

Registry Section

United Nations Plebiscite Commission of the Trust  
Territories of Togoland under British Administration-TR 100

1/01/1955-31/12/1959

UC

PLEASE RETAIN  
ORIGINAL ORDER

UN ARCHIVES

SERIES	<u>0443</u>
BOX	<u>0007</u>
FILE	<u>0007</u>
ACC.	<u>9402</u>







## REGISTRY FILE CLOSURE FORM

[ ] FILE FOR PERIOD OF 1 JAN. 1955  
THROUGH 31 DEC. 1959 CLOSED.  
A NEW PERIODIC FILE WILL BE OPENED  
IF REQUIRED.

[ ] PART \_\_\_\_\_ CLOSED.  
SEE PART \_\_\_\_\_

[ ] FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_ CLOSED.  
CORRESPONDENCE CONTINUED UNDER FILE NO.  
\_\_\_\_\_



13 August 1956

TR 100 TOG(I) CONFID

Sir,

TR TR 100 TOG (I-1) CONFID

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 7 August 1956 and to inform you that note has been taken of its contents, particularly regarding your views on the transmission of your Report on the Plebiscite in Togoland under United Kingdom administration to the General Assembly.

I take this opportunity to express to you my sincere appreciation of the able manner in which you have discharged the heavy responsibility entrusted to you by the General Assembly.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Dag Hammarskjöld  
Secretary-General

Mr. Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto  
United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner  
of the Trust Territory of Togoland  
under British administration  
Permanent Mission of Mexico to  
the United Nations  
270 Park Avenue, G-10  
New York 17, N. Y.



Reg # 367214

Copies of this letter received  
B. Cohen



AUG 13 1956

Under-Secretary, TRI

AUG 8 1956

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

ACTION

TO	<i>Mr. Cordier</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Action Completed
<input type="checkbox"/>	Acknowledged
<input type="checkbox"/>	No Action Required
INITIALS	

New York, 7 August 1956.

Sir:

TR 100 TOG (1) CONFID.

Having introduced at the Trusteeship Council my official Report on the Plebiscite in Togoland under United Kingdom administration, and having been honored with the unanimous and most generous approval of the Council, I now wish to reiterate to You my sincere thanks for your kindness and for the help that You have given me constantly for the fulfilment of my duties.

In accordance with the permission I sought and obtained from the Council I have left with an officer of the Trusteeship Division note of the corrections to be made in the printed editions of the Report in the official languages of the General Assembly.

I respectfully requested the Council, in the precise terms of Resolution 944 (X), to transmit this Report to the General Assembly, from which I received my mandate in connexion with this Plebiscite and to which I must come at its XI session on the basis of this document. It is my clear understanding that the Report in its entirety will be printed and transmitted to the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly in its official languages.

In accordance with the function assigned to me by the General Assembly I have determined carefully what elements constitute my Report. I have assumed in this a grave responsibility, being bound to bring to the Council and to the General Assembly the full facts of the Plebiscite - in my estimation of them - duly balanced in order not to prejudice in any form the interests of any one of the two parts in the contest. The Report is carefully weighed in this light. Chapter VIII and the documents in it (see paragraphs 506 to 509) are in this manner as inseparable a part of the Report as those other elements, perhaps opposite to these, that Members of the Council have quoted in the debate to support their particular points of view. I have asked officers connected with this work to be good enough to insure that no omission is made in printing the new editions in the official languages of the General Assembly.

To Mister Dag Hammarskjöld,  
Secretary General of the  
Organization of the United Nations,  
New York City.



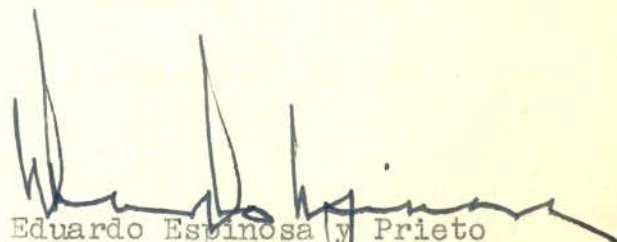


UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER  
OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF TOGOLAND  
UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The Plebiscite in Togoland has been justly considered an operation of far-reaching consequences, and the importance of the part that the United Nations have played in it has been fully acknowledged. I am indeed gratified that the Trusteeship Council has accepted my Report in accordance with these considerations.

