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UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO TRUST TERRITORIES
IN WEST AFRICA, 1958

REPORT ON THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE CAMEROONS UNDER
BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories

in West Africa, 1958

Report on the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under
British administration

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL DATED 19 JANUARY 1959 FROM THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS
OF THE VISITING MISSION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

We have the honour, in accordance with Trusteeship Council resolution 1907 (XXII) of 29 July 1958 and subject to the reservation set forth below, to transmit herewith the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1958, on the Cameroons under British administration.

The Visiting Mission wishes to draw your attention to the fact that it has felt obliged to take into account the timetable established by the decision of the General Assembly, in its resolution 1281 (XIII), to resume its thirteenth session on 20 February 1959 in order to consider the question of the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons, and by the fact that the Mission's report will have to be considered by the Trusteeship Council before that date. The Mission has accordingly completed the report to the extent that it found practicable in the light of the situation existing in the Trust Territory before the general elections to be held in the Southern Cameroons on 24 January 1959. Under the circumstances, it wishes to reserve the right to review the final section of the report and to submit an addendum after that date if it considers this to be necessary to the full discharge of its responsibilities under the terms of reference.

In order to provide the Administering Authority with additional time to prepare its observations on the report, the Mission is making available to it informally today a number of copies of the final draft. It would be grateful if you would officially transmit the report in document form at the earliest possible date, in accordance with rule 99 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, to the Administering Authority and each other member of the Council, and if you would release it for general distribution at a date to be determined by you in consultation with the Administering Authority.

The Mission intends to notify you as soon as possible after 24 January 1959 as to whether it proposes to submit an addendum to the report.

We have pleasure in informing you that the report as at present submitted was unanimously adopted by the members of the Visiting Mission.

We would not wish to close this letter without expressing to you our appreciation for the splendid way in which the Principal Secretary, Mr. R.T. Miller, and the other members of the staff appointed by you, discharged their arduous duties. Their detailed knowledge of the problems of the Territories was invaluable and was generously made available at all times. The Mission is greatly indebted to them for their unfailing help and assistance.

(Signed) Benjamin Gerig (United States of America)
Chairman

Georges Salomon (Haiti)

Rikhi Jaipal (India)

Gray Thorp (New Zealand)

FOREWORD

The present Visiting Mission is the fourth which the Trusteeship Council has sent to the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under British administration and the Cameroons under French administration under the provisions of the Charter, the Trusteeship Agreements and the rules of procedure of the Council.

At its 888th meeting, on 26 March 1958, the Trusteeship Council decided to dispatch a visiting mission to Trust Territories in West Africa; it also decided that the Mission should be composed of persons nominated by Haiti, India, New Zealand and the United States of America. At its 924th meeting, on 18 July 1958, it approved the nominations of Mr. Georges Salomon (Haiti), Mr. Rikhi Jaipal (India), Mr. Gray Thorp (New Zealand) and Mr. Benjamin Gerig (United States) as members of the Mission. At the same meeting Mr. Gerig was elected Chairman of the Mission.

The terms of reference of the Mission were considered by the Council at its 932nd meeting, on 28 July 1958. The Council adopted a resolution^{1/} whereby, having decided that the Mission should visit the Cameroons under British administration and the Cameroons under French administration, and having also taken note of a memorandum by the Government of the United Kingdom concerning the future of the former Territory,^{2/} it directed the Mission to investigate and report as fully as possible on the steps taken in the two Trust Territories towards the realization of the objective set forth in Article 76 b of the Charter, taking into account the terms of General Assembly resolution 321 (IV) of 15 November 1949 and other relevant General Assembly resolutions; to give attention, as might be appropriate in the light of discussions in the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly, and of resolutions adopted by them, to issues raised in connexion with the annual reports on the administration of the two Trust Territories concerned, in petitions received by the Trusteeship Council relating to the Territories, in the reports of the previous periodic visiting missions to the Territories and in the observations of the Administering Authorities on those

1/ Resolution 1907 (XXII).

2/ T/1393.

reports; and to receive petitions, without prejudice to its acting in accordance with the rules of procedure of the Council, and to investigate on the spot, after consultation with the local representative of the Administering Authority concerned, such of the petitions received as, in its opinion, warranted special investigation. In the same resolution, the Council also requested the Mission to submit to the Council as soon as practicable a report on each of the Territories visited containing its findings, with such observations, conclusions and recommendations as it might wish to make. In addition, it requested the Mission to include in its report on the Cameroons under British administration its views on the method of consultation which should be adopted when the time came for the people of that Territory to express their wishes concerning their future. At its 941st meeting, on 7 November 1958, while the Mission was still in the Cameroons under British administration, the Council adopted another resolution^{1/} extending the Mission's terms of reference concerning the Cameroons under French administration.

The Mission, which was accompanied by six members of the Secretariat,^{2/} departed from New York during October 1958. On 26 October 1958 it had preliminary discussions concerning the Territory with the United Kingdom authorities at the Colonial Office in London. Leaving later the same day, it arrived the following morning in Lagos where it held further meetings with authorities of the Federation of Nigeria concerned with the Trust Territory. The Mission arrived in the Cameroons under British administration on 29 October 1958 to begin its visit, which lasted approximately three weeks. The Mission completed its work in the field by meeting the Northern Regional authorities in Kaduna on 13 November 1958. The following day it flew to Yaoundé in the Cameroons under French administration. Subsequently, the Mission returned to London to meet the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Rt. Hon. Alan Lennox-Boyd, and officials of the Colonial Office on 12 December 1958. From there, it returned to United Nations Headquarters to draft the present report which was unanimously approved by it on 19 January 1959 and is hereby submitted to the Trusteeship Council in accordance with its terms of reference.

^{1/} Resolution 1924 (S-IX).

^{2/} Mr. R. Miller, Principal Secretary; Mr. F.T. Liu and Mr. R.W. Wathen, Assistant Secretaries; Mr. J. Delattre, Interpreter; Mr. T. Trisciuzzi, Administrative Officer; and Miss C.E. Charpentier, Stenographer.

The Mission regrets that space does not allow it to thank individually all of those responsible for the warm reception and cordial co-operation which it received from all sectors of the population, public authorities and private persons alike, with whom it came in contact. It wishes, however, to express its particular gratitude to H.E. Sir Ralph Grey, Acting Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria and to his staff; the Hon. J.M. Johnson, Acting Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, and his colleagues, including the Hon. Victor Mukete, from the Cameroons, who is Federal Minister of Research and Information; H.E. Sir Gawain Bell, Governor of the Northern Region of Nigeria and his staff; the Hon. J.O. Field, Commissioner of the Cameroons; the Hon. Dr. E.M.L. Endeley, Premier of the Southern Cameroons and his colleagues in the Government; Mr. J.N. Foncha, Leader of the Opposition; Mr. J.S. Dudding, Deputy Commissioner of the Cameroons; the District Officers and other Public Service officers of the Southern Cameroons; the Hon. Alhaji Ahmadu, Sarkauna of Sokoto, Premier of the Northern Region and his colleagues; the Hon. Abdullahi Dan Buram Jada, Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs and for Animal Health and Forestry (Northern Region); Mr. Guy Lorimer, Acting Permanent Secretary, Ministry for Northern Cameroons Affairs; the other members of the Consultative Committee of the Northern Cameroons; the Hon. Abba Habib, Minister of Trade and Industry (Northern Region); Mr. H. Wrench, Resident of Adamawa Province and other Provincial Officers; M. Aliyu Mustafa, Lamido of Adamawa, and members of the Adamawa Native Authority; Mr. T.E. Letchworth, Senior Resident of Bornu Province and other Provincial Officers; and Umar Ibn Ibrahim el Kanemi, Emir of Dikwa and members of the Dikwa Native Authority.

Because of the special functions of the Mission in regard to the future of the Territory, it set aside most of its time to hearing the views of the people and their representatives on this subject. The Mission did not limit such interviews to those of a formal character scheduled on its programme, but adopted the practice of halting, even if briefly, to hear and acknowledge groups of people who had assembled along the roads and in other places in the obvious desire to express their views. Moreover, it had many useful informal contacts with political leaders and other representative persons.

At a time when decisions of profound importance to the future of the Trust Territory are impending, the Visiting Mission considers it appropriate to pay a warm tribute to those many hundreds of men and women from countries far from the Cameroons, and especially from the United Kingdom and other countries of the Commonwealth of Nations and from the United States of America, who at present or in past years have given their devotion, effort and skill to helping the Cameroons people develop the political institutions and the economic, social and educational facilities which constitute the foundation of their coming self-government. These are the administrators, doctors, teachers, agricultural officers and experts in many other professions and skills who, whether in the service of government, private enterprise or missionary societies, have over the years established orderly administration, begun a transformation of the economy and laid down the essential medical, educational and other services. They have passed on to the people in their care not only the benefits of their knowledge but also the knowledge itself: to the people of the Cameroons they have left a priceless heritage.

I. PROGRESS OF THE TERRITORY TOWARDS THE OBJECTIVES OF TRUSTEESHIP

A. GENERAL

Introduction

1. The more than one and one half million people who inhabit the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under British administration find themselves today on the threshold of critical decisions as to their future. It would be misleading to suggest that all of them, or even a majority, are preoccupied with that fact or indeed fully informed about it; but those who lead the people in political thought and action know it, and attach to it a sense of urgency.
2. The problem of the future of the Trust Territory is not a new one, and neither is it one that presents itself in the relatively uncomplicated terms of a united population attaining the capacity to govern itself, and approaching the decisions which will finally transform it into a State in its own right. The problem is one of a special kind, inherent in the particular circumstances in which the Territory was first established and in which it has been administered throughout the periods of mandate and trusteeship.
3. It is a measure of those special circumstances that the question of the future of the peoples of the Cameroons under British administration has assumed immediacy not so much because of their own progress towards the objectives of the International Trusteeship System as because of the imminent attainment of independence by both of their much larger neighbours: the Federation of Nigeria on the one side and the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration on the other. Each of these emergent States has indicated its willingness to have the Cameroons under British administration join it if the peoples of the Trust Territory should so desire.
4. Nigeria, in the expectation of becoming independent on 1 October 1960, has affirmed its willingness to see the Cameroons, if its people so wish, continue permanently the close association which it has had with Nigeria for more than forty years. The terms of the offer, as subsequent sections of this report will show, are specific: the people of the Trust Territory would become citizens of the Federation; the southern half of the Territory would constitute

a self-governing region equal in status with the other regions of the Federation; and the northern half would be part of a similarly self-governing Northern Region of the Federation.

5. The Cameroons under French administration, in the expectation of becoming independent on 1 January 1960, has expressed formally through its elected institutions a desire for the re-unification of the two Cameroons. The terms of such a union have not been proposed by the Government of the Cameroons under French administration, which considers them, as the Mission will explain in its report on that Territory^{1/} as a matter for consultation and agreement when and if the other Territory expresses a desire for it.

6. The situation created by the expected advance of Nigeria to independence is the only one of these two developments which has, in effect, been formally referred to the Visiting Mission by the Trusteeship Council in connexion with this particular Trust Territory. In the memorandum^{2/} submitted to the Council at the time, the Administering Authority pointed out that when it relinquished its power of administration in the Federation of Nigeria, it would no longer find it possible, in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreement, to administer the Cameroons as a part of Nigeria. It stated that it was therefore necessary to consider what arrangements should then be made for the administration of the Trust Territory - arrangements which must involve either the modification or the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. The Administering Authority mentioned further that it had promised that the inhabitants of both the northern and southern sections of the Trust Territory would be given an opportunity freely to express their own wishes about their future. At the Nigeria Constitutional Conference in 1957 (at which the political parties in the Trust Territory were represented) the Secretary of State for the Colonies had made it quite clear that there could be no question of obliging the Cameroons to remain part of an independent Nigeria contrary to the wishes of the people. The Mission was subsequently informed by the Administering Authority of further steps taken towards the independence of Nigeria, as a result of the Resumed Constitutional Conference held in London in September and October 1958, at which the main Cameroons political parties were again represented. Among the principal decisions made was that if a resolution asking for independence

^{1/} See Report on the Cameroons under French administration.

^{2/} T/1393.

was passed early in 1960 by a new Federal Parliament to be elected towards the end of 1959, the United Kingdom Government would agree to that request and would introduce a bill in Parliament to enable Nigeria to become a fully independent country on 1 October 1960.

7. The Mission has also had to give due weight to the developments that were taking place more or less at the same time in the Cameroons under French administration. It is to be noted in particular that the elected institutions in that Territory combined with their request for independence on 1 January 1960 - which was agreed to by the Administering Authority concerned - an expression of their desire for the re-unification of the two Trust Territories. These events were becoming increasingly widely known in the other Cameroons at the time of the Mission's visit and, as will be seen at a later point in the report, they affected significantly the evolution of the ideas of the leaders of one of the main political parties concerning the timing of progress towards independence and union with the Cameroons under French administration.

8. The Mission has felt bound to proceed from the assumption that some form of independence by association with an independent neighbouring country^{1/} could appropriately constitute the basis for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. That assumption is certainly shared by the political leaders in the Trust Territory itself. Moreover, for the main northern and one of the main southern political parties, federation with an independent Nigeria represents the only feasible objective; while the other main southern party considers the unification and independence of the two Cameroons as the final solution to be sought. There is little support at present for the view expressed to previous Visiting Missions concerning the union of the northern and southern sections of the Cameroons under British administration with a view to its eventual evolution as an independent State. Moreover, the Mission itself regards this course as impractical and unlikely to lead to the establishment of a viable State. The continuation of trusteeship under United Kingdom administration - a course which the Administering Authority had said would also be open to the people, if they so wished, after the attainment

^{1/} A note on the constitution of the Federation of Nigeria is to be found in Annex V. For details of the constitutional development of the Cameroons under French administration, see the report of the Visiting Mission on that Trust Territory.

of independence by Nigeria - is regarded, even by the one party for which it has some attraction, as a transitional step towards the objective of unification and independence.

9. In formulating its views on the method of consultation by which the people of the Trust Territory should express their wishes concerning their future, as well as in commenting on other relevant aspects of the development of the Territory, the Mission has also felt obliged to take account of another important effect of circumstances which are peculiar to the Cameroons under British administration. This is the fact that the present situation of the Cameroons necessitates that any consideration of the question of its future should be in terms not of the Territory as a whole but of its southern and northern sections separately.

The special circumstances of the Territory

10. The entity which the Cameroons under British administration, as a Trust Territory, may be said to represent in international law has no counterpart in its actual political development. It has never been administered as a separate Territory, but always as an integral part of Nigeria; and even within that framework it has never been administered as a single part of Nigeria, but always as two. Before the development of self-government in Nigeria as a whole, this arrangement involved the application to the two parts of the Trust Territory of two distinct administrative systems. With the establishment of a federal system of government in Nigeria, the southern half of the Trust Territory has become a nearly self-governing regional unit, and the northern half of it is administered as part of another regional unit. Although linked by the federal institutions, the two regions differ from each other in deeply-rooted political and other characteristics.

11. One reason for this situation, although not necessarily by itself a decisive one, is that the frontiers of the Trust Territory were not drawn in a manner calculated to foster the eventual emergence of a separate State. The areas for which the League of Nations conferred Mandates on the United Kingdom and France coincided, except for slight subsequent modifications, with the British and French spheres into which the German Kamerun had been provisionally divided in 1916 at the conclusion of military operations. The portion placed under British

Mandate consisted of two separate pieces of territory; and they were two narrow, mountainous strips physically separated by a gap of about forty-five miles near the Benue River.

12. The Mandate provided that the United Kingdom administer the Cameroons as an integral part of its own territory. This meant in practice the adjoining colony and protectorate of Nigeria; and the association with Nigeria was continued throughout the period of accountability to the League of Nations. The "integral part" provision was maintained in the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly in 1946; and, as the Administering Authority has recently reminded the Trusteeship Council, it made clear at the time that its intention was to continue to administer the Cameroons as part of Nigeria, "because this was the only practical method of administration".^{1/}

13. What has proved to be of particular significance to the present situation of the Cameroons is the nature of the actual arrangements made. It is relevant to recall that by the time the Cameroons was placed under Mandate the system of administration of Nigeria itself had already evolved in such a way as to establish a distinction of considerable importance, in matters of administrative policy and method, between the southern and northern provinces of the Protectorate. This distinction, the Mission understands, reflected such differences as those of development, ethnic origin, religion and traditional authority between the southern peoples and those of the north, where the predominant influence was and remains that of the large Moslem emirates. The adaptation of the machinery of government to take account of those differences, as well as of such other factors as communications, has been a continuing process, resulting eventually in the establishment of three regional administrations within Nigeria proper (the southern provinces having been grouped into Eastern and Western Regions) and providing finally the basis of the federal form of government with which Nigeria is expected to attain independence in 1960.

14. The administration of the Cameroons was fitted from the beginning into this pattern of government, and has conformed more or less to its subsequent evolution. The nature of the various parts and the various peoples of the Cameroons was such that approximately one half of them were administered as part of what may rather loosely be called the "southern system" and the other half as part of the "northern system". For small though it is in area, the Cameroons (discounting

1/ T/1393, paragraph 2.

the physical gap in the north) is a thin but elongated strip of territory so placed that it contains within it, broadly speaking, the same range of physical, ethnic, religious and political characteristics as does Nigeria. Those characteristics run roughly east and west in this part of West Africa; but the two long frontiers of the Cameroons run roughly north and south. Seven hundred miles long and nowhere wider than 100 miles, the Cameroons extends from heavily forested country on the coast through grassy highlands in the centre to the broken rocky hills and finally the flat plains that stretch towards the deserts in the north. With these changes in landscape its people change too: from the Bantu and semi-Bantu speaking tribes of the southern forests to those of Tikar, Widekum and Chamba origin in the grasslands, and finally to the northern populations who, although the semi-Bantu speaking pagan^{1/} tribes among them are numerically the strongest, are still dominated in the political sense by the Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri and others professing the Moslem faith. On the whole, the natural affinities of these broad groups of peoples in terms of language, customs, and social intercourse tend to be stronger with their immediate neighbours in one or the other (depending on the locality) of the adjoining territories of Nigeria and the Cameroons under French administration than between one another. It is a fact of no small importance that the oldest-established and the most reliable main trunk roads tend also to run east and west rather than north and south; the first direct road link through the Cameroons has yet to be completed. In any comparison between the northern and southern sections, it is the differences which appear more pronounced than the similarities. In the northern half the political and social authority of the Islamised ruling tribes remains predominant; in the southern half - against weaker traditional influences and with longer and closer contact with European administrators, missionaries, traders and planters - newer forms of political, economic and social progress have made greater headway.

15. From the outset of British administration, therefore, it appeared most practicable to administer the northern section of the Cameroons as part of the northern provinces of Nigeria and the southern section as part of the southern

^{1/} The word "pagan" has come to possess a special connotation for these tribes, distinguishing them from the Moslem peoples rather than denoting their particular beliefs. The Mission uses the term here and elsewhere only for the purpose of identifying them.

provinces. In the north, within the context of the "northern system" and its reliance on the emirates as the means of local administration, bringing the Northern Cameroons into the fold of Northern Nigeria meant restoring, to a large degree, links of Fulani and Kanuri authority which had been broken by the establishment of the German Kamerun. In particular, the two large sections of the Cameroons to the north and south of the River Benue were returned to the jurisdiction of the Lamido of Adamawa at Yola in Nigeria, and the Emirate of Dikwa, which lies wholly within the extreme northern segment, was able to revive its traditional relationships with the neighbouring Nigerian emirate of Bornu. These relationships have remained strong throughout the years, although increasingly modified by the gradual modernization of the traditional forms of authority through institutional reforms and the development of political party activity. It is true that an important part of the population - the vigorous but less advanced semi-Bantu pagan tribes who isolated themselves in the hills from the full impact of Moslem influence - has not yet fully made its mark on the political situation in the Northern Cameroons, even though it represents a majority in those parts of the Adamawa emirate which are under trusteeship. Moreover, in the area close to the boundary with the Southern Cameroons, where Fulani presence diminishes but Fulani authority still extends, there is some evidence of a desire for a minor adjustment of the boundary in order to encompass some "northern" peoples within the Southern Cameroons.^{1/} But by and large, the separation of the Northern from the Southern Cameroons is a reality not to be ignored, and the Mission discovered in the north no desire to bridge the gap except by means of the links between self-governing regions within an independent Federation of Nigeria.

16. The Southern Cameroons proved eventually to be much less satisfied with the arrangements that led it to be administered first as part of the southern provinces and then as part of the Eastern Region. The immediate affinities with Nigeria were not so close there as in the north, fears and antagonisms existed, and the physical obstacles to communication were much more difficult. The first important political impulses in the Southern Cameroons were towards two immediate goals: to break away from the Eastern Region and to bring about

^{1/} See paragraph 165.

administrative unity with the North. The first of these was attained in 1954, when the Southern Cameroons was separated from the Eastern Region and given a special political status from which it has since moved nearly to the point of regional self-government. The second goal, that of unity with the Northern Cameroons, has been almost wholly abandoned in the absence of interest in it on the part of the leaders of northern opinion. Those who pressed most strongly for unity in the past are those who now most vigorously support regional autonomy for the Southern Cameroons within the Federation of Nigeria.

17. The approach of the Mission to the questions before it has necessarily been governed by these special circumstances. The Mission has given due recognition to the fact that in the foreseeable future, and certainly in the few months that remain before Nigeria and the Cameroons under French administration attain their independence, the northern and southern sections of the Cameroons under British administration must be regarded for all practical purposes as having a separate and different existence.

B. THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

1. Description, administration and development

General

18. The Southern Cameroons is the smallest distinct unit associated with the Federation of Nigeria: in physical size especially (16,581 square miles) it is dwarfed by each of the three vast regions which comprise the Federation proper. It is much smaller, too, than the adjacent southern half of the Cameroons under French administration. But the population is larger than the extent and nature of the area might suggest, having been counted as 752,700 at the last census in 1953 and being now probably well over 800,000. Moreover, the economic potential of the agricultural, pastoral and forest land and subsoil, whose systematic survey and development still lie largely in the future, is regarded as promising and - by some of those concerned with its development - as likely to prove very rich indeed.

19. Mountains dominate the countryside, and even the lower altitudes are broken and hilly. Heavy rains water the dense forests and open grasslands for nearly half the year. The southern half of the Southern Cameroons was once completely covered with high forest; and though much of this still remains, plantations, peasant farms and logging operations (often followed by more plantations) are making increasing inroads into the old forest near the coast and the face of the countryside there is rapidly changing. Where once giant hardwoods grew close to the roadside, banana plants are now seen in abundance, as well as oil palms, cocoa, coffee and rubber.

20. It is this area, running some fifty miles back from the coast, that offers the most conspicuous evidence of modern economic development. This is where the exploitation of the Territory's resources began: present development represents an extension, and at the same time an important variation, of the plantation economy which the Germans not only established before their Government lost the Cameroons in the first World War but were in most cases able to resume, by repurchase of the land, during the period of British Mandate. Since 1946, however, the more than 250,000 acres of alienated land which the Germans had owned has been, in effect, the public property of the Southern Cameroons and,

in practice, the domain of the Cameroons Development Corporation, a public instrument established to manage and develop the land and its resources in the interests of the Territory. The Corporation has some 56,000 acres of land at present under actual cultivation, divided in descending order of importance among six crops - bananas, rubber, oil palms, cocoa, tea and pepper - and the huge cultivated tracts rolling around and beyond the fertile lower slopes of Mount Cameroon, are a striking physical feature of the coastal area.

21. Besides the radical change in the ownership and purpose of the plantation lands, recent years have seen another and perhaps, in the long run, even more important departure from the previous pattern of development: the massive entry of Africans themselves into the agricultural export business. Among and alongside the Cameroons Development Corporation (CDC) plantations, for example, Bakweri growers who have organized themselves into a co-operative marketing union are expected soon to become the largest banana exporters in the Territory.

22. Beyond the main plantation zone, and especially in the hilly forest country of the Kumba district where the population is distributed sparsely in villages and hamlets, the African primary producer of palm products, cocoa and lowland robusta coffee in particular assumes predominance in the economy; the country here is in fact much less developed than near the coast, and the attributes of economic development - roads above all, and inevitably marketing, trading and commercial facilities of other kinds as well - become less adequate. The northern parts of Kumba and the whole of Mamfe division suffer from the paucity of communications and a consequently lower level of economic and social development.

23. Continuing northwards the land, still broken and forested, keeps gradually rising until, at a steep escarpment, the high forest gives way to the open, grassy plateau of Bamenda. Here mountains sometimes more than 7,000 feet high enclose fertile valleys and plains and, on their slopes, provide pasture for over 200,000 head of cattle tended by the nomad Fulani from the far north. The Bamenda countryside, which includes the divisions of Nkambe and Wum in the northernmost reaches of the Southern Cameroons, bears the mark of an essentially peasant economy. It is relatively under-populated and conspicuously under-developed. But arabica coffee has entered the scene in recent years, and its cultivation is rapidly taking hold as the first important source of cash income. A fairly

good "ring road" system, laid out in a huge loop, links the three grassland divisions, and feeder roads are moving out from it, largely under the impulse of enthusiastic and praiseworthy community development efforts. In the more northerly reaches of the grasslands, however, the economy is still predominantly a subsistence one. An English company has started a tea plantation in the northern hills of Ndu, where it plans to begin production in 1961; while the growing of tea seems to offer directly to the African population few opportunities beyond those of paid labour, there are hopes that the presence of the enterprise will stimulate other forms of economic development in the area. There are hopes, also, that with improvements in breed and marketing opportunities the Fulani cattle herds will gradually be turned into assets much more productive than ornamental (the Fulani herds still tend to signify prestige rather than meat or milk on its way to market).

