentation and decision of claims and objections. The cases in question were dismissed yesterday by the Revising Officer in default as the objector was not present when the cases were called. He put in a tardy appearance shortly before the Court rose but, when questioned on a review of the allocation of costs, he stated that he had brought no witnesses to substantiate the claims and objections.

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

S.G. Antor, Esq., M.L.A.
Secretary-General,
Togoland Congress,
P.O. Box 85,
Hohoe.

Copy to:

H.E. The United Nations Plebiscite
Commissioner, Ho.

EYK.

UKPA/45

TA.60/201

Regional Office
Trans-Volta Togoland
Private post bag
Ho

Sir,

FETISH OATHS - DUTASO WARDS B and CI

I have the honour to refer to your protest of 7 May 1956 and to inform you that I have no power to order that voting shall not take place in Dutaso Wards B and CI as you suggest.

See CPP/7

2. You have pointed out that Mr. Tu Aku has been convicted of an offence under Regulation 40 of the Togoland Plebiscite Regulations, 1956. You will observe that Regulation 3 (1) (c) of the Togoland Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1956, of which I enclose a copy, provides that such an offence provides grounds for a voting petition in respect of each ward in which it has taken place. It, after considering the results of the voting in Dutaso Wards B and CI, you are of the opinion that voting petitions would be justified you will be at liberty to enter them.

See paragraph
208

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

P.K. Keh, Esq.,
The Regional Chairman,
The Togoland Convention Peoples' Party,
Ho.

Copy to: H.E. the Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho
The Regional Officer, Ho
The Returning Officer, Ho West

SZ.

UKPA/46

Regional Office
Trans-Volta Togoland
Private Post Bag
Ho

TA.60/186

7 May 1956

Sir,

Presbyterian Conference at Kpandu

I have the honour to refer to your letter of the 25th April, and to inform you that the Presbytery Conference of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church at Kpandu was postponed to the 15th and 16th May by letters signed on the 23rd April, two days before you wrote your letter.

See TC/46

2. I have been shown the Church Calendar which fixed the date of the Conference as the 8th and 9th May. I am told that this calendar was sent to the printer in October or November, at a time when the day of the Plebiscite had not been fixed. Your ungenerous allegations against the Heads of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church are therefore wholly unfounded.

(Signed) R. Blair
(for) the Plebiscite Administrator

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
TOGOLAND CONGRESS
P.O. BOX 85
HOHOE

Copy to: H.E. The Plebiscite Commissioner
HO

The Ag:Synod Clerk
E.P. Church
P.O. Box 18, HO

UKPA/47

COPY

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator

HO

TA.60/185/

7 May 1956

Sir,

VOTING AT OBANDA

I have the honour to return to you a letter dated the 27th February from 'the chief clerk' (Mr. B.Y. BADASU) and others at Gbanda, upon which Mr. Howard invited my comments.

See Misc/19

2. The letter complains that the inhabitants of Obanda are obliged to travel long distances in order to vote. This complaint has been met by the Togoland Plebiscite (Registration) (Amendment) (No.3) Regulations, 1956, dated 21st March, which reorganized the wards in the area of Obanda.

(Signed) R. Blair

for the Plebiscite Administrator

The Plebiscite Commissioner,
HO

Copy to:

The Registration Officer, Jasikan

The Government Agent, Jasikan

UKPA/48

Copy

Office of the Plebiscite Administrator
Private Post Bag
HO

TP.2/131

12 May 1956

OUTSTANDING COMPLAINTS

Thank you for your list of complaints to which no reply appears on your files. Four of them were addressed to registration officers and one to the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Hohoe; I have written to ask for copies of the replies which were given to them, as I received none (TC/1, TC/14, TC/15, TC/16, Misc/6). Indeed, I have never seen TC/1.

2. Another (TC/8) was not sent to this office by Mr. Antor, though it has since appeared as page 9-12 of Communication T/CCM.6/L.61. I attach a minute commenting upon it.

See TC/8,
TC/17, TC/29,
Misc/8

3. It was not thought that TC/17 or TC/29 deserved replies, but minutes commenting on them are now attached. So are comments on Misc/8.

