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

Memorandum by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Northern Ireland

Note by the Secretary-General: At the request of the representative of the United Kingdom, the Secretary-General has the honour to circulate the following memorandum to the members of the Fourth Committee. This memorandum has been circulated to the members of the Trusteeship Council under the symbol T/1270.

1. In its memorandum to the ninth session of the General Assembly (A/2660), Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom explained that when the Gold Coast assumed full responsibility for its own affairs, it would no longer be constitutionally possible for the United Kingdom to administer the Trust Territory as an integral part of the Gold Coast in accordance with the present Trusteeship Agreement. In the view of the Administering Authority, the progress of the inhabitants of the Territory had been such that, when the Gold Coast obtained independence, the objectives of the International Trusteeship System would have been substantially achieved. The United Kingdom Government therefore recommended that the United Nations should arrange to ascertain, by whatever means it considered desirable and appropriate, the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory as to their future status after the present arrangements for administering the Territory became inoperable.

2. At its ninth session, the General Assembly in resolution 860 (IX) "Noting the new situation described in the statement (A/2660) of the United Kingdom Government to the effect that the Gold Coast will assume full responsibility for its own affairs within a measurable period, and that it will thereafter be no longer possible for the Administering Authority to administer the Trust Territory

in accordance with articles 4 and 5 of the present Trusteeship Agreement" decided "in view of the eventual revision or termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, that steps should be taken, in the light of the particular circumstances of the Trust Territory, to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants as to their future, without prejudice to the eventual solution they may 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" and requested the Trusteeship Council "to dispatch a special mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration to make a special study of these problems".

3. At its fifteenth session, the Trusteeship Council in its resolution 1084 (XV) decided to dispatch a Visiting Mission in compliance with the request made by the General Assembly. The Visiting Mission in its report (T/1206) recommended:

- (i) That a formal consultation with the people in the form of a plebiscite should be held in order to ascertain the true wishes of the people as to the future of their territory;
- (ii) That the following questions should be put at the plebiscite:
 - (1) Do you want the integration of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast?
 - (2) Do you want the separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuation under trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political future?
- (iii) That the results of the plebiscite should be determined separately in four separate units as follows: Northern Section; Kpandu and Ho; Buea-Krachi North; and Buea-Krachi South;
- (iv) That the plebiscite should be organized and conducted by the Administering Authority under United Nations supervision.

4. At its fifth special session, the Trusteeship Council took note of the Visiting Mission's report and transmitted it to the General Assembly with the opinion that the views expressed in it provided in general a useful basis for determining the arrangements to be made in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 860 (IX).

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5. At its tenth session, the General Assembly in resolution 944 (X) accepted the recommendations of the Visiting Mission in respect of a plebiscite, the questions to be asked and the appointment of a Plebiscite Commissioner to supervise the plebiscite, but rejected the proposal for four separate plebiscite areas; instead, it requested the 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; and reserved to itself the right to assess the results, in consultation with the Administering Authority, 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.