Having come to the conclusion of this stage of my work as United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner I now take leave from You and wish to renew to You the expression of my heartfelt thanks for the services of the personnel that was assigned to me and for the facilities and deference that have been shown to me at the Secretariat.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto  
United Nations  
Plebiscite Commissioner



NEG COPY  
Action To: WIESCHHOFF  
Info No. 11

20 JUN 1956

TK LOT TOG  
(1)

40 PARIS 13 20 1630

UNATIONS NY

UNPAR 93 WIESCHHOFF FROM ESPINOSA STOP AGREE DATE JUNE  
FIFTEENTH

PAROMNIPRESS

CFM 93

UNATIONS  
JUN 20 1956  
11:20 AM  
11:20 AM



DRAFTER WIESCHHOFF  
TRI

REGISTRY FILE COPY

FILE No. 100 TOG (1)

13 (UN2) F NY 32 19 1636Z ;

PAROMNIPRESS

PARIS (FRANCE) ;

82 FOR ESPINOSA FROM WIESCHHOFF STOP RECEIVED FINAL DRAFT OF PART  
SPECIAL COURT STOP IS IT AGREEABLE TO DATE LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL  
FIFTEENTH JUNE STOP ALL CORRECTIONS MADE ;

CFM 82 "

FIELDSEV NEWYORK "

UNITED NATIONS  
1956 JUN 19 PM 1:10  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



Te 100 TOG(1)

Reg INFO. COPY

Action To WIESCHOFF  
File No.

19 PARIS 33 14 1630

UNATIONS NY

14 JUN 1956

UNPAR 86 WIESCHOFF FROM ESPINOSA STOP AM INFORMED BY CABLE

ALL PETITIONS WITHDRAWN STOP AM AIRMAILING TODAY LAST SECTION

REPORT SUBJECT TO POSSIBLE MINOR MODIFICATION ON RECEIPT FABRYS

AIRMAIL REPORT

PAROMNIPRESS.

CFM 86.

UNITED NATIONS  
1530 JUN 14 PM 12:54  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



IN937/RC7/LF...

UNESCO KIA319 F ACCRA 29 13 0850 F ETATG

UNATIONS NEWYORK

FOR WIESCHHOFF AT HEARING 12TH JUSTICE AMES GRANTED PETITIONER

LEAVE TO WITHDRAW THREE PETITIONS RELATING ALFAL KUSASI

RESERVING DECISION ON COSTS HEARING SIX CHIEREPONI PETITIONS

13TH FADRY

SENT 646-AM EST

Reg INFO. COPY

Action To WIESCHHOFF

File No.

13 JUN 1956

TR 100  
BG(1)

UNITED NATIONS  
JUN 13 AM 7.59  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



TR 100 TOG (1)

OK TKS SORRY

RCA POSN 34

NY537

RC14/GM

UG5523 KWA415 ACCRA 14 13 1610 FETATUNO

NATIONS NEWYORK

FOR WIESCHHOFF REMAINING SIR CHEREPONI PETITIONS WITHDRAWN

COSTS ASSESSED AGAINST PETITIONER FABRY

Reg INFO. COPY

Re: WIESCHHOFF  
Re No.

13 JUN 1956

SENT NY537 10/// 1207P EST PLS ACK 14

R RC14 1309EDST 13 HR NY537

UNITED NATIONS  
1956 JUN 13 PM 1:09  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



DRAFTER Wieschhoff  
TR

88-236

NY537/3 FFF NEWYORK 29 1255EDST UNGOVT

UNATIONS

ACCRA (GOLD COAST)

72 FROM WIESCHHOFF INFORM FABRY HIS DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZES HIM TO  
STAY UNTIL PETITIONS DISPOSED STOP AWAITING HIS REPORT

FIELDSERV

CFM 72

CLR ACK

RECD 1 THRU 3 1200 EEEE 1202PM EST /SM/ TKS

Te REGISTRY FILE COPY  
FILE No. 100 706 (1)

TELETYPE UNIT

MAY 29 1 07 PM 1958



DRAFTER Wieschhoff  
TR

REGISTRY FILE COPY

FILE No. TR 100 TOG(1)

RCA POSN 88

RC

88-236

NY537/2 FFF NEWYORK 17 2 1207EDST UNGOVT

ENSOR

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

ACCRA (GOLD COAST)

2196 FOR JAKHELLN STOP COMMISSIONER FINALLY AGREES YOUR DEPARTURE  
AS SCHEDULED

WIESCHHOFF UNATIONS

CFM 2196

CLR'''

NY537/2 OK JZ 113A



DRAFTER

WIESCHHOFF

TR1

REGISTRY FILE COPY

FILE No

TR 100 TO 6 (1)

88-236

TY537/4 FFF NEWYORK 20 28 1620EDST UNGOVT

UNATIONS

ACCRA (GOLD COAST)

71 MILLS FROM WIESCHOFF CONSULT EARLIEST WITH ENSOR JAKHELIN AND

FABRY WHETHER TWO OBSERVERS NECESSARY FOR PETITIONS

FIELD SERV

CFM 71

CLR PLS ACK TU



REG INFO. COPY

Action To	WIESCHHOFF
File No.	