24. The people who inhabit the Southern Cameroons are as varied as the landscape. This is not only true of the diversity of their tribal origins, their customs, and their languages - the latter being a fact which results in English and "pidgin" being the only feasible means of communication. It is also true of their stage of development in all fields. Just as the present extent of the cash economy varies greatly between the coastal region and the northern grasslands, so also do the degree of educational and social progress of the people, and the extent of the penetration of traditional authority by democratic methods and ideas and by administrative efficiency.

25. For the Visiting Mission, however, the most striking fact about the Southern Cameroons is neither the stage which the economic and social development of the people and their country has so far attained, nor the great deal that still remains to be accomplished; but rather the fact that a momentum of development now exists and, even more important, that the instruments of that development - the institutions of local and central government, the co-operative movement and other agencies - are becoming soundly established and are already largely in the hands of the people.

Administration, resources and development

26. The system of government in the Southern Cameroons is designed to function close to the people. It already achieves this purpose in important parts of the Territory, and can be expected to do so everywhere when staff, communications and other resources become more adequate and when evolutionary processes in the development of rural institutions come more fully to fruition. In the whole broad field of powers delegated to the Southern Cameroons under the Nigerian Constitution, government functions at two main levels - regional and local - each complementary to the other and each, potentially if not yet fully so in practice, directly responsive to the will of the people.

27. For the purposes of government the Southern Cameroons is divided into six administrative divisions (i.e. districts): Victoria on the coast, Kumba and Mamfe in the forested hinterland, and Bamenda, Wum and Nkambe in the grasslands. Each is under the charge of a District Officer (a European in all cases, but Africans have moved as far up the ladder as Assistant District Officers) who is directly responsible to the Southern Cameroons Government at Buea.

28. Within each Division, local administration is provided by Native Authorities, functioning under the guidance and advice of the District Officer and resident or visiting representatives of the specialized departments of the Government. The Native Authority is ordinarily based on the recognized traditional authority in the area concerned, who was usually a chief acting with or without a council; where there is no customary authority possessing executive power over a wider area than a village - as is often the case, for example, among the forest peoples - the representatives of extended families or groups have been formed into councils and given statutory powers as native authorities.

29. Since local government is thus founded as far as possible on traditional institutions, the jurisdiction of the Native Authorities usually conforms to the original division of the people into separate tribes or clans. This has an important relevance to the broader political life of the country, for the boundaries of the administrative districts - and, nowadays, those of the constituencies which elect representatives to the central institutions of government - are also designed to contain, as far as possible, whole groups of tribes and clans. Thus, where tribal custom and loyalty are strong, the chiefs are capable of exerting considerable influence at all levels of government; and there is no doubt that some of them, and

notably the more powerful grasslands chiefs such as the Fons of Bali, Bafut and Nsaw have done so in the recent past. The Mission will have more to say on this point in a later part of its report.

30. With varying degrees of effectiveness, democracy has been infused into the Native Authorities by means of the vesting of their executive powers in elected councils, and efficiency by means of the improvement of the permanent staff which serve them. The management of important affairs of local government is open to them: in addition to a number of lesser services, they collect direct taxes, provide a native court system, maintain schools other than those run by the religious missions or the central government, provide subsidiary medical and health services such as dispensaries, supplement the activities of the central government departments of agriculture, forestry and veterinary services, and provide and maintain public roads feeding the main government system of trunk roads.

31. The Victoria division, whose population at the 1953 census was 85,500 and which is more highly developed in all respects than the five other districts, sets for the moment the outstanding example of local administration. The former Native Authorities had been completely overhauled and reorganized by the time of the Mission's visit. In order to create a strong body capable of providing the necessary services and staff, a single divisional council had been set up. It consists of members mainly "elected up" from the membership of five subordinate councils, which are themselves mainly elected by adult suffrage; traditional and women's interests are represented in all the councils by nominated members. The divisional council has a treasury with an annual turnover of £200,000, and among the services which it provides are five dispensaries and health centres, a rural health service, six senior and nine junior primary schools and the maintenance of fifty miles of roads.

32. In the Kumba division (137,800 people in 1953) the development of local government has been hampered in the past by the absence of a cohesive traditional society, and is hindered also by the insufficiency of communications. There are thirteen separate Native Authority councils, all of them elected, and efforts to amalgamate them into three groups have run into difficulty. The organization of the adjoining Mamfe division (100,422 people in 1953) has been even more difficult: administrative contacts, economic and social development and

intercourse between the people are seriously handicapped by the almost complete absence of roads other than the trunk routes from Kumba and Eastern Nigeria which - at any rate in the dry season - meet in Mamfe and go through to Bamenda. The local administration, which is divided between ten Native Authorities and a Joint Committee meeting quarterly, suffers accordingly in efficiency and resources. By contrast, in the grasslands division of Bamenda (264,880 people in 1953), Nkambe (85,000) and Wum (79,700) traditional society is relatively cohesive, communications are easier and better, and cash crops and cattle are putting important amounts of money into circulation. The systems of local administration, while not yet in all cases beyond the influence of chiefs who cling to the old order of things, are gradually taking more impressive shape.

33. The relationship between these local administrations and the Southern Cameroons Government has already been mentioned. The other link between the local communities and the Government is their representation, partly by means of elections and partly by the nomination of Native Authority representatives, in the legislature. This is, of course, the body from which the Government is now largely drawn, to which it is in large degree answerable, and on which it depends for the passage of legislation in fields other than those reserved to the Nigerian Federal Parliament - in which the Southern Cameroons is also represented - and for the approval of expenditures and the endorsement of policies.

34. Under circumstances which will be described in the next main section of the report, the ministerial system of government entered into effect on 15 May 1958 and the Executive Council, with five of its nine members drawn from the majority parties in the House of Assembly, became the principal instrument of policy for the Southern Cameroons. The five elected Cameroonian members, who include the Premier, were given ministerial responsibilities and they now control many of the departments of government which are provided for in the Southern Cameroons budget. Certain activities remain the responsibility of three ex officio members of the Executive Council (the Deputy Commissioner, the Financial Secretary and the Legal Secretary, whose title is to be changed to Attorney-General). Moreover, the Commissioner of the Cameroons remains nominally responsible to the Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria, who is the High Commissioner of the Cameroons, for the administration of the Territory; but he is bound to act for the most part on the advice of the Executive Council.

35. The ministerial responsibilities assumed by the Premier and the other Cameroonian ministers are of considerable importance. The Premier, in addition to the duties of that office, has charge of lands and survey, local government, and the marketing and development organizations. The Minister of Natural Resources controls the departments of agriculture, forestry, veterinary and co-operative services; the Minister of Social Services is responsible for medical services and education; and the Minister of Works and Transport is in charge of the construction and maintenance of trunk roads, aerodromes, urban and rural water supplies and government buildings.

36. The construction of the framework of self-government in the Southern Cameroons - within the limits imposed on the one hand by the responsibilities of the Administering Authority and on the other hand by the competences of the Nigerian Federal Government and Parliament - is thus well advanced. As a result of agreements reached at the resumed Nigerian constitutional conference late in 1958, as will be explained subsequently, it can be extended considerably if the Government brought to power in the pending elections so requests.

37. Because of the special nature of its task and the limitations imposed on its time, the Mission finds it impracticable to undertake a comprehensive review of all aspects of development in the Southern Cameroons, for which the information contained in the annual reports and the knowledge of the special representative will in any case be at the disposal of the Trusteeship Council. With this important reservation, it nevertheless feels bound to draw attention to what seemed to it to be the more significant aspects of the development of this part of the Trust Territory as it approached the moment for a decision concerning its future. Those aspects which impressed the Mission as being of special relevance are the financial situation, of which the most troublesome facet is the present shortage of capital for development purposes; the development of the infrastructure, and especially the roads system, upon which so greatly depend not only the extension of the cash economy and its immediate benefits but also the efficiency of administration and the pace of local government reforms and social and educational progress; and the problem of securing adequate administrative and other professional staff, particularly at the senior levels.

38. The financial situation of the Southern Cameroons has been much improved in recent months by revised arrangements which treat it for revenue allocation purposes as if it were a normal region of the Federation of Nigeria. The special arrangements which had been devised under the 1954 constitution, and which have been amply explained to the Trusteeship Council, were found on inquiry by a Fiscal Commission^{1/} not to have worked out well. It became evident from an examination of the actual and estimated financial situation in the three fiscal years 1956-1959 that if the Southern Cameroons were treated as if it were a region the result would be considerably more favourable than that achieved by the existing system. Under the new system, which took effect in the 1958-1959 budget estimates, the Southern Cameroons is allocated its estimated proportionate share of the total revenue from import duty on motor spirit; its estimated share of 50 per cent of the import duty on tobacco; one per cent of all other import duties collected for the Federation as a whole (this allocation, based on a revised estimate of consumption, is twice as large as previously); its estimated share of 50 per cent of excise and export duties; and all personal income tax, mining royalties and certain miscellaneous revenues derived from the Southern Cameroons. Moreover, as a result of decisions taken by the resumed constitutional conference, changes in the revenue allocation arrangements for Nigeria as a whole are to be introduced in 1959, and the Mission was informed that as far as the Southern Cameroons was concerned these changes would also be mainly favourable.

39. The position of the Southern Cameroons was further remedied by the writing off of Federal Government advances totalling over £700,000, and the accrued interest on them, which had been made under the old system. The Fiscal Commission, in recommending this, reported that it was arguable that had the system been more effective the need for these payments would never have arisen; nor could the Southern Cameroons Government be held responsible for the fact that they had been necessary. A further advance, consisting of working capital totalling £300,000, is to be converted into a grant and the interest due on it waived.

40. In the 1958-1959 estimates, the first based on the new system, the Southern Cameroons was expected to receive £607,950 as its total share of the federal

^{1/} Nigeria: Report of the Fiscal Commission, Colonial Office, London, (Cmd.481).

revenues; the most important item was £279,000 in import duties other than those on motor spirit and tobacco. From revenues collected internally it expected to receive £375,535. A revision of the estimates brought the total recurrent revenue up to £1,262,435 and recurrent expenditure to £1,296,655, envisaging a small deficit; but at the time of the Mission's visit the actual returns had been better than estimated and a deficit was no longer expected. Expenditure is allocated among the departments and services for which the Southern Cameroons Government is responsible. The federal services, which include police, posts and telegraphs, prisons, labour, produce inspection and expenditure on main trunk roads, are maintained by the budget of the Federation as a whole, to which the Southern Cameroons contributes in particular through company income tax and those other revenues which, as indicated above, are not wholly allocated to it.

41. As far as capital resources are concerned, the position of the Southern Cameroons is not yet as sound. Its capital revenues in the current year are estimated at £723,897, and the balance in the consolidated revenue fund on 31 March 1959 is expected to be only £270,000. For the time being the only moneys available for payment into the fund are capital grants provided by the United Kingdom under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, amounting in 1958-1959 to £525,000, grants from the Southern Cameroons Development Agency amounting to £12,500 and a sum of £200,000 resulting from the sale of ex-enemy assets.

42. In various fields of economic development, three important statutory agencies are designed to complement the activities of the governmental services and departments. Two of these are also in need of new capital. One is the Southern Cameroons Development Agency, conceived in a recommendation by a mission of the International Bank in 1953. The agency, whose board has a Cameroonian chairman and four Cameroonian members, has the power to make loans to co-operative societies and individuals and to formulate, encourage and invest in agricultural and industrial projects. Since the beginning of 1956 it has disbursed over £500,000, mainly from inherited funds and an annual grant from the Marketing Board. More than half of this amount has gone to developing its coffee estate at Santa in the Bamenda area, which the Mission inspected. It has made loans totalling about £75,000 to co-operative societies and private

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persons and a number of grants for cocoa development and survey and for road development. It has also loaned £50,000 to help establish a bank for the co-operative movement at Kumba, of which the chairman of the Mission was invited to lay the foundation stone. But the agency made it plain to the Mission that it is worried about the sources of its future funds, especially now that it needs capital for other revenue-producing projects. It appeared practically certain that a capital fund of £1 million which the Bank Mission had recommended that it should obtain from the Federal Government would not be forthcoming.

43. The Southern Cameroons Marketing Board, which has provided the main regular income of the Development Agency by means of an annual grant of £100,000 which has been extended until 1959 at least, has a more specialized purpose. Its main function is to secure the most favourable arrangements for the purchase and evacuation of produce grown for export - in practice cocoa, palm oil and palm kernels - for which it fixes basic producer prices for each marketing period. When necessary it in effect subsidizes those prices by drawing on its financial reserves to cover deficits in its operations; its general reserve stood at £620,837 in September 1957 as compared with over £1 million in 1955. As far as it can afford to, it is responsible for assisting in the economic development of the crop-producing areas; its largest commitment in this respect has been the annual grant to the Development Agency.

44. The third organization concerned with development is the Cameroons Development Corporation, established in 1946 to develop the former German plantation estates in the interests of the people of the Cameroons. Its operations are already well known to the Trusteeship Council. It has a board of nine (of whom three are Cameroonians) appointed by the Governor-General and it functions on the whole as a tax-paying, self-supporting commercial enterprise, with the important distinction that it is required to pay its annual profits to the credit of the general revenue of the Southern Cameroons. In the three years from 1955 to 1957 its annual production of bananas, palm products, rubber, cocoa, pepper and timber was valued at between about £2.5 million and £3 million annually. In surplus profits it paid to the Southern Cameroons Government £19,200 in 1955, nothing in 1956 and £15,120 in 1957, with an accrued payment of £38,030 due in 1958. In fact its contributions through direct and indirect taxation and

concession rents have been much larger: the total payments to the Federal and Southern Cameroons Governments, including the surplus profits already mentioned, were £357,050 in 1955, £155,270 in 1956 and £237,830 in 1957. Nevertheless, as the Trusteeship Council is aware, the small size of the surplus profits has disappointed previous hopes; it has been recognized that the Corporation needs an injection of new capital if its returns to the Territory are to be appreciably increased, and negotiations have been taking place concerning a possible investment in it by the Administering Authority's Colonial Development Corporation.

45. While believing that every possibility of obtaining new capital from outside sources must continue to be explored, the Mission feels that the Southern Cameroons will have to rely most of all on a perhaps unspectacular but, it is to be hoped, steady further extension of cash crop production by its forest and grasslands peoples. Progress in recent years has been encouraging: the rapid expansion of African banana and cocoa production and the development of coffee growing are striking evidence of it. All this has contributed, and should do so increasingly, to the public funds and eventually to the availability of money for both private and public investment. New forms of production suited to the rural African are being sought; rubber growing has been started; improved cocoa varieties are being introduced; and a Board of Agriculture and an Institute of Agriculture have been established. A pilot scheme to slaughter cattle at Bamenda and carry the meat by refrigerated truck to the southern markets is about to begin. Overseas enterprises are being encouraged: tea plantations have been started in the Bamenda area and the export of timber has expanded remarkably.

46. The Mission thought no aspect of economic development more heartening than the manner in which it found the co-operative movement to have taken hold in recent years among the African growers of cash crops. Since 1955 the number of societies has risen from 63 to 150, membership from 4,250 to some 12,000 and the annual value of produce handled from £190,000 to about £1,500,000. The societies have grouped themselves into two apex organizations, one handling cocoa, coffee and palm kernel and the other bananas; these in turn have formed an engineering and transport union, already a major undertaking; a central financing society is being established; and an organization to supply essential agricultural and marketing equipment is planned.

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47. Of all the means of accelerating economic development, the improvement of road communications is recognized as presenting the most urgent demands. The Federal Government provides the finance and the Southern Cameroons Government is responsible for the construction and maintenance of the main trunk roads, of which there are now about 470 miles; and the latter Government is wholly responsible for the secondary trunk roads. The greater portion of federal expenditure in the Southern Cameroons continues to be applied to the reconstruction and maintenance of the main roads, as well as to offices and housing for federal departments. A total of £1,200,000 has by now been set aside to provide permanent bridges and an all-season two-way road between Victoria and Bamenda, a distance of 264 miles. All the bridges have been completed and a sealed surface laid for at least eighty miles from Victoria; but the greater part of the section between Kumba and Mamfe is still liable to be closed entirely for as much as half the year. The Mission was told that it has been difficult to let contracts for it, and that the Ministry of Works now has two construction units working towards each other from opposite ends. There was some hope that it would be an all-season road before the rains in 1960. This is the main artery of the Southern Cameroons; the Mission is convinced that its condition - which diverts a good deal of traffic into the relatively excellent roads system of the Cameroons under French administration - has been a serious obstacle to economic and other development, and that its completion is long overdue. The reconstruction and sealing of the main road between the Southern Cameroons and Eastern Nigeria, running from Mamfe to the Cross River, and the construction of a new road in the Bamenda area as part of the first link between the Southern and Northern Cameroons are other important works in progress. Secondary roads are being developed by the Government under a programme estimated to cost approximately £900,000. The Mission found the authorities concerned - who are now essentially the Cameroonian Ministers in the Government - in no need of reminding of the importance of pushing forward with the development of the infrastructure. Their programmes are continually being set back, however, by rising costs and other difficulties that demand, above all, additional funds.

48. Moreover, the Southern Cameroons Government has inherited responsibilities for social services, notably the medical and educational facilities, whose maintenance and necessary further expansion are likely to remain a heavy charge on its financial resources. On these matters the Mission has nothing useful to add to the information already at the disposal of the Council, except to pay a tribute to the many European, American and African men and women, missionaries and government and company servants alike, who continue to devote themselves selflessly to the teaching of children and the training of new teachers and the care of the sick.

49. The past inadequacy of the educational facilities, of course, bears importantly on the rate of "Cameroonization" of the public services, especially at the higher levels. The output of qualified students from the secondary schools is still relatively small - less than sixty in 1957 from the two existing boys' colleges - and the number of candidates for higher education outside the Territory is correspondingly low. At the time of the Mission's visit there were, in the Southern Cameroons Government departments, twenty-one Cameroonian senior staff out of a total of 112, and 649 Cameroonian junior established staff out of a total of 853. Both of the main political parties accept the need to employ expatriate officers for a good many years to come and intend to seek their services, but this does not wholly solve the problem. The Mission found serious shortages, especially of administrative officers: of a total of twenty posts, only eleven were filled, of whom two were on leave in the United Kingdom. The Mission was informed that there was no prospect of any amelioration until it became possible to recruit suitably qualified Cameroonian officers.

2. The constitutional and political situation

Development of the present situation

50. In arriving at its conclusions and recommendations in regard to the principal question entrusted to it - that of the determination of the wishes of the people as to their future - the Mission has found it essential to examine the history of the constitutional development of the Southern Cameroons and the ebb and flow of political influences which have not only surrounded that development but have played a large part in directing its course.

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51. From the beginning of British administration this section of the Cameroons was administered as part of Southern Nigeria and later, when Southern Nigeria was divided into the two main parts that now form the Eastern and Western Regions of the Federation, the Southern Cameroons was administered as part of the Eastern Region, first as a single province and then as two. That was its situation at the beginning of the era of trusteeship; and in that situation it shared in the constitutional advance of the Eastern Region, to whose legislature it sent representatives.

52. But at an early stage in the period of trusteeship, basic ethnical differences, the different historical background and difficulties of communication fostered a desire in the Southern Cameroons for separation from Eastern Nigeria and existence as a separate entity. These first serious stirrings of a "Cameroons consciousness" - observed and reported to the Trusteeship Council by its first Visiting Mission in 1949 - gave rise to the main political movements that exist today and produced most of their more important present leaders. Although they now find themselves in opposing camps, these leaders had a greater unity of purpose then: there was a large measure of agreement that the separation of the Southern Cameroons from Eastern Nigeria was to be regarded as part of a process which would also bring the Southern and Northern Cameroons together as a single political entity and would eventually lead to the unification of the Cameroons as a whole, including the Territory under French administration. The present use of "Kamerun" in the titles of all of the main political parties in the Territory, even those which no longer pursue the goal of reunification, is an interesting echo of that period, and still has some significance.

53. The first phase of the process mentioned above was accomplished in 1954, when at the Nigerian Constitutional Conference in London the Administering Authority agreed that the Southern Cameroons should separate from the Eastern Region and enjoy a limited degree of self-government as a "quasi-federal" territory within the Federation of Nigeria. Under the 1954 Nigerian Constitution the Territory accordingly was given its own legislature, consisting of thirteen elected members, six members selected from the Native Authorities, three ex officio

members, and two appointed special members representing commerce and women; the legislature had the same legislative powers as a self-governing region, that is to say it could legislate on any matter that was not contained in the "exclusive legislative list"^{1/} of the Government of the Federation. The Executive Council consisted of three ex officio and four unofficial members; it was primarily advisory to the Commissioner of the Cameroons, who was not bound to take its advice, although he rarely failed to do so, and the unofficial members did not enjoy ministerial status. The Commissioner, who presided over both Executive Council and House of Assembly, was responsible to the Governor-General of the Federation for the administration of the Territory and acted in accordance with such general or specific directions as the Governor-General might give him. The Southern Cameroons continued to be represented in the Nigerian Federal House of Representatives, where it had six elected members one from each division. It was also constitutionally entitled to at least one seat in the Federal Council of Ministers, and one of the elected representatives was accordingly appointed.

54. These changes paved the way for further advance, and as a result of decisions reached at the London Constitutional Conference of 1957, at which the main political parties in the Territory were represented, a new and more advanced constitution was approved for the Southern Cameroons which was in process of being introduced at the time of the present Mission's visit. The term "quasi-federal Territory" has been dropped and the Territory is known as the Southern Cameroons. The elected membership of the House of Assembly is to be increased from thirteen to twenty-six and elected by universal adult suffrage. The three ex officio members will remain and there will again be provision for two "special members" to represent interests or communities not otherwise adequately

^{1/} The specific subjects on the list include the naturalization of aliens, aviation, central banking matters and legislation, external borrowing, citizenship of Nigeria, currency, customs, defence, deportation, exchange control, external affairs, immigration, shipping, meteorology, mines and minerals, passports, police, posts and telegraphs, railways, non-African income and profit taxes, trade and commerce among the regions and the Southern Cameroons, and trunk roads.

represented, but there will be no Native Authority members. The Commissioner will be empowered, after consultation with the Premier, to appoint a Speaker, either from within or outside of the House, who will normally preside.

55. There is also to be a House of Chiefs consisting of approximately twenty members, not less than three from each division. The Commissioner, after inquiry and consultation with those concerned, is to determine the number of members and their method of selection and establish the House as soon as practicable, probably early in 1959. The functions of the House will be to consider and, by resolution, to advise on any question referred to it by the Commissioner or any question or matter introduced by a member. The House will consider proposed legislation and other important matters of policy, and its resolutions will be laid on the table of the House of Assembly, when it will be open to the Government or any member of that House to take them up. The life of the House of Chiefs will be co-terminous with that of the House of Assembly.

56. It was decided further that the Executive Council should have an unofficial majority, and this change is already in effect. The Council consists of the Commissioner as President, three ex officio members and five unofficial members, of whom one is the Premier and the others hold the rank of Minister. The Governor-General of Nigeria, in his capacity as High Commissioner may increase the number of ministers following a recommendation from the Commissioner after consultation with his Executive Council. He appoints the ministers on the recommendation of the Premier. As has been explained earlier, the Executive Council is the principal instrument of policy for the Southern Cameroons.

57. The London Conference of 1957 had thus promised for the Southern Cameroons, among the intermediate constitutional steps which, taken as a whole, were leading the Federation of Nigeria towards independence, three major changes: the introduction of the ministerial system; a larger and much more directly representative legislature; and a House of Chiefs, with advisory functions.

58. The timing of the first two of these changes became, from the end of 1957 through the early months of 1958, an important local political issue. This situation arose at least in part because of the composition of the existing House of Assembly. In the first place, this body was only partly elective, having thirteen seats filled by a system of suffrage which had the effect of limiting

the vote, with few exceptions, to adult males. The total number of votes cast at the last elections (March 1957) was 78,439, and although this represented more than three-quarters of the registered electorate it was a small proportion of the adult members of a total population of more than 750,000. In the second place, the elective seats were so divided among the main political parties that the prevailing majority depended on an alliance between parties or the support of a sufficient number of non-elected representatives, or both.

59. Before the 1957 elections supporters of the Kamerun National Congress (KNC) led by Dr. E.M.L. Endeley had formed a substantial majority which had easily survived the resignation of two KNC members and their formation of a new opposition movement, the Kamerun National Democratic Party led by Mr. J.N. Foncha. In the 1957 elections the KNC won six seats (35,626 votes), the KNDP five seats (17,937 votes) and the Kamerun People's Party two seats (15,436 votes). In the following September, however, one of the KNC members resigned from the party and later adhered to the KNDP. The latter had thus secured by a narrow margin the largest block of the elective seats (six as against the KNC's five) in the legislature; but the KNC still retained four of the six Native Authority members in its support and was thus able to hold a majority over all other groupings. Moreover, at the end of the year it strengthened its position by securing an alliance with the KPP and thus gaining the support of two more elected members. It was this alliance which constituted the Government at the time of the Mission's visit.

