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REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSIONER FOR THE
SUPERVISION OF THE PLEBISCITES IN THE SOUTHERN AND
NORTHERN PARTS OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE
CAMEROONS UNDER UNITED KINGDOM ADMINISTRATION

Letter dated 30 March 1961 from the United Nations
Plebiscite Commissioner to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to forward herewith the report on the plebiscites which were held, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1350(XIII) of 13 March 1959, 1352(XIV) of 16 October 1959 and 1473(XIV) of 12 December 1959, in the southern and northern parts of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration.

I should be grateful if you would submit the report to the Trusteeship Council for its consideration and transmission to the General Assembly.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Djalal Abdoh

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GENERAL

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In accordance with the request contained in paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 1350 (XIII), I have the honour to submit to the Trusteeship Council a report in two parts on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscites held in the southern and northern parts of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration. I have deemed it useful to present at the outset of the report, a broad introductory section which contains, under relevant headings, background and other information, common to both plebiscites. In parts I and II of the report, an account is given of the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscites held in the southern and northern parts of the Territory respectively.

II. EVENTS LEADING TO THE DECISION TO HOLD THE PLEBISCITES

2. At its twenty-first session, the Trusteeship Council, having been informed of the approach of the Federation of Nigeria towards independence, took note of a statement by the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the United Kingdom that there could be no question of obliging the Cameroons to remain part of an independent Nigeria contrary to her own wishes and that before Nigeria became independent the people of the north and south sectors of the Cameroons would have to say freely what their wishes were as to their own future.

3. Subsequently, in a memorandum^{1/} to the Council at its twenty-second session, 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 and stated that it was therefore necessary to consider what arrangements should then be made for the administration of the Trust Territory - arrangements which, it stated, must involve either the modification or the termination of the present Trusteeship Agreement.

1/ T/1393.

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.

4. In reporting on the results of the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference to the General Assembly at its thirteenth session,^{2/} the representative of the United Kingdom stated that the official report issued at the conclusion of the Conference referred to a statement by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on behalf of the United Kingdom Government, 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 into Parliament to enable Nigeria to become a fully independent country on 1 October 1960. The Federal Prime Minister of Nigeria and the Premiers of the Nigerian Regions had expressed their desire that on independence Nigeria should become a full member of the Commonwealth and that there should continue to be close co-operation between the United Kingdom and Nigeria.

5. At its thirteenth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1282 (XIII) concerning both the Cameroons under British and the Cameroons under French administration in which it, inter alia, noted the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom that the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration was expected to achieve in 1960 the objectives set forth in Article 76 b of the Charter of the United Nations and requested the Trusteeship Council to examine, at the earliest possible date during its twenty-third session, the reports of the Visiting Mission which was at that time visiting the two Cameroons and to transmit them, with its observations and recommendations, to the General Assembly not later than 20 February 1959, to enable the Assembly to take, in consultation with the Administering Authorities, the necessary measures in connexion with full attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System in the two Territories. The General Assembly decided in a second resolution^{3/} to resume its thirteenth session on 20 February 1959 to consider exclusively the question of the future of the two Trust Territories.

2/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 803rd meeting.

3/ General Assembly resolution 1281 (XIII).

6. As part of its terms of reference, the Visiting Mission had been requested 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 the Territory to express their wishes concerning their future.^{4/} The Mission reported^{5/} that the question of the future of the Territory had assumed immediacy not so much because of its own progress towards the objectives of trusteeship as because of the imminent attainment of independence by both of its much larger neighbours: the Federation of Nigeria, which expected to become independent on 1 October 1960, and the Cameroons under French administration, which expected independence on 1 January 1960. Each of these emergent States had indicated its willingness to have the Cameroons under British administration join it if the peoples of the Trust Territory should so desire.

7. In coming to its conclusions on the matter, the Mission recalled the circumstances which had led the Northern Cameroons to be administered as a part of the Northern Region of Nigeria and the Southern Cameroons to follow a separate course, in association first with the Southern Provinces and then with the Eastern Region of Nigeria, and since 1954 as a separate entity within the Federation. The Mission was convinced that a realistic appraisal of the situation in the Trust Territory as well as a realistic approach to the question of its future required 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 had taken distinctly different courses and between which there now existed profound differences both in administrative systems and in political attitudes and loyalties. The Mission accordingly submitted in the first place its opinion that the wishes of the northern and southern peoples of the Trust Territory should be determined separately.

8. Having reported the views expressed to it in the North, the Mission came to the conclusion, on the basis of the facts and opinions known to it - which included considerations of historical and political development which

^{4/} Trusteeship Council resolution 1907 (XXII).

^{5/} T/1440.

it set forth in its report - that there was 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 believed it to be manifestly the opinion of the northern population as a whole, as far as it could be expressed at that time and in the foreseeable future, that it should become permanently a part of the Northern Region of the Federation of Nigeria when the latter attained independence. The Mission accordingly recommended that, if the General Assembly accepted such a union as the basis for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, no further consultation need be held.

9. In the Southern Cameroons 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, on 1 October 1960, become 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 forthwith be separated from Nigeria, with a view to union with an independent French Cameroons, Trusteeship being conducted until then. The division between those 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.

10. Between the Mission's visit and the completion of its report, elections were held to the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly. The party favouring separation from Nigeria came to power with fourteen seats as against twelve won by the two parties standing for permanent federation with Nigeria. The Mission considered^{6/} that a new political situation had thus been created which must be given the time necessary to evolve further: to produce general agreement on the future of the Southern Cameroons or, failing that, to allow the practicable choices confronting the people to be precisely formulated. On the face of it, the election results meant that the Cameroons institutions were now controlled, by a small margin, by a political party pledged to try

6/ T/1440.

to bring about a change in the existing relationship of the Southern Cameroons with Nigeria: namely, to end the arrangement by which the Southern Cameroons was administered as an integral part of Nigeria. It was to be noted, added the Mission, that this had been regarded by the party as a step to be taken within the framework of the International Trusteeship System, and not as the objective of the System nor, accordingly, the basis for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. The party forming the Government appeared to be for the first time in a position to explore, in consultation with the Administering Authority, the practical possibilities and consequences of an administrative separation from Nigeria. It might have to determine, in view of a strong opposition in the House of Assembly equally firmly committed to continued association with Nigeria, whether its political situation was sufficiently secure and its mandate sufficiently clear to enable it to pursue its original course. The Government would no doubt also wish to reconsider the consequences, for the long-term future of the Southern Cameroons, of any action taken while still under Trusteeship to separate it from Nigeria. The Mission therefore considered that the new Government should be given time to review its intentions and to consult the House of Assembly and the Administering Authority on them; to proceed, if that was still its purpose, to ascertain by discussion with the Government of the Cameroons under French administration the terms under which some form of unification with that territory might take place; and, finally, to advise the Administering Authority, and through it the United Nations, of its wishes and those of the House of Assembly as a whole on the attainment of the objective of Trusteeship and their views on the determination of the opinion of the population.

11. The Mission concluded that if general agreement should develop in the newly-elected House of Assembly concerning the future of the Southern Cameroons, a formal popular consultation might prove to be unnecessary; but if no such agreement emerged, it might only be through a consultation at some appropriate future date, probably a plebiscite, that it would be possible to resolve the basic issues. In that event, the Mission considered that the conditions for such a consultation, including its timing and the question or questions to be put to the people, would have to be determined by the General Assembly

and the Administering Authority in consultation, and as far as possible in agreement, with the political parties in the Southern Cameroons.

12. The report of the Visiting Mission on the Cameroons under British administration was examined, as requested by the General Assembly, by the Council during its twenty-third session. The Council adopted a resolution^{7/} in which it took note of the observations and conclusions of the Visiting Mission in its report; considered that these conclusions would require further examination by the General Assembly; and transmitted to the General Assembly the report of the Visiting Mission, the observations of the Administering Authority and the records of the Council's discussion in order that, after due examination in the light of these documents and of any further views that might be expressed before it, the General Assembly might take such action as it deemed appropriate, in accordance with Article 76 b of the United Nations Charter.

13. The General Assembly resumed its thirteenth session on 20 February 1959 to consider the question of the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French administration and the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration. It adopted a resolution^{8/} concerning the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration in which it recommended that the Administering Authority, in pursuance of Article 76 b of the Charter of the United Nations, take steps, in consultation with a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, to organize, under the supervision of the United Nations, separate plebiscites in the northern and southern parts of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, in order to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory concerning their future.

14. With respect to the Northern Cameroons the Assembly recommended that the plebiscite should take place about the middle of November 1959, and that the people of the northern part should be asked:

"(a) Do you wish the Northern Cameroons to be part of the Northern Region of Nigeria when the Federation of Nigeria becomes independent?"

or

"(b) Are you in favour of deciding the future of the Northern Cameroons at a later date?"

^{7/} Trusteeship Council resolution 1926 (XXIII).

^{8/} General Assembly resolution 1350 (XIII), Annex I.

The Assembly also recommended that the plebiscite in this part of the Territory should be conducted on the basis of the electoral register then being compiled for the elections to the Federal House of Representatives, and in this connexion it is recalled that the register was being compiled on the basis of universal male suffrage only.

15. With respect to the Southern Cameroons, the General Assembly recommended that the plebiscite should be conducted during the next dry season between the beginning of December 1959 and the end of April 1960 and decided that the two alternatives to be put to the people of the southern part of the Territory and the qualifications for voting in the plebiscite there should be considered at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly. The Assembly expressed the hope that all concerned in the Territory would endeavour to reach agreement before the opening of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly on the alternatives to be put in the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons and the qualifications for voting in it.

16. The Assembly decided to appoint a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner to exercise on behalf of the General Assembly all the necessary powers and functions of supervision, assisted by observers and staff to be appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with him. The Assembly requested the Plebiscite Commissioner to submit to the Trusteeship Council a report in two parts on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscites, the first part of the report dealing with the northern part of the Territory to be submitted in time for transmission to the General Assembly for consideration before the end of its fourteenth session. The Assembly finally requested the Council to transmit to it the reports of the Plebiscite Commissioner, together with any recommendations and observations it considered necessary.

17. At the 794th meeting of the General Assembly, held on 13 March 1959, I had the honour to be elected United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration.

18. At the fourteenth session, the Administering Authority informed the General Assembly of what had been done to promote agreement on the alternatives to be put, and on the qualifications for voting, in the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons. After unsuccessful discussions with political leaders

a conference had been arranged in which the political leaders and the chiefs, and representatives of the Native Authorities and of other groups in the Southern Cameroons, took part. The conference, which was held at Mamfe and presided over by an independent chairman, Sir Sidney Philipson, had discussed the matter for two days but had failed to reach an agreement either on the alternatives to be put or on the qualifications for voting.

19. Statements were made in the General Assembly by the Premier, Mr. J.N. Foncha (KNDP), and the leader of the Opposition, Dr. E.M.L. Endeley (KNC) and by two petitioners, Mr. N.W. Mbile (KPP), Deputy Leader of the Opposition and Mr. K. Ntumazah (OK), in which each explained his party's views on the plebiscite. Mr. Foncha considered that the alternatives should be regional status within an independent Nigeria or separation from Nigeria and continuation of Trusteeship for a limited period after which a decision could be made. Dr. Endeley, Mr. Mbile and Mr. Ntumazah agreed with Mr. Foncha on the first alternative but favoured unification with an independent French Cameroons as the second alternative. On the question of qualifications, Mr. Foncha believed that only those born in the Southern Cameroons should be entitled to vote in the plebiscite, and in this he was supported by Mr. Ntumazah. Dr. Endeley and Mr. Mbile, however, felt that the register should include certain residents not born in the Territory. Many petitions were received by the Secretary-General from individuals, political parties and other organizations in the Southern Cameroons in which support was given for these differing points of view.

20. Following negotiations, Mr. Foncha and Dr. Endeley issued an agreed statement^{2/} to the General Assembly. They suggested that in view of the failure of the parties to reach agreement, it would be wiser to defer consultation with the people for the time being. They were also agreed that the Administering Authority should take steps to separate the administration of the Southern Cameroons from that of the Federation of Nigeria; that this should be completed not later than 1 October 1960; and that, pending settlement of its future, the Southern Cameroons should continue to be administered under the existing Trusteeship Agreement, but separately from Nigeria. They also suggested 1962 as the date for ascertaining the wishes of the people.

21. The representative of the Administering Authority informed the Assembly that his Government was willing to continue to administer the Southern Cameroons as a Trust Territory until its future had been finally settled. In that case, however, it could not continue to be administered as an integral part of Nigeria. Separation would raise administrative problems relating to the services now provided by Nigeria which would involve negotiations with the Federal Government.

22. Subsequently, at the 898th meeting of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Foncha and Mr. Endeley informed the Committee that they had agreed on the voting qualifications as put forward in a draft resolution submitted by Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and the United States of America. This draft resolution, as approved by the Fourth Committee on 9 October 1959, was adopted by the General Assembly at its 829th meeting on 16 October 1959.^{10/} By this resolution the Assembly noted the statements that had been made at the 898th meeting of the Fourth Committee and decided that the arrangements for the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons should begin on 30 September 1960, and that the plebiscite should be concluded not later than March 1961. It recommended that the two questions to be put at the plebiscite should be:

"(a) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria?

"(b) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of the Cameroons?"

The Assembly also recommended that only persons born in the Southern Cameroons or one of whose parents was born in the Southern Cameroons should vote in the plebiscite. It further recommended that the Administering Authority, in consultation with the Government of the Southern Cameroons, should take steps to implement the separation of the administration of the Southern Cameroons from that of the Federation of Nigeria, not later than 1 October 1960.

23. I presented the first part of my report,^{11/} on the organization, conduct and results of the plebiscite in the northern part of the Territory, to the Trusteeship Council at its tenth special session. I informed the Council that

^{10/} General Assembly resolution 1352 (XIV), Annex III.

^{11/} T/1491 and Add. 1 and Corr. 1.

I was satisfied that the plebiscite had been organized and conducted by the Administering Authority with efficiency and impartiality and that it had been held in an atmosphere of freedom. A total of 113,859 votes had been cast; 70,546 in favour of the second alternative and 42,788 in favour of the first. I felt that one of the reasons why the majority had voted in favour of the second alternative was to express the will for a speedy introduction of reforms in the system of local administration. The Council adopted, on 2 December 1959, a resolution^{12/} transmitting this report to the General Assembly.

24. My report and the results of the plebiscite were examined by the General Assembly at its fourteenth session. The representative of the Administering Authority informed the Assembly that the Administering Authority interpreted the results of the plebiscite as an expression by the people of dissatisfaction at not being able to play a larger part in the system of local administration and he indicated that reforms would be introduced speedily. He also informed the Assembly that, as it would no longer be possible to administer the Northern Cameroons as an integral part of Nigeria after the date of Nigerian independence, the Administering Authority intended to administer the Territory separately through an Administrator responsible to Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

25. After discussing these statements and my report, the Assembly adopted at its 857th meeting on 12 December 1959 resolution 1473 (XIV)^{13/} whereby it recommended that the Administering Authority, in pursuance of Article 76 b of the Charter and in consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, should organize under United Nations supervision, a further plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons, the arrangements for which should begin on 30 September 1960 and that the plebiscite should be concluded not later than March 1961. It decided that the two questions to be put at this plebiscite should be:

"(a) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of the Cameroons?

"(b) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria?"

^{12/} Trusteeship Council resolution 2007(S-X)

^{13/} Annex XV.

It recommended that the plebiscite be conducted on the basis of universal adult suffrage, all those over the age of twenty-one and ordinarily resident in the Northern Cameroons being qualified to vote. It requested the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner to report to the Trusteeship Council on the organization, conduct and results of this plebiscite, in order that the Council might transmit its report to the General Assembly together with any recommendations and observations it considered necessary. It further recommended that the necessary measures be taken without delay for the further decentralization of governmental functions and the effective democratization of local government in the northern part of the Trust Territory and that the Administering Authority should initiate without delay the separation of the administration of the Northern Cameroons from that of Nigeria and that this process should be completed by 1 October 1960. It also requested the Administering Authority to report on the process of separation to the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-sixth session and requested the Council to submit a report on this matter to the General Assembly at its fifteenth session. Finally, it declared that the participation of the Northern Cameroons in the elections to the Federal Legislative Assembly should in no way interfere with, or influence, the free choice of the people of the Northern Cameroons, in deciding their future in the forthcoming plebiscite.

III. CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY; ORDERS IN COUNCIL PROVIDING FOR THE HOLDING OF THE PLEBISCITES

26. Following preliminary consultations I had held in London in January, I received on 21 July 1960 from the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations the draft Orders in Council for the Southern Cameroons and the Northern Cameroons plebiscites for my comments and observations.

27. In accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1350 (XIII) and 1352 (XIV), Articles 1 and 2 of the draft Order in Council for the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons provided for the holding of a plebiscite and for the questions to be put therein to the people. Article 3 of this draft Order in Council provided for the division of the Southern Cameroons into plebiscite districts, which under a schedule appended to the Order were to be twenty-six in number. The Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons was empowered by Article 4 of the Order to make provision by regulation for all matters incidental or ancillary to the conduct and organization of

the plebiscite. Matters to be provided for in the Regulations included the division of each plebiscite district into registration areas; the time, place and manner in which persons might apply to be registered as voters; the determination of entitlement of an applicant to be so registered and appeals against the inclusion or exclusion of applicants' names from the register; the plebiscite procedure and the manner in which votes were to be cast; the ascertainment and publication of the voting in each registration area; the lodging of petitions concerning the result of the voting and the time and manner for the hearing and determination of such petitions; the giving of directions by the Plebiscite Administrator for the taking of a fresh voting in a plebiscite district or part thereof in the event the Plebiscite Administrator declared the voting in such plebiscite district or part thereof invalid; and, finally, the definition and trial of offences relating to the plebiscite. Article 5 provided for the qualifications necessary to register as a voter, on the basis of operative paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1352 (XIV) and it also determined the registration areas where applicants were to be registered. Thus, an applicant resident in the Southern Cameroons had to register in the registration area in which he was resident at the time of his application. If an applicant was not resident in the Southern Cameroons he had to register in the registration area in which he was born, and if he was not born in the Southern Cameroons, in the registration area in which his father was born or, if neither he nor his father was born in the Southern Cameroons, in the registration area in which his mother was born. This Article enumerated further the grounds for disqualification for registration as a voter, such as being under certain sentences imposed by a court of law, insanity declared by competent authority or being subject to disqualification under certain laws in force in the Southern Cameroons, the Northern Cameroons, the Republic of the Cameroons, or Nigeria, or to disqualifications arising from offences relating to the plebiscite.

28. Article 6 gave authority to the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons to constitute offices as he deemed necessary for the purpose of the Order and regulations thereunder and to appoint persons to those offices. Article 7

provided for the establishment of one or more Special Courts for the hearing and determination of petitions relating to any dispute in connexion with the result of the voting and for the appointment of judges for those Courts. Article 8 set forth that the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons might give directions to the Plebiscite Administrator in the exercise of the latter's functions and that the Plebiscite Administrator might, under the direction of the Southern Cameroons Commissioner, give directions to officers appointed for the plebiscite as he might consider desirable. Under Article 9 the Plebiscite Administrator might, in the light of a decision of a Special Court, declare the result of the voting in any plebiscite district, or part thereof, invalid, and direct that fresh voting be taken in that plebiscite district, or part thereof. Article 10 made provision for facilities to be afforded to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and all other persons appointed to observe the plebiscite on behalf of the United Nations, and for representations made by the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and such other persons concerning the conduct of the plebiscite. Article 11 provided that expenses relating to the plebiscite were to be charged to the Southern Cameroons Consolidated Revenue Fund.

29. The draft Order in Council for the Northern Cameroons was substantially the same as that for the Southern Cameroons except that the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons had a direct responsibility for the conduct of the plebiscite (whereas in the Southern Cameroons the Plebiscite Administrator was subject to the directions of the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons). Furthermore, the qualifications for voting in the Northern Cameroons were in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1473 (XIV) and based on residence (whereas in the Southern Cameroons they were based on birth).

30. On the occasion of my trip to London for consultations with the Administering Authority, I discussed some of the provisions contained in the drafts of the Southern Cameroons and the Northern Cameroons Orders in Council with officials of the Colonial Office. I advised them that I had noted a discrepancy between the language of Article 2(1) in each of the draft Orders in Council and resolution 1350 (XIII) of the General Assembly. Thus, Article 2(1) ordered a plebiscite to be held in the Southern Cameroons

"for the purpose of ascertaining which of the questions" (that the General Assembly had recommended should be put in the plebiscite and which this Article reproduced) "would receive more affirmative replies by the people of the Southern Cameroons". I pointed out that under resolution 1350 (XIII) the purpose of the plebiscite was to "ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory concerning their future", and that nowhere in resolutions 1350 (XIII), 1352 (XIII) or 1473 (XIV) was mention made of the attainment of the majority of votes for one of the alternatives. It was clear that the General Assembly had not determined in these resolutions the manner in which it would assess the result of the plebiscite.

31. I also noted that Article 10 of each of the draft Orders in Council concerning facilities to be afforded to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and staff, omitted reference to consultations with myself and my staff by the officials referred to therein in the exercise of their functions under the Order. In view of the fact that General Assembly resolution 1350 (XIII) provided for the organization of the plebiscite by the Administering Authority "in consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner", I was of the view that the Order in Council should refer specifically to such consultations. As a point which was perhaps only of drafting significance, I suggested that Article 10 and the title should be slightly changed to make it clear that the facilities therein contemplated were for all members of my staff and not merely for "Observers".

32. These observations were accepted by the officials of the Colonial Office and the appropriate changes were made accordingly in the final version of the Orders in Council, published in the Southern Cameroons Gazette, No. 46, Vol. 6, on 1 October 1960,^{14/} and in the Northern Cameroons Gazette, No. 1, Vol. 1, on 5 November 1960.^{15/}

IV. PLEBISCITE COMMISSIONER'S STAFF, TRAVEL AND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS

A. United Nations plebiscite staff

33. By its resolution 1350 (XIII) of 13 March 1959, the General Assembly had decided that the Plebiscite Commissioner should be assisted by Observers and staff to be appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with him.

^{14/} Annex IV.

^{15/} Annex XVI.

34. Early in 1960, the Secretariat entered into preliminary consultations with the Administering Authority concerning the arrangements it had made or was contemplating for the organization and the conduct of the plebiscites in the two parts of the Territory. On the basis of the information received, it was determined that a staff of thirty-four officials would be needed to meet the requirements of the two plebiscites, including Observer, headquarters and supporting field service staff. The Secretary-General appointed, in consultation with me, the officials to assist me from among the Secretariat staff at United Nations Headquarters. Their names, respective designations and duty stations are listed below:

Principal Secretary:	José Rolz-Bennett
<u>Headquarters Staff - Buea</u>	
Political Affairs Officer	William T. Mashler
Legal Affairs Officer	Carlos Cuenca
Information Officer	Allen Chang
Administrative Officer	Serge Michel
Finance Clerk	Nello Tordini
Secretaries:	Colette Charpentier
	Patricia McGee
Field Service Officers:	Peter Filersen
	Bob Kales
	Svend Volder

<u>Headquarters Staff - Mubi</u>	
Observer for Mubi and Liaison Officer - Northern Cameroons	Marshall Williams
Assistant Administrative Officer	Roy Blainey
Secretary	Beatrice Kinsman
Field Service Officers:	Michael Donohoe
	Michael Hughes

Observers for the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>Observer Post</u>	<u>Observer</u>
Dikwa North	Dikwa	Foch K. Wand
Dikwa Central	Bama	Mudassir Shamsee
Gwoza	Gwoza	James L. Lewis
Cubunawa-Madagali	Gulak	Antonin Obrdlik
Mubi	Mubi	Marshall Williams
Chamba	Jada	Ismail R. Khalidi
Gashaka-Toungo	Serti	Mohamed A.K. Taha
Mambilla	Gembu	Wilhelm Iversen
United Hills'	Baissa	Tsung-Lung Kuo

Observers for the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>Observer Post</u>	<u>Observer</u>
Nkambe	Nkambe	Marco V. Jiménez
Wum	Wum	Jeffrey Rajascoria
Bamenda East & North	Kumbo	Hung-Ti Chu
Bamenda Central	Bamenda	Gastao N. Ceccatto
Bamenda South & West	Bamenda	John Miles
Mamfe	Mamfe	Lev D. Emelianov
Mamfe	Mamfe	Eduardo Mondlane
Kumba	Kumba	John Howe
Kumba	Kumba	Hisham Rifai
Victoria	Victoria	Felipe Pradas

Subsequently, the Secretary-General appointed, in consultation with me, Mr. Abdel S. Dajani and Mr. John Gestelen to supervise, in the United Kingdom, the printing of the ballot papers for the Southern and Northern Cameroons plebiscites, respectively.

B. Travel, administrative, financial and transport arrangements

35. Travel, as well as administrative, financial and transport arrangements for United Nations Plebiscite personnel were made by United Nations Headquarters in New York. These involved the movement of staff from New York, Europe and the Middle East and their concentration in the Northern and Southern Cameroons by mid-October.

C. Establishment of Headquarters

36. I decided to establish my headquarters in Buea, the capital of the Southern Cameroons, which, as such, is not only the seat of government, but also the official place of residence of the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons. Moreover, the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator had established his headquarters in Buea. Despite its location at the extreme southern end of the Trust Territory, Buea was the only choice, because had I favoured a more central location, the already complicated problem of communications would have been further aggravated. The site offered adequate lodging and office accommodations, and was near the only airfield in the Trust Territory with regular plane communications with the outside.

37. Since the plebiscites in the southern and northern parts of the Trust Territory were being organized and conducted completely separate and independent of each other, and the administrations of the two parts had been entrusted to the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons and the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons, respectively, there existed no central authority in the Trust Territory. For this reason, I deemed it both desirable and necessary to set up a second headquarters in Mubi, where the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons had established his headquarters as of 1 October 1960. However, since it was evident from the outset that I would have to divide my time between the two headquarters and being anxious to keep in touch with developments in the Northern Cameroons while I was occupied elsewhere, I decided to appoint the United Nations Observer at Mubi to act as my Liaison Officer with the Administrator.

D. Advance Administrative Party

38. As all arrangements had to be completed before the arrival in the Territory of Headquarters and Observer staff, the Administrative and Finance Officer left New York on 14 August 1960 and after consultations in London, arrived in Nigeria on 19 August, together with four Field Service Officers who had been detached from United Nations missions in the Middle East. After discussions with the British Authorities in Kano, Kaduna and Lagos, the Administrative Officer arrived in Buea to make preparations for the

operation in the Southern Cameroons, while the Assistant Administrative Officer, who remained in Mubi, performed similar tasks in the Northern Cameroons. This included a complete survey of prospective Observer stations in both regions by the Administrative Officer.

E. Local transportation

39. A fleet of twelve Landrovers and two cars was rented by the United Nations for the use of the Staff in the Southern Cameroons. In the north, fifteen Jeeps and Landrovers with four trailers were rented from the United Kingdom Plebiscite Administration; the Jeeps were those which had been used during the 1959 plebiscite and had afterwards been sold to the Nigerian Federal Government.

F. Housing and supplies for United Nations Observers

40. The United Kingdom Plebiscite Administration in both regions arranged for resthouses to be placed at the disposal of United Nations Observers. The houses were in readiness to accommodate the Observers by the time they arrived in their districts, except for the one in Gembu, which was not completed until 1 December 1960. Camping equipment was a necessity for all Observers, as all had to trek to cover their districts. This was supplied by the Field Operations Service of the Office of General Services of the Secretariat and was shipped from New York. Some equipment was also purchased locally. In addition, medical provisions were supplied by the Health Service of the United Nations.

G. Arrival of staff and dispersal of Observers

41. The group of Northern Observers arrived in Kano on 12 October, together with the Principal Secretary. After a day's stopover for briefing by the Principal Secretary and the Administrative and Finance Officer, this group left for Yola and Maiduguri. From there they proceeded on the following day by road to their respective stations. The Principal Secretary arrived in Buea on 12 October, together with Headquarters staff who had joined him in Lagos. The Southern Observers arrived in two groups in the Territory on 17 and 19 October and reached their stations before the opening of the registration period. I had myself arrived in Buea on 17 October.

H. Plebiscite Commissioner's itinerary

42.	<u>Date</u>	<u>Sector</u>	<u>Transportation</u>	<u>Overnight stop</u>
	17 October 1960	Arrival Buea	Scheduled flight	
	20 " "	Buea/Mubi	Charter flight	Mubi
	21 " "	Mubi/Michika/Gwoza/Bama	Car	Bama
	22 " "	Bama/Mubi	Car	Mubi
	23 " "	Mubi		Mubi
	24 " "	Mubi/Buea	Charter flight	
	27 " "	Buea/Victoria/Buea	Car	
	28 " "	Buea/Kumba/Buea	Car	
	31 " "	Buea/Bali	Charter flight	
		Bali/Bamenda	Car	Bamenda
	1 November 1960	Bamenda/Bali	Car	
		Bali/Buea	Charter flight	
	7 " "	Buea/Baissa/Gange/Mubi	Charter flight	Mubi
	8 " "	Mubi/Buea	Charter flight	
	14 " "	Buea/Bali	Charter flight	
		Bali/Bamenda/Kumbo/Nkambe	Car	Nkambe
	15 " "	Nkambe/Wum/Bamenda	Car	Bamenda
	16 " "	Bamenda/Bali	Car	
		Bali/Mamfe/Buea	Military air transport	
	2 December "	Buea/Mubi	Scheduled flight	Mubi
	3 " "	Mubi/Buea	Scheduled flight	
	20 " "	Buea/Douala	Charter flight	Douala
	21 " "	Douala/Garoua	Scheduled flight	
		Garoua/Mubi	Car	Mubi
	22 " "	Mubi/Gulak/Gwoza/Bama	Car	Bama
	23 " "	Bama/Dikwa/Fort Lamy	Car	Fort Lamy (Chad Republic)
	24 " "	Fort Lamy/Teheran	Scheduled flight	
	10 January 1961	Teheran/Douala	Scheduled flight	Douala
	11 " "	Douala/Garoua	Scheduled flight	
		Garoua/Mubi	Chartered flight	Mubi

<u>Date</u>	<u>Sector</u>	<u>Transportation</u>	<u>Overnight ston</u>
11/12 January 1961	Mubi		Mubi
13 " "	Mubi/Garoua	Charter flight	
	Garoua/Douala	Scheduled flight	
	Douala/Buea	Charter flight	
17 " "	Buea/Douala	Charter flight	Douala
18 " "	Douala/Garoua	Scheduled flight	
	Garoua/Mubi	Charter flight	Mubi
19 " "	Mubi		Mubi
20 " "	Mubi/Michika/Gulak/Mubi	Car	Mubi
21 " "	Mubi		Mubi
22 " "	Mubi/Ganye/Mubi	Charter flight	Mubi
23 " "	Mubi/Garoua	Charter flight	Mubi
	Garoua/Yaoundé	Scheduled flight	Yaoundé
24 " "	Yaoundé/Douala	Scheduled flight	
	Douala/Buea	Charter flight	
30 " "	Buea/Bamenda	Charter flight	Bamenda
31 " "	Bamenda/Ganye/Mubi	Charter flight	Mubi
1 February "	Mubi/Maiduguri	Charter flight	
	Maiduguri/Dikwa/Bama	Car	Bama
2 " "	Bama/Gulak/Michika/Mubi	Car	Mubi
3 " "	Mubi/Garoua	Charter flight	
	Garoua/Douala	Scheduled flight	
	Douala/Buea	Charter flight	
11 " "	Victoria/Tiko	Car	
	Tiko/We/Wum/Bali	Charter flight	
	Bali/Bamenda	Car	Bamenda
12 " "	Bali/Ganye/Mubi	Charter flight	
	Mubi/Michika/Mubi	Car	Mubi
13 " "	Mubi/Ganye/Baïssa/Bali (Bamenda)/Buea	Charter flight	
16 " "	Departed from the Territory	Scheduled flight	

V. COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN CAMEROONS AND WITH AREAS OUTSIDE THE TRUST TERRITORY

43. One of the major problems besetting both the substantive and administrative aspects of the United Nations Plebiscite supervision stemmed from the singular lack of communication facilities between the northern and southern parts of the Trust Territory and to a somewhat lesser though serious extent, within the two parts themselves. In this context, communications refers to the wider sense of the term, not being confined merely to mail, telephone, telegraph and radio facilities, but including land and air communications as well. I cannot emphasize too strongly the point that in an effort requiring the supervision of two separate plebiscite operations, being conducted simultaneously in a Territory extending from north to south over a distance of 700 miles, or between Lake Chad and Victoria, respectively, the lack of communication facilities tended to magnify the substantive problems inherent in such an operation and placed additional burdens on the shoulders of all concerned.

44. Beyond this, there also existed, though to a lesser extent, the problem of communications with points outside the Trust Territory itself. Telephonic communications between Buea, where my headquarters was located and Lagos in Nigeria, were subject to frequent disruptions and as such unreliable. While most messages transmitted by telegraph to United Nations Headquarters in New York, as well as to other points, reached, generally speaking, their destination within a reasonable period of time, transmission was restricted to a few hours in the mornings and afternoons during week days and closed down entirely on Sundays. Any further contact with the outside was limited to a thrice-weekly air service between Lagos and Buea by which diplomatic bags and mail were sent to and from the Mission area. Yet, even in this case, normal air mail to New York usually required from seven to eight days for delivery from point of origin to destination and diplomatic bags were frequently delayed en route. A routing change in diplomatic bags to Douala in the Republic of Cameroun during the latter stages of the plebiscite operations produced little improvement in the situation, because of delays in delivery and dispatch.

45. With the arrival in August 1960 of the United Nations Administrative and field staff in the Territory, every effort was made to arrange for the establishment of communications between central headquarters at Buea in the Southern Cameroons and field headquarters at Mubi in the Northern Cameroons. This proved to be a formidable task, for not only was it necessary to make arrangements for equipment, but also to overcome difficulties resulting from the rainy season. The rains which lasted until early November made most roads and tracks impassable to vehicular traffic and, consequently, in both parts of the Territory frequent detours had to be made with attendant long delays.

Since no rail transport exists between the two parts and no direct roads connect the Northern and Southern Cameroons, I had to rely in the early stages of the plebiscites entirely on air charters for maintaining liaison between my two headquarters. A weekly charter flight from Tiko (Buea's airport) to Mubi with stopovers in Mamfe, Bamenda, Baissa, Beli (near Serti) and Jada, enabled me to maintain contact with the Observers and with the United Nations Liaison Officer in Mubi. It also served as the main means of delivery of instructions, mail and other materials and of collection of reports and communications. By the end of the rainy season, however, which coincided with the concluding stages of the registration periods in the north and the south, road conditions had gradually improved within each of the two parts of the Territory, and it was possible to eliminate the expensive charter flights and instead to use motor transport for the delivery of mail and supplies. For the conveyance of mail and transport of personnel between the two parts of the Territory, it was decided to rely normally on commercial airlines in the Republic of Cameroun serving Douala, Garoua and Fort Lamy in the Republic of Chad. Although this route was circuitous and required travel by either road or air between Buea and Douala and again between Garoua and Mubi, this method of transportation proved to be both reliable and satisfactory and, at the same time, made it possible to effect considerable savings in the budget of the Mission.

46. But it still remained to find ways and means of overcoming the problem created by the appalling lack of telegraphic and telephonic communications between the two parts of the Territory and to enable me to communicate quickly between north and south. This was a matter concerning which, on the basis of my experience in the 1959 plebiscite, I had made representations to the Administering Authority as early as 4 January 1960 when, during my meeting with officials of the Colonial Office in London, I called attention to the need for the establishment of adequate wireless communications between observer stations and my headquarters at Buea. Having been assured that this question would be taken into account by the Administering Authority in its forthcoming preparations, the Administering Authority informed me in June that it was hopeful that a telephonic link might be set up between Mubi and Buea. At the same time, I was advised that a telegraphic link could and would be established between the two headquarters through Lagos and that it was expected to complete preparations for such a link by September 1960. In August, word reached me again that by early September radio communications would be installed in Mubi which, under favourable conditions, would permit voice contact between Buea and Mubi. During my discussions held in London on 7 September, the Colonial Office assured me that with the improvements then being made, all necessary requirements regarding communications would be fulfilled. Nevertheless, upon my arrival in the Territory, I found that telephonic as well as telegraphic communications were far from satisfactory, providing at best unreliable means of contact. Although the United Kingdom Administration had installed modern radio equipment, telephone contacts between Mubi and Buea, through Lagos, proved to be extremely difficult owing to frequent atmospheric disturbances in the area. Similarly, and under the most favourable conditions, telegrams required two days to reach their destination through the same channel. It was not until mid-December that conditions improved sufficiently to permit occasional telephone contacts between the two headquarters. The presence in the Southern Cameroons of a battalion of the King's Own Royal Border Regiment provided us with the welcome opportunity to use its radio facilities for establishing direct voice and

telegraphic contact with the radio station in Mubi and to solve the problems which had beset us from the outset of our stay in the Territory. It enabled me and my staff to make twice daily voice and telegraph contacts between the two points.

47. I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to Her Majesty's Forces for the valuable co-operation they extended to me.

VI. QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL RESOLUTION 2013 (XXVI)

A. General remarks

48. By resolution 2013 (XXVI) of 31 May 1960, the Trusteeship Council requested the Administering Authority, inter alia, "to take appropriate steps, in consultations with the authorities concerned, to ensure that the people of the Territory are fully informed, before the plebiscites, of the constitutional arrangements that would have to be made, at the appropriate time, for the implementation of the decisions at the plebiscites."^{176/}

49. Prior to my arrival in the Territory, I felt it necessary to ascertain the steps being taken by the Administering Authority to comply with the request addressed to it by the Trusteeship Council and the progress made in obtaining from the Federation of Nigeria and the Republic of Cameroun clarification of the constitutional position in case the majority of the people of the Southern and Northern Cameroons voted in favour of joining either of its neighbouring countries. On 7 September 1960, at a meeting held in London at the Colonial Office, I was advised that the United Kingdom Government were continuing to make efforts to clarify the meaning of the two questions to be put to the people of both sections of the Territory. As regarded the Federation of Nigeria, I was informed, the terms on which each part of the Cameroons would be united with Nigeria, if it was so decided, were clear. As regarded the Republic of Cameroun, the terms were not yet clear, but talks had taken place between Mr. Foncha, the Premier of the Southern Cameroons, and Mr. Ahidjo, the President of the Republic of Cameroun, and while there seemed to be agreement that the Southern Cameroons would unite with the Republic of Cameroun on a federal basis, a great deal remained to be worked out. Nothing had been heard at the time about the conditions upon which the Northern Cameroons would unite with the Republic, in the event of the vote favouring such alternative.

50. Shortly after my arrival in the Territory, I began discussions concerning the clarification of the plebiscite alternatives with the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons and the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator, on the one hand, and with the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons, on the other.

51. In this connexion, I was informed by the Administering Authority that, following upon the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1352 (XIV), the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons had invited the attention of the Premier of the Southern Cameroons, Mr. Foncha, and certain of his colleagues, to the fact that whereas the implications of a choice for joining Nigeria were known, the implications of a choice for joining the Republic of Cameroun were not, and informed them that a duty clearly rested upon them to work out in consultation with the Prime Minister of the then Trust Territory of Cameroons under French Administration the terms upon which the Southern Cameroons would be accepted into the Republic if a majority of the people in the plebiscite favoured that choice. Mr. Foncha had private discussions with the President of the Republic of Cameroun, M. Ahidjo, during that country's independence celebrations at the beginning of January 1960 and proposed that further and fuller discussions should be held in February. No discussions in fact took place in February.

52. In January 1960, the Administering Authority decided to take the initiative in inviting the Government of the Republic of Cameroun to enter into discussions with a view to clarifying the issues involved. For this purpose discussions were to be held between representatives of the United Kingdom Government, the Government of the Republic and the Southern Cameroons. Mr. Foncha and his colleagues welcomed this proposal and Her Majesty's representative in Yaoundé was accordingly instructed to make such an approach to the Government of the Republic of Cameroun. The United Kingdom Charge d'Affaires at Yaoundé saw President Ahidjo on 10 February and informed him that the United Kingdom Government would welcome informal discussions between him and Mr. Foncha on problems of unification. President Ahidjo replied that talks, which he recognised would be exploratory, could not be held before elections, which were due to take place in the Republic of Cameroun in the following April, and that he could not therefore come to any definite agreement with Mr. Foncha at the time.

53. In March 1960, Sir Sydney Philipson (formerly Financial Secretary, Nigeria, and later Chairman of the Governing Council of Ibadan University College) was appointed Constitutional and Economic Adviser to assist Mr. Foncha and his ministerial colleagues in an examination of the constitutional, fiscal and economic problems likely to arise out of joining the Republic and to help them to formulate any proposals they might wish to put forward. On 5 March the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cameroun gave the United Kingdom Ambassador in Yaoundé to understand that it was very unlikely that President Ahidjo would be able to visit Buea before the Cameroun elections scheduled

for 10 April 1960. On 17 March Her Majesty's Ambassador saw President Ahidjo and again emphasized the United Kingdom Government's hope for an early meeting between him and Mr. Foncha. The President himself saw no possibility of going to Buea before the end of May.

54. I was also informed that on 4 June the United Kingdom Ambassador in Yaoundé told the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs that it was the United Kingdom Government's desire to start talks at ministerial level as soon as possible, if a Presidential visit was impossible. On 9 June, the Ambassador again saw the Prime Minister who said the President would like to go to Buea in July. Subsequently, Mr. Foncha sent an outline of his constitutional proposals to Mr. Ahidjo and suggested that an early opportunity be found to discuss them. At the same time, the Ambassador issued a formal invitation to M. Ahidjo to visit the Southern Cameroons for this purpose. From 15 to 17 July 1960, M. Ahidjo paid a state visit to the Southern Cameroons, in the course of which he and certain members of his Government held discussions with Mr. Foncha and his colleagues, and at the end of which the following communiqué was issued:

"The representatives of the two parts of the Kamerun met at Buea to discuss various aspects of the reunification of the British trust territory with the Republic of Cameroun as desired by their people.

The debates on various items on the agenda were conducted in an atmosphere of sincerity. Finally the following resolution was unanimously adopted:-

- (1) Reaffirmed their people's strong desire for reunification;
- (2) Agreed to reunify on a federal basis adaptable to conditions peculiar to all sections of Kamerun;
- (3) Decided to set up a Joint Committee to study the various constitutional problems that may result from reunification;
- (4) Resolved that a conference to represent all sections of Kamerun should be held on a later date to examine the proposals of the Joint Committee."

55. Subsequently, three ministers of the Southern Cameroons Government visited Yaoundé from 10 to 13 August 1960 for further discussions with the representatives of the Republic. They took with them further outline proposals for a federal constitution.

56. An account of the discussions which I held with representatives of the Administering Authority, as well as other developments concerning the implementation of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI), is given in separate sections below.

B. Southern Cameroons

1. The alternative of joining the Federation of Nigeria

57. The implications of the Southern Cameroons joining the Federation of Nigeria were discussed at the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London in 1958. In paragraph 70 of the report by the Conference it was stated:

"The Conference 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 full self-governing Region equal in all respects with the other Regions in an independent Nigeria".

58. This was confirmed at the constitutional discussions between Nigerian ministers and ministers of the United Kingdom which were held in London in May 1960. In the final communique issued after these discussions it was stated:

"There was an exchange of views on the Cameroons under British Trusteeship which, in accordance with the resolution of the United Nations, would be separated from Nigeria when Nigeria became independent. It was noted that the questions in the plebiscites to be held early in 1961 posed a choice between joining Nigeria or joining the Republic of Cameroun. It was agreed that if the Southern Cameroons joined Nigeria it would, as stated in paragraph 70 of the 1958 Conference Report, be with the status of a full self-governing Region equal in all respects with the other Regions. It was hoped to ascertain from the Government of the Republic of Cameroun the terms on which the Northern and/or Southern Cameroons would enter the Republic."

59. This declaration was published in a white Paper "Nigeria Constitutional Discussions May 1960" (cmd 1063) and was confirmed by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria in a public broadcast on 21 January 1961. A statement of the constitutional position of the Southern Cameroons in the event of it electing to become a part of the Federation of Nigeria was published on pp.7-12 of the official publication "The Two Alternatives". This statement was published with the approval of the Nigerian Government.

2. The alternative of joining with the Republic of Cameroun

60. As has already been stated above, preliminary discussions concerning the constitutional position of the Southern Cameroons, in the event it decided to join the independent Republic of Cameroun, had been held during January and July 1960 between the Premier of the Southern Cameroons and the President of the Republic of Cameroun. A third meeting was held in Yaoundé between 10 and 14 October 1960, at the conclusion of which a resolution and an outline of the draft proposal of a constitution in the event of unification were adopted. These documents were signed by the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Cameroun and the Premier of the Southern Cameroons Government. The text of the resolution and the outline proposals for a draft constitution were transmitted to me by the Deputy Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons and were published in a press release issued by the Information Service of the Southern Cameroons Government on 17 October 1960.

61. The resolution recalled the decision taken at the 14th session of the United Nations General Assembly concerning the plebiscites to be held in the Northern and Southern Cameroons and stated that in the event of the vote favouring the joining of the Southern Cameroons with the Republic of Cameroun "the implementation of the re-unification on the federal basis adaptable to conditions peculiar to all sections of the Cameroons cannot be automatic but gradual".