Misc/12

4. I think that Misc/12 was overlooked. A minute on it is also attached.

5. The word "allegations" should be inserted in paragraph 4 of my letter TA.60/128 of the 22nd February, 1956.

(signed) O.R. Blair

(for) PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

H.E. THE PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER,
HO

(For the attention of Mr. Howard)

Enclosure A

Copy

FILE No. TP.2

Plebiscite Commissioner

PLEBISCITE REGISTRATION

To complete your records I comment as follows on the numbered paragraphs of the summary, signed by Mr. Antor, which appears as pages 9 -12 of Trusteeship Council communication T/COM.6/L.61:

Government Agents

1. Mr. Mackay, formerly Government Agent, Ho, informed me, before he went on leave, that he neither insulted the Divisional Chief of Tanyigbe nor rejected his nominee for the reasons attributed to him. Since Registration Assistants had to be chosen before the Registration Officers had assumed duty the selection was made by Government Agents, who were the only officers with sufficient local knowledge for the task.
2. Mr. Heaton informed me that as no suitable persons without political opinions could be found in Ve Koloenu to fill the two posts of Registration Assistant there, he tried to get one moderate supporter of each party. Having already recruited one from the Togoland Congress he was obliged to refuse Mr. Seniadja on learning that he also supported the party.
3. The allegations against the Government Agent, Jasikan, are untrue.
4. The summary shows some confusion between the grades of Assistant Registration Officer and Registration Assistant. If the words "Assistant Registration Officer" in line 8 of this paragraph mean "Registration Assistant" it would be true to say that at 13 of January the instructions to

See TC/8

See paragraphs
320-321

Registration Assistants obliged them to refer to the Assistant Registration Officer all applicants who could not produce two rate receipts as evidence, rather than register them without his approval.

Registration Officers

1. In the early days of registration it was sometimes necessary to destroy forms incorrectly prepared by inexperienced Registration Assistants on behalf of illiterate applicants. It is most unlikely that Mr. Cox's reason for such an action, if it took place, was as bald as that set out in the summary. He is now on leave, however, and I do not think it worth while to trouble him for comments on this paragraph.
2. See the above comment, and also my letter of 19 January (acknowledged by your letter PE/1010 of 30 January).

Northern Togoland

1. No Africans were employed as Assistant Registration Officers.
2. These allegations were investigated by me on the spot and I am satisfied that they are untrue.

KETE-KRACHI Region (sic)

The staff of the Krachi Local Council represented only a small proportion of the Registration Assistants. The assertions of political bias are not supported by facts. I do not believe that officers who failed to adhere to their itineraries did so on purpose or as a political tactic.

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

May 1956

Enclosure B

Copy

FILE No. TP.2

*Plebiscite Commissioner

TEACHERS AS REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS

To complete your records I comment as follows on a telegram of 3 February from the Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress (your reference TC/16), which reads

"NEARLY ALL REGISTRATION ASSISTANTS ENGAGED PLEBISCITE REGISTRATION TOGOLAND ARE TEACHERS STOP COMPLETE HALT IS NOTICED SINCE REOPENING OF SCHOOLS 31 JANUARY STOP ALL TEACHERS GONE BACK TO SCHOOL NO REGISTRATION FOR TWO DAYS AT LEAST STOP IMMEDIATE ATTENTION SHOULD BE DRAWN TO THIS SERIOUS SITUATION AND STEPS TAKEN AT ONCE TO REPLACE DAYS LOST."

See paragraphs
331 and 341

It was not true that nearly all Registration Assistants were teachers. In the Kpandou District, for example, only twenty out of fifty-four were teachers. During the last fortnight of the thirty-five day registration period such Registration Assistants continued their work part-time. It is nonsense to say that there was a "complete halt" after 31 January, as may be seen by these registration figures for Southern Togoland:

Date	No. of days since 10 Jan.	Number registered
13.1.56	4	20,850
20.1.56	11	44,682
27.1.56	18	68,392
4.2.56	25	84,838
13.2.56	35	116,069