60. This was the situation in which the question arose of implementing the London Conference agreements. The matter was complicated because the two main groupings in the House of Assembly had adopted what seemed to be fundamental differences of approach to the question of the future of the Territory: the KNC had clarified its objective as being to secure full regional self-government by 1959 and to attain independence with Nigeria in 1960, not wholly abandoning but rather relegating to the background its ~~previous~~ aspiration for unification with the Cameroons under French administration. The KPP held similar though not identical views; but the KNDP stood for "secession" from Nigeria, in other words the separation of the Southern Cameroons from the Federation as a step towards unification with an independent Cameroons under French administration.^{1/}

^{1/} For a fuller account, see below: The political parties and their policies.

61. The principal issue which arose was accordingly whether the ministerial system should be introduced before or after the reconstitution of the House of Assembly on the much more broadly representative basis agreed upon at the London Conference. According to a statement by Dr. Endeley, the order of timing of the two reforms - ministerial system and elections - had not been specified in advance, but it had been generally agreed by the political leaders that it would be preferable to hold the elections first if that were possible. For the reason, however, that the new electoral registration and other processes could not be completed early enough for elections to be held until after the rains had finished towards the end of the year, the majority group decided to press for the prior introduction of the ministerial system. As Dr. Endeley explained afterwards, he and his colleagues were anxious that some provision should be made to enable the introduction of Ministerial Government early in the year so that the Southern Cameroons could gain experience in the art of government before independence, and without prejudice to any future election and the introduction of other stages of the constitutional processes.
62. In addition to urging this course on the Governor-General, Dr. Endeley's Government called a special meeting of the House of Assembly early in February to debate motions calling not only for the immediate introduction of the ministerial system but also for full regional self-government in 1959. The motions were carried over the protests of the opposition members, who walked out during the voting.
63. The ministerial system was introduced on 15 May 1958. A Premier (Dr. Endeley) and four Ministers were appointed, representing in effect the KNC/KPP Alliance and comprising, in addition to Dr. Endeley, three KNC elected members of the House of Assembly: Mr. F.N. Ajebe-Sone, Natural Resources; Mr. V.T. Lainjo, Social Services; the Rev. S. Ando-Seh, Minister of State, and one KPP elected member, Mr. N.N. Mbile, Works and Transport.
64. The date of the elections still had not been fixed at the time of the Mission's visit to the Southern Cameroons: it has since been informed that they were to be held on 24 January 1959, and that the existing House of Assembly was being dissolved on 23 December 1958. It is impossible to over-emphasize the importance of these elections: not only, in the Mission's opinion as will be explained below, as a probable guide to the wishes of the people as to their future, but also as a means of establishing a legislature and a government whose nature would be more

representative than were those which existed at the time of the Mission's visit. The limited representative character of the old House of Assembly was the result of the method of representation. The women's vote had been largely excluded; the number of electoral constituencies was only one-half as large as on 24 January and the establishment of the new constituencies adjusted to some extent the proportion of representation of the various parts of the country; and opinions differed in the Territory as to whether the Native Authority members who in effect held the balance of power in the old House fully reflected the main political tendencies in their respective areas.

65. The registration of voters for the 24 January 1959 elections was completed in July of 1958. The electoral regulations, in use for the first time, no longer required proof of payment of tax, a provision which had in particular restricted the registration of women to all but a few. The main qualifications for the vote distinguish between British subjects or protected persons and those who do not possess such status; the effect of the distinction is that the residential qualification is more strict for the latter category, which embraces in particular persons originating from the Cameroons under French administration. The right to register and vote is open to every person aged twenty-one years or more who is either: (a) a British subject or protected person native to the Southern Cameroons or else ordinarily resident there for a continuous period of not less than twelve months ending on 1 February 1958; or (b) any other person who can prove by supporting evidence or document that he has been ordinarily resident in the Southern Cameroons for a continuous period of ten years ending with the qualifying date. A number of disqualifications of general application are set out. No person may register or vote if he (a) is under any acknowledged obedience to a foreign Power or State; (b) has been sentenced by a court in any part of Her Majesty's dominions to death, or to imprisonment for a term exceeding six months and has not either suffered the punishment or received a free pardon; (c) is adjudged to be a lunatic or otherwise declared to be of unsound mind, or (d) is disqualified in accordance with enactments relating to corrupt practices at elections.

66. The following table shows the distribution of elective, Native Authority and special interests' seats in the House of Assembly in 1957-1958 and the allocation of the increased number of elective seats among the districts for the elections in 1959:

SOUTHERN CAMEROONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY: DISTRIBUTION OF
REPRESENTATIVE SEATS, 1957 AND 1959

DISTRICT	1957-1958 CONSTITUENCIES AND NATIVE AUTHORITY REPRESENTATIVES	1957-1958 INCUMBENTS	1959 CONSTITUENCIES
VICTORIA	North South Native Authority	KNC (Dr. E.M.L. Endeley) KPP (Mr. P.N. Motomby- Woleta) Ind. (Chief J. Manga- Williams)	North-west North-east South-west South-east
KUMBA	East West Native Authority	KNC (Mr. F.N. Ajebe- Sone) KPP (Mr. N.N. Mbile) KNC (Chief J. Mokambe)	North-east North-west South-east South-west
MAMFE	North-west South-east Native Authority	KNC (Mr. S.A. Arrey) KNDP (Mr. A. Fonge) KNC (Mr. T. Lekunze)	West North South East
BAMENDA	West Central East Native Authority	KNDP (Mr. S.T. Muna) KNDP (Mr. J.N. Foncha) KNC (Mr. V.T. Iainjo) KNDP (Mr. H.D. Tankoh)	North West Central West Central East East South
WUM	South North Native Authority	KNDP (Mr. A.N. Jua) KNDP (Mr. P. Mua) KNC (Mr. J.E. Kum)	North Central East West
NKAMBE	South-west North-east Native Authority	KNDP (Mr. P.N. Nsakwa) KNC (Rev. S. Ando-Seh) KNC (Chief W. Mformi)	North East Central South
SPECIAL INTERESTS	Two seats	Mrs. D.E. Idowu Mr. W.E.W. Carter	Two seats

The question of further constitutional development

67. The consideration that elections were impending in the Southern Cameroons and that the results of those elections would show more clearly which of the main political groups represented the majority of the people influenced the further discussion at the resumed Nigeria constitutional conference, held in London in September and October, as to the future constitutional development of this part of the Trust Territory.

68. As has been mentioned above, the KNC/KPP Alliance which constituted a majority in the then existing House of Assembly secured the adoption in February 1958 of a resolution requesting that full regional self-government within the Federation of Nigeria should be granted to the Southern Cameroons in 1959. Under the circumstances already described by the Mission, however, it would have been difficult to accept that resolution as a conclusive expression of the wishes of the population. It was none the less a logical move towards the next important objective of the two allied political parties, and towards the final objective which they were committed to pursue, if the elections of 24 January returned them to power. From their point of view, the transformation of the Southern Cameroons into a full region having powers identical with those of the Eastern, Western and Northern Regions of Nigeria - subject only to provisions respecting the Trusteeship Agreement - is the last transitional stage to be achieved before Nigeria passes to independence in 1960, the Southern Cameroons with it. As the Premier, Dr. Endeley, declared in a statement of policy published officially after the introduction of the ministerial system on 15 May, "The policy of my Government is to work relentlessly towards the achievement of self-government next year and independence in 1960 with the rest of Nigeria, with a view to building up a strong and prosperous Federation which will proudly take its place among the other nations of the world".

69. These views were taken by Dr. Endeley and his colleagues to the Resumed Constitutional Conference in London, which was attended by representatives of all the main political parties in Nigeria and the Cameroons and of the Governments of Nigeria and of the Administering Authority. The Conference made it clear that the KNC/KPP objectives, if they were supported by the people of the Southern Cameroons, would be acceptable to Nigeria. This attitude was not a new development: indeed,

in its report^{1/} the Conference itself noted that when it had recommended in 1957 the full representation (eight seats) of the Southern Cameroons in the new Federal legislature to be elected late in 1959, and in particular in recommending that the Southern Cameroons should have equal representation with the Nigerian Regions in a proposed Senate, it "had given implicit approval to the attainment by the Southern Cameroons of full regional status". The Conference also noted the steps which had been taken to bring about a considerable improvement in the financial position of the Territory. The Conference accordingly confirmed that, "if this proved to be the wish of the people of the Territory, Nigeria would welcome the Southern Cameroons as part of the Federation with the status of a fully self-governing Region equal in all respects with the other Regions in an independent Nigeria".

70. Besides making that final step dependent on proof that the people wished it to be taken, the Conference also agreed that any further constitutional steps to be taken by the Southern Cameroons towards self-government should be subject, in effect, to the results of the Southern Cameroons elections. In explaining this approach, the report of the Conference recorded that the representatives of the KNC and the KPP had stated that the major political objective of their parties was the attainment by the Southern Cameroons of the status of a region equal in all respects with the other regions in an independent Nigeria, and that they were accordingly anxious to achieve rapid constitutional progress to prepare themselves to take their place in an independent Nigeria.

71. The report recorded on the other hand that the representatives of the KNDP who were led by Mr. J.N. Foncha, then Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, said that their party did not wish the Southern Cameroons to become a permanent part of an independent Nigeria. Their objective for the Trust Territory was secession from the Federation of Nigeria. They were opposed to further constitutional advance for the Southern Cameroons in any form which led to, or had as its objective, closer association with Nigeria.

72. The Secretary of State for the Colonies took note of the difference of view expressed. He said that he was prepared to accept in principle that the Southern Cameroons should become, at the appropriate time, a region fully equal in status to the other regions of Nigeria. It was his view that such a development, by

^{1/} Federation of Nigeria: Report by the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference. See Annex III.

preparing the people for full self-government, would be in fulfilment of one of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement while it would in no way commit the Southern Cameroons to permanent association with Nigeria, about which it would be for the people of the Territory to express their wishes at the right time. He added, however, that in view of the Trusteeship Agreement it would be necessary for the United Kingdom to retain, in the hands of a representative, reserve executive and legislative powers in respect of the Southern Cameroons.

73. The report added that it was accordingly agreed with the Southern Cameroons representatives, and subsequently approved by the Conference, that no immediate constitutional changes should be made, but that it should be open to the Southern Cameroons Government to be formed after the January elections to request the Administering Authority to bring into effect all or any of a number of specified changes. The Secretary of State undertook that the United Kingdom Government would then give effect to these changes forthwith, to the extent that they could be made without constitutional amendment, and that the necessary legal instruments should be prepared as soon as possible.

74. The changes which may thus be secured by the new Government, on request, include the withdrawal of the Deputy Commissioner from the Executive Council and the House of Assembly; the appointment of a Minister of Finance to replace the Financial Secretary at a convenient time after the 1959 budget; provision for the appointment of up to three parliamentary secretaries; the vesting in the Commissioner of the Cameroons, although under the direction of the High Commissioner, of the reserve legislative and executive powers and the power of assent to legislation; and the establishment of a separate public service.^{1/}

3. Views of the people concerning their future

General

75. The Visiting Mission found much political activity in the Southern Cameroons. The Mission's presence was no doubt one reason for this; another was the imminence of a most important general election. The Mission found many other

^{1/} For the full list of changes, see Annex III.

factors involved in political thought and activity - among them the strong and contradictory attractions of the neighbouring territories; the often idealized conception of the Trusteeship status, as well as of the "national identity" of the former German Kamerun, loyalty to the tribe, rivalries between tribes, and the influence of powerful chiefs; clashes of personality; and in the border areas the activity of "political refugees" and others from the Cameroons under French administration.

76. But from all this, two central facts emerged at the time of the Mission's visit: firstly that public discussion was dominated by the question of the future of the Southern Cameroons; and secondly, that public opinion, as far as it was expressed, fell into two main categories, each represented in organized politics by one of the two principal political groups. On the one side there was the view that the future of the Southern Cameroons lay in continuing the course which had brought it to the threshold of regional self-government, and in becoming one of the self-governing regions of the independent Federation of Nigeria in 1960. On the other side there was the view that the time had arrived for the Southern Cameroons to be separated from Nigeria - for a purpose not yet clearly resolved, but depending heavily on a belief in unification with the Cameroons under French administration.

Development of the political parties

77. The birth of modern politics - and also of the two main streams of present opinion - in the Southern Cameroons more or less coincided with the beginning of the trusteeship administration, which was also a period when the nationalist currents flowing along the coast of West Africa made themselves felt in the southern part of the Trust Territory. Both of the two main political groupings which now stand in opposition to each other had their origin in a single movement. This was the Cameroons National Federation, constructed under the guidance of the present Premier, Dr. Endeley, mainly out of the numerous "tribal" and "improvement" unions and associations which existed at local levels in Victoria, Kumba, Mamfe and Bamenda.

78. A desire to assert the "identity" of the Cameroons was the common ground on which this movement, later known as the Kamerun United National Congress, was

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originally based. Among Dr. Endeley's first objectives was to secure the administrative separation of the Southern Cameroons from the Eastern Region of Nigeria; he also tried to bring about political and administrative unity between the southern and northern sections of the Cameroons, until discouraged by the lack of interest of the northerners and their apparent preference to remain associated with the Northern Region of Nigeria; and he stood also for the reunification of the two Cameroons during the years when the Southern Cameroons was less easily distinguished than it is now from Eastern Nigeria. In 1953, however, the movement broke in two and there emerged two separate parties: the Kamerun National Congress (KNC), still representing the original aims of the movement, and the Kamerun People's Party (KPP), standing for continued association with the Eastern Region, and in fact closely related to the leading political party there.

79. With the passing of time, and especially after the Southern Cameroons, largely through Dr. Endeley's efforts, secured its distinctive "quasi-federal" status under the 1954 Constitution of Nigeria, the KNC has more and more tended to see the Southern Cameroons of the future as a self-governing region within an independent Federation of Nigeria, to accept as inevitable that the Northern Cameroons will remain merged with the Northern Region, and to relegate increasingly to the background the idea of the unification of the two Cameroons. These tendencies became stronger still as the Southern Cameroons came closer to regional status. By the beginning of 1958 the party had come out categorically for full regional status no later than 1959 and for independence in 1960 as a region of the Federation of Nigeria. Its views on the other original objectives were modified accordingly: on 29 May Dr. Endeley stated that he and his colleagues still believed in the desirability of the ultimate unification of the two Cameroons, but that the intervening events and circumstances had removed the question of unification from the realm of urgency and priority: "With the Northern Cameroons absorbed into Northern Nigeria and the French Cameroons assimilated into the French Union, it now seems unlikely that the Cameroons would ever return to the status it was before 1914. We ... are convinced that far from being a priority issue, unification should only be achieved by evolutionary means, that is, when an independent Cameroons outside the French Union, and an independent Nigerian Federation of which the Southern Cameroons will form a part, would be in an unfettered position to explore the possibilities

of union as part of the movement towards the creation of a United States of West Africa."^{1/}

80. This swing towards a destiny with Nigeria appeared to cost the KNC some of its support. It had already undergone in 1955 a split in its ranks which had led to the formation of another group, the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), whose leader, Mr. J.N. Foncha, had been a KNC member of the House of Assembly. This new party reverted in a sense to some of the original aims of the Cameroons National Federation: it stood, and still stands, for the complete severance of political ties with Nigeria, the administration of the Trust Territory for the time being as a separate dependency, and ultimate unification, on a federal basis, with the Cameroons under French administration. There was another repercussion in September of 1957 when the deputy-leader of the KNC, Mr. S.T. Muna, who held one of its seats in the House and on the Executive Council, resigned from the KNC and joined the KNDP: he was reported to have said at the time that he did not believe in the policy of "integration" with Nigeria, which was contrary to the objectives of the unification of the two Cameroons to which he had understood the KNC was still committed.

81. If the KNC thus lost at least some of its visible support in the course of these events, it also gained support from other quarters. It entered into an alliance with the third principal party, the KPP: and at the time of the Mission's visit the KNC/KPP Alliance addressed it as a unified party with a single point of view on the major issues facing the Southern Cameroons.

82. The two main political groupings appeared to the Mission to be actively and widely organized throughout the Southern Cameroons. The KNC/KPP Alliance appeared to be more active in the plantation and forest areas of Victoria, Kumba and Mamfe, and the KNDP in the other half of the Southern Cameroons, particularly the grasslands Divisions of Bamenda and Wum. In parliamentary life the two main parties were already playing important roles as Government and Opposition; their representatives in the House of Assembly seemed aware of their responsibilities to the electorate; and in the towns and many of the rural areas they had vigorous local branches. They were under certain handicaps, it is true, such as the difficulty of access to large sections of the population and the

^{1/} "A Statement of Policy Made by the Premier of the Southern Cameroons, Dr. E.M.L. Endeley, O.B.E.": Southern Cameroons Information Service, Buea.

absence of local newspapers. It was obviously no simple problem, moreover, to explain to the less well-informed rural electorate the significance of the present political issues. But the Mission's observation of the political life of the Southern Cameroons left it with a general impression that all of the parties were preparing, in view of the important decisions that they felt to be hinging on the results of the January elections, to conduct an electoral campaign more thorough and more determined than any previous one.

83. Since 1955 there has been a new element in the political life of the Southern Cameroons. This is the presence of an unknown number, possibly many hundreds, of men and women who have crossed over from the Cameroons under French administration in the course of the last three years, many of them ostensibly as political refugees. The origins of this situation are well known to the Trusteeship Council: after the disturbances in the Cameroons under French administration on May of 1955 and the subsequent action taken by the French authorities to dissolve the Union des populations du Cameroun and its women's and youths' affiliates, on the grounds that they had resorted to force and violence to obtain their objectives, there was an influx of people across the border. Within a few months the parties had established themselves on the British side of the frontier and had become active there, reviving their demands for immediate independence and unification of the two Cameroons and taking part unsuccessfully in the elections of March 1957. On the following 30 May, on the grounds that there existed "a grave possibility that in order to achieve its political objectives the Party may have to resort to violence in the Southern Cameroons," the UPC and its affiliates were declared to be unlawful societies and thirteen of their leaders were ordered to be deported.

84. The disappearance of the UPC as such from the political scene was soon followed by the formation of a new party styling itself One Kamerun (OK). The Mission was told repeatedly in the Southern Cameroons, especially by supporters of the other political parties - some of whom would like to see it banned - that the OK is simply the UPC under a new name. The party relied on certain techniques to attract the attention of the Mission: standardized banners, demonstrations by men and women dressed in uniforms, songs and chants, and packages of "petitions", the great majority of which consisted of similar texts

and slogans written or mimeographed in French. The Mission did not come across any evidence of real political leadership and normal party organization. The party's programme was based more on its version of past history on the French side of the frontier than on present realities on the British side. It was only among a few small groups relatively remote from the frontier that the majority of the party supporters spoke and wrote in English instead of French as elsewhere and seemed to have a more direct interest in the affairs of the Cameroons under British administration. In any case it was in the towns of Tiko, Victoria, Kumba and Mankon-Bamenda that the OK concentrated their demonstrations for the Mission's benefit.

85. There is neither sufficient work nor land for all of the "French Cameroonians" who have come across the border, and some fears were expressed to the Mission that economic and social problems are thereby being aggravated. Many of them purport to be anxious to go back over the frontier and resume their normal lives as soon as it is "safe" to do so: hence, above all, the cry for a general political amnesty. The Mission, after its study of the situation in the other Trust Territory,^{1/} is confident that those of them who committed no criminal offences in their own Territory have nothing to fear by returning, just as many hundreds there have by now abandoned outlaw existence and come into the open. It hopes, moreover, that the broader measure of amnesty which the Government of the Cameroons under French administration intends to place before its Legislative Assembly at an early date, together with the advance of the Territory towards independence, will draw back into the normal life of their own villages all of those who desire to go.

86. The Mission thinks it appropriate to mention at this point that on the other side of the frontier the French authorities expressed to it their belief that most if not all of a number of acts of banditry which had taken place in the previous several months in the regions of Mungo and Bamiléké had been the responsibility of men who had taken refuge in the Cameroons under British administration and were using it as a relatively safe base for their forays. The Mission learned that a number of measures of Anglo-French co-operation designed to control the situation had been agreed upon, and that one of their results had been the seizure by Nigerian police in the Kumba area in October of a number

^{1/} See Report on the Cameroons under French administration.

of men who were wanted on criminal charges by the French authorities, to whom they were delivered at the frontier. At the time of writing of this report the Mission had no details of the incident, nor in fact any official verification of its occurrence, about which it had received a few vague complaints at Kumba. However, it learned that petitions on the subject had been addressed directly to the Trusteeship Council, and it has no doubt that they will be examined by the Council in the light of the observations to be submitted by the Administering Authority.

Views of the political parties

87. Two words possessing special meaning - "integration" and "secession" - have come to signify the two main trends of political opinion in the Southern Cameroons. "Integration" - for which its protagonists would now prefer to substitute "association" - means the KNC/KPP Alliance and its goal of regional status for the Southern Cameroons within an independent Federation of Nigeria. "Secession" means the KNDP and its objective of immediate separation from Nigeria, which the leaders of the party regard as an essential first step to enable the Southern Cameroons to seek the objective of a greater Cameroons.

88. Almost everywhere it went in the Southern Cameroons, these two central ideas were pressed on the Visiting Mission in versions ranging from the sophisticated to the over-simple. There were lucid explanation and argumentation by political leaders, senior civil servants and commercial employees, teachers and university students; but there were also farmers and chiefs who argued one case or the other in simple, earthy parables and anecdotes told in their native tongues or in the colourful phrases of "pidgin". A KNC party man could reason fluently that the logical way for the Cameroons to preserve its entity was to have regional status under its own name in the Federation of Nigeria; a KNDP chief could have the devastating (to his followers anyway) last word that: "Plenty t'ing Nigeria do, we no savvy".

89. In setting out here the main lines of the two theses, however, the Mission will concentrate on the presentations made by the territorial leaders of the political parties. It does not suggest that the mass of the supporters of any of the parties fully understood the issues in these terms; but it had no doubt

that they were understood by the candidates who were to stand for them at the polls on 24 January and who as representatives - whether elected by the strength of their party's case or by the strength of their own personalities - would have to stand for them in the new legislature and government of the Southern Cameroons.

90. The Kamerun National Congress/Kamerun People's Party Alliance made its case to the Mission from its position as the government of the day as well as in its capacity as a political organization. In the former role Dr. Endeley, Mr. Mbile and their ministerial colleagues emphasized the extent of the autonomy already possessed by the Southern Cameroons, exemplified in particular by the ministerial system and the legislature, and argued that they could never have achieved that degree of self-government so quickly except by their association with Nigeria, and by being able to insist on benefiting from the same kinds of institutions and powers as the other more advanced regions of Nigeria. Dr. Endeley spoke of the Cameroons as a whole as a very small Trust Territory which, to their regret, they had not been able to preserve as a single unit which might have obtained autonomy as such within the Federation. Even for the Southern Cameroons it had not been easy to secure an autonomous status in the face of the pressures which had been exerted first by the Eastern Nigerians and now by the French Cameroonians; but as a result of the resumed London Conference he felt that the future definitely lay more securely in association with Nigeria than in any other practicable arrangement. Those who differed from the KNC/KPP Alliance and were calling for "secession" were motivated, he felt, by fear that because of its small size the Southern Cameroons risked treatment as a minority in the Federation; but this fear in his view had now been removed by the safeguards agreed to at the London conference concerning the constitutional position of the regions, among which the Southern Cameroons would have a status in no way inferior to and in no way open to interference by the others. Dr. Endeley recalled, too, that when he had started to agitate in the early years of trusteeship for separation from the Eastern Region many people had been doubtful of the advantages, but when the results became evident they had been satisfied. The same would be true, he believed, when the population of the Southern Cameroons came to understand the significance of full regional status and the extent of self-government which their own institutions would enjoy.

91. Mr. Mbile (KPP), for his part, explained what he felt would be the disadvantages if the border between the Southern Cameroons and Nigeria became a true international frontier: the division of tribes, the imposition of customs and other restrictions, the disruption of the economy and the cutting off of access to higher education in Nigeria. He said that it was very easy for a Cameroons politician to become popular by damning or expressing fears of the Nigerians, but their popularity would be short-lived if the cost of it were the sacrifice of everything that had been built up over the years. The "secessionists" if they carried through their policy, would bring about chaos, confusion and unhappiness; an immediate effect would be that the Southern Cameroons would be deprived of the police, customs, postal, trunk roads and other services now provided by the Federation, and they had no plan of any kind to replace them. Moreover, once the "secessionists" had tried and failed nobody could say whether Nigeria would be prepared to offer the Southern Cameroons a second chance to enter the Federation.

92. Subsequently, when Dr. Endeley and Mr. Mbile saw the Mission as leaders of the KNC/KPP Alliance, they presented a memorandum which concentrated principally on the question of the reunification of the two Cameroons. At this point the Mission must say that in the Southern Cameroons as a whole, there was a lack of knowledge and a great deal of misinformation about the course of events affecting the future of the Cameroons under French administration. There was a persistent idea - evident also in the memorandum of the KNC/KPP Alliance - that the other Cameroons had in some way voted "to join the French Union". This was being used all through the Southern Cameroons as an argument against unification; and even when the Mission tried, if only for the sake of informed discussion of the matter, to give a factual account of the important political developments that had taken place in the Territory in recent months and even in recent days, it was not able fully to dispel the prevailing ignorance of developments in the Cameroons under French administration.

93. In their memorandum^{1/} the KNC/KPP leaders said that one of the fundamental shortcomings in the Mandates system was its failure to make reunification of

^{1/} See Annex II (a).