4 JUN 1956

TR 100 TOG(1)

RC3 JF

UWS137 KWA17 F ACCRA 11 4 0955 ETATBG

WIESCHHOFF UNATIONS NEWYORK

BA238 YOUR 2196 JAKHELLN GRATIFIED LEAVES 3TH

EXTERIOR

S607AEST

UNITED NATIONS  
1866 JUN -4 AM 8.07  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



UNITED NATIONS

JUN 4 8 30 AM 1956

TELEGRAPH UNIT



DRAFTER

Wieschhoff

REGISTRY FILE COPY

FILE No.

Tr 100 (TOG(1))

88-236

NY537/6 FFF NEWYORK 26 1 1454EDST UNGOVT

ENSOR

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

ACCRA (GOLD COAST)

2166 FROM WIESCHHOFF FOR JAKHELLN STOP HAVE AS YET NO AUTHORIZATION  
FROM COMMISSIONER TO RELEASE YOU STOP AWAIT FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

FIELDSEV UNATIONS

CFM 2166

CLR ACK

JUN 1 2 1966

Reg INFO. COPY

Action To WEISCHOFF

File No.

- 1 JUN 1956

32 PARIS 55 01 1630

INATIONS NY

UNPAR 83 WIESCHOFF FROM ESPINOSA STOP BEFORE LEAVING ACCRA EYE  
ADVISED CEBE HABERSKY MILLS FABRY THAT JAKHELLN MUST STAY AS  
ARRANGED BEFOREHAND OBLIGING HIS REQUEST AND IN TERMS MADE CLEAR TO  
HIM BY YOU AND ME STOP IF YOU HAVE NO OBJECTION FROM VIEWPOINT  
DISCIPLINE IN SERVICE EYE AGREE TO HIS DEPARTURE

CFM 83

PAROMNIPRESS

UNITED NATIONS  
1556 JUN -1 PM 1:13  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



DRAFTER Wieschhoff  
TRI

REGISTRY FILE ROOM

FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

3 (UN2) F NY 21 4 1415Z

PAROMNIPRESS

PARIS (FRANCE)

80 FOR ESPINOSA STOP FOLLOWING YOUR AGREEMENT AND FURTHER DISCUSSIONS  
HERE JAKHELIN ADVISED TO LEAVE AS SCHEDULED

CFM 80

WIESCHHOFF NEWYORK

UNITED NATIONS  
1956 JUN -4 PM12:32  
TELEGRAPH UNIT

DRAFTER WIESCHOFF

TRI

REGISTRY FILE COPY

FILE NO. TR 100 TO G (1)

4 (UN2) F NY 22 31 1508Z

PAROMNIPRESS

PARIS (FRANCE)

79 BLICKENSTAFF FOR CEBEHABERSKY ACCRA SUGGESTS ONE OBSERVER  
SUFFICIENT STOP SEEK COMMISSIONERS APPROVAL OF JAKHELLN DEPARTURE  
AS SCHEDULED

WIESCHOFF NEWYORK

CFM 79

TELEGRAPH UNIT

MAY 31 PM 12:35

UNITED NATIONS



*REG* INFO. COPY

NY537/ RCC18/ PR

Action To	<i>WIESCHHOFF</i>
File No.	

UN51537 KWA665 ACCRA 57 25 1525 F ETATBG IMP

25 MAY 1956

UNATIONS NEWYORK

UNPCT 74 FOR WIESCHHOFF CONFIDENTIAL STOP COMMISSIONER

EXPRESSED AT AIRPORT STRONG PREFERENCE TWO OBSERVERS REMAIN

*TR 100 TOG (1)*

TILL PETITIONS DISPOSED OF STOP HABERSKY CONTINUES HOLD VIEW

THAT SUBSTANCE OF PETITIONS DOES NOT WARRANT JAKHELLN

*Conf.*

REMAINING BEYOND FIVE JUNE AND THAT FABRY CAN HANDLE SITUATION

*[Signature]*

EASILY THEREAFTER STOP HABERSKY VIEWS AIRMAILED TO YOU FRIDAY

UNCHANGED STOP ADVISE

*V* *MILLS*

*TOGO MISSION*

CMD  
SENT 1218 EST PR

CLR NOW PSE ACK+?