(Signed) A.J. Dring

PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

Enclosure C

FILE No. TP.2

Plebiscite Commissioner

"FRIVOLOUS AND CONTRADICTORY INSTRUCTIONS"

To complete your records I offer my comments on this telegram dated 25 January from Mr. Ayeke, Acting Secretary-General of the Togoland Congress:

"TOGOLAND CONGRESS VEHEMENTLY PROTEST FRIVOLOUS AND CONTRADICTORY INSTRUCTIONS BY BLAIR ASSISTANT PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR TO PLEBISCITE OFFICIALS RE PRODUCTION RATE RATE RECEIPTS IN REGISTRATION STOP BLAIR FIRST INSTRUCTED REGISTRATION OFFICERS ACCEPT PEOPLE FOR REGISTRATION AT 54/55 RECEIPT BE PRODUCED OR CAN BE IDENTIFIED STOP BLAIR SECONDLY INSTRUCTED TO PLACE PEOPLE WITH 54/55 RECEIPTS ON DOUBTFUL LIST BUT TO ACCEPT PEOPLE PRODUCING 55/56 RECEIPTS STOP BLAIRS INSTRUCTIONS CONTRADICT THEMSELVES AND UNITED NATIONS RECOMMENDATION PARAGRAPH 153 STOP BLAIRS INSTRUCTIONS 55/56 RECEIPT IS AN ATTEMPT TO BRING GOLD COASTERS NOT RESIDENT IN TERRITORY FOR TWELVE MONTHS TO PARTAKE PLEBISCITE STOP HOW CAN 55/56 RECEIPTS PROVE 12 MONTHS RESIDENCE STOP COMPLY WITH UNO RECOMMENDATIONS IMMEDIATELY STOP ADVISE BLAIR WITHDRAW CONFUSING INSTRUCTIONS STOP TENSION GROWING HIGH RE BLAIRS PARTIALITY FAVOURING BRITISH CIPIPI GOVERNMENTS PLEBISCITE

See TC/29

KODZO AYEKE

AG: SECRETARY-GENERAL"

Mr. Ayeke's account of the instructions given by Mr. Blair is quite inaccurate. I refer you to paragraphs 40-42 of his First Instructions to Registration Assistants in Southern Togoland, and to paragraphs 55-57 of his Second Instructions.

Mr. Ayeke alleged that Mr. Blair's instructions about 1955-56 rate receipts were an attempt to register Gold Coast persons who did not possess the required residential qualifications. He also alleged that Mr. Blair had shown partiality in favour of the Convention People's Party. Both these allegations are false and are strongly resented.

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

May 1956

Enclosure D

FILE No. TP.2

Plebiscite Commissioner

REGISTRATION AT GBI KPOETA

To complete your records I comment
as follows on a complaint from Gbi Kpoeta dated the 26th of
January, 1956:

In their letter Messrs. Atsu, Koto and Morny complain
that the Assistant Registration Officer, Hohoe, had not
visited the village of Kpoeta for a week. He was not
obliged to visit Kpoeta daily, as was suggested; and as
he was dependent on bicycle transport, the letter was
thought not to disclose valid grounds for complaint, and was
not investigated to ascertain its truth. It was noted that
a copy of the complaint had been addressed to the officer
concerned, and subsequent enquiries showed that if there
were any arrears of work he disposed of them of his own
accord.

See TC/12

(Signed) A.J. Dring

PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

May, 1956

Enclosure E

FILE No. TP.2

PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER

ALLEGED EXTERNAL INFLUENCE

To complete your records I offer my comments on a letter dated the 31st of January and signed by Mr. Simpson as General Secretary of the All-Ewe Conference:

1. Dr. Nkrumah and Mr. Gbedemah attended the official opening of the Kpandu District Council offices in their official capacity, as Mr. Simpson says. It has always been made clear that Cabinet Ministers cannot be prevented from appearing in Togoland in this capacity. They were careful not to interfere with the plebiscite in any way, and Mr. Simpson does not attempt to prove that they did interfere with it.

See Misc./12
and paragraphs
209-233

2. I do not understand the complaint about Landrover vehicles, since the Convention Peoples' Party is one of the leading parties in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship as well as in the Gold Coast. It was no doubt necessary to buy the landrovers in Accra because vehicles are not sold in Togoland.