German Kamerun obligatory on Britain and France. The outcome of the bilateral arrangement had been a deepening of social differences and prejudices among the tribes east and west of the partition line and the development of sharp contrasts in the cultural and political outlook of the two sectors "in consonance with the well-known divergencies which characterize the cultural and political systems of the two metropolitan countries". The passage of time had forced the partitioning to assume "a regrettable degree of permanence". Even if Britain and France were now to agree to reunify Kamerun, "the organic incompatibilities in the cultural and political systems of the two sectors will evoke such violent eruptions that the act of union is most likely to be rendered sterile, and progress, which is now gaining wholesome momentum, brought to a standstill. A political and cultural marriage between British and French Cameroons could have become a practical proposition had there been a sustained and unfettered contact between the peoples of the two sectors which would have evoked a gradual process of mutual assimilation over the years. Such a process was not provided for either in the 1919 Mandates or 1946 Trusteeship Agreements, and has now been clearly overtaken by political developments on either side."

94. The KNC/KPP Alliance added, however, that it recognized the fact that a number of clans along the border might wish to be reunited with their kith and kin in either sector. This problem required the most careful and sympathetic handling, and "the KNC/KPP Alliance hereby pledges its readiness to give every possible assistance in evolving the best method of resolving it". Other than that, however, the

"unification of the two Trust Territories will lead to a lot of complications because of divergent forms of administration, and different economic systems. Difficulties in blending the two forms of local government systems, two forms of legal and educational systems and, worst of all, the harmonising of the British and French cultures are factors to be reckoned with. We are not prepared to forego the benefits we have derived from the British Government and neither will the French Cameroonians be prepared to sever their connection with the French Union. The bulk of the indigenous population of Kamerun is within the French sector. They are over 3 millions, and in the Southern Cameroons there are only 3/4 million people. It follows, therefore, that the greater stakes lie on the other side of the border. In other words, the weight of choice will lean more to the side of those whose section carries the greater population".

95. They reiterated the view that unification should be achieved only by evolutionary means - that is, when an independent Cameroons (the former Cameroons under French administration) and an independent Federation of Nigeria, including the Southern Cameroons, would be in a position to explore the possibility of union as part of "the movement towards the creation of a United States of West Africa".

96. For the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) Mr. Foncha and various groups of his colleagues also had two main interviews with the Mission. At the first of these they submitted a memorandum containing an exposition of the views of the party, and especially of the meaning of "secession". They began this with a word about the situation in the Northern Cameroons where, they said, they were convinced that the people would also be opposed to integration with Nigeria if they properly understood the implications. They needed time to be properly educated; and "we therefore regret that we must confine our recommendations in the main to the Southern Cameroons and to encourage our brothers in the North to fight out their own salvation separately".

97. Mr. Foncha and his colleagues declared that the idea of "secession" was not motivated by grievance as a result of ill treatment from Nigeria, but purely by a desire to maintain national identity. It was the wish of the masses "to leave the Federation of Nigeria and seek a means of building a Cameroons nation". The KNC itself had gained its popularity "because of the policy of secession and reunification which it has now unceremoniously abandoned", and the policy of integration which its leaders now sought to hide under the cloak of "Association with the Federation of Nigeria" had been resented by the chiefs of the Southern Cameroons.

98. The KNDP regarded the reunification of the two Cameroons as being consequential upon secession. That was why for the time being, while they were still a part of the Federation of Nigeria, it was proper to make secession the beginning of reunification. Reunification was a matter in the hands of the people of those sections of Kamerun whose people, acting freely and knowingly, desired to unify. That desire for reunification existed was obvious from the dramatic change of government in the Cameroons under French administration, its swift advance to independence, and the fact that the Legislative Assembly there had already sanctioned the wishes of the people for reunification.

99. "The next pronouncement remains to be made in the Southern Cameroons, and Northern Cameroons. If the KNDP comes into power as a result of the pending general election to be held in early January 1959, a motion will be passed to confirm the consent of the people on this side for reunification. When the two governments shall have been speaking in favour of the move, it should be the place of the two Administering Authorities and the UNO to lend us their co-operation. If reunification there is being approached as a matter between two self-governing states we see no obstacles on our way".

100. As for the form which reunification might take, the KNDP felt that a federal system could be suitable. This would be a matter to be discussed between the governments of the sections of the Kamerun.

101. In any event, the KNDP wished to make it clear "that the KNDP will undertake to carry out secession from the Federation of Nigeria if we come into power as the result of the pending general election. We have made this stand clear to the British delegation and the Nigeria delegations at the Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London... The Mission will appreciate this in view of the fact that Nigeria will also be preparing for its independence in 1960, and therefore if we should secede, we must do so before the United Kingdom Government hand over power to the Federation of Nigeria".

102. In this memorandum and in subsequent discussions with the Mission, Mr. Foncha said that if his party came to power in the January elections it envisaged regarding the year 1959 as a transitional period for the Southern Cameroons. The Mission feels it fair to explain that between the two principal discussions which it held with him the events affecting the Cameroons under French administration were becoming better known and understood, and that Mr. Foncha's understanding of their significance undoubtedly led him to modify to some extent his thoughts on the timing of future developments which had at first been expressed to the Mission in terms of several years of continuation under trusteeship. As far as the Mission is able to set forth the programme which he had in mind, the first step would be the severance of the relationship with Nigeria; and in order to facilitate this he wished the Administering Authority to undertake a study of all financial, administrative and other matters involved in the existing relationship. The second step would be the attainment by the Southern Cameroons of full

self-government by means of the transfer to its institutions of all remaining powers except those needed to maintain the trusteeship status. During this period, his Government would enter into consultations with the Government of the Cameroons under French administration on the question of the form which unification should take; if an agreement could be reached he would hope that its implementation would be delayed until the Southern Cameroons itself attained independence by a final act of transfer of powers by the Administering Authority and the termination of Trusteeship. It was his hope that the Southern Cameroons would be ready for that independence on the same date as the Cameroons under French administration, namely 1 January 1960; but he could not be sure whether the people - and he referred particularly to the chiefs - would be ready as early as that. In any case, his aim would be to bring the Southern Cameroons to independence at the earliest possible date, and probably no later than 1960, and the unification arrangements would enter into effect simultaneously. As for the form of unification, his party envisaged a federal structure: the establishment of a "Federation of the Cameroons" in which the Southern Cameroons would be a small self-governing State with a governmental and legislative structure based on its existing one and with representation in a common federal parliament.

103. The Mission asked Mr Foncha what course he would take if he found it impossible to reach agreement with the Government of the Cameroons under French administration on a formula for unification. He replied that in that case the Southern Cameroons would emerge from Trusteeship as an independent State in its own right. But he and his colleagues in the party seemed confident that an acceptable basis for unification could be found; he also disclosed that he had already had some contacts with leaders of at least one of the parties constituting the present Government of the other Territory.

104. The One Kamerun (OK) party expressed to the Mission political objectives similar to, although quite independent of those of the KNDP. It is naturally for "secession" in the sense that it seeks the immediate unification and independence of the two Cameroons. But in the Mission's experience it devotes much less of its spoken and written argument - nearly all of it in French - to those objectives than it does to recriminations about the past and to demands for complete amnesty for everybody connected with the UPC and its affiliates.

105. The principal spokesman of the OK party encountered by the Mission was Mr. Joseph Kamsi, who presented in Kumba, in the name of the party, a memorandum in the French language, the text of which is to be found in the annexes to the report.^{1/} In this Mr. Kamsi argued that the people of both Trust Territories had already "decided" in favour of unity and independence, and that appropriate action should therefore be taken to bring it about.

The role of the chiefs in politics

106. Another important element in Southern Cameroons politics is the role of the traditional chiefs. Although they vary enormously in genuine authority and in the extent of their influence, many of them appear to play a part in public affairs - not only in local administration but also in the shaping of opinion on the main political issues - which none of the political parties proper can afford to ignore.

107. This is especially true of the grasslands chiefs in the northern half of the Southern Cameroons, who include in the persons of the Fons the strongest traditional authorities in the country. In the past these chiefs gave their support on the whole to Dr. Endeley; in the last year or so, however, some of them had seemingly changed their position in favour of Mr. Foncha and the KNDP. A "Southern Cameroons Chiefs' Conference" convening from time to time issued pronouncements that, at least during 1958, were hostile to the KNC/KPP Alliance and gave support to the "secessionist" policy of the KNDP. Its principal spokesmen are the Fon of Bali and the Fon of Bafut, two of the leading chiefs (a third, the Fon of Nsaw, continues to favour federation with Nigeria), and some of its manifestoes contain the names of a score of lesser chiefs not only in the grasslands area but also in Mamfe, Kumba and Victoria.

108. The "Chiefs' Conference" intervened on the side of the KNDP in the controversy at the beginning of the year concerning the introduction of the ministerial system before elections could be held. In May, after his installation as Premier, Dr. Endeley made a policy statement on the position of the chiefs in general in

^{1/} See Annex II (d).

which he said that the Government would concern itself with their preservation as a valuable traditional institution. The chiefs had a useful stabilizing influence among the people, and the Government would seek to co-operate with them in everything it did: "But we shall also expect that in their own interest, Chiefs and traditional rulers must keep clear of party politics... as this will only expose them to the disdain of a section of their subjects. Any chief who persists, despite this timely advice, to participate in party politics does so at his own risk".

109. Later in the year, however, after the KNC had appointed a grasslands chief, the newly promoted Fon of Bum, as its adviser at the resumed London Conference, and left the Fon of Bali (who had participated in the 1957 conference) out of its delegation, the "Chiefs' Conference" protested that this had been done without consultation with them and that they had no confidence in the KNC/KPP Government. As if in response to the Government's statement of policy towards them, they declared that while they were duly aware of the fact that the chieftaincy was a traditional institution they nevertheless reserved "the right to interfere with and correct the affairs of the country when it is realised that things are going radically wrong". The moment had arrived, they said, for such "interference", because they and their people wanted not to be "integrated" with Nigeria but to "secede" from it.

110. The Fon of Bafut, as president of the "Chiefs' Conference", sent the Mission a copy of this statement, which had been addressed to the London Conference and signed by the Fon of Bali and twenty-two other chiefs. In a covering memorandum^{1/} the Fon of Bafut insisted that the people of the Territory demanded "secession" from the Federation of Nigeria. He said nothing, however, about unification: the purpose of "secession" would be "to concentrate on much harder work towards self-government and independence outside the Federation of Nigeria as a direct member of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

111. On the other hand, as stated elsewhere in its report,^{2/} the Mission met several important Fons and chiefs who gave their support to the programme of the KNC/KPP Alliance.

^{1/} See Annex II (c).

^{2/} See Annex I.

C. THE NORTHERN CAMEROONS

1. Description, administration and development

General

112. Although it has been not only possible but also indispensable for the Visiting Mission to portray the Southern Cameroons as, within limits, a distinct geographical and political unit, this cannot be done in the case of the Northern Cameroons. Geographically, this consists of two parts separated by a strip of Nigerian territory some 45 miles wide; and from the political and administrative points of view it consists of three main parts whose boundaries are dictated not by geography but by their relationship with the governmental structure of Northern Nigeria at the regional and local levels.

113. On the basis of 1957 population estimates, more than 760,000 people are divided between these three areas. The smallest is the group of three districts, Tigon, Ngoro and Kentu, just north of the Southern Cameroons boundary, where only 12,800 people were counted at the last census in 1952. These are administered as part of a Northern Nigerian administrative division, that of Wukari, which in turn forms part of the Benue Province. Until recently isolated and difficult of access, these hilly districts have been opened up by a new road from Donga, near Wukari, in Nigeria.

114. Also adjoining the Southern Cameroons, but further to the east, is the southermost of two segments of the Trust Territory that are administered as a part of the Adamawa Province of Nigeria. It begins with the Mambilla plateau, a continuation of the grasslands country of Bamenda, averaging over 5,000 feet in height and covering an area of about 1,400 square miles. The very abrupt escarpment of the plateau has constituted a formidable barrier to communications between the northern and southern sections of the Trust Territory. The Federal Government has, however, earmarked £480,000 for an all-season road which will cross the plateau to link Yola and Bamenda, and an air survey of the escarpment has been made to help the road engineers decide where the route should run. The opening up of all-season communications in this part of the Trust Territory is a pre-requisite to all other forms of development. Further north lies a long line of broken rocky hills, through which the Benue River valley forms a corridor.

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It is in this vicinity that the Trust Territory lapses for a distance of approximately forty-five miles and Nigerian territory proper runs through it to the frontier with the Cameroons under French administration. The Adamawa part of the Trust Territory begins again in the hills north of the river. These two Adamawa segments, taken together, have a population of well over 400,000; the density averages 141 in the northern part, where the hill "pagans" predominate. 115. Before the mountains abruptly fall away, the third part of the Northern Cameroons begins. This is Dikwa, the only administrative district and Native Authority area wholly within the Trust Territory. Beyond the mountains, for about one hundred miles south of Lake Chad, the land is flat and baked hard in the long dry season; the annual rainfall is only a little over twenty inches. The population of Dikwa is close to 300,000.

116. Most of the northerners rely on the soil for their living. Guinea corn is the principal crop and is a staple in the local diet. In recent years, schemes for the improvement of the quality of the grain as well as the increase of its yield have been developed. Notably, the clay flats, or firakis of Dikwa, have been mechanically flooded, allowing a dry-season cereal to be produced. Cotton and groundnuts have also been developed for export. Cattle is grazed, but its economic importance is not yet large.

The relationship with Northern Nigeria

117. The very close nature of the association of the Northern Cameroons with Northern Nigeria has made it, for all practical purposes, a part of the special political system which applies to the whole vast Northern Region. This system, however much it has already been adapted to changing conditions and integrated into a modern structure of regional government distinguishes the Northern Region from the other units of the Federation of Nigeria and not least from the Southern Cameroons. To understand the development of the present political as well as constitutional situation in the Northern Cameroons, it is essential to know

something of the history and the characteristics of the broader political system within which the peoples under trusteeship have been encompassed.^{1/}

118. Indeed, it may be said that the effect of the arrangements made to administer these peoples with Northern Nigeria was to return them to a system to which they had historically belonged. The Northern Region and, in particular, the northern part of the Northern Region, is part of the area known to historians and geographers as the Western Sudan. This is an area to which the northern sections of both the Trust Territories of the Cameroons also historically belonged and into which, from the beginning of what in Europe would be the Middle Ages until recently, there has been a constantly renewed infiltration of people from the north-east, who have moved along the southern fringe of the Sahara desert, bringing with them memories of the civilizations of Egypt and of Western Asia and later the faith, the law and the learning of Islam. They formed states, which rose and fell in power and which expanded and retracted their spheres of influence. There emerged among them the idea of a City State - a city with organized control over the population of a territory which might vary considerably in size, but which produced a ruling class and a system of administration even before the coming of Islam. When Islam was superimposed on this civilization, bringing written law and a cadre of judges, a fiscal system and administrative officials, there resulted something far more like the society of the Middle East than anything to be found in Forest Africa or among the Bantu of East or Central Africa.

119. In the areas which came under British rule, the latter influenced and modified this Islamic society, which continues strong today in the large Emirates of the northern part of the Northern Region and extends in varying degrees towards the south and east. It embraces in particular, in the case of the Trust Territory, the Emirate of Dikwa and those parts of Adamawa that lie in the Cameroons.

^{1/} One of the principal sources of the Mission's information on this subject is the report of a Commission appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in September 1957 to inquire into the position of minorities in the Federation of Nigeria. ("Nigeria: Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the fears of minorities and the means of allaying them," July 1958). The Trust Territory as such was not included in the scope of the inquiry, and the Mission has limited its reference to the report to the historical and descriptive information in it which is relevant to the situation of the Northern Cameroons.

There is the faith and the law of Islam; there is a tribal grouping, the combination of the Fulani, the Hausa, the Nupe and the Kanuri, all formerly ruling tribes, most of whom have long been adherents of Islam; there is the Hausa language, widely used as a lingua franca; there is a system of administration based on the traditional authority of the Emir - all these elements fusing to make what may for convenience be called the "northern system". There are some sections of the Northern Region where the inhabitants are still pagan, where the Hausa language is little used, where Islamic law is hardly understood; these areas occur more and more frequently as one moves southward and eastward. The small Tigon, Ndoro and Kentu districts of the Northern Cameroons form part of a larger area of this kind. There are pagan populations as well in the hills of Dikwa and Adamawa: they form indeed, a majority of the Trust Territory population of Adamawa; but the "northern system", represented by the Adamawa Emirate headed by the Lamido at Yola, encompasses them.

120. By the time that British influence became established in Nigeria, the doctrine of "Indirect Rule" was in the process of development - the principle of using, and also gradually improving and adapting, existing traditional authorities as a means of administration. When the Protectorate was proclaimed, the Emirs were assured that their religion and customs would not be interfered with; the assurance has been observed with scrupulous fidelity and the whole "northern system" - of which the Northern Cameroons became for administrative purposes a part until recently has thus escaped the impact of outside influences. This fact helps to explain the slower development of education in the North. It also accounts for the character and the strength of the present structures of local administration; in the Emirates the first British administrators found established systems of administration with a juridical body of Alkalai and a fiscal system of some complexity and these remain the basis of local government today. When there was an Emir with centralized authority it was easy to apply the system of "Indirect Rule"; the Emir was given a letter of appointment and it was thus made clear that he was a dependent ruler, subject to the law and to the supreme authority of the Crown; at the same time British officials were instructed that they must not take the place of the Emirs but guide and advise them in the early years. In such areas the Emir ruled through African District

Heads who were appointed by him and were officials; in the Northern Cameroons subsequently, this was the pattern applied to Dikwa Emirate. A mainly pagan area which formed part of an Emirate was usually knitted into the system by the appointment of District Heads, usually Fulani or Hausa but sometimes a local pagan chief; it was along these lines that the Trust Territory portions of the Adamawa Emirate were absorbed into the system.

121. Although for a long time the Northern Region, and with it the Northern Cameroons, remained hardly affected by movements of opinion in the world outside, in the last five years there have been changes which ten years ago would have seemed revolutionary. Since 1951 a beginning has been made with elections to parliamentary institutions; although previous elections have usually been indirect and in the primary stage often by show of hands, there will be direct adult male suffrage at the 1959 federal elections. The Emir has become the Emir-in-Council and in most Emirates an elected element has been added to his Council. In some Emirates there is an advisory council which meets to discuss matters referred to it and give an opinion; sometimes the advisory council elects members to the Native Authority, that is to say the Emir-in-Council.

Local administration

122. The great majority of the people of the Northern Cameroons live within two such Emirates and under the jurisdiction of the Native Authorities based on them: the Dikwa Native Authority, consisting of the Emir-in-Council, and the Adamawa Native Authority, consisting of the Lamido-in-Council. Only Dikwa is entirely under trusteeship, but even so it is closely associated with the greater Bornu emirate. A large part of Adamawa, including its headquarters at Yola, lies in Nigeria proper. The remaining small area under trusteeship - the Tigon, Ngoro and Kentu districts - is subordinate to the Wukari Federated Native Authority, and much further removed from the heart of the "northern system".

123. These Native Authorities are responsible for local government in their areas, with the guidance and advice of administrative and departmental officers responsible to the regional administration. Each Native Authority area is subdivided into Districts and these in turn into village areas. Within a district the Native Authority's senior representative is the District Head. He may be a traditional chief or a public servant appointed by the Native Authority. Some responsibilities

for law and order are delegated to him but essentially he is a full-time, paid administrative official. The true local government authority at the district level is a District Council, formally constituted by law, and containing a majority of members elected by a system of direct election by the taxpayers. District Councils have an important advisory function and are also permitted to levy tax rates for local services. In the Trust Territory there are also two Town Councils, one at Mubi in Adamawa, and the other at Bama in Dikwa. Their status is similar to that of a District Council, but there are minor differences of detail reflecting the different requirements of an urban and a rural population.

124. In the village area the Native Authority's representative is the Village Head, a part-time post which is filled by election. His main responsibilities are to assist with the collection of the tax and to act as spokesman for the village and its link with the District Head and the Native Authority. Most village areas also have an advisory village council.

125. In Adamawa, the Native Authority, with whose members the Mission had discussions, consists of the Lamido, three traditional Fulani councillors, three non-Fulani title-holders and District Heads (two of these, Maiha and Sugu, come from the Trust Territory); six administrative councillors nominated by the Native Authority and responsible for one or more Native Authority Departments; six members elected from an advisory Outer Council to represent the northern, central and southern areas of the Emirate (three of these come from the Trust Territory) and two members representing special interests. The Outer Council consists of 31 District Headmen and 43 representatives elected on a population basis. It meets twice a year.

126. In Dikwa, as a result of recent reorganizations, the Native Authority - which the Mission also met - now consists of the Emir, the District Heads of Bama and Gwoza, the local government secretary, the head veterinary assistant, the manager of the Native Authority schools, the senior dispensary attendant, a legal advisor and one administrative councillor. The Minister of Trade and Industry in the Northern Region Government is also a Member of the Council. An advisory Outer Council has as its chairman a member of the Native Authority, and it consists of the eight District Heads, 26 members of the District Councils, two members of the Bama Town Council and six members nominated by the Native Authority to represent special interests. Elections for the Outer Council as

well as District and Village Councils were held between the months of April and June 1957. The secret ballot was used in the advanced stages of the elections, which, the Mission was informed, resulted in the bringing in of a good deal of new blood and some of the younger men. A start has also been made in securing popular representation at the highest level in the administration by obtaining authority for the election of members from the Outer Council and the Bama Town Council to the Native Authority Council.

127. In the remaining part of the Northern Cameroons there were, until recently, three small Native Authorities: the Tigon District Council, the Ndoro Tribal Council and the Kentu District Council. Because of disunity among themselves they were making slow progress in local government. In June 1958, however, all of the chiefs and elders agreed that one United Native Authority, subordinate to the Wukari Federated Native Authority, should be formed. The new authority, constituted on 14 August 1958, is called the United Hills Native Authority. It consists of sixteen recognized chiefs and twenty-two members elected by secret ballot.

Regional administration

128. The Native Authority Administrations complement that of the Northern Region proper. In each of the three provinces to which a part of the Northern Cameroons belongs the Regional Government is represented by a Resident, who works under the direction of the Premier's Office. One of his primary duties is, together with provincial representatives of the various Regional Ministries and with the Native Authorities, to further by all means the co-ordination and execution of the approved policies of the Ministries. The Northern Regional Government is administered by a Governor and Executive Council. The latter body consists apart from the Governor as president and one ex-officio member (the Attorney-General) of African ministers: the Premier and nineteen others appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Premier. Two of these, the Hon. Abba Habib, Minister of Trade and Industry, and the Hon. Abdullahi Dan Buram Jada, Minister of Animal Health and Forestry and Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs, are from the Trust Territory. The Mission had several useful discussions with the two latter, and the Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs accompanied it throughout its visit. It also had discussions

at Kaduna, the seat of the regional government, with the Governor, the Premier and several other members of the Executive Council.

129. The Northern Regional Government created the office of Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs in April 1955, in order to ensure that special attention should be given to the particular problems of the Trust Territory. The Minister is assisted, moreover, by a Consultative Committee for the Northern Cameroons, a meeting of which was attended by the Mission at Mubi. The Committee consists of the Minister as chairman, the two Trust Territory members of the House of Chiefs (the Lamido of Adamawa and the Emir of Dikwa), all members of Trust Territory constituencies in both the Northern House of Assembly and the Federal House of Representatives, plus six special members chosen by their local councils to represent the more remote areas in the southern part of the Northern Cameroons. It meets twice yearly, once in the Trust Territory and once in Kaduna. Its terms of reference are to advise the Executive Council of the Northern Region as to the particular needs of the Northern Cameroons and to make recommendations to the Council. It has a special duty to keep the Government informed of Northern Cameroons opinion on regional legislation and is able, through its chairman, to make known to the Executive Council any views which it may have on proposed legislation or on the needs for additional legislation. In respect of matters of exclusively Federal jurisdiction, the Committee may ask the Regional Government to make representations to the Federal Government, and the four members of the Committee who are elected members of the Federal House of Representatives are able in that House to represent Northern Cameroons' opinion on particular issues. In 1957, the Committee was constituted a formal sub-committee of the Executive Council of the Region, ensuring that all its proceedings are circulated to the Ministers as Cabinet papers.

Progress and problems of the Northern Cameroons

130. The Mission does not feel that it would serve a useful purpose to duplicate here the information already amply available to the Trusteeship Council concerning the economic, social and other conditions in the various parts of the Northern Cameroons. It must report, however, that it gained an impression of accelerated activity in the development of those areas in which it stayed and through which it passed.

131. This was no doubt partly due to the fact that in October 1957, the Northern Regional Government agreed as a matter of policy that special priority should be given to the development of the Northern Cameroons and directed that all Ministers should as a matter of urgency submit memoranda to the Executive Council containing their proposals for putting this policy decision into practical effect. Proposals were subsequently submitted and approved by the Council.

132. The principal regional ministries operating in the Northern Cameroons are those concerned with agriculture, animal health, education, health, local government, social welfare and co-operatives and works. They function in close association with the Native Authorities, whose own services embrace in particular district and village administration, native courts, local police and prisons, public works, schools, and veterinary, medical health, agricultural and forestry services. Another agency concerned with the economic development of the Northern Cameroons, in addition to Government departments, is the Northern Region Development Corporation, whose purpose is to encourage agricultural and industrial development in the Northern Region by directly investing its funds in projects for the benefit of the area. It has given assistance to a tsetse control scheme in Adamawa and issued a loan to the Adamawa Native Authority to finance improvements in the Jada Market and a loan for general market improvements to the Dikwa Native Authority.