UNITED NATIONS  
MAY 25 PM 1:19  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



1-9 INFO. COPY  
Action T. WIERSCHHOFF  
File No. 1-1

24 MAY 1956

TE 105 TOG  
(1)

00 NY337

RC13/KJ

LET907 KMA482 F ACCRA 117 24 1602 UNATIONS

UNATIONS NEWYORK

UNPCT 73 WIESCHHOFF YOUR 69 AMTOR SUBMITTED NINE PETITIONS AT  
NO FEW MINUTES BEFORE EXPIRATION TIME LIMIT STOP TWO PUSIGA  
PETITIONS ALLEGE RETURNING OFFICER REFUSED ADMIT SEPARATION  
POLLING AGENTS STOP SEN CHEREPOHI PETITIONS CLAIM FIRST  
INTIMIDATION BY ARREST FIVE CONGRESS PROPAGANDISTS ON 26 APRIL SECOND  
ILLEGAL PRACTICE BY

PAGE TWO

PLACING COLLECTED SPOILT BALLOTS IN UNION BOX THIRDBLY UNDUE  
INFLUENCE BY PRESIDING OFFICER WARD B RECOMMENDING VOTING  
WHITE HAND STOP ONE DINDILLA PETITION ALLEGES INTIMIDATION  
BY ARREST OF TC SECRETARY ON POLLING DAY STOP JUDGE ANES  
WILL ARRIVE FROM LONDON PROCEEDINGS EXPECTED TO LAST MINIMUM  
THREE WEEKS STOP COMMISSIONER AND

PAGE THREE

MYSELF LEAVE 25 MAY AS SCHEDULED STOP REMAINING PARTS OF  
REPORT WILL BE CONCLUDED IN PARIS

CEBENADERSKY

SENT 1228P  
R'RC13 NY337



UNITED NATIONS

MAY 24 2 19 PM 1956

TELEGRAPH UNIT

RECEIVED

DRAFTER Wieschhoff  
TR

REGISTRY FILE COPY

88-236  
NY537/1 FFF NEWYORK 9 22 1911EDST UNGOVT

FILE No. TR 100 TO G-11

UNATIONS

ACCRA (GOLD COAST)

69 CEDEHABERSKY ADVISE REGARDING ANY PETITIONS

WIESCHHOFF

CFM 69

UNITED NATIONS  
MAY 22 PM 7.28  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



NY 537  
RC WX AY

REG INFO. COPY

Action To

CORDIER

File No.

10 MAY 1956

TR 100 ToG (1)  
MG

UGS912 KWA783 F ACCRA 125 11 1216

ETATUNO

UNATIONS NEWYORK

UNPCT 62 FOR CORDIER BUNCHE BENSON STOP UNOFFICIAL

RESULTS OF PLEBISCITE ARE AS FOLLOWS COLON TOTAL VOTE FOR

TERRITORY UNION WITH GOLD COAST 92775 COMMA SEPARATION

66529 STOP SOUTHERN TOGOLAND UNION 43979 COMMA SEPARATION

53789 STOP NORTHERN TOGOLAND 48796 COMMA SEPARATION

12740 STOP HO AND KPANDU DISTRICTS

PAGE2

AS GIVEN IN CABLE SIXTY STOP BUEN KRACHI DISTRICTS UNION 28178

COMMA SEPARATION 17774 STOP SOUTHERN TOGOLAND SOUTH OF

KRACHI UNION 33975 COMMA SEPARATION 50929 STOP OFFICIAL

RESULTS WILL BE PUBLISHED FOURTEENTH OR FIFTEENTH MAY STOP

ANALYSIS BY WARDS SHOW THERE EXISTS NO EVEN TREND THROUGHOUT

ANY DISTRICT STOP EVEN

PAGE3

IN SOUTH ARE SOME WARDS PREDOMINANTLY FAVOURING UNION STOP

VOTING EIGHTY TO NINETY PERCENT OF REGISTRATION STOP DEROUSSY

REQUESTS TRANSMIT THIS TO PRESS END

WIESCHHOFF

SENT RC 2 0817 -. 3'5 -6



DRAFTER

*Cathell*

*TR1*

REGISTRY FILE COPY

FILE No.