(Signed) A.J. Dring

PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

May, 1956

UKPA/49

TP.2/140

Regional Office

Ho

19 May 1956

Sir,

POLICE CHECKS ON MAIN ROADS

I have the honour to refer to your letter dated 25 April 1956, and to inform you that it was brought to the attention of the authorities responsible for law and order. It was not considered that the possibility of violence to which you referred was sufficiently strong to require precautions in addition to those already taken; nor that the institution of road barriers between Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and the Gold Coast would be an effective measure of controlling violence if it were contemplated. As you know, there are no legal powers to stop and search innocent persons entering Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, nor to prevent anybody entering the territory from the Gold Coast, nor to deport persons from the territory to the Gold Coast.

See
CPP/8 and
paragraphs
345-346

2. I am happy to note that the event proved that such precautions were not necessary to maintain law and order during the period up to polling day.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) A.J. Dring

PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE REGIONAL CHAIRMAN
CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY
P.O. BOX 10
HO

UKPA/50

TP.2/142

Regional Office

Ho

19 May 1956

Sir,

ALLEGED PLEBISCITE REGISTRATION AT WETA

I have the honour to refer to your letters of the 18th and 28th of April, in which you assert that plebiscite registration took place in Weta village of the Keta District and that one Mr. Ben Dzikunu had been registered there for the plebiscite. You stated that Mr. Dzikunu appeared in person at your Hohoe office with a plebiscite registration receipt in his name, numbered D. 10, and that he took it away with him.

2. Mr. Ben Dzikunu was interviewed at Weta and states as follows:

See
TC/43
and
TC/44

"I have never gone to tell Antor anything and I do not believe that Antor knows me personally. I have never gone to the National Secretariat of the Togoland Congress and told them of any registration taking place at Weta. I have never registered at Weta at all and nothing of the sort has occurred. I have never given any registration number D. 10 to Mr. Antor. His report is quite untrue. I repeat again that no plebiscite registration has taken place at Weta which I registered as D. 10".

3. Chief Gawu II of Weta also made a statement:

"I am the head and if there had been any registration of voters for the Togoland Plebiscite, I could have known of it."

Sub-Chief Agbana II of Weta stated that he had heard of the plebiscite but that no registration for it had taken place in Weta.

4. You will see that not the slightest evidence in support of your allegations has been disclosed by thorough investigation, and I note that you are unable to produce more definite proof

than the statements contained in your letters. I also note that you "consider that countless persons must have been registered in that area in the manner described above ...", and I must observe that this is a remarkable example of a sweeping conclusion drawn without the assistance of any facts. No Registration Assistants were employed on plebiscite duties outside Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

5. Perhaps you are not aware that the preparation of new Assembly and local council electoral registers began in the Keta District on the 1st of December and continued until April. Registration receipts - easily distinguishable from plebiscite registration receipt - were issued, and it is possible that your complaint may in some way be derived from this circumstance, although Mr. Ben Dzikunu himself has not registered.

(Signed) A.J. Dring
PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

Copy to: The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho

EYK

UKPA/51

TP.2/141

Regional Office

Ho

19 May 1956

Sir,

POLLING STAFF AT NEW AYOMA

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 16 April 1956 and to inform you that the presiding officers employed in your area were either school teachers or persons who worked satisfactorily as registration assistants during the first phase of the plebiscite. Mr. T.Y. Asiedu was such a person, and was therefore offered appointment by a letter from the Government Agent's office, Jasikan. His inability to agree with the people of New Ayoma, or to prevent their being bored during the registration period, are as irrelevant to his suitability for the post of presiding officer as is his consorting with the officers of the Buem Local Council.

2. Your statement that Mr. Asiedu has not even had an elementary education is absurd.

3. After the letters offering appointment to polling staff had issued it was decided to establish an additional polling booth in the New Ayoma station to deal with the large number of voters there. Mr. Akuamoah of the Government Agent's office was sent to New Ayoma to find additional persons willing to serve, and they were duly appointed in the proper manner.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) A.J. Dring

PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR

THE CHIEF FARMER
P.O. BOX 1
NEW AYOMA

EYK cc. The Plebiscite Commissioner, Ho.