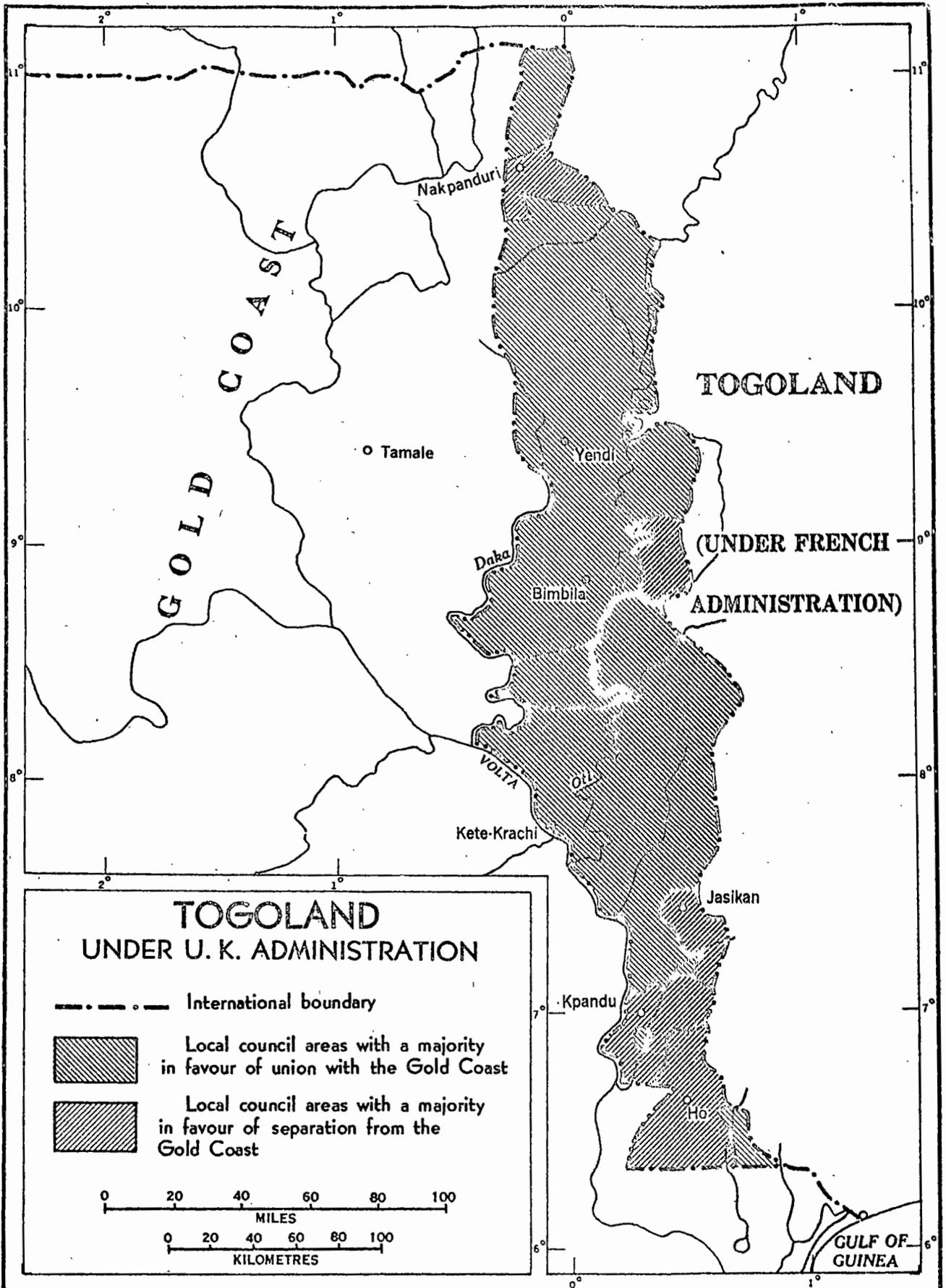
6. In accordance with this resolution, the Administering Authority appointed Sir John Dring as Plebiscite Administrator to organize and conduct the plebiscite, and the General Assembly appointed Sr. Espinosa of Mexico as Plebiscite Commissioner to supervise the conduct of the plebiscite. The results of the plebiscite, which took place on 9 May 1956, were as follows:

	<u>Union</u>	<u>Separation</u>
Mamprusi District	17,780	3,429
Dagomba District	28,083	6,549
Goaja District	3,166	2,729
Buem/Krachi District	28,178	18,775
Kpandu District	8,581	17,029
Ho District	<u>7,217</u>	<u>18,981</u>
	<u>93,095</u> (58%)	<u>67,492</u> (42%)

7. The present Gold Coast constitution marks the last stage before the assumption of full responsibility by the Gold Coast for its own affairs. On 11 May 1956, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom announced that they would be ready to accept a motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth passed by a reasonable majority in the Gold Coast legislature newly elected after a general election. Such a general election is taking place on 12 and 17 July 1956. If the legislature so elected passes such a motion in such a manner, immediate steps will be taken by Her Majesty's Government for the enactment of the necessary legislation and the preparation of appropriate constitutional instruments establishing the independence of the Gold Coast. When that stage is reached the present Trusteeship Agreement will become inoperable. /...

8. In the view of Her Majesty's Government the result of the plebiscite in British Togoland shows a clear majority in the Trust Territory as a whole in favour of the union of that Territory with an independent Gold Coast. In only two of the six districts was there a majority vote in favour of separation. A map is attached showing these areas, which comprise approximately one-seventh of the whole Trust Territory. The United Kingdom Government is satisfied, by its assessment of the interests of the inhabitants of the Territory and by reason of its experience in administering it during the past thirty-five years, that any partition of this small Trust Territory and the establishment of a fragment of it as a distinct political entity would be harmful to the long-term interests of the inhabitants of the Territory. Such partition would, moreover, create a most formidable administrative problem, and would inevitably cause serious difficulties for the newly independent State of the Gold Coast.

9. The United Kingdom Government therefore believe that the only right and practicable course of action is for the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly to take note of the result of the plebiscite as a clear indication of the desire of the majority of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory to be united with the Gold Coast, and to request the Administering Authority to make all the necessary preparations for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and the union of the Territory with the Gold Coast as soon as the latter attains independence.



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