*TR 100 TOG*

*(1)*

83-236

NY537/19 SSS NEWYORK 435 9 2030EDST UNGOVT

UNATIONS

ACCRA (GOLD COAST)

64 WIESCHHOFF FOLLOWING STATEMENT BY SEARS HAS BEEN SEEN BY CORDIER  
AND IS TO BE ISSUED BY DPI HERE WHEN PLEBISCITE POLLS CLOSED STOP  
QUOTE MASON SEARS CMA PRESIDENT OF THE UN TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL AND  
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE COUNCIL CMA HAS ISSUED  
THE FOLLOWING

P2

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE TRUST TERRITORIES  
IN AFRICA IN CONNECTION WITH THE MAY 9 PLEBISCITE IN TOGOLAND UNDER  
BRITISH ADMINISTRATION COLON THE FIRST INSTANCE OF A UN SUPERVISED  
PLEBISCITE TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY CMA MAY 9 CMA IN AFRICA CMA WHEN  
BRITISH TOGOLANDERS WENT TO THE POLLS

P3

TO DETERMINE BY THEIR VOTES WHETHER TO JOIN THE NEIGHBORING GOLD  
COAST UPON ITS FORTHCOMING INDEPENDENCE OR TO REMAIN FOR THE TIME  
BEING AS A UN TRUST TERRITORY STOP ASIDE FROM THE ACTUAL RESULTS  
OF THE VOTE CMA THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THE HOLDING OF A  
PLEBISCITE GIVES CLEAR

P4

EVIDENCE THAT IN THE TRUST TERRITORIES CMA WHEREVER THEY MAY BE  
CMA THE TRULY EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE PEOPLE WILL BE THE PARAMOUNT  
CONSIDERATION IN THE DETERMINATION OF THEIR FUTURE STOP REGARDLESS  
OF THE OUTCOME CMA THE VOTE YESTERDAY IN TOGOLAND WAS A FREE VOTE  
IN WHICH OUTSIDERS HAD NO



P5

RIGHT TO INTERFERE STOP THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND THE TEAMS  
OF UN SUPERVISORS AND OBSERVERS ARE TO BE CONGRATULATED FOR THE  
WAY IN WHICH THEY COOPERATED ONE WITH THE OTHER AND WITH THE  
PEOPLE OF TOGOLAND AND THIER POLITICAL LEADERS STOP ON BEHALF OF THE  
TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL CMA LET ME

P6

SAY THAT IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE DEMONSTRATED FAIRNESS OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM IN THE CONDUCT OF PLEBISCITES  
WILL HAVE AN ENCOURAGING INFLUENCE OVER THE EVER-CHANGING RELATIONSHIP  
WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE IN AFRICA STOP THE COUNCIL BELIEVES THAT THE  
TOGOLAND PLEBISCITE AND THE WAY IT WAS CONDUCTED HAS

P7

UNDOUBTEDLY BEEN OBSERVED WITH INTEREST IN MANY OTHER PARTS OF  
AFRICA STOP IT WAS A MILESTONE IN THE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS WHICH  
IS BEING MADE TOWARD THE GOAL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND INDEPENDENCE  
OF ALL PEOPLES WHO DESIRE AND ARE CAPABLE OF SUSTAINING AN INDEPENDENT  
EXISTENCE STOP WHILE AFRICANS BEGIN PROGRESSIVELY TO

P8

TAKE OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN AFFAIRS CMA IT IS  
ESSENTIAL THAT THEY BE GIVEN THE KIND OF COOPERATION WHICH WILL  
ENABLE THE NEW STATES AS THEY EMERGE TO ACHIEVE AND MAINTAIN  
THEIR NATIONAL SELF-RESPECT AND TO APPLY IN THEIR OWN WAY THE BENEFITS  
OF THEIR NATIONAL RESOURCES TOWARD IMPROVING

P9/35

THE LOT OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE STOP A STRONG CMA FREE AND FRIENDLY  
AFRICA IS INEXTRICABLY BOUND UP WITH THE WELFARE NOT ONLY OF ITSELF BU  
OF THE REST OF THE WORLD STOP UNQUOTE

COTTRELL

CFM 64 9 9

CLR\*

UNITED NATIONS  
1956 MAY -9 PM 8:44  
TELEGRAPH UNIT



NY 537

RC 10/ AY

UG364 INARSG ACCRA TELEPHONED HQ GC 44 5 1350 P

ETATUHO EMP

UNATIONS NEWYORK

IMPCT 56 FOR COTTRELL STOP <sup>F</sup> GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADJOURNS <sup>Re</sup> 26TH

FEBRUARY <sup>du</sup> CANCEL SHOULD MEET MARCH 15TH TO MAY 15TH

AND AGAIN JUNE ONE TO JULY 15TH STOP A SHORT INTERVAL BETWEEN

SESSIONS NECESSARY FOR PREPARATION OF PAPERS AND BREAK FOR

DELEGATES

WIECHHOFF

MEM

SENT RC 10 1143 PM EST AY PSE ACK TU

R RC10 JIM NY537 1245EDST

Action To

File No.