133. The improvement of primary production and, through it, the expansion of trade, is the fundamental need of the Northern Cameroons as a whole, and the striking attention being given to the reconstruction of main roads is an essential part of this process. The Federal Government is also responsible for the provision of the main trunk roads. Five roads either projected, under construction or nearing completion pass to or through the Trust Territory. The federal estimates show that more than £650,000 will be spent during the fiscal year 1958/59 on them; the total estimated expenditure from 1955 to 1962 on these roads amounts to £2,039,000.

134. There are other problems peculiar to the Northern Cameroons. In the Mambilla Plateau area, for example, an elementary need is to eliminate friction and competition between the local farming population and the nomad, cattle-owning Fulani and to make the latter a settled mixed farmer. When the area is opened up by roads this competition is expected to intensify, but the roads will make

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it easier to deal with the problem as well. For the settled farmers, coffee has been introduced on the plateau, and a small but steady increase in plantings has been reported. Experiments are being made in other parts of Southern Adamawa Trust Territory with kola nuts, oil palms and rice. In the Dikwa Division, the most serious agricultural problem is water storage and the opening up of the area is dependent upon improved water supplies. Twenty surface-water reservoirs known as "tapkis" have been excavated in the Trust Territory at a cost of £230,000, and artesian and sub-artesian water has recently been discovered in part of the division. In the Benue part of the Trust Territory, the completion of the Donga-Abong road is expected to do a great deal to open up the area to agricultural extension work and to new experiments. Oil palm, kola trees, cocoa and coffee have already been introduced.

Further constitutional developments

135. The Northern Region has of its own will lagged slightly behind the other regions of Nigeria in constitutional development. At the time of the Mission's visit, however, it was making preparations for the attainment on 15 March 1959 of regional self-government on the same basis as the others.

136. The spheres of competence of the Northern Regional legislatures are determined by legislative lists as they are in the case of the other Regions and the Southern Cameroons. The Northern Cameroons elects four members of the Federal House of Representatives - two from Dikwa Division and two from the Adamawa parts of the Trust Territory. A fifth member, elected from Wukari Division, represents the interests of the population in the Benue part of the Trust Territory.

137. Among the recommendations of the 1957 London conference directly affecting the Trust Territory was one increasing the elected membership of the next House of Assembly from 131 to 170. For the Federal House of Representatives a Delimitation Commission has made recommendations for the division of the Federation into single member electoral districts of approximately equal population. The Commission reported that in arranging constituencies for the Adamawa, Dikwa and Wukari divisions as a whole it had to consider the unusual situation that two separate parts of Adamawa, the whole of Dikwa and a small portion of the Wukari division were included in the Trust Territory. It allotted eight seats to the whole Adamawa Division, and since approximately half the population lives in the

Trust Territory they were entitled to four seats. The four constituencies lie wholly within the Trust Territory, for while the Commission believed that so far as community of interest was concerned the trusteeship boundary was almost irrelevant, and not much noticed by the people who live nearby, it was satisfied that, taking a long view and having in mind the interest of the United Nations, it was desirable chiefly for external reasons to have constituencies which did not cross the Trust Territory boundary. In the Wukari division, however, the Commission found it almost impossible to do likewise, since only about 13,000 out of a total of 136,700 people in the Division lived in the Trust Territory and there was little or no communication over the mountains with the remainder of the Trust Territory. The Commission saw no alternative but to group these people with the remainder of the Wukari Division. No difficulty arose with regard to Dikwa Division because it, unlike the other two, lay wholly within the Trust Territory; Dikwa was allotted three seats, bringing the number of exclusively Trust Territory constituencies to seven.

138. In July and August 1958, the Legislative Houses of the Northern Region approved a White Paper which the Regional Government tabled containing proposals for the attainment of self-government by the Northern Region on 15 March 1959. The proposals for self-government followed the pattern established in 1957 for the Eastern and Western Regions; certain variations appropriate to the circumstances of the Northern Region were also included. Among these, the Governor would retain general reserve powers in relation to the Northern Cameroons to enable the United Kingdom Government as the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory to ensure the discharge of its obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement.

139. The resumed constitutional conference, held in London in September and October 1958, considered the proposals and recommended that constitutional provision should be made for the Northern Region to become self-governing on 15 March 1959, in respect of all matters within its competence.^{1/}

140. Among other changes proposed in the Northern Region's White Paper, and accepted by the resumed conference, were those concerning the public service. A regional service is to be established to which appointments will be made locally without approval by or consultation with the Secretary of State. To this service, Nigerian officers serving in the existing public service of the Region will be transferred. Candidates from overseas will also be eligible for

^{1/} See Annex III.

appointment to the local service. In this connexion, the Premier of the Northern Region declared when he addressed the Mission at Kaduna that the serious shortage of expatriate professional staff was one of the factors gravely hampering the Region as a whole. While his Government was making every effort to train both administrative and technical staff from the people of the Region, it welcomed and continued to recruit overseas staff to fill the gap, until the time when the Region would be able to fulfil its requirements from its own resources.

2. Views of the people concerning their future

General

141. The discussions which the Visiting Mission had in the Northern Cameroons, the hearings which it gave to official and unofficial representatives of almost every district and the written views which it received from many others left it with the strong impression that for most of the people "government" still means "local government", in other words the Native Authority. No doubt this arises from the strength of the Native Authorities, especially those of long standing and tradition: the division of powers between the Regional Government and the local authorities is indeed such that the emirate enjoys a high degree of local autonomy.

142. There is certainly no evident feeling that the Northern Cameroons has a distinct identity. On the other hand the idea, as well as the institutions, of the Northern Region as a political whole have clearly begun to assume importance. The political horizon is broadening from a local to a regional one, and in this transition those in the Northern Cameroons who express interest in the future are taking part. It is, in fact, not too difficult a process because of the close association which the traditional authorities have with the regional executive and legislative institutions. They are not only strongly represented there in their own right; in addition, the political party which for the time being solidly dominates the elective representation - the Northern People's Congress (NPC) - is in effect their party.

143. It needs to be understood, and this is freely recognized, that the Northern Region as a whole has remained an Islamic society, singularly unaffected by change in the rest of the world. Islamic law of the Maliki school is

administered, purdah is observed by women and political and administrative innovations are in some quarters regarded with disfavour. According to the Mission's information, however, there has grown up a concept of the Northern Region as a single entity and the unity of all its peoples is the professed objective of the Northern People's Congress. It is to be noted that of the twenty African members of the Regional Executive Council, four are Christians, seven are neither Fulani nor Hausa, and seven come from the areas mainly outside the "northern system".

144. It is argued by the NPC that the tradition of the North, in which Islam and the Hausa language both play a part, is a unifying element; tribal parties are formed to represent local interests, but they ally themselves, it is claimed, with the Northern People's Congress. There are however elements of opposition to the Government, to the NPC and to the "northern system", and these are having some influence within the Northern Cameroons. There is first the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), a Hausa party with its headquarters in Kano, but described on the whole as a party of artisans and peasants, whose leader expresses a belief in democratic ideas and wishes to modify the traditional rule in the North. Secondly, there is the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), which was formed in 1955 from two smaller parties representing minorities lying within the Region but outside the "northern system". It is a pagan and Christian party, and has the support of the Action Group, the Government party in Western Nigeria. In the Trust Territory the UMBC/Action Group alliance was actively preparing for the federal elections due towards the end of 1959.

145. There have been two elections to the Northern Region legislature, in 1951 and 1956, and there was an election to the Federal Legislature in 1954. At the first of these three elections, there is reported to have been little interest in national politics and the successful candidates were people well-known in their constituencies. In 1954, party politics first made their appearance seriously, when the NPC won 84 out of 92 seats, including all the constituencies wholly or partly within the Trust Territory, the UMBC and its allies won 7, and the Action Group one. In the 1956 election the NPC won 100 seats out of 131, including all the Trust Territory seats, losing 11 seats to the UMBC and 6 to the NEPU, with a number to independents and to various small local parties; the Action Group

won only one seat under its own name, though it supported some of the other opposition parties. In the Northern Cameroons as in the Region as a whole, the 1956 elections were governed by regulations^{1/} which laid it down that an adult male should be eligible to vote, subject to the qualification of a year's residence in his primary electoral area, or the birth of the elector or his father within that area. There were five rural constituencies within the Trust Territory - two in Dikwa and three in Adamawa. The Tigon-Ndoro-Kentu districts formed part of the mainly Nigerian constituency of Wukari. The constituencies were divided into primary electoral areas (and in some cases intermediate areas) where, by overt methods, the qualified electors chose those who would vote by secret ballot in the final electoral colleges. The practical result in the Dikwa North constituency, for example, was that 36,629 taxpayers divided into 52 primary areas returned 114 members to a final electoral college; in this case, however, there was only one candidate, who was therefore returned unopposed. In the Trust Territory area as a whole, about one half of the total electorate of some 64,000 people were thought to have taken part. Both of the Dikwa elected members, all three from the Adamawa constituencies, and the member whose district includes Tigon, Kentu and Ndoro, stood as or later declared themselves to be representatives of the NPC.

146. In the next electoral test - the Nigerian federal elections to be held towards the end of 1959 - there will be substantial changes in procedure, since the new regulations drafted for the purpose apply to the Federation as a whole and nearly all of the special features of the previous northern procedures will give way to the systematic and carefully safeguarded methods to which the southern regions are already accustomed. The elections will be at a single stage, and the balloting direct and secret. One outstanding difference will remain: in the Northern Region males alone will have the vote. The Mission learned that Moslem opinion in the Region as a whole remains opposed to the extension of suffrage to women. At Mubi in the Northern Cameroons, among the members of the Consultative Committee, it encountered the traditional objection of the Moslem peoples to the grant of the vote to women: namely, that their religion and culture kept women out of public life and they were consequently not in a position to express their views on public affairs. It was also argued that only a person who had become

^{1/} Northern House of Assembly (Elected Members) Electoral Regulations, 1956.

adult in the sense of having assumed civic responsibilities, and especially that of paying tax, could be reasonably entitled to exercise the vote, and that was not yet the case of the women of the north; moreover, only a small fraction of them had been educated. Finally, these representatives were able to point to the example of other countries which, however more highly developed than their own, had either delayed the introduction of female suffrage or decided against it. They did not necessarily envisage that the vote would never be extended to the northern women; it was rather a matter which time would resolve - a view which in the present circumstances seems well founded, at least in regard to the Moslem women.

147. Such political opposition as now exists in the Northern Cameroons, and as may develop further during the coming year, may be more precisely measured by means of the results in the Territory of the federal elections at the end of the year. That political parties and individual political dissenters are challenging the party of the traditional authorities is in the Mission's view a healthy sign and is bound to stimulate the future progress of the north. Among other things, it serves as a reminder of the eventual political advancement of the pagan tribes. They are said to be notably vigorous and virile peoples, increasingly eager to send their children to school and to improve themselves in other ways, and there is no doubt that before long those who count on their political support will increasingly have to seek it by persuasion and demonstration, and with less reliance on the weight of tradition.

148. The Mission encountered some evidence that the stirrings of open political dissent in the Territory have occasionally and not unexpectedly given rise to a certain amount of friction. In Mubi (Adamawa) members of the local branch of the UMBC complained to the Mission that representatives of the Native Authority had used threats, intimidation and unlawful arrests to suppress opinions contrary to their own. They said that six members of the UMBC/AG Alliance had been arrested during the few weeks preceding the Mission's visit. This latter proved to be true and, moreover, to have had political overtones in at least one case. The complaints, however, had not passed unnoticed nor were they being allowed, where well-founded, to go without redress. The Resident was investigating them all, and one case had already been rectified. The Lamido of Adamawa himself had

expressed concern over some of the convictions and had undertaken to warn executive members of the Native Authority that there must never be any interference with the judiciary. The Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs had also taken the matter up with the full Native Authority Council. The Mission learned, as a matter of general relevance to this question, that the judicial system of the Northern Region had recently been examined by a Panel of Jurists appointed by the Northern Region Government. Their report, which had expressed the opinion that the system was open to abuse unless a satisfactory system of supervision was established, had been accepted in principle, and this was expected to lead to a number of reforms aimed at providing more adequate safeguards in dispensing justice. In addition, the Mission noted that the resumed Nigeria constitutional conference had agreed that guarantees of fundamental rights, including freedom of speech and assembly, should be included in the constitution of the independent Federation of Nigeria, and also that the Governor-General had given an assurance, in regard to the forthcoming federal elections, that it would be his purpose to ensure that the widest possible latitude consonant with the maintenance of law and order would be afforded to all political parties to propagate their views throughout Nigeria, particularly in the periods preceding the registration of voters and the elections.

149. As far as the Mission feels able to judge, the present weight of public support in the Northern Cameroons is preponderantly on the side of the government party (the Northern Peoples' Congress) and the Native Authorities and District Councils - all of them, as had been shown, now possessing elected elements - which give almost unqualified support to it. For the Mission's purpose, moreover, the most important aspect of the dissenting views, expressed either through the opposition political parties or through local groups and individuals unconnected with the parties, is that they relate to matters of internal policy and administrative method, and do not call into question the continued association of the Northern Cameroons with the Northern Region of Nigeria.

Views expressed to the Mission

150. The history of trusteeship in the Northern Cameroons shows that in the beginning there were only a few voices that could speak with authority on the destiny of its several parts and the peoples living in them. These voices were, above all, those of the Emirs and their traditional advisers; and they insisted

that their people desired neither to be separated from Northern Nigeria nor even, while still maintaining some organic link with it, to be brought into a closer administrative relationship with the Southern Cameroons.

151. The Mission found the Emirs saying the same thing today, but now they speak with the support of many other voices. They themselves are surrounded by councils widely representative of groups within the community. There are elected councils in the districts; there are elected Cameroonians sitting in the regional and federal legislatures; there are political parties, for and against the Government, with active organizers and spokesmen; and there is an immeasurably larger number than ten years ago of men who are ready to express an opinion. Almost without exception - and this exception relates, as far as it may be valid, to the border areas near the Southern Cameroons - all who spoke to the Mission conceived of no other future for the Northern Cameroons than as a part of the Northern Region and thus, in 1960, as part of the independent Federation of Nigeria.

152. There is only one body which can be said to be in any sense representative of the Northern Cameroons as a whole. This is the Consultative Committee whose composition and functions, as described earlier, entitle it in the Mission's opinion to speak the minds of the people with all the authority that can be expected in the present circumstances of public opinion and expression. At Mubi, in the Mission's presence, the Consultative Committee debated and adopted unanimously a resolution in which, considering that the Northern Cameroons had a common culture, tradition, language and administration with the Northern Region of Nigeria, it reaffirmed that the wish of the people under trusteeship was to remain with the Northern Region when Nigeria received its independence in 1960.

153. In discussing the subject further with the Mission, members of the Committee from the Adamawa parts of the Trust Territory, from the Gwoza District in the Dikwa Emirate, from the Benue portion of the Trust Territory and from the Mambilla plateau, all supported that position. Nor did any of the representatives consider that the Northern Cameroons should be united with the Southern Cameroons. The word "Cameroons", they said, was a foreign word to them, for before German times their people had been part and parcel of the Northern Emirates and they wished to remain so. By the same token none of them were in favour of the

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reunification as such of the two Cameroons: their attitude was that the neighbouring parts of the Cameroons under French administration which in their opinion had traditionally belonged to the Adamawa Emirate should be returned to it.

154. Five of the elected members of the Committee, in a separate memorandum submitted in their capacity as representatives in the regional and federal legislatures, set out a list of the substantial advantages which in their opinion the Northern Cameroons had derived from its association with Northern Nigeria: reforms in local government, improvements in agriculture, medical services, education and communications; political advancement, and religious freedom. They made it clear that neither they, nor in their opinion the people who had elected them, desired or expected any change in the relationship with Nigeria.

155. At Yola the Lamido of Adamawa, meeting the Mission with members of his council, expressed the belief that the people in the Adamawa parts of the Trust Territory "will never support any proposal of separation from Nigeria". He was well aware of the fact that the Prime Minister of the Cameroons under French administration had by this time expressed his country's desire for the unification of the two Cameroons; but the Lamido's conception of unification was, like that of his predecessors, that "we will welcome the idea of our brothers in the French Cameroons wanting to join us within Nigeria as we were before the German occupation".

156. At Bama, the Dikwa Native Authority declared that prior to German administration, Dikwa had been part of Bornu and that it was possible for an emir of Dikwa to become the Shehu of Bornu, the highest traditional authority in that emirate. It was therefore natural that Dikwa should wish to continue to be an integral part of Bornu and thereby associate with the Northern Region.

157. Among all of the District and Village Heads and the members of the District Council whom the Mission met - and it believes that every district in the Northern Cameroons was represented before it in this way - the feeling was the same. They were all of the opinion that the inhabitants of the Northern Trust Territory would oppose any proposal of separation from Nigeria and that the areas concerned belonged properly, in fact, to the Provinces with which they were administered and should therefore remain a part of the Northern Region of Nigeria.

158. The Sardauna of Sokoto, the Premier of the Northern Region, whom the Mission met at Kaduna, considered it difficult for anyone knowing the Trust Territory to conceive of any political future - taking into account the factors of history, geography and economics - which could bring greater benefits to its inhabitants than that they should throw in their lot with an independent Nigeria and within the Northern Region. He made it understood, however, that the matter was for the people concerned, and for them only, freely to decide for themselves.

159. None of the political parties nor of the independent groups making representations to the Mission foresaw a future for the Northern Cameroons separate from that of the Northern Region of the Federation of Nigeria. They did part company, however, as to the manner in which the Territory should be administered within the Region. Both the elected representative of the Northern Cameroons in the Regional House of Assembly and in the Federal House of Representatives - all members of the Northern People's Congress - and the Adamawa and Dikwa branches of the NPC wanted the administrative relationship with the Northern Region to remain as it is. The legislative representatives of the Adamawa part of the Trust Territory in particular adamantly opposed any move to separate that area from Adamawa proper, and the Adamawa branch of the NPC declared that it was the earnest will of all responsible people in the Territory to remain always with Adamawa.

160. On the other hand, delegations from the United Middle Belt Congress/Action Group (UMBC/AG) Alliance, and from the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) as well as other groups in the Adamawa Province argued that while the Northern Cameroons should remain a part of Nigeria, there should be reforms of an internal kind. They asked that each of the Adamawa parts of the Trust Territory should be given the status of a division with its own separate Native Authority, so that indigenous pagan elements could play a fuller part in the administration of local government which was at present in their view too much the preserve of authorities appointed from Yola. It is to be noted that eight of the fourteen District Heads, although appointed from Yola, are in fact indigenous to the Trust Territory; but this fact does not wholly meet the argument for a Native Authority closer to the people.

161. The same kind of request came to the Mission, apparently independently, from a group of people who said they had spent four days travelling from the Southern

Districts of Adamawa to see it, and it was also contained in a number of written communications from the same area. There was a disposition to blame the relative backwardness of their part of the country on the remoteness of Yola, and to argue that if the Trust Territory districts were a separate administrative division they would receive more attention.

162. Similarly, while the UMBC local branch at Mubi favoured the Northern Cameroons remaining within the Northern Region of Nigeria, it also took its main stand on the argument that a separate Native Authority should be established for the five districts comprising the Northern Adamawa section of the Trust Territory. Its representatives complained that these districts were unduly subject to the interests of the ruling families of Adamawa.

163. None of the representatives of the District Councils whom the Mission met from the districts concerned, however, put forward requests for a change in the administrative system. And it was the contention of the NPC that the idea of separating the districts from Adamawa was the result of agitation by "outside parties" - meaning those in Eastern and Western Nigeria with which the opposition parties in the north have some form of alliance.

164. Nevertheless, the Mission thinks it possible that the present situation may contain grounds for genuine discontent. It may be that in time the greater democratization of the Native Authority, the wider participation in its councils and administration of people who do not belong to the traditional ruling tribes and the improvement of communications and general development in the hill districts can be expected to diminish any grounds for serious complaint. At the present time, to the extent that a real problem exists, purely administrative measures may solve it. The Mission feels that the distance of the Trust Territory districts from Yola, the seat of the Native Authority, and the fact that the majority of the people in them are relatively under-developed pagan tribes which also have no traditional bonds with Islam, warrant at least a re-examination of the suitability of the present system of administration. It has occurred to the Mission that a possible solution would be the establishment in these districts under the Northern Region Native Authority Law, 1954, of one or more subordinate Native Authorities which, although still responsible to the authority at Yola, might have the virtue of enabling greater decentralization of local government and closer participation

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by the people in it. The Mission considers, however, that the situation deserves further study by the authorities concerned.

165. The Mission has also referred briefly at an earlier point in its report to the fact that there is some evidence from the area close to the border with the Southern Cameroons of a desire that this main administrative boundary should be redrawn to include within the Southern Cameroons an indeterminate number of people who are technically "northerners". Details of the representations made to the Mission are given elsewhere.^{1/} This, too, is a matter which the Mission thinks could usefully be investigated further, especially by means of inquiry on the spot. It concerns mainly the three small districts - or parts of them - of Tigon, Ngoro and Kentu that, taken as a whole, border on the Wum and Nkambe divisions of the Southern Cameroons. From the extreme southern parts of the adjoining Mambilla district of Adamawa, which also lies alongside Nkambe there has been another request on somewhat different grounds for a transfer to the Southern Cameroons; the Mission thinks that it might also be investigated further by the authorities concerned, perhaps more appropriately in connexion with the examination of the position of the Adamawa districts as a whole.

^{1/} See Annex I.

II. DETERMINATION OF THE FUTURE OF THE TRUST TERRITORY

General

166. In the first part of this report the Visiting Mission has set out the reasons why it is convinced that a realistic appraisal of the present situation of the Trust Territory, as well as a realistic approach to the question of its future, require that the Territory should not be regarded as an entity but should be considered in terms of two parts and two groups of peoples, northern and southern, whose history and development have taken distinctly different courses and between whom there now exist profound differences both in administrative systems and in political attitudes and loyalties.

167. The Mission is aware that to accept these circumstances and their logical consequences may not be an easy matter for all of those who are concerned with the determination of the conditions under which the Trusteeship Agreement can be terminated. They have also been accepted only with reluctance, as the Mission has shown, by the two main political parties in the Southern Cameroons, both of which have examined the possibility of bringing about administrative and political unity between the south and the north. They have failed in that objective, if for no other reason than that the representatives of the northern peoples rejected the idea and continue to do so. One of the two parties appears still to cling to the hope that unity can be achieved, but it imposes in effect a condition - the separation of the Cameroons from Nigeria - that is unacceptable to the representatives of the northern peoples. Moreover, the leaders of this southern party have stated on their own initiative that their case for unity rests on what they regard as a proper political education of the northern peoples; they have recognized that this process - even if its results should meet their expectations, which is at best an open question - must take time; they have agreed, regretfully but explicitly, that they can only "encourage our brothers in the north to fight out their own salvation separately"; and they have confirmed this by implication in announcing their intention, if they come to power in Southern Cameroons, to work towards statehood for only that part of the Trust Territory with the least possible delay.

168. Time, indeed, is at the root of the matter. In the Mission's opinion, controversy over the administrative and political separation of the Trust Territory belongs to the past. The distinction to be drawn between the northern and southern sections is a question of fact. It cannot be eliminated in the immediate future without doing violence to the wishes of all known opinion in the north, including that of the organized political opposition; and even if the passing of time could bring the northern and southern Cameroons closer together, there is no body of opinion in either part which is suggesting that the Territory should wait under trusteeship until that should happen. The Mission believes that it is faithfully interpreting informed public opinion in both sections of the Cameroons under British administration when it states that the preponderant attitude is that the moment for determining their future is at hand and cannot usefully be delayed. Their small territory, and less still its two parts, are not in a strong position to act independently of their two large neighbours, and the time-tables for the independence of both the Federation of Nigeria and the Cameroons under French administration are pressing hard upon them. Each neighbouring territory has good cause, for practical reasons, to expect from the Cameroons under British administration and also from the United Nations an expression of intentions at the earliest possible date; and while that is not the only consideration involved it would be unrealistic to ignore it, for it is impossible to say with certainty that the opportunity for independence through union will be held open indefinitely on either side.

169. If the United Nations is prepared, as the Mission has assumed it to be, to contemplate the termination of trusteeship on the basis of union with a neighbouring independent State, there is an additional reason why the option to be made by the two parts of the Territory should be considered separately. This is also a practical matter: the fact is that, except in the most unlikely event of the whole of the Territory remaining under trusteeship after October of 1960, the consequences of any decision reached by both parts must be different. Even if both sections were to decide to become part of an independent Nigeria, the Northern Cameroons would become part of the Northern Region and the Southern Cameroons a region in its own right; those are the conditions under which Nigeria is prepared to receive them. There is one other practical possibility: that the

Northern Cameroons will, as the Mission believes to be beyond doubt, choose to become part of the Northern Region, while the Southern Cameroons may wish to end its association with Nigeria.

170. The Visiting Mission, being asked by its terms of reference to give its views on the method of consultation to be adopted, accordingly submits in the first place its opinion that the wishes of the northern and southern peoples of the Trust Territory should be determined separately.

171. It follows from that opinion that the Mission deems it appropriate to set out separately its detailed observations and recommendations as to the methods of consultation of the northern and southern populations respectively. Before doing so, it wishes to refer to this aspect of the views expressed to it in both sections of the Trust Territory. There appeared to be a widespread notion among the regional Governments, the political parties and apparently the public at large that a plebiscite was to be a United Nations requirement.