CHAPTER IX - END OF OPERATION

516. Although Polling Day was the culminating stage of the Plebiscite and the results of the vote were made known almost immediately after May the 9th, the operation was only concluded formally with the corresponding declaration of the Administrator, after the Special Court had examined the nine petitions submitted and the Judge had communicated his decision or finding of fact.

517. Having made a very wide coverage of the Territory on Polling Day, in which at least four-fifths of the polling stations were visited by United Nations personnel, and it being obvious to me that incidents of a major character had not taken place, I felt reasonably assured that the operation was in its final stage, and that steps could be taken accordingly.

518. Consequently, in agreement with the Secretariat, arrangements were made for the return of almost all of the personnel within two weeks after Polling Day.

519. The Observer in East Akan was assigned to remain in the Territory to follow the proceedings of the Special Court in regard to the petitions that were lodged. In constant touch with the Administrator, he has followed in minute detail the proceedings and has reported to me on them. Before leaving Accra I had left him special instructions on this aspect of the work, and correspondence was maintained with him during this stage.

520. The Administrative Officer and two Field Service Officers remained in Accra the time that was necessary to liquidate our operation.

521. On May 25, after the expiration of the term given for lodging of petitions and once I had examined the nine ones that were submitted, I left Accra and reached Paris on the 27th, in order to prepare this Report. I was accompanied by Mr. J. J. Cebe-Habersly as Acting Principal Secretary. I advised the Administrator that I would hold myself in readiness to return immediately to the Territory if the Judge's finding of fact should point to the need of ordering a re-vote.

522. From the 9th of January to the 25th of May I was always in the Territory of Togoland or in points in the Gold Coast, in connexion with my work, and never left the area of my jurisdiction.

523. In view of the fact that the petitions submitted to the Special Court were withdrawn on the 12th and 13th June (see paragraph 504) it may be considered that

the Plebiscite was officially concluded on this latter date. Consequently the Officer who had remained in Togoland in connexion with this last stage of the work made the necessary arrangements for his return.

524. I wish to express here to the members of the Staff, to the Observers, to every member of the United Nations personnel who was with me in this operation, my heartfelt thanks for their work, for their efficiency, for their clear understanding of the importance of the task with which we had been entrusted, for their loyalty. If we have been able to conclude this operation satisfactorily it is due to their efforts.

CHAPTER X - CONCLUSIONS

525. The aims of the General Assembly set out in its resolution 944 (X) have been attained. A Plebiscite has been held in the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom administration in which the greater part of the eligible population have taken part and have freely expressed their will concerning the alternative from which the people have been asked to choose.

526. A total of 194,230 persons were registered. Of these, 160,587 cast their votes. For the first alternative 93,095 votes were recorded, and 67,492 were cast for the second alternative. These results are included in Chapter VII, after paragraph 493 of this Report. The grand total of the votes recorded for each alternative, and the results in each ward - the ward being the basic unit - are given there. No suggestion is made as to the manner in which the results may be appraised. The viewpoints of both parties on this question are mentioned there. It has been made clear in public statements that it now falls to the General Assembly, in the terms of paragraph 5 of resolution 944 (X), to assess the results of the Plebiscite and take the corresponding decision.

527. The Plebiscite has been held in an atmosphere of absolute freedom, impartiality and fairness. All eligible voters have had a chance to register and vote. Everybody has been at liberty to express his views on the essence of the issues and on the conduct of the Plebiscite. The organization and conduct of the Plebiscite have been excellent. The minor irregularities that are to be recorded in an operation as vast as this Plebiscite are referred to in Chapters VI and VII of this Report, together with the action taken on them.

528. Numerous complaints, submitted especially during the period of Registration, are included in Chapter VIII of this Report in a manner in which it will be possible to follow steps taken in connexion with them.

529. Points of considerable interest as to the political background of the Plebiscite will be found in Chapter IV. I consider that it would be impossible to appraise the Plebiscite duly if the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly are not fully informed of important political developments in the Gold Coast. In Chapter IV of this Report are contained data and considerations on the ties of parties or movements in Togoland with movements and developments across the boundary. However, care has been taken to record there only such cases in which connexion was obvious and direct, in deference to Article 73 (e) of the Charter.

530. Considering the importance of the decision that the General Assembly is bound to take in this matter, in the terms of paragraph 5 of resolution 944 (X), I suggest that perhaps the Government of the United Kingdom, having shown constantly its desire to lay this matter openly before the General Assembly, being guided in both cases by a highly commendable purpose of granting self-government to peoples in Africa, and obviously interested in that a just and wise decision be reached, might wish to provide the General Assembly, as political information submitted voluntarily in connexion with a Non-Self-Governing Territory or otherwise, the necessary data to appreciate the nature of the constitutional crisis that was seen to affect recently not only the prospect of independence of the Gold Coast but also the outcome of the Plebiscite in Togoland.

531. I express here my appreciation to the Administering Authority for the readiness with which it has made available to me all the information I have required.

532. It has been pointed out in paragraph 139 that not only the first but also the second alternative in the Plebiscite in Togoland are concerned with the independence of the Gold Coast.

533. The point has been raised at the General Assembly of how the union of Togoland with the Gold Coast might take place, if the majority of the people were to vote for it. The word "integration" which was originally used in the Visiting Mission's recommendation having been changed for the word "union" which appears in resolution 944 (X), it should be said that parties in the Gold Coast and Togoland are now moving to a General Election in which each side has as the main part of its platform its constitutional proposals for an independent "Ghana" or "Gold Coast". Whichever platform wins these elections with a reasonable majority - the Convention Peoples' Party with a central, unitary form of democratic government, in which devolution of power to the Regions is provided, or the Opposition with proposals in which democratic government takes a federal form - will be legally in a position to give the independent Gold Coast its type of constitution.

534. The Plebiscite in Togoland has given a majority of more than 25,000 votes in favour of the first alternative, and the Togoland branch of the Convention Peoples' Party has claimed victory having contended in the Plebiscite in favour

of that alternative with its well known constitutional criterion. In view of the implications of the situation to which the preceding paragraph refers, the results that now may be derived from the Plebiscite could be reversed. If the Convention Peoples' Party, now holding the Government of the Gold Coast (and Togoland) were to lose the General Elections that are to be held in the Gold Coast and the Territory probably in the month of July 1956, the union of Togoland with an independent Gold Coast in the central form of government that is contained in the proposals of the present Government of the Gold Coast could not take place.

535. If victory should favour the coalition of forces that constitute the Opposition in the Gold Coast (one of the greatest of which is a political movement in Togoland) the union of Togoland with the Gold Coast could only be envisaged - if it is found viable - through the federal system that is contained in the proposals of the Opposition, and which has been always (see paragraph 139) an essential aspect of the second alternative.

536. It has often been asked if the people actually understood for what they were voting. Special attention is given to this point in paragraphs 5 to 14, and it is important that no unfair criticism be raised in this matter either against the people of Togoland or against the United Nations.

537. The question has also been raised of whether a vote in Togoland would actually be democratic or would be decided by the will of the chiefs. Developments in this Plebiscite will leave no doubt that the problem has been met with its only logical answer: the secret ballot.

538. Considering the form of the Territory - a long, narrow strip between two lands directly interested in the issues of the Plebiscite - one of the remarkable facts of this Plebiscite is that it was possible to eliminate infiltration in the Register almost completely.

539. External influence in the Plebiscite was to be expected. Everything that was within our reach was done to eliminate illegitimate interventions. It is recommended that this matter be examined with special care in Chapter IV.

540. The intervention of the United Nations in this Plebiscite has satisfied the people, it has not undermined the position to which the Administering Power is entitled by the Trust Agreement.

541. The Administrator has conducted a fair Plebiscite.

542. The parties have taken a most active part in the Plebiscite and have pressed their views with great determination.

543. The paramount element in the Plebiscite has been the high human quality, sense of responsibility, the dignity of the people of Togoland.