COTTRELL

11

8 MAY 1956

TR 100 TOG

(19)

1540  
INFO. COPY



UNITED NATIONS

MAY 8 1 03 PM 1956

TELEGRAPH UNIT

DRAFTER

Wieschhoff  
TR1

REGISTRY FILE COPY

88-236

FILE No.

TR 100 TOG (1)

NY537/1 FFF NEWYORK 42 15 1555EST UNGOVT

UNATIONS

ACCRA (GOLD COAST)

23 HOWARD ADVISE COMMISSIONER THAT SECRETARY GENERAL HAS RECEIVED  
FOUR COMMUNICATIONS FROM TOGOLAND CONGRESS WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY  
BEEN ADDRESSED TO EITHER COMMISSIONER OR PLEBISCITE ADMINISTRATOR  
STOP ACCORDING TO TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL RULES THESE WILL HAVE TO BE  
PUBLISHED AS COMMUNICATIONS

WIESCHHOFF

CFM 23

CLR ACK PLS ''''

2 RECD ZC 1600EST

THIS IS NBR 1 NOT 2

SRI

NY537/1 RECD ZC 1600

TKS

UNITED NATIONS  
FEB 15 PM 4:00  
TELEGRAPH UNIT





B. Cohen

APR 4 1956

APR 2 1956

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

**ACTION**  
TO: *H. Cordeir*  
☐ - As per Comp. and  
☐ - As per Comp. and  
☒ - No Action  
174

Ho, Togoland, March 26th, 1956.

TR 100 TOG (1)

Conf 1

*MB*

Dear Mister Secretary General:

I wish to thank you very sincerely for your kind letter of the 12th March, regarding correspondence with the Togoland Congress.

The situation to which that correspondence referred has been surpassed, but there are many important problems ahead in this operation. The work has been most interesting and gratifying, but it entails a serious responsibility, hard work and constant alertness. I am indeed conscious of the great distinction conferred to me with this opportunity of contributing to the success of the first Plebiscite granted in a Trust Territory.

It has been my good fortune to assist in bringing this operation to the favourable situation in which it appears today, but as I say, I am fully aware of the care and efforts that will be required until the end of this task.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate to you my sincere thanks for the kindness that you have constantly shown me. In the beginning of this operation I am personally - and very greatly - indebted to you. I am now particularly obliged to you for the services of this magnificent and most loyal group of men and women from your staff who are with me.

I beg you to accept, Mister Secretary General, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

*Edoardo Espinosa y Prieto*  
Edoardo Espinosa y Prieto  
United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner

To His Excellency Mister Dag Hammarskjold,  
Secretary General of the  
Organization of the United Nations,  
New York City.

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

VIA AIR MAIL

To His Excellency Mister Dag Hammarskjold,  
Secretary General of the  
Organization of the United Nations,  
First Avenue and 43rd Street,  
New York City.

U. S. A.



TR 100 TOG(1)

BC/HP

28 MAR 1956

12 March 1956

Dear Mr. Commissioner,

I wish to acknowledge your letter of 25 February 1956 by which you inform me concerning an exchange of letters between you and representatives of the Togoland Congress. I have noted that the Togoland Congress, in its letter of 22 February, mentioned the possibility of requesting me to confer upon the Plebiscite Commissioner (or some other official) special powers concerning the methods of balloting to be used in the plebiscite. It is unnecessary for me to state that I entirely agree with your reply of 27 February 1956 to the effect that only the General Assembly can in any way modify resolutions adopted by it and that I, as Secretary-General, have no such authority.

The Togoland Congress has thus far not submitted to me a communication on the subject raised in your letter. If it should decide to do so, I have no other choice than to transmit it to the Trusteeship Council in accordance with Rule 24 of its Rules of Procedure, as was done with seven communications from the Togoland Congress in connection with alleged irregularities during the registration period (T/COM.6/L.61-67).