172. The Mission was not wholly prepared for this, because there was nothing in its terms of reference, nor in the memorandum of the Administering Authority, which had committed either the United Nations or the Administering Authority to the idea that a plebiscite or other special kind of consultation had already been judged necessary or appropriate to the circumstances of the Trust Territory. The Mission therefore approached its task in the Trust Territory with the understanding that the necessity or otherwise for a plebiscite was an entirely open question, to which it was one of its own principal functions to suggest an answer.

173. The Mission felt bound to treat the impressions created in the Territory of the likelihood of a plebiscite being the method of consultation as no more than assumptions. It had already formulated its own first impressions as to the most appropriate methods of consultation, had made it clear to many of the political leaders that it was by no means committed to recommending that a formal consultation should be held, and had actually left the Trust Territory before it was informed of the trend of discussion in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly and in particular of the announcement made on 15 November by the representative of the Administering Authority that subject to the views of the Mission and the Trusteeship Council it intended to ask the General Assembly at its next session to agree to a consultation in the form of a plebiscite.

174. The Mission mentions this sequence of events for two reasons: firstly to express the hope that by its own discussions with people in the Trust Territory about the relative merits of various methods of determining their future it did not unwittingly contribute to a certain amount of confusion of thought in the Territory; and secondly, and more important, to point out that the assumption that a plebiscite would be held inevitably coloured the views expressed to it by the political parties and others as to the appropriate methods of consultation. In some important cases, there was a noticeable modification of opinion when the Mission explained, as it felt entitled to, that the United Nations had thus far examined on its own merits and in the light of its own particular circumstances each case of a Trust Territory arriving at the point where the question of the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement had been raised.

The Northern Cameroons

175. The Visiting Mission found the great majority of the northern governmental and traditional leaders, political party spokesmen, representatives of District Councils and other persons with views on the matter in a state of mind which could better be described as resignation to the virtual imposition of a plebiscite than as a positive acceptance of it. This was not because they had any fear about the result; on the contrary they had no doubt of a practically unanimous vote in favour of the Northern Cameroons becoming part of Nigeria.

176. This assumption about a plebiscite was to be found in the address^{1/} which the Premier of the Northern Region, the Sardauna of Sokoto, delivered to the Mission. He broached the subject of the future of the Northern Cameroons by proceeding at once to give his views on the form of suffrage to be used and the nature of the question to be asked in the plebiscite. Since these views reflected, in a most precise form, the conceptions of all in the northern part of the Trust Territory proper who supported the Government and were heard by the Mission concerning the nature of a plebiscite if one were to be imposed, they may usefully be set out at this point.

177. It was argued in the first place that at this stage of the development of the Northern Cameroons the suffrage should most suitably consist of adult males only (to whom it is limited both by the regional electoral regulations and the

^{1/} See Annex IV (c).

federal regulations in so far as they apply to the Northern Region).^{1/} With regard to the form which a possible plebiscite should take, it was felt that the question posed to the voters should be as simple as possible. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory were simple rural farmers, often living in the remote hills and not closely in touch with affairs. To avoid the confusion which would inevitably arise in their minds if they were presented with several alternatives as to their future at any plebiscite, they should be asked a question on the following lines: "Do you want union with the Northern Region of an Independent Nigeria?" If the answer to this question were no, then trusteeship would have to be continued and alternative choices, such as union with the Southern Cameroons or the Cameroons under French administration, would have to be the subject of a second plebiscite. It was also pointed out that the electoral roll for the federal elections would be prepared early in 1959 for the elections taking place towards the end of 1959. This federal roll, it was maintained, should therefore be used for the plebiscite to be held in the Northern Cameroons. The preparation of a separate electoral roll purely for the plebiscite would be administratively difficult and would cause confusion in the minds of the people.

178. Within the Trust Territory, as the Mission has said earlier, the most representative body for the Northern Cameroons as a whole is the Consultative Committee consisting of the elected Minister for the Northern Cameroons as chairman, the Lamido of Adamawa, the Emir of Dikwa, all the other elected members from the Northern Cameroons in the regional and federal legislatures, and six special members chosen by their local councils to represent the more remote southern areas. After the Committee, in the Mission's presence, had unanimously adopted a resolution reaffirming the desire of the people of the Northern Cameroons to belong to the Northern Region of Nigeria when the latter attained independence in 1960, its members with equal unanimity informed the Mission that they would accept a plebiscite if it should be considered necessary - but that they did not so consider it.

179. These representatives expressed the opinion, which was echoed many times before the Mission by people of the Northern Cameroons everywhere it went between Yola and Bama, that the future of the Northern Cameroons as an integral

^{1/} See above, Part I, para. 146.

part of Northern Nigeria was in no sense an issue on which opinion was divided. They emphasized that the wishes of the people had been made known on innumerable occasions through their elected as well as their traditional representatives, and that a plebiscite could have no result except to confirm those wishes once more.

180. The Northern Cameroons members elected to the regional and federal legislatures, all of whom belonged to the Northern People's Congress (NPC), were in the Mission's opinion in a good position to know the issues on which the forthcoming federal elections would be contested in the Trust Territory constituencies. They expressed to the Mission without reservations their certainty that the principle of the Northern Cameroons becoming permanently a part of the Northern Region would not be at stake. Moreover, the representatives of the opposition parties - the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) and the Northern Elements' Progressive Union (NEPU) - left no doubt in the Mission's mind that they, too, supported the conception that the only practicable destiny for the northern section of the Trust Territory was to be part of the Northern Region of Nigeria. The principal differences between the UMBC and the Government party were concerned, as the Mission has previously shown, with matters of internal administration which could not affect the status of the Northern Cameroons, and on which the Mission has made some suggestions above.^{1/} The local UMBC group which met the Mission at Mubi, while not believing that a plebiscite need be held on the question of the Northern Cameroons remaining part of Northern Nigeria, suggested that the wishes of the people concerned should be determined on an internal question - namely whether or not the northern districts of the Adamawa part of the Trust Territory should be turned into a Native Authority area in its own right, independent of the Adamawa Native Authority to which they belonged at present.^{2/}

181. The Mission has come to the conclusion, on the basis of the facts and opinions known to it - which include the consideration of historical and political development which it has set forth in the first part of this report - that there is no difference of opinion on the principal question of the future of the Northern Cameroons which would require or justify the holding of a formal consultation on the subject. It believes it to be manifestly the opinion of the northern population as a whole, as far as it can be expressed at present and in the foreseeable future, that they should become permanently a part of the Northern Region of the Federation of Nigeria when the latter attains independence.

^{1/} See part I, para. 164.

^{2/} See annex IV (d)

The Mission accordingly recommends that, if the General Assembly accepts such a union as the basis for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, no further consultation need be held.

The Southern Cameroons

182. The situation in the Southern Cameroons is different from that in the north in certain vital respects. In the first place, as it has shown elsewhere^{1/} in its report, the Mission found opinion to be clearly divided between two contrary points of view about the future. On the one hand there was the idea that the Southern Cameroons should become on 1 October 1960 a self-governing region in the independent Federation of Nigeria, remaining under trusteeship until that date. On the other hand there was the idea that the Southern Cameroons should now be separated from Nigeria, with a view to union with an independent French Cameroons, trusteeship being continued until then.

183. The division of opinion between these two approaches to the future was so marked that the Mission came to the conclusion that only the people of the Southern Cameroons, consulted by means of universal suffrage, could determine where the majority lay. All parties concerned were agreed on that. In the circumstances existing in the Territory at the time of its visit, the Mission found it difficult to determine the form which such a consultation should take. This was because of a second important characteristic of the Southern Cameroons which could not be ignored: namely, the fact that it is a distinct political entity possessing elected institutions which are now in very large measure governing it, and which were about to be renewed by means of general elections contested by political parties committed to pursuing one or the other of the two alternative courses for the future.

184. By the time it left the Southern Cameroons in the middle of November the main political parties were attaching greater importance to the impending elections than to the possibility of a plebiscite. Both of them were prepared under certain conditions to regard the results and the outcome of the elections as being the decisive factor in the determination of the future of the Southern Cameroons.

^{1/} See Part I, paras. 87-110.

185. When the Mission arrived in the Trust Territory, it found the widespread assumption, mentioned earlier, that a plebiscite was likely to be held. This possibility was being contemplated with misgivings by one of the main political parties and not wholly without reservations by the other; and when their leaders came to understand that the United Nations was not committed to a plebiscite, and that it was the function of the Mission to formulate without prejudice, and after examining the circumstances, views of its own on the method of consultation, their opinions on the matter became less inhibited by preconceived ideas.

186. The opinions generally expressed to the Mission throughout the Southern Cameroons on the subject of the determination of the wishes of the people as to their future followed on the whole those of the leaders of the main political parties. The Mission thinks it useful, therefore, to summarize the latter, with in all cases the important reservation - which runs the risk of being overlooked because of the passage of time - that these views relate to the period of November 1958, nearly two months before the campaigning began in earnest for the elections of 24 January 1959.

187. The party then in power, the KNC/KPP Alliance standing for permanent federation with Nigeria, emphasized the status and powers of the elected institutions of the Southern Cameroons. The sum of a number of statements by its spokesmen on this point was that those institutions, with the consent of the people as expressed in future through universal suffrage, would hold as they now held especially in their legislative functions the power of decision on almost everything of direct concern to the people. Their elected majorities were entrusted by the people with that power; the majorities gained power by explaining to the people how they intended to use it; moreover the functioning of the institutions in which they sat allowed policies to be adapted to changes in the will of the people and also to be influenced by the wishes of the minority. Since these processes were accepted as the best suited to the making of almost every other kind of decision affecting the lives of the people, they should equally be regarded as the best suited for a decision by the people as to their future. They were certainly preferable, according to this line of argument, to a plebiscite in which the people would have to answer with an arbitrary and irretrievable

"yes" or "no" a question whose implications many might not fully understand, and whose consequences they would no longer be able to influence.

188. In the memorandum^{1/} which they formally submitted to the Mission at the end of its stay in the Southern Cameroons, the KNC/KPP Alliance added to this main argument the example of the manner in which the separation of the Southern Cameroons from Nigeria had been brought about: the Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the Nigeria constitutional conference in 1953, had made the separation - which had been the main political issue between the two then existing political parties - conditional upon the outcome of a general election which was then pending. They stated that:

"Since the circumstances which have now arisen are essentially similar, we would urge that the same test of opinion be applied, and if our party wins the majority of the seats in the House of Assembly then it would be taken for granted that our party policy has the full support of the majority of our people."

189. The leaders of the opposition party in the old House of Assembly - the KNDP - showed an equal regard for the importance of the elected institutions of the Southern Cameroons. As reported earlier, they declared their intention, if brought to power by the elections, to use those institutions to bring about an immediate separation from Nigeria and to secure the adoption of a resolution confirming the consent of the majority of the population to the unification of the two Cameroons; and they also made it plain that they wished to preserve the institutions by attaining independence through a federal form of unification. Their party, to judge especially from the views put to the Mission by its various local branches and supporters throughout the Territory, appeared at first to have accepted more completely than the other the prospect of a plebiscite. Yet this again appeared to have been partly due to the assumption of the inevitability of a plebiscite, for the leaders of the KNDP proved much more open-minded than their branches in their discussions of the matter with the Mission and in the formal memorandum^{2/} which they submitted to it. They stated in this, in effect, that the form of consultation should depend on the circumstances: a plebiscite

^{1/} See Annex II (a).

^{2/} See Annex II (b).

was necessary when there was insufficient proof as to whether the people favoured "secession" from Nigeria or "integration" with it; but if in a contested general election the people were sufficiently educated as to the issues involved, if they showed a "big majority" in favour of one of the issues, and if the election were fair and free from fraud, then the result could be taken to reflect the wishes of the people.

190. The only other political party, the One Kamerun (OK), stated simply that "the future of our country should in no event be decided by an election", and asked for a plebiscite on "the immediate reunification and independence of the Kamerun".^{1/}

191. The Mission was therefore confronted with the situation that neither of the two principal political parties in the Southern Cameroons requested that regardless of the circumstances a plebiscite should be held. Both of them were prepared to regard the impending elections as essentially a contest between their different objectives for the Southern Cameroons, and both of them were prepared under certain conditions to accept the result of the elections as a decisive expression of the will of the people. Moreover, each intended, if elected, to press forward as a government towards the realization of its objectives.

192. The Mission explored those conditions as far as the two parties could define them at the time. Each was understandably cautious. The KNC/KPP Alliance had spoken in its memorandum of the winning by its own party of "the majority" of the twenty-six elective seats in the new House as being the determining factor. In discussions with the Mission, its leaders developed under questioning the argument that since their objective for the Southern Cameroons would represent the least drastic change in its present relationship with Nigeria, it would be enough for them to win a simple majority of the seats; but since the other party's intention to separate from Nigeria would be a radical departure it should gain at least two-thirds of the seats for a decisive result. The leaders of the KNDP had spoken in their memorandum of a "big majority" of the votes cast for either side; in discussing the matter they suggested that if either party won three-quarters of the seats the result could be taken as decisive.

^{1/} See Annex II (d).

They added, as they had in their memorandum, that they would expect the electoral procedures to have been fairly carried out; but they agreed that the electoral regulations to be used on 24 January were acceptable to them if properly applied. 193. In these circumstances the Mission felt that it would have been difficult for it, without knowledge of the results of the general elections, to make precise recommendations as to the method of consulting the people of the Southern Cameroons concerning their future. In the first place it felt bound to take into account the views of the political parties, especially since they largely coincided as to the possibility that the elections could provide all the evidence which the United Nations might need as to the wishes of the majority of the population. The conditions which they suggested, in regard to the size of the majorities to be secured by either party, were different: but the parties could conceivably also have differences of opinion as to the size of a valid majority in a plebiscite. The Mission could not in any case conceive of a situation in which the United Nations would hold the parties to the conditions recorded above should either group decide to change its views.

194. A second main consideration of the Mission was the fact that the Southern Cameroons now has representative institutions through which it governs itself in the majority of its internal affairs. In the only other case in which a Trust Territory, administered as part of an adjoining colony, determined its future by means of a plebiscite - namely Togoland under British administration - this factor did not exist; that Territory had no such means of electing a legislature and forming a Government with power to negotiate at least in some measure its future arrangements, and with the facility to make concessions to the points of view of its minority parties. In the case of the Southern Cameroons, however, the Mission felt bound to recognize that the majority by which a party won or the margin by which the other lost the elections would affect the course of further developments in regard to the determination of the future of the Territory. 195. The Mission attached special importance to the fact that it was clearly the intention of each of the two main parties, if elected, to make use of its position as the Government party in the House of Assembly to proceed with the least possible delay towards its own objectives. For a KNC/KPP Government, there was a series of important reforms leading to regional autonomy within the

Federation of Nigeria - agreed to in advance at the London conference in 1958 - to be had for the asking. In the case of a KNDP Government, the leaders of the party had expressed not only to the Mission but also to the London conference the intention of bringing about "secession" from Nigeria. They had also informed the Mission of their further intention, should they form a Government, to get the House of Assembly to adopt a resolution on unification and to discuss the subject with the Government and the Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons under French administration

196. In the light of the conditions suggested by the two parties under which they would accept the election results as deciding the future of the Territory, the Mission considered that the most probable consequence which might follow from the elections on 24 January was a further consultation of the people through a plebiscite on their future. In these circumstances the Mission decided that after the receipt of the results of the elections and of other relevant information concerning them it might be necessary for it to formulate further observations concerning a possible plebiscite. As the political parties offered it their views, however, on the methods by which a plebiscite, if one proved necessary, should be held, the Mission was able to discuss these matters with them at some length. With the reservation that the parties as well as the Mission were at a disadvantage in being unable to foretell what results the impending elections would produce, it feels that it may be useful to summarize those views here and give its own opinions, at least in principle, as to the rules which should govern a plebiscite if one were to be held.

197. The KNC/KPP Alliance which, of the two main parties, was the least ready at that time to regard a plebiscite as necessary or desirable, stated in its formal memorandum^{1/} that the Southern Cameroons had already been faced by three general elections since 1953, and two more (the 24 January elections and the Nigerian federal elections) were pending in 1959. They said that elections were expensive undertakings and necessitated the withdrawal of staff from their normal pursuits; for these reasons they suggested that if a plebiscite were to be held it should be as simple as possible and conducted with a minimum of expense and inconvenience. In their discussions with the Mission the leaders of the alliance also stated that the plebiscite should be held, if at all, before the

1/ See Annex II (a).

Nigerian federal elections towards the end of 1959, since it would be pointless for the people to take part in those elections unless they intended to remain part of the Federation of Nigeria. They felt that the logical question to be asked of the electors would be: "Do you choose to continue in association with Nigeria, or not?". They preferred the word "association" to "integration", a word which they said had been misused by other political parties.

198. As for the other details of plebiscite procedure, the KNC/KPP Alliance stated in their memorandum only that safeguards should be established "to prevent the infiltration of saboteurs from the French sector into our own sector in order to influence the referendum in favour of the unificationists".

They did not give any particular views on the qualifications of voters, even though in previous discussions with the Mission, some of their leaders had suggested that they would prefer all "French Cameroonians" to be excluded from the vote and to have no restrictions of origin imposed against Nigerian persons ordinarily resident in the Cameroons: thus they would prefer to use the federal electoral regulations, which had that effect, and not use the Southern Cameroons electoral regulations, which entitled a "French Cameroonian" of ten years' residence and a Nigerian of one year's residence to apply for registration as an elector. They had also stated that if a plebiscite should be held in the Northern Cameroons as well, the votes cast in the north and south should be added together and the decision based on the total. They had argued this on the basis of the international status of the Cameroons, which they said the Trusteeship Agreement treated as a single entity. They did not raise these points, however, in their subsequent memorandum.

199. On the other hand, the KNDP devoted its main attention in its formal memorandum to disputing the last of those points, and to arguing that the result of any plebiscite which might be held in the Trust Territory should be assessed separately for the northern and southern sections. They maintained that there were wide variations in political status between the two sections and that the votes would mean different things in each; they did not wish, they said, to diminish their chances of "secession and reunification" by treating both sections as if they were one. The only other point which they made in their memorandum was that if a plebiscite were decided upon, the people should be prepared for it

"village by village throughout the whole of 1959 and part of 1960, and the issues carefully explained"; moreover, if there were to be a plebiscite in the north their party wished to campaign there as well. In the accompanying discussions with the Mission, however, the KNDP leaders spoke of a plebiscite being held, if at all, after November 1959 but before January 1960. They did not favour putting to the voters a question requiring a "yes" or "no" answer, and since they did not feel in a position to suggest what the precise question should be, other than that one of the alternatives should be "secession and unification", the Mission was left to imply that the other choice would be federation with Nigeria. They suggested the use of two ballot boxes, each identified with one of the alternatives. They had also said, when they spoke of the conditions under which the results of the impending elections rather than a plebiscite could be regarded as decisive, that the existing Southern Cameroons electoral regulations would be satisfactory if properly applied, and the Mission presumed that this view would also relate to the use of the regulations for a plebiscite.

200. The One Kamerun (OK) party wanted a plebiscite to be held as a single operation throughout the two Cameroons on the following question: "Are you in favour of the secession of the western zone from the Federation of Nigeria and the unification and independence of Kamerun?". If there were a separate plebiscite for each Trust Territory, however, the votes of the northern and southern parts of the Cameroons under British administration should be counted separately. The consultation, added the party, should be held under the supervision of the United Nations.

201. The Mission came to the conclusion that if a plebiscite should be held the existing Southern Cameroons electoral regulations - known as the Elections (Southern Cameroons House of Assembly) Regulations, 1957 - could adequately serve as a basis for the plebiscite arrangements. Their provisions in regard to all phases of an electoral consultation, including the registration of electors, the actual polling, the definition of and penalties for electoral offences, and the provisions for legal proceedings after the vote, could in its opinion be readily adapted to the special circumstances of a plebiscite, and are in fact basically similar to those used in the plebiscite in 1956 in the former Trust

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Territory of Togoland under British administration. The leaders of the main political parties in the Southern Cameroons left it with the understanding that they would find the regulations acceptable. It goes without saying that each would expect the regulations, adapted for the purposes of a plebiscite, to be administered with absolute fairness. The regulations themselves provide safeguards, and the Mission has no doubt that the Administering Authority would take all additional precautions that appeared necessary, including the selection of a staff wholly beyond possible criticism of partiality towards one or the other of the alternatives which might be posed in the plebiscite. Though undoubtedly familiar with the history of the Togoland plebiscite, neither of the main political parties proposed that if one were held in the Southern Cameroons it should be supervised by the United Nations - a reflection of confidence in the impartiality of the Administering Authority, from which the latter might take deep satisfaction. On the other hand, the Mission has no reason to believe that either party would oppose United Nations supervision, if that were decided upon.

202. With regard to the voting qualifications neither of the two main parties urged on the Mission any change from the provisions of the Southern Cameroons electoral regulations. These regulations have the effect of requiring persons originating from the other Trust Territory to prove ten years' residence, and persons originating from Nigeria to establish one year's residence. As the Trusteeship Council is aware, the extension of suffrage under any circumstances to persons from the other Trust Territory is a recent innovation and the present qualification was a compromise arrived at after considerable debate in the territory. Given the position of the main political parties, the Mission would suggest the adoption of the conditions set forth in the Southern Cameroons regulations on this as on other matters. Moreover, the use of the existing regulations would obviate the need for a completely new and time-consuming registration which would be unavoidable should any other basis of eligibility be chosen. Since the rolls were closed in the middle of 1958, it would be desirable to provide an opportunity for revision of the lists on the basis of the present electoral qualifications before any plebiscite was held.

203. The Mission considered, however, that the two other main problems which would present themselves if a plebiscite were to be held - namely, its timing and the form of the question or questions to be put - depended so largely on the results of the elections of 24 January 1959 and on the intentions and wishes of the political parties thereafter that it could not usefully give opinions on them in advance.

ANNEX I

DESCRIPTION OF THE MISSION'S VISIT

A. INTRODUCTION

The Visiting Mission has set forth in this annex an account of its visit to the Trust Territory and to Lagos, the seat of the Government of the Federation of Nigeria and of the High Commissioner for the Southern Cameroons; Ibadan, where the University College serving both Nigeria and the Cameroons is situated; Kaduna, the seat of the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria; and Yola and Maiduguri which, though both in Nigeria, are administrative and commercial centres of importance to the Northern Cameroons.

The particular purpose of this account is to show the extent of the Mission's activities and, more important, to present a more detailed record than is possible in the main part of its report of the views expressed to it by the hundreds of persons with whom it came into contact. Limitations of time and space prevent it from doing full justice to all that it heard and saw in the course of its visit; moreover, the over-riding importance of the question of the political future of the Trust Territory - and the fact that this question is, indeed, in the forefront of public discussion in the Territory - has obliged it to devote less attention than would otherwise have been the case to the many interesting aspects which it encountered of the normal life of the population and its economic, social and educational progress and problems.

The Mission regards this account, nevertheless, as a useful and in fact necessary supplement to the main body of its report. It cannot pretend to be a precise reflection of public opinion from one district of the Territory to another, since on the whole the Mission heard only the views of those people who volunteered to express them. The Mission also wishes to state that it was not always in a position to know whether the organizations and groups whose spokesmen appeared before it were as representative or as numerous in their membership as was sometimes claimed. It gives their views without implying that they did in fact represent substantial sections of opinion. This record of the visit, however, will in particular serve to indicate the range and nature of local variations on the themes presented by the main political parties, and examined

elsewhere in the report,^{1/} as to the future of the Trust Territory. It will also help to establish to some extent the local political, economic and social circumstances in which that principal issue was being discussed at the time of the Mission's visit.

It needs to be added that either explicitly or by implication, many of the political groups, traditional authorities and other local bodies and individuals whom the Mission met subordinated to the major political questions the views which they might have wished to emphasize concerning their local problems: namely, on such subjects, familiar to every Visiting Mission, as the need for schools, roads, medical services, and so on. Many of these matters were nevertheless brought to the Mission's attention. To the extent that such problems seemed to be territorial in scope and of particular relevance to the future of the Territory, the Mission has dealt with them in the main parts of its report. But where they seemed essentially local in character the Mission has taken the view - and it said so on appropriate occasions in the Territory - that the extent of self-government already at the disposal of the people of the Cameroons would be made meaningless if they failed to make the most of it. In other words, the authorities primarily responsible for dealing with local problems such as the need for new bridges, schools, dispensaries and the like are the organs of government which have been elected wholly or partly by the people themselves.

B. LAGOS AND IBADAN

The Visiting Mission approached the Trust Territory through Lagos, where the Governor-General of Nigeria, who is also High Commissioner for the Southern Cameroons, has his headquarters and the Government and Parliament of the Federation are situated. It spent two days there - the 27 and 28 October - on the second of which it also visited Ibadan, which is both the capital of the Western Region and, of more direct interest to the Mission, the seat of the University College that primarily serves Nigeria and the Cameroons as a whole.

^{1/} Extracts from the texts of the main presentations made to the Mission are also given in additional annexes.

Since the resumed Nigeria constitutional conference was still in progress in London, the Mission was unable to meet the Governor-General (Sir James Robertson) and the Prime Minister of the Federation (the Hon. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa), but it was received by the Acting Governor-General (Sir Ralph Grey), the Deputy Prime Minister (the Hon. J.M. Johnson) and members of the Federal Council of Ministers - including the Minister from the Cameroons, the Hon. Victor Mukete - with all of whom it had a number of useful informal talks on the subject, in particular, of the future of the Cameroons.