62. The second document entitled "Outline Proposals for a draft Constitution for a Federal United Kamerun Republic", stated that at the third meeting the representatives of the Government of the Republic of Cameroun and the Government party in the Southern Cameroons continued their "discussions on a draft constitution for the unification of the Republic of Cameroons and the Northern and Southern British Cameroons". The signatories to this document declared that they intended to do everything possible to implement the country-wide desire for unification to which they had dedicated themselves and re-affirmed that the territories should be unified as a "Federal sovereign State outside the British Commonwealth and the French Community". They also agreed on a draft constitution, the main features of which would be the following: the Federation would be composed of the Republic of Cameroun and the Southern Cameroons and the two parties hoped that the Northern Cameroons would join the Federation either as a separate state or as a unit within the Southern Cameroons; the Federation of Kamerun States would be democratic and freedom of worship, of speech, of the press and movement would be guaranteed; the Federation would have a common motto,

national anthem and a national flag and all indigenous people in all the states would enjoy Cameroun citizenship. The minimum federal subjects would be: citizenship, civil rights, national defence, foreign affairs, higher education, immigration and emigration, federal budget and posts and telegraphs. The remaining subjects which were likely to fall within the power of the federal government would, for the time being, be legislated by the states.

63. The legislature of the federation would be composed of two legislative houses, namely, a National Assembly and a Senate. The supreme authority of the federated states would be "the Federal Executive, with the President, who is also the Head of the Federation, and the National Assembly". Certain federal acts were to be enacted in such a way that the majority should not impose on any state a measure which would be contrary to its interests.

64. The outline further provided that in case of a conflict between a federal law and a law of one state, the federal law would prevail; that the states could legislate only on matters which did not fall within the federal powers and that a federal tribunal would arbitrate on conflicts arising between the states; a federal court of justice would co-ordinate the two judicial systems and create a federal supreme court of appeal. The then existing organs of government would continue until the federal State was established.

65. Both the resolution and the outline proposals agreed upon at the Yaoundé meetings were given publicity the very day of my arrival in the Southern Cameroons. Inasmuch as they purported to have been signed by Mr. Foncha for and on behalf of the Government of the Southern Cameroons, I felt it necessary to ascertain whether these agreements had the official endorsement of the Administering Authority and could be construed as providing a basis for an official explanation of the second alternative at the plebiscite, in compliance with the request addressed to the Administering Authority under paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI).

66. On 26 October 1960, after my return to Buea from the first visit to the Northern Cameroons, I held a meeting with the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator and the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons, who made it clear that Mr. Foncha had signed the Yaoundé agreements as Leader of the Government Party and not on behalf of the Southern Cameroons Government. At the same meeting, the Plebiscite Administrator informed the Commissioner that the

publication of the Yaoundé agreements had created some confusion in the Southern Cameroons as to whether or not they enjoyed official sanction. With a view to having the matter officially clarified, he addressed a letter to the Commissioner requesting from him an authoritative statement on the subject, to which the latter replied that "this statement was signed by Mr. Foncha in his personal capacity and was issued by him as a statement of the intentions of the party he heads". The Southern Cameroons Government, the Commissioner continued, was neither a party to the resolution nor to the declaration contained in the outline proposals and was in no way committed to them. Furthermore, the press release containing the outline proposals was not an authoritative statement made on behalf of the Southern Cameroons Government.

67. Although some progress had been made in regard to the elucidation of the alternative for joining the Republic by the Yaoundé agreements, the fact that these agreements neither constituted the official position of the Southern Cameroons Government nor had the endorsement of the Administering Authority, did not make it possible to use them as a basis for the enlightenment campaign which the Plebiscite Administrator had planned. It appeared, therefore, that further negotiations between the parties concerned would be necessary before an authoritative statement on the meaning of the second question at the plebiscite could be issued. Being aware of the increasing urgency to explain the meaning of the plebiscite alternatives to the people of the Territory and of the length of time generally required to conduct government negotiations, I deemed it necessary to address, on 29 October 1960, the following letter to the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons:

"I wish to recall your attention to Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI) of 31 May 1960, entitled "Future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration" by which, taking into account General Assembly resolutions 1352 (XIV) and 1473 (XIV), the Council requested the Administering Authority "to take steps, in consultation with the Authorities concerned to ensure that the people of the Territory are fully informed, before the plebiscites, of the constitutional arrangements that would have to be made at the appropriate time, for the implementation of the decisions at the plebiscites".

"Considering the need for providing ample opportunity to allow for the widest dissemination of information concerning the issues involved in the plebiscite and taking into account the communication difficulties prevailing in the Territory, I feel sure that the Administering Authority

will agree with me that no time should be lost during the relatively brief period remaining before Polling Day to inform the people of the Southern Cameroons, in accordance with paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI), about the precise terms under which they may expect to join either the Republic of Cameroun or the Federation of Nigeria.

"I consider an early clarification by the Administering Authority of the issues involved to be a matter of the greatest urgency and an indispensable prerequisite to enabling the people of the Southern Cameroons to acquaint themselves fully and accurately with the choices before them in the plebiscite. I would, therefore, appreciate receiving from you at the earliest possible moment a statement outlining the measures taken or contemplated by the Administering Authority towards the implementation of the provisions contained in paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI)."

68. In the meantime, the Secretary of State for the Colonies had agreed, at the suggestion of the Premier of the Southern Cameroons, to hold talks with Mr. Foncha and Ministers of the Southern Cameroons in London, to which members of the Opposition parties were also invited. The conference, which was held between 10 and 13 October 1960, included the following representatives from the Southern Cameroons:

Hon. J.N. Foncha, Premier
Hon. S.T. Muna, Minister of Commerce and Industries
Hon. A.N. Jua, Minister of Social Services
Hon. W.N.O. Effiom, Minister of Works and Transport
Dr. E.M.L. Endeley, O.B.E., Leader of the Opposition
Mr. P.N. Motomby-Noleta, Opposition Chief Whip
Rev. J.C. Kangsen, C.P.N.C., Member for Wum Central
Mr. S.E. Ncha, C.P.N.C., Member for Mamfe North
Mr. P.M. Kale, Leader of the Cameroons United Party
Galega II, Fon of Bali
Chief Oben of Mamfe

At the conclusion of the conference the following communiqué was issued:

"The talks between the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Iain Macleod) and an all party delegation from the Southern Cameroons have been concluded.

"The General Assembly of the United Nations decided last year that the two questions in the plebiscite to be held in the Southern Cameroons on February 11th, 1961, are to be:-

- (1) Do you wish to attain independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria? or,
- (2) Do you wish to attain independence by joining the independent Republic of the Cameroun?,

"It will be recalled that the Trusteeship Council has asked the Administering Authority to take steps in consultation with the authorities concerned to ensure that the people of the Territory are fully informed, before the plebiscites of the constitutional arrangements that would have to be made, at the appropriate time, for the implementation of the decisions at the plebiscite.

"The implications of joining the Federation of Nigeria have already been made clear, namely that the Southern Cameroons would become a separate region in the Federation. The main matter discussed at the talks was the implications of the second choice.

"The talks revealed that there were considerable differences of view on this subject.

"The Secretary of State said that in the view of Her Majesty's Government the United Nations, in adopting the two alternatives of joining Nigeria or joining the Cameroun Republic, clearly ruled out a period of continuing Trusteeship or separate independence for the Southern Cameroons. In Her Majesty's Government's view therefore if the plebiscite goes in favour of the Cameroun Republic arrangements would have to be made for the early termination of Trusteeship and the transfer of sovereignty to the Republic. The Secretary of State had noted that the Premier of the Southern Cameroons had ascertained from the President of the Cameroun Republic that a Federal form of constitution would be acceptable.

"In the Secretary of State's view the following interpretation would be consistent with the second question:-
"a vote for attaining independence by joining the Republic would mean that, by an early date to be decided by the United Nations (after consultation with the Governments of the Southern Cameroons, the Cameroun Republic and the United Kingdom as Administering Authority, the Southern Cameroons and the Cameroun Republic would unite in a Federal United Cameroun Republic. The arrangements would be worked out after the plebiscite by a conference consisting of representative delegations of equal status from the Republic and the Southern Cameroons. The United Nations and the United Kingdom would also be associated with this conference. During the short period while the arrangements for transfer were being made the United Kingdom would of course be ready to continue fulfil their responsibilities under the Trusteeship Agreement."

"Mr. Foncha, the Premier of the Southern Cameroons expressed the hope that the United Nations would be prepared, if the vote went in favour of the Cameroun Republic, to agree to a period of independence for the Southern Cameroons during which preparations would be made for the unification of the Southern Cameroons with the Cameroun Republic on a Federal basis. He recognized that this interpretation would require the specific endorsement of the United Nations. In Mr. Foncha's view the arrangements for unification should follow the broad lines of the agreement he had reached with President Ahidjo.

"The delegates representing the Opposition party within the Southern Cameroons Legislature took broadly the same view as the United Kingdom Government. They held that the people of the Southern Cameroons should be told plainly that if they voted to join the Cameroun Republic this would quite definitely happen within a short time. They also expressed the strong view that publication should be given before the plebiscite to the arrangements for joining the Cameroun Republic.

"All delegates agreed that subject to the concurrence of the President of the Cameroun Republic and in the absence of a new definition by the United Nations of the meaning of the second question the formula put forward by the Secretary of State and quoted above would be acceptable to them.

"In view however of the differences of interpretation of the meaning of the second question the delegates considered that the United Nations should be apprised of the differing viewpoints and asked to give an authoritative ruling as soon as possible.

"At the discussions with delegates from the Southern Cameroons, which have concluded in London, questions of financial assistance, defence and constitutional changes were raised. The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Iain Macleod) took note of the views of delegates but could not enter into any commitments with regard to any of these matters before the plebiscite in February, 1961.

"All delegates paid tribute to the conduct of the British Troops in the Southern Cameroons whose presence and good relations with the people were much appreciated."

69. It will be noted that in accordance with the Secretary of State's interpretation of the second question at the plebiscite, a vote in favour of achieving independence by joining the Republic of Cameroun would mean that (a) the Southern Cameroons would unite with the Republic of Cameroun, by an early date to be decided by the United Nations after consultation with the Governments concerned and the Administering Authority, in a Federal United Cameroun Republic; (b) the arrangements would be worked out by a post-plebiscite conference consisting of representative delegations from the Republic and the Southern Cameroons, with which the United Nations and the United Kingdom would be associated; (c) the period to work out the arrangements for transfer would be of short duration and the United Kingdom would in the meantime continue to fulfil its responsibilities as Administering Authority.
70. In view of the fact that all delegates agreed to the formula presented by the Secretary of State on the meaning of the second question, and in the

absence of a new definition of the question by the United Nations, it was recognized that the next step was to obtain the concurrence of the President of the Cameroun Republic with this formula. The participants also recognized the differences of interpretation of the meaning of the second question which emerged during the discussion and considered, therefore, that the United Nations should be apprised of the different view points and be asked to give an authoritative ruling as soon as possible.

71. Prior to deciding on an appearance before the General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Foncha sought a meeting with President Ahidjo which was held in Yaoundé on 1 and 2 December 1960. At this new meeting, the fourth to be held between Mr. Foncha and Mr. Ahidjo, the two parties agreed to the points contained in the following communiqué, copy of which was provided to me by Mr. Foncha:

"The Delegates of the Government Party of the Southern Cameroons led by Hon. J. N. Foncha, Premier of the Southern Cameroun, just back from LONDON where they had had talks with the Colonial Secretary on the future of that Territory, have met in Yaoundé for the 4th time, from 1st to 2nd December, with a delegation of the Government of the Republic of Cameroun led by President A. Ahidjo.

"The two parties agreed fully:

1. That the General Assembly of the United Nations has clearly put the two questions in the plebiscite to be held on February 11th 1961:
 - (a) Do you wish to attain independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria?
 - (b) Do you wish to attain independence by joining the independent Republic of Cameroun?
2. That the two delegations while endorsing the interpretation of the second question arrived at at the London Conference, deeply regret that representatives from the Northern Cameroon were not invited to take part at this conference and demand:
 - (a) That immediately after the plebiscite, and in case the vote goes in favour of joining the Republic of Cameroun a conference shall be held with representatives from the Southern Cameroon, the Republic of Cameroun, as well as from the Northern Cameroon.
 - (b) That this Conference, in which representatives from the United Nations Organisation and the Administering Authority will take part, shall have to determine the period and terms of the transfer of sovereignty to a body representing the future federation."

72. After his return from Yaoundé, Mr. Foncha informed me that in his view the new agreement, together with the conclusions reached at previous meetings with the President of the Cameroun Republic, provided sufficient clarification to explain to the people of the Southern Cameroons the meaning of the second question and the constitutional arrangements that would have to be made in the event the Southern Cameroons decided to join the Republic of Cameroun. His party intended to issue a statement regarding this matter. Furthermore, since the President of the Republic of Cameroun had given his endorsement to the Secretary of State's Formula, Mr. Foncha saw no further need for taking the matter to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

73. Although I had been aware of the negotiations between the Premier of the Southern Cameroons and the President of the Republic of Cameroun, and of the encouragement the Administering Authority was giving to these efforts, I felt, nevertheless, that it was a matter of urgency to obtain from the Administering Authority itself a statement concerning its efforts to implement the request contained in paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI). Having received no reply to my letter of 29 October, I addressed, on 6 December 1960, the following communication to the Acting Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons:

"I wish to refer to my letter of 29 October 1960 addressed to His Honour, the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons, by which I drew his attention to paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI) whereby the Council requested the Administering Authority "to take steps, in consultation with the authorities concerned, to ensure that the people of the Territory are fully informed, before the plebiscites, of the constitutional arrangements that would have to be made, at the appropriate time, for the implementation of the decision at the plebiscites".

"I would also recall that in the same letter I requested His Honour to receive at the earliest possible moment a statement outlining the measures taken or contemplated by the Administering Authority towards the implementation of the above mentioned request of the Trusteeship Council.

"As of this moment, I regret not having received a reply from His Honour on a matter which I consider to be of very great urgency and an indispensable prerequisite to enable the people of the Southern Cameroons to acquaint themselves fully with the choices before them in the plebiscite. For this reason, I would like to reiterate my request that a statement be submitted to me without delay concerning the Administering Authority's intention in this matter."

74. On 9 December 1960, the Acting Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons replied as follows:

"I am directed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Iain Macleod) to reply to your letter of 29th October, 1960, in which you request a statement outlining the measures taken or contemplated by the Administering Authority towards the implementation of the provisions contained in paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council Resolution 2013 (XXVI).

"2. In the view of Her Majesty's Government the implications of one of the two choices - namely that of becoming independent by joining the Federation of Nigeria - have been made abundantly clear. It was announced in May, 1960, that the Federal Government of Nigeria agreed that should the Southern Cameroons decide in favour of joining Nigeria it would be granted the status of a Region within the Federation similar to that of the other Regions. I am sure you will agree that so far as Nigeria is concerned the matter is beyond doubt.

"3. As regards the implications of the other choice - that of joining the Republic of the Cameroun - Her Majesty's Government approached the Government of the Republic early in 1960, and on a number of subsequent occasions, with a view to promoting negotiations on this point. Her Majesty's Government has also repeatedly expressed to the Premier of the Southern Cameroons its view that the terms on which the Territory might be united with the Cameroun Republic should be discussed between him and the Government of the Republic. The Trusteeship Council Resolution invites the Administering Authority to take steps "in consultation with the Territories concerned" and Her Majesty's Government considered it appropriate for Mr. Foncha to consult directly with the President of the Cameroun Republic.

"4. As you are aware, a number of meetings have taken place both in Yaoundé and in Buea at which Mr. Foncha and his colleagues have discussed this question with President Ahidjo and members of his Government. These meetings resulted finally in a communiqué which was issued after the meeting held in Yaoundé early in October, a copy of which has already been supplied to you.

"5. Subsequently, and as you are also aware, the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Iain Macleod) agreed at the request of Mr. Foncha to receive a delegation representing Government and other parties in the Southern Cameroons. Discussions were held during November when this matter was reviewed. A communiqué setting out the results of these discussions was issued on 17th November, and a copy of this communiqué has been supplied to you. As the communiqué says Her Majesty's Government took the view that a period of independence for the Southern Cameroons before union with the Cameroun Republic such as was sought by Mr. Foncha was not consistent with the questions which had been decided upon by the General Assembly and that in view of the interpretation which Mr. Foncha wished to place upon the question of joining the Cameroun Republic the matter would have to be put before the General Assembly once again for an authoritative ruling. They have conveyed this communiqué with a statement of their own views to President Ahidjo. Mr. Foncha

has subsequently issued a further statement, of which a copy is attached, from which it will be seen that he now agrees with Mr. Macleod's interpretation of this question."

75. It will be noted from this letter that Her Majesty's Government were satisfied that the implications of the Nigerian proposition had been made abundantly clear. In regard to the implications of the other choice - that of joining the Republic of Cameroun - the letter outlined the efforts made to clarify the terms under which the Territory might be united with the Republic of Cameroun but no views were expressed by Her Majesty's Government as to whether the agreements reached between the Premier of the Southern Cameroons and the President of the Republic of Cameroun at their various meetings had made the implications of the second choice sufficiently clear. In the circumstances, I deemed it necessary to address, on 12 December 1960, the following letter to the Acting Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons:

"I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 9 December 1960 which you directed to me at the request of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in reply to my letter of 29 October whereby I requested from the Administering Authority a statement outlining the measures it had taken or was contemplating towards the implementation of paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI).

"I have taken note of the statements contained in paragraph 2 of your letter that "in the view of Her Majesty's Government the implications of one of the two choices - namely that of becoming independent by joining the Federation of Nigeria - have been made abundantly clear", and "that so far as Nigeria is concerned the matter is beyond doubt".

"I have noted after careful study of the considerations set out in your letter regarding the steps being taken to clarify the implication of the second choice, namely that of becoming independent by joining the Republic of Cameroun, no views have been expressed by Her Majesty's Government as to whether the agreements reached between the Premier of the Southern Cameroons and the President of the Republic of Cameroun, and the acceptance of the formula put forward by the Secretary of State for the Colonies by all parties concerned have made the implications of the second choice sufficiently clear within the meaning of paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI). Since the receipt of your letter of 9 December 1960, I have been informed by the United Nations Headquarters that the representative of the Administering Authority made a statement in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly to the effect that in view of the agreement reached between Mr. Foncha and Mr. Ahidjo at Yaoundé on 3 December 1960, his Government saw no necessity for the General Assembly to take this matter up now.

"In the light of the above, I would be grateful to receive from you at the earliest possible moment, before the date of adjournment of the General Assembly ten days hence, a statement indicating whether, as a result of the discussions held in London and those held in Buea and Yaoundé, referred to in your letter, Her Majesty's Government believe that they are in a position to fulfill the request addressed to the Administering Authority in paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI) concerning both questions in the Plebiscite, and whether Her Majesty's Government intend, in case of a negative reply to this question, to advise the General Assembly before the adjournment of its present session to that effect."

76. The reply to this letter was transmitted to me in the following communication, dated 16 December 1960, from the Acting Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons:

"I am directed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Iain Macleod) to refer to your letter of 12 December, 1960, on the subject of the request addressed to the Administering Authority in paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI) concerning both questions in the plebiscite and to inform you that Her Majesty's Government believe that they are in a position to fulfil this request in respect of the plebiscite question relating to Nigeria. Her Majesty's Government hope that they will be in a position to fulfil the request in respect of the question relating to the Republic of Cameroun as soon as the President of the Republic of Cameroun returns from his present absence abroad. Her Majesty's Government do not, therefore, contemplate raising the implications of this question in the General Assembly before it adjourns, although they had at an earlier stage thought that such action might be necessary.

"2. Her Majesty's Ambassador in Yaoundé has been asked to make a formal approach to the Government of the Republic of Cameroun seeking confirmation of the several statements that have been made in respect of the constitutional changes that will be necessary should the Southern Cameroons elect to join the Republic of Cameroun.

"3. Mr. Foncha, Premier of the Southern Cameroons, has addressed a letter dated 15th December, 1960, to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Cameroun emphasising the need for the very early publication of a statement embracing the various agreements that have been made between himself in his capacity as leader of the Government Party in the Southern Cameroons and the Government of the Republic bearing upon the constitutional changes that will be necessary should the Southern Cameroons elect to join the Republic of Cameroun. Mr. Foncha expects, in consequence of this approach, to be able to complete his present series of discussions during the forthcoming week."

77. During the meeting between Mr. Foncha and Government leaders of the Republic of Cameroun, mentioned in paragraph 3 of the above letter, which took place in Douala on 20 and 21 December 1960, the Premier of the Southern Cameroons handed to President Ahidjo a draft statement on the constitutional position of the Southern Cameroons in the event it should decide to join the Republic of Cameroun. This draft statement, which was designed to be the basis for a federal constitution, had previously been approved by the Premier and his Ministers and attempted to set out in greater detail, under separate headings, the various agreements reached between Mr. Foncha and President Ahidjo. The draft also contained some further ideas of the KNDP on the proposed form of the federation, together with suggestions concerning certain transitional provisions; this draft was used later by the KNDP in its political campaign.

78. Concurrent with the efforts made by Mr. Foncha to clarify the constitutional implications of the second question, the United Kingdom Government, through its Embassy in Yaoundé, requested from the Government of the Republic of Cameroun an official statement setting forth the conditions under which, in the Republic's view, the Southern Cameroons might join the Republic. Such a statement, it was envisaged, would form the basis, together with the terms of the undertaking already given by the Federation of Nigeria on the implications of the first question, for the enlightenment campaign of the people of the Southern Cameroons which the Administering Authority had planned as part of its organization and conduct of the plebiscite.

79. The reply from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cameroun was contained in the following note verbale dated 24 December 1960, a copy of which was made available to me by the Acting Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the British Embassy to Cameroun at Yaounde and, with reference to its note verbale No. F.M. 68 (1041/60) dated 16 December 1960, has the honour to state that, following the conversations which have just taken place at Douala between the President of the Republic of Cameroun and Mr. Foncha, the Premier of the Southern Cameroons, it has been decided that, in connexion with the plebiscite organized in the Southern Cameroons on the question of whether that country should join the Federation of Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroun, the Government of the Republic of Cameroun has announced that it adheres to the spirit

of the attached joint communiques, which indicate its desire for unification with the Cameroons under British Administration on the basis of a Federation.

"The Government of the Republic of Cameroun requests the British Embassy to consider the attached communiqués as an expression of the official views of the Republic and further requests that they be published for the purposes prescribed by Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI), referred to in its note verbale quoted above."

80. Attached to the note verbale from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were the texts in French of the communiqué and joint declaration issued by Mr. Foncha and President Ahidjo at the conclusion of the third meeting of 10-13 October 1960, as well as the joint communiqué signed by both leaders at the conclusion of their meetings of 1-3 December 1960. The French texts, as transmitted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic, differed in certain respects from the earlier English version which the Southern Cameroons Government Information Service had published and with the English text submitted to me by Mr. Foncha. Since the texts in French, however, constituted the official documents transmitted by the Government of the Republic, the Administering Authority thought it proper to use these documents for the purposes of the enlightenment campaign instead of the earlier versions.

81. On the basis of the undertaking given by the Federation of Nigeria, on the one hand, and the statements transmitted by the Republic of Cameroun, on the one hand, and the statements transmitted by the Republic of Cameroun, on the other, the Administering Authority proceeded to prepare an arrangements for the implementation of the decision at the plebiscite. The booklet, published in the Southern Cameroons Gazette No. 4, Vol. 7 of 27 January 1961 under Southern Cameroons Notice No. 36^{17/} was printed and distributed widely throughout the Territory.^{18/}

82. This booklet contained an introduction recalling General Assembly resolution 1354 (XIV) of 16 October 1959 and Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI) of 31 May 1960 and stated that it had been prepared in pursuance of the Trusteeship Council's request for the purpose of explaining to the public of the Southern Cameroons the constitutional implications of the two choices. It contained a brief explanation of the implications of joining the Federation of Nigeria and gave an outline account of the consultations held between Mr. Foncha and the President of the Republic of Cameroun on the terms under which the Southern

17/ Annex IX.

18/ Paragraph 202 below.

Cameroons might be united with the Republic. The introduction also recalled the London talks of November 1960 and the interpretation given on that occasion to the second alternative at the plebiscite, which had been endorsed by the President of the Republic of Cameroun and Mr. Foncha in their joint communiqué of 2 December 1960. Two chapters followed outlining, respectively, the constitutional position of the Southern Cameroons in the event the people elected to be a part of the Federation of Nigeria and the constitutional position in the event the Southern Cameroons chose to be a part of the Republic of Cameroun.

C. Northern Cameroons

83. On my first visit to the Northern Cameroons, at a meeting held with the Administrator on 20 October 1960, I called his attention to the provisions of paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI). A few days later, on 29 October 1960, I addressed to the Administrator a letter, similar to the one which I had sent on the same subject to the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons (see paragraph 67 above), requesting from him a statement outlining the measures taken or contemplated by the Administering Authority towards the implementation of the provisions contained in the Council's resolution.

84. Again on 7 November 1960, the question of obtaining a clarification of the plebiscite alternatives from the Governments concerned was reviewed at a meeting in Mubi with the Administrator, who informed me that he proposed to take steps to this effect.

85. At almost the same time several Observers in the Northern Cameroons informed me that a large number of handbills and posters were being circulated quoting the following statement purporting to have been made by the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria: "The Regional Government also declares that if in the forthcoming plebiscite the people of the Trusteeship Territory decide to join the Federation of Nigeria, they will do so on the terms accepted by all political parties at the London Conference and the area will be administered as a separate province of the Northern Region". During the absence of the Administrator, I addressed a letter on 11 November 1960 to the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator of the Northern Cameroons, calling his attention to the fact that the statement as circulated contained no indication of the date on which it was issued, nor did it show whether it had the endorsement of the Federal Government of Nigeria. I further said that, in my view, a statement of policy concerning the terms under which the Northern Cameroons would join the Federation of Nigeria or one of its Regions should emanate from the Federal Government itself in order to be fully binding. The letter concluded by requesting from the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator a clarification of this matter.

86. At the end of November 1960, the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons flew to Buea in the Southern Cameroons in order to discuss with me certain questions relating to the plebiscite. At a meeting held on 29 November 1960, I raised again, amongst other points, the matter concerning the clarification of the plebiscite alternatives and was informed by the Administrator that the United Kingdom Government, through their Ambassador in Yaoundé, would formally request from the Government of the Republic an elucidation of the constitutional

arrangements that would have to be made in the event the Northern Cameroons decided to join the Republic. As far as the Nigerian proposition was concerned, the Administrator said, the position had been made clear by the Government of the Northern Region, and it merely remained to obtain from the Government of the Federation of Nigeria the official transmission of the statements made by them in this regard.

87. Having received no reply to my letter of 29 October 1960, and in view of the urgency of the matter, I reiterated my request to the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons in a communication dated 6 December similar to the one which I had addressed on the same subject to the Acting Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons (see para. 83 above).

88. By letter dated 15 December 1960, the Administrator replied as follows:

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 6th December 1960 in which you request a reply to your letter of the 29 October on the subject of paragraph 3 of the Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI), whereby the Council requested the Administering Authority "to take steps in consultation with the authorities concerned, to ensure that the peoples of the Territory are fully informed before the plebiscite, of the constitutional arrangements that would have to be made, at the appropriate time, for the implementation of the decision of the Plebiscites."

"As you are aware, I have been in communication on the subject of your first letter with Her Majesty's Government, and I am now in a position to reply.

"As regards the choice of becoming independent by joining the Federation of Nigeria, the terms on which the Northern Cameroons would be united with Nigeria are set out in the attached statement which has been approved by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria.

"As regards the choice of joining the Republic of Cameroun, Her Majesty's Ambassador in Yaounde has attempted to obtain from the Government of the Republic clarification of what the result of such a choice would be, but it has not yet been possible to arrive at a precise understanding of their views. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have recently approached the President of the Republic on this subject again. Her Majesty's Government have drawn President Ahidjo's attention to the fact that the Northern Cameroon differs from the Southern in that the only organs of Government which exist as such, apart from the Administration, are Native Authorities dealing with purely local matters. If the Plebiscite resulted in a majority for joining the Cameroun Republic, it would be expected that the staff lent by the Nigerian Government under arrangements of which you are aware (and which were notified to the Trusteeship Council last May - see document T/1530) would be withdrawn by the Nigerian Governments at an early date. If a breakdown were to be avoided therefore, it would appear to be necessary for the Cameroun Republic to appoint authorities to take over their functions in the Northern Cameroons. Her Majesty's Government have inquired of the President what should be said to the people of the Northern Cameroons regarding the readiness of his Government to appoint authorities and when it would be possible for this to be done. Her Majesty's Government have expressed their willingness to see discussions arranged between President Ahidjo and representatives of the protagonists of unification with the Republic for the purpose of exploring further the terms on which such unification might be arranged."

89. The statement referred to in paragraph 3 of the letter quoted above, containing the constitutional position of the Northern Cameroons if it elected to join Nigeria, read as follows:

"Constitutional Position of the Northern Cameroons if it Elects to Join Nigeria"

"Paragraph 8 of the Report of the Nigeria Constitutional Discussions held in London in May 1960 (cmd.1063) stated in respect of the Northern Cameroons that:-

"If the Northern Cameroons joined Nigeria, it would form part of the Northern Region with the new Divisional and local Government arrangements introduced on 1st April, 1960".

"On the 1st of April 1960, the new and independent Native Authorities of Mubi, Chamba, Gashaka-Mambilla, Gwoza and United Hills were formed

from parts of Trust Territory formerly administered as part of Adamawa, Bornu and Benue Provinces. Dikwa Native Authority of course continued as an Independent Native Authority.

"2. On 1st July 1960 by legal Notice No. 81 in the Gazette of the Northern Region of Nigeria, a new Province was created to include the Northern Trust Territory divided into Native Authorities as set out above. The objects of the creation of this new province were to guarantee the status of the new Native Authorities and to remove any fear which they might have that in the future they would be made subordinate to any other Native Authority from outside the new Province.

"3. The Governments of the Federation and of the Northern Region have both confirmed the undertaking given at the London Constitutional Discussions set out in paragraph one above. The Northern Regional Government have also declared that the area will continue to be administered as a separate province of the Northern Region, if the result of the Plebiscite is in favour of joining Nigeria."

90. It will be recalled that the President of the Republic of Cameroun and the Premier of the Southern Cameroons, had declared in the joint communiqué issued at the end of their third meeting, held in Yaoundé between 10 and 13 October 1960, that "the two parties hoped that the Northern Cameroons will also enter into the Federation to be created in the event of the Southern Cameroons uniting with the Cameroun Republic, either as a separate state, or as a part of the Cameroons at present under British Trusteeship." They further stated that "in the event of the Southern and Northern Cameroons voting in favour of reunification, those entrusted with the responsibilities of the affairs of the unified Cameroons would, through mutual agreement, specify the manner in which the population of the Cameroons would be asked to express their opinion on the Federal Constitution." The joint communiqué, signed by President Ahidjo and Mr. Foncha after their fourth meeting on 1 and 2 December 1960,^{19/} also stated, inter alia, that the two delegations, whilst in agreement with the interpretation of the second question (joining with the Republic of Cameroun) which was accepted in London, "regret that the representatives of the Northern Cameroons were not present at this Conference and asked: (a) that immediately after the plebiscite and in the event of the people voting in favour of unification with the Cameroun Republic, a Conference should be held, attended

19/ Paragraph 71.

by representatives of the Cameroun Republic and the Southern and Northern Cameroons; (b) that this Conference, at which representatives of the Trusteeship Authority and possibly those of the United Nations would be present, would have as its aim the fixing of time limits and conditions for the transfer of sovereign powers to an organization representing the future Federation."

91. In reply to his letter of 15 December 1960, I sent on 20 December 1960 the following communication to the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons:

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 15 December 1960 replying to the letters which I addressed to you on 29 October and 6 December 1960.

"I have noted that as regards the choice of becoming independent by joining the Federation of Nigeria, the terms on which the Northern Cameroons would be united with Nigeria are set out in the statement which was approved by the Federation of Nigeria.

"I have also noted that as regards the choice of joining the Republic of Cameroun, the Administering Authority, through Her Majesty's Ambassador in Yaoundé, has attempted to obtain from the Government of the Republic clarification of what the result of such a choice would be, but that it has not yet been possible to arrive at a precise understanding of their views.

"In my letter of 29 October, you will recall I had stated that considering the need for providing ample opportunity to allow for the widest dissemination of information concerning the issues involved in the plebiscite and taking into account the communication difficulties prevailing in the Territory, I felt sure that the Administering Authority would agree with me that no time should be lost during the relatively brief period remaining before Polling Day to inform the people of the Northern Cameroons, in accordance with paragraph 3 of Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI), about the precise terms under which they might expect to join either the Republic of Cameroun or the Federation of Nigeria. These considerations are, in my view, even more pressing now than they were nearly two months ago, as indeed less than two months remain within which the people of the Northern Cameroons might be apprised of the implications arising from the decision they will be called upon to make on 11 and 12 February 1961.

"It is, therefore, my earnest hope that a clarification called for in Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI) will be forthcoming as regards the question of joining the Republic of Cameroun. Should it, on the other hand, not be possible to obtain such a clarification, I would be grateful receiving from you information on the steps which the Administering Authority intend to take before the plebiscite in that event."

92. In reply to the request made by the United Kingdom Government through its Embassy in Yaoundé, the Government of the Republic of Cameroun, in the following note verbale, dated 4 January 1961, transmitted the communiqué published on 31 December 1960 by the Government of the Republic in regard to the future of the Northern Cameroons:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the British Embassy to Cameroun and, in reply to its note verbale No. F.M.68 (1041/60) dated 16 December 1960, has the honour to forward herewith the communiqué issued on 31 December 1960 by the Government of the Republic of Cameroun concerning the future of the Northern Cameroons under British administration.

"That communiqué and the previous statements concerning the Southern Cameroons under British administration set out the official views of the Government of the Republic of Cameroun and will enable the Administering Authority fully to inform the people of the Territory under British administration before the plebiscite next February.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has no objection to the publication and circulation of this note and of note No. 291/DIPL/1 dated 24 December 1960, together with the annexed documents which were forwarded to the British Embassy at Yaoundé."

93. The note verbale made it clear that the communiqué attached to it as well as "the previous statements touching on the Southern Cameroons" constituted the official points of view of the Government of the Republic of Cameroun which, it considered, would enable the Administering Authority to fully inform the population of the Territory on the implications of the choice for joining the Republic prior to polling day. The communiqué transmitted with the note verbale, read as follows:

"Having examined Resolution No. 2013 (XXVI) of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations of May 31, 1960 on the future of the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration, particularly its paragraph 3 which reads as follows: "Request the Administering Authority to take appropriate measures in consultation with the Authorities concerned, to assure that the peoples of the territory be fully aware, before the plebiscite, of all constitutional provisions which would be adopted at an appropriate time, in order to implement the decision reached at by the Plebiscite.

"Noting the initiative taken by the Government of Her British Majesty on December 16, 1960,

"Considering that the administrative separation of the Southern and the Northern parts of the Trust Territory from that of the Federation of Nigeria on October 1st, 1960, as recommended by a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1959, has not been effective up to this date,

"Regretting that the Administering Authority has not conducted the peoples of the Northern Region of the Trust Territory towards their capacity of self-administering as provided by Article 76 b of the United Nations Charter, mostly for having failed to establish a local House of Representatives and a local Government responsible for the interest of that part of the Territory,

"Considering that these facts have considerably prejudiced the exchange of views necessary between the Government of the Republic of Camerouns and the leaders of the political parties of the Northern Camerouns,

"Abstaining from adopting unilateral positions which may not correspond to the aspirations of the peoples in that part of the Trust Territory,

"Having, nevertheless, to meet with the action taken by the Administering Authority in conformity with the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council,

"Recalling the declarations and joint communiqués released after the meeting with the Government's political Party of the Southern Camerouns,

- 1) - Proposes to the people brother of the Northern Camerouns under British Administration to vote unanimously for the reunification with the Republic of Camerouns on a basis of free negotiation, immediately after the plebiscite, namely:
 - a) a federation, as envisaged for the Southern Camerouns,
 - b) a provincial autonomy, with a local administration dependent of the Central Government of the Federal Republic
 - c) an administrative unification in the form of regional or provincial collectivities, under the jurisdiction of the present Constitution of the Republic of Camerouns.
- 2) - Declares that the procedures of the constitutional modifications in force in the Republic of Camerouns should be applied at the right moment in order to realize that unification."

94. On the basis of the approach made by the United Kingdom Government and the replies it received from the Governments of the Republic of Cameroun and the Federation of Nigeria, the Administrator of the Northern Camerouns published a document entitled "The Northern Camerouns Plebiscite 1961 - The Constitutional Arrangements for the Implementation of Decisions at the Plebiscite". This document, ^{20/} which is dated 16 January 1961, was published in 10,000 copies

in English and 20,000 copies in the Hausa language and distributed in the Territory. The explanations on the plebiscite alternatives provided by the two interested Governments were set out in the two inner sides of the four-page document, the left side containing the explanation of the choice for joining the Republic of Cameroun and the right-hand side containing the explanation of the choice for joining the Federation of Nigeria. With a view to discourage the mutilation of the document by persons interested in cutting out the explanations of either choice, the Administrator had the last part of the explanation concerning the choice for the Republic of Cameroun printed in the back of the side containing the explanation of the choice for the Federation of Nigeria. In this way any mutilation of one text would necessarily affect the other.

95. In explanation of the alternative favouring joining the Republic of Cameroun, it was stated that "the basis of unification will be freely negotiated immediately after the plebiscite and may be either: (a) Federation as agreed for the Southern Cameroons, or (b) Provincial Autonomy with an administration depending on the Central Government of the Federal Republic, or (c) Administrative unification in the form of collective Regional or Provincial authorities within the framework of the present constitution of the Republic of Cameroun." The document further indicated that the procedure for constitutional modification at present in force in the Republic of Cameroun would be put into effect when the time came in order that unification should be realised, and it quoted the joint communiqué issued by the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic and the Premier of the Southern Cameroons after their meeting of 10-13 October 1960.

96. In explanation of the alternative favouring joining the Federation of Nigeria, the document quoted the following statement made by the Government of the Federation of Nigeria:

"If the Northern Cameroons joins Nigeria, it will form part of the Northern region with the new Divisional and Local Government arrangements introduced on the 1st April 1960.

"On the 1st April 1960, the new and independent Native Authorities of Mubi, Chamba, Gashaka-Mambilla, Gwoza and United Hills were formed from parts of the Trust Territory formerly administered as part of Adamawa, Bornu and Benue Provinces. The Dikwa Native Authority of course continued as an independent Native Authority.

"On the 1st July 1960 by Legal Notice No. 81 in the Gazette of the Northern Region of Nigeria a new Province was created to include the Northern Trust Territory divided into Native Authorities as set out above. The objects of the creation of this new Province were to guarantee the status of the new Native Authorities and to remove any fear which they might have that in future they would be made subordinate to any other Native Authority from outside the new Province.

"The Governments of the Federation of Nigeria and of the Northern Region of Nigeria both confirm the undertaking set out in paragraph one above. The Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria has also declared that the area will continue to be administered as a separate Province of the Northern Region."

97. Unfortunately, the printing and distribution of this document came too late to be of any real use in the Northern Cameroons. This is explained in the section devoted to the second enlightenment campaign in the Northern Cameroons.^{21/}

D. Concluding remarks

98. I have endeavoured in this section to report as fully as possible on the efforts made to seek clarification of the alternatives put to the people in both plebiscites. From the very outset of my task it had been my view that an early clarification of the issues involved in the plebiscites was an indispensable prerequisite to enable the people of both sections of the Territory to acquaint themselves fully and accurately with the choices before them. Some of the difficulties encountered in obtaining the clarification of the alternatives would have been considerably lessened, I believe, if a way had been found to request the Governments concerned to advise the United Nations, sufficiently in advance, of the conditions under which either or both parts of the Cameroons might be expected to join them. This course of action would have given the United Nations an opportunity to examine the implications of the alternatives in detail and to determine whether they provided an adequate basis for the enlightenment of the people prior to the plebiscites. At the same time, it would have enabled the United Nations to take appropriate measures to seek further elucidation, if such was required.

21/ Paragraph 390.

PART ONE - THE PLEBISCITE IN THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

I. PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY

A. Division of the Territory into plebiscite districts and registration areas

99. Article 3(1) of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council, 1960, provided that the Southern Cameroons should be divided into plebiscite districts. In accordance with this provision, the Southern Cameroons was divided into twenty-six plebiscite districts which, I was informed by the Plebiscite Administrator, corresponded to the electoral constituencies for the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly. He had recommended such a division because the people of the Territory were already well acquainted with these existing units, each of which could, except in the case of Mamfe North, be effectively supervised by one Plebiscite Supervisory Officer. Accordingly, the following plebiscite districts were established:

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>Description of Area</u>	<u>Corresponding Administrative Division</u>
1. Victoria South West	Bakolle Clan, Bambuka, Bota, Bimbia and Victoria Village Groups	Victoria
2. Victoria South East	Mungo Clan and Tiko Village Group	
3. Victoria North West	Buea, Bonjongo and Mutengene Village Groups	
4. Victoria North East	Balong Clan and Muea and Lysoko Village Groups	
5. Kumba North East	Eastern Area, Bassossi Group and Bafaw-Balong Group	Kumba
6. Kumba North West	Northern Bakundu Clan, North-Western Area and Balue Clan	
7. Kumba South East	Mbonge Group, Southern Area and Kumba Town	
8. Kumba South West	South-Western Area, Isangele Group, Bambuko Clan and Bai Dieka Group	

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>Description of Area</u>	<u>Corresponding Administrative Division</u>
9. Mamfe West	Mamfe Town and Kembong	Mamfe
10. Mamfe North	Overside (Assumbo, Mbulu, Memka, Widekum, Takamanda)	
11. Mamfe South	Banyang-Mbo	
12. Mamfe East	Bangwa-Mundani	
13. Bamenda North	Nsaw Clan Area	Bamenda
14. Bamenda East	Ndop Clan Area	
15. Bamenda Central West	Bafut Clan Area	
16. Bamenda Central East	Ngemba Clan Area	
17. Bamenda West	Menemo, Ngie and Ngwaw Clan Areas	
18. Bamenda South	Area of Bani Native Authority and Moghamo Clan	
19. Wum North	Fungom Clan Area	Wum
20. Wum Central	Aghem and Bum Clan Areas	
21. Wum East	Kom Clan Area	
22. Wum West	Beba Befang and Essimbi Clan Areas	
23. Nkambe North	All villages in the Misaje and Mbembe Group Areas	Nkambe
24. Nkambe East	All villages in the Kaka, Mbaw and Mfumte Group Areas	
25. Nkambe Central	Tabenken, Binka, Tala, Bi, Kup, Onchep, Saa, Kungi, Binshua, Njap, Mbat, Nkambe, Chup	
26. Nkambe South	Ndu Village Group, Ngulla, Lu, Ngarum, Taku, Sinna, Wat, Mba, Nsop, Ntumbaw, Ntundip	

100. Regulation 3 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations provided that subject to any general or specific directions which the Plebiscite Administrator might give from time to time a Registration Officer should divide any plebiscite district in respect of which he was to exercise his functions, into such registration areas as he deemed necessary. Accordingly, the Registration Officers divided the respective plebiscite districts into registration areas, totalling 294 for the whole of the Southern Cameroons, as follows:

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>Number of Registration Areas</u>
Victoria South West	7
Victoria South East	5
Victoria North West	10
Victoria North East	17
Kumba North East	18
Kumba North West	16
Kumba South East	9
Kumba South West	10
Mamfe West	23
Mamfe North	35
Mamfe South	19
Mamfe East	21
Bamenda North	8
Bamenda East	7
Bamenda Central West	10
Bamenda Central East	8
Bamenda West	12
Bamenda South	12
Wum North	3
Wum Central	20
Wum East	6
Wum West	2
Nkambe North	3
Nkambe East	8
Nkambe Central	2
Nkambe South	2

B. Staff of the United Kingdom Plebiscite Administration

10i. Plebiscite Administrator. The plebiscite was conducted by the Plebiscite Administrator, Mr. Hubert Childs, C.M.G., O.B.E., who was appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Order in Council, Article 6(1) and (2), which provided that "There shall be a Plebiscite Administrator who shall, subject to any directions given by the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons under paragraph (1) of Article 8 of this Order, be responsible for the conduct and organization of the Plebiscite. The Plebiscite Administrator shall be appointed

by the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons in pursuance of instructions given by Her Majesty through a Secretary of State: Provided that no person shall be appointed who is a native of the Southern Cameroons or who is in the service of the Crown in respect of the government of the Southern Cameroons or of the Northern Cameroons or of Nigeria or of a Region of Nigeria or who is in the service of the Government of the Republic of the Cameroons".

102. Article 8(1) of the Order in Council provided that "the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons may give the Plebiscite Administrator such directions with respect to the exercise of his functions under this Order or any regulations made thereunder as he may consider desirable; and the Plebiscite Administrator shall comply with those directions or shall cause them to be complied with". By Article 10 of the Order in Council, the Plebiscite Administrator was required in the exercise of his functions to "consult wherever practicable and expedient with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and the other persons appointed to assist him in observing the plebiscite on behalf of the United Nations".

103. The appointment of Mr. Childs as Plebiscite Administrator, which took effect from 1 October 1960, was published by Southern Cameroons Notice No. 310 in Gazette No. 50 of 22 October 1960. Mr. Hubert Childs had previously had a distinguished career in the Colonial Service, having served in the Nigerian Administrative Service from 1928 to 1946 and thereafter having served in Sierra Leone where he was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Protectorate in 1949.

104. Deputy Plebiscite Administrator. In accordance with the provisions of Article 6(3) of the Order in Council, Mr. J. Dixon was appointed as Deputy Plebiscite Administrator with effect from 1 October 1960. Mr. Dixon had served in the Nigerian Administrative Service from 1930 to 1942, in the Sierra Leone Administrative Service from 1942 to 1946, and in the Gold Coast/Ghana Administrative Service from 1946 to 1958 from which he retired as Permanent Secretary. During his service in the Nigerian Administration he spent 8 years in the Southern Cameroons. In 1956 he was associated with the plebiscite in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. As Plebiscite Liaison Officer he had been concerned with the planning of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite from July 1959.