I have been informed that recent developments make it less likely that the followers of the Togoland Congress will abstain from participation in the forthcoming plebiscite. It is my sincere hope, as it must be yours, that this important operation which has been entrusted to you will be brought to a successful and conclusive end.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

HS

Dag Hammarskjöld  
Secretary-General

Mr. Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto,  
United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner  
of the Trust Territory of Togoland  
under British Administration,  
Ho, Togoland.



UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

## INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: The Secretary-General

Date: 12 March 1956

FROM: B. Cohen, Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and  
Information from Non-Self-Governing TerritoriesFILE NO. *TR 100 Tog(1)*  
SENDER'S TELEPHONE EXTENSION: \_\_\_\_\_SUBJECT: Letter of the Plebiscite Commissioner, dated 25 February 1956*Attached letter signed &  
sent to Mr. Cohen*

- .....
1. I enclose herewith a draft of a reply to the letter dated 25 February 1956 which Mr. Espinosa addressed to you.
  2. By way of background concerning the matters mentioned by Mr. Espinosa, I should like to state the following:
  3. The Togoland Congress represents a group of political organizations in British Togoland which has for many years advocated the unification of British and French Togoland and has vehemently expressed its opposition to union with the Gold Coast, particularly if the future Gold Coast state should be organized on a unitary, as opposed to a federal, basis. Mr. Antor, its Secretary-General, has been a frequent petitioner before the Fourth Committee and is regarded as a shrewd politician. Although he cannot openly oppose the holding of a plebiscite for political reasons, he and his immediate associates have little sympathy for it, because his party is likely to win majorities only in three of the southern sections of Togoland. Since the General Assembly voted for a "unitary" plebiscite, as against the proposal of the 1955 Visiting Mission which had suggested separate plebiscites in four distinct districts, Mr. Antor assumes that the disposal of the Trust Territory will be made on the basis of the total popular vote, which is likely to favour union with the Gold Coast at a ratio of two out of three. [In this connection it may be noted that the General Assembly is not likely to ignore any decisive majorities in southern Togoland against union with the Gold Coast, although the territorial-wide majority for union may be very impressive.]
  4. Taking these factors into account, we have always expected that the leaders of the Togoland Congress would use all means at their disposal to throw doubt on the fairness of the plebiscite, and that they would try to create situations which would enhance their position when they appear as petitioners before the Fourth Committee later this year.
  5. Aside from the exchanges of letters which have taken place between the Commission and the Togoland Congress, we have already received seven communications relating to alleged irregularities during the registration period. These have been circularized in accordance with rule 24 of the



Council's rules of procedure to the members of the Trusteeship Council as documents T/COM.6/L.61-67. It must be expected that the letters which Mr. Espinosa submitted to you will eventually be sent directly to you and that they too will have to be circularized as Trusteeship Council documents.

6. Recent reports which I have received from our staff in Togoland indicate that the Togoland Congress, far from preparing for a boycott of the plebiscite, is in fact beginning its campaign in earnest, several political rallies having been planned for the next few weeks.





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

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28 MAR 1956

1 March 1956

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Enclosure to letter dated 25 February 1956 of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner to the Secretary-General of the United Nations sent by Pouch No. 7 on 29 February 1956 from Ho on the subject of correspondence with the Togoland Congress.

This copy by oversight was not included with the letter of 25 February 1956.



No, 27 February 1956

Dear Sirs,

I have received your letter dated 22 February.

At a meeting on the 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.

Messrs. S.G. Antor  
F.R.K. Ametowobla  
A.A.K. Tse  
E.K. Datsa  
Togoland Congress & Allies  
c/o The Secretary General  
Togoland Congress  
Hohoe  
British Togoland



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 Organisation, 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 Togolandese 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,



Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto  
United Nations Plebiscite  
Commissioner



Dr Cohen



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

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CONFIDENTIAL

25 February 1956

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose for your information copies of a letter that the Secretary General of the Togoland Congress and three associates have sent me, dated 22 February 1956.