In both Lagos and Ibadan the Mission was reminded in other ways of that same subject. On its arrival at the Lagos airport it had been met not only by representatives of the Nigerian Government but also by a group of people holding banners and placards, who were joined by the Leader of the Opposition in the Southern Cameroons, Mr. J.N. Foncha, newly returned from the London conference. These and other Cameroonians resident in Lagos waited on the Mission during its stay there, nearly all of them to support, in effect, the cause of Mr. Foncha for the complete separation of the Cameroons from Nigeria, with the ultimate objective of reunification of the two Cameroons.

Thus, on the afternoon of the Visiting Mission's arrival, it met about sixty representatives of the "Cameroons community" in Lagos. They presented two memoranda. All but one of their spokesmen felt that the "Kamerun Nation" should be refounded and for this reason emphasized the need to secede from Nigeria before the latter became independent in 1960. They accepted what they referred to as "the Secretary of State's undertaking" that a plebiscite should be held in the British Cameroons, adequately supervised by the United Nations, to decide the issue of her future association with Nigeria. Only one member of the groups seemed to hold fundamentally different views; he submitted a memorandum supporting the stand of the KNC/KPP Alliance for continued association with Nigeria as a fully self-governing unit of an independent Federation.

On the same day the Mission received a memorandum from the "Union of Kamerunian Teachers" in Nigeria. They pressed for immediate reunification of the "Kamerun" and secession from Nigeria, with a referendum to decide the issues if the Mission did not wish to recommend that the United Nations should use its "reserved powers" to restore unity by means of a general proclamation.

A memorandum from a "Union of French and British Cameroons Youths" in Nigeria also argued for the reunification of the Cameroons.

At the University College in Ibadan the Mission gave a hearing to the Ibadan Kamerun Students Association (IKSA), formed by about twenty students from the Cameroons, including four who originated from the Cameroons under French administration. They proved themselves to be strongly in favour of reunification.

From the capital of the Eastern Region, Enugu Kamerun Students' Association also sent a communication to the Mission. They had adopted by a vote of 13 to 2, with 2 abstentions, a resolution strongly deprecating "at this stage any plebiscite which would allow voters, most of whom do not fully understand the issues at stake, to be influenced by political demagogues, who may be influenced by outside politicians into making an irrevocable choice at this stage of the country's development which they might regret in future; but that a thorough education of the electorate will be vital and also that any question that might be put to the electorate should be an open one".

C. THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

1. Victoria Division

Victoria Division, the smallest of the six administrative divisions into which the Southern Cameroons is divided, has an area of 1,166 square miles and a population of 85,500. The division contains the seat of the Government of the Southern Cameroons and of its House of Assembly, the large organization of the Cameroons Development Corporation (CDC), and the principal centres of trade and banking, including the two ports of Bota and Tiko.

The agricultural production of the Division is mainly devoted to export crops - bananas, rubber, palm oil and palm kernels, timber and some cocoa and pepper. Thus, out of a total divisional population of 85,000, the large plantations and timber companies employ some 25,000, most of whom are directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture for export. But the Africans' own production of cash crops, and especially of bananas, has assumed importance in recent years, and their co-operative selling organization functions on an impressive scale.

The co-operative movement in the division started in 1952 when the Bakweri Union of Farmers was registered as a co-operative society with seventy-three members; it shipped its first consignment of bananas in September of that year. There are now fourteen member societies in the division with more than 2,000 members. Over two and one-half million stems of bananas have been shipped since the society was first founded, representing a cash payment of over £1 million to the farmers of the division. A separate transport organization with its own garage and a fleet of over fifty vehicles has now been established and the Union has its own agreement with the shippers and marketers, Messrs. Elders and Fyffes Ltd., who assist them with technical advice. The president and founder of the Bakweri Co-operative Union of Farmers is the Premier of the Southern Cameroons, Dr. Endeley.

The truly indigenous population includes the Bakweri who live on the lower slopes of Mount Cameroon, the Balong along the Mungo River in the north east of the division, the Mongo in villages around the more cosmopolitan centre of Tiko, and the Isubu, Wovea, Bamboko and Bakolle along the sea coast. In addition to these and the urban populations of Tiko and Victoria, there are two distinct groups of people: the 4,000 Efik-speaking people in the Bakolle area, who originally came to fish seasonally and some of whom now form permanent settlements, and a second and larger group making up the plantation workers on the estates of the Cameroons Development Corporation, Messrs. Elders and Fyffes and Messrs. Pamol Limited and also nowadays the employees of the Timber Companies of which there are three. Out of the working population of some 18,000 in the Cameroons Development Corporation estates, only 688 are recorded as being from the division. Of the remainder, 5,473 were Nigerians, nearly 1,000 from the Cameroons under French administration and the rest from the other divisions of the Southern Cameroons. In Victoria Division as a whole there are more than three immigrants to every native born person, although many of the former have now been settled in the division for many years.

There are four clearly defined political parties of the division, the Kamerun National Congress (KNC), the Kamerun Peoples Party (KPP), the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) and the One Kamerun Party (OK). At the last elections (1957) to the House of Assembly the KNC and KPP parties were the principal rivals

in the division and each obtained one seat in the House: Dr. E.M.L. Endeley, the Premier as KNC member for Victoria North and Mr. P.N. Motomby-Woleta, as KPP member for Victoria South. (The KNC and KPP now form an alliance throughout the Southern Cameroons.) The membership of the One Kamerun party in the division appears to consist very largely of a group of persons of French Cameroonian extraction, centred mainly at Tiko.

Arriving at Tiko airport at noon on 29 October, the Mission was met by the Commissioner of the Cameroons (the Hon. J.O. Field) and other representatives of the Southern Cameroons Government and House of Assembly. Several groups of people with banners proclaiming their political views were also there, and some of them handed the Mission bundles and small sacks of communications: these were for the most part in the name of the OK (One Kamerun) party.

Later in the afternoon, the Mission was received by the Senior District Officer of the Division, Mr. A.K. Wright, and the Victoria Divisional Native Authority and was addressed by the Vice-Chairman of the Divisional Council who informed the Mission that after 100 years of tutelage, the first democratically elected local council had come into existence; that the people concurred with the view that their future lay in a continued association with Nigeria as a member of the Federation; and that under the Constitution they were guaranteed every fundamental right and would have all the essential safeguards for a minority group in the Federation. "Integration" was, however, a word they did not like. It meant absorption which, in their view, was not the correct interpretation of their relationship with Nigeria. Their object was to be associated with Nigeria as a self-governing Southern Cameroons State of the Federation. Furthermore, they were concerned with certain political influences stemming from the Cameroons under French administration. These had created differences of opinion among the people and had led, they thought, to the idea of a formal consultation of the people to ascertain their wishes concerning their future. If any consultation were required, they favoured a consultation through the legislature. Finally, the spokesman made an appeal through the Visiting Mission to the United Nations to extend its technical assistance programme and financial and technical aid to the development of the potentialities of the country.

Following the address, the Mission divided into two groups in order to talk more informally with the members of the local councils comprising the Divisional Council. One half of the Mission met the councillors from Victoria, while the other met the members of the Tiko and Bakweri councils.

In the first of these meetings the Mission was asked, among other things, if it were possible for Britain and France to surrender trusteeship in order to allow the two Cameroons to unify and remain under an International Trusteeship Agreement. There was apprehension that if they united with the Cameroons under French administration they would come under the French flag and it would be difficult for them to adopt the French language in particular, and the French way of life in general. Some members of the local council, stating that the Northern Cameroons would probably stay with the Northern Region of Nigeria, felt that a self-governing Southern Cameroons Region within the Federation would be treated as a minority and that they would be more "integrated" than "associated" with Nigeria; they might get lost in a movement towards centralization of governments in Nigeria. They felt that the expressed desire of the Premier of the Western Region to participate in the federal elections was a certain sign towards centralization. Others asked, however, whether the United Nations could help to bring the Northern Trust Territory into an entity with the Southern Cameroons within the Federation of Nigeria. Concerning the question to be put in a referendum or plebiscite (which, like many others in the Territory, they were not enthusiastic about but assumed to have been more or less ordained), they felt that the problem of illiteracy in the Territory must be taken into consideration and therefore the question should be as simple as possible, such as: "Do you wish to integrate with Nigeria or not?" Another member of the local council, however, felt that the Northern Trust Territory would join the Northern Region of Nigeria and that the "Eastern" Cameroons would enter a Franco-African community, so that only the Southern Cameroons under British administration was left to be consulted; and the best method for so doing, he felt, would be by means of the forthcoming elections to the House of Assembly.

At the second of these meetings, several of the local councillors took the opportunity to speak of their communities' needs for better roads, medical services and the like; but when the Mission reminded them that their most

effective recourse in these matters must be through their elected authorities they seemed to accept this point of view. They turned back then to the political issues, and while they insisted that they had given their unanimous agreement to the address of welcome read to the Mission a short while before, some of them - as had been the case in the other meeting - indicated lingering doubts. There were differences of opinion, for example, on the question of the unification of the two Cameroons: one man thought that it could still be brought about after both the Trust Territories had become self-governing, another that, in spite of the logic of unification, the two territories had already grown too far apart under their different administrations. Some of them asked the Mission to pay no attention to the OK (One Kamerun) party, one claiming that it was "only the UPC" and another asking that it should be banned because of the "trouble and confusion these Frenchmen are causing".

All of these meetings were in fact held to the intermittent accompaniment of songs and chants by men and women supporters of the OK party - many of them dressed uniformly in white shirts or blouses and black trousers or skirts - who had lined up outside the meeting place. Afterwards they broke their ranks in order to press packages of communications on the Mission.

Most of the day's written communications were found to have emanated from people acting in the name of the OK party, refugees from the Territory under French administration, and even, ostensibly, the outlawed Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC) and its affiliates. The general tenor of all of them - and the majority were mass-produced communications - was to complain about conditions in the Cameroons under both French and British administration and to ask for a general political amnesty, the separation of the Cameroons under British administration from Nigeria, the repeal of the French decree of 13 July 1955 banning the UPC and its affiliates and of the Nigerian Government order of May 1957 bearing upon the same Cameroonian elements, the return of their deported leaders and the holding of a referendum under United Nations supervision to decide on the question of immediate unification and independence in the two Cameroons. A very large number were simple slogans for "unification and independence", which swelled the total number of communications received on that day to approximately 6,000.

On 30 October, the Visiting Mission divided into two groups, one inspecting installations of the Cameroons Development Corporation (CDC) at Bota, the Bota port, of which the CDC serves as the port authority and the Government Trade Centre at Ombe; the other visiting the CDC tea estate at Tole and other CDC installations at Tiko.

The Mission spent a second period in the Victoria Division on its return from Bamenda (see below) on 6 November. In the afternoon it divided, one group visiting the Bakweri Co-operative Union of Farmers at Molyko and the other visiting the Buea convict prison and the prison's farms, consisting of 300 acres in three sections. This institution is unique in West Africa. Land for the farmers was purchased from the CDC and selected inmates have been housed and employed under "open prison" conditions. The scheme is designed to provide prisoners with employment that is both useful and revenue-earning, as well as to relieve overcrowding in the ordinary prisons. Livestock, including dairy cattle and pigs, are maintained and vegetable gardens are cultivated.

On the following day the Mission visited the new ministerial and secretariat building under construction; the Southern Cameroons Development Agency, where it met the Agency's Chairman, Mr. J.K. Dibonge; and later met the Premier and the Ministers comprising the Southern Cameroons Government. The Mission's last interview of the morning was with the Financial Secretary. The essentials of these interviews are dealt with in the body of the report.

In the afternoon, the Mission held discussions with national representatives of the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), including the leader of the opposition, Mr. Foncha, and Messrs. Muna and Tankoh, all members of the House of Assembly from Bamenda Division; and a joint delegation of the Kamerun National Congress (KNC) and the Kamerun People's Party (KPP), which constitute the present Government of the Southern Cameroons - the essential elements of these two hearings appear in the body of the report. It also received spokesmen of the Kamerun Society, an organization of relatively well-educated Africans, having a present membership of thirty-four and formed in 1956 to stimulate inquiry and discussion concerning problems affecting the well-being of the two Cameroons. It offered views on, among other things, the nature of any plebiscite: the question to be put should be "Do you want to remain with Nigeria?", the vote should be restricted

to indigenous Cameroonians; and the Southern Cameroons vote should be counted separately. Finally, the society made an appeal for United Nations technical assistance in the fields of agriculture, education, medicine and telecommunications.

The Mission then divided: one group hearing the One Kamerun party, refugees from the Territory under French administration (who styled themselves the "Solidarity Society"), and a joint group who called themselves "Poor Women and Young Boys". The One Kamerun submitted more packages of communications, most of which expressed their party's views concerning the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons, which are dealt with in the body of the report. The One Kamerun Women's Association also submitted a petition supporting these views and at the same time stressing the importance of the women's participation in the structure of the society in a future "Kamerun". The refugees forming the "Solidarity Society" had as their spokesman Mr. Frédéric Batoun, whom the Mission had previously encountered in three other places: at Victoria, on the road to Kumba and in Kumba itself. He presented a list of more than 2,000 names of persons allegedly seeking political asylum in the Cameroons under British administration. This group also left with the Mission large packages of communications which stated their desire for a general political amnesty as well as containing a description of alleged conditions in the Territory under French administration. The final joint group, who requested a hearing as "Poor Women" and "Young Boys", were remarkable for their dress which appeared to be a kind of uniform, consisting of various arrangements of red, black and white. During the hearing, the "Poor Women" presented a memorandum written in French which was headed "Union démocratique des Femmes camerounaises (UDEFEC)" - the name of the outlawed UPC women's affiliate. It requested, inter alia, an unconditional general amnesty abrogating the Franco-British decrees of 13 July 1955 and of 30 May 1957, the return of thirteen leaders deported by the Government and the organization of a referendum by the United Nations on the question of unification. The group of "Young Boys" presented similar written views on a paper headed "Jeunesse démocratique du Cameroun (JDC)" - the outlawed youth affiliate of the former UPC.

The other party of the Mission heard representatives of the "Cameroons Union" of Calabar, Nigeria, who urged the reunification and independence of the Cameroons; Chief J. Manga Williams (president of the Victoria Divisional Council) who pleaded in his personal capacity for the whole of the Cameroons people to be given the time and the freedom to confer among themselves as to their future; and Mr. M.N. Wole, who argued for unification and independence. The latter was the theme, too, of a group who called themselves the Farmers' Union of Victoria (and who supported the former leaders of the outlawed UPC).

The communications received on 7 November totalled more than 1,200.

2. Kumba Division

The area of Kumba Division is approximately 4,162 square miles. It is roughly rectangular in shape; in the southern part of the division lie the northern slopes of Mount Cameroon and the crater lakes of Kumba. The total population of the division is estimated at 137,000. The only urban areas are Kumba Town and Tombel near the French frontier where many of the self-styled political refugees from that Territory have acquired land and settled.

Coffee, cocoa, bananas and timber are among the principal exports of Kumba Division. There has been a considerable increase in the number and turnover of co-operative societies there in the last few years. The number of secondary societies has increased from three in 1955 to five at present and the number of primary societies belonging to these secondary societies from twenty-nine to sixty-five. The membership of the societies is approximately 5,000 compared with 2,040 in 1955. The produce handled by them has risen from 550 tons of cocoa to 1,296 tons; from 150 tons of coffee to 427 tons, and from 8,000 stems of bananas per month to 35,000 stems per month. Kumba is also the headquarters of the Cameroons Co-operative Exporters Limited, the apex society for coffee and cocoa, which marketed 30 per cent of the cocoa and nearly 50 per cent of the coffee in the Southern Cameroons during the 1957-8 season. It is now managed by a Cameroonian. The central financing society for the co-operative movement is also at Kumba, and so also will be the new Co-operative Bank, the foundation stone of whose building was laid by the Chairman of the Mission. Other institutions of importance to the Southern Cameroons as a whole, and even further afield, are

also at Kumba: the Mission visited the Government teacher-training centre and the helminthiasis research unit of the West African Council for Medical Research.

In the field of local administration, thirteen Native Authority Councils have been established throughout the division but the Mission was informed by the Administering Authority that their progress has been seriously handicapped by the absence in most areas of any large cohesive unit with common loyalties or political traditions and the antagonisms and petty jealousies which have historically existed between clans, village groups and in some cases between villages. A further obstacle to progress has been and still is the inaccessibility of many of the centres of population with which, because of the broken nature of the terrain and the shortage of funds for constructing expensive road communications, Administrative Officers have difficulty in maintaining close contact. Controversy over the eventual form of local government administration had not been resolved at the time of the Mission's visit.

Kumba Division was well represented in the Cameroons Government, its two elected representatives, the Hon. F.N. Ajebe-Sone and the Hon. N.N. Mbile, being the Minister of Natural Resources and the Minister of Works and Transport respectively. Mr. J.B. Mokumbe was the Division's Native Authority Member in the House of Assembly.

The Visiting Mission spent 31 October in the division. Leaving Buea early in the morning, it stopped several times on the fifty-two-mile stretch of road to Kumba to speak to groups of people who had gathered to demonstrate their political views. At the Kumba boundary it was received by Mr. C.J. Burgess, District Officer of Kumba. At Ekona, KNDP and Kamerun National Advisory Association, a body of very recent formation, displayed banners requesting secession from Nigeria. A short address was made by Mr. C.F.N. Siki. At Muyuka, more banners expressing similar views were in sight. The Mission heard Mr. Samuel Kati and Mr. Frédéric Batoum elaborate these views. On the outskirts of Kumba Town, more people representing, according to their banners, the KNDP, One Kamerun, One Kamerun Women and the Kamerun National Advisory Association, lined the road to welcome the Mission.

On the way to the Community Hall in Kumba Town, large crowds of people lined the road, singing and throwing flowers at the Mission's convoy of cars and presenting many packages of communications, most of which proved obviously to have been mass produced. At the Hall, an address of welcome was read by the Chairman of the Divisional Joint Committee stressing the division's need for more medical services, secondary and technical schools, roads for the evacuation of produce from rural areas, trading firms, and so forth. Finally, he expressed views concerning methods of determining the future of the Trust Territory similar to those which had been put before the Mission by the Victoria Divisional Council.

There were nevertheless differing points of view within the Joint Committee, and Mr. J.M. Bokwe, a member of the KNDP, and representing the opposition within the Committee, stated that the people wanted to secede from Nigeria in order to pass as soon as possible to the question of unification.

In the afternoon the Mission heard a number of political and other groups. Among these was the Kumba branch of the KNC/KPP alliance, represented by the local Chairman, Mr. Thomas A. Diffang, and also by the two elected representatives in the House of Assembly. They concentrated on the question of the political future of the Territory, and argued that even if the people were willing to continue under the International Trusteeship System, it would be impracticable to do so after Nigeria had become independent. They feared that the position of a small and independent Southern Cameroons "sandwiched" between an independent French Cameroons and an independent Federation of Nigeria would not be respected. Mr. Mbile maintained that it was not British Cameroonians who had been responsible for the pro-secession and unification demonstrations which the Mission had seen, but that the demonstrators had come from the Territory under French administration. Mr. Mbile also stated that if the Southern Cameroons seceded from Nigeria, it would have to establish a new constitutional basis which might take years to accomplish. He maintained that as many arguments could be produced for the unity of tribes divided between the Southern Cameroons and Nigeria as for that of tribes divided between the two Cameroons. His colleague in the Government, Mr. Ajebe-Sone, stated that unification had always been the dearest wish of the people, but that its attainment had always been doubtful. Unification entailed difficulties such as those inherent in the difference in languages and educational

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institutions. Moreover, independence within the Federation of Nigeria meant that the Cameroons would remain, as it wished to do so, within the Commonwealth of Nations. The Minister continued that French Cameroonians migrating into the Territory before 1955 had always been very peaceful, but since political refugees had started to cross the border, a new type of activity had begun. He described the One Kamerun party as being one and the same as the illegal UPC: a matter, he said, of pupils carrying on the tradition of their teachers.

The KPP representatives presented the Mission with four resolutions adopted by their Supreme Executive at Kumba on 4 October 1958. These expressed, among other things, support for the motion adopted in the House of Assembly in February concerning the desire of the people of the Cameroons to obtain self-government in 1959.

The Mission then heard the KNDP together with its women's branch. The party was represented by Mr. J.M. Bokwe, who presented a memorandum criticizing the conditions of roads, education, and medical facilities, trading and press in the division and the disorganization of the Native Authority system. On the main political question, it was his view that the Southern Cameroons people had, since the last general election in March 1957, become opposed to belonging to a Federal Nigeria instead of becoming an entirely separate and independent Southern Cameroons State.

For the One Kamerun party, Mr. J.I. Kamsi presented the principal statement received by the Mission in the Southern Cameroons of the views of the organization. The main points are set forth elsewhere in the report. In brief Mr. Kamsi argued for the "secession" of the Cameroons under British administration from the Federation of Nigeria and for the immediate reunification and independence of the Cameroons. He considered that the matter should be resolved by putting the following question to the people in a referendum or plebiscite to which the answer would be either "yes" or "no": "Are you for the secession of the Western zone from the Nigerian Federation and for the unification and independence of the Kamerun?"

The Kamerun National Advisory Association, which appeared to the Mission to be an offshoot, if not a splinter, from the One Kamerun party, submitted a memorandum maintaining that its supporters were also for "secession" from the Federation of Nigeria and the unification and independence of the Cameroons.

The spokesman presented a memorandum in the name of the "Reunification Committee of the Southern Cameroons", in which it was stated that at a meeting at Kumba in April 1958 the "Natural Rulers" of the Cameroons had resolved that the best course for the Cameroons was to "secede" from the Federation of Nigeria as the first step towards reunification. The memorandum was signed by representatives of the KNDP, the Kamerun National Advisory Association, the One Kamerun and the Cameroons Union of Calabar. These views were also supported by representatives of the Baba Farmers Group and the Bamenda Improvement Association.

The "Bamendjou Family Union" appeared before the Mission to request a general political amnesty for all Cameroonians deported and imprisoned; the abrogation of the decisions to dissolve the UPC and its affiliates in both the Cameroons; a referendum to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants; and the immediate "secession", reunification and independence of the Cameroons. They were also opposed to a general election being used as a method of consultation. The "Union of Ex-servicemen" also presented views favouring "secession". Several groups of "political refugees", addressing the Mission in French, and including women in uniform red and black dress, asked for a general amnesty. Claiming to speak for the Bafaw tribe, Mr. Daniel Ebako handed in a long series of criticisms of the shortcomings in the development of the country; and this brought a complaint from his chief, Abel Mukete, that Mr. Ebako had no right to do so without the knowledge and consent of the tribe.

Finally, the "Kamerun Workers Union", most of whom appeared to be farmers, had as their spokesman Mr. Frédéric Batoum, whose arguments were similar to those he had already used at Buea and Muyuka.

The number of communications, including mostly written or printed slogans, received during the day was approximately 10,500, the overwhelming majority of which requested a general amnesty and the unification and independence of the two Trust Territories.

3. Mamfe Division

Mamfe Division, lying between the Kumba and Bamenda districts, stretches across the Southern Cameroons from the boundary of the Eastern Region of Nigeria to the Anglo-French frontier. The area is estimated at 4,321 square miles and

the 1953 census showed the population to be 100,422. The southern part of the division is low-lying and covered by thick forest, but in the northeast there are precipitous mountains and in these areas the people live in scattered isolated hamlets, instead of in the concentrated villages normally found in the forest.

By common consent, this is perhaps the least developed part of the Southern Cameroons. Although much of the land is thought to be very fertile, Mamfe has not shared the rapid expansion of cultivation of economic crops by peasant farmers which has characterized Victoria and Kumba, and to a lesser extent Bamenda, in recent years. The immediately obvious reason is its shortage of roads. There is a lack of roads giving reasonable access to the hinterland, but even the trunk route providing communications between Mamfe and the coast is usable continuously only in the dry season. When the Kumba-Mamfe Road becomes a reliable all-weather road, changes in the agricultural pattern are expected to follow. Meanwhile, social and political development similarly lag behind. Local government is shared between ten Native Authorities and their Divisional Joint Committee, which meets quarterly as a sort of over-all executive body. The Mission attended one of its meetings. Efforts are being made here as elsewhere to reorganize the Native Authorities as properly constituted and democratically elected institutions; four of the ten have already been reformed along these lines, and it is hoped to make progress with the remainder in the near future.

The Mamfe Division returned three members to the then existing Southern Cameroons House of Assembly. They were Mr. S.A. Arrey and Mr. A. Fonge, both elected, and Mr. J.C. Lekunze, the member appointed by the Native Authorities. The first and third were members of the KNC, the second a member of the KNDP.

Unable in any case to travel on the Kumba-Mamfe road, the Mission flew to Mamfe on the morning of 1 November. It was greeted at the airport by the District Officer, Mr. R.C. Overton, the Mamfe members of the House of Assembly and Chief Fongang, Chairman of the Divisional Joint Committee, as well as other chiefs and notables of the division. On the way from the airfield to the town there were banners reading, for example: "Mamfe people demand self-government and independence within the Federation of Nigeria", "One plebiscite for Northern and Southern Cameroons", "Economic Aid", while other banners expressed a desire for "secession" from Nigeria, like those seen in the Kumba and Victoria Divisions.

The Mission gave a number of hearings at Mamfe. Chief Fongang read a welcome address in which he declared that, in his opinion, unification was not a prerequisite of self-government and independence, and that the Territory would feel safe and secure as an autonomous region within the Federation of Nigeria. He also appealed for economic assistance to the Territory.

One of the members of the House of Assembly, Mr. Arrey, presented a memorandum favouring association with Nigeria. His views were similar to those previously heard on his party's behalf. He also stated that those in Mamfe who were advocating union with the other Cameroons were "foreigners", most of whom had been members of the illegal UPC, and that they were definitely in a minority.