105. Assistant Plebiscite Administrators. In accordance with the provisions of Article 6(3) of the Order in Council five Assistant Plebiscite Administrators were appointed with effect from 1 October 1959. Of these, one was posted at headquarters in charge of finance and supply; the other four were posted at Victoria, Mamfe, Bamenda and Wum, in charge of field operations in the plebiscite districts of the Victoria/Kumba, Mamfe, Bamenda and Wum/Nkambe Divisions respectively. Mr. R.B. Allen, O.B.E., who was in charge of finance and supply services, had previously served in the Royal Navy from 1930 to 1944 and in the Federal Printing Department of the Federation of Nigeria from 1948 to 1960. He had been closely associated with the Federal Elections in Nigeria in 1959. He had retired as Government Printer in charge of the Department in 1960. Mr. P.L. Allpress, Assistant Plebiscite Administrator for Victoria and Kumba, had seen Army service during World War II and had served in various administrative positions in the Government of the Eastern Region of Nigeria between 1942 and 1959. He left the Eastern Region Service with the rank of Permanent Secretary, which he had held since 1958.

Mr. C.S. Grisman, M.B.E., Assistant Plebiscite Administrator for Mamfe, had been an administrative officer in Eritrea and in Eastern Nigeria between 1947 and 1957, and had served in the British Army during World War II in Africa, India and Burma. Mr. A.R.P.P.K. Cameron, Assistant Plebiscite Administrator for Bamenda, was a barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, had served in the British Army during World War II and had been an administrative officer in the Western Pacific and the Gold Coast and Ghana from 1946 to 1952. Mr. J.D. Tallantire, Assistant Plebiscite Administrator for Wum and Nkambe, had served with the respective Departments of Agriculture in Nigeria from 1935 to 1938, in Gambia from 1938 to 1943, in Nigeria from 1943 to 1954, and in the Southern Cameroons from 1954 to 1958, from which he retired in 1958 as Director of Agriculture.

106. The Assistant Plebiscite Administrators had been selected by the Colonial Office in London from among candidates with wide experience in overseas territories.

107. Plebiscite Supervisory Officers. Twenty-six Plebiscite Supervisory Officers were appointed to conduct the plebiscite in the twenty-six plebiscite districts. As stated in paragraph 99 above, two of these were posted to plebiscite district Mamfe North which, owing to its size and inaccessibility, required the services of two officials to provide necessary coverage. On the

other hand, one Plebiscite Supervisory Officer was appointed to take charge of two plebiscite districts, namely, Victoria South-West and Victoria North-West. With one exception, all the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers were graduates of universities in the United Kingdom and the majority of them had done National Service in the United Kingdom Armed Forces.

108. The Plebiscite Supervisory Officers were interviewed in London by a selection board consisting of an independent chairman, the Plebiscite and Deputy Plebiscite Administrators of the Northern and Southern Cameroons, and representatives of the Colonial Office. The Plebiscite Supervisory Officers served as Registration Officers during the period of registration of voters, as Revising Officers during the period set aside for the revision of the preliminary lists, and were known as Returning Officers during the later stages of the plebiscite when they trained the polling staff and subsequently supervised all arrangements preparatory to and during the actual polling and counting of ballots.

109. The following is a summary showing staff participation and functions in the organization and conduct of the plebiscite under the general direction of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator.

Headquarters Staff - Buea

Deputy Plebiscite Administrator (HQ Buea)	1
Assistant Plebiscite Administrator (Finance and Supply) (HQ Buea)	1

Field Staff

Assistant Plebiscite Administrators (Kumba/Victoria, Mamfe, Bamenda and Wum/Nkambe), expatriate officials recruited in the United Kingdom especially for the plebiscite	4
Plebiscite Supervisory Officers Expatriate officials recruited in the United Kingdom especially for the plebiscite	26
Assistant Registration Officers Recruited locally from among teachers, students, clerks, etc.	568

Presiding and Polling Officers	1813
Recruited locally from among teachers, students, clerks, etc.	
Polling Marshalls	2014
Recruited locally from among village heads, pensioners, etc.	
Assistant Returning Officers	110
Combined duties with counting of ballots.	
Recruited from among missionaries, businessmen, wives of officials and Departmental Officers.	

C. Time-table for the plebiscite

110. The following was the original time-table for the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons concerning which details had been submitted to me earlier in 1960:

<u>Time-table</u>	<u>Days</u>	<u>Event</u>
1 - 15 October 1960	15	First public enlightenment campaign. Registration staff move to briefing centres.
16 - 19 " "	4	Briefing of registration staff.
20 - 25 " "	6	Registration staff move to registration areas.
26 October - 22 November 1960	28	Registration.
23 November - 27 December "	35	Preparation and publication of preliminary list. Second public enlightenment campaign. Siting of polling stations.
28 December - 11 January 1961	15	Submission of claims and objections.
12 - 26 January 1961	15	Determination of claims and objections. Polling staff move to briefing centres.
27 January - 10 February "	15	Preparation and publication of final register. Briefing of polling staff. Polling staff move to polling stations.
11 February 1961	1	Polling day.
21 " "		Last day for lodging petitions.

111. Following the Conference held during November 1960 in London between leaders of the principal Southern Cameroons political parties and the Secretary of State for the Colonies,^{22/} it became apparent that the second public enlightenment

22/ Paragraphs 68 to 70.

campaign, planned for November - December 1960, would have to be deferred until January 1961, since it would be impossible to complete adequate preparations in time. The enlightenment campaigns were designed to inform the people, in accordance with Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI), of the constitutional arrangements that would have to be made, at the appropriate time, for the implementation of the decisions at the plebiscites. The time-table was consequently adjusted by telescoping the period originally set aside for the preparation and publication of the preliminary list and the time required for the typing of the list was greatly reduced by the establishment of a typing pool at Buea which was able to complete approximately half of the total typing in 12 days. The preliminary list for each plebiscite district was published as soon as it was ready, and with the exception of two inaccessible districts in Mamfe, the list was published everywhere prior to 15 December 1960, thus making it possible to advance by nearly two weeks the period set aside for the determination of claims and objections.

112. As soon as the booklet entitled "The Two Alternatives"^{23/} was ready and distributed to the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers, the second public enlightenment campaign was begun and it started in some districts as early as 10 January 1961. The campaign was concluded at the end of January 1961.

113. The siting of polling stations and the second public enlightenment campaign took place simultaneously, and briefing of polling staff was conducted in the various plebiscite districts between late January and early February 1961.

II. COMMUNICATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

114. Communication facilities in the Southern Cameroons were, by and large, better than those existing in the Northern Cameroons. The paved Trunk road linking Victoria, Buea and Kumba is without doubt the best in the Territory. Beyond Kumba an unpaved Trunk road continues to Mamfe and Bamenda and forms beyond this point a "ring road" system, laid out in a huge loop connecting the divisional centres of Wum and Nkambe and the remainder of the Territory.

On the Bamenda plateau itself, feeder roads of varying quality provide access to some of the remoter areas. The weakest link in the Victoria-Bamenda road is the portion between Kumba and Mamfe which, though only 120 miles in length, normally requires seven hours to travel. Owing to the fact that the road north of Kumba is narrow and winding, its use has been restricted to alternate days running north and south respectively. Although classed as all-season, trunk roads in the areas north of Kumba town were frequently out of use during the rainy season and required constant repairs. Nevertheless, Observers reached their stations without undue delay and regular weekly couriers provided services between my Buea Headquarters and the various Observer posts. A fleet of twelve Landrovers was utilized by the United Nations staff in the Southern Cameroons.

115. Although roads linked the main divisional centres of the Southern Cameroons, it should be recalled that a vast area unconnected by vehicular roads had to be visited by the Observers during the various stages of the plebiscite. To do so they were required to cover long and arduous stretches of terrain, difficult of access, making it necessary to go on "treks" lasting up to ten days at a time. In this respect, particular problems were encountered by the Observers and Administration Plebiscite staff in the Mamfe and Kumba plebiscite districts where, in addition to the difficult terrain, climatic conditions, thick vegetation and frequently unfordable rivers posed not inconsiderable obstacles to their work.

116. Telephone and telegraph communications within the Southern Cameroons were available to me almost from the outset. Radio transmitters had been set up by the Battalion of the King's Own Royal Border Regiment in Kumba, Bamenda, Jakiri, Belo, Nkambe and Wum. In addition to these facilities, wireless contacts could be made through existing police signals between Buea, Victoria, Kumba and Bamenda, which were supplemented by the regular telephone connexions in the limited area between Buea, Tiko and Victoria. Observers in Kumba and Victoria also had access to the private short-wave network belonging to the Cameroons Development Corporation.

117. Whenever necessary, Observer Stations in Mamfe, Bamenda and Wum could also be reached by small charter aircraft which were capable of landing on airstrips in or near these localities.

III. SEPARATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS FROM THAT OF THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

118. By resolution 1352 (XIV), the General Assembly recommended, inter alia, that the Administering Authority, in consultation with the Government of the Southern Cameroons, take steps to implement the separation of the administration of the Southern Cameroons from that of the Federation of Nigeria. In line with this recommendation, the Administering Authority submitted a report^{24/} to the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-sixth session, in which it outlined the measures contemplated to this end.

119. Although General Assembly resolution 1352 (XIV) did not make it incumbent upon me to supervise the implementation of this particular provision, I deemed it appropriate to seek information from the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons concerning the practical application of the measures outlined by the Administering Authority in its report to the Trusteeship Council, since I wished to obtain information concerning the practical arrangements that had been made which might have a bearing on the plebiscite. On the basis of the information made available to me, I merely wish to outline the arrangements that are now in effect without making an evaluation concerning their effectiveness, as I believe this to be a matter falling properly within the purview of the Trusteeship Council and of the General Assembly.

120. The constitution of the Southern Cameroons is now provided for in the Southern Cameroons (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960. The effect of this Order was to leave the existing powers and functions of the Southern Cameroons Government unaltered but to transfer to the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons the powers and functions formerly exercised by the Governor-General and the Government of the Federation. This Order revoked the Nigeria (Constitution) Orders in Council, 1954 to 1960, in so far as they applied to the Southern Cameroons. The Commissioner is now directly responsible to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, and neither the Governor-General nor the Government of Nigeria now exercise jurisdiction in the Southern Cameroons.

121. At the head of the Government of the Southern Cameroons is the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons. He has been appointed by a commissioner under Her Majesty's sign manual and signet and holds office during Her Majesty's pleasure.

122. There are two methods of enacting legislation in the Southern Cameroons. In respect of any matter with respect to which the legislature of the Federation of Nigeria had power before 1 October 1960, and not being matters with respect to which the legislature of the Southern Cameroons also had power to make laws, the Commissioner, acting in his discretion, has power to make laws by proclamation. The Commissioner, therefore, has power to legislate by proclamation in respect of matters which, before 1 October 1960, were contained in the Exclusive Legislative List, appearing as Part I of the First Schedule (the Legislative List) to the Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954. The principal subjects include aviation and meteorology, external borrowing, currency and coinage, exchange control, control of capital issues, copyright, customs and excise, including export duties, defence and police, certain higher educational institutions, external affairs, external trade, immigration and emigration, incorporation and regulation of companies, insurance, shipping and navigation, mines and minerals, including oil and natural gas, naval, military and air forces, nuclear energy, patents and trademarks, posts, telegraphs and telephones, railways, trunk roads, company taxes and sales taxes, and wireless broadcasting and television.

123. In respect of all other matters legislation is enacted by the House of Assembly. Bills which are to be considered by the House of Assembly may be referred to the House of Chiefs by the Commissioner and any such Bill may then be considered and discussed and the resolutions of the House of Chiefs are then submitted to the Commissioner, who causes them to be laid before the House of Assembly. The House of Chiefs may not discuss any Bill that in the opinion of the Commissioner contains provisions dealing only with financial matters, e.g., the imposition of taxation, the raising of any loan.

124. The House of Assembly is the same House of Assembly which was elected in January 1959. It is, as noted above, empowered to legislate on all matters not contained in the Exclusive Legislative List. These residual subjects include primary and secondary education, agriculture, forestry, veterinary services, co-operatives, local government, land, medical services, administration of justice, and roads other than Federal trunk roads.

125. The day to day government of the Southern Cameroons continues to be carried out by certain Ministers of Government. The Premier was in office before 1 October 1960, and has continued in office, having been appointed by the Commissioner, acting in his discretion, as the person who appeared to the Commissioner likely to command a majority among the members of the House of Assembly. There is an Executive Council for the Southern Cameroons composed of three official members - the Deputy Commissioner, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary - and the Ministers of the Government. The Ministers of the Government are all elected members of the House of Assembly. The Commissioner, acting in his discretion, has assigned to particular members responsibility for the business of the Government of the Southern Cameroons including the administration of certain departments of Government. The members of the Executive Council are as follows:

The Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons
(President of the Executive Council)

The Premier (who is also the Minister of Local Government)	The Deputy Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons
Minister of Commerce & Industries	The Attorney-General
Minister of Social Services	The Financial Secretary
Minister of Natural Resources	
Minister of Works & Transport	
Minister of Co-operatives and Community Development	
Minister of State (without portfolio)	

126. The Commissioner's powers under the various laws in force in the Southern Cameroons are exercised subject to any instructions which may be given to him by Her Majesty through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He is obliged to seek the advice of the Executive Council on any matter in respect of which legislation can be enacted by the House of Assembly. In practice, the Commissioner seeks the views of the Executive Council on many matters in respect of which he is not obliged to consult the Executive Council. From a practical point of view there are few decisions taken by the Commissioner without prior consultation with the various members of the Executive Council.

127. The Constitution Order in Council set up a High Court of the Southern Cameroons presided over by a resident Judge appointed by the Commissioner in pursuance of instructions given by Her Majesty through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Appeals from the High Court are heard by the Supreme Court of the Federation of Nigeria. From that Court there is the usual right of appeal to Her Majesty the Queen by reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. An Advisory Council on the Prerogative of Mercy assists the Commissioner in the exercise of clemency in Her Majesty's name in respect of persons condemned to death.

128. The former "regional" services of the Southern Cameroons Government were staffed by members of the Southern Cameroons Public Service and members (Nigerian and British) of the Nigerian Federal Public Service who were compulsorily seconded to the Southern Cameroons up to 30 September 1960. The Government of the Federation agreed that those Federal Service officers who wished to continue serving in the Territory after separation would be permitted to remain there on voluntary secondment; the majority of the Nigerian officers elected to return to Nigeria, while all but one or two of the British officers volunteered to remain in the Southern Cameroons. The gaps have been substantially filled by the promotion of Cameroonians and the recruitment of essential officers from overseas and it has thus been possible to keep these services going without any appreciable contraction or loss of efficiency.

129. The former "Federal" services are, by the Agency Agreement between the Administering Authority and the Federal Government of Nigeria, carried on by departments of the Federal Government who in this respect act as the agents of the Commissioner. In all matters of policy and major executive action these services are under the control of the Commissioner and are not in any respect subject to the direction of any Minister or official of the Government of Nigeria. All revenue collected by these services accrues to the Southern Cameroons Government and costs involved are fully reimbursed to the Nigerian Government.

130. Prior to the separation of the Southern Cameroons from Nigeria, the Government of the Territory received an allocation of revenues on the same basis as the other Regions of Nigeria. The revenue allocation system provided for the payment to the Regional Governments of the Federation of -

- (a) the full amount of all export duties on produce (in the Southern Cameroons cocoa, bananas, palm produce, rubber, timber);
- (b) the whole of the proceeds of import duties and excise duties on tobacco distributed on a basis of consumption;
- (c) the whole of the import duties on motor spirit and diesel fuel on a basis of consumption;
- (d) the whole of the receipts from personal income tax on a basis of derivation;
- (e) part of the funds in a distributable pool which was established consisting of 30% of general import revenue (i.e. all import duties except those on motor spirit, diesel fuel, tobacco and liquor) and 30% of the revenue from mining and mineral royalties and rents. Of this pool the Southern Cameroons received 5%.

The Nigerian Federal Government retained the revenue from import duties on liquor, from company tax and from duties on general imports apart from that distributed in the pool just described. The Federal Government also, of course, retained all revenue from fees and charges imposed by the Federal Services, e.g., Posts and Telegraphs, Police, Civil Aviation, Prisons, etc.

131. After separation the Southern Cameroons Government became directly responsible for the payment of the cost of the former Federal Services and as a corollary receives direct payment of all taxes, fees and charges collected by those services. On the revenue side, the Southern Cameroons now receives all export and import duties (including import duties on liquor and general imports) actually collected by the Customs but no longer receives a share of the distributable pool nor any excise duties on tobacco. Import duties on tobacco have, however, been raised to compensate for the loss of excise duties. In addition, the Southern Cameroons Government receives payment of all company tax attributable to the Territory. Personal income tax continues to be received by this Government. Other fees and charges consist mainly of Posts and Telegraphs revenue and receipts from prisons earnings, aerodrome fees and ports dues and fees. The net increase in revenue arising from these charges is estimated in a full year at approximately £260,000. The Agency Services consist of the following: Civil Aviation, Customs, Geological Survey,

Meteorology, Police, Posts and Telegraphs, Labour and Prisons. Certain other services are also made available to the Southern Cameroons by the Nigerian Government on request. These include the Coastal Agency, Information, Printing, Research, Training and Statistics Services. In addition, the full cost of the operations of the Nigerian Ports Authority in the Southern Cameroons is charged to the Southern Cameroons Government. These operations are continued under agreement with the Nigerian Ports Authority. The total expenditure on the Federal Agency Services is estimated in a full year at approximately £735,000.

132. Customs Posts have been established on the Southern Cameroons/Nigerian border and import and export duties are collected there by the Nigerian Customs acting as agents for the Southern Cameroons.

133. The Southern Cameroons continues to use Nigerian currency by agreement with the Federal Government and the exchange control regulations operative before separation remain in force, the exchange control authority being the Ministry of Finance, Lagos.

134. After separation, the Southern Cameroons Government issued its own postage stamps which were Nigerian stamps overprinted with the words "Cameroons U.K.T.T.". All denominations are overprinted (from 1/2d. to £1) and approximately one and a half million stamps of all denominations have so far been printed. The Nigerian stamps being overprinted are those which were in circulation prior to the independence of the Federation from 1 October 1960. All receipts from the sale of postage stamps in the Territory and through the Crown Agents for Overseas Governments are paid to the Southern Cameroons Government.

135. The Southern Cameroons Order in Council, 1960, provided that laws in force on 30 September 1960 should continue in force thereafter. Power was given to the Commissioner, acting in his discretion, to make such amendments and adaptations to the Law as appeared to him to be necessary and expedient, to enable the new constitution to function. This power has been exercised as occasion demanded. Power was also given to him to amend any existing law to give effect to any agreement made before 1 October for the purpose of facilitating the administration of the Southern Cameroons. One example of what has been done in this respect is that before 1 October 1960, legal process of any court in the Federation could be sent to any other court for execution. Adaptation orders have, therefore, been made by the Commissioner

of the Southern Cameroons and by the Government of the Federation of Nigeria to ensure that this state of affairs continues for the time being. The Order in Council also provided that persons in office before 1 October 1960 should continue in office thereafter.

136. Matters relating to security and police forces are dealt with in the following chapter.

IV. SECURITY AND POLICE FORCES IN THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

137. Following the 1959 plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons, and before returning to New York to present my report on its outcome to the General Assembly, I paid a visit to Buea in the Southern Cameroons where, on 11 November 1959, I discussed with the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons certain aspects of the forthcoming plebiscite in the southern part of the Territory. In the course of our conversations, I stated that if in the unlikely event of a security situation arising during the plebiscite it became necessary to use police or military forces in addition to those available in the Southern Cameroons, the employment of Nigerian army and police units would not be desirable. For, in my view, it was essential, both from the point of view of the Administering Authority and of the United Nations, to avoid taking measures which might, by virtue of the introduction of such troops and police, in themselves be construed as being prejudicial to a fair and impartial conduct of the plebiscite. On the other hand, I saw no objection to the deployment of troops from the United Kingdom, if such was necessary.

138. Again, on 4 January 1960, I discussed this subject during my consultations with members of the Colonial Office in London and stated that in case it became necessary to call in additional security forces, objections could be raised by the United Nations if Nigerian army and police units were to be used to restore order. At the same time, I was advised that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to split off a part of the Nigeria police and to place it under the control of the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons with its own Commander for the interim period, and that this force would be composed for the most part of Cameroonians. As for the employment of army units, I was told that sympathetic consideration would be given to my objections to the use of Nigerian troops to reinforce the police.

On 13 July 1960, I was informed by the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations that arrangements were being made to station British troops temporarily in the Southern Cameroons, pending settlement of the future of the Trust Territory in the light of the plebiscite. Reference was made at the same time to an announcement made by Her Majesty's Government in May 1960 that the Nigerian troops which were then stationed in the Southern Cameroons would be withdrawn before 1 October 1960, and that the United Kingdom troops replacing them would be supported by a small detachment of the Royal Air Force. They were expected to relieve the Battalion of the Queens Own Nigeria Regiment on 27 September 1960.

139. Upon my arrival in the Territory, the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons confirmed that United Kingdom troops had in fact arrived in the Southern Cameroons. These troops consisted of the First Battalion, King's Own Royal Border Regiment, supported by elements of the Royal Engineers, the Royal Army Medical Corps, the Royal Signals and the Royal Army Service Corps. In addition a detachment of the 230th Squadron, Royal Air Force, had been despatched to the Southern Cameroons. The entire Force was known as the King's Own Royal Border Group, and the Commanding Officer of the First Battalion, King's Own Royal Border Regiment was also Force Commander and as such was responsible to, and acted under, the general direction of the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons. I was informed that the Group was to assist the civil authorities in the preservation of law, order and public morale, and to act as a deterrent against terrorism and other subversive activities. Two Companies were stationed in Bamenda and another at Kumba; smaller detachments served in other parts of the Southern Cameroons. The Royal Air Force detachment was stationed in Mamfe. I was further advised that responsibility for the preservation of law and order in respect of all phases of the plebiscite fell on the police, and not on the military forces. Only in the event of a grave emergency would the military forces be assigned a specific role in support of the police.

140. I would also like to recall that during the discussions concerning the future of the Territory in the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-sixth session, reference was made by Members of the Trusteeship Council to the desirability of having the police forces stationed in the Southern Cameroons made solely

responsible to the United Kingdom Authorities, and that by its resolution 2013 (XXVI), operative paragraph 1, the Council had, inter alia, requested the Administering Authority "to take into account the observations and suggestions made at the twenty-sixth session of the Trusteeship Council in completing the separation of the administration of the two parts of the Territory from that of the Federation of Nigeria not later than 1 October 1960, ensuring, in particular, the existence, thereafter until the completion of the plebiscites in the Territory, of Police Forces, wholly responsible to the Authorities in the Territory". During the same session, the representative of the Administering Authority had stated that the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons would be directly and solely responsible to the Administering Authority for the preservation of law and order and that the use and operational control of the police would be vested in him constitutionally. The Commissioner would exercise his responsibility through a police force under the command of the Commissioner of Police of the Southern Cameroons, who would not be answerable to the Inspector-General of the Federal Nigerian Police Force.

141. Following my arrival in the Territory, I was informed that the Southern Cameroons Police Force consisted of 20 officers and 542 rank and file whose number, it was planned, would be increased to 592 by 1 December 1960. All, except 11 senior British officers, were Cameroonians. The Commissioner of Police was, by virtue of section 88 of the Southern Cameroons (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960, directly responsible to the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons. It may be of interest to note that, on 3 November 1960, the Commissioner of Police for the Southern Cameroons issued an Instruction to all ranks of the Southern Cameroons Police Force advising them that the plebiscite due to take place in February 1961 was a matter of grave importance for the Southern Cameroons and that it was only natural that policemen should take a keen interest in the future of their country. But, he stated, as policemen their first duty was the maintenance of law and order and for this purpose it was necessary not only that the police should be impartial, but that they should give no indication by word or deed that any of them favoured

one question or the other. The directive advised them that when they were off-duty in plain clothes there was no reason why they should not discuss the plebiscite among themselves and with their families, but that they should avoid any such discussion in public and especially when they were on duty and in uniform. The Commissioner of Police further noted that there had been no complaints by any political party of partiality on the part of the police following the elections in January. I am glad to report that throughout the period of my stay in the Territory I had reason to believe that the members of the British Army and Southern Cameroons Police Force maintained an attitude of impartiality towards the plebiscite.

V. PRE-REGISTRATION PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT CAMPAIGN

142. During the middle of September 1960, I was advised that it was the Plebiscite Administrator's intention to conduct a public enlightenment campaign which was scheduled to take place between 1 and 15 October 1960, just prior to the start of registration on 26 October. The object of the enlightenment campaign was to explain to the people the nature, conduct and purpose of the plebiscite; the choices that would be put before the voters; the qualifications for voting; the mechanics of registration and the procedures for making claims and objections.

143. As the campaign was expected to begin more than two weeks before the scheduled arrival in the Southern Cameroons of United Nations Observers, I was most anxious to see that this very important phase of the plebiscite should be covered as thoroughly as possible. For this reason, I decided to send Mr. John Miles, one of the Observers designated to serve in Bamenda, ahead of the main body of Observers to the Southern Cameroons and to entrust him with the additional task of observing the conduct of the public enlightenment campaign in as many plebiscite districts as possible. The Observer arrived in Buea on 30 September and witnessed this phase of the plebiscite in the most populous areas of each Division in the Southern Cameroons.

144. Before his arrival, however, it had become apparent that the two weeks set aside for the conduct of the campaign would not suffice, in view of the fact that the prevailing heavy rains and difficulties of negotiating many

areas by foot or motor transport would place severe limitations on the movement of the plebiscite staff engaged in the campaign. If, therefore, the planned publicity was to reach a maximum number of people, the date of the opening of the enlightenment campaign would have to be advanced by several weeks. For these reasons, the campaign was actually begun on 12 September and was conducted in the respective twenty-six plebiscite districts at varying periods until 18 October 1960. The Plebiscite Supervisory Officers, who were largely responsible for conducting the campaign, had been instructed to base their lectures entirely on the contents of the instructions prepared by the Plebiscite Administration and to avoid any discussion of the issues involved in the plebiscite. During the campaign the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers covered each plebiscite district, moved from village to village, gave explanations to the people in public meetings and answered their questions. Loudspeaker vans were used in the more accessible areas and proved to be most useful in collecting large crowds and for addressing large gatherings, particularly in such areas as Victoria and Kumba. In addition to explanations given by word of mouth, a total of 50,000 pamphlets, setting forth the purpose of the plebiscite, voting qualifications and the mechanics of registration, were distributed and 25,000 posters were displayed throughout the Territory. The demand for these pamphlets in the Kumba and Victoria plebiscite districts was so great that the Plebiscite Administrator issued an additional 50,000.

145. The pamphlets and posters, the contents of which had previously been discussed with the leaders of the main political parties who had expressed their agreement with the contents, were printed in simple English. In view of the multiplicity of languages and dialects in the Southern Cameroons, only two of which have been reduced to writing, it was decided that no use should be made of the vernaculars in printed material. Instead, the verbal explanations given in simple English were interpreted into the local vernacular by official interpreters.

146. Each public meeting was announced beforehand, either by public notice setting out the times and places of meetings in each registration area over a period of days or a week, or, wherever this did not prove practicable, by messengers.

147. The United Nations Observer reported to me that all the meetings at which he had been present had been well attended and that audiences had shown keen interest in them. Questions put at the end of the public lectures related mainly to qualifications for voting, but occasionally questions were put concerning the merits of the two questions in the plebiscite and frequently grievances were presented to the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers concerning the absence of a third question, namely, did the people of the Territory wish to achieve outright independence. At all times, he reported, these officials refused to discuss the substance of the alternatives in the plebiscite. Complaints made by political parties and by individuals concerning the conduct of the campaign were relatively few in number. Early in the campaign the Leader of the Government Party (KNDP) made the charge that, in their public lectures, Plebiscite Supervisory Officers had referred to the Republic of Cameroun as "French territory" or as having been "French territory", and he requested that no reference should be made concerning "its former French status". The Plebiscite Administrator, with whom I discussed this matter, expressed the view that it was an important part of the public enlightenment campaign to explain to the people the purpose of the plebiscite. In doing this, his officers had given a very brief and simple historical introduction beginning with the division of the Cameroons following World War I. He explained that in the course of these lectures mention was made of the fact that one half of the Cameroons was originally placed under British administration, while the other part was placed under French administration. It had recently achieved its independence and was now the Republic of Cameroun. The United Nations Observer reported to me that plebiscite officers had at all times carefully avoided making reference to the term "French territory" and used instead the term "The Republic of Cameroun". There were also a number of complaints that interpreters employed in the enlightenment campaign had been either misinterpreting or deliberately spreading propaganda in favour of one or the other alternative. Although all these complaints were investigated, it proved impossible in most cases to ascertain the real facts as specific times, dates, places and other relevant details were not adduced in support of the charges.

148. I believe that in spite of the physical and other difficulties experienced by the plebiscite staff in the conduct of the campaign, the result of the registration justified my impression that it was carried out in a thorough and efficient manner.

VI. THE REGISTRATION PERIOD

A. The Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960

149. At the meeting I had in London with officials of the Colonial Office on 7 September 1960, I expressed the hope that the draft of the Plebiscite Regulations would be transmitted to me in time for consultations before they were finalized.

150. The draft of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960, which I received on 17 September, contained four parts: Part I, Preliminary, provided, under five regulations, for the citation of title, definition of terms, the division of the plebiscite districts into registration areas, the form of the register and the appointment in each Registration Area of places fit to be registration offices.

151. Part II - Preparation of Preliminary List, comprised regulations 6, 7 and 8. Under regulation 6, notices were to be given by the Plebiscite Administrator of the manner and places in each plebiscite district in which registration could take place. Regulation 7 provided for the submission of claims to be registered, the manner of such submission, the duties to be performed by Registration Officers, and the issuance of duplicate registration cards in the event of destruction or loss of registration cards. A person's residence for the purpose of registration in a given registration area was, under paragraph 8 of regulation 7, to be determined by reference to all the facts of the case, and in particular by reference to rules contained in the Second Schedule. Regulation 8 provided for the preparation and publication of the preliminary list of voters by the Plebiscite Administrator.

152. Part III - Revision of Preliminary List - included regulations 9 to 15. Regulations 9, 10 and 11 provided, respectively, for submission of "claims", "applications" and "objections" fifteen days after the publication of the preliminary list. Under regulation 9, a person whose name did not appear on the preliminary list and who had, during the registration period, submitted a claim to be registered, was entitled to submit such claim again. Under

regulation 10, a person whose name appeared under a registration area other than that for which he had applied, was entitled to apply for the transfer of his name to the latter registration area. According to regulation 11, a person whose name appeared in the preliminary list was entitled to object to any other person whose name appeared therein as not being entitled to have his name on the list or in the registration area thereof. Under regulation 12, the Registration Officer was required to forward all "claims", "applications" or "objections" which were presented to him to a Revising Officer. Regulation 13 gave powers to Revising Officers to determine "claims", "applications" and "objections" upon hearing such evidence as he might consider necessary, and to strike out, enter or transfer names as the case might be. Regulation 14 provided that corrections and additions resulting from a decision of a Revising Officer or from death or disqualification of registered persons were to be carried out by a Registration Officer, after notice had been given to the affected person in the latter cases. Under this regulation, the Registration Officer "shall also make such corrections as he thinks necessary and as are practicable to ensure that no person is entered in the list who will be registered in any other plebiscite district". Regulation 15 prescribed that the final register of voters was to be published not later than 10 February by the Plebiscite Administrator, with such alterations or amendments as he might consider necessary.

153. In Part IV, regulations 16 and 17 defined a number of plebiscite offences such as breaches of official duties; destruction of, or alterations in, documents or notices required to be made under the regulations; giving false information or making false statements wilfully and knowingly in relation to any claim or application; knowingly publishing false statements or rumours for the purpose of preventing qualified persons from registering; knowingly making false statements in any register or document required by the regulation. Under regulation 18, in addition to any other penalty, a person convicted of knowingly publishing false statements or rumours for the purpose of preventing qualified persons from registering was to be disqualified for three years from voting in any election, or from being an elector therein, or from holding a public office in a local government body in the Southern Cameroons.

154. The First Schedule contained a specimen of "Application for Registration, Form A" and the Second Schedule contained "Rules as to the Residence of Electors". Appended to the regulations were three specimen forms, B, C and D, that is a "Second Application for Registration", an "Application for Transfer of a Name on a Preliminary List" and a "Notice of Objection to a Name on Preliminary List".

155. Shortly after the receipt of the draft regulations, I transmitted ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~formal~~ ⁱⁿ comments to the Plebiscite Administrator. Consultations with the Plebiscite Administrator continued after my arrival in Buea in the second week of October. Discussions centred at the outset on the desirability of establishing in the regulations an orderly procedure for the revision of the preliminary list that would obviate the large degree of administrative discretion which seemed to have been conferred upon the plebiscite officials for this stage of the operation. I had noticed in this connexion that although Revising Officers were to determine "claims", "applications" and "objections" under regulations 9, 10, 11 and 13, after hearing all necessary evidence, it was not clear whether subsequently Registration Officers and the Plebiscite Administrator could not discretionally review these determinations under regulations 14 and 15. Precedents of past plebiscites, particularly the plebiscite held in Togoland under British administration in 1956, and normal principles and practices followed in elections weighed heavily in favour of adopting a procedure whereby the parties could rely on decisions taken on the evidence presented. While the Plebiscite Administrator was reluctant to introduce changes in the regulations which might limit unduly the action expected within the tight schedule of the Revising Officers, he readily agreed that the determinations made by these Officers should stand beyond his authority and that of other plebiscite officials as regards the possibility of changes being made to them.

156. The Plebiscite Administrator and I, together with our immediate advisers, then proceeded during a number of meetings to discuss in detail the regulations which had already been promulgated on 1 October 1960.

157. In line with the views I had expressed previously, it was agreed to amend regulation 13 so that Revising Officers would determine "claims", "applications" and "objections" in public, and that their decisions thereon would be final. The Revising Officers were also accorded certain powers and protection which magistrates in the Southern Cameroons enjoy in accordance with the Magistrates' Courts (Southern Cameroons) Law, 1955. These powers

are those necessary to maintain order in the hearings, including the power to order arrests. The protection accorded to magistrates by the Magistrates' Courts Law is that of immunity against suit for acts done in the performance of the magistrate's duties.

158. Resulting from the finality of decisions by Revising Officers, paragraphs were deleted in regulation 14 that seemed to enable Registration Officers to make additions or corrections in the preliminary list for purposes which were not clearly defined. Moreover, no need seemed to arise for the intervention of another official for reasonable adjustments in the preliminary list. Regulation 14 was accordingly amended to permit Revising Officers to make only "such corrections and additions in the preliminary list as are required (a) for the purpose of correcting clerical errors, and (b) for the removal of duplicate entries". Similarly, under a revised regulation 15(3) the Plebiscite Administrator, upon receiving the preliminary list from the Revising Officers for publication "may cause any alterations, amendment or addition to be made to the list necessary in the compilation thereof to correct any clerical error".

159. At the time these consultations were taking place, I had reports from Observers which indicated that because of the isolation of some places in the Southern Cameroons the time allotted for registration might be insufficient to allow the registration of all applicants. I raised this question with the Plebiscite Administrator with a view to providing in the regulations the means of extending the period within which registration claims could be made should the need arise. The Plebiscite Administrator agreed to add a provision to this effect as paragraph 10 of regulation 7, as follows: "The Plebiscite Administrator may, in consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner if practicable or if impracticable with the most senior member on the staff of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner available, extend the period or appoint a further period within which claims to be registered may be made in any registration area". It was understood that in cases where the Plebiscite Administrator, either in Suesu or in the place where the situation arose, had to take an urgent decision under this provision and I was not available at that place, the Plebiscite Administrator would hold consultations with the Principal Secretary on my staff, if present at that place, or otherwise with a United Nations Observer covering the area in question. ^{25/}

160. It will be recalled that Article 5 (2) (1) of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council, 1960, provided that every person entitled to be registered as a voter should register "in the registration area in which he is resident at the date of his application." Accordingly, regulation 7 (8) of the Registration Regulations stipulated that a person's residence would be determined by reference to all the facts of the case and in particular by reference to the rules contained in the Second Schedule, as follows:

"1. The place of residence of a person is usually that place which has always or generally been his home, or which he has adopted as his home or where he is generally employed.

"2. Where a person usually sleeps in one place and has his meals or is employed in another place, his place of residence will be where he sleeps.

"3. For the purpose of these rules it will be assumed that a person can only have one place of residence and that it cannot be lost until it is replaced by another.

"4. Temporary absence does not cause a loss, and an absence of less than six months, or which it is anticipated to be less than six months, will be regarded as temporary if the intention is to resume actual residence within that period."

When the above provisions regarding the residence of electors were discussed with the Plebiscite Administrator, it became clear that they were intended to facilitate the registration by determining the place where each person should register, and were not to be construed as establishing a residential qualification for voting, inasmuch as paragraph (ii) of regulation 5 (2) of the Order in Council clearly provided that every person fulfilling the qualifications to register and not being at the date of his application resident in the Southern Cameroons, would be able to register "in the registration area in which he was born or, if he was not born in the Southern Cameroons, in the registration area in which his father was born or, if neither he nor his father was born in the Southern Cameroons, in the registration area in which his mother was born."

At that time I had also been made aware of possible difficulties in the registration and voting of a certain category of persons temporarily absent from the place of their residence. Rule 4 of the "Rules as to the Residence of Electors", appended in the Second Schedule to the Registration Regulations, provided that "Temporary absence does not cause a loss, and an absence of less than six months, or which is anticipated to be less than six months, will be regarded as temporary if the intention is to assume actual residence within the period". It then appeared that persons staying for less than six months in a place other than their place of residence might not, due to the difficulties in communications, be in a position to register and subsequently to cast a vote. On 25 October, I communicated my views on this subject to the Plebiscite Administrator as follows:

"The United Nations Plebiscite Observers have recently called to my attention difficulties likely to arise in regard to the registration or voting of certain categories of persons. Thus, persons serving sentences of six months or less, hospital patients and migrant workers who will be released or who will move out of a registration area between the period of registration and Polling Day, seem to be placed in an uncertain position under the present Plebiscite Legislation in regard to the possibility both of their being registered and casting their vote.

"Another category of person could be added to those I have mentioned, namely, that of the African Plebiscite personnel, although the difficulties appear to be of a much lesser magnitude for persons in this category, since they would normally remain within a Plebiscite District during the period in question.

"I fully realize that the number of persons in these categories may be relatively small in comparison to the registrable population and that the argument could be made that in an operation like the present one a certain percentage of the electors would be unavoidably left out of the Register for one reason or another.

"However, it is my firm conviction that, where practicable, an effort should be made to remove obstacles for qualified persons who, in circumstances generally beyond their control, may very well be deprived in practice of exercising their right to vote. Apart from these considerations of principle, the issue has already attracted public interest to an extent that makes representations from political parties not unlikely.

"I have felt it my duty to transmit to you these views in the belief that, within the limits of reason and of established machinery, you may perhaps find a way to clarify the present uncertainties."

161. On 28 October 1960, the Plebiscite Administrator sent the following reply:

"I am glad to be able to inform you that the difficulties mentioned in your letter of 25th October have been receiving attention and that it has already been agreed by the Government of the Southern Cameroons that arrangements should be made for persons serving prison sentences of six months or less, who are otherwise qualified, to be registered and to vote in the plebiscite.

"Arrangements are also being made for hospital patients to be registered in hospital, but whether they will be able to vote will naturally depend on their ability to attend their polling station on polling day as no facilities exist for voting by post.

"Similarly, I do not see any practical difficulty in respect of African Plebiscite personnel which are incapable of being resolved, and you and I have discussed an amendment to the Registration Regulations which will facilitate this.

"Migrant workers present a different problem and in their case any attempt to depart from the principle on which the legislation is based, that where a man is registered there he must vote, would I am afraid create much greater difficulties than it would solve, and could result in serious confusion. I shall be very ready to consider any suggestions you may have with regard to this, but I believe that adherence to this principle is usual, and I have been informed that it has caused no particular difficulty in the elections which have been held in this country hitherto."

162. Registration of hospital patients and of convicts serving prison sentences of less than six months was effected under directives given by the Plebiscite Administrator on 28 October and 3 November, respectively. By these directives, the Plebiscite Administrator ruled, under regulation 7(8) of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960 that by the facts of the case the residence of a prisoner or a hospital patient who, by virtue of his confinement has not been able to register elsewhere, shall be regarded as the prison or hospital in which he is confined. Regulation 7(8) provides that "a person's residence for the purpose of this regulation (i.e., for the registration of residents in the Southern Cameroons and of non-residents therein) shall be determined by reference to all the facts of the case and in particular by reference to the rules contained in the Second Schedule".

It will be remembered that I had in mind rule 4 of the rules in the Second Schedule when I had raised the question of the registration of the persons temporarily staying in a place other than their normal residence. The directive stated that it should be made clear to persons so registered that they had to vote in the registration area where they registered. Only in the case of hospital patients, and if the arrangements contained in the directive would cause hardship, would an alternative arrangement be authorized to enable a hospital patient to be registered in the registration area in which he was a permanent resident.

163. To my knowledge, no problem was encountered in the registration of migrant workers, as apparently most of these workers stayed more than six months in the place of temporary work, and not having moved out of the area from the time of registration until Polling Day, were presumably able to register under the six months rule contained in rule 4 and to vote.

164. An amendment to regulation 7 of Part II - Preparation of Preliminary List - whereby a new paragraph 9 was added thereto (and to which the Plebiscite Administrator referred in his letter of 28 October), made it possible to register at any time prior to the publication of the preliminary list "persons who by reason of their duties in connexion with the registration have been prevented from registering themselves". The same provision expressly authorized Registration Officers (also at any time prior to the publication of the preliminary list) "to make such corrections as may be necessary in order to correct clerical errors and to include in the list the names of persons who have been wrongly refused registration by Assistant Registration Officers". I supported the inclusion of this provision in the regulations because responsibility for registering applicants had been vested in Registration Officers under the Regulations and, in fact, Assistant Registration Officers were merely clerks who carried out their orders. If a clerical error or an obviously wrong refusal to register were discovered, the Registration Officer could simply re-assume the powers delegated to his clerks and make adequate corrections. However, the deletion of a name from the list could properly be made only after hearing the affected party and for this hearing the procedure laid down in regulations 9 - 14, for the subsequent stage of Revision of Preliminary List, was entirely suitable.

165. On 28 October, the Plebiscite Administrator wrote to me as follows:

"One matter which we did not discuss yesterday is a suggestion which has been made to me that in order to restrict the bringing of frivolous and vexatious objections under section 11 of the Regulation, and to provide the means for Revising Officers to award compensation to persons unnecessarily out to expense or trouble in consequence of frivolous or vexatious objections brought against them under this regulation, persons making objections under this regulation should be required to deposit a fee.

"The suggestion is that the fee should be twenty shillings. This would be refunded in full in the event of the objection being upheld by the Revising Officer, and at his discretion in other cases; or it could be used to compensate persons against whom frivolous or vexatious objections are brought putting them to expense on account of travelling, loss of time, or other cause.

"This seems to me a reasonable and useful proposal in the circumstances which exist in the Southern Cameroons, and I put it forward for your consideration."

166. When I discussed this question with the Plebiscite Administrator on 30 October, I expressed the view that if a deposit of a fee were required of every objector the exercise of the right to make objections might become dependent upon the financial means of individual objectors or of their political parties. I fully realized, however, that if, in the opinion of the Plebiscite Administrator, unfounded objections were likely to be brought for dilatory purposes, some way would have to be found to strike a balance between the exercising of the right to register and vote and the desirability of devising a deterrent against obstructive tactics. This purpose could be achieved if Registration Officers were to be authorized to require a security only in cases where, in their opinion, the objector had no prima facie grounds for the making of an objection, provided that in no case such security would exceed £1. I agreed to a provision drafted along these lines on the understanding that powers of the Registration Officer to require a security would be exercised with restraint and that appropriate instructions would be issued to this effect. These instructions were issued by the Plebiscite Administrator to Registration Officers on 14 November.

167. At subsequent meetings with the Plebiscite Administrator it was agreed that, in order to ensure that objections would be brought in all seriousness and on good grounds, only persons whose names were entered in the preliminary list of a particular registration area in which the name objected to appeared were considered entitled to make objections under regulation 11(1).

The reason for this was, of course, that only persons registered in the same registration area as those to whom they objected were in a position to know the latter's qualifications to be registered. A similar provision, I had noticed, was contained in election statutes in other British administered territories, as was indeed contained in regulation 14 of the Northern Cameroons (Registration) Regulations, 1960 which had been promulgated on 23 September 1960.^{26/} Secondly, it was agreed that under regulation 17(b) the giving of false information or the making of a false statement wilfully or knowingly in relation to an objection would be a criminal offence. Under regulation 17(b) it had been an offence to give false information or to make false statements in relation to any "claims" or "application", but not in relation to an "objection".

168. Two new paragraphs 8 and 9 were also added to regulation 13 authorizing Revising Officers to assess costs not exceeding £1 incidental to the determination of any objection, at his discretion, and making payment of such costs subject to measures of execution. The provisions in paragraphs 8 and 9 had the same purpose as that authorizing Registration Officers to require a security, as it might often be difficult to ascertain before the objection had been dealt with by the Revising Officer whether the objection was frivolous or vexatious.

169. These changes, and others of less consequence, were published in the Supplement to Southern Cameroons Gazette, No. 53, Vol. 6, of 7 November 1960, as Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) (Amendment) Regulations, 1960.^{27/}

26/ Annex V.

27/ Annex VI.

B. Recruitment and training of Assistant Registration Officers

170. In late September and early October 1960, the Plebiscite Administrator and his staff started to recruit and to train Assistant Registration Officers who were to be responsible for the actual registration of voters in the various plebiscite districts.

171. Before the selection and appointment of Assistant Registration Officers was begun, a series of advertisements were published in the districts calling for persons interested in such positions to present themselves at designated times, dates and places. Candidates were required to have completed Standard VI education, and the notices indicated that those having had previous experience with the registration of voters would be given preference. The number of persons responding to these advertisements varied from one district to another, but in each district the number of applicants exceeded ultimate requirements. This was particularly true of the Victoria and Kumba Divisions, where large numbers of persons applied for the positions. The selection of candidates from among the applicants was left entirely to the judgement of the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators of the respective plebiscite districts. However, selection boards were established in a number of districts, with the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator chairing the board and several Plebiscite Supervisory Officers sitting as members. In certain areas, particularly the Victoria, Kumba and Mamfe Divisions, the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators deemed it advisable to associate one member each of the two main political parties with the work of the selection boards in order to obviate charges of political bias that might subsequently be made against Assistant Registration Officers. In fact, every effort was made to select only those persons who were not active members of political parties. Apart from these considerations, the boards attempted to select candidates having the highest educational qualifications and previous experience in registration and, consequently, concentrated on selecting as many teachers and local officials as could be spared from their work. With a greater concentration of qualified personnel being available in the southern part of the Southern Cameroons, required standards could be met more easily in those areas than in the Northern parts, where in a few instances it was necessary to forego the minimum educational requirement of Standard VI to obtain the full complement of Assistant Registration Officers. While the southern districts could boast a surplus of qualified personnel, it did not prove to be feasible to shift some of their

number to the northern districts because the diversity of local languages and dialects made it essential that Assistant Registration Officers should be recruited, insofar as possible, from areas to which they would be assigned by virtue of their knowledge of the local vernacular. The selection of some of the candidates in several areas was witnessed by Mr. John Miles, the same Observer whom I had entrusted with observing the conduct of the pre-registration public enlightenment campaign, who reported to me that the number of objections by political parties to the selection of candidates had been very small. In most cases where objections had been raised, plebiscite officials decided against their selection. In the end, a total of 568 Assistant Registration Officers were chosen. They received intensive courses of instruction lasting from three to four days in each area. As I was anxious to have the fullest information concerning the manner in which these training courses were being conducted, I decided to send two members of my Buea headquarters staff to witness the conduct of these courses in Bamenda and Mamfe.

172. Before the start of the courses, most Assistant Registration Officers were assigned to areas with whose people and languages they were normally familiar. Nevertheless, in some cases where this did not prove to be possible, interpreters were assigned to them.

173. During the lectures the Assistant Registration Officers were informed in general terms of their assigned duties during the registration period and were told of the arrangements which had been made for their transportation, movements, salaries and allowances. Working hours were established between 7 and 11 a.m. and again from 2 to 6 p.m. They were instructed that under no circumstances was registration to be conducted after dark and that work would not be interrupted on Saturdays, Sundays or on public holidays. It was made clear that registration was to be conducted in strict observance of the Plebiscite legislation and that all outside influence to the contrary was to be resisted. No account was to be taken of political affiliations, and persons belonging to parties holding views different from those of the Assistant Registration Officers would have to be registered. Similarly, they were cautioned not to make distinctions on the basis of tribal or racial groupings and were instructed that anyone qualifying under the Registration Regulations was to be registered.

174. They were then given intensive courses in the mechanics of registration which were based on a booklet^{28/} entitled "Instructions to Assistant Registration Officers" describing in considerable detail the functions they would have to carry out. Subsequently, the Assistant Registration Officers took turns in teams of two or three going through the routine of practising registration, i.e. the completion of forms, registration of names and the issuance of registration cards. Detailed explanations had to be given repeatedly concerning birth requirements. Assistant Registration Officers generally found it hard to understand why, for example, a person born in the Southern Cameroons, whose parents were not from the Southern Cameroons, and who had subsequently left the Southern Cameroons, should be entitled to be registered. Such persons were regarded by most Assistant Registration Officers raising the question as "foreigners". They were directed that, if they had any doubts as regards the age, residence or birth qualification of a given applicant, the application should be rejected and the appropriate annotation be made on the back of the application form.

175. At the end of the training courses, each of the Assistant Registration Officers were given detailed itineraries they were to follow, as well as all the necessary materials for their job and were sent to their respective registration areas.

176. While it is only natural that in an operation of this kind certain shortcomings and difficulties had to be expected, I believe that in the end these were relatively few in number and that in the light of the results of their efforts it can confidently be said that the Assistant Registration Officers, who frequently had to work under very difficult conditions, lived up to expectations.

28/ Annex VII.

C. Conduct of registration

177. The process of registration of voters was not a novel experience to the people of the Southern Cameroons who, on previous occasions, had had opportunity to register for elections of representatives to the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly. They were thus well acquainted with the mechanics of registration having, in addition, received thorough instructions concerning the procedures which were to be followed in the present exercise.

178. Before the start of registration, Mr. Foncha, the Premier of the Southern Cameroons, approached me in his capacity of Leader of the Government Party (KNDP) with the complaint that numerous registration cards had found their way into the hands of the opposition party (CPNC). He requested that special measures should be taken to avoid what he described as "a threat to the plebiscite". The disappearance of the cards in question was attributed by the Plebiscite Administrator to an accident which had occurred during their off-loading at Rota when one crate was dropped on the docks. Investigation revealed that, with the exception of less than one hundred blank registration cards, all were recovered undamaged. When informed of this, Mr. Foncha nevertheless insisted that large numbers of these cards were abroad, particularly in the Victoria and Kumba divisions, and he further expressed the fear that the opposition might also attempt to forge cards, issue them to unauthorized persons and in this way discredit the plebiscite. The Plebiscite Administrator and I made it clear to Mr. Foncha that apart from the fact that there existed no evidence to this effect, possession of a registration card in itself did not entitle a person to vote. Such a card was merely designed to be an aid to the presiding or polling officers for tracing rapidly a person's name on the register on polling day. Furthermore, the registration card had to have recorded on it the person's name, residence and registration code, which in turn had to correspond to the entry on the register. When Mr. Foncha insisted that, as a precautionary measure, all cards in the hands of plebiscite personnel in the Victoria and Kumba divisions should be stamped with a special security stamp, although this seemed to be unnecessary, the Plebiscite Administrator, in consultation with me, acceded to Mr. Foncha's request. Consequently, all registration cards allocated for these divisions were recalled and were stamped before being

issued by the Assistant Registration Officers. Thus, only cards bearing the special imprint were honoured in the plebiscite districts of the Victoria and Kumba divisions, while those without it could be used only in the other divisions of the Southern Cameroons.

179. Regulation 6 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960 provided that "on or before the 26th October, 1960, the Plebiscite Administrator shall cause notice to be given in each plebiscite district of the manner in which and the place at which claims for registration as a voter in the plebiscite may be made". In accordance with this provision, arrangements were made by the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators and the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers to post notices throughout the twenty-six districts of the Southern Cameroons indicating the dates, places and times at which registration would be conducted in the various registration areas.

180. Regulation 7 of the Registration Regulations provided that "any person entitled to be registered as a voter in the plebiscite may submit a claim to be registered as a voter" and also provided that "a claim under this regulation shall be submitted to the Registration Officer or the Assistant Registration Officer of the registration area in which the applicant claims to be registered, not earlier than the 26th October, 1960 and not later than the 22nd November, 1960". Accordingly, the Administrator proclaimed 26 October 1960 as the first day of registration, which coincided with Southern Cameroons National Day. This being a legal holiday in the Territory, registration in many areas did not begin until the following day.

181. Voters were registered in accordance with the qualifications which had been determined by the General Assembly as well as by the Administering Authority. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 1352 (XIV), which provided that only persons born in the Southern Cameroons or one of whose parents was born in the Southern Cameroons should vote in the plebiscite, provision was made in Article 5(2)(b) of the Plebiscite Order in Council that every person "who was born in the Southern Cameroons or whose father or mother was born in the Southern Cameroons shall, subject to the provisions of this Article, be entitled on application to be registered as a voter".

182. It will be recalled that while the General Assembly had recommended that the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons should be conducted on the basis of universal adult suffrage, all those over the age of twenty-one being qualified to vote, no such qualification had been made in the case of the Southern Cameroons plebiscite. Provision for age qualification was made in Article 5(2)(a) of the Order in Council whereby every person being twenty-one years of age or older was entitled to register, and I was informed that this qualification for purposes of the plebiscite was in line with the established electoral requirements in the Southern Cameroons.

183. In accordance with Article 5 of the Order in Council, regulation 7(8) of the Registration Regulations established rules as to the place where applicants might submit their claims for registration. Reference has already been made to these provisions in paragraph 160 above. At the same time, Article 5(3) of the Order in Council established certain disqualifications, namely, that no person should be entitled to be registered as a voter who, at the date of his application to be registered, was:

"(a) Under a sentence of death imposed on him by any court of law or a sentence of imprisonment (by whatever name called) exceeding six months imposed on him by such a court or substituted by competent authority for some other sentence imposed on him by such a court;

"(b) Adjudged or otherwise declared by competent authority to be

of unsound mind (by whatever name called):

"(c) Disqualified under any law for the time being in force in the Southern Cameroons, the Northern Cameroons, the Republic of the Cameroons or the Federation of Nigeria, from being registered as an elector or from voting in an election by reason of his conviction for such offences connected with elections as may be prescribed by or under regulations made under article 4 of this Order; or

"(d) Subject to any disqualification referred to in sub-paragraph (g) of paragraph (2) of Article 4 of this Order and imposed under that sub-paragraph for an offence relating to the plebiscite."

184. Apart from stressing the technical aspects of the registration process, namely, the use of application forms, recording of applications, issuance of registration cards and related details, special efforts were made by the Plebiscite Administrator and his staff to impress upon the Assistant Registration Officers the need for following accurately and thoroughly the instructions relating to the qualifications for registration. A special booklet entitled "Instructions to Assistant Registration Officers"^{29/} was issued to each of these officials as a guide. Although the instructions were, generally speaking, detailed and explicit in nature, Assistant Registration Officers were left to exercise a certain degree of discretion. Assistant Registration Officers were instructed, for example, that when a person was obviously below the age of twenty-one, they were to inform him that he was not entitled to vote. If there was any doubt as to whether or not the applicant was twenty-one years of age, they "should ask him to declare in public that he is, so that everyone present can hear, and if he so declares" his application was to be accepted. Such an instruction was required in a territory where registers of vital statistics did not exist, and thus documentary proof of birth could not be submitted in support of a claim. In practice, the people of the communities where registration was being conducted could usually provide oral evidence concerning age and residence of an applicant. as, generally speaking, they were known to each other. In an area where illiteracy is high and dates are not always recalled with accuracy, one of the criteria used for

determining whether a person was twenty-one years of age was to recall whether the person was born before the outbreak of World War II, an event which was recalled almost everywhere in the territory. In addition, Assistant Registration Officers could rely for proof of age and residence on another source. Political parties had been apprised of the provisions of the Registration Regulations well ahead of the period of registration, and while no specific provision had been made for associating representatives of political parties with registration, political parties had been encouraged on an informal basis to send representatives to witness registration and to assure themselves of the propriety of its conduct. In many areas, representatives of political parties were present during registration, and in others, local chiefs and officials of local government witnessed the registration process.

185. Since Assistant Registration Officers were required to cover fairly large and frequently remote areas with no available facilities for proper safekeeping of their registers, measures were taken designed to prevent tampering with the registers while the Assistant Registration Officers were on tour. At the end of each day, Assistant Registration Officers were required to read out aloud the last name entered on each list and, again, before re-ensuring their work the following morning.

186. During the early stages of registration it was only natural that a number of errors would be made by Assistant Registration Officers. Registration Officers and United Nations Observers who were on constant tour in their respective plebiscite areas were instrumental in taking such action as was required to correct errors made by the Assistant Registration Officers and supervising their work. Omission of numbers in the register, duplication of names, and in some places the omission of names, were the most common errors which in most cases could be corrected without any difficulty, although occasionally Assistant Registration Officers were required to revisit certain registration areas to make the necessary corrections.

187. The pre-registration enlightenment campaign, referred to above, and the fact that the CPNC and KNDP as well as other parties had encouraged the people to participate in the registration, contributed in large measure to the heavy turnout of the people during registration. Complaints relating to registration were few in number and only in two cases was it necessary to initiate criminal procedures against Assistant Registration Officers.

In the Kumba Division one such official added the names of 95 fictitious persons to the register. Upon discovery of this, the Assistant Registration Officer was dismissed and criminal proceedings were initiated against him. The 95 names were expunged from the register. Another case of this nature was reported from Bamenda, in respect of which similar action was taken.

188. Registration ended, as provided in the Registration Regulations, on 22 November 1960, and although provision had been made for the extension of the registration period, should such become necessary, no extension was required in any of the plebiscite districts. The following figures show the registration for each plebiscite district:

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Victoria S.W.	4,329	2,472	6,801
2. " S.E.	4,373	2,103	6,476
3. " N.W.	5,898	3,883	9,781
4. " N.E.	8,497	4,717	13,214
5. Kumba N.E.	12,829	9,741	22,570
6. " N.W.	6,973	8,710	15,683
7. " S.E.	11,733	8,361	20,094
8. " S.W.	2,668	2,224	4,892
9. Mamfe W.	5,231	6,133	11,364
10. " N.	6,297	6,894	13,191
11. " S.	4,272	4,953	9,225
12. " E.	5,178	7,381	12,559
13. Bamenda N.	14,267	14,447	28,714
14. " E.	9,530	11,245	20,775
15. " C.W.	8,396	11,506	19,902
16. " C.E.	8,375	10,902	19,277
17. " W.	7,049	10,317	17,366
18. " S.	8,711	11,557	20,268
19. Wum N.	3,681	5,490	9,171
20. " C.	3,092	4,111	7,203
21. " E.	5,759	9,237	14,996
22. " W.	3,280	3,951	7,231
23. Nkambe N.	4,127	4,607	8,734
24. " E.	4,810	5,381	10,191
25. " C.	4,280	5,447	9,727
26. " S.	4,317	5,937	10,254
Totals	167,952	181,707	349,659

D. Preparation and publication of the preliminary list

189. Owing to the need for altering the time table^{30/} of the plebiscite, for reasons already given above, it was decided that fifty per cent of the lists, all of which would normally have been prepared locally, would be sent to Buea for typing and reproduction. Registration Officers brought the lists to Buea where they were typed and reproduced under their supervision in a processing pool composed largely of Cameroonian and a few expatriate staff. In view of the urgency of this operation and the attendant need to ensure that proper security measures were taken for the safe-guarding of the lists, I requested Observers to be present when the Assistant Registration Officers delivered the lists to the district headquarters and to supervise the dispatch of all lists which were being sent to Buea. Observers also supervised the preparation of the remainder of the lists in their respective districts. This task was completed within the two week period envisaged by the Plebiscite Administrator.

190. Although the staff of my headquarters had exercised a certain degree of supervision during the preparation of the lists in Buea, I deemed it desirable that Observers should proceed to spot-check the lists which had been prepared in Buea against the original lists or registration forms as soon as the lists were returned to the districts by the Registration Officers. In order to facilitate this task, the Plebiscite Administrator undertook to instruct the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators to offer facilities and co-operation to enable Observers to comply with this request. The Plebiscite Administrator, while desirous of co-operating with me in this task, recalled the heavy schedule of work which lay ahead for the plebiscite staff and the relatively brief time to accomplish it, and asked that this be taken into consideration when seeking the assistance of Registration Officers for the spot-checking of lists. I therefore advised Observers to work out suitable arrangements in this regard with their plebiscite counterparts, and asked them to bear in mind that spot-checking of the lists should not delay publication of the preliminary list inasmuch as any corrections could be dealt with in accordance with regulation 14 of the Registration Regulations. I also requested them to obtain reasonable assurance that the lists did not contain substantial inaccuracies which might add to the work of the Revising Officers during the hearing of claims and objections. In this way numerous errors such as duplication of numbers and entries of names, gaps in numeration and misspellings were corrected and where necessary, Assistant Registration Officers and in some

cases Registration Officers, were required to revisit registration areas to recall faulty registration cards and to issue new ones. With this task successfully accomplished, the preliminary lists were published in accordance with regulation 8 (2) of the Registration Regulations which provided that "The preliminary list shall be published not later than the 27th December 1960, and the manner of publication shall be by displaying copies of the whole or part thereof at any Native or Customary Court having jurisdiction within the plebiscite district to which such list related and at such other place or places in the plebiscite district as the Plebiscite Administrator may think fit." Regulation 8 (3) also provided that the Plebiscite Administration should publish notices in each plebiscite district which should state the places where the preliminary list might be inspected. In compliance with this provision notices were widely displayed, giving information concerning the posting of the preliminary list in each registration area which took place on various dates between 1 and 19 December 1960.

191. Regulation 8 (5) of the Registration Regulations provided that "The Plebiscite Administrator shall make available such number of copies of the preliminary list for sale to members of the public as he shall consider desirable and practicable and shall prescribe such fee as the price thereof as he thinks reasonable." In accordance with this regulation the Plebiscite Administrator prescribed that one copy of the preliminary list for the whole of the Southern Cameroons would be sold at a fee of 10 guineas at the United Kingdom Plebiscite Headquarters in Euea to each recognized political party which applied. Apart from this, the list or any part thereof was to be sold by the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators to interested persons at 2/6d. a folio, provided that nothing less than a list of the sub-units should be sold.

VII. HEARING OF CLAIMS, APPLICATIONS AND OBJECTIONS; PUBLICATION OF THE FINAL REGISTER OF VOTERS

192. The procedure governing the revision of the preliminary list was laid down in regulations 9 to 15 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960, as amended by the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) (Amendment) Regulations, 1960.

193. In addition, regulation 7(9) empowered the Registration Officer at any time prior to the publication of the preliminary list to "make such corrections as may be necessary in order to correct clerical errors and to include in the list

the names of persons who have been wrongly refused registration by Assistant Registration Officers and to include the names of persons who by reason of their duties in connexion with the registration have been prevented from registering themselves". This procedure enabled Registration Officers to place on the list the names of persons who had been wrongly omitted but did not permit the exclusion of persons already on the list. This provision was valuable in reducing the number of claims under regulation 9 during the revision period. It was not strictly speaking a part of the process of revision, but was closely connected with it and serves to explain in part the comparatively small number of claims which were heard by Revising Officers under regulation 9.

194. The statutory period during which claims, applications or objections could be made was 15 days after the first publication of the preliminary list. The official date of publication within a plebiscite district was the last date on which publication was completed in each of the registration areas within a plebiscite district.

195. The first step for making a claim, application or objection called for the completion of the proper form, which had to be handed in person to the Registration Officer. In accordance with the provisions of regulation 11(3), the Registration Officer was empowered, if it appeared to him that an objection was, prima facie, vexatious or frivolous, to "order the person delivering the notice to give security for the payment of such lists, charges and expenses as may become payable by him to any person objected to". Regulation 11(A) provided that "the security shall be of such amount (not exceeding £1 in respect of each notice) as the Registration Officer may order and shall be deposited in cash and in the event of any failure to comply with such an order no further proceedings shall be had on the objection".

196. Out of 1,030 claims, applications and objections made to Registration Officers deposits, amounting to a total of £35, were required in 67 cases, 65 of which were withdrawn before revision began. In some cases block objections, prepared for the most part by officials of political parties, were not submitted to the

Registration Officers when the objectors realized that they might be required to deposit costs if their claims appeared prima facie to be vexatious or frivolous. On 14 November 1960, the Plebiscite Administrator reminded Registration Officers that security for costs would be required only in cases where there were good grounds for believing an objection to be vexatious or frivolous. It was emphasized that it was important that persons "should not be deterred from making bona fide objections by the need to give security and in applying regulation 11, persons who have legitimate objections must not be prevented in practice from bringing them because of difficulties in obtaining the fees needed for the security". I have no reason to believe that this instruction was violated in letter or spirit.

197. Revising Officers were appointed in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 6 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council, 1960. Their appointments were published in the Southern Cameroons Notice No. 363 of 24 December 1960 and were effective from 12 December 1960. To enable the maximum use to be made of plebiscite personnel, the jurisdiction of each Revising Officer covered all registration areas in the Southern Cameroons, but no Revising Officer conducted revision in the plebiscite district in which he had conducted registration.

198. Revision was carried out as soon as possible after the expiry of the statutory period for making claims, applications or objections in the plebiscite districts concerned. The cases were largely concentrated in the Kumba and Victoria divisions. Revision proceeded smoothly under the close supervision of United Nations Observers and apart from a question of procedure which arose at the commencement of revision and which was quickly and satisfactorily resolved, no objections were received on the manner in which revision was conducted.

199. Revising Officers sat in open court and were guided in their duties by instructions^{31/} prepared by the Attorney-General of the Southern Cameroons which had been submitted to me for comment and approval. The following is a summary of the total number of claims, applications and objections which were made and disposed of, and the costs involved:

31/ Annex VIII.

	<u>Amount</u>	<u>No.</u>
Claims, applications and objections made to Registration Officers (regulation 11)		1,030
Deposits required by Registration Officers		67
Total value of deposits	£35,0,0d.	
Claims and objections withdrawn before revision		65
Claims heard by Revising Officers (Regulations 9, 13, 14)		100
Claims allowed by Revising Officers		67
Claims disallowed by Revising Officers		32
Claims withdrawn during revision		1
Applications heard by Revising Officers (regulations 11, 13, 14)		1
Applications allowed by Revising Officers		-
Applications disallowed by Revising Officers		1
Objections heard by Revising Officers (regulations 11, 13, 14)		864
Objections allowed by Revising Officers		114
Objections disallowed by Revising Officers		73
Objections withdrawn during revision		677
Cases in which costs were awarded during revision		34
Total value of costs awarded during revision	£15,8s.8d.	

200. Regulation 15(1), as revised, provided that "not later than the 26th January, 1961, the Registration Officer shall complete the corrections and additions to the preliminary list in accordance with regulations 13 and 14 and shall cause the names therein to be numbered in such a manner as the Plebiscite Administrator may direct and he shall then sign the list and forward it to the Plebiscite Administrator or such person as may be designated by the Plebiscite Administrator". Sub-paragraph (2) of regulation 15 provided that "The Plebiscite Commissioner shall cause the list to be published in the manner prescribed in regulation 8(2) not later than 10th February, 1961". In addition to the changes in the final register of voters resulting from decisions rendered by Revising Officers during the hearing of claims, applications and objections,

a total of 40 adjustments were made in accordance with regulation 15(3) which provided that "at any time either before or after publication of the list, but not later than the eighth day before the day of the plebiscite, the Plebiscite Administrator may cause any alteration, amendment or addition to be made to the list necessary in the compilation thereof to correct any clerical error". All corrections and changes resulting from the disposition of claims, applications and objections were made in the preliminary list before 26 January 1960 and the final register of voters was displayed throughout all plebiscite districts in the Southern Cameroons in accordance with the provisions of regulations 15(1) through (6). 201. The final register of voters was as follows:

Plebiscite Districts	Male	Female	Total
1. Victoria South West	4,331	2,482	6,813
2. Victoria South East	4,371	2,103	6,474
3. Victoria North West	5,898	3,883	9,781
4. Victoria North East	8,512	4,722	13,234
5. Kumba North East	12,776	9,722	22,498
6. Kumba North West	6,973	8,714	15,687
7. Kumba South East	11,735	8,361	20,096
8. Kumba South West	2,668	2,224	4,892
9. Mamfe West	5,236	6,136	11,372
10. Mamfe North	6,316	6,900	13,216
11. Mamfe South	4,272	4,953	9,225
12. Mamfe East	5,178	7,381	12,559
13. Bamenda North	14,268	14,447	28,715
14. Bamenda East	9,530	11,246	20,776
15. Bamenda Central West	8,397	11,500	19,897
16. Bamenda Central East	8,375	10,902	19,277
17. Bamenda West	7,049	10,317	17,366
18. Bamenda South	8,711	11,557	20,268
19. Wum North	3,681	5,489	9,170
20. Wum Central	3,090	4,111	7,201
21. Wum East	5,760	9,237	14,997
22. Wum West	3,281	3,950	7,231
23. Nkambe North	4,126	4,607	8,733
24. Nkambe East	4,808	5,383	10,191
25. Nkambe Central	4,282	5,447	9,729
26. Nkambe South	4,317	5,937	10,254
Total	167,941	181,711	349,652

VIII. THE SECOND PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT CAMPAIGN

202. Beginning with the first week of January 1961, the Administering Authority conducted a campaign in the Southern Cameroons which lasted approximately three weeks and was designed to provide the people with an opportunity, in accordance with Trusteeship Council resolution 2013 (XXVI), to acquaint themselves before the Plebiscite with the constitutional arrangements which they might expect should they decide to join either the Federation of Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroun. For this purpose the booklet entitled "The Two Alternatives" referred to above ^{32/} served as the principal guide for the twenty-six Plebiscite Supervisory Officers who conducted the campaign in their respective plebiscite districts. This booklet, of which 100,000 copies were printed in English, was widely distributed throughout the Territory.

203. Before the start of the enlightenment campaign the Plebiscite Administrator submitted to me for comment a set of instructions to be given orally to the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers which were to guide them in the conduct of the campaign. These instructions, to which I raised no objection, provided that the plebiscite staff should adhere strictly to the explanations contained in the official booklet referred to above and should avoid, at all times, giving interpretations concerning the implications of the two alternatives or becoming involved in political debates. They were authorized to contrast the constitutional and legal provisions made by the two Governments and to stress the fact that it was the intention of the Administering Authority to terminate Trusteeship at an early date, no matter what the outcome of the plebiscite.

204. For my part, I instructed Observers to attend as many of the meetings as possible and to ensure that the people were given accurate and factual information concerning the alternatives in the plebiscite; that no personal opinion or interpretation was given about the alternatives, and that lectures and replies to questions given by Plebiscite Supervisory Officers did not depart from official statements contained in the official booklet. At the same time, I instructed the Observers to refrain from answering questions concerning the implication of the alternatives. Realizing that in the course of their tours they might be approached by individuals seeking explanations on the meaning of the alternatives, I advised Observers to limit their replies to statements based on the official document referred to above.

32/ Paragraphs 81 and 82, and Annex XIV.

205. It was obvious from the outset that the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers would be confronted with considerable difficulties in conducting the campaign. In the first place they had to contend with the inescapable fact that the constitutional arrangements proposed by the two Governments provided in some detail information concerning the conditions under which the Territory might be expected to join the Federation of Nigeria, but set forth with lesser precision the terms under which the Southern Cameroons might join the Republic of Cameroun. Moreover, with the delay in getting the enlightenment campaign under way, political parties had begun their own campaign almost simultaneously with that of the Administering Authority. While the political parties were in a position to campaign on specific issues, enjoying at the same time the advantages of being able to persuade the electorate to make a choice based on their interpretation of the alternatives, the plebiscite staff was limited to disseminating official information concerning the two alternatives, the second of which was less precise than the first. Consequently, it was not surprising that in these circumstances, Plebiscite Supervisory Officers were exposed to accusations of partiality and bias. It should also be noted that in a Territory where illiteracy is fairly high and the principal means of disseminating information is the spoken word, the circulation of a booklet printed in English was not likely to have a marked effect on the electorate which, even insofar as it was literate, was not in a position to comprehend fully the technical and intricate language describing the constitutional provisions relating to the two alternatives. This is by no means a criticism of the efforts made by the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers, for indeed they carried out what was required of them. In the light of these considerations, it may be said that the campaign did not come up to expectations, although it was carried into every corner of the Southern Cameroons with vigour and determination. From the very outset, Plebiscite Supervisory Officers became the target of local KNDP and OK supporters who accused them of partiality and bias, claiming that their detailed presentation of the first alternative detracted from the brevity of the second. These same supporters also resorted to destroying publicly large numbers of the booklets. It was almost from the initial stages of the campaign that these parties boycotted the previously announced public meetings and in many instances used such meetings to heckle the officials and to discredit them.

This was particularly true in the plebiscite districts of the Bamenda highlands, where attendance dwindled and interference with public meetings increased as the campaign wore on. Although Observers reported that Plebiscite Supervisory Officers had on occasions, particularly at the beginning of the campaign, given replies to questions which could have been construed as being one-sided or biased, these officials desisted from such practices once their attention was drawn to the need for avoiding repetition of such remarks. In this connexion, I would like to make it clear that I met personally many of the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers. Being recent university graduates from the United Kingdom, employed specifically for the plebiscite, they had no stake in the Administration of the Territory and, without exception, brought with them a refreshing measure of initiative and intellectual independence which enabled them to remain detached from the every day administration of the Territory. If, indeed, on a few occasions they overstepped their terms of reference in the campaign, I believe that they did so with no ulterior motives or intentions.

206. Since the enlightenment campaign was conducted concurrently with the campaign of the political parties, it was only natural that the people would be drawn closer and listen more attentively to the political leaders who were known to them, spoke their language and came to them as their own elected representatives, than to plebiscite officials who, no matter how detached and impartial, were regarded as members of the Administration of the Territory.

IX. POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN THE PLEBISCITE

A. Political parties

207. Before giving an account of the political activities of political parties in the Southern Cameroons plebiscite campaign it is perhaps useful to give a brief outline of the political parties, their leadership and their position regarding the plebiscite alternatives. Although party affiliations, generally speaking, tend to obtrude themselves into local politics, local government elections are not overtly contested on party platforms and it is not possible therefore to provide details of party membership in local government councils.

Since parties do not publish figures of their membership the only guide to party affiliation or sympathy is provided by the results of the most recent elections to the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly which took place early

in 1959. During that election the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) obtained a total of 73,304 votes and the Kamerun Peoples Party/Kamerun National Congress Party alliance, now CPNC, obtained 51,354 during the same elections. There is virtually nothing to distinguish these two parties so far as their economic and social policies are concerned and they are divided only on the future of the Territory. The aims of the political parties in the Southern Cameroons as regards the plebiscite are set out below.

208. The Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) was formed in 1954 by Mr. John N. Foncha as a break-away movement from Dr. E.M.L. Endeley's Kamerun National Congress (KNC). The KNC's main platform prior to that time called for the separation of the Southern Cameroons from the Eastern Region of Nigeria. When this was achieved, the KNC split on the issue of whether the Southern Cameroons should remain within the Federation of Nigeria as favoured by Dr. Endeley, or to re-unify with the then Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration, as favoured by Mr. Foncha. The KNDP, which strongly supported the proposition favouring union with the Republic of Cameroun, is led by Mr. J. N. Foncha who is at present the Premier of the Southern Cameroons. In addition to Mr. Foncha, the following twelve members represent the party in the House of Assembly:

Mr. S.T. Muna	Minister of Commerce and Industry
Mr. A.N. Jua	Minister of Social Services
Mr. P.M. Kemcha	Minister of Natural Resources
Mr. J.N.O. Effiom	Minister of Works and Transport
Mr. J.M. Bokwe	Minister of Co-operatives and Community Development
Mr. M. Ndoke	Minister of State
Mr. S. Nji	Parliamentary Secretary, Commerce and Industries
Mr. M.M. Monono	Parliamentary Secretary, Natural Resources
Mr. J.H. Nganje	Parliamentary Secretary, Local Government, Land and Survey
Mr. S. Moffor	Government Chief Whip
Mr. D.M. Frambo	
Mr. W.S. Fonyonga	

209. The Cameroons Peoples National Convention (CPNC) was formed recently as a result of a merger of Dr. Endeley's Kamerun National Congress (KNC) and Mr. N.N. Mbile's Kamerun Peoples Party (KPP). The KNC was originally the party that pressed for separation from the Eastern Region of Nigeria. The KPP, which was then linked with the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, favoured remaining part of the Eastern Region. Since separation of the Southern Cameroons from the Eastern Region in 1954 the parties have found common ground in their opposition to the KNDP's policy of separation from Nigeria and unification with the Republic of Cameroun. In the 1959 general election the parties retained their identity but formed the KNC/KPP alliance and as such were the official Opposition until the parties merged in June of 1960.

210. The Party, which supported the proposition favouring union with the Federation of Nigeria, is led by Dr. E.M.L. Endeley who is its President and also Leader of the Opposition in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly. Mr. N.N. Mbile is the Party's Vice-President. In addition to Mr. Endeley and Mr. Mbile, the following are members of the House of Assembly:

Mr. V.T. Lainjo	(KNC)
Rev. J.C. Kangsen	(KNC)
Rev. S. Andoh-Seh	(KNC)
Mr. D. Nyanganji	(KNC)
Mr. S.N. Tamfu	(KNC)
Mr. J. Nsame	(KNC)
Mr. S.E. Ncha	(KPP)
Mr. F.N. Ajebe Sone	(KNC)
Mr. J.M. Nasako	(KPP)
Mr. P.N. Motomby-Woleta	(KPP)

Mr. J.N. Boja (elected as KNDP member but crossed the floor).

211. The Kamerun United Party (KUP) was founded early in 1959 by Mr. P.M. Kale of Brea who was at one time leaders of the KPP. The party is a manifestation of those who are not satisfied with either of the plebiscite choices. It clearly represents an identifiable body of opinion, but as it has never contested an election, it is not possible to gauge its actual strength. It has no members in the House of Assembly.

212. This party favoured the separation of the Southern Cameroons from Nigeria and the attainment of independence as a separate sovereign state within the Commonwealth. The party does not rule out the ultimate possibility of union with either Nigeria or the Republic, but does not wish to be committed to either course at this stage.

213. The Cameroons Commencement Congress (CCC) was formed at about the same time as the KUP, and for the same reasons, by Chief S. Nyenti of Mamfe. The party's aims are virtually identical to those of the KUP. The party enjoys a measure of support, especially in the Mamfe Division but as it, too, has never contested an election its actual strength is unknown. It was the CCC's stated aim "to build up an independent British Cameroons" and to "ensure that British Cameroons will not instigate quarrel between an independent Nigeria and the independent French Cameroons. That is that the British Cameroons shall not join Nigeria to oppose French Cameroons nor shall she join French Cameroons to oppose Nigeria".

214. The One Kamerun Party (OK) was formed in 1957 and is led by Mr. W. Ntumazah. The Party's aims are laid down in its constitution which, published on 15 December 1960, provides for the attainment of unification and independence of the "people of the Kamerun Nation (Kamerun as from 1885 to 1916, viz. Northern Kamerun, Southern Cameroons and the Kamerun Republic)." The party did not officially contest the 1959 General Election, but two persons stood as OK candidates and secured a total of 2,021 votes. The party has no representatives in the House of Assembly.

215. The Cameroons Moslem Congress (CMC) is a small party formed in mid-1959 by Mallam Sale. It draws support from among the Moslems of the grasslands, mostly in the Bamenda and Nkambe Divisions. Its precise strength is not known. The party favoured joining Nigeria as a self-governing Region in the Federation, because it considers that the weight of the Northern Region would ensure the adequate protection of Moslem minorities throughout the Federation.

216. The Cameroons Indigenes Party (CIP) was formed at the beginning of October 1960, by Mr. Jeaco Manga-Williams of Victoria. Whereas the CPNC sought to achieve independence by re-entering the Federation of Nigeria, and the KNCP by joining the Cameroun Republic, the CIP favoured the achievement of independence before joining Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroun, so as to enjoy appropriate respect and status at the time the association with one or other of these countries took place. The party's actual strength, mainly concentrated in the Victoria division, is unknown.

217. There were no Nigerian parties active in the Southern Cameroons nor were there formal alliances between Southern Cameroons and Nigerian parties. Similarly, no parties from the Republic of Cameroon were active in the Territory.

B. The political campaign

218. There was very little organized political activity in the Southern Cameroons during the earlier stages of preparation for the plebiscite which, it will be recalled, were devoted to the registration of voters, the preparation and publication of the preliminary list, the hearing of claims and objections and the publication of the final list. During that period, the parties confined themselves to urging the people through elected representatives, local party functionaries and chiefs to register for the plebiscite and to supervising the entire process of registration. It was not until the middle of January, when the Plebiscite Administration had started its official public enlightenment campaign, that the political parties began their campaigns which became more intensive as polling day approached. For this purpose, the parties made use of printed propaganda material such as pamphlets and posters, but their main efforts to convince the population to vote for one alternative or the other was made through public speeches, the holding of political rallies and meetings attended by influential leaders and chiefs in each community. This approach was normal since, as has already been pointed out above, in an area where illiteracy is high, written material is of relatively little value; furthermore, the high costs involved in the printing of such materials were not commensurate with the restricted financial means of the political parties and out of all proportion to the results which could be obtained.

219. No major incidents were reported during the political campaign, which, as a whole, was remarkably calm and orderly. However, as the tempo of party activity accelerated, it was not uncommon for the supporters of one or the other plebiscite alternative to obstruct public rallies of their opponents in an attempt to silence the speakers by heckling and shouting. This occurred particularly when campaigners ventured into areas where the majority of the population supported the opposite view. On these occasions too, political organizers found it difficult to attract large audiences to their rallies. This gave rise to charges from both sides that the people were being advised to boycott the meetings.

220. When referring to the political situation in the Southern Cameroons and the campaign conducted by the political parties, it is not possible to ignore the high degree of suspicion which parties and their leaders generated toward one another. Whether for tactical reasons or otherwise, there was a constant tendency to accuse the other side of machinations and plots which, after investigation, proved to be unfounded in the great majority of cases. Although any political campaign engenders feelings of distrust between opposing groups, the degree of suspicion prevalent in the Southern Cameroons seemed to be uncommonly high.

221. The effect of the campaigns conducted by the different political parties is difficult to evaluate. It was generally agreed that the great majority of those attending political meetings were already sympathetic to the views of the speaker, and therefore, little, if any, effort was required to persuade them to vote in favour of the alternative supported at the rally. However, the meetings served to generate enthusiasm and to urge those present to convince others in the community to vote for the same alternative. In this connexion, it is recalled that during the early preparatory stages of the plebiscite, questions were frequently addressed to Observers and Plebiscite Staff concerning the absence of a third alternative, namely, that calling for the Territory's outright independence. While there was undoubtedly at that stage a desire for such an alternative among a considerable segment of the population, this question was heard with less frequency as polling day drew closer. By the time the political campaign had gathered momentum during the second part of January, little, if anything, was said about it, except by such small and largely localized parties as the CIP, KUP and CCC.

222. The majority of the traditional chiefs in the Southern Cameroons were guarded in their pronouncements regarding the plebiscite and, as a rule, asserted publicly that their role placed them above party politics. Nevertheless, their sympathies for one or other alternative became more or less well known as the campaign wore on, and there is no doubt that they exerted a powerful influence over the people. In this connexion, it should be noted, however, that parallel to their authority, there has been a progressive growth of the Governmental structure. As a result, the power and influence of the elected representatives has been increasing. This has made it necessary both for the traditional chiefs and the elective office holders to seek frequent accommodation of views.

223. The Premier and the Ministers in the Southern Cameroons Government, as well as the other elected members of the House of Assembly, played an active role in the plebiscite campaign, particularly in their own constituencies. Some of them, like the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition, toured the Territory and campaigned in all the Divisions of the Southern Cameroons.

224. The KNDP had a well organized and extensive party machinery throughout the Southern Cameroons. Being the party in power, it enjoyed the advantages which derive from such a situation, and it capitalized on the prestige and pre-eminence naturally associated with the exercise of authority.

225. For its political campaign, the KNDP was able to mobilize a large number of organizers and speakers who could be relied upon to adhere more closely to the scheduled programme of lectures and meetings than those of any of the other parties. Moreover, it began campaigning ahead of other political groups and placed at the disposal of party leaders and political campaigners a sizeable number of vehicles equipped with loud-speakers as well as other transport. Although the KNDP was active in all Divisions of the Southern Cameroons, it concentrated its main efforts in the Bamenda highlands, which were not only the home grounds of the Premier and a number of his Ministers, but which also included the most heavily populated area of the South Cameroons.

226. Very few posters or printed material were used by the KNDP. Amongst these was a poster claiming that a vote for Nigeria meant the domination of Cameroonians and the occupation of the Southern Cameroons by the Ibos (the predominant tribal group of the Eastern Region of Nigeria). A pamphlet entitled "United Cameroons - Federal Constitution by KNDP" enjoyed wide circulation and contained the proposed constitutional arrangements in the event the Southern Cameroons joined the independent Republic of Cameroun, submitted by Mr. Foncha to President Ahidjo at their meeting in Douala on 20 and 21 December 1960. Paragraph 3 of the text provided that "It is at this juncture, therefore, only possible to indicate in broad outline what the Southern Cameroons and the Republic of the Cameroun have agreed are the basic provisions of a Federal Constitution." This quotation gave rise to a protest from the CPNC, which charged that the constitutional proposals contained in the pamphlet had not been agreed upon between the Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroun. The pamphlet was subsequently withdrawn and the KNDP issued a corrected version of the pamphlet with the title changed to "United Cameroons - Federal

Constitutional Proposals by KNDP", and the text of paragraph 3 was amended to read that the proposed outline indicated "what the KNDP considers are the basic provisions of the Federal Constitution".

227. The KNDP also printed a four-page newspaper called "The Kamerun Times" which began to appear more regularly with the start of the political campaign than in the past and carried editorials, articles and news items in support of the alternative favouring union with the Republic of Cameroun.

228. By and large, however, the party relied on public lectures to reach the electorate. Speakers followed a common pattern stressing, amongst others, the following points: (a) to join the Republic of Cameroun meant unification of all the Cameroons as a national state, independence from either the Commonwealth or the French Community and freedom from the Ibo domination; (b) to join Nigeria meant the continuation of the influence of the Commonwealth and the domination of the Cameroonians by the Ibos; (c) the Germans had done a great deal for the Southern Cameroons, but little progress had since been made during some forty years of British Administration; (d) the Southern Cameroons was too small to resist domination by Nigeria, if the Territory decided to join the latter and, by joining Nigeria, the Southern Cameroons would lose its identity.

229. Playing on the antagonism against Ibos, who control a good part of the small trade, the transportation business and other economic enterprises in the Southern Cameroons, and who hold a fair proportion of the skilled jobs in the agriculture and industry, the KNDP was able to score effectively in the campaign. However, of equal, if not greater, significance was its appeal to the emotions of the electorate by stressing the point that the plebiscite offered an opportunity of realizing the national identity of the Cameroons through reunification with their kin in the Republic of Cameroun.

230. KNDP campaigners also made determined efforts to discredit the Plebiscite Officials and the enlightenment campaign which was being conducted on the basis of the official publication entitled "The Two Alternatives", by claiming that these officials were biased in favour of Nigeria.

231. Prior to the start of the political campaign the CPNC's National Executive Committee had, at a meeting held in Kumba on 11 December 1960, adopted a resolution in which reference was made to the rejection by the KNDP of a CPNC compromise proposal calling on the two parties to abandon their

individual stands, and to demand jointly independence for a separate Southern Cameroons state without a plebiscite. This compromise proposal represented a major change in CPNC policy which, until then, had been directed toward the eventual merger of the Southern Cameroons, as a separate region, with the Federation of Nigeria. A further major change was revealed in the final paragraph of the same resolution, whereby the CPNC announced that "in the event of a vote in favour of the Cameroun Republic the CPNC... will request unconditionally that the United Nations PARTITION the territory between the group of persons desiring a union with the independent Federation of Nigeria and those seeking a union with the Cameroun Republic..."

232. Shortly thereafter, however, the CPNC published its campaign booklet entitled "Plebiscite Message to all Voters of the Cameroons", which did not refer to the partition proposal, but presented ten reasons "why the CPNC is asking all voters of the Southern Cameroons to vote for Union with Nigeria". It suggested that by joining Nigeria, the Territory would be a self-governing Region within the Federation, the House of Chiefs would not be abolished, and the system of land ownership without European settlers would be preserved. It also stated that the existing monetary system would be retained, freedom of association, speech and religion would be guaranteed, and the existing legal and judicial systems would remain unchanged. Moreover, the Southern Cameroons would continue to share in the economic prosperity of the Federation of Nigeria and would enjoy full independence. It concluded by questioning the sincerity of the KNDP's motives for unification and by stating that "the CPNC has complied with the United Nations plebiscite resolution by presenting the people concrete Constitutional proposals under which union with Nigeria will be based..." and that the KNDP's failure to do so would inevitably result in a United Nations decision "to regard all votes cast for the Cameroun Republic at the plebiscite, as NULL AND VOID". Arguments were produced in each case which, in the view of the CPNC, militated against a vote for union with the Republic of Cameroun. This booklet was the CPNC's official guide for its organizers and speakers throughout the plebiscite campaign.

233. Later in the campaign a number of leaflets and posters were displayed, one of which called on the population to "Choose Green and Remain British - White is French". When this leaflet reached me I addressed a letter on

2 February 1961 to the Plebiscite Administrator, asking him to request the CPNC to withdraw it on the grounds that it was misleading since the alternatives in the Plebiscite referred only to the Federation of Nigeria, on the one hand, and to the Republic of Cameroun, on the other. Similarly, I requested the withdrawal of a poster which appeared at about the same time, depicting a soldier, wearing a helmet labelled "UNO", cutting the map of the Southern Cameroons with a sword, on the grounds that its distribution gave rise to misrepresentation concerning the position of the United Nations in the plebiscite. In neither case did my intervention result in the withdrawal of the publications in question, since the period remaining before polling day was too short to permit effective action to be taken.

234. The CPNC also circulated a number of other posters and published a newspaper, "The Cameroons Champion". However, the CPNC, like the KNDP, relied largely on public meetings and rallies to appeal for support, but the fact that the CPNC began its campaign later than the KNDP and other political parties, placed it at once at a disadvantage. With its strength mainly anchored in Victoria, and parts of the Kumba and Mamfe Divisions, its following in the populous Divisions of the Bamenda highlands was generally weak and it was in that area where it had to make determined efforts if it was to overcome the apparent advantage enjoyed by the KNDP. In this the CPNC did not succeed, partly because it started too late to press its campaign, which was less effectively organized than the KNDP's and partly because the KNDP commanded considerable political strength in the Bamenda highlands. Moreover, the CPNC had little following among the traditional chiefs of that area whose support was a virtual prerequisite to political success. It therefore had to limit itself in many areas to conducting a door to door campaign which was infinitely less effective than the large political rallies and meetings. Towards the end of the campaign, CPNC campaigners and party functionaries complained with increasing frequency that they had been prevented by local chiefs from lecturing and speaking in public places, that their political rivals had used threats of intimidation to keep people from attending public meetings, that some of them had in fact been broken up and campaign posters torn down by their

opponents and that the police had shown partiality. While there is reason to believe that some of these charges were justified, complaints submitted to the authorities frequently lacked specific data on the basis of which investigations could be made. In other cases, petitioners waited until a few days before the plebiscite to make their charges, by which time it was usually too late to take effective action.

235. The OK party strongly supported the alternative for joining the Republic of Cameroun, consistent with the views which it had maintained since its establishment favouring "independence and re-unification of the Kamerun". However, it conducted its campaign independently of that of the KNDP.

236. The party, through its Secretariat in Kumba Town, in the Southern Cameroons, issued several mimeographed sheets and press releases, urging the people to vote for the second alternative. The plebiscite, it was stated, was the Cameroonians' "last resort by which (they could) return or surrender (their) identity".

237. The main effort of the OK party, as in the case of the other political organizations in the Territory, was exerted through its organizers and speakers, whose activities increased very noticeably towards the end of January and the beginning of February. In their speeches, OK speakers attacked the alternative for joining the Federation of Nigeria as constituting a continuation of the "imperialistic relationships" with the Commonwealth. The OK was in favour, they asserted, of a republic which would be entirely cut off from any political association with the "Colonial Powers".

238. After the plebiscite and in the event the vote favoured the second alternative, the OK envisaged an "all Kamerun Constitutional Conference" composed of all political parties in the Southern and the Northern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroun. The conference would be held immediately after the plebiscite and be directed and assisted by the United Nations. It rejected any and all suggestions for a gradual integration and advocated immediate reunification with the Republic of Cameroun.

239. The other political parties played no major part in the campaign and confined their activities to a few localized areas.

X. PREPARATIONS FOR POLLING

A. The Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960

240. On 1 November 1960 the Plebiscite Administrator transmitted to me for any observations I might have, a copy of the draft Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960.

241. This document had four Parts. Part I, "Preliminary", defined the terms used in the remaining three Parts.

242. Part II, "Procedure at Plebiscite", contained regulations 3 to 31. Regulations 3 to 5 provided respectively for notices of the plebiscite to be given by the Plebiscite Administrator, delegation of authority to officers, and appointment of polling stations. Regulation 6 dealt with officers at polling stations and their functions. Regulation 7 provided for the erection of screened voting compartments and facilities to be furnished to each polling station. Regulations 8 and 11 laid down the manner in which ballot boxes were to be constructed and placed in the voting compartment. Regulations 9, 12 and 13 provided for the form, issuance and marking of ballot papers. Regulation 10 prescribed the conditions under which polling agents were to be appointed by political parties that favoured either of the alternatives in the plebiscite. Regulations 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 provided respectively for questioning of voters at the request of a polling agent, marking of the voter's knuckles before voting, manner of recording of votes, prohibition of marking ballot papers, and delivery of a fresh ballot paper to voters who had accidentally spoiled a ballot paper. Regulation 19 provided for the manner in which blind and any other disabled persons were to cast their vote. Under regulation 20, no vote could be recorded by a voter except by his attendance in person at the polling station and by recording of his vote therein. According to regulation 21, no person was permitted to vote at a polling station other than the one to which he was allotted, and regulation 24 established as an exception to this principle special facilities for certain officers carrying out duties in relation to the plebiscite. Regulations 22 and 23 provided for the deployment of officers in stations other than those at which they were entitled to vote and for the release of officers on duty for the casting of votes. Under regulations 25 and 27 if a

polling agent declared that a person applying for a ballot paper had committed an offence of impersonation and undertook in writing to substantiate the charge in a court of law, the Presiding Officer could order the arrest of that person, and the arrest so made was to be deemed an arrest for which no warrant was necessary. Regulation 26 provided that when a declaration as to impersonation had been made against a person applying for a ballot paper, such person was not to be prevented from voting, but the Presiding Officer was to cause the words "protested against for impersonation" to be placed against that name in the register of voters. Under regulation 28, if a person representing himself to be a voter named in the register of voters applied for a ballot paper after another person had voted in such name, the applicant was, after answering satisfactorily questions put to him by a Polling Officer, entitled to receive a ballot paper of a colour different from the ordinary ballot paper (called "tendered ballot paper"), which was to be endorsed by the Presiding Officer with the name of the voter and his number in the register. The "tendered ballot paper" was to be placed by the Presiding Officer in a separate envelope chosen by the voter from two separate envelopes, each corresponding to the colour of the appropriate ballot box. The name of the voter and his number in the register were to be entered on a list called "the tendered votes list". Regulations 29, 30 and 31, respectively, gave authority to the Presiding Officer to regulate the admission of voters to the polling station and to exclude persons other than those specified therein, and provided for the removal of persons misconducting themselves, and for adjournment of voting and the taking of certain precautionary measures in the event of interruption or obstruction of proceedings by riot or violence.

243. Part III, "Termination of Plebiscite, Counting, etc.", contained regulations 32 to 44. Regulations 32 and 33 provided, respectively, for the closing of the polling station at the prescribed hour and for the method of dealing with ballot boxes and plebiscite papers. Regulations 34 to 41 concerned the appointment of polling agents by the political parties favouring either of the alternatives in the plebiscite; the counting of votes; the method of counting; the preparation of a statement of rejected papers by the Returning Officer and his authority to make a final decision on any question arising in respect of ballot papers; the

method of dealing with plebiscite papers at the conclusion of the counting of the votes; and the recount of votes at the request of a counting agent. Regulations 41 to 44 dealt respectively with the declaration of the result of the voting; the custody until a specified date of all documents relating to the conduct of the plebiscite; the secrecy of vote; and the attendance of United Nations Observers and other persons at the proceedings.

244. Part IV, "Plebiscite Offences", comprised regulations 45 to 62. It dealt with various offences known ordinarily by name in election laws, such as personation, treating, undue influence, bribery, dereliction of duty by officials, and illegal practices. Other offences related to acts done in respect of ballot papers; to breach of secrecy of voting by plebiscite officials, polling and counting agents and other persons; voting by an unregistered person; disorderly conduct and other offences on Polling Day; improper use of vehicles; attempts to mislead the public in relation to matters provided for under the regulations, and display of emblems in the vicinity of place of voting.

245. In the discussions of the draft regulations which I had with the Plebiscite Administrator, I raised several points that seemed to deserve consideration. I noted that if the definition of "United Nations Observer" were to be interpreted narrowly, "a person appointed to observe the Plebiscite" might not mean a person in my headquarters' staff in as much as such a person would not have been appointed to observe the plebiscite but rather would have been appointed to assist me in performing the functions in general with which I had been entrusted by the General Assembly. This, of course, might have the consequence of limiting the actual number of persons available to observe voting and counting on Polling Day to the ten Observers assigned to the Southern Cameroons. I suggested that a more comprehensive definition of a "United Nations Observer" for the purpose of United Nations supervision on Polling Day would be "a person appointed to assist the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner in observing the plebiscite on behalf of the United Nations". This definition was accepted by the Plebiscite Administrator, as well as a definition of the "United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner" which I proposed. This term had inadvertently been left undefined in the draft Regulations.

246. For the appointment of polling agents, "the party or parties in favour of either alternative" were, under regulation 10, to be informed by the Plebiscite Administrator that they might appoint such persons. In the light of political circumstances prevailing at that time and the emergence of a body of opinion that dissociated itself from either alternative in the plebiscite, I felt that the terms of regulation 10 were too restrictive. While it was true that in elections only contending candidates were generally allowed to appoint polling agents, no such considerations could be applied to a plebiscite. I could see nothing in the relevant General Assembly resolution that would authorize the exclusion from the observation of the polling of any party with a legitimate interest in the outcome of the plebiscite. Similar considerations applied of course to the appointment of counting agents which was, under regulation 34(1), subject to the same limitation. Appropriate changes, reflecting the views I had expressed, were made by the Plebiscite Administrator in regulations 10 and 34(1).

247. Regulation 28 provided that a "tendered ballot paper" had to be endorsed by the Presiding Officer with the name of the voter and his number in the register. Further, the "tendered ballot paper" was to be "set aside by the Presiding Officer in the polling booth in accordance with the wishes of the person voting in one of a number of separate packets, each of which shall correspond to the colour of the appropriate ballot boxes". I found the first of these steps objectionable in principle, since if the ballot paper had the name of the voter on the back it was clear that the secrecy of vote might easily be violated. Secondly, from a practical point of view, placing the tendered ballot paper in the packet of the voter's choice instead of in the ballot box seemed to open the way to confusion or foul play, as the two packets had to be moved to the polling booth for the voting and tendered ballot papers already in the packets could, in doing so, be dropped or removed from one packet to the other.

248. After discussing the matter with the Plebiscite Administrator, it was agreed that the tendered ballot paper would be endorsed by the Presiding Officer with the number of the voter in the register but not with his name. It would then be placed under conditions of secrecy by the Presiding Officer in one of the two separate packets corresponding each to one of the alternatives in the plebiscite, in accordance with the wishes of the voter. In the "Instructions to Presiding and Polling Officers" issued at a later date, the Plebiscite Administrator suggested that for the purpose of having the voting "under conditions of secrecy", the Presiding Officer would accompany the voter into the searching compartment where the tendered ballot would be cast (i.e., the room where the voter could be searched if it was suspected that he came to the polling station carrying a ballot paper on his person).

249. Regulation 19(1) provided that "a voter shall not place on the ballot paper any writing or mark by which he might be identified". I enquired from the Plebiscite Administrator what the effect of non-compliance with this regulation would be. Regulation 36 provided for the method of counting and although it specified that certain ballot papers were not to be counted, it did not mention the ballot papers with writings or marks referred to in regulation 17. The question, then, arose of whether ballot papers under regulation 17 were to be considered invalid. The Plebiscite Administrator pointed out that there was no simple answer to this question in view of the difficulty of determining whether a given mark was sufficient to identify a voter. In some cases, a cross or any other mark known only to a few persons could be used to reveal to counting agents or officers the membership of a voter in a specific group. Only where a mark was beyond doubt a distinctive mark could it be said that the ballot paper bearing it should not be counted as being invalid.

On the other hand, if this determination had to be made at the time of counting, it might not only take time, but generate controversies. In order to obviate possible uncertainties and complications, the Plebiscite Administrator agreed to instruct Presiding and Polling Officers to warn voters before voting not to place any mark or writing on the ballot papers delivered to them.

250. A question not dissimilar in substance to that relating to regulation 17, but of more far-reaching implications, arose from the provision in regulation 36(3). This provision read as follows: "Any ballot paper so mutilated that the intention of the voter cannot be known shall not be counted".

251. At the time the discussions on the draft Polling Regulations were taking place, a political party (CCC) was advocating the voting by a torn ballot paper with the intention of manifesting rejection of either question put to the voters in the plebiscite. This party further advised the people to carry the other half of the torn ballot paper out of the polling booth and hand it over to the Secretary-General of the party. In accordance with normal election principles and precedents, taking or attempting to take a ballot paper out of the polling station constituted an offence under regulation 54(1)(b) of the draft Regulations. Yet, the mutilation of the ballot paper advocated by that party, if carried out, would have made the meaning of regulation 36(3) uncertain because that regulation required that in order for a mutilated ballot paper to be invalid the mutilation had to be such that the "intention" of the voter could not be known. In view of the circumstances, it was agreed with the Plebiscite Administrator to redraft regulation 36(3) as follows: "No mutilated ballot paper shall be counted as a valid vote unless the mutilation appears to be accidental, on which the decision of the Returning Officer shall be final".

252. In connexion with the manifesto put out by the same political party after the draft Polling Regulations had been finalized, the Plebiscite Administrator addressed a letter to the Deputy Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons on 12 November 1960. In this letter, the Plebiscite Administrator referred to the agreement reached between himself, the Attorney-General, myself and members of my staff in regard to the provisions of regulations 36(3) and 54(1)(b). He then added "We considered that mutilation of a ballot paper, by tearing it in half, might be a permissible way of expressing dissatisfaction with the two

questions which are to be put in the plebiscite by persons who feel themselves dissatisfied, but that the retention by a voter of either a whole or a torn ballot paper could lead to corruption and other forms of abuse, and should not be permitted³³. He concluded by suggesting to the Deputy Commissioner that the section of the CCC's manifesto exhorting voters to tear a ballot paper and keep half of it, should be corrected because, as it stood, it could be regarded as incitement to commit an offence.

253. Other changes were made in the draft Regulations, including an addition to regulation 12(3) (concerning search of a voter to ensure that no ballot paper was already in his possession) that "no person shall be searched by a member of the opposite sex".

254. The Polling Regulations, as agreed upon, were published in the Southern Cameroons Gazette No. 60 of 14 December 1960 as Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960. ^{33/}

255. The Plebiscite Administrator, by a directive to Assistant Plebiscite Administrators of 3 February 1961, called their attention to the fact that the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960 did not make it an offence to destroy, mutilate, deface, remove or alter notices or documents required to be made under the provisions of those Regulations. He stated, however, that according to the advice received from the Attorney-General of the Southern Cameroons, damage to plebiscite notices and posters could be dealt with adequately under sections 451 and 442 of the Criminal Code. According to these provisions, it is an offence to damage or destroy any property and the term "damage" in relation to a document, or to any writing or inscription, includes obliteration or rendering it illegible, either in whole or in part.

B. Date of the Plebiscite

256. Article 2(2) of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council, 1960, provided that "the plebiscite shall be held on a day or days to be fixed by the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons by notice published in the Official

Gazette of the Southern Cameroons, not being within the period of twenty-eight days after the publication of the notice, and voting for the purpose of the plebiscite shall take place during such hours as may be specified in the notice".

257. The reasons for conducting polling simultaneously in the Northern and Southern Cameroons plebiscites are given in paragraph 55⁴ below. As there were no overriding considerations militating in favour of an additional polling day in the Southern Cameroons, the original date set for polling on 11 February 1961 was maintained and notice to this effect was given by the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons in Southern Cameroons Notice No. 6, published in Gazette No. 1 of 7 January 1961. Notices announcing the date of the plebiscite and the hours during which voting would take place, being between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m., were widely circulated throughout the Territory. The Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons, following consultations with the Executive Council, appointed 11 February 1961 to be a public holiday throughout the Southern Cameroons, and sent a circular to all government departments and agencies directing that every facility, without loss of earnings or other benefits, was to be given to all government officials and employees to enable them to cast their votes in the place at which they registered for the plebiscite, even if this involved several days absence from work.

C. Printing of ballot papers

258. It was stipulated in Regulation 9 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960 that every ballot paper should be in a form prescribed by the Plebiscite Administrator and should (a) have a serial number printed or stamped on the back and (b) be attached to a counterfoil bearing the same serial number as printed or stamped on the back of the ballot paper.

259. I was advised by the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations on 6 June 1960 that arrangements were being made for the printing of the ballot papers in the United Kingdom and that I would be informed as soon as possible when the printing was to take place so that arrangements could be made for a United Nations Observer to attend. I was also informed that the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite

Administrator had approved the method of printing and design of ballots for the Southern Cameroons plebiscite and had, on 27 September 1960, placed the order for printing the ballots with Caster and Co. Ltd. of Peterborough, England, with the stipulation that a United Nations Observer was to be present throughout all phases of the production and packaging, and that proofs were first to be submitted for the approval of the Plebiscite Administrator before the actual printing of the ballots was to commence.

260. On 7 October 1960, I appointed Mr. Allen Chang to supervise the printing of the proofs. On 17 October 1960, Mr. Chang reported to me that his task had been satisfactorily completed. In accordance with instructions issued by the Plebiscite Administrator, the proofs had unique characteristics designed to ensure that they could not be reproduced in the Trust Territory or in adjoining countries.

261. As soon as the Plebiscite Administrator had approved the proofs, he issued instructions to the printers to proceed with the printing, subject to the arrival of a United Nations Observer at the firm's premises. Mr. Abdul S. Dajani was appointed to supervise on my behalf the printing, packaging and shipping of the ballot papers under conditions that would assure their security at all times and specific instructions to this effect were given to him in writing.

262. The Observer reported to me that the actual printing was begun at the premises of the firm on 25 October 1960 and was completed on 17 November 1960, and that all stages of the operation from start to finish were carried out under his direct and continuous supervision.

263. The Observer reported that he was satisfied that no printing had taken place prior to his arrival at the printers on 25 October 1960, and that the text which had to be imprinted was kept under seal at all times until his arrival. He also reported that, as a special mark, five printing errors were introduced in the background of the ballot and tendered ballot papers. After the printing was completed, he destroyed all type and plates used in the printing, and burned the photographic negatives and all remaining copies and paper spoilage. A total of 600,000 ballot papers, in books of 50 each, and a total

of 60,000 tendered ballots, in books of 10 each, were printed, in accordance with instructions issued by the Plebiscite Administrator. They were packed in 60 boxes each containing 200 ballot books and 100 books of tendered papers, all of which were sealed and signed. On 18 November 1960, the 60 boxes were delivered, in the presence of the Observer, in Liverpool, and loaded aboard a vessel for shipment to Botsuana, Victoria.

264. On arrival of the vessel in Botsuana, on 30 November 1960, I appointed the United Nations Observer at Victoria to supervise the transfer of the sixty boxes from the vessel to the office of the Plebiscite Administrator. Under his supervision, the boxes were unloaded and transported by lorry under police escort to Botsuana where they were delivered to the Plebiscite Administrator for safekeeping. The ballots remained in Botsuana until a few days prior to the plebiscite.

265. I was completely satisfied that adequate security measures were taken at all stages in regard to the printing, packaging and shipment of the ballot and tendered ballot papers from beginning to end.

D. Colours distinguishing the alternatives

266. Regulation 11 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulation, 1960 provided inter alia that each box should be painted with the colour allocated by the Plebiscite Administrator to a particular alternative on which a vote could be cast at the plebiscite.

267. During a meeting held in London on 7 September with officials of the Colonial Office, I pointed out that before the 1959 plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons local leaders had been consulted about the choice of symbols and colours and that I wished to be informed as to what symbols and colours were proposed and whether the local leaders had been consulted before their selection. I suggested also that consideration should be given to the question whether symbols and colours should be the same in the Northern and Southern Cameroons plebiscites. Subsequently, on 3 October 1960, the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations informed me that the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator had discussed the use of symbols and colours with the leaders of the two main political parties in the Southern Cameroons, namely, the CPNC and KNDP, but while they had objected to the use of symbols they had agreed on plain white and yellow as the colours to be used for identifying the two alternatives, subject to my concurrence.

268. On my arrival in the Territory, I discussed the question of the proposed colours with the respective Plebiscite Administrators for the Northern and the Southern Cameroons Plebiscites and, as I had had occasion to point out previously, I informed them that if representative political leaders were in agreement on the use of colours, I, for my part, would be fully satisfied. In the course of my discussions on this subject it emerged that the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator saw objections to the use of white and yellow in the Southern Cameroons, as those colours had been adopted to identify the two alternatives in the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite in 1959. He felt that their use in the forthcoming plebiscite in the south might cause confusion in the minds of the people, particularly those living in areas bordering on the Northern Cameroons.

269. It was therefore agreed that another meeting of Southern Cameroons political leaders should be called to explain the situation to them and to obtain agreement on a new set of colours. In that meeting which was held on 28 October 1960, attended by two leaders each of the CPNC, the KNDP, the leader of the KUP, the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator and myself, it was agreed that green should be the colour for the proposition favouring union with the Federation of Nigeria and white for the proposition favouring union with the Republic of Cameroun. A written agreement to that effect was signed on the same day by the political leaders in attendance.

E. Ballot boxes

270. Regulation 8 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960 provided that the ballot boxes should be so constructed that a ballot paper might be put therein by a voter, but might not be withdrawn by him or any succeeding voter. On 17 November, Mr. Childs sought my views on the use of either of two types of ballot boxes. The first type was of metal and identical with the kind used in the 1959 Northern Cameroons plebiscite, as well as during the Federal elections held in Nigeria during December of 1959. The other type was of strong

wood and could be manufactured locally. Previously, however, I had been given to understand that a fairly large number of keys fitting the metal type boxes were abroad in Nigeria and that this fact posed, in the view of the Plebiscite Administrator, a serious security problem. On the other hand, the use of wooden boxes presented other security problems in that their construction and the method of securing their lids by the use of screws, although to be sealed with wax, might not entirely preclude the possibility of someone tampering with their contents. After careful consideration of the matter, I advised the Plebiscite Administrator by letter dated 18 November 1960, that I for my part would have preferred, for reasons of security, the use of metal boxes which would provide adequate safeguards for the ballots. If for lack of time, however, as in fact he had intimated to me the previous day, he should find it impossible to procure such boxes, I entrusted it to his good judgment to make an assessment as to which of the readily available types of boxes would afford the greatest degree of security. I also requested Mr. Childs to inform me of the measures he was contemplating for providing every reasonable safeguard for the contents of the boxes. The Plebiscite Administrator informed me subsequently that he had decided to use the wooden type of ballot box and that their design was such as to insure every reasonable security for their contents.

F. Appointment of polling and counting agents

271. Polling agents - Regulation 10 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960, provided that, not later than 31 December 1960, any political party could request the Plebiscite Administrator to allow it to appoint polling agents for the purpose of detecting personation at the polls. It further provided that the Plebiscite Administrator, after consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, should, by notice in writing, inform each political party accepted by him as representative of a number of persons, sufficient to merit recognition, that it might appoint polling agents. Such notice was to specify the number of polling agents the party might appoint but would not provide for more than two polling agents to be appointed by the party for any one polling station.

272. Notice was given to political parties of this provision and the rights they could exercise under it in press release No. 2001 of 7 December 1960 of the Southern Cameroons Information Service in Buea, which was sent by letter to all political parties in the Southern Cameroons.

273. In response to this notice, five parties applied for the right to appoint polling agents, namely, the Cameroons Peoples National Convention (CPNC), the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), the Cameroons Commoners Congress (CCC), the Cameroons Moslem Congress (CMC) and the One Kamerun Party (OK). In each case, following consultation with me, the Plebiscite Administrator informed each of these parties that they might appoint polling agents to be present at the polling stations throughout the Southern Cameroons for the purpose of detecting personation on the day of the Plebiscite but that not more than two polling agents could be appointed for any one polling station. The Plebiscite Administrator also informed each party that a notice in writing would be required from the secretary of the party by not later than 28 January 1961, giving the names and addresses of the party's polling agents and of the polling station to which each agent had been assigned. These notices were to be submitted to the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator concerned. The Assistant Plebiscite Administrator would then issue each polling agent with an official appointment card which would authorize his admission to his assigned polling station. Each party was ^{also} informed that persons without appointment cards would not be accorded the facilities of polling agents. Finally, each party was informed that if a polling agent died or became incapable of acting as such, the party could appoint another polling agent in his place and that the new agent's name and address should at once be given to the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator in the same manner as above.

274. Following the receipt of these letters, the parties concerned submitted names of polling agents in respect of polling stations in the various districts, a numerical summary of which is given below:

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>No. of Polling Stations</u>	<u>Polling Booths</u>	<u>KNDP</u>	<u>CPNC</u>	<u>CCC</u>	<u>CMC</u>	<u>OK</u>
1. Victoria South West	13	21	42	42	-	-	23
2. Victoria South East	10	18	36	35	-	-	17
3. Victoria North West	12	27	54	54	-	-	19
4. Victoria North East	26	37	68	72	-	-	42
5. Kumba North East	45	58	115	103	-	-	63
6. Kumba North West	43	45	83	79	-	-	35
7. Kumba South East	38	59	102	67	-	-	35
8. Kumba South West	15	16	30	30	-	-	12
9. Mamfe West	25	34	51	25	-	-	5
10. Mamfe North	36	37	47	38	-	-	5
11. Mamfe South	21	24	42	21	-	-	5
12. Mamfe East	22	32	42	22	-	-	16
13. Bamenda North	51	69	102	102	-	82	-
14. Bamenda East	42	48	86	46	-	47	51
15. Bamenda Central West	37	45	74	74	-	14	43
16. Bamenda Central East	43	49	94	57	-	10	70
17. Bamenda West	32	45	66	62	-	20	27
18. Bamenda South	35	44	78	57	-	-	47
19. Wum North	25	29	27	32	-	-	9
20. Wum Central	20	22	27	38	-	-	6
21. Wum East	21	34	42	40	-	-	1
22. Wum West	21	22	23	39	-	-	17
23. Nkambe North	19	25	40	38	-	-	-
24. Nkambe East	26	32	53	51	-	-	-
25. Nkambe Central	16	29	30	29	-	-	-
26. Nkambe South	21	27	26	38	-	-	-

On 4 February 1961, the plebiscite Administrator issued a circular^{24/} entitled "Notes for the guidance of polling agents", setting forth the rights and duties of Polling Agents before, during and after polling, and in several districts Returning Officers briefed Polling Agents and replied to questions put to them.

275. Counting agents - regulation 54 of the polling regulations provided that each political party which had been informed that it might appoint polling agents could appoint no more than two persons as counting agents to attend the counting of the votes. It also provided that notice in writing of the appointment, stating the names and addresses of the counting agents, should be given by the secretary of the party, or other person authorized by him, to the Returning Officer not later than one day before the date of the Plebiscite and that the Returning Officer could refuse to admit to the place where the votes were being counted any person purporting to be a counting agent in respect of whom no such notice had been given. It also provided that if a counting agent died or became incapable of acting as such, the party might appoint another counting agent in his place and the secretary of the party, or another person authorized by him, should immediately inform the Returning Officer of the name and address of the other person.

276. The parties concerned appointed the following numbers of counting agents to be present at the respective counting centres:

<u>Counting Centres</u>	<u>KNDP</u>	<u>CPNC</u>	<u>CCC</u>	<u>CMC</u>	<u>OK</u>
Victoria	2	2	-	-	2
Buea	4	4	-	-	4
Kumba	8	8	-	-	8
Mamfe	2	2	-	-	-
Bekebe	2	2	-	-	-
Bamenda	12	12	-	12	12
Wum	2	2	-	-	2
Nkambe	2	2	2	-	-
Mbam	2	2	-	-	-

277. While the counting agents were specifically precluded, by virtue of Regulation 35 (2), from assisting in the counting of the votes, counting agents could, in accordance with Regulation 40, if present when the counting or any recount of the ballot papers was concluded, require the Returning Officer to have the votes recounted or again recounted, but the Returning Officer had the power to refuse to do so if, in his opinion, the request was unreasonable.

G. Polling and Counting Staff

278. Regulation 4(1) of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960, provided that the "Plebiscite Administrator shall direct for which area or areas Assistant Plebiscite Administrators, Returning Officers, Assistant Returning Officers, Presiding Officers and Polling Officers shall exercise their functions and he may delegate to Assistant Plebiscite Administrators such power in respect of Returning Officers and Polling Officers". In accordance with this provision the Plebiscite Administrator issued appropriate directions in respect of Assistant Plebiscite Administrators and delegated to them power to designate in which areas Returning Officers, Assistant Returning Officers and polling staff should exercise their functions.

279. Assistant Plebiscite Administrators - Regulation 4(2) of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960, provided that "any Assistant Plebiscite Administrator shall have all the powers and may perform any of the duties of the Plebiscite Administrator under these regulations" and in accordance with this provision Assistant Plebiscite Administrators made all arrangements for polling in their respective areas.

280. Returning Officers - The appointment of 26 Returning Officers was published in Southern Cameroons Notice No. 8 of 7 January 1961 and was effective from 23 December 1960. These Officers were responsible for carrying out the functions assigned to them under the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960. They were responsible for training polling staff and the supervision of

all phases of polling and counting in the 26 plebiscite districts of the Southern Cameroons.

281. Assistant Returning Officers By Southern Cameroons Notice No. 9 of 7 January 1961, the office of Assistant Returning Officer was created and the Plebiscite Administrator was empowered to make appointments thereto. By virtue of Regulation 4(2) appointments were made by the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators. Assistant Returning Officers, among them a number of Cameroonians, were placed in charge of several polling stations or of a single large polling station having several polling compartments or booths.

282. Presiding and Polling Officers were all Cameroonians and were drawn mainly from among the staff of Government Departments, Native Administrations and schools. In the rural areas school teachers supplied a high proportion of the polling staff. Presiding and Polling Officers were carefully briefed in their duties. Many of them had had previous experience of the polling procedure in elections for the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly and had also served as Assistant Registration Officers. Briefing courses were conducted by Returning Officers at the various plebiscite district headquarters, and apart from verbal tuition, polling staff received detailed written instructions which were contained in a booklet entitled "Instructions to Presiding and Polling Officers"^{35/}. These instructions provided information in concise and simple terms concerning their duties in relation to the Polling Regulations.

283. Polling Marshalls A total of 2,014 Polling Marshalls were appointed, on an average of two for each polling station. They were recruited from among retired policemen and soldiers, government office messengers, Native Authority messengers and persons of good local repute. They wore armbands and carried appointment cards; while on duty they had all the powers of a police constable under law. Their duties during polling were to control the admission of voters to the polling stations, to maintain order inside the polling stations, and generally

^{35/} Annex X.

to carry out the lawful orders given to them by the Presiding Officer. Apart from their polling duties they also escorted the ballot boxes after the poll to the points where they were handed over by the Presiding Officers to the Returning Officers.

284. Appointment cards Presiding and Polling Officers and Polling Marshalls were issued with appointment cards and carried them when on duty; Assistant Returning Officers carried letters of appointment.

H. Polling Stations

285. Regulation 5 of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Polling) Regulations, 1960 provided that

"(1) The Plebiscite Administrator shall appoint a sufficient number of polling stations in each plebiscite district and allot the voters in the plebiscite district to the polling stations.

"(2) The Plebiscite Administrator shall appoint at least one polling station in respect of each registration area and shall allot the voters in such registration area to the appropriate polling stations;

"Provided that the Plebiscite Administrator shall, as far as appears to him to be practicable, ensure that not more than five hundred voters are required to vote at any one polling station."

286. In accordance with these provisions, 715 polling stations with 928 booths were provided for a total of 349,652 registered voters which gave an average of one booth to 376 voters. No legal distinction was made between a "polling station" and a "polling booth". The latter was a term used to describe a polling facility within a large polling station catering for, say, 1,500 voters. Each "booth" was a self-contained unit having its own staff and ballot boxes. In the larger voting centres it was more convenient to have this type of organization, the ratio of one "booth" to approximately 500 voters being maintained.

287. Polling stations were sited by the Presiding Officers at the direction of the Returning Officers. During their briefing, Presiding and Polling Officers

were informed where their polling stations were to be sited and to what extent they would be responsible for their construction. Wherever possible, public buildings, such as Native Courts, churches or schools were used. In these buildings screened voting and searching compartments were provided. Where no suitable buildings were available, polling stations were constructed in the open. These comprised fences for crowd control and screened voting and searching compartments made from local materials such as palm leaves, matting or grass.

288. In the Kumba and Victoria Divisions prefabricated polling booths, consisting of a frame covered with cloth were used extensively. Polling stations were built to a standard pattern which was explained to Presiding Officers during briefing.

289. Presiding Officers were responsible for equipping polling stations in accordance with a standard list of materials which were supplied to them during briefing.

I. Counting centres

290. A matter which was of some concern to me related to the establishment of counting centres. The fact that a total of twenty-six districts were established for purposes of the plebiscite made it obviously impossible to set up an equal number of counting centres if proper supervision over the counting of votes was to be exercised by the ten United Nations Observers who were stationed in the Southern Cameroons. Even if the counting of votes was to be staggered over four or five days, Observers would have been unable to fully assure themselves of the measures which had been taken to safeguard the boxes prior to counting and to supervise the handing over of boxes by polling staff to Returning Officers. Moreover, I felt that the establishment of twenty-six separate counting centres might create serious security problems which should be avoided at all costs. I was strengthened in my views by the expressed wishes of several parties, particularly the KNDP and CPNC, which submitted both written and oral requests to some of the United Nations Observers requesting that the number of counting centres should be kept relatively small, although I also received requests from the OK party that counting should be conducted at the registration

area level. After lengthy discussions with the Plebiscite Administrator, in which both his field staff and United Nations Observers were consulted on the practical aspects of finding the most suitable locations and accommodations, it was agreed to establish the following nine counting centres:

	<u>Plebiscite District Accommodated</u>	<u>Counting Centre</u>
1.	Victoria South-West)	Victoria
2.	Victoria South-East)	
3.	Victoria North-West)	Buea
4.	Victoria North-East)	
5.	Kumba North East)	Kumba
6.	Kumba North-West)	
7.	Kumba South-East)	
8.	Kumba South-West)	
9.	Mamfe West)	Mamfe
10.	Mamfe North)	
11.	Mamfe South)	Bakebe
12.	Mamfe East)	
13.	Bamenda North)	Mankon
14.	Bamenda East)	
15.	Bamenda Central West)	
16.	Bamenda Central East)	
17.	Bamenda West)	
18.	Bamenda South)	

<u>Plebiscite District</u> <u>Accommodated</u> (cont.)		<u>Counting Centre</u> (cont.)
19.	Wum North)	
20.	Wum Central)	
21.	Wum East)	Wum
22.	Wum West)	
23.	Nkambe North	Nkambe
24.	Nkambe East	Mbem
25.	Nkambe Central)	
26.	Nkambe South)	Nkambe

XI. POLLING DAY

291. The weather on polling day was fine throughout the Southern Cameroons. Long before the polls opened at 8 a.m. on 11 February large numbers of people were seen walking to the stations and by 7 a.m. many of the polling stations were already crowded with people eagerly waiting to cast their votes.

292. Presiding and Polling Officers had completed preparations for polling to take place at the appointed time including the sealing of the ballot boxes, their installation in the polling booths and the opening of the sealed envelopes containing the ballot papers. Throughout the day United Nations Observers, their number augmented by United Nations Headquarters staff whom I had designated as Observers for purposes of polling day, visited polling stations and witnessed the polling at no less than 330 out of a total of 715 polling stations. I myself visited several polling stations in the Victoria districts before leaving for Bamenda and Wum where I witnessed the voting in a number of localities. United Kingdom Plebiscite staff provided coverage to polling stations within their respective plebiscite districts and assisted in correcting minor errors made by polling staff. Polling agents of political parties were present at most polling stations, although in some cases it was reported that fewer than their appointed number were in attendance. This was particularly true of CPNC polling agents in Wum, Nkambe and Bamenda. Voting was extremely heavy throughout the Territory and, generally speaking, by mid-day most of the eligible voters had cast their ballots.

293. Most of the problems encountered on polling day were of minor character and could be set straight without difficulty. In some cases, ballot boxes had been placed in the booths in reverse order. In other instances, it was found that registration cards bore the wrong serial numbers, and as a result, some persons were delayed until their names could be found on the register. In a few places voters, impatient to cast their votes, had broken down the barriers around the stations, but order was restored. In other places, local chiefs had seated themselves outside the polling stations, and were

requested to move away in order to avoid giving the impression that their presence was intended to sway votes in one way or another. In several of the polling stations it was found that an insufficient number of ballot papers had been issued to presiding officers and additional supplies were rushed to them. Apart from these exceptions, I am satisfied that polling proceeded in an orderly manner and I am glad to report that not a single incident was reported by the United Nations Observers, the United Kingdom Plebiscite Staff or the Police during and after polling.

294. Immediately after polling, the sealed ballot boxes and documents were brought by the Presiding and Polling Officers, accompanied by polling agents to designated collecting stations, handed over to the Returning Officers and subsequently locked up in a place of safekeeping. They remained under police surveillance until the count was actually begun.

295. The responsibility for guarding the boxes both of the collecting and the counting centres in Bamenda during the night from 11 to 12 February was entrusted to the Army. This was a particularly delicate task in view of objections which had been raised by the KNDP and OK party to the employment of army personnel. However, the arrangements which were made, in consultation with the United Nations Observers for the guarding of the boxes by army personnel worked out to everyone's satisfaction.

**XII. COUNTING OF BALLOTS AND RESULTS
OF THE PLEBISCITE**

296. In accordance with instructions^{36/} issued by the Plebiscite Administrator, counting of votes cast in a plebiscite district did not begin until all ballot boxes used in the plebiscite district were assembled at the counting centre, or until there was a clear prospect of completing the count for the whole of each plebiscite district in a single uninterrupted process. Returning Officers were required to ascertain that all ballot boxes were properly sealed, to deal with ballot boxes and plebiscite papers received from each registration area seriatim, recording the results by polling station, and to check the labelled sealed envelopes received from the Presiding Officers of the respective polling stations. Elaborate preparations had been made whereby results from various counting centres were rapidly transmitted by army signals to Buea.

297. Counting was begun in some of the plebiscite districts as early as the evening of 11 February and continued in the presence of United Nations Observers until the last results had been tabulated and transmitted to the Plebiscite Administrator's headquarters in Buea on 16 February 1961. During the counting it was discovered that at a few polling stations, presiding or polling officers had neglected to affix the official stamp to the ballot papers and as a result such unstamped ballots were declared to be invalid in accordance with regulation 36(2) of the Polling Regulations. In another case, sealing wax affixed to several ballot boxes had melted, presumably, as a result of exposure to the sun. However, I am confident that in these cases neither fraud nor malfeasance was involved. The count in all centres proceeded without incident and large crowds gathered throughout the four counting days at locations where the results were being announced.

298. The results of the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons were as follows:

<u>Plebiscite district</u>	<u>Votes cast for First Alternative (Federation of Nigeria)</u>	<u>Votes cast for Second Alternative (Republic of Cameroun)</u>
1. VICTORIA: South-West	2,552	3,756
2. " South-East	1,329	4,870
3. " North-West	4,744	4,205
4. " North-East	3,291	9,251
5. KUMBA: North-East	9,466	11,991
6. " North-West	14,738	555
7. " South-East	6,105	12,827
8. " South-West	2,424	2,227
9. MAMFE: West	2,039	8,505
10. " North	5,432	6,410
11. " South	685	8,175
12. " East	1,894	10,177
13. BAMENDA: North	8,073	18,839
14. " East	1,822	17,858
15. " Central West	1,230	18,027
16. " Central East	529	18,193
17. " West	467	16,142
18. " South	220	19,426
19. WUM: North	1,485	7,322
20. " Central	3,644	3,211
21. " East	1,518	13,133
22. " West	2,137	3,449
23. NKAMBE: North	5,962	1,917
24. " East	3,845	5,896
25. " Central	5,059	4,288
26. " South	7,051	2,921
<hr/>		
TOTALS:	97,741	233,571

Thus 29.51 per cent of the votes were cast for the first alternative and 70.49 per cent went to the second alternative. Of the total of registered persons, 94.75 per cent actually cast their votes.

XIII. THE PROTEST PERIOD

A. The Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1961

299. On 1 November 1960 the Plebiscite Administrator transmitted to me for comment a copy of a draft of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations.

300. The first consultations with respect to the draft Regulations took place during the first week of December between the Plebiscite Administrator and the Attorney-General on one side, and myself and members of my staff on the other.

301. I noted that the draft Regulations made provision for the Court to direct a petitioner to give security for costs "in such manner and to such amount as the Court may direct". I also noted that the Elections (Southern Cameroons House of Assembly) Regulations, 1957, which applied to all matters of procedure, evidence and costs, provided for a maximum amount of £100 as security for costs. I could see no reason for departing from the maximum that had been established for petitions procedures in the Territory, although it was my view that the possibility of remitting awards of costs should not be disregarded.

302. On the other hand, I took the position that, regardless of the law that had been applied in the Southern Cameroons for elections petitions, no fee for the plebiscite petitions proceedings should be payable. While a security for costs appeared justified in some cases to prevent frivolous or vexatious petitions, it did not appear to be justified in the case of the payment of a fee since normally the primary purpose of a fee is to raise revenue. I expressed this view to the Plebiscite Administrator because the Elections (Southern Cameroons House of Assembly) Regulations, 1957 made in turn the Supreme Court (Elections Petitions) Rules, 1951 applicable to the plebiscite voting petitions and the latter Rules provided for the payment of a fee of £5 for each petition and of a hearing fee at the rate of £1 per day of the trial, but not exceeding £7.

303. We reached agreement on these points, and regulation 9 was redrafted to limit to £100 the permissible amount of the security for costs. Two new paragraphs were added to regulation 5 providing respectively that: "The Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons may remit the whole or part of any award of costs", and "No fees shall be charged in connexion with proceedings under these Regulations".

304. We also agreed to include a definition of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner in regulation 2 ("Interpretation"), since all other officials referred to in the Regulations had been defined. Similarly, to correct another omission, a new paragraph (2) was added to regulation 6, according to which "A copy of any decision, including the findings of the Court upon the facts of the case, shall be transmitted to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner".

305. On 1 December 1960, the Plebiscite Administrator transmitted to me a proposal to the effect that, upon the receipt of a petition relating to a registration area, the Plebiscite Administrator "would consider petition and form opinion, having regard to votes cast and any other petitions received, whether if petition upheld the question affirmatively decided upon in that area could be different or the majority therefor could be significantly affected". The Plebiscite Administrator would then transmit this opinion to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, together with a summary of petitions, and if within seven days no contrary views were received from the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, the Plebiscite Administrator would, as the case might be, take the steps provided for in the Regulations for the initiation of proceedings or inform the petitioner that the cause of complaint did not affect the result of the voting in the registration area concerned. The purpose of the proposal was to allow for submission to the Special Court only those petitions that would, if successful, change the result of the plebiscite in a registration area.

306. I did not think that as the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner I could accept this proposal. Article 4(2)(e) of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council, 1960, provided for Regulations to be made by the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons for the "lodging of petitions relating to any dispute concerning the result of the voting" and article 7(2) called for the establishment of a Special Court to hear and determine such petitions. These provisions seemed to provide for a right to a judicial recourse that was in no way dependant upon the eventuality of whether the petition, if successful, could affect substantially the majority in a registration area for one of the questions put in the plebiscite. Should petitions be subject to a screening procedure, the

whole basis of the right to have a complaint examined by a Court acting under established rules of law would fall to the ground. Moreover, I did not consider that the terms of reference of my office included authority to pass judgment on any opinion of the Plebiscite Administrator on whether any petition, if successful, could affect the result of the plebiscite either in any registration area or in its entirety. Other facts could be taken into account by the General Assembly and a decision of the Court on any petition might be important in disclosing these facts.

307. After hearing my views the Plebiscite Administrator consented to withdraw the proposal. However, he expressed his concern that groundless petitions, if pending in Court, might conceivably delay a final decision of the General Assembly on the results of the plebiscite. To prevent this, he had been advised by the Attorney-General that the Court be empowered to dismiss petitions, if the Court was satisfied that the petitioner could not substantiate his allegations. I found this proposal acceptable, provided that: (a) the Court heard the petitioner's witnesses before dismissing a petition; and (b) that I were informed of the decision of the Court and of the reasons therefor. It was agreed that regulations 3(3) and (4) would make provision for these points.

308. In order to avoid intentional delays and multiplicity of proceedings, regulation 16 excluded the concurrent jurisdiction of other Courts in the Southern Cameroons.

309. The Voting Petitions Regulations, as agreed upon, were published in the Southern Cameroons Gazette No. 3, Volume 7, of 21 January 1961, Part B, as the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1961^{37/}.

B. Voting petitions

310. In compliance with regulation 3(2) of the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1961, the United Kingdom Plebiscite Administrator transmitted to me on 23 February 1961, through the United Nations Observer whom I had designated to be present in the Territory during the period set aside for the submission of voting petitions, copies of the thirteen petitions which had been received under regulation 3(1)(c) of the Voting

Petitions Regulations:

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>Name of Petitioner</u>
(a) Wum West	Mr. J.M. Boja
(b) Bamenda South	Mr. Paul Forkwa
(c) Bamenda East	Ndifonjoni
(d) Bamenda Central West	Mr. S.T.F. Ayonghe
(e) Bamenda North	Mr. Audu Lamte
(f) Bamenda North	Mallam Ibrahim
(g) Bamenda North	Mr. Martin Ngamdzele
(h) Bamenda West	Mr. M.A. Etamo
(i) Mamfe West (Kembong)	Mr. Napoleon Ebot
(j) Mamfe West (Kembong)	Mr. Philip Tabi Agbor
(k) Mamfe West (Mfuni)	Mr. F.T. Agbor
(l) Mamfe West (Besongabang)	Mr. J.M. Agbor
(m) Mamfe West (Bachuntai)	Mr. J.E. Ayuk

311. The text of each of these petitions is annexed to the present report. ^{38/}
At the time of writing of this report no information was available concerning the hearing of the petitions or the decisions taken on them by the courts.

XIV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

312. The result of the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons shows that 97,741, or 29.51 per cent of the valid votes, were cast in favour of the Southern Cameroons joining the Federation of Nigeria, while 233,571, or 70.49 per cent were cast for joining the Republic of Cameroun. Ample opportunity was given to all those eligible to register for the plebiscite and as a result a total of 349,652 persons were registered, of whom 167,941 were men and 181,711 women. According to the estimates of the Administering Authority this total represented roughly 90 per cent of the potential electorate, and exceeded by far the number of persons registered for any of the previous elections held in the Southern Cameroons. On polling day 94.75 per cent of all registered voters turned out to cast their ballots and it is worthy of note that there was little variation from this percentage in any of the twenty-six plebiscite districts of the Southern Cameroons. One of the outstanding aspects of the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons was the remarkable calm which prevailed during all of its phases, despite the intensity of the political campaign during the last weeks preceding polling. It is with great satisfaction that I pay tribute to the people of the Southern Cameroons for the respect they showed for law and order.

313. The plebiscite was efficiently organized and conducted by the Administering Authority in accordance with the legislation promulgated for the purpose. I am satisfied that the people of the Southern Cameroons had the opportunity to express their wishes freely and secretly at the polls concerning the alternatives offered in the plebiscite.

314. The results of the efforts made to clarify the plebiscite questions which are described elsewhere in this report (paragraphs 48-98), provided the basis upon which the Plebiscite Administration and the political parties conducted their campaigns to inform the people about the meaning of the choices before them. While the majority of the people may not have grasped the detailed implications of the alternatives at the plebiscite, it can confidently be said that they were aware that the decision they were called upon to make meant joining one or the other of the two neighbouring countries.

315. Now that the people of the Southern Cameroons have expressed their wishes concerning the future of the Territory, it is for the General Assembly to evaluate the results and to take appropriate decisions. Without in any way wishing to prejudge any decision which the General Assembly may resolve to take, I deem it useful to recall the formula advanced by the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the London Conference with political leaders of the Southern Cameroons, to the effect that a vote for attaining independence by joining the Republic of Cameroun would mean that by an early date to be decided by the United Nations after consultation with the Governments of the Southern Cameroons, the Republic of Cameroun and the United Kingdom, as Administering Authority, the Southern

Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroun would unite in a federal united Cameroun Republic. The formula further provided that the arrangements would be worked out by a Conference consisting of representative delegations of equal status from the Republic and the Southern Cameroons, with which the United Nations and the United Kingdom would also be associated. It should also be recalled that this formula was endorsed by representatives of the Government Party of the Southern Cameroons, led by Premier Foncha, and by a delegation of the Government of the Republic of Cameroun, led by President Ahidjo at their meeting in Yaoundé on 1 and 2 December 1960. At the same time it was agreed at the Yaoundé meeting that the post-plebiscite conference "would have as its aim the fixing of time limits and conditions for the transfer of sovereign powers to an organization representing the future Federation".

316. In the section of this report dealing with the political parties and their campaigns I could not fail to mention the high degree of suspicion and distrust shown by leaders and representatives of political parties towards each other. While this feeling of distrust and suspicion may have been heightened by the campaign itself, it would be highly desirable, now that the plebiscite is over, if leaders of all political groups would make determined efforts to reconcile their differences and, looking toward the future, endeavour to co-operate in tasks that lie ahead.

317. I wish to express my gratitude to the Commissioner of the Southern Cameroons, the Deputy Commissioner and to the members of the Administration, both at the central and local levels, for the co-operation they extended to me and the members of the United Nations staff. A special tribute is due to the Plebiscite Administrator for the successful and efficient organization and conduct of the plebiscite in which he had the able assistance of the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator, the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators and the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers. During the registration, polling and counting periods large numbers of officials, most of them Cameroonians, were recruited and given special training by the Plebiscite Supervisory staff. The effective training they received, as well as their sense of duty, contributed in large measure to the efficient conduct of the plebiscite operation. I also wish to report that during each stage of the operation I was consulted by those concerned on all measures taken in connexion with the plebiscite as provided in General Assembly resolution 1350 (XIII).

318. Before concluding these observations I wish to place on record my deep and sincere gratitude to the members of the United Nations Secretariat, whom the Secretary-General designated to assist me in the supervision of the plebiscite, for the devoted efforts, high sense of duty and ability which they displayed at all times.

PART TWO - THE PLEBISCITE IN THE NORTHERN CAMEROONS

I. PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY

A. Division of the Territory into plebiscite districts and registration areas

319. Article 3(1) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council, 1960, provided that the Northern Cameroons should be divided into plebiscite districts. In accordance with this provision, the Northern Cameroons was divided into nine plebiscite districts corresponding to the plebiscite circles established for the purposes of the plebiscite held in 1959, except in the case of Gashaka-Toungo which, in 1959, together with Mambilla, had formed a single plebiscite circle. The plebiscite districts thus established were the following:

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>Description of Area</u>	<u>Corresponding Administrative Division</u>
1. Dikwa North	The District of Gamsu (including Gajibo, Ngala and Mann-Kalabalge)	Dikwa
2. Dikwa Central	The District of Bama, Gulumba and Woloje	
3. Gwoza	The District of Gwoza	
4. Cubunawa-Madagali	The Districts of Cubunawa and Madagali	Northern Trust
5. Mubi	The Districts of Belel, Maiha, Mubi, Mayo-Bani and Sorau	
6. Chamba	The Districts of Koma-Vomme, Nassarawo, Sugu and Yelwa	Southern Trust
7. Gashaka-Toungo	The Districts of Gashaka and Toungo	
8. Mambilla	The District of Mambilla	
9. United Hills	The Districts of Tigon, Ndoro and Kentu	United Hills

320. Regulation 3 of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960, provided that "subject to any general or specific directions which the Administrator may, from time to time, give in that behalf a Registration Officer

shall divide the plebiscite district in respect of which he is to exercise his function into such registration areas as he may deem necessary". Accordingly, the Registration Officers divided the respective plebiscite districts into registration areas, totalling 346 for the whole of the Northern Cameroons as follow:

<u>Registration district</u>	<u>Number of registration areas</u>
1. Dikwa North	41
2. Dikwa Central	58
3. Gwoza	33
4. Cubunawa Madagali	41
5. Mubi	54
6. Chamba	49
7. Gashaka-Toungo	23
8. Mambilla	28
9. United Hills	19

B. Staff of the United Kingdom Plebiscite Administration

321. Plebiscite Administrator. Article 6(1) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council, 1960, provided that "the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons shall be responsible for the conduct of the plebiscite". Sir Percy Wyn Harris, K.C.M.G., M.B.E., who had been appointed to be the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons with effect from 1 October 1960 (Northern Cameroons Gazette Notice No. 1 published in Gazette No. 1 of 1 October 1960), assumed the duties of United Kingdom Plebiscite Administrator on the same date and established his headquarters at Mubi. Sir Percy had had a distinguished career in several African territories, having served in Kenya from 1929 until 1949 where he last held the office of Chief Native Commissioner and member for African Affairs on the Executive Council. In 1949 he was transferred to Gambia as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, where he remained until 1958. Before his recent assignment to the Northern Cameroons, Sir Percy served in 1959 as a member of the Commission of Inquiry into the disturbances in Nyassaland (Devlin Commission). Sir Percy's wide experience in African affairs contributed materially to his success in discharging the difficult task of combining the functions of Administrator of the Northern Cameroons and

Plebiscite Administrator. By Article 10 of the Order in Council, the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons was required "to consult wherever practicable and expedient with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner and the other persons appointed to assist him in observing the Plebiscite on behalf of the United Nations." Article 8 of the Order in Council empowered the Administrator to give directions to his staff in respect to the exercise of their functions under the Order in Council.

322. Deputy Plebiscite Administrator. In accordance with Article 6(1) of the Order in Council, which provided that "the Administrator may constitute such other offices as he may consider necessary for the purposes of this Order and any regulations made thereunder, and appoint persons to those offices and exercise disciplinary control over and dismiss persons appointed to those offices", Mr. S. Sill Johnston was appointed Deputy Plebiscite Administrator with effect from 1 October 1960. Mr. Johnston, who was an Assistant Plebiscite Administrator in charge of the plebiscite circles of Dikwa North, Dikwa Central and Gwoza during the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite in 1959, had been entrusted in July 1960 with making preliminary arrangements for the 1961 plebiscite. Mr. Johnston had served since 1947 in various capacities in the Federal Government of Nigeria and was last on special assignment in the Office of the Governor-General of Nigeria. He had been a member of the British Armed Forces during World War II.

323. Assistant Plebiscite Administrators and Supply Officers. In accordance with Article 6(1) of the Order in Council, three Assistant Plebiscite Administrators and one Supply Officer were appointed with effect from 1 October 1960. Mr. F.C.W. Davies, Mr. F.W. Tyler and Mr. K. Kinross were selected as Assistant Plebiscite Administrators and were posted to Bama, Mubi and Ganye in charge of field operations in the plebiscite districts of the Dikwa, Northern Trust and Southern Trust/United Hills Divisions, respectively. Mr. Davies was a district officer who served on secondment in the Education Department. Mr. Tyler was a senior technical officer of the Veterinary Department and Mr. Kinross was an agricultural officer in the Nigerian Service. Mr. H.A. Bain, Supply Officer at the Plebiscite Administrator's headquarters in Mubi, had served previously in the Supply Branch of the Royal Air Force.

324. Supervisory Officers. Nine Supervisory Officers were appointed to conduct the plebiscite in each of the nine plebiscite districts in the Northern Cameroons. With two exceptions, all Supervisory Officers were recent graduates of universities in the United Kingdom and the majority had seen service in the

United Kingdom Armed Forces. In response to advertisements placed by the Colonial Office in newspapers in the United Kingdom, applicants for positions of Supervisory Officers in the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite and of Plebiscite Supervisory Officers in the Southern Cameroons Plebiscite, numbering some 800, were interviewed in London by a selection board consisting of an independent chairman, the Plebiscite and Deputy Plebiscite Administrators of the Northern and Southern Cameroons and representatives of the Colonial Office. The Supervisory Officers so selected arrived in the Northern Cameroons early in September where they were given their specific assignments and sent to the field. The Supervisory Officers served for purposes of registration as Registration Officers, during the period of revision of the preliminary lists as Revising Officers, and during the immediate pre-polling, polling and counting period as Returning Officers.

325. The following is a summary showing staff participation and functions in the organization and conduct of the plebiscite under the general direction of the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons:

Headquarters Staff - Mubi

Deputy Plebiscite Administrator	1
Supply Officer	1

Field Staff

Assistant Plebiscite Administrators - expatriate officials (Dikwa North/Dikwa Central/Gwoza) (Cubunawa/Madagali/Mubi) and (Chamba/Gashaka-Toungo/Mabilla/United Hills)	3
Supervisory Officers Expatriate officials recruited in the United Kingdom especially for the plebiscite	9
Registration Supervisory Officers Recruited in the Northern Cameroons from among teachers and student teachers	80
Assistant Registration Officers Recruited, with the exception of 25 Nigerian students, from among teachers, pupils, etc. in the Northern Cameroons	430

Polling Supervisory Officers	80
Recruited in the Northern Cameroons	
Presiding and Polling Officers	760
Recruited locally from among teachers and Native Authority Staff, pupil teachers, pupils	
Polling Marshalls	760
Recruited locally from among pensioners, village elders, etc.	
Assistant returning Officers	18
Recruited from among administration officials	

C. Time-table for the plebiscite

326. The following was the time-table for the Northern Cameroons plebiscite:

<u>Time-table</u>	<u>Days</u>	<u>Event</u>
12 September - 30 September 1960	19	First public enlightenment campaign.
17 October - 6 November "	20	Registration.
7 November - 18 December "	42	Preparation and publication of preliminary list.
19 December - 10 January 1961	23	Submission of claims and objections.
11 January - 7 February "	28	Preparation and publication of final register.
11 February 1961		Polling day.
12 - 21 February 1961		Period for lodging petitions.

327. Only minor changes were required in the time-table. As a consequence of my intervention with the Administrator, the latter agreed to extend the three-week period set aside for registration by an additional week and this change is reflected in the above time-table. Another minor adjustment was made regarding the publication of the preliminary lists in some plebiscite districts owing to the fact that a slight delay in the preparation of the lists for the Mubi, Gwoza, Gashaka-Toungo, Chamba and United Hills Plebiscite Districts required the postponement of their publication by several days without, however, affecting the remainder of the time-table. Finally, for reasons given in paragraphs 555 to 558 below, an additional day was set aside for polling in the Northern Cameroons plebiscite.

II. COMMUNICATIONS IN THE NORTHERN CAMEROONS

328. Communications within the Northern Cameroons posed very considerable difficulties. The few existing roads in the Northern Cameroons are classified as all-season, being mainly trunk roads, and dry-season, these being Native Authority roads. Because of the difficult terrain there are few all-weather roads in the Territory. As I had occasion to point out in my report on the Plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons in 1959,^{39/} in the extreme north, where the mountains give way to the wide expanse of land of low relief between Lake Chad and Bama, the heavy clay soils become water-logged in the rainy season and vehicular traffic converts such roads as there are into quagmires of sticky mud, thus quickly rendering them impassable. The only all-season road in this part of the Territory is Trunk road A21, which originates at Maiduguri in Nigeria and enters the Trust Territory at Dikwa and then proceeds northward along the western border on an embankment to Ngala just south of Lake Chad and thence into the Republic of Cameroun. Another all-weather trunk road originating in Maiduguri, A4, runs to Bama, thus providing a link with Dikwa. The distance from Bama to Dikwa by these two all-weather roads, which form two sides of a triangle with the apex at Maiduguri, is, however, about 110 miles as compared with the straight line distance - the base of the triangle - of only about 45 miles. The direct road between Bama and Dikwa becomes passable only well after the rainy season has ceased.

329. From Bama, Trunk road A4 continues southward to Zara and Kiva, some 10 miles north of Gwoza, but the surface of this stretch of some 40 miles is not up to all-weather standard. From Kiva the surface is again all-weather through Gwoza, Madagali, Gulak, Michika and Uba to Mubi, a distance of about 110 miles. The other roads in the northern section of the Territory are all Native Authority dry-season roads, with the exception of regional road B505 running from Mubi to Burha in the Republic of Cameroun, a distance of about 20 Miles.

^{39/} A/4314, paras. 12 to 19.

330. Mubi is connected with Jada in the southern section of the Territory by Trunk road A4, which runs through Yola. A ferry service over the Benue at Yola enables crossing of this river. The distance by this road from Mubi to Yola is 124 miles and from Yola to Jada 67 miles or a total distance of 191 miles from Mubi to Jada. This is the only all-weather road link between the northern and southern sections of the Trust Territory.

331. In the southern section it is projected that A4 will continue from Jada, through Sugu, Jamtari and Serti to Mayo Selbe at the foot of the Mambilla escarpment, up the escarpment to Gembu and thence into the Southern Cameroons. So far, however, only the short length between Jamtari and Serti (some 30 miles) has been completed.

332. Just north of Jada, another Trunk road, A14, branches off A4 and continues southward in Nigerian territory to Beli almost on the border of the Trust Territory. The distance from Jada to Beli is about 135 miles. From Beli, Regional road B504 turns east into Trust Territory to Jamtari, a distance of 30 miles. Thus there is an all-weather link between Jada and Jamtari of about 165 miles, most of which runs through Nigerian territory. This link continues to Serti.

333. Trunk road A14 continues southward from Beli to Takum, a small town in Nigerian territory about 20 miles from the boundary between Northern and Southern Cameroons. The distance from Beli to Takum is about 90 miles. At about 60 miles on this road from Beli, Regional road B553 crosses it going into Trust Territory through Baissa to Abong on the Southern Cameroons border, and so establishing an all-weather link between Beli and Baissa.

334. Because of the axial mountain ranges running along the eastern border of the Northern Cameroons and the numerous lateral spurs, particularly in the southern section, Native Authority dry-season roads, to maintain north-south communications, must frequently cross valley bottoms and ford streams and rivulets or run through low-lying lands. In the wet season, when every stream or rivulet becomes a torrent and the low-lying lands are extensively flooded, these roads become impassable and the great majority of the villages served by them are cut off from communication with the larger centres served by all-season roads, even those within relatively short distances of these centres.

This state of affairs continues throughout the rainy season and for some time thereafter until the cessation of the rains allows the streams and rivulets to shrink and the flooded areas to dry off, thus permitting bridges and damaged roads to be repaired and communications to be re-established.

335. Nevertheless, a weekly road courier service was established between the United Nations Northern Cameroons headquarters at Mubi and the Observer stations to the north and south of it and was supplemented at irregular intervals with charter flights with landings being made at the airstrips near Baissa, Ganje and Mubi.

336. Reference to this aspect of communications would not be complete without particular mention of the Observer's station in the Mambilla district which, being the southern-most plebiscite district in the Northern Cameroons, is inaccessible by road and could only be reached from the north by way of Serti, itself two days' distance by car from Mubi and six days trekking during the rainy season, and three days during the dry season. As it proved to be easier to reach Gembu from the Southern Cameroons by way of the Bamenda plateau, contact with the Observer was maintained directly through Buea. In this way trekking over undulating terrain was reduced to just over three days during the rainy season. With the beginning of the dry season early in December the dry-season road was open to vehicular traffic. As a result it was possible to drive in two to three days from Buea to a point just a few miles south of Gembu itself.

337. As was the case in the Southern Cameroons, Observers were required to make frequent treks in their respective plebiscite districts in order to visit the many areas which were inaccessible to motor transport.

338. Having experienced the difficulties of communications during the 1959 Plebiscite, and being aware of the complete absence of radio and telephone facilities in the Northern Cameroons, I approached the Colonial Office as early as January 1960 on this subject, since I was not only anxious to establish contact between my two headquarters, but wished to be able to contact Observers quickly when circumstances required it. I was subsequently informed that in

July 1960 a plan had been agreed upon by Her Majesty's Government whereby they would underwrite a sum of £75,000 for the establishment of radio-telephonic communications between Mubi, Lagos and Buea with main links to Bama, Ganje and Gembu, thus linking the northern and southern parts of the Territory as well as Mubi with the principal headquarter towns in the Northern Cameroons.

339. The work on the project was begun by the Federal Posts and Telegraph Department, which provided the necessary equipment and the technical supervision for buildings and layout. The Marconi Company, on contract, supplied engineers who assumed responsibility for the actual wireless installations. This whole operation was dogged by unending misfortune. The very heavy and persistent late rains throughout the north seriously interfered with the movement of necessary stores into the Territory, and journeys scheduled to take two days were completed only in ten. As a concomitant to this, the delicate electronic equipment was badly shaken on the appalling roads and much of the equipment arrived in a broken condition so that in some cases essential parts had to be returned to Lagos for repair or be re-ordered from the United Kingdom.

340. As a result, the original promise of the Posts and Telegraphs to have the work completed by 1 October proved impossible of commission. In order to compensate for this delay, the Administrator arranged for the connexion of a police link at Mubi with the established Nigerian Police network, and only through this line was it possible to channel messages through to Kaduna and hence on through the normal wireless telegraph system of Nigeria. This came into operation during the third week in October, but proved to be of limited value as regards communications between Mubi and Buea because of the delays involved in the transmission of messages.

341. Not until November did the main radio link at Mubi become operational. Ganje and Bama followed immediately afterwards, and by December the three headquarters were in communication with each other.

342. As promised by Her Majesty's Government, arrangements were made with the Federal Government for the use of small detachments of Nigerian Army Signals during the voting and counting periods and radio linkage connecting all plebiscite district headquarters with Mubi was established between 25 January and 15 February.

343. The locations of the signal units and numbers of personnel were the following:

Dikwa	-	10 men.
Gwoza	-	1 officer and 12 men.
Madagali	-	10 men.
Michika	-	10 men.
Mubi	-	1 officer and 20 men.
Ganye	-	1 officer and 15 men.
Baissa	-	1 officer and 10 men.
Karamti	-	10 men.

344. In addition, a radio set was installed at Gembu in the Mambilla District which was operated by civilian personnel. The Administrator gave me firm assurances that all Army signal personnel were in the Northern Cameroons to provide communications and for no other purpose and that none of these troops would carry arms.

III. THE PRE-REGISTRATION PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT CAMPAIGN

345. Late in August 1960, I was informed by a member of the United Nations advance party that it was the intention of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator to conduct a pre-registration public enlightenment campaign for the purpose of informing the people of the mechanics of registration for the forthcoming plebiscite. As I considered this campaign to be of importance, I requested information regarding the exact period during which the Administrator proposed to conduct the campaign in order that a United Nations Observer might be present in the Northern Cameroons during that period. Owing to communication difficulties between United Nations Headquarters in New York and the Administrator's Headquarters in Mubi, it did not prove possible to obtain the necessary information. Only late in September, when the campaign was already well under way, was I informed that it had in fact commenced on 12 September. Nevertheless, I decided that a United Nations Observer should proceed to the Northern Cameroons as soon as possible to cover the remainder of the enlightenment campaign period. Mr. Ismail R. Khalidi, the United Nations Observer assigned to the Chamba plebiscite district, whom I had requested to undertake this additional assignment, arrived in Mubi on 1 October 1960. He subsequently reported to me that the campaign had in fact been concluded before his arrival, but that on the basis of his talks with officials of the Administration, with people from the areas he had visited and the observations he had made during the early days of his stay in the Territory, he was able to gather sufficient information which, in the circumstances, I considered to be helpful in forming certain conclusions on the effectiveness of the campaign.

346. In this connexion, I had on 7 September 1960 recalled to the attention of officials of the Colonial Office, during my meeting with them, the provision contained in paragraph 4 of resolution 1473 (XIV) whereby the General Assembly had recommended that the plebiscite should be conducted on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Recalling the information given by the Administering Authority that the people of the Northern Cameroons might possibly raise objections to the extension of the franchise to women, I sought information concerning the steps which the Administering Authority proposed to take to implement the decision of the General Assembly, and what measures were being contemplated to prevent any acts designed to intimidate or otherwise discourage women from registering or voting. I was informed that the Administrator was determined to see to it that the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1473 (XIV) on this subject should be carried out in spirit and in letter.

347. The Administrator subsequently reassured me in writing that as far as his administration was concerned, everything possible would be done to incline the people of the Northern Cameroons to accept the extension of the franchise to women and that measures would be taken to prevent intimidation. He further stated that he had started a campaign to explain to the inhabitants of the Northern Cameroons the advisability of accepting the United Nations ruling in this matter.

348. Prior to the campaign, each of the nine Registration Officers assigned to the respective plebiscite districts had been instructed to familiarize themselves with their registration districts, their people and the location of the designated registration stations and to explain briefly to the people the mechanics of the registration procedure along the broad outline contained in the publicity material which was to be disseminated throughout the Northern Cameroons. Each of the Registration Officers was accompanied by a publicity assistant, recruited from among the local Native Authorities, who had been instructed to conduct community and village meetings, explaining the procedure of registration to the people in their own language, and to cite the text of the two alternatives in the plebiscite which the General Assembly had laid down in its resolution 1473 (XIV). The campaign was further supplemented by adult education classes throughout the Northern Cameroons which were conducted under the supervision of the three Assistant Plebiscite Administrators in Ganye, Mubi and Bama. During each class, the Instructor explained to his students the procedures to be followed in the registration and read to them the text of the two alternatives to be put in the plebiscite.

349. Strict instructions had been given to the Registration Officers and the publicity assistants not to enter into any discussion on the substantive aspects of the plebiscite nor to allow themselves to be drawn into such discussions by anyone. They had been asked to restrict themselves entirely to explaining the procedures and mechanics of registration. Their instructions provided that it was simply and solely their task to conduct the plebiscite and that they were to be entirely impartial.

350. Publicity was conducted by the plebiscite staff using loudspeaker vans and by means of posters and handbills which were widely circulated throughout the Northern Cameroons. All publicity was conducted in English, Hausa, Kanuri and Fulani. One of the posters showed the dates between which registration would take place and the alternatives on which the people would eventually be asked to vote and gave indications on the manner in which registration would be carried out. Other posters were provided with information concerning the official dates, times and places for

registration, and another gave notification of the extension of registration by an additional week. A total of 16,000 posters and 16,000 handbills were distributed. 351. In terms of effectiveness, the most common method of publicity, namely the printed word, appears to have been the least effective in the Northern Cameroons. Yet, this is not surprising, for in an area where illiteracy is estimated at 97%, the main means of publicity must be confined to the spoken word if information is to be imparted effectively. Thus, the repeated visits of plebiscite staff to near and remote localities for the purpose of giving explanations and answering questions undoubtedly contributed more to the effectiveness of the campaign and, as it turned out, to the heavy participation in registration, than any of the posters or handbills, regardless of their excellence.

IV. THE REGISTRATION PERIOD

A. The Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960

352. At the meeting in London on 7 September 1960 with officials of the Colonial Office, I expressed the hope that the draft of the Plebiscite Regulations would be transmitted to me in time for consultations before they were finalized.

353. On 8 September, I received a copy of the draft Registration Regulations transmitted through the Administrative Officer on my staff, who was already in Mubi making preparations for our arrival.

354. By letters of 14 and 23 September to the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator and the United Kingdom Mission in New York, respectively, I enquired whether the text in my possession was to be regarded as the draft Registration Regulations or whether the Regulations had already been promulgated. At the same time I suggested several amendments on which comments were made by the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator in a cable of 28 September 1960.

355. At a meeting held with officials of the Colonial Office in London on 10 October, the Principal Secretary was informed that any question relating to the Registration Regulations should be pursued further with the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons in Mubi.

356. On the occasion of my first visit to Mubi the Administrator informed me that he had felt obliged to publish the Registration Regulations because of the time factor involved, and the need to commence operations without delay. However, he assured me that he was prepared to introduce such amendments to the Regulations as might be agreed upon during our discussions. The copy of the Regulations, as transmitted to me, contained four parts: Part I, Preliminary, provided, under six regulations (one was numbered 2A), for citation of the Regulations; interpretation; the division of the plebiscite districts into registration areas; the form of the register; and the appointment in each registration area of places fit to be registration offices; under regulation 2A, any question as to the ordinary residence of any person for the purposes of paragraph 3 of Article 5 of the Order in Council was to be determined in accordance with the rules set out in the First Schedule.

357. Part II - Preparation of Preliminary List, comprised regulations 6, 7, 7A and 8. Under regulation 6, notices were to be given by each Assistant Plebiscite Administrator of the manner and places in each plebiscite district in which registration could be made. Regulation 7 provided for the submission of claims to be registered, the manner of such submission, the duties to be performed by the Assistant Registration Officer, including in the event of his refusal to accept a claim, the obligation to endorse upon the application form his grounds for so doing, to return the form to the claimant and to inform the claimant of his right to appeal; and the issuance of duplicate registration cards in the event of destruction or loss of registration cards. Regulation 7A provided that a person whose claim to be registered had been refused by an Assistant Registration Officer was entitled to appeal to the Registration Officer upon the submission of his registration card endorsed with the decision and reasons of the Assistant Registration Officer. The Registration Officer was empowered to receive such evidence as he might consider necessary and his determination of appeals was to be final. Regulation 8 provided for the preparation and publication of the preliminary list of voters by the Administrator.

358. Part III - Revision of Preliminary List, included regulations 9 to 15. Regulations 9, 10 and 11 provided, respectively, for submission of "claims", "applications" and "objections" fifteen days after the publication of the preliminary list. Under regulation 9, a person whose name did not appear on the preliminary list and who had, during the registration period, submitted a claim to be registered, was entitled to submit again such claim. Under regulation 10, a person whose name appeared under a registration area other than that for which he had applied was entitled to apply for the transfer of his name to the latter registration area. According to regulations 11 and 12, a person whose name appeared in the preliminary list was entitled, within fifteen days of the publication of the preliminary list, to object to any other person whose name appeared therein as not being entitled to have his name on the list or in the registration area thereof. Regulations 13 and 14 gave powers to the Registration Officer to determine "claims", "applications" and "objections" upon hearing such evidence as he might consider necessary, to administer oaths for this purpose, and to strike out, enter or transfer names as the case might be. Regulation 15 prescribed that the final register of voters should be caused to be published not later than 7 February by the Administrator, with such alterations or amendments as he might consider necessary.

359. In Part IV, regulations 16 and 17 defined a number of plebiscite offences such as breaches of official duties; destruction of, or alterations in, documents or notices required to be made under the regulations; giving false information or making false statements wilfully and knowingly in relation to any claim or application; knowingly publishing false statements or rumours for the purpose of preventing qualified persons from registering; and knowingly making false statements in any register or document required by the regulations.

360. The First Schedule contained "Rules as to the ordinary residence of voters". In the Second Schedule, there were the following four specimen forms, A, B, C and D: an "Application for Registration", "A Second Application for Registration", an "Application for Transfer of a Name on Preliminary List" and a "Notice of Objection to Name in Preliminary List".

361. Immediately after receiving the text of the Regulations, I initiated consultations with the Administrator. I had already, by letter of 19 September to the Administrator, raised the question whether, in view of the fact that women would be registering for the first time in the Northern Cameroons, the period of three weeks that had been suggested for registration was sufficient. The Administrator had, shortly after assuming office in Mubi on 1 October, written to me expressing his willingness to extend the period of registration to four weeks and to allow for a further extension, should it become necessary. However, his letter had not reached me in New York and, consequently, I took advantage of our first meeting to review with him this and other aspects of the Regulations. We agreed to change, in regulation 7(2), the date for the closing of the registration period from 6 November to 13 November, and to add at the end of the paragraph: "Provided that the Administrator may, after consultation with the United Nations Commissioner or a person designated by the Commissioner in that behalf, extend the period within which claims to be registered may be made in any registration area".

362. In regard to regulation 7A, I suggested that in order to allow the Registration Officer to conduct the appeal proceedings dealt with therein in a manner approaching, at least in some respects, that of a Court, the proceedings should be open to the public and the Registration Officer be empowered to administer oaths. This suggestion was readily accepted by the Administrator.

363. I noted that the grounds for the submission of "claims" for the revision of the preliminary list were provided for in somewhat uncertain terms. Under regulation 9(1), "Every person whose name does not appear in the preliminary list and who submitted a claim under regulation 7 may, within 15 days of the first publication of the preliminary list, apply in Form B in the Schedule to be registered as a voter". Form B referred to the submission of a claim "that had been accepted". Form B appeared to say that persons whose name had been inadvertently omitted would alone be entitled to have recourse to the "claim" procedure, for the purpose of including in the list the omitted name. On the other hand, regulation 9(1) left the question open of whether a person who had been refused registration could bring his case for review.

364. The Administrator explained to me that the intent of regulation 9(1) had been to allow only inclusion of names of persons who had been accepted for registration and which by mistake had been omitted in the list. An amendment to regulation 9(1) was agreed upon whereby the words "which was accepted" were added between the words "regulation 7" and "may".

365. Finally, I called attention to the provision of regulation 15(2) under which the Administrator was to cause the list to be published "with such alterations or amendments as he may consider necessary". I interpreted this provision as empowering the Administrator to make alterations or amendments necessary for the correction of typographical errors only. The list, at the stage of final publication, had been subject to revision upon the final determination of the appeal under regulation 7A and of "claims", "applications" and "objections" of regulations 9, 10 and 11. No scope for further revision of substance seemed to derive from these provisions. The Administrator concurred with my interpretation, and regulation 15(2) was amended by adding the words "for the purpose of correcting any typographical or clerical error" after the word "necessary".

366. The "Registration Officer" under Part III, "Revision of Preliminary List" of the previous text was called "Revising Officer" in the new text.

367. The new text of the Registration Regulations, as agreed upon with some other minor changes, was published in the Northern Cameroons Gazette No. 3, Volume 1, Supplement Part B, at Mubi on 5 November 1960, as the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960.^{40/}

B. Recruitment and training of Assistant Registration Officers

368. To carry out the registration of voters in the 346 registration areas of the Northern Cameroons, the Administration required a total of 450 Assistant Registration Officers. These officials were recruited from within the Trust Territory with the exception of twenty-five students of the Numan Teacher Training College which is situated in Adamawa Province in the Northern Region of Nigeria, but it is worthy of note that half their number were indigenous to the Northern Cameroons. The Assistant Registration Officers were recruited from the various educational establishments inside the Territory including the staff and pupils of the Teacher Training Colleges at Baissa and Mubi, of the senior primary schools, and teachers from the various Native Authority and voluntary agency schools.

369. Since it was the first time that women had been given the right to vote in the Northern Cameroons, the Administration made every effort to recruit suitably qualified women to serve as Assistant Registration Officers and thus to lend encouragement to potential women voters to come forward to register. A total of twenty-five women served as registration officials in the various districts in the Northern Cameroons, and United Nations Observers and Administration Officials alike attested to their efficiency and effectiveness.

370. On 7 October 1960, each of the nine Supervisory Officers began, in their respective districts, a course of instruction for the Assistant Registration Officers who were to tour the countryside throughout the period of registration. The basis of the training course was a handbook of instructions which had been prepared at the direction of the Administrator and which set forth the various steps involved in the registration of voters. Each of the Assistant Registration Officers received a copy of these instructions in both the English and Hausa texts. The Supervisory Officers trained the Assistant Registration Officers in every aspect of the operation and gave them frequent tests to ensure that every detail had been properly understood and absorbed. A relatively small number of trainees who were unable to meet the requirements of the training course had to be eliminated and were replaced. At the conclusion of the week's training course, each qualified Assistant Registration Officer was issued with lockable boxes containing all the materials necessary for carrying out the registration. The Assistant Registration Officers were sent on 15 October to take up stations in their assigned registration areas in time for the commencement of Registration on 17 October.

C. Conduct of the Registration

371. Article 5 of the Order in Council provided the basis for the establishment of registers. The two basic qualifications for eligibility to register were set out in paragraph 2 of the Article:

"(2) Every person who, at the date of his application -
(a) is of the age of twenty-one years or upwards; and
(b) is ordinarily resident in the Northern Cameroons shall, subject to the provisions of this Article, be entitled on application to be registered as a voter in the registration area in which he is then ordinarily resident."

372. The non-inclusion of any provision limiting suffrage to males provided a basis for the introduction of universal suffrage for the first time ever in the history of the Territory, if not indeed in any area that had traditionally been considered part of the Northern Region System.

373. The qualifications for eligibility to register were not always easy to apply. In an area such as the Northern Cameroons where records of birth do not yet exist, it proved to be difficult to determine in doubtful cases whether an applicant about to register was in fact twenty-one years of age. For such cases, the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Registration Instructions^{41/} provide the following:

"If any doubt should arise the following rules will apply.

"MALE 1. Can he produce a Tax receipt in his own name dated 1956 or earlier?

- If so, he should be registered.

2. If he cannot produce a Tax receipt, will the Village or Clan Head say that he is more than 21?

- If so, he should be registered.

"WOMEN 3. Will the Village or Clan Head or two female relations say that she is more than 21?

- If so, she should be registered.

"REFUSAL 4. If the claimant fulfills none of these conditions the Assistant Registration Officer may refuse to register him or her, endorse the form 'A' with the reason for refusal, and advise him or her that they should apply on appeal to the Registration Officer at his Headquarters, taking the form 'A' with them, between 20th and 29th November."

374. A similar guide was used where there was a question whether an applicant to register met the requirements of ordinary residence.

375. It would first be determined whether a prospective registrant was on the local tax register or if he occupied a house with the permission of the village or clan head. If either of these conditions could be met the applicant was registered forthwith. If not, the applicant could be registered upon producing evidence from at least two householders or members of the same clan that he had lived in the place for a period longer than six months, and declaring his intention to remain.

376. Applicants who could not produce evidence sufficient to meet either the age or residence requirements were entitled to have the reasons for refusal to register them endorsed on their application forms, and these refusals were subject to review in the period therefor between 20 and 29 November, to which reference has already been made.

377. As has already been noted in paragraph 361 above, regulation 6 of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960, was amended to provide for an extension of the registration period by one week. This proved to be useful, also, in view of the difficulties posed by the prolonged rainy season in 1960.

378. In preparation for the registration, the Plebiscite Administration conducted intensive courses of training in English and in Hausa. These courses were based on the "Instructions to Registration Officers and Assistants", which had been published in the two languages.

379. The registration itself was well conducted over the whole of the period. With the vigilance of Registration Officers and United Nations Observers, and with the aid of the Registration Supervisors, who were normally assigned to oversee the personnel in three to five registration areas, most of such minor errors such as omissions of names and faulty serialization of registration numbers were corrected.

D. Preparation and publication of the preliminary list

380. During my first visit to the Northern Cameroons on 20 October 1960, the Administrator apprised me of the practical difficulties involved in engaging in the Trust Territory a sufficient number of qualified typists to prepare the preliminary list of voters and in finding the necessary equipment and office space required for this purpose. To overcome this problem he proposed to send the lists to Kaduna where ample facilities existed and where they could be prepared with dispatch. Although I appreciated the Administrator's difficulties, it was my view that the sending of the original list to Nigeria, one of the States interested in the outcome of the plebiscite, would carry with it certain political implications and for this reason I asked the Administrator to explore the possibility of having the list prepared in a neutral area. However, I was later informed that this did not prove to be possible in view of the loss of time it entailed and the attendant upset in the time-table of the plebiscite. I therefore agreed to the Administrator's proposal provided that a United Nations Observer would be present in Kaduna to supervise the preparation of the list. In order to ensure against any possibility of tampering with the original lists, it was agreed that as lists were collected in each district prior to their despatch, the Registration Officers in each district would invite the respective United Nations Observers to be present to enable them to certify that each page of the original lists bore the signatures of the Registration Officer and of the Assistant Registration Officer. The Administrator sent instructions to this effect to his staff, and, similarly, I advised all Observers, who subsequently certified that all lists had been signed by Registration and Assistant Registration Officers in compliance with the agreement and in accordance with the instructions issued to them.

381. Subsequently, I appointed Mr. James Lewis, the United Nations Observer at Gwoza, to supervise the shipment of the lists and to remain in Kaduna during the initial stages of preparation. He arrived in Kaduna on 18 November 1960. From 9 December onward until the completion of all work, I entrusted Mr. F.K. Wand, United Nations Observer in Dikwa, to supervise the completion of the preparation of the lists, which were returned to the Trust Territory together with the original lists as follows:

<u>Registration district</u>	<u>No. of registration sheets</u>	<u>Date dispatched</u>
1. Dikwa North	82	12 December 1960
2. Dikwa Central	116	"
3. Gwoza	66	20 "
4. Cubunawa/Madagali	82	"
5. Mubi	108	23 "
6. Chamba	98	"
7. Gashaka-Toungo	46	17 "
8. Mambilla	56	"
9. United Hills	38	23 "

382. Regulation 8(2) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations, 1960, provided that "the preliminary list shall be published on or about the 18th December, 1960, and the manner of publication shall be by displaying copies of the whole or part thereof at such place or places in each plebiscite district as the Administrator may think fit". Sub-paragraph (3) of the same Regulation provided inter alia that "the Administrator shall publish notices in each plebiscite district which shall state (a) the places where the preliminary list may be inspected ..." and sub-paragraph 4 required that "a copy of the preliminary list shall be made available for inspection by members of the public during normal office hours at the office of the Administrator for a period of thirty days after its first publication". In accordance with these provisions, the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons issued on 17 December 1960 Administrative Instructions whereby he directed that the publication of the preliminary list should take place by the display of a whole or part of a copy in the place within the appropriate plebiscite district where the Revising Officer had his headquarters. He further directed that as soon as it was convenient after the date of publication, which he set on or about 18 December 1960, a copy of that part of the list which was appropriate should be displayed at each polling station within the plebiscite districts. Accordingly, the preliminary lists were published in the nine plebiscite districts of the Northern Cameroons on the following date::

<u>Elebiscite district</u>	<u>Date</u>		
1. Dikwa North	18	December	1960
2. Dikwa Central	18	"	"
3. Gwoza	23	"	"
4. Cubunawa/Madagali	19	"	"
5. Mubi	24	"	"
6. Chamba	25	"	"
7. Gashaka-Toungo	24	"	"
8. Mambilla	19	"	"
9. United Hills	26	"	"

383. At the same time, copies of the list were made available for public inspection at the headquarters of the Administrator and at the

V. HEARING OF CLAIMS, APPLICATIONS AND OBJECTIONS; PUBLICATION OF THE FINAL REGISTER OF VOTERS

384. Regulation 7A(1) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Registration) Regulations provided that "a person whose claim to be registered has been refused may, not earlier than 20 November and not later than 29 November, 1960, appeal to the Registration Officer by submitting in person his application form endorsed as provided and stating his grounds of appeal." The same regulation provided that the hearing of appeals by a Registration Officer should be open to the public and the Registration Officer should receive such evidence as he might consider necessary. The decision of a Registration Officer on the hearing of an appeal was to be final. If the Registration Officer allowed an appeal under this regulation he was required to issue the claimant a registration card and to inform the Administrator that the claim had been accepted. A total of 18 appeals was submitted under the terms of this regulation, of which one was made in Mubi, and 17 others in the United Hills Plebiscite District. All appeals presented under this regulation were against refusal to register on grounds of residence. The 18 appeals were allowed and the names of the appellants were included in the final list.

385. Regulation 9(1) of the Registration Regulations provided that "Every person whose name does not appear in the preliminary list and who submitted a claim under regulation 7 which was accepted may, within fifteen days of the first publication of the preliminary list apply to be registered as a voter." Similarly, regulation 11 provided that any persons whose name appeared on the preliminary list could object to any person whose name appeared in respect of the same registration area on the ground that any person objected to was either (a) not qualified to be registered, or (b) disqualified from being registered, or (c) not entitled to be registered in that registration area, or (d) dead. Such objections were required, under regulation 12, to be submitted to the Revising Officer within fifteen days of the publication of the preliminary list.

386. On 17 December 1960, the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons appointed the three Assistant Plebiscite Administrators, eight Plebiscite Supervisory Officers and one other plebiscite official to exercise the powers and functions of Revising Officers in plebiscite districts other than those in which they normally exercised jurisdiction.

387. Although the revising period was due to commence at the close of the fifteen-day period following the first publication of the preliminary list, the Plebiscite Administrator suggested that, in view of the delays in the preparation of the preliminary lists of some plebiscite districts and the attendant need to regain lost time, Revising Officers should begin to hear claims and objections during the period set aside for posting of the preliminary lists, but that in any event the statutory period for hearing of claims and objections would remain unaltered. Since this procedure would permit disposition of such cases as might arise in the very early stages, I agreed to this suggestion. The only one objection to be presented during the revising period was overruled by the Revising Officer since the person against whom objection to the inclusion of his name in the list was made, fulfilled all necessary requirements for registration under the applicable plebiscite regulations. The hearing was attended by a United Nations Observer.

388. All corrections and changes arising from claims, applications and objections were made in the preliminary list before 7 February 1961 and the final register of voters was displayed throughout all plebiscite districts in the Northern Cameroons in accordance with the provisions of regulations 15(1) through (6) of the Registration Regulations.

389. The final register of voters was as follows:

<u>Plebiscite district</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Dikwa North	20,602	19,634	40,236
2. Dikwa Central	29,851	33,940	63,791
3. Gwoza	13,418	12,318	25,736
4. Cubunawa Madagali	18,069	20,766	38,835
5. Mubi	21,631	20,590	42,221
6. Chamba	21,032	19,345	40,377
7. Gashaka-Toungo	5,121	4,431	9,552
8. Mambilla	13,060	11,057	24,117
9. United Hills	3,937	4,183	8,120
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	146,721	146,264	292,985

VI. PRE-POLLING PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT CAMPAIGN

390. The pre-polling public enlightenment campaign conducted by the Administration in the Northern Cameroons between November 1960 and February 1961 differed entirely from that of the Southern Cameroons, where, it will be recalled, the Plebiscite Administrator had laid emphasis on informing the people of the terms under which the Federation of Nigeria and the Republic of Cameroun were prepared to accept the Territory should they decide to join one or the other. In the Northern Cameroons, on the other hand, the pre-polling enlightenment campaign was designed to acquaint the people with the mechanics of voting and to urge them to make use of their voting rights. Few, if any, explanations were given to the people by the plebiscite staff concerning the proposed conditions under which the Northern Cameroons might join either of the two countries. This was largely attributable to the fact that the publication of the handbill entitled "The Constitutional Arrangements for the Implementation of the Decision at the Plebiscite",^{42/} setting forth the respective proposals by the two Governments was not distributed until the beginning of February and thus did not reach the plebiscite staff until a week before the plebiscite. By that time it was too late to expect that the pamphlet could have made a marked impression on the voters who, to all intents and purposes, had made up their minds on the alternative for which they would cast their vote. Even if the pamphlet had been distributed earlier it is doubtful whether its somewhat technical language could have been understood by a population whose comprehension of governmental organization and processes did not, by and large, go beyond the functioning of the Native Authority system. Although the pamphlet had been circulated in English and Hausa, it should be recalled that, in view of the prevailing high illiteracy rate in the Northern Cameroons, very few people indeed were in a position to read it. In these circumstances, its effect on the electorate may be said to have been negligible.

391. On the other hand, I am satisfied that the over-all purpose of the campaign, namely to inform the public of the mechanics of voting, of the location of polling stations and other related matters, was fully achieved as the wide participation in the plebiscite subsequently proved.

^{42/} Annex XXV.

VII. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE NORTHERN CAMEROONS

A. Separation of the administration of the Northern Cameroons from that of the Northern Region and local government reforms

392. Before going into the substance of the political situation, it may be useful to recall briefly the conditions and circumstances prevailing in the Northern Cameroons immediately prior to and during the plebiscite operation.

393. As has been already mentioned in paragraph 23 of the present report, the results of the 1959 Northern Cameroons Plebiscite were overwhelmingly in favour of the proposition that the people of the Northern Cameroons would decide their future at a later date. Commenting in my report upon the results, I stated that it appeared that the majority of the voters had made use of the opportunity offered by the Plebiscite to register what was in effect a protest vote against the system of local administration then prevailing in the Northern Cameroons. I stated further that the information I had gathered in the Territory supported the view that the people desired the introduction of reforms in the system of local government - which to them was synonymous with Government - and that one of the reasons the majority had voted in favour of the second alternative was to express the desire for a speedy introduction of these reforms.

394. By resolution 1473 (XIV), the General Assembly recommended, inter alia, that the Administering Authority should initiate without delay the separation of the administration of the Northern Cameroons from that of the Federation of Nigeria and that this process should be completed by 1 October 1960. In accordance with a request contained in the same resolution, the Administering Authority submitted a report^{43/} to the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-sixth session, in which it outlined the measures contemplated to this end.

395. While General Assembly resolution 1473 (XIV) did not make it incumbent upon me to supervise the implementation of this particular provision, I deemed it appropriate to seek information from the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons concerning the practical application of the measures outlined by the Administering Authority in its report to the Trusteeship Council, since I wished to obtain information on the practical arrangements that had been made which might have a bearing on the plebiscite. In reply to my request, the Administrator transmitted to me a general statement outlining the steps which had been taken to effect the separation of administration.

396. The Administrator confirmed that the separation of the administration of the Northern Cameroons from that of the Federation of Nigeria was completed on 1 October 1960. Provision was made for a separate administration to be established in the Northern Cameroons in accordance with the Northern Cameroons (Administration) Order in Council 1960 whereby the powers of the Government are invested in the Administrator who is directly and solely responsible to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the administration of the Territory. The staff of the Administration was seconded from the Government of the Northern region of the Federation of Nigeria and all officers were appointed to their respective positions by the Administrator and are responsible to him. The Departments of the Government of the Northern Region are providing services to the Northern Cameroons on an agency basis. Under this arrangement they are rendering services in such fields as education, health, agriculture, etc., to the Territory, but all departmental officers who are stationed in the Territory or are visiting the Territory to carry out their duties fall under the direction and control of the Administrator. No policy decision affecting the Northern Cameroons can be taken by these Department, without the approval of the Resident acting under the Administrator's authority. The Northern Cameroons administration has its own budget and the Administrator exercises full financial control. Under regulation 34 of the Northern Cameroons (Administration) Order in Council, 1960, the existing laws which were in effect in the Northern Cameroons immediately before the commencement of the Order in Council continued to apply subject to such amendments as the Administrator deems fit to make. By Law No. 1 of 1961 published in the Northern Cameroons Gazette No. 1 of 1 October 1960, the Administrator promulgated several amendments to certain of these laws.

397. As regards reforms in the system of local government, it will be recalled that the Administering Authority in the report referred to above^{44/} had informed the Council that on 7 December 1959 the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria had appointed a Commission of Enquiry to ascertain the wishes of the people of the Northern Cameroons regarding their grouping into new administrative divisions and new Native Authorities.

398. In line with the recommendations made by the Commission of Enquiry, the basic unit throughout the Northern Cameroons became the administrative division consisting of a number of districts, each under a District Head, joined together under the jurisdiction of one or more Native Authorities. An Administrative Officer was placed in charge of each Division to advise and supervise the Native Authority or Authorities on behalf of the central government.

399. Prior to this re-organization, the Northern Cameroons had formed parts of two administrative divisions located partly within the Trust Territory and partly within Nigeria, namely, the Adamawa (Emirate) Division of the Adamawa Province and the Wukari Division of the Benue Province. A third division, the Dikwa (Emirate) Division of the Bornu Province, lay wholly within the Trust Territory. An Administrative Officer was in charge of each Division.

400. Under the new arrangements, four divisions, located entirely within the Trust Territory were established. That part of the Northern Cameroons previously falling within the Adamawa Division was split into two Divisions - the Southern Trust Division with headquarters at Ganye consisting of the southerly districts and the Northern Trust Division with headquarters at Mubi, consisting of the northern districts.

401. That part of the Trust Territory formerly forming part of the Wukari Division, namely the three districts of Ndoro, Tigon and Kentu, became the United Hills Division. The Dikwa Division, already entirely within the Territory, constituted the fourth Division.

402. The new divisions were separated from the Provinces of Adamawa, Benue and Bornu and were grouped into one provincial organization under a Resident appointed to take charge of the new unit.

403. Within the administrative divisions, Native Authorities and under them district councils, are responsible for local government, advised and supervised by the Administrative Officers. The Authorities vary in size and composition and usually embrace a number of districts.

404. Before the re-organization of the local government system in the Northern Cameroons, that part of the Trust Territory which lay within the Adamawa Division came under the jurisdiction of the Adamawa Native Authority, while the three districts of Ndoro, Tigon and Kentu falling within the Wukari Division constituted a subordinate Native Authority to the Wukari Native Authority Federation. Dikwa Division had its own fully autonomous Native Authority.

405. After the re-organization, two new independent Native Authorities were established in the new Southern Trust Division, namely, the Chamba Native Authority with headquarters at Ganye and the Gashaka-Mambilla Native Authority with headquarters at Gembu. The districts of the newly formed Northern Trust Division were grouped together to form the Mubi Native Authority with headquarters at Mubi. In the Dikwa Division, the Gwoza district was given its own Native Authority, while the remainder of the districts continued to remain within the

Dikwa Native Authority. The United Hills subordinate Native Authority remained federated with the Wukari Native Authority until 1 October 1960, but thereafter became an independent Authority.

406. The Administering Authority further reported to the Council at its twenty-sixth session that along with the geographical re-constitution of the Native Authorities, the Authorities themselves would be democratized. This had been done, or was about to be done, by the abolition of all district councils, town and outer councils in the Northern Cameroons which had been established under the method of indirect elections. It was hoped that new elections (for the elected members of these councils as distinct from the nominated and ex officio members), based on secret, direct and adult male suffrage, would be completed by the end of May 1960, except in the United Hills Division where this method had been used in the 1959 elections. In certain cases, former district heads found to be unacceptable to the people were withdrawn and were replaced by temporary appointments. After the elections it was planned to ask the district councils to confirm their acceptance of the district heads.

407. The Native Authority Councils were then to include members elected up from the District Councils. When these councils were formed, consultations would take place with the members regarding the appointment of the heads or chairmen of the Native Authority Councils. In cases where new Native Authorities had been created, the Administering Authority reported the arrangements that had been made for the equitable division of the assets and liabilities of the former Native Authority.

408. It was learned during the plebiscite period that the elections, based on adult male suffrage and by secret ballot, were held as planned for the new district and town councils during the middle of 1960. Some new districts were created and others renamed; at the same time, certain village areas were also re-arranged. Subsequently, the new district and town councils had elected members, by secret ballot, to the Native Authorities and these Authorities had begun functioning. On the abolition of the old district and town councils a number of district and village heads and staff were dismissed or retired.

409. The district councils are now composed, in varying combinations, of a majority of elected members, a number of ex officio village heads and a number of nominated members representing special interests and minority groups.

410. The Native Authority Councils are similarly composed of a majority of elected members (except in Dikwa), ex officio district or village heads and nominated members, except that the elected members of these councils are

elected up from the district councils and not by direct election. The ex officio members of the councils were appointed in consultation with the district councils within the particular Native Authority and with the elected members of the Authority. Each Council chose its own Chairman or President.

411. The functions of the Native Authorities vary. In general they are responsible for the levying of taxes for local services, the appointment of local government staff, local education and health services, maintenance of law and order, agriculture and veterinary services, etc.

412. The Native Authorities usually meet about once a month and since their establishment have elected various types of Committees responsible for the different aspects of their administration. Thus the Gashaka-Mambilla Native Authority which was established on 19 September 1960, has set up a general purposes committee which acts as its executive committee and an establishment committee whose task it is to make recommendations to the Native Authority Council on all matters in respect of Native Authority staff. Similarly, the Dikwa Native Authority is advised by the following committees in the discharge of its functions: education committee, finance committee, appointments and discipline committee, development committee, general purposes committee, Shuwa Land Disputes Committee and the Tenders Board (for the granting of contracts). Members of the latter committees are elected annually and include besides some councillors, members of the Native Authority staff and qualified persons from the public. The Education Committee also includes a woman for the first time. The Gwoza Native Authority, representing the Gwoza District and which, as already noted, was taken out of the Dikwa Native Authority upon the re-organization of the Native Authorities, had elected an Executive Committee of four which includes two educated men who were formerly school teachers.

413. The United Hills Native Authority in which there was no modification of membership, has an appointed administrative councillor assisted by a total of 22 staff in managing its day-to-day local government affairs. The Council has created a Finance Committee composed of five of its elected members and the Administrative Councillor.

414. Generally, with a shortage of trained staff and with the greater number of their members illiterate, the Native Authority Councils still depend to a large extent for advice and guidance upon the administrative officers.

415. With the re-organization of the local government system certain of the district councils have been given increased powers. In Dikwa, the seven district councils have accordingly acquired new executive and fiscal powers and can now spend, without prior approval from the Dikwa Native Authority Council district council funds. They can also for the first time levy rates for certain public services, engage, control and discipline their staffs. They also "shall make recommendations" to the Native Authority Council regarding a variety of subjects such as adult education, reading rooms, communal forests, nurseries, roads, sanitary services, etc... The range of powers that can be delegated to the district councils by the Native Authority, has also been increased.

416. The Mambilla district council - a newly created council - besides having an important advisory function to the Gashaka-Mambilla Native Authority, levies tax for local services and has fulfilled the desire of the Mambilla people to receive local authority in their own district and to be separated from the administration of the Adamawa Emirate.

417. As already noted, village areas were in certain cases re-arranged. Thus, in the Dikwa Native Authority area, the village areas were streamlined and placed under village heads. These are the lowest ranking Native Authority officers. They assist in tax collection, maintenance of law and order, reporting deaths, births, marriages, etc... The hamlet heads ("Balumas") elect the village heads by a "division of the house", i.e., the candidates are set apart and the Balumas sit behind the one they wish to vote for. It may be noted, in passing, that twenty village heads from the former regime were dismissed or retired and that 15 of them were in jail for malpractices at the time of the plebiscite period.

418. In the application of the measures outlined above concerning the separation of administration of Northern Cameroons from that of the Northern Region and the introduction of reforms in local government, the Administering Authority took into account certain practical considerations.

419. Because of the extremely low level of education in the Territory, there was at the time of separation of administration an insignificantly small number of trained Cameroonians capable of being absorbed into the central administration of the Northern Cameroons local government.

420. As regards expatriate staff, it would have been in the Administrator's view wholly impracticable to bring to the Territory and to employ in its administration expatriate officials from the United Kingdom or from British territories who were neither acquainted with the problems of the area nor able to communicate with the people in the local languages. It was for these reasons that the Administering Authority decided to retain on a secondment basis from the Northern Region Government the services of such numbers of officials (British as well as Nigerians) as were required for the administration of the Northern Cameroons. Their numbers, although limited during the period when the Territory was administered as a part of the Northern Region, had to be supplemented by additional staff when the administration of the Northern Cameroons was constituted as a separate unit with its own administration. These officials, including the newly-appointed Resident, were also seconded to the Northern Cameroons from the Northern Region Government.

421. It was inevitable that the links of the above officials with the Northern Region Government, which most of them had served for some years past, as well as their known sympathies towards Nigeria, would open the door to suspicion of partiality and become the subject of bitter complaints from the parties which favoured union with the Republic of Cameroun. However, no specific evidence of impropriety was brought to light.

422. As regards the Native Authorities it was an inescapable fact that despite the reforms which the Administering Authority undertook to introduce with a view to democratizing the Native Authority system, in practice, District and Village Heads as well as other high officials of Native Authorities continued to exercise, as in the past, a large measure of authority. It was not unusual for persons who criticized or in any way questioned the powers and actions of such officials to be regarded as challenging the position of established authority and endangering law and order. Therefore, persons who were critical of Native Authorities or held different points of view were frequently exposed to the risk of prosecution for defiance of established authority. According to reports received from the field, a considerable number of District and Village Heads favoured the Nigerian proposition. Their influence on the electorate cannot be minimized, although personal and group loyalties, as well as the campaign conducted by political parties sometimes cut across the hegemony of District Heads and members of the Native Authorities.

423. In the light of the high degree of power devolving upon the Native Authorities and, through them, on the Native Courts, anyone challenging this power, whether by word or deed, could expect to be dealt with severely, and by the time of my arrival in the Territory there were already indications that because of this the NKDP/KFP Alliance was experiencing difficulties in carrying out its political activities. I have not felt it necessary to describe here the administrative and political structure of local government, commonly referred to as the "Northern System", and the principle of "indirect rule" which prevails in the area, inasmuch as it is already known to the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. The most recent account of this system is given in the report^{45/} of the 1953 Visiting Mission to the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration.

^{45/} Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Twenty-third session, Supplement No. 2 (T/1440).

B. Police Forces in the Northern Cameroons

424. In the course of the discussions I had with the Administrator in October 1960 concerning the organizational and other aspects of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite, I took the opportunity of calling his attention to the reference made to Police Forces in resolution 2013 (XXVI) which had been adopted by the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-sixth session, on 31 May 1960. By paragraph 1 of that resolution, the Council had requested the Administering Authority to take into account the observations and suggestions made at that session in completing the separation of the administration of the two parts of the Territory from that of the Federation of Nigeria not later than 1 October 1960, ensuring, in particular, the existence thereafter, and until the completion of the plebiscites in the Territory, of Police Forces wholly responsible to the Authorities in the Territory.

425. I recalled that during the discussions which had taken place prior to the adoption of resolution 2013 (XXVI), a number of members of the Council had expressed the view that by October 1960 the police would have been recruited entirely from within the Trust Territory, while others had felt some apprehensions over the independence and impartiality of Police Forces which might be seconded to the Territory from the Federation of Nigeria. I also recalled that the representative of the Administering Authority had, in reply, emphasized that the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons would be directly and solely responsible to the Administering Authority for the maintenance of law and order and that the use and operational control of the Police would be vested constitutionally in him. The Administrator would exercise his responsibility through a Police Force under the command of the Senior Police Officer in the Northern Cameroons, and the Police would be seconded from 1 October 1960 for the whole period in question. The Senior Police Officer would be directly responsible to the Administrator for the operation and the use of the Police Force and he alone, under the authority of the Administrator, would give them their orders.

426. The representative of the Administering Authority had also stated that in carrying out their duties these Officers would not be answerable to the Inspector-General of the Nigeria Federal Police. He had stated that during their period of secondment, Police in the Northern Cameroons would be controlled

by the Senior Police Officer, and while it could not be absolutely guaranteed that there would be no replacement from outside, owing to factors such as the death or sickness of a commissioned officer, the intention was that the control of the Forces, including staffing, should be exercised from within the Territory. He had assured the Council that there would be no Nigerian Commissioned Officers in the North, but that some of the other ranks would be Nigerians.

427. In conclusion, he had stated that the Administering Authority exercised the responsibility for maintaining law and order in the Territory and would make whatever provision might be necessary to meet this responsibility.

428. Since it will be appreciated that the undertaking given to the Council during the twenty-sixth session by the Administering Authority was of a general nature because it was obvious that some matters of detail and organization as regarded the Police Force were then still in a preliminary stage, I requested the Administrator to confirm what actual arrangements had been made in this matter. Subsequently, on 5 November 1960, the Administrator confirmed that he was in fact and in law directly and solely responsible to Her Majesty's Government for the maintenance of law and order and that the use and operational control of the Police Force had been vested in him. He called my attention to Regulation 11 of the Northern Cameroons (Administration) Order in Council, 1960, which provides:

"1. Any contingents of the Nigeria Police Force that may be stationed in the Northern Cameroons in pursuance of any arrangements made between Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and Her Majesty's Government of the Federation of Nigeria shall have such powers and duties as may be conferred upon them by any law in force in the Northern Cameroons and shall be under the command of such Officer of the Nigeria Police Force as may be designated in that behalf by the Administrator.

"2. The Administrator may give to the Officer commanding the contingents of the Nigeria Police Force stationed in the Northern Cameroons such directions with respect to the maintaining and securing of public safety and public order as he may decide are desirable (including directions with respect to the use and operational control of those contingents) and the Officer commanding the contingents shall comply with those directions or cause them to be complied with."

429. The Administrator stated that by virtue of the powers conferred on him by the above section, he had (by Northern Cameroons Notice No. 4 of the Gazette No. 1, Volume 1, dated 1 October 1960) designated Mr. F.A.B. Randall, a United Kingdom national, to be Assistant Commissioner of Police and to command the contingent of Nigeria Police seconded to the Northern Cameroons. He confirmed that this Officer was directly responsible to him as Administrator for the operation and use of this Police Force, and this Officer alone, under the authority of the Administrator, gave them their orders.

430. The full establishment of the Police Force totalled 172 Officers and men. Under the Assistant Commissioner of Police were three Superior Police Officers, all United Kingdom nationals, seconded from the Nigeria Police, one in charge of the Dikwa Division Headquarters in Bama, one in charge of the Northern Trust Division Headquarters in Mubi, and one in charge of the Southern Trust Division Headquarters in Ganye. There were no Superior Police Officers of Nigerian nationality in the Territory.

431. The Administrator confirmed that the secondment of the Force was for the period of the plebiscite and that while replacements might be necessary owing to sickness, other transfers would only be at his direction. He stated further that in carrying out their duties in the Northern Cameroons, none of the Police Forces stationed there were answerable to the Inspector-General of the Federal Police. To distinguish them as a separate force from the Nigeria police they wore shoulder badges marked "T.T.P." (Trust Territory Police).

432. In addition to the official notification published in the Northern Cameroons Gazette referred to above, the Administrator published the following notice which was distributed throughout the Northern Cameroons, both in English and in Hausa:

"It is notified for general information that His Honour the Administrator has, in accordance with Section 11 (1) of the Northern Cameroons (Administration) Order in Council, 1960, appointed Mr. F.A.B. Randall, Acting Assistant Commissioner of Police (the Nigeria Police), to command the Police Force in the Northern Cameroons.

"The Police Force of the Northern Cameroons is, in accordance with the Constitution approved by Her Majesty the Queen under the operational control of His Honour the Administrator.

"Whilst serving in the Northern Cameroons, all members of the Nigeria Police Force operate as the Trust Territory Police and have all the powers of a Police Officer exercisable in accordance with the law.

"It is the duty of all citizens of the Northern Cameroons to comply with the lawful direction of all Administrative Officers, Police Officers, Native Authorities and Government Servants vested with statutory powers. Such Officers are all members of the Government Service of the Northern Cameroons and exercise their powers under the Constitution of the Northern Cameroons and the laws applicable to and binding on the Territory."

433. In addition to the contingent seconded from the Nigeria Police, there were in the Territory some 350 Native Authority Police, all Northern Cameroonians, exercising their powers under the various Native Authorities concerned. In certain circumstances, these Native Authority Police could be placed under the control of a Superior Police Officer, particularly in cases of riot or civil disturbance.

434. The Administrator informed me that in order to improve the efficiency of the Native Authority Police and with a view to ensuring an adequate reserve for reinforcing the Trust Territory Police, a school in Mubi had been established for the training of from 45 to 60 Native Authority Police who would be available to supplement the regular Police Force, should occasion arise.

435. In reply to my question whether particular instructions had been issued to the Police to guide them throughout the various phases of the plebiscite, the Administrator stated that both the Native Authority Police and the Nigeria Police seconded to the Territory were expressly forbidden to enter into politics and that special written instructions were not necessary as the Police Force, at all times, operated under standing orders calling for civility to members of the public, impartiality, the carrying out of duties without fear, favour, malice or ill-will and dealing promptly with complaints by members of the public. He stated that he had therefore contented himself to addressing the Police Force itself on the duties of Police Officers in the plebiscite and impressed on them that it was their paramount duty to exercise complete impartiality. He had also instructed the Senior Police Officer to see to it that the standing orders and the Administrator's remarks on the matter were impressed on all members of the Police Force. He was satisfied that this had been done and that the Trust Territory Police had conducted themselves properly and impartially and would continue to do so.

436. During February 1961 reports reached me that the existing Police Force in the Northern Cameroons had been reinforced. I addressed an inquiry to the Administrator on this subject and was informed that during January 1961 a total of fifteen police had been seconded from Nigeria to the Trust Territory to complete

the establishment of 172 officers and men as had originally been agreed upon between the United Kingdom Government and the Government of the Federation of Nigeria. He stated categorically that no other Nigerian Police had been brought into the Territory either before or after the plebiscite.

C. The political parties and their activities in the plebiscite
437. All major political parties in the Federation of Nigeria, for purposes of the plebiscite, combined forces in active support of the alternative favouring union with the Federation. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG) informed the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons by letter of 28 October 1960 that they had joined together "in order to seek the vote for joining Nigeria." The headquarters of all the above mentioned parties and their principal leaders were in the Federation of Nigeria; some, like the NPC, had branches throughout the Northern Cameroons, and others had branches in a few districts only. The Northern Cameroons branches of the Nigerian parties acted on this occasion as a group which throughout the campaign became known as the "Consortium" or the "Jam'Iyyar"^{46/}. Its activities were directed by a political leader of the Northern Region of Nigeria, the Wambai of Daura, who had taken leave of absence from his post of Minister of Local Government for the duration of the plebiscite. In some cases, however, local branches of some of these parties in the Northern Cameroons did not necessarily endorse the Consortium's aims. It was reported from various districts that local branches of the Action Group were actually allied with the Northern Kamerun Democratic Party (NKDP) and actively supported the alternative favouring union with the Republic of Cameroun, although the Nigerian Action Group continued to give support to the other proposition. In the Chamba, Mubi and Cubunawa/Madagali districts, the "Consortium" was joined by the small HABE^{47/} party concerning which some details are given below.^{48/}

^{46/} Abbreviation of "Jam'Iyyar Tarayya Don Haduwa Da Nigeriya", or "Jimayar Ta Kamanu dai Aiki Na Daianchi dai Nigeriya" which freely translated from Hausa is said to mean "The United Parties working for the Union of the Territory with Nigeria".

^{47/} The name HABE, it was reported, is a Fulani term for "pagans" or "indigenous people".

^{48/} Paragraph 447.

438. The alternative for union with the Republic of Cameroun was supported by the Northern Kamerun Democratic Party (NKDP) and the Kamerun Freedom Party (KFP), both of which originated in the Northern Cameroons, the former in 1959 and the latter in 1960. Their leaders were Cameroonians. Initially the KFP favoured statehood for the Northern Cameroons within the Federation of Nigeria and in this had the support of the Action Group. Later on, however, it switched to support union with the Republic of Cameroun. These parties, with branches in several districts, were largely active in Cubunawa Madagali, Mubi and Chamba. Because they did not appear to enjoy any substantial outside support during the early stages of the plebiscite campaign, they appeared to operate under considerable financial handicaps. By the end of the registration period, however, both the NKDP and KFP began to campaign on a larger scale, making use of such propaganda material as posters and gowns with the imprinted likeness of President Ahidjo. They also put at the disposal of their organizers bicycles, some motor vehicles and vans equipped with loudspeakers. The acceleration of their activities coincided with the increase in the interest shown by the Republic of Cameroun in the plebiscite. Moreover, as the campaign drew closer to polling day there were growing indications that the NKDP/KFP Alliance of parties was receiving mounting assistance from political sources within the Republic. High-ranking political leaders of the Republic toured extensively in the Northern Cameroons, met frequently with leaders and supporters of the NKDP and KFP and assisted in directing the campaign conducted by these parties.

439. To gain a wider understanding of the political situation in the Northern Cameroons, and of the relative strength of the parties in the various districts and their objectives in the most recent political activities, it may be useful to recall that in the Federal Nigerian elections which took place shortly after the 1959 plebiscite, the NPC won by a comfortable overall majority in the constituencies of Dikwa North and Dikwa Central and by a small majority in Adamawa North East (Mubi) on a widely-split vote. In the other constituencies, namely Gwoza, Cubunawa Madagali, Chamba, Adamawa South and Wukari (which included the United Hills District), the Action Group candidates were elected by large majorities. The NKDP did not contest these elections, but both the President-General of the KFP and the President of the Chamba branch of the KFP were elected on the Action Group ticket. The conjecture cannot be avoided that the

decision of the Action Group to join the other Nigerian parties in support of the alternatives for union with Nigeria may have had a bearing on the plebiscite results in the Cubunawa/Madagali district. A similar consideration could possibly be applied to the situation in the Chamba district where the local branch of the Action Group, as is noted below, decided to support the alternative for joining the Republic, thus divorcing itself from the line taken elsewhere by the Action Group. The plebiscite vote in Cubunawa/Madagali favoured union with the Federation of Nigeria, whereas in Chamba it favoured union with the Republic of Cameroun.^{49/}

440. The intensity of the political campaign, which reached its peak between the latter part of January and early February, varied from district to district and was in direct proportion to the strength and following of the respective parties in each district.

441. In Dikwa North, there was no sign of any political campaign either before, during, or immediately after registration. At the end of December, posters of various types and sizes appeared urging the people to vote for union with Nigeria. No posters urging union with the Republic were seen anywhere. By the end of registration, however, representatives of the parties favouring union with the Republic, some of whom wore and distributed gowns with the portrait of President Ahidjo printed in the fabric, began campaigning in villages bordering on the Republic. Closer to polling day, the Emir of Dikwa and his entourage visited many villages to rally the people in support of union with Nigeria, and two Deputies from the Republic of Cameroun together with several other representatives also toured the district, privately encouraging supporters championing the cause of union with the Republic.

442. By letter of 7 February 1961, the Liaison Officer of the Republic of Cameroun in Mubi complained to me that on 3 February the Resident of the Northern Cameroons, accompanied by the Senior District Officer of the Dikwa Division had paid a visit to the village of Siguel, had called the people to a meeting, had campaigned in favour of the alternative for union with the Federation of

^{49/} Paragraph 591.

Nigeria, and had warned at the same time that punishment would be meted out to village heads whose people voted in favour of union with the Republic of Cameroun. This complaint was brought to the attention of the Administrator, who, on 12 February 1961, replied that the allegations contained in the letter from the Liaison Officer from the Republic were completely unfounded and untrue. The Resident, the Administrator stated, had called the meeting to explain to the people the importance of the plebiscite and the value of the vote. Allegations that he threatened the crowd with imprisonment and intimidation were reported by the Administrator to be entirely devoid of any foundation.

443. Dikwa Central, which was considered to be a stronghold of the NPC, had the largest electorate, exceeding as it did by fifty per cent the total number of registered voters in the next highly registered district. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Consortium, through its local leaders, made early and determined efforts to consolidate its position in this district. In the later stages of the campaign, the NKDP/KFP Alliance moved into Dikwa Central, which was also toured by visiting Deputies from the Republic of Cameroun. The campaign was carried out without disturbances of any consequence. The complaints presented by the parties favouring union with the Republic received full attention on my part and, as a consequence of my representations to the authorities, measures were generally taken to remove the causes of the complaints. The close vote in Dikwa Central would seem to indicate that the people in this district, despite the campaign conducted by the political parties, exercised a large measure of independence in voting for the alternative of their choice. Despite the intense political campaign conducted in the district by the Consortium of parties favouring union with Nigeria, the vote in favour of the alternative for union with the Republic showed surprising strength. Areas along the Republic's border, as well as large population centres, went against union with the Republic and areas close to Nigeria went against union with Nigeria.

444. In Gwoza, there was no evidence of any organized political campaign by political parties until late January and early February. A few weeks before polling, prominent political figures from both groups of parties went to Gwoza to hold private meetings, but no public rallies were conducted. There was little indication that the political campaign had a significant effect on the result of the vote.

445. The political campaign in the Cubunawa/Madagali district was active and lively. Here both the Consortium and the NKDP/KFP Alliance had established themselves fairly effectively and had begun canvassing the people earlier than in the districts lying to the north. The President and the General-Secretary of the KFP resided in Michika, the largest town in Cubunawa and the Vice-President of the NKDP had his home in Madagali. The numerous and well-attended mass meetings which were conducted by the two groups of parties, attested to the intensity of the political efforts as well as to the interest of the population in the issues at stake. As the campaign wore on, both groups of parties shared an increasing tendency to hold fewer public meetings and relied more heavily on door-to-door canvassing. Certain incidents which occurred in this district during the political campaign, are discussed in the sections dealing with arrests and the issuance of permits for public meetings.^{50/}

446. Since the Administrator had selected Mubi Town in the Mubi district for his administrative headquarters, this district, which also included the second largest number of registered voters, was of particular importance. In addition, all plebiscite operations in the Northern Cameroons were directed from Mubi where I had also established my own field headquarters. Mubi was also the headquarters of the Northern Region Information Centre and, later on, of the Liaison Officer of the Republic of Cameroun who, at the same time, directed all information activities carried out on behalf of the Government of the Republic. Political parties maintained close contact with these headquarters and, at the same time, tended for reasons of convenience to submit most of their petitions and complaints directly to the Administrator or to my headquarters. Throughout the campaign, both groups of political parties conducted numerous lectures and meetings, all of which appeared to be orderly and were well attended. Posters, mostly in the Hausa language, in support of both alternatives were distributed everywhere.

447. In Chamba, with a total number of registered voters close to that of Mubi, the political campaign got off to a slow start, but as in most of the other districts, political activity increased noticeably between the second half of January and the beginning of February. The Consortium of parties favouring union with Nigeria was joined in this District by the small HABE party.

50/ Paragraphs 452 to 489.

In Nigerian local politics the HABE party, which drew its main support from the pagans in Chamba, was affiliated with the Action Group and its centre of activity was in the Bauchi area. The two groups of parties appeared to be well supplied with propaganda and other materials which, no doubt, were made available by the Nigerian parties, in the case of the Consortium, and by sources in the Republic in the case of the NKDP/KFP Alliance. These included bicycles, posters and leaflets, as well as some Landrovers. The Consortium was also reported to have distributed medals commemorating the attainment of self-government by the Northern Region of the Federation of Nigeria and the NKDP/KFP Alliance is claimed to have supplied their supporters with gowns imprinted with a likeness of President Ahidjo. Once the campaign was in full swing, hardly a market day went by without a lecture being given by either group of parties. On the whole, these lectures were well attended and the people seemed to be interested in the issues. The meetings were orderly and virtually no incidents were reported. Although the area was toured extensively by dignitaries from Nigeria and the Republic of Cameroun, there was no evidence that they took part in political lectures or publicly campaigned in the plebiscite. Party organizers and speakers of both political groups moved freely about the area and, on the whole, met with friendly reception. Minor incidents took place, mostly caused by children shouting slogans against the party holding the meeting, or throwing stones which caused no injury or major disturbance. Hardly any complaint concerning these incidents reached the United Nations Observer. On a few occasions the contending political parties held processions in which they displayed their banners. In Chamba, where a substantial number of District and Village Heads, as well as Councillors were known to be members or sympathizers of the NKDP/KFP Alliance, the vote was substantially in favour of the alternative for joining the Republic of Cameroun.

448. In the Gashaka-Toungo district, the Consortium of parties supporting union with the Federation of Nigeria was well organized. The campaign of the Consortium was lively and was carried out with vigour. Numerous public meetings were held in the larger towns, but campaigners for the Consortium made every effort to visit the smaller localities as well. Posters were also displayed stressing the advantage of joining Nigeria and warning against the "evils of joining the Republic". As in Chamba and other districts, the Consortium provided its local party workers with bicycles, horses and even vans equipped

with loudspeakers. The NKDP/KFP Alliance concentrated its efforts in the Toungo-Kiri-Dawa area, which had a potential electorate of over 4,000 out of the total of 9,553 voters in the district. In this area, where it appeared to have a reasonably strong following, the NKDP/KFP Alliance distributed few, if any, posters but directed its appeal to individuals and small groups in private meetings, although a few public meetings were also conducted. Deputies from the Republic attended these meetings as guests. They also paid occasional visits to communities in the district where they talked to people in private, but did not participate in rallies. In the Toungo area, the parties distributed to about 200 of its supporters garments bearing the imprint of a likeness of the President of the Republic of Cameroun.

449. At the beginning of the plebiscite operation, there was little political activity in the Mambilla district, except for an extensive tour undertaken by the District Head, who lectured to the people in favour of the alternative for joining the Federation of Nigeria. During the second half of December, political activity increased and representatives from both groups of parties began touring the district. Both the NPC and the NKDP campaigned actively, but none of the other parties showed a marked interest in the campaign. Posters were distributed by the NPC and the NKDP encouraging people to vote for the alternative advocated by each. The NKDP representatives encountered some difficulties in obtaining permits for conducting political meetings during the early stages of the plebiscite, but after the issuance of the proclamation for the control of processions and assemblies in early December, the situation improved and the United Nations Observer in Mambilla informed me that permits were granted equally to members of the NPC and NKDP. Public meetings were held in many villages in the district between the end of January and the first week of February.

450. In the United Hills district the political campaign for the Nigerian alternative was conducted exclusively by the NPC. All local organizers were selected from among the members of the local branch of this party, which received funds, publicity material and vehicles (including one Landrover and bicycles) for propaganda purposes. Local meetings were conducted frequently during most of the plebiscite period, the main speakers being members of the

local branch of the party, others usually being one or two campaign organizers. The NKDP was not politically active in the United Hills district.

451. From the outset, it was necessary to discuss with the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons the general situation in which the plebiscite campaign was to be conducted and the measures which should be taken to ensure, in the light of circumstances prevailing in the Territory, the free exercise of the political rights of all parties concerned. An account of the discussions held in this regard throughout the plebiscite period, the representations made to the Administrator and the measures taken as a result of our numerous consultations regarding the main problems that were encountered during the plebiscite is given in the following sections, together with a brief summary of the meetings which I held with leaders of political parties.

1. Question of arrests

452. Shortly after his arrival in the Territory, the United Nations Liaison Officer in Mubi informed me of the receipt of several petitions from the NKDP protesting against the arrest and continued detention of six persons known to be supporters of the proposition favouring the Republic of Cameroun. The arrests had been made under section 393 of the Penal Code of the Northern Region of Nigeria which continued to apply to the administration of justice in the Northern Cameroons and which, at the time, did not appear to be applied with restraint. This section of the Code refers to "injurious falsehood" and gives the Native Authorities the power to punish with imprisonment for terms of up to two years "any person who, by words either spoken or reproduced by mechanical means or intended to be read or by signs or by visible representations, makes or publishes any false statement of fact, intending to.....harm the reputation of.....the Government or of any Native Authority.....or of any local government authority". Section 393 also places the burden of proof that a statement is substantially true on the accused and confers on the Court the power to decide whether a statement is a statement of fact or a mere expression of opinion and, consequently, confers on the Native Authorities, and through them on the Native Courts, virtually arbitrary powers of adjudication.

453. At a meeting held with the Administrator in Mubi on 7 November 1960, I expressed my concern over the matter of arrests. The Administrator replied that so far only one complaint of an arrest of an NKDP member had actually come to his personal attention, that this man had been arrested erroneously two days previously, but had since been released. He further stated that while this particular case, in itself, was not too important, it was in fact symptomatic of a problem which could not be ignored. He proposed, therefore, to take steps to remedy the situation immediately upon his return from London, a trip which he was about to take.

454. The matter of arrests was pursued at my direction by the Liaison Officer in Mubi who by letter of 10 November transmitted to the Senior District Officer a list of reported cases of arrests. In response, the Senior District Officer invited the Liaison Officer to visit the Mubi jail for the purpose of interviewing each of the prisoners. After reviewing the contents of the several warrants of

arrest, the Liaison Officer with the Senior District Officer present, interviewed the six prisoners involved. He reported to me that of the six, one was sentenced for contempt of court, another for cutting down without permission a protected tree in a forest reserve, a third one for having delivered a "lecture" without having secured a permit, a fourth for having threatened to kill the son of a man who had killed his father, a fifth was sentenced under section 393 of the Penal Code for "making trouble and misinforming the people concerning the Native Authority Court", and a sixth, the Organizing Secretary of the NKDP at Jada, on charges of subversion and sedition.

455. On 21 November 1960, the Liaison Officer on my behalf again drew the Administrator's attention to the charges made by the NKDP and KFP that the Trust Territory and the Native Authority police, particularly in the Gubunawa Madagali district, were arresting and speedily convicting supporters and adherents of these parties. In his letter of reply of 25 November the Administrator advised that he had issued instructions to the effect that cases coming under section 393 of the Penal Code were to be removed, at the discretion of the Resident and the Senior District Officer, from the Native Court to the Court of next appellate instance, and prosecution under this section would take place only with the advice of the Legal Secretary of the Northern Cameroons. In the same letter the Administrator commenting in extenso on the aspect of arrests in the Liaison Officer's letter of 21 November, stated the following:

- (a) Suleiman Salihu, Organizing Secretary of the NKDP at Jada, had made a speech on 10 October inciting his listeners to violence and riot against the constituted authority of the Government, quoting the Congo as an example to follow. He was summoned to appear at the Native Court, but having failed to do so, was arrested and sentenced to one year's hard labour.
- (b) The case of Mallam Hamman Jalo, a person concerning whose history and activities information is contained in the 1958 United Nations Visiting Mission's report (document T/1440, p. 49), arose from an offence of drinking, and later he was again arrested on charges of holding a public meeting without a permit but released on bail. His case was transferred to the Magistrates' Court to avoid any claim of partiality.
- (c) On 11 November, Mallam Umaru Micika, President of the KFP, requested an interview with the Administrator and made the allegation that the jail had

been filled with people because of their political associations. He was asked for the prisoners' names but was unable to provide any. He then asked permission to visit the jail so that he could find out who they were.

Mallam Umaru Micika visited the jail and produced a list of seven cases; one Buba Micika, in a letter to the United Nations Liaison Officer, produced a list of four others. The report of the Senior District Officer showed that the eleven prisoners were being detained on the following charges:

- (i) Buba Maradi: Assault;
- (ii) Samuga Kirchinga: Concealing thieves in his house;
- (iii) Umaru Chakawa Madagali: Failing to pay tax for two years;
- (iv) Usuman Bake Micika: Six months imprisonment. Holding a public meeting without a permit;

The following was the position of the other seven who had been convicted:

- (v) Suleiman Salihu: One year's hard labour for inciting to riot; (already referred to above).
- (vi) Saidu Gulak: Six months, for an offence under section 393 of the Penal Code. Shortly after arriving in the Territory the Administrator received a petition concerning this man. He perused the case file and could see no grounds of any kind for intervention. The accused pleaded guilty and, having appealed to the Provincial Judge, did not wish to appeal to the High Court.
- (vii) Amadu Sikari: Nine months, for threatening to kill ; he did not wish to appeal;
- (viii) Zira Baki Zaggara: Three months, for contempt of court for refusing to answer a summons.
- (ix) Kasile: Three months hard labour, for cutting down protected trees. An enquiry was being made into this case as the sentence seemed heavy for the offence, but it did not in any way appear to be of political significance. The man did not wish to appeal.
- (x) Usuman Bake Micika: (same as (iv) above)
- (xi) Tumba: Three months, for holding a public meeting without a permit.

456. The Administrator went on to state that one of the allegations which had been made by the NKDP was that the Native Authorities were filling the jail in order to

prevent people from registering. He also stated that since they had been able to produce only the names of ten from among the more than 260,000 persons registered in the plebiscite, this fact seemed to support the view held by the Native Authorities that any charge, however wild, would be levelled against them by the NKDP and the KFP "in the hope that it may stick somewhere". Concerning the arrest and speedy conviction of leaders and supporters of the NKDP and KFP, particularly in the Cubunawa/Madagali area, the Administrator gave the following account of the only arrests made by the police, of which he was aware that seemed to have any political connotation:

- (i) Fayamu Gulak and Abba Gana Gulak were arrested by the police in Kubi on the charge of assault on the son of a Head Man who had been sent by his father to enquire about the meeting which the local leaders of the NKDP in the Gulak/Madagali area had organized.
- (ii) Suleiman Salihu, already referred to above was charged and sentenced for incitement to riot.

457. The three cases mentioned above, to which should be added that of Hamman Jalo, were, according to the Administrator, the sum total of arrests resulting from political activities. The Police had, however, dealt with some 150 cases of petty theft and other crimes in Kubi, which is a large market centre. The Administrator also stated that he was investigating the case of Daniel Njenwe, Vice-President of the KFP, who was charged under section 393 of the Penal Code with uttering an injurious falsehood, but had been released on bail. While the Administrator was satisfied that the District Head had acted in this matter in good faith, he was not altogether satisfied that a breach of the law was involved. He had therefore transferred this case to the Magistrates' Courts and the files in the case were sent to the Public Prosecutor for such action as he might deem appropriate.

458. The Administrator stated further that, in regard to section 393 of the Penal Code, he was not satisfied that this section was a suitable one for the Native Authority police and the Native Courts to apply in the present circumstances without guidance, and he had therefore amended the law in the manner referred to in paragraph 455 above. While this decision met the point raised in connexion with the application of section 393 of the Penal Code, I felt, nevertheless, that it was desirable to effect further liberalization in the treatment of cases of

political significance. I therefore suggested that the Administrator might consider, in cases involving offences of a political nature, the possibility of imposing fines instead of prison sentences, in order not to deprive persons charged with such offences from participation in the campaign.

459. Having given the matter consideration, the Administrator informed me on 2 December 1960 that he found it difficult to impose his views on the Native Courts, because, as with any judicial organ, they should be independent. At the same time he wished to avoid giving political parties an opportunity to undermine the authority of the Native Authorities and Native Courts. Nevertheless, he had instructed all local authorities that persons convicted of having held public meetings without a permit, as well as first offenders, should not be sentenced to imprisonment. He felt, however, that the existing laws should apply to all second offenders. As a further step to assure prisoners of the fairest possible treatment, consideration was given to the possibility of permitting them to engage legal counsel from sources outside of their jurisdiction, including the Republic of Cameroun. However, as no provision existed for the appearance of defence lawyers in the Native Court procedure, this possibility was ruled out.

460. It is an inescapable fact that prior to the introduction of the modifications concerning the application of section 393, it was open to Native Courts to use the provisions of this section as a powerful weapon. If they so wished, they could arrest and bring speedily to trial persons affiliated with or supporting political views which were different from those held by the Native Authorities. This section, frequently misunderstood by Native Courts, had created particular confusion when applied to cases involving the issuance of permits for public meetings and to cases involving allegations of "injurious falsehoods" attributed to speeches made by members or adherents of the NKDP and KFP. Following the introduction of the modifications governing the application of section 393 of the Penal Code, in accordance with the request I had made, Native Authorities and Courts began to show greater caution and restraint in dealing with cases of political significance.

461. On 22 December 1960, the Liaison Officer in Mubi was informed by the Resident of the Northern Cameroons that Mallam Alhaji Abdullahi Yero, a Member and Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Republic of Cameroun,

Plenipotentiary Extraordinary and personal representative of the President of the Republic of Cameroun and the holder of a diplomatic passport, had come to his office in Mubi bringing with him a list of prisoners who, he claimed, were in detention in Mubi because of political affiliations. The Resident invited the Liaison Officer to accompany him to Mubi jail to make a preliminary interview of all prisoners held there at the time. Following this interview, Mallam Yero, who had at first charged that there were 40 persons in Mubi prison for "political offences" and that there were 20 persons who had fled from the Territory and sought political asylum in Mokolo in the Republic of Cameroun, was asked by the Resident to provide the names of persons in both categories. Mallam Yero then submitted a list containing the names of 28 persons alleged to be held in Mubi prison or, in the case of two men, in Gulak prison. He also produced a list of 25 persons who, he claimed, had fled to Mokolo. Copies of these lists were submitted by the Resident to the United Nations Liaison Officer in Mubi. Accompanied by the Senior District Officer, Mallam Yero then visited the Mubi prison and interviewed the prisoners. On the basis of this interview, the following digest was made by the Resident of the results:

Part A.

(1) Number of persons claimed to be in prison in Mubi for membership of NKDP/KFP	40
(2) (a) Number of names produced	28
(b) Number of persons reported but names not produced	5
Total claimed in writing	33

Part B.

(1) Number of persons on list actually present in jail	27
(2) Whereabouts of others: (a) Hospital	2
(b) Not in Prison	4

Part C.

(1) Cases reviewed (2 hospital, 27 present)	29
(2) Of the 29:	
(a) Persons claiming to belong to the NPC	1
(b) Persons claiming no political affiliation	5
(c) Persons claiming NKDP or KFP affiliation	21
(d) Not seen (Hospital)	2

Part D.

Breakdown of cases

(a) Crimes of violence, disturbance or breach of peace	9
2 awaiting trial, 2 appealing, 5 did not wish appeals	
(b) Offences in connection with political meetings	15
3 awaiting trial, 6 appealed, 6 did not wish appeals	
(c) Refusal or prevention of payment of tax	2
of these 1 appealed and sentence was reduced, and 1 did not wish appeal	
(d) Contempt of Court	2
1 awaiting trial, 1 appealed	
(e) Allowing animals to damage crops/did not wish to appeal	1
	<hr/>
Total	29

462. According to the report of the Senior District Officer, upon conclusion of the questioning Mallam Yero expressed himself as being satisfied that the persons concerned had been imprisoned on reasonable and legitimate grounds, and only requested that the four prisoners awaiting trial should be brought before the Courts as soon as possible. This, the Senior District Officer assured him, would be done. Mallam Yero also warned three of the prisoners he had seen that since permits were required to hold political meetings, they should have observed the law. He told them that similar laws in respect of public meetings existed in the Republic of Cameroun and asked the three persons concerned to convey what he had said to the other prisoners.

463. There followed a period of relative quiet during which only a minimal number of complaints and petitions concerning arrests and permits to hold meetings were brought to my attention. Most of these were in reference to some of the persons still under imprisonment and about whose cases explanations have been given above. However, on 18 January 1961 I received from the NKDP/KFP Alliance a letter, dated 10 January, complaining, inter alia, in general terms about oppression and imprisonment of supporters of the proposition favouring the Republic of Cameroun. As I was in Mubi at the time, I invited the leaders of the NKDP/KFP Alliance to meet with me to discuss this and other matters. A number of general and somewhat vague allegations were made against officials of the Administration, but the leaders were unable to provide me with specific instances and evidence to support their allegations of continued arrests and imprisonment.

Very few cases other than those already discussed previously were brought to light.

464. Complaints were also lodged against the District Heads of Mubi, Maiha, Madagali, and Mayo Bani, who, it was alleged had been "unduly un-cooperative in the issuance of permits and in failing to instruct Native Authority Police to give protection to NKDP/KFP lecturers who had secured properly approved permits to hold public political meetings".

465. It was also charged that leaders of opposing political parties, i.e., the Consortium favouring Nigeria, were the cause of most of the difficulties faced by the NKDP/KFP Alliance. The claim was made that on a number of occasions, followers of the NPC in a given village would go to the District Head or the Native Authority Police and lodge a complaint whereupon NKDP/KFP supporters were promptly arrested, tried, and convicted on the basis of evidence given against them by politicians supporting Nigeria and not by "people in authority". At the same time it was claimed that witnesses brought in to give evidence on behalf of the defendants were harmed or made to fear for their own safety, thus rendering such witnesses ineffectual.

466. I took this occasion to remind these political leaders that the Administrator had issued clear instructions concerning the procedures to be followed for obtaining permits to hold public meetings and processions, and that this procedure, to which I had given my agreement, had to be observed by all concerned.

467. With regard to the arrests, I was concerned that every means possible should be employed to ensure that persons arrested for offences of a political nature should be assured of a fair and impartial hearing. I informed the leaders that I was already in consultation with the Administrator concerning the possibility of having cases such as the above heard before magistrates who, it was contemplated, would come to the Territory from the United Kingdom.

468. In my consultations with him on 18 and 19 January, before and after meeting with the political leaders, the Administrator had agreed that it would be in the best interests of the plebiscite if additional measures were taken to ensure fair trial. To this end he had appointed three Magistrates to take jurisdiction, for the remainder of the plebiscite, in cases of arrests arising from offences of a political nature. Such offences, the Administrator informed me, would no longer be tried in the Native Courts but would be

heard in the first instance by the three newly appointed Magistrates who were also authorized to review similar cases on which sentences had been previously passed by the Native Courts.

469. The first of the Magistrates arrived in Mubi on 20 January and was followed shortly thereafter by the two other appointees who served at Bama and Ganye. The jurisdiction and competence of the Magistrates were set out in a law "To provide for the trial of certain criminal offences by Magistrates' Courts" which took effect as from 23 January 1961.

470. In addition the Administrator directed that during the period when the Magistrates were sitting all Native Courts should transfer, on their own motion, any cases which could be claimed to have a political connotation.

471. Among the first to be tried before the magistrates was the case of 34 persons arrested at Michika, in the Plebiscite District of Cubanawa/Madagali, on 29 January and charged with unlawful assembly and failure to disperse when ordered to do so by the District Officer. It was reported that on 28 January three women supporters of the NKDP who were returning from a visit to the home of a leader of that party had created a disturbance grave enough to lead to their arrest. When, on the following day the three women were brought to trial in the Native Court, it was reported, their husbands and numerous other men had gathered outside the Court and attempted to force their way in. Neither the Liaison Officer at Mubi nor I was able to ascertain (a) the reasons for trying the women in the Native Court, or (b) the dispositions made in their cases.

472. As regards the trials of the 34 men, it will suffice to quote the judgment in full:

"Assistant Commissioner of Police v. Zumba Bazza & 33 others"

"The accused parties are charged firstly with the offence of unlawful assembly contrary to S.102, of the Penal Code, secondly with the offence of failure to disperse contrary to S.104 of the Penal Code and there is an alternative charge of failure to disperse contrary to S.110 of the Penal Code.

"The evidence from the prosecution is that four of the accused parties, namely accused (2), (4), (8) and (9) made their way into the native court at Micika and interrupted the proceedings. They then left the Court and returned after a short time accompanied by a crowd of people. The Court messenger was pushed aside and again accused (2), (4), (8) and (9) entered. The Court then adjourned due to the presence of the crowd outside. The District Officer was informed and he appeared and called upon the crowd to disperse. This was not

done. He then decided to hold discussions with five representatives. When they were selected he repeated the order to disperse. The order was not obeyed. He took the representatives to his office. Later the order to disperse was repeated and again it was disobeyed. Finally he ordered that they be arrested.

"All the accused parties have been identified as members of the group which was assembled before the Courthouse and later, before the district office.

"The defence has produced nothing to weaken the prosecution evidence. There were some vague hints of victimization but they were much too vague to carry any weight. I do not believe that there is any substance in them.

"It is clear that the intention of this assembly was to intimidate the native court by a show of force and it is clear also that several orders to disperse were ignored.

"Therefore I find each of the accused parties guilty upon the 1st count and upon the 2nd count."

473. The Administrator informed me that four persons were subsequently sentenced to two months imprisonment on each of the two counts and that each of the remaining 30 were fined £3 on each of the two counts, but were given fourteen days in which to raise the money. In the latter cases, the effect was that those who had only been fined were able to vote in the plebiscite.

474. In view of the arrests at Michika and in order to discourage further disturbances, in this already sensitive area, the Administrator posted a half unit of police (16 men) to Michika for the duration of the plebiscite and appointed the Assistant District Officer of Michika to be a Superior Police Officer with a view to enabling him to decide on questions of public assemblies and processions. It was explained by the Administrator that this step had been taken in part in order to relieve the District Head and the Native Court of pressures engendered by charges of partiality and victimization.

475. There remained a number of complaints and petitions concerning the arrest of sixteen persons which were submitted to the Administrator by the NKDP/KFP Alliance on which neither they nor I had received any comments or information as to action taken. I, therefore, requested the Administrator to transmit to me his comments on these cases and at the same time I transmitted to him a petition in which the NKDP/KFP Alliance listed the names of some forty-two persons who were alleged to be imprisoned in Mubi because of political affiliation, and another list of twenty persons who, it was claimed, had fled from the

Cubunawa/Madagali district to the Republic of Cameroun for fear of intimidation or arrest owing to their political beliefs.

476. Analysis of the Administrator's report which he sent to me on 18 February 1961 regarding the fifty-eight cases shows the following:

Persons in jail:

(a) did not appeal	15
(b) awaiting appeal	4
(c) sentence reduced on appeal	1
(d) appeal dismissed	1
(e) cases of no political significance ⁷	

Persons released from jail before the plebiscite	10
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Persons released on bail before the plebiscite	1
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Persons who could not be traced	8
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Duplication of names on the list	<u>11</u>
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Total	58
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477. Thus, it will be seen that the actual number of persons involved totalled 47 of whom eleven had been released prior to the plebiscite, eight could not be traced and twenty remained in jail, but of the latter seven cases were reported to be completely lacking in political significance.

478. It should also be noted that of the twenty-eight names appearing on the list^{51/} submitted in December 1960 by Mallam Yero to the Resident, seventeen were of persons included among the fifty-eight concerning whom information was given in the preceding two paragraphs. Of the seventeen persons, six had been released before the plebiscite. The position of the other eleven remaining in jail was as follows:

Did not appeal	5
Awaiting appeal	2
Sentence reduced on appeal	1
Appeal dismissed	1
Cases of no political significance	2

479. So far as the allegations regarding refugees were concerned the Administrator stated categorically that these allegations were entirely unfounded.

51/ Paragraph

5. Question of permits for public meetings

480. During my first visit to the Northern Cameroons, I received, at a meeting held with representatives of political parties on 23 October 1960, a complaint from the NKDP concerning the Native Authorities' refusal to grant permits to hold political meetings. On the same day, I discussed the substance of this complaint with the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons and the Senior Divisional Officer for the Mubi district and advised them that I attached great importance to the need for a free expression of views in the plebiscite and, for that reason, requested them to insure that every opportunity should be given to all parties concerned to hold public meetings. I further insisted that it was for the Administering Authority to advise the Native Authorities to grant licences expeditiously and without discrimination against either side.

481. On 24 October, a petition was lodged by the NKDP with the Liaison Officer in Mubi, protesting that representatives of his party had been denied permits to hold political lectures in three towns of Mubi District. Observers in the Chamba and Cubunawa-Madagali districts also received complaints that District Heads had refused to issue such permits. All cases reported were brought to the attention of the Administrator and of the District Officers concerned. In the course of the following weeks, the Liaison Officer in Mubi, in discussions with the Administrator, raised again the problem of the issuance of permits.

482. As a result of my representations and those made on my behalf by the Liaison Officer in Mubi, the Administrator issued a proclamation whereby Native Authorities were required to grant a permit for any public assembly, unless the Native Authority was satisfied that a breach of the peace was likely to arise from such an assembly. Applicants for permits would, within forty-eight hours after their filing, receive a decision from the District Heads or, as appropriate, from the Native Authorities charged with granting the permits. If this procedure proved unavailing, applicants would then have recourse to appeal to a Superior Police Officer who, provided there was no question of a threat to or the breakdown of the maintenance of peace, security and order, could overrule the Native Authority and cause a permit to be issued. No permits could, however be issued to persons who were ineligible to register in the plebiscite.

483. In view of the fact that complaints about refusal to grant licences continued to be received, the Liaison Officer in Mubi, acting on my behalf, addressed a letter to the Administrator on 21 November 1960, drawing his attention to the fact that the procedure for the granting of permits was apparently not being implemented in an impartial manner. As it happened, the proclamation had not in fact been issued, although the text had been in the hands of the printer for a full month. It was not until 2 December that the proclamation and instructions of the Administrator were published and distributed to the Native Authorities.

484. The issuance of the proclamation and instructions contributed to a noticeable relaxation of restrictions and to a marked decrease in the number of complaints and allegations about the problem of securing permits. In the course of a meeting with leaders of political parties held in Mubi on 3 December, I had occasion to recall to the attention of all those present, including representatives of the NKDP and the KFP, the new procedure which I advised them would, if followed, go far toward clarifying misunderstandings which had existed in the past.

485. On 21 January 1961, I received a visit from the Liaison Officer of the Republic of Cameroun in Mubi, in the course of which he informed me that many applications by followers of the NKDP/KFP alliance to hold public meetings had been denied. I drew his attention to the procedures laid down in the Administrator's proclamation of 2 December 1960 and indicated that so far as I knew applicants for permits were no longer encountering difficulties in obtaining permits provided they followed these procedures.

486. There continued to be a few instances in which permits were refused, sometimes for valid reasons, e.g., to hold meetings on market days in or near the market places. In addition, a few permits were refused because the applications were either vague or contained requests for meetings to be held on more than one day. In those cases where the reasons for refusal were different from those set out in the proclamation, representations were made and, usually, following an investigation, the permits were granted.

487. In order to satisfy myself as to the effectiveness of and the degree to which the Administrator's proclamation had been implemented, I requested

the Administrator on 30 January 1961 to provide me with information of the number of applications by district for the holding of public meetings and of the disposition thereof.

488. In view of the time element involved, the Administrator was able only to provide information in respect of the Mubi and the Cubunawa Madagali Districts. As these were the most sensitive districts, so far as this problem was concerned, I have deemed it useful to include the following data provided by the Administrator:

<u>District</u>	<u>Applications by NKDP/KFP</u>		<u>Applications by NPC and allied parties</u>	
	<u>Approved</u>	<u>Not approved</u>	<u>Approved</u>	<u>Not approved</u>
Madagali	4	1	19	-
Cubunawa	12	8	18	2
Mubi	7	3	47	-

489. Apart from meetings for which permits were approved under the terms of the Administrator's proclamation of 2 December 1960, it was known that a number of meetings conducted by both groups of parties without prior approval by the Authorities, did not result in any arrests.

3. Question of political publications

490. Shortly after the conclusion of talks with the Administrator concerning the question of the establishment of a Northern Region Information Centre in Kubi, I received reports from United Nations Observers of the appearance of a poster in the Hausa language which exhorted the population to register and to vote for Nigeria; this poster, in its lower left hand corner, carried the following notation in English: MINISTRY OF INFORMATION. At the same time I also received a petition from the NKDP protesting that the circulation of the poster constituted an interference by the Northern Region Government.

491. When I called this matter to the attention of the Administrator, he informed me that the poster in question had been printed and exhibited prior to the separation on 1 October of the administration of the Northern Cameroons from that of the Northern Region Government and that it would be difficult, at that stage, to remove all such posters. The Administrator agreed, however, that thenceforth such practices would not be permitted and that only parties registered in the Northern Cameroons or persons eligible to vote in the plebiscite would be entitled to distribute propaganda posters and leaflets. Subsequently, all campaign posters in support of the alternative favouring union with Nigeria identified the sponsors as being the Consortium and in each case bore the name of the printers.

492. In early December 1960, a poster, in the Hausa language, appeared in the Territory bearing neither an indication of its sponsorship nor information about where or by whom it was printed. This poster was printed on paper of a reddish colour similar to that which had been chosen to identify the ballot boxes for the alternative favouring the Republic. In a petition submitted to me by the Consortium of parties favouring Nigeria objection was raised to this poster and I transmitted this petition to the Administrator for his comments. Before the Administrator could reply a second poster, fitting the physical description given above, also appeared and drew bitter complaints not only from the political parties but also from the Northern Region Government.

493. The following is an unofficial translation of the text of the first of these posters:

"The words of the Honourable the President Ahmadu Ahidjo and his Premier M. Charles Assalé and also of the Premier of the Southern Cameroons Mr. J.N. Foncha concerning the status of the Northern Cameroons if it votes for the Cameroun Republic.

"They held a meeting on 10, 11, 12 and 13 of October 1960 at Yaoundé.

"This is what they said concerning the Northern Cameroons and also the unification of the Cameroons.

"(1) They will work for the unification of the Cameroons.

"(2) Also, the Unified Cameroons will not remain either in the 'British Commonwealth' or 'the French Community'. It will be an independent country standing on its own.

"(3) Unification moreover will take the form of a Federation, that is to say it will be the Federal Republic of the Cameroons. Moreover the country will have its own emblem, its own National Anthem and also its own flag.

"A Federal Legislature will be built, in which there will be a House of Representatives of the Federation and a Senate.

"A Law will be made also to prevent any one Region having power over any other Region. All of them will be equal together within the Federation. Each Region in the Federated Cameroons will have its own Government and also its own House of Representatives.

"(4) The Federation of the Cameroons will be as follows:

"The Republic of the Cameroun and the Southern Cameroons (in the first place). If the Northern Cameroons wish, it may have the status of a Region on its own.

"(5) If the Southern Cameroons and the Northern Cameroons wish they can amalgamate.

"The Elders of the Cameroons together will confer as to the kind of Constitution which will suit them ultimately".

494. The following is the unofficial translation of the text of the second poster:

"Vote for Cameroun Republic for the sake of:

"1. You will get your own Province, where you can rule your country by yourselves.

"2. You will continue your education with English, your customs and your position of service in your country as before, there will be no change. Your children will get enough education, because they will give them scholarships to different countries in the world in order to increase their education.

"3. You know that formerly the Northern Cameroons and Cameroun Republic were in one Province. So now they give you a chance to join with your brothers.

"4. You spent 40 years without receiving anything except suffering. Now they want to deceive you to return to the former position. Do you forget? Think, and vote for Cameroun so that you can stop suffering.

"5. Everybody knows that the type of tax which we are paying is too high, so vote for Cameroun where your tax will be decreased, and also Jangali (cattle tax), etc.

"6. The result of the last Plebiscite shows us that we did not want to remain with Northern Nigeria. Then why should we say now that we want to return to where we were before?

"7. You all know that Cameroun is a rich country, so vote for Cameroun to make your country rich also.

"Vote for Cameroun, Vote for Your Country, Vote for Yourselves.

"REPUBLIC OF CAMEROUN"

495. Having touched on this matter in a very preliminary way, at a meeting with me on 22 December 1960, the Administrator pursued the matter further in a letter of 3 January 1961. In this letter, he stated that he had received a petition from the Secretary of the group of Nigerian parties favouring the Nigerian proposition and asking for his comments. In it they had charged that the first poster under complaint did not show "political ownership" and this had requested that, as such, it should be prohibited. The Administrator stated that in the Northern Cameroons, in common with most if not all territories of the Commonwealth, printing presses were required to make a declaration to the authorities; every paper printed within the Territory concerned was required to bear the name and address of the printer and, if the paper was to be published, the name and address of the publisher. He pointed out that the existing law did not deal with papers printed outside the Territory, as "ownerless" documents of this kind would, in the ordinary course of events, be

made prohibitive imports under the Penal Code. In the circumstances prevailing in the Territory, he considered such a measure might be open to objection on several counts. However, he would have to insist that all posters and pamphlets circulated in the Territory should bear the printer's and publisher's identity.

496. In this connexion, the Administrator recalled our discussions on the question of the Nigerian Information Centre at Mubi. He pointed out that it was in this context that I had suggested, if the spirit of the resolution of the United Nations was to be complied with, that no extraneous factors should be permitted to interfere with the free expression of the wishes of the people of the Territory. He also recalled that it was his understanding of my views that any official intervention by the Government of the Republic of Cameroun or by the Government of the Federation of Nigeria would be regarded as objectionable and that he had informed the Northern Region Government accordingly. As far as he was aware, the Northern Region Government had since refrained from issuing posters of a political nature under their authority. At the same time he informed me that he had received objections from the Nigerian Government to the two posters in question on the grounds "that these posters show that the Government of the Cameroun Republic is actively taking part in the Plebiscite campaign, an action that was deplored by the United Nations when embarked on openly by the Nigerian Government". The Administrator went on to say that in the same period, three members of a delegation from the Republic of Cameroun had entered the Territory and had reported to officers of his administration. He understood that at least one of them was in possession of a diplomatic passport and that another had reported at Bama to the Senior District Officer asking for permission to distribute copies of one of the posters in question. As this was illegal, permission had been refused. The Administrator stated in line with my views such an incursion would be considered a breach of the spirit of the United Nations resolution and also of accepted international practice. He informed me at the same time that he had caused representations to be made concerning this question to the Government of the Republic of Cameroun.

497. In order to obviate further difficulties in connexion with the publication of political literature, the Administrator subsequently enacted "A Law to Provide for the Regulation of Political Publications" which required persons or groups of the wishing to publish printed matter of a political nature to notify the Administrator/

the persons

name and address of /wishing to conduct a meeting, and to deposit with him two copies of the text prior to publication. It also required the publication itself to bear upon its face the name of the printer and the publisher. The remainder of the law dealt with the penalties to be meted out to offenders. This law was published in the Northern Cameroons Gazette, No.1, Volume 2, of 7 January 1961. In later discussions with me concerning the enactment of this law, the Administrator made it clear that he did not wish or intend to use the law for purposes of censorship, but rather as a means of identifying those responsible for publishing and printing political publications. In fact, no charges of censorship were ever made.

498. In early February, a poster appeared which, in the view of the Administrator, not only violated the law of 7 January 1961, but was deliberately designed to mislead the population. The sponsors of this poster, the text of which, except for its heading, was identical with that of the second poster referred to in paragraph 494 above, had failed to deposit with the Administrator the required copies prior to publication. The poster also carried at the bottom, under a facsimile signature of the President of the Republic of Cameroun, the following printed notation: "Sir Ahmadu Ahidjo". It also bore an indication that it had been published by the NKDP/KFP Alliance and had been printed by "Imprimerie spéciale de l'Unité - Yaoundé (Cameroun)". In the circumstances, the Administrator notified me that he had called in the leaders of the parties involved and asked them to remove immediately all such posters already exhibited in the Territory and to desist from exhibiting the others.

4. Questions relating to the free entry of persons and vehicles into the Northern Cameroons

499. On 1 December 1960, M. Jean Betayené, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cameroun and Personal Envoy of President Ahidjo, visited me in Buea. He expressed his concern, among other matters, over the fact that vehicles being used in the Northern Cameroons by advocates of the Cameroun proposition and coming from the Republic of Cameroun had been systematically detained at the border after 1 October 1960, while previously they had enjoyed the right of free entry in the same way as vehicles coming from Nigeria. According to M. Betayené, the drivers of vehicles were requested to produce certain documents issued by authorities in Yola and Maiduguri (registratio. card, insurance policy and driving permit).

500. On the following day, I flew to Mubi and brought this charge to the attention of the Administrator who, by that time, was already apprised of the complaint and who informed me that instructions had been issued to the police to permit vehicles from the Republic of Cameroun to enter the Northern Cameroons freely, provided that they were registered and carried license numbers. Although vehicles entering the Northern Cameroons were normally required to carry third-party liability insurance coverage, the Administrator agreed, as a special measure, to suspend this legal provision for the duration of the Plebiscite. Subsequently, the Administrator addressed a directive to all political parties contending in the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite, informing them that in order to permit the free use of motor vehicles of political parties during the Plebiscite period he had promulgated a law, with effect from 6 December 1960, which removed certain restrictions, normally prevailing, subject to the registration of vehicles which political parties intended to use for the purpose of propaganda during the period of the Plebiscite with the Resident of the Northern Cameroons. The effect of this law was to permit any vehicle registered with the Resident of the Northern Cameroons to be used by political parties without the need of obtaining an international license or going through any formalities with regard to licensing or insurance. It did not, however, exempt the driver of the vehicle from being in the possession of a valid driving license, issued either in the Republic of Cameroun or the Federation of Nigeria. The law further provided that such facilities would not be granted in cases where vehicles were not registered with the Resident of the Northern Cameroons. Political parties were advised to submit to the Resident lists of the vehicles which they desired to register and that vehicles so registered would be given a certificate of registration. Vehicles not so registered would be liable to penalties under existing road traffic ordinances. All Native Authorities in the Northern Cameroons, as well as local leaders of all political parties, were advised to this effect.

501. On 19 November 1960, the Resident approached the United Nations Liaison Officer at Mubi, showing him a copy of an extract of a telegram from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cameroun, addressed to the British Ambassador at Yaoundé, in which the Minister complained that until the previous week, cars coming from the Republic were still being turned back at the frontier.

The telegram went on to say that a delegation of deputies from the Republic, accompanied by a Minister from the Southern Cameroons, was leaving the same day for the Northern Cameroons and he hoped they would have no difficulties. The Resident and the Commissioner of Police showed considerable annoyance that such charges should have been made, as there was not, nor had there been during the period of the Plebiscite, any checkpoint, barrier or police control for stoppage of vehicles on the Northern Cameroons side of the boundary between Mubi and the Republic of Cameroun. The United Nations Liaison Officer in Mubi, for his part, reported that he had passed through the frontier between the Territory and the Republic along the road from Mubi to Garoua on at least six occasions and that he had visited the border on at least four other occasions, and that he had not noted any police officers or other authorities posted for the purpose of stopping vehicles. Neither I nor United Nations officials who travelled repeatedly on the road from Mubi to Garoua found a checkpoint on the Northern Cameroons side of the border.

502. With regard to the complaint made in the above-mentioned telegram that persons from the Republic of Cameroun were not freely admitted to the Northern Cameroons, it should be noted that a similar statement had previously been made by persons from within the Territory as well. These complaints were brought to my attention and that of the United Nations Liaison Officer in Mubi, and no evidence was found the free movement of persons into and out of the Territory had been impeded. In fact, during the period when these complaints were investigated the Mayor of Garoua was moving freely about the Territory, even prior to his accreditation as Liaison and Information Officer from the Republic at Mubi.

5. Question of information centres

503. On the occasion of my first visit to the Northern Cameroons I received a petition protesting the establishment of an information centre in Mubi by the Government of the Northern Region of the Federation of Nigeria. I learned at the same time that this information centre had been set up in the Territory prior to the separation of the administration of the Territory from that of the Northern Region and before Sir Percy Wyn Harris assumed his duties as Administrator of the Northern Cameroons.

504. The information centre, headed by an ex-patriate official in the employ of the Northern Region Government, was promoting the plebiscite proposition favouring the Federation of Nigeria. Its activities included the distribution of posters and leaflets, prepared by the Northern Region Information Service, admonishing the people to "vote for Nigeria". In addition, loudspeaker vans were visiting, under its auspices, the various districts of the Territory for the same purpose.

505. In my early discussions with the Administrator, I let it be known that, since it would be difficult to avoid attaching political connotations to the activities of the centre during the period prior to the plebiscite, the Government of the Northern Region should be prevailed upon to close the information centre. I advised that in case the information centre continued its activities in the Northern Cameroons, I had to insist that they should be confined to matters of non-political nature. I also objected to the retention of its director who, as an ex-patriate, was as such identified with the Administering Authority. The Administrator, who disclaimed any responsibility for the establishment of the information centre, agreed to convey these views to the Premier of the Northern Region, and to invite the Premier, in the Northern Region Government's own interest, to withdraw the information centre and its director. Following consultations he had held with the Premier of the Northern Region, the Administrator informed me that the Government of the Northern Region had received my views "with understanding and with good will" and had made clear its intention to restrict the activities of its information centre to "the dissemination of news about the cultural, economic and development aspects of the people of the Federation of Nigeria", in accordance with accepted international practice. At the same time he assured me that the centre would in no way be used to contravene the spirit of the relevant resolution of the General Assembly under which the freely-expressed wishes of the people

should be the determining factor in deciding the destiny of the Territory. With regard to my request for the withdrawal of the centre's director, the Administrator stated that the Northern Region Government had reserved the right, in accordance with normal practice, to post at its discretion individual members of its public service to the information centre, subject, of course, to their conduct in accordance with accepted standards, and that the Northern Region Government felt that it was unable to acquiesce to any interference with this right. Following the receipt of this information, I advised the Administrator that I had taken note of the principles which were to guide the information centre in its activities and restated my firm conviction that I expected the centre to refrain from any acts which might, in any way whatever, interfere with the freely expressed wishes of the people. At the same time I suggested that the Administrator might, in the interest of ensuring complete impartiality in this matter, address an invitation to the Government of the Republic of Cameroun to establish an information centre in the Northern Cameroons under conditions similar to those enjoyed by the Northern Region Information Centre.

506. On 31 October the Administrator advised me that, if a request were to be made by the Republic to establish an information centre in the Northern Cameroons on the same terms and subject to the same restrictions as those guiding the Information Centre of the Northern Region Government, he would give it favourable consideration. This information was subsequently communicated by the Administering Authority through diplomatic channels to the Government of the Republic of Cameroun.

507. Consequently, when the Secretary-General of the Foreign Office of the Republic of Cameroun on the occasion of his visit to Buea on 1 December, informed me of his Government's interest in establishing an

information centre in the Northern Cameroons, I advised him that the Administering Authority had already expressed its willingness to permit the establishment of such centres by the Government of the Federation of Nigeria and the Government of the Republic of Cameroun, provided that such centres would not interfere in activities relating to the plebiscite.

508. On 20 January, I received information to the effect that the Government of the Republic of Cameroun had availed themselves of the opportunity offered them by the Administering Authority by designating the Mayor of Garoua to serve in Mubi as Liaison and Information Officer of the Republic of Cameroun to the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons. The Liaison Officer presented his credentials to the Administrator on 21 January and, on that occasion, was informed that he would be accorded the same courtesies and facilities, and would have the same standing, as the Director of the Northern Regional Government Information Centre at Mubi. The Administrator immediately made a house available to the Liaison Officer which could serve the dual purpose of residence and office.

509. The activities of the two information centres consisted mainly of showings of films depicting the activities and development of the Federation of Nigeria and the Republic of Cameroun, respectively. Nevertheless, their presence in the Territory gave rise to frequent criticism from each group of political parties that the centre representing the country other than the one it favoured was interfering in the campaign.

6. Question of observers from the Republic of Cameroun and the Federation of Nigeria
part

510. During the latter/of December 1960 and in the early part of January 1961, proposals were made by the Government of the Republic of Cameroun to permit it to designate and place throughout the Territory official observers of Cameroun nationality to witness the plebiscite operations and ensure the regularity of the voting. These proposals originated, in part, from the claims made by the Government of the Republic of Cameroun that those Cameroonians and their leaders in the Territory who supported the alternative favouring the Republic were being intimidated, harassed and obstructed in their campaigns. Coupled with these claims were additional allegations of arrests and detention of supporters of union with the Republic.

511. The proposal of the Government of the Republic of Cameroun to designate and to deploy official observers in the Territory was carefully considered by the Administrator and myself when we met to discuss this matter in Mubi on 12 January 1961. From the outset of our deliberations it became clear that in considering the proposals made by the Republic, an invitation would have to be extended to the Federation of Nigeria to send an equal number of observers to the Northern Cameroons, if an affirmative decision were to be taken in this matter. However, the conclusion was reached that the acceptance of official observers from the Governments of the Republic of Cameroun and the Federation of Nigeria to come to the Northern Cameroons for the purpose of supervising certain phases of the plebiscite was a matter concerning which neither the Administrator nor I was competent to take an affirmative decision. Since by its resolutions 1350 (XIII) and 1473 (XIV) the General Assembly had, in clear and unmistakable language, delegated the supervisory responsibility to "a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner who shall exercise, on behalf of the General Assembly, all necessary powers and functions of supervision, and who shall be assisted by observers and staff to be appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with him", only the General Assembly was in a position to consider the request from the Republic of Cameroun. Apart from the broader aspects of principle involved, the presence in the Northern Cameroons of official observers representing the two Governments concerned was likely to inject into the plebiscite a degree of outside political influence which was to be avoided at all costs. In view of these considerations the proposals of the Government of the Republic of Cameroun were found to be unacceptable.

512. However, I agreed to the Administrator's suggestion that each of the two Governments concerned be invited to designate six press representatives to come to the Territory to witness the polling and counting of the ballots. Accordingly, invitations were sent by the Administrator to both Governments and so far as I am informed, the Republic of Cameroun sent one representative to each of the areas in which a counting centre was located. The Government of the Federation of Nigeria, for its part, limited itself to sending a few cinecameramen and photographers to the Territory.

513. Apart from the matter of observers, however, a certain amount of attention and concern began to center on the question of "visitors". It will be seen from paragraph 500 of this report, that provision was made for the easy ingress into the Territory of vehicles, so long as the persons brought in did not interfere in the plebiscite. On Nigeria's part there were, with one exception, no serious complaints or petitions concerning political interference by visitors. The exception referred to involved a Minister of the Northern Region Government - a Nigerian - who, it was reported, had for the period of the plebiscite taken a leave of absence from his official duties in order to come to the Territory and serve in a personal capacity as adviser on strategy to the Consortium of parties favouring the alternative for joining Nigeria. As petitions arose concerning the movements and activities of this visitor in the Territory, I transmitted them to the Administrator for his comments. The Administrator in his reply gave assurance that his investigations of the complaints and petitions had brought to light no instances of impropriety.

514. So far as visitors from the Republic were concerned, I received several petitions and complaints. In the northern districts of the Territory, visitors from the Republic, said to be Deputies, sought permission to campaign, which was refused in accordance with the principle, laid down by the Administrator, that only persons entitled to vote in the plebiscite had the right to address a public assembly or procession.

515. In this connexion an incident was reported to have taken place in Chamba, where a visitor from the Republic of Cameroun accompanied by an armed servant, had entered the District in a vehicle that had not been registered in accordance with the procedures laid down by the Administrator. This visitor, also reported to have attempted to seize a herd of cattle which he claimed to be his own, was "invited" to come to Mubi where, after a discussion with him by

the authorities as to what was expected of visitors, he was relieved of his arms and given a permit to operate his vehicle in the Territory. In all, it was reported to me from all sources, that there were twenty-one Deputies from the Republic moving about the Territory at one time or another.

516. On several occasions I met with the Liaison Officer of the Republic of Cameroun in Mubi, as well as with the Vice-President of the National Assembly, who wished to discuss with me matters relating to the conduct of the plebiscite. I last met the Vice-President of the National Assembly in Ganaye on 13 February, at which time he expressed himself as being satisfied with the manner in which polling had taken place and the counting of the ballots was being conducted.

7. Meeting with leaders of political parties

517. Prior to each of my visits to the Northern Cameroons, I requested my Liaison Officer in Mubi and whenever possible the respective United Nations Observers to inform the leaders of political parties of my itinerary and of my availability to discuss with them, should they so desire, any matters that came within my terms of reference. Apart from seeing political leaders on my visits to the various districts in the Northern Cameroons, I also arranged to hold meetings in Mubi with the top leaders of the two groups of political parties contending in the plebiscite. I met with them on my first visit to the Northern Cameroons in October and arranged to see initially each group of parties separately, and afterwards held with them two joint meetings.

518. At the joint meetings there was a useful exchange of views concerning the principles which should govern the conduct of the plebiscite and the part to be played by the political parties. I took advantage of this occasion to explain that it was my role and that of the United Nations Observers to supervise the plebiscite, while, as laid down in the appropriate resolution of the General Assembly, it fell to the Administering Authority to organize and conduct the plebiscite.

519. The matters raised by the leaders of the NKDP/KFP Alliance at the separate meeting held with them, were subsequently transmitted to the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons through my Liaison Officer.

520. My next formal meeting with political leaders took place on 2 and 3 December, at which time, in addition to receiving petitions, I made a statement in which,

in summary, I counselled political leaders to moderation and stressed again the difference between my role and that of the United Nations Observers in the plebiscite, and the responsibilities devolving on the Administrator. It was on this occasion, also, that I had the opportunity to call the attention of all concerned to the existence of the new procedure promulgated by the Administrator for the securing of permits to hold public meetings. This question is discussed more extensively elsewhere in this report.^{52/}

521. At separate meetings with the two groups of political leaders, on 19 January, I dealt with petitions and complaints from both sides and corrected a number of misconceptions and misunderstandings which had given rise to the complaints. I left these meetings satisfied that both groups were aware of and appreciated the efforts which my Observers and I had made and would continue to make to ensure conditions of fairness and impartiality during the plebiscite. The leaders gave me their assurance that whatever the outcome of the plebiscite they would accept the result of the voting and, thereafter, would compose their differences and work together for the good of the Territory.

522. My final meeting with political leaders took place on 30 January 1961 at Michika, in the Cubunawa-Madagali District, at which I was confronted with petitions from the NKDP/KFP Alliance concerning the incidents of 28 and 29 January, discussed in this report under the heading "question of arrests".^{53/} I informed the petitioners that, according to my understanding, and as a result of discussions which I had held previously with the Administrator, cases having political connotations would be tried before a Magistrate's Court, and not as they seemed to fear, by the Native Courts.

8. Concluding observations concerning the political situation

523. Before concluding this section, I deem it necessary to make several observations concerning the unique situation which prevailed during the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons. This situation, which has its roots in the history of this part of the Trust Territory, should be taken into account in assessing the circumstances in which the plebiscite took place.

524. Due to the characteristics inherent in the existing system of local government and the attendant problems arising from the separation of the administration of the Northern Cameroons from that of the Northern Region of Nigeria, the Administrator was confronted with a number of difficulties to which attention had to be given from the very outset of the plebiscite operation.

^{52/} Paragraphs 452 to 479.

^{53/} Paragraphs 480 to 489.

525. While the establishment of a new administration in the Territory could not, by itself, and in a short time, achieve a radical change in the existing pattern of local government or in the manner in which authority had been exercised by the Native Authorities for many decades, and while it was not incumbent on me to interfere in the administration of the Territory as such, I did, however, take every measure within my competence to effect corrective action in matters which I felt had a bearing on the plebiscite. In this, I had the cooperation and understanding of the Administrator who, being fully aware of the effects on the Northern Cameroons resulting from the many years of association with the Northern Region of Nigeria often found himself in a situation not devoid of difficulties.

526. From the time of my arrival, and that of the United Nations staff in the Territory, a number of allegations concerning cases of arrests, denial of permits for the public meetings, propaganda conducted by outside sources and other acts deemed to be contrary to the impartial conduct of the plebiscite were brought to the attention of the Administrator. As a consequence of these representations, the allegations were investigated and corrective action was taken to meet the requirements of the situation, either by means of the enactment of appropriate legislation or by instructions to administration officials and to the Native Authorities.

527. These measures went a long way towards removing obstacles to the exercise of political rights by all concerned.

528. The objective of the plebiscite was to ascertain the wishes of the people of the Northern Cameroons concerning their future. In endeavouring to ensure the application of the principle that only the people of the Territory should participate in the political activities connected with the plebiscite, account had to be taken of the unique situation prevailing in the Northern Cameroons. Political consciousness in the Northern Cameroons, particularly in terms of party organization and discipline, remains at a very low and largely localized level and such party organization as does exist cannot necessarily be regarded as reflecting widespread public opinion. This is attributable to the fact that the Northern Cameroons is not, and has never been, a Territory with cohesive political institutions of its own. Whatever activity of a political nature had taken place in the past was conducted by the main Nigerian political parties through its local branches. A recent and limited exception was, perhaps, the

participation of the NKDP in the political campaign in the 1959 Northern Cameroons plebiscite, although on that occasion it was allied with three Nigerian political parties (the Northern Elements Progressive Union, the United Middle Belt Congress and the Action Group). For purposes of the plebiscite, the Northern Cameroons branches of the Nigerian parties were accepted by the Administrator as representing a sufficient number of persons to merit recognition, in accordance with regulation 10 (2) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations, 1960. These parties, grouped together as the Consortium, had the support of many of the District Heads and other Native Authority officials in the Northern Cameroons and therefore an advantage in the campaigns. During the plebiscite campaign, the Consortium received guidance and financial and other support from the parent organizations in Nigeria.

529. The NKDP/KFP Alliance, which did not appear to have received substantial support from the outside during the early stages of the plebiscite campaign, was later aided by sources within the Republic of Cameroun. In addition, the appearance in the Territory of highly placed political figures from the Republic, who travelled throughout the Northern Cameroons, helped the Alliance significantly in its campaign.

530. The considerations set out above serve to explain why it was virtually impossible to insulate the local political groups which contended in the plebiscite from their outside connexions. There was no means of stopping the Consortium of Nigerian parties from receiving assistance from the parent organizations. On the other hand, the NKDP and the KFP, having originated in the Northern Cameroons, would have been at a considerable disadvantage had they been forced to sever their links with political forces in the Republic of Cameroun. The right to campaign and to address political meetings, however, was limited to persons entitled to vote in the plebiscite and I am satisfied that this provision was complied with by all political parties.

531. While there were a number of factors which gave the Consortium certain advantages in furthering their aims in the plebiscite, it is equally accurate to say that members of the NKDP and KFP did not always, in conducting their

campaign, act with restraint and in full observance of law and order. It was reported more than once that they incited their listeners to disobey the local authorities and to disregard the established rules for the preservation and maintenance of law and order. One favourite device, it was also reported, to which representatives of these parties repeatedly resorted during the political campaign was to urge the residents in the Northern Cameroons not to pay taxes and to oppose the efforts made by Native Authorities to obtain their collection, while promising that if they voted in favour of union with the Republic they would never have to pay taxes again. In another instance, it was reported that the Organizing Secretary of the NKDP at Jada had made a speech prior to my arrival in the Territory, inciting his audience to violence and riot against the constituted authority of the Territory, citing the Congo as an example to follow. Not long after the arrival of the United Nations Observers in the Northern Cameroons the Consortium complained in writing to the Administrator and to the United Nations Liaison Officer in Mubi, that the NKDP and KFP, or at least some of their leaders, were deliberately spreading the word that the United Nations was not only encouraging members of these parties to expect special protection from the law, but that the United Nations also had the power to force the Administration to provide such protection. Mention of their complaint was also made by the Administrator in a letter dated 25 November 1960 addressed to my Liaison Officer. While such rumors were wholly without support in practice or in fact, I had occasion to make clear to the Administrator that since a substantial number of the Native Authorities were supporting the Consortium, most of the petitions seeking redress from alleged illegal or unjust acts committed by Native Authorities would not come from followers of the Consortium, but from the NKDP and KFP. As a consequence of this situation, the United Nations Observers had to deal, in an overwhelming majority of cases, with complaints from leaders or followers of the NKDP/KFP Alliance, and it appeared that the Consortium was therefore drawing the erroneous conclusion that a special preference was given to the NKDP/KFP Alliance. In this connexion, I took the advantage of a meeting with leaders of all political parties in the Northern Cameroons on 3 December 1960 at Mubi, to restate the task which the General Assembly had entrusted to me and to the United Nations staff assigned to supervise the plebiscite.

552. Still another factor emerged which contributed to the difficulties of the situation. This concerned the complete absence of written media of information, such as newspapers and other publications which, even if they did exist, would have had little, if any, impact on the largely illiterate population in the Northern Cameroons. Thus, to wage the plebiscite campaign, political parties had to rely largely on word of mouth for the dissemination of information, a medium which obviously lent itself readily to every conceivable distortion and made it possible to spread every kind of rumour which, once abroad, was difficult to dispel. This is not to say that rumours and mis-statements were spread at random, but in a relatively unsophisticated society such as exists in the Territory, even statements of fact were subject to being distorted out of all proportion without the need for resorting to premeditation.

553. The somewhat lengthy comments set out above are, I believe, essential to a proper understanding of the problems which emerged during the plebiscite, and to placing these problems in their proper perspective.

VIII. PREPARATIONS FOR POLLING

A. The Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations, 1960

554. Sometime in the first week of November 1960, I received an advance copy of the draft Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations, 1960 from the Administrator.

555. This document had four Parts. Part I, "Preliminary", defined the terms used in the remaining three Parts.

556. Part II, "Procedure at Plebiscite", contained regulations 3 to 31. Regulations 3 to 5 provided respectively for notices of the plebiscite to be given by the Plebiscite Administrator, delegation of authority to officers, and appointment of polling stations. Regulation 6 dealt with officers at polling stations and their functions. Regulation 7 provided for the erection of screened voting compartments and facilities to be furnished to each polling station. Regulations 8 and 11 laid down the manner in which ballot boxes were to be constructed and placed in the voting compartment. Regulations 9, 12 and 13 provided for the form, issuance and marking of ballot papers. Regulation 10 prescribed the conditions under which polling agents could be appointed by political parties campaigning for either alternative in the plebiscite. Regulations 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 provided respectively for questioning of voters at the request of a polling agent, marking of the voter's knuckles before voting, manner of recording of votes, prohibition of marking ballot papers, and delivery of a fresh ballot paper to voters who had accidentally spoiled a ballot paper. Regulation 19 provided for the manner in which blind and any other disabled persons were to cast their vote. Under regulation 20, no vote could be recorded by a voter except by his attendance in person at the polling station and by recording of his vote therein. According to regulation 21, no person was permitted to vote at a polling station other than the one to which he was allotted, and regulation 24 established as an exception to this principle special facilities for certain officers carrying out duties in relation to the plebiscite. Regulations 22 and 23 provided for the deployment of officers in stations other than those

at which they were entitled to vote and for the release of officers on duty for the casting of votes. Under regulations 25 and 27 if a polling agent declared that a person applying for a ballot paper had committed an offence of impersonation and undertook in writing to substantiate the charge in a court of law, the Presiding Officer was empowered to order the arrest of that person, and the arrest so made was to be deemed an arrest for which no warrant was necessary. Regulation 26 provided that when a declaration as to impersonation had been made against a person applying for a ballot paper, such a person was not to be prevented from voting, but the Presiding Officer was to cause the words "protested against for impersonation" to be placed against that name in the register of voters. Under regulation 28, if a person representing himself to be a voter named in the register of voters applied for a ballot paper after another person had voted in such name, the applicant was, after answering satisfactorily questions put to him by a Polling Officer, entitled to receive a ballot paper of a colour different from the ordinary ballot paper (called "tendered ballot paper"), which was to be endorsed by the Presiding Officer with the name of the voter and his number in the register. The "tendered ballot paper" was to be placed by the Presiding Officer in one separate packet chosen by the voter out of two separate packets, each corresponding to the colour of the appropriate ballot box. The name of the voter and his number in the register were to be entered on a list called "the tendered votes list". Regulations 29, 30 and 31 provided, respectively, for authority of the Presiding Officer to regulate the admission of voters to the polling station and to exclude persons other than those specified therein, for the removal of persons misconducting themselves, and for adjournment of voting and the taking of certain precautionary measures in the event of interruption or obstruction of proceedings by riot or violence.

537. Part III, "Termination of Plebiscite, Counting, etc.", contained regulations 32 to 44. Regulations 32 and 33 provided, respectively, for the closing of the polling station at the prescribed hour and for the method of dealing with ballot boxes and plebiscite papers. Regulations 34 to 41 concerned the appointment of polling agents by the political parties campaigning for either alternative in the plebiscite; the counting of votes; the method of counting; the preparation of a statement of rejected papers by the Returning Officer and

his authority to make a final decision on any question arising in respect of ballot papers; the method of dealing with plebiscite papers at the conclusion of the counting of the votes; and the recount of votes at the request of a counting agent. Regulations 41 to 44 dealt respectively with the declaration of the result of the voting; the custody until a specified date of all documents relating to the conduct of the plebiscite; the secrecy of vote; and the attendance of United Nations Observers and other persons at the proceedings.

538. Part IV, "Plebiscite Offences", comprised regulations 45 to 62. It dealt with various offences known ordinarily by name in election laws, such as personation, treating, undue influence, bribery, dereliction of duty by officials, and illegal practices. Other offences related to acts done in respect of ballot papers; to breach of secrecy of voting by plebiscite officials, polling and counting agents and other persons; voting by an unregistered person; disorderly conduct and other offences on Polling Day; improper use of vehicles; attempts to mislead the public in relation to matters provided for under the regulations, and display of emblems in the vicinity of place of voting.

539. During the second week of November, the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator came to Buea for consultations with me on a number of questions concerning the plebiscite. Advantage was taken of the fact that by that time the Polling Regulations for the Southern Cameroons had been discussed and were ready for printing. The two sets of draft Regulations were studied together with the view to obtaining the largest possible degree of uniformity. This method proved of great assistance for an early conclusion of the consultations.

540. Several of the points I had raised in the discussions concerning the draft Regulations of the Southern Cameroons did not apply because they had originated in the particular circumstances then prevailing in that section of the Territory.

541. On the procedure for a vote on a "tendered ballot paper" under regulation 28 (which became regulation 26 in the final text) I had the same observations for both sets of draft Regulations. Reference to these observations has been made in paragraph 247 above.

542. The Deputy Plebiscite Administrator accepted my observations and agreed to amend paragraph (2) as follows: "Before the Presiding Officer or Polling Officer delivers the tendered ballot paper to the voter, the name of the voter and his number in the Register of Voters shall be written on the counterfoil of the tendered ballot paper and shall also be entered on a list to be called the "tendered vote list", and this list shall be admissible in any legal proceedings arising out of the plebiscite."

543. A new paragraph (3) was added as follows: "A voter shall, upon receiving a tendered ballot paper, immediately cast his vote in the manner prescribed in regulation 16" (i.e., by placing the ballot paper in the ballot box of his choice).

544. As is mentioned elsewhere in this report^{54/}, I had agreed to the suggestion that the polling take place on two days instead of one as originally contemplated. It was consequently necessary to provide for security arrangements at the end of the first day, and for a second set of ballot boxes. Provision was made for this purpose in regulations 31, 32 and 33. Under regulation 33(2) and 35(1) a ballot paper account was to be prepared and counting of votes to be done at the end of the second day only. I regarded this as an adequate means of preventing information on the polling and early returns from influencing