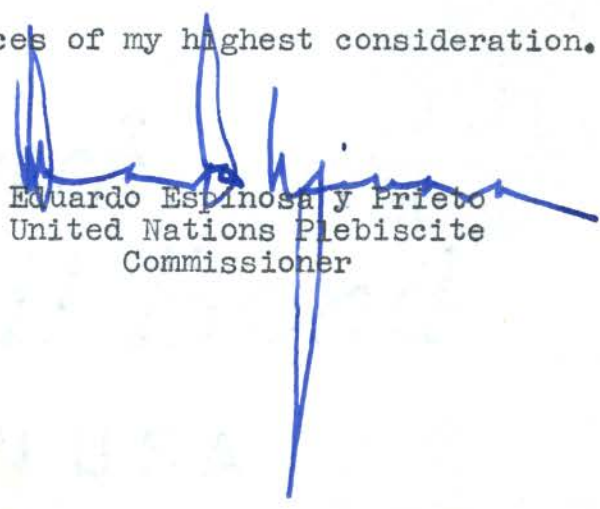
.....

I also enclose a copy of the letter that I will dispatch to these representatives on 27 February 1956.

Some expressions in the letter referred to, and other attitudes of this political group, might lead one to believe that it is informed of developments in the Malta plebiscite and would wish us to know that it might consider an abstention. However, the Togoland Congress does not seem unaware of the great disadvantage that this would mean to its cause, and as a matter of fact the supporters of that group have registered in great numbers.

As the Togoland Congress has mentioned the possibility of writing to you on this matter I have thought it convenient to inform you of the situation that they have in mind.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto  
United Nations Plebiscite  
Commissioner

The Secretary-General  
United Nations  
New York



COPY/pgc

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

22nd 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 the 15th of 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

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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 list 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 ) Youth  
E.K. Datsa)



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 wished 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 in 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, Bimbila 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.

The number of pairs left, the number of valid votes cast and spoilt votes should add up to the total sent to the polling station.



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.



REASONS FOR PREFERENCE TO OUR PLAN INCLUDING  
FRAUDULENT PRACTICES IN VOTING WHICH OUR PLAN IS TO PREVENT

1. ONE BALLOT BOX: This is to prevent
  - (a) The contents of one ballot box being removed and put into another ballot box
  - (b) A box being sealed while voting is in process thereby restricting voting to one box or making embarrassed voters leave their ballot papers around the box to be collected and put into the second box by any of the accomplices of the sealing
  - (c) Exchange of a ballot box with an illicit one either filled with illicit ballot papers or emptied of ballot papers, when ballot papers are being removed to counting centres
  - (d) Only one ballot box being made available at a polling centre
2. BALLOT PAPERS }  
AND }  
3. ENVELOPE }
  - (a) These are to facilitate voting into one box
  - (b) Prevent any mixing up of votes cast
4. SCREENED CHAMBER: This is to ensure voting in secret.
5. REJECTED BALLOT PAPER DESTROYED: This is to cater for ballot papers indicating proposal rejected.
6. IDENTIFICATION OF BALLOT PAPERS: }  
AND }  
7. POLLING AGENTS: }
  - (a) Use of illicit ballot papers before, during or after polling hours.
  - (b) Mixing up of unused ballot papers with ballot papers cast as votes.
8. DIFFICULT DISTRICTS: }  
AND }  
9. POLICE PROTECTION: }
  - These are to guarantee to each voter the freedom of voting for whichever of the two ideas he favours
10. PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION FIGURES FOR WARDS: This is to prevent
  - (a) illicit registration after the official period for registration ends.



This is urgent since the plea for extension of the time allowed for registration for all was rejected but there is some indication that registration was going on in some places, after the closing date, the 13th Feb. 1956.

- (b) any omissions when registers are being compiled.
  - 11. FINAL REGISTRATION FIGURES FOR WARDS: This is to prevent
    - (a) casting of votes by persons not on the register; and
    - (b) discourage people from casting more votes than one.
  - 12. CHECKING OF VOTES CAST: This is to ensure that the votes counted are in fact the votes legitimately cast.
  - 13. PRINTING OF BALLOT PAPERS: This is to prevent the production, circulation and use of illicit ballot papers.
  - 14. DESPATCH OF BALLOT PAPERS: This is to make apparent in any ward the fact that
    - (a) some people have voted more than once; or
    - (b) some people not on the register have voted.
  - 15. UNUSED BALLOT PAPERS AND ENVELOPES: This is to ensure that no unused ballot papers shall find their way into the ballot box.
  - 16. SPOILT BALLOT PAPERS: This is to make the number of valid votes declared subject to no doubt whatever.
  - 17. SEALING OF BALLOT BOXES:
    - AND
  - 18. ESCORTING OF BALLOT BOXES TO COUNTING POINT:
    - (a) no ballot papers are put into the box when polling is over;
    - (b) the boxes are not tampered with in any way whatever.
- } These are to ensure that