Mr. Fonge, the other elected member of the House of Assembly and spokesman for the Mbo Tribal Union, presented a memorandum favouring a plebiscite as the method by which the wishes of the people as to the future of the Territory should be ascertained. He said that the people would like to remain under trusteeship and British administration for a while in order to give them sufficient time to decide their final destiny. (This was also the view expressed by the Banyang-Mbo Native Authority.) Mr. Fonge suggested that the plebiscite should be conducted on two levels: first, to ascertain whether the people were for or against federation with Nigeria; and if they were against such a federation, the second step would ascertain whether the people desired to unite with the Cameroons under French administration or to remain under British trusteeship administration. Mr. Lekunze, speaking for the Mundani Native Authority, also thought that a plebiscite would be the most suitable means of ascertaining the wishes of the people.

The Mamfe branch of the KNDP, which maintained that at the last election 50 per cent of the electorate had supported their party, reiterated the views of the KNDP leaders concerning the future of the Territory. The local representatives of the One Kamerun party similarly reaffirmed that party's points of view.

Others appealing for continued association with Nigeria included Chief J.A. Tataw, for the Kembong Native Authority; Mr. S.E. Ncha, on behalf of people living north of the Cross River; and Chief Fongang on behalf of the Federation of the Tanyi Nkongo, Nkokelok and Tayang clans in the Banyang-Mbo Native Authority area.

Those expressing a desire for secession from Nigeria and unification with the Cameroons under French administration included the Bangwa Native Authority and Improvement Union; Mr. D.O. Ojong, on behalf of the Ejagham Improvement Union; the Ayuktayak Clan Council and the Tinto Improvement Union. (The authority of Mr. Ojong, however, was disputed by Mr. Arrey, who declared that the views expressed were those neither of the Ejagham people nor of their now almost defunct tribal union.)

A group of people originating from the Cameroons under French administration, who said that they had arrived before the "troubles" of 1955, asked for fuller representation of their interests in the House of Assembly, the proposed House of Chiefs, the native courts, scholarship committees and the local administrations. The Mbang Development Association sent a memorandum complaining of the poor condition of the roads, the need for permanent bridges, medical facilities, water supply, postal agency, educational institutions and other amenities. A group of women from Tanako put in simple terms their opposition to integration with Nigeria by complaining that some people had referred to them as Nigerians. They adamantly denied it, and said that a white man could rule them, but never a Nigerian.

The Hon. P.A. Aiyuk, Mamfe member of the Federal House of Representatives, spoke in favour of continued association with the Federation of Nigeria, a course which, he believed, would maintain economic security for the Trust Territory. A separate region for the Southern Cameroons within the framework of the Federation of Nigeria, he declared, had been the policy of the KNC since 1953, and had been the basis of his own election campaign. He felt that a plebiscite might give an answer to the problem of the future of the Trust Territory as a whole. He thought that the question which should be put to the people should be: "Do you desire association with Nigeria or not?".

The supreme council of the Kamerun Ex-servicemen presented a memorandum advocating secession from Nigeria and a plebiscite to be conducted immediately after the general elections.

On 2 November the Mission departed from Mamfe by road on its way to Bamenda. It stopped first at the Queen of the Rosary girls' secondary school at Okoyong, operated by the Roman Catholic Mission. The construction of the school, which is

being built with the aid of a £25,000 grant from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, was not quite finished. Eighty girls were enrolled in its three classes. The Mission appreciated the warm hospitality offered it by the staff, the more so because ahead of it lay the most arduous journey of its entire trip - the main road to Bamenda which, at the end of the rainy season, was in poor condition.

At Widekum a large crowd had gathered to greet the Mission and an address was given on behalf of the chiefs and people of the area. The "Widekum Literate Group" expressed the desire that the Southern Cameroons should be associated as an equal member in a "Federation of Nigeria and the Cameroons". It favoured a plebiscite if there were no other way to resolve the differences of opinion about the future.

A small package of communications, about forty-five in number, was handed to the Mission, the large majority of these advocated unification and independence of the Kameruns and requested the return of the deported leaders of the former UPC and the restoration of that movement. Several communications requested social and economic amenities for the area.

4. Bamenda Division

In the Bamenda Division, the largest of the three grasslands districts, 264,880 persons (1953 census) live in an area of 2,890 square miles. The principal tribal groups are Tikar, Widekum, Chamba or Bali, Fulani and Hausa. In common with the rest of the grasslands, the country varies from the low and fertile plains of Ndop and Mbaw to grassy highlands rising to 9,500 feet.

Possessing neither significant mineral deposits nor secondary industries the division's potential wealth still largely lies in the soil. Improved communications have been mainly responsible for the recent creation of a growing demand for various goods, accompanied by an expansion of the markets and a spectacular increase in the production of cash crops, mainly coffee. There is also evidence of an increasing export of maize, beans, groundnuts, potatoes and livestock (there are some 110,000 head of cattle) both to other areas of the Territory and to Eastern Nigeria. This economic activity is resulting in increased urbanization, especially in Mankon, a growing town alongside the administrative station.

During its stay in Bamenda the Mission inspected the Bamenda Provincial Co-operative Produce Marketing Union Coffee Mill and met members of the co-operative societies. It was told that there were forty-six societies with 3,500 members operating successfully with relatively little supervision. During the 1957-58 production year, 495 tons of coffee were handled by the co-operatives. The Mission also visited the Southern Cameroons Development Agency's coffee estate at Santa, referred to elsewhere in its report.

Local Government in Bamenda Division is divided among three Native Authorities: the Bamenda Tikari N.A. (including the Nsaw, Ndop and Bafut clans); the Bamenda Widekum N.A. (including the Moghamo, Ngemba, Menemo, Ngie and Ngwan clans) and the Bali N.A.

In politics, the opposition party (KNDP) clearly has much of its strength in the grasslands. The Hon. V.T. Iainjo, Minister of Social Services, was the only elected member to the House of Assembly from the division who belongs to the KNC/KPP, the Government party. He represented Bamenda East. Mr. J.N. Foncha, leader of the Opposition, represents Bamenda Central. Although the representative of Bamenda West, Mr. S.T. Muna, was elected on the KNC/KPP ticket, he had since "crossed the floor" to the KNDP bench. Mr. H.D. Tankoh, the Native Authority Member for the division, also favoured the KNDP policy.

On 3 November the Mission, accompanied by the representatives of the Administering Authority including the two District Officers at Bamenda, Mr. P.J.D. Nesbitt Hawes and Mr. Thompson, met representatives of the three Native Authorities. In a memorandum which they jointly presented they raised a number of questions concerning the local development of the Bamenda area. As for the future of the Southern Cameroons, they considered that only by a plebiscite could it be determined whether or not the Southern Cameroons should "secede" from Nigeria, but that if the Cameroons delegates to the resumed Constitutional Conference had been backed by the overdue general elections, then any decision or recommendation by the Conference would have reflected the wishes of the people.

A lively debate then ensued between members of the Native Authorities, involving especially the Fons of Bafut and Bali (two of the four important traditional chiefs in the area), Messrs. M. Warmey and B.S. Lawan, from Nsaw, Mr. M.T. Monju of Bafut, the Chief of Bagolang and Mr. S.F. Ndi, both of Ndop,

The British administration officers to take direct administration of the new Division from now until 1960 when the indigenous people would have fully been trained in native administration.

The northern regional self-government which comes into effect next year shall have no effect in these areas and therefore not applicable here in the moment.

Owing to various opinion about the future of the Territory, a plebiscite should be held to allow the people to make a free choice. Such plebiscite shall only be free under the following conditions:

- (a) To be free from interference by local administration.
- (b) To be administered absolutely by an independent body, that is by the United Nations personnel.
- (c) Native Authority workers, district heads and all influential workers of the Native Authority to be removed from areas in order to avoid using their influence to intimidate the people. Using undue influence, bribery and all other illegal ways of influence to be a severe offence.
- (d) Before the plebiscite it is necessary that any party shall have an absolute freedom to campaign and express views to the people without victimization and the only way to safeguard against this is to see that the British administration officers have full power in the administration of the areas and all political cases to be heard only by magistrates courts.

To reinforce the Nigeria police for the purpose of the plebiscite and to remove the Native Authority police.

The plebiscite to be under secret balloting system.

For and on behalf of the United Middle Belt Congress,
Action Group Alliance Northern Trust Territories.

(Signed) Mallam Taligiri Dunya, President UMBC/AG Baza
Abubakar N. Jalingo, Org. Secretary, UMBC/AG
Umaru Michika
M. Ayuba Dunya
R. Usuman
Zira

(e) Extracts from address of the Premier of the Northern Region

.....

And now a word regarding the means of ascertaining the wishes of the people of the Northern Trust Territory before the attainment of independence and the consequent revision of the Trusteeship Agreement between Her Majesty's Government and the United Nations. You will already have heard in the field the views of various sections of the people of Trust Territory; it is not my intention here to enlarge on these, save to say that it is difficult for anyone who knows the Territory to conceive of any political future - taking into account the factors of history, geography and economics - which could bring greater benefits to its inhabitants than that they should throw in their lot with an independent Nigeria and within the Northern Region. However, that is for them - and for them only - freely to decide for themselves.

It is the considered opinion of the Government of this Region, that is, the opinion of myself and of my colleagues here with you today, that at this stage of the Region's development the suffrage should most suitably consist of adult males only. We are well aware of the views of others on this matter; they are entitled to theirs, equally as we are entitled to our own. But it is surely not out of place to observe that a self-governing community has every right to decide of itself the suffrage most suited to it. This Region has been de facto self-governing since 1954 and on 15 March it will be self-governing in law. The Federal Government of Switzerland, I believe, has similar views on the suffrage most suited to its people.

Now with regard to the form the plebiscite should take: my colleagues and I feel that the questions posed to the voters should be as simple as possible. You, Gentlemen, are aware that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory are simple rural farmers, often living in the remote hills and not closely in touch with affairs. We believe that to avoid the confusion which would inevitably arise in their minds if they were presented with several alternatives as to their future at the plebiscite, they should be asked a question on the following lines:

"Do you want union with the Northern Region of an independent Nigeria?"

/...

If the answer to this question were no, then Trusteeship would have to be continued and alternative choices, such as union with the Southern Cameroons or the French Cameroons, would have to be the subject of a second plebiscite. We feel, however, that these further alternatives should not be presented until the people have expressed their views on the first question.

As I think you know, the electoral roll for the federal elections will be prepared early in 1959 for the federal elections which will take place towards the end of 1959. We therefore suggest that this federal electoral roll should be used for the plebiscite which will be held in the Northern Cameroons. The preparation of a separate electoral roll purely for this plebiscite would be administratively difficult and would, I suggest, cause confusion in the minds of the people of the Cameroons.

So much for those matters regarding which you, Mr. Chairman, have been good enough to indicate that your Mission is particularly interested. May I only emphasize that the Government of this Region takes its special responsibilities in respect of Northern Trust Territory very seriously. You are aware that there has been since 1954 a Ministry of the Northern Cameroons which is charged with the duty of co-ordinating and fostering all forms of development in Trust Territory. You also know that in October last year this Government agreed as a matter of policy that special priority be given to the development of the Northern Cameroons and directed that all Ministers should, as a matter of urgency, submit memoranda to Council containing their proposals for putting this policy decision into practical effect.

This has now been done and considerable developments are being carried out. One factor, however, which gravely hampers us is the serious shortage of expatriate professional staff; this applies to the Region as a whole. I can assure you that Northern Trust Territory is in fact getting rather more than its fair share. May I also make it quite clear that while this Government is making every effort to train both administrative and technical staff from the people of the Region, it cordially welcomes and continues to recruit overseas staff to fill the gap, pending the time when the Region will be able to fulfil its requirements from its own resources.

.....

(Signed) A. Ahmadu, Sardauna
Premier, Northern Region,
Nigeria

ANNEX V

NOTE ON THE CONSTITUTION OF NIGERIA

The Federation of Nigeria consists of three Regions, Northern, Eastern and Western, the Federal Territory of Lagos, and, administered under the Trusteeship Agreement as an integral part of the Federation, the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under British administration. The Southern Cameroons has a relationship with the Federation approaching that of a fourth Region; the Northern Cameroons is administered as part of the Northern Region.

The Federation possesses a single chamber Federal Legislature, the House of Representatives, with exclusive powers of legislation over a limited but important range of subjects reserved to it by the Constitution; it also has power to legislate on other subjects concurrently with the Regions. In the concurrent field, Federal legislation prevails over Regional. Residual powers of legislation in the Regions reside with the Regional Legislatures, and in Lagos with the House of Representatives. The existing Federal House of Representatives is to be dissolved in 1959 and re-elected with an expanded membership based on one representative for each 100,000 of the population; a Senate will also be established in which each Region will be equally represented.

The Council of Ministers, which is the Federal Executive, consists of a Prime Minister and at least eleven Ministers chosen by him; it is presided over by the Governor-General. The Prime Minister is appointed by the Governor-General from among the elected members of the House of Representatives as the person who in his opinion will be able to command a majority in that House and is willing to be appointed.

In each Region there is a Legislature with powers defined in the Constitutional Instrument; these are bi-cameral in the Northern and Western Regions, consisting of a House of Assembly and a House of Chiefs. The Eastern Region has, at present, a single chamber Legislature; a House of Chiefs is to be set up in the future. The Southern Cameroons has a House of Assembly and is also to have a House of Chiefs with deliberative powers.

In each Region, Government is by the Executive Council. In the Eastern and Western Regions, which are now self-governing in matters within the competence of the Regional Legislatures, the Executive Councils are ministerial in form and wholly African. Ministers are nominated by a Premier appointed by the Governor, who acts as an agent of the Governor-General, from among the elected members of the Assembly as the person best able in his opinion to command a majority in the Assembly and who is willing to be appointed. The Premier presides over the Council. The Northern Region is to obtain on 15 March 1959 the same self-governing status, which is open also, as explained in the Mission's report, to the Southern Cameroons if the people decide that they wish to remain part of the Federation after independence; while the trusteeship status existed, however, reserve executive and legislative powers would be retained by the Administering Authority in respect of both the Northern and Southern Cameroons.

At the head of the pyramid of government in the Region there are Governors representing the Crown. In the self-governing Regions the Governor occupies a position approaching that of a constitutional ruler, acting on the advice of popularly elected Ministers in all but a limited category of subjects; the occasions on which the Governor is empowered to act in his discretion are limited principally to the exercise of the power of pardon and of responsibilities in relation to the police force delegated by the Governor-General. Certain types of legislation may be disallowed by the United Kingdom Government.

At present the Governor-General presides over the Council of Ministers of the Federation. Certain powers are reserved to him by the Constitution and by his Royal Instructions: for example, he retains responsibility for the armed forces and for external affairs. He is also responsible, in his discretion, for the use and operational control of the Nigeria Police and is empowered, in his discretion, to give directions to the Governors of the Regions for the purpose of ensuring that the executive authority of the Region is not exercised in such a way as to prejudice the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation or to endanger the continuance of federal government.

The United Kingdom retains certain over-riding powers until independence. These include the power to amend or to revoke the constitution, the power to disallow certain categories of legislation, and the power of the United Kingdom Parliament to legislate for Nigeria.

Nigeria is expected to attain independence with this federal form of constitution, suitably modified. The Secretary of State for the Colonies declared at the resumed London conference in 1958 that he was authorized by the United Kingdom Government to say that if a resolution was passed by the new Federal Parliament early in 1960 asking for independence, the United Kingdom Government would agree to that request and would introduce a Bill in Parliament to enable Nigeria to become a fully independent country on 1 October 1960.

A number of important provisions were recommended by the conference for inclusion in the constitutional instruments. These included provisions for fundamental rights and freedoms, qualifications for citizenship, procedures for changes in regional boundaries, powers to safeguard the nation, and provisions for the control of the police. Procedures for the amendment of the constitution, including the regional constitutions, after independence were also recommended. The conference agreed that since the units of a federal structure were interdependent, no single unit, including the Federation, should be able to amend its constitution in a way contrary to the general interests of the whole of Nigeria. Those parts of the Federal and Regional constitutions which were primarily of internal interest should therefore be amendable by a comparatively easy procedure not requiring the concurrence of any other unit of the Federation. But the parts of the Federal and Regional constitutions which were of general concern should be entrenched and the procedure for their amendment should require the concurrence of other units of the Federation. Detailed provisions were recommended accordingly.

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE CAMEROONS UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATIVE SUBDIVISIONS AND MAIN ROADS

- Provincial boundary
- Divisional boundary
- District boundary
- All season road

NORTHERN CAMEROONS

BORNU PROVINCE (DIKWA DIVISION)

- 1 NGALA
- 2 DIKWA
- 3 RANN
- 4 BALGE
- 5 GUMSU
- 6 GULUMBA
- 7 YABIRI-WOLOJE
- 8 BAMA
- 9 GWOZA

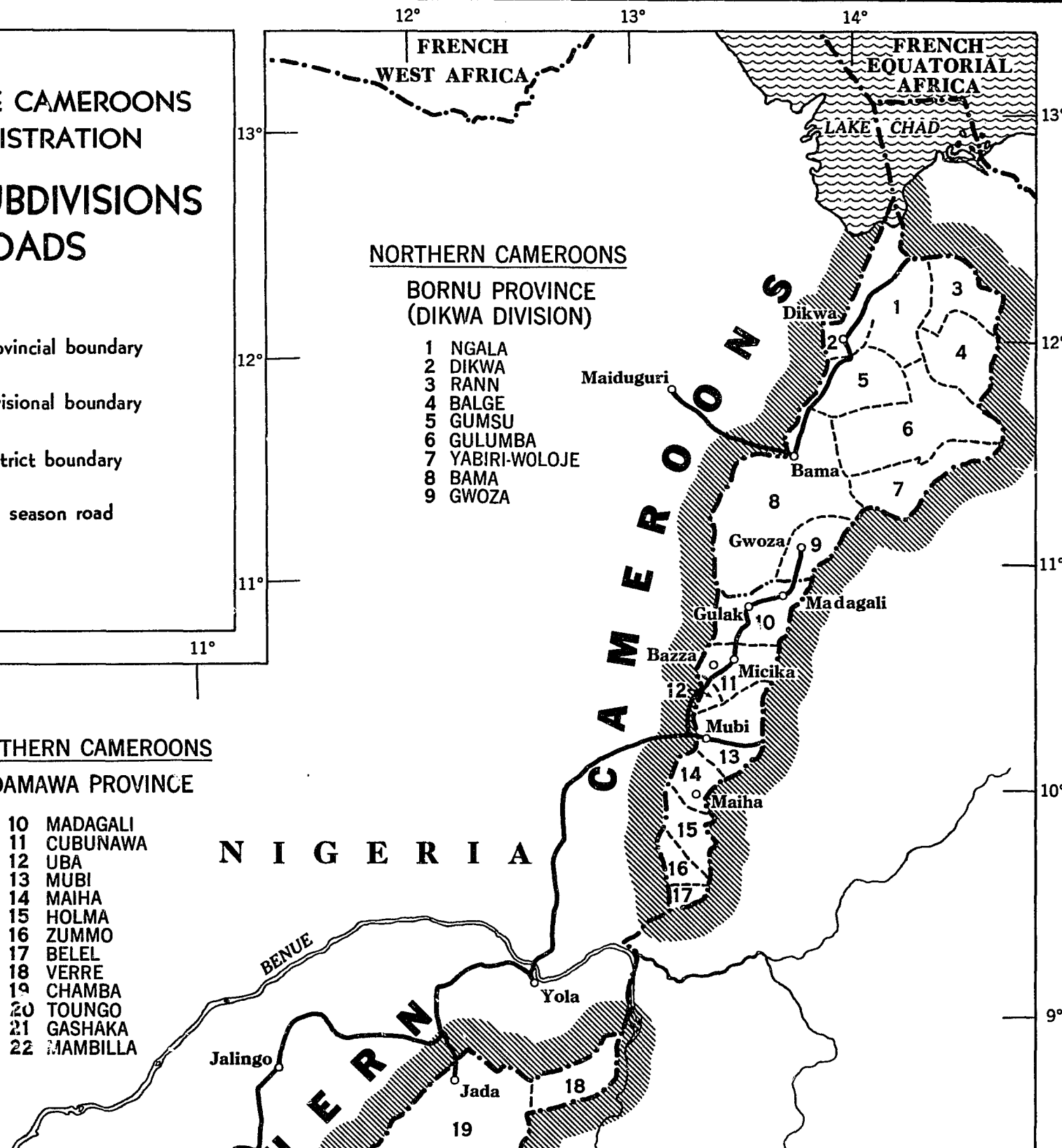
NORTHERN CAMEROONS

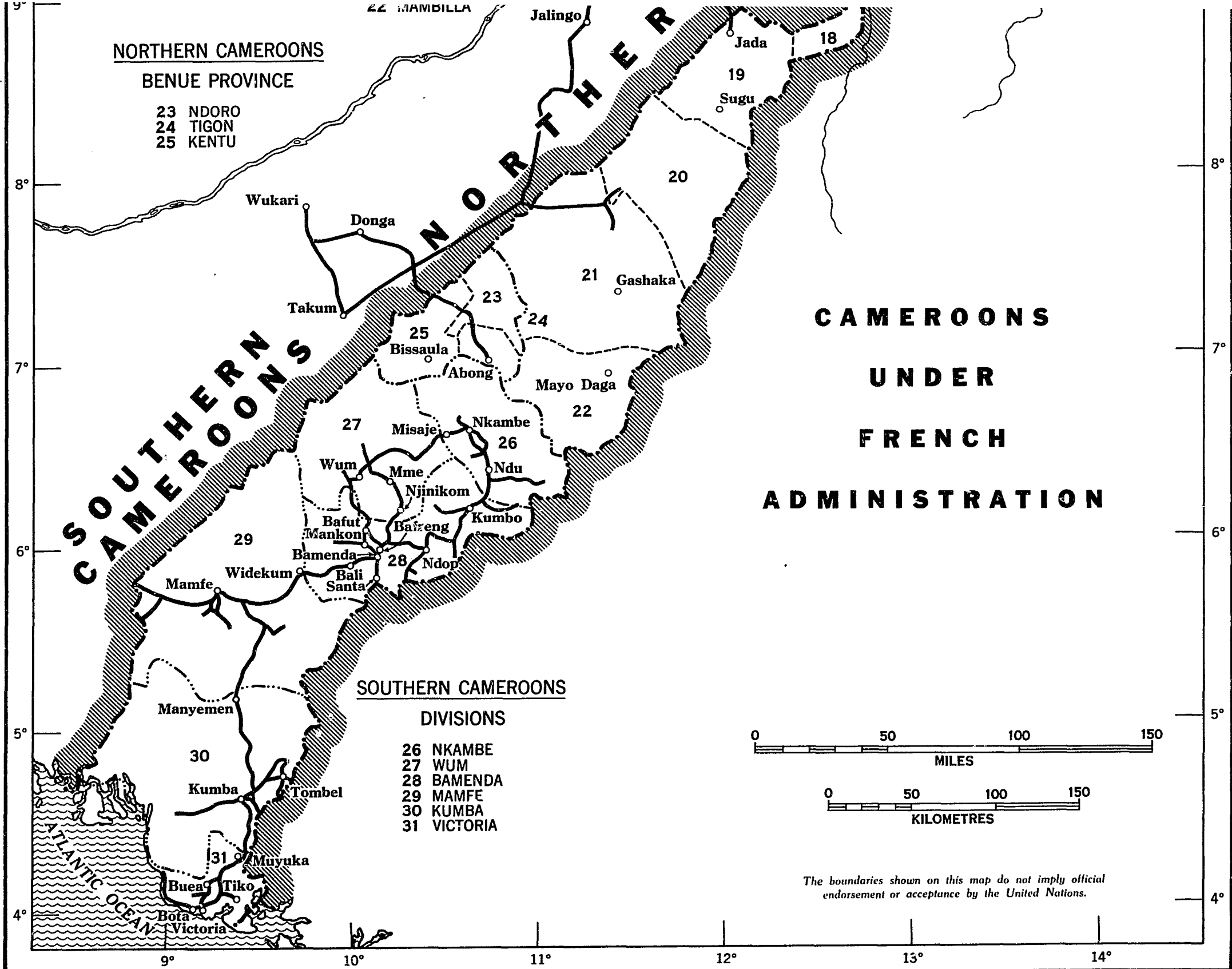
ADAMAWA PROVINCE

- 10 MADAGALI
- 11 CUBUNAWA
- 12 UBA
- 13 MUBI
- 14 MAIHA
- 15 HOLMA
- 16 ZUMMO
- 17 BELEL
- 18 VERRE
- 19 CHAMBA
- 20 TOUNGO
- 21 GASHAKA
- 22 MAMBILLA

NORTHERN CAMEROONS

BENUE PROVINCE





NORTHERN CAMEROONS

BENUE PROVINCE

- 23 NDORO
- 24 TIGON
- 25 KENTU

CAMEROONS

UNDER

FRENCH

ADMINISTRATION

SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

DIVISIONS

- 26 NKAMBE
- 27 WUM
- 28 BAMENDA
- 29 MAMFE
- 30 KUMBA
- 31 VICTORIA

0 50 100 150
MILES

0 50 100 150
KILOMETRES

The boundaries shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO THE TRUST TERRITORIES OF THE CAMEROONS 1958

- ++++ Railway
- All weather road (generally passable throughout the year)
- - - Seasonal road (selected)

Itinerary

By air

By road

By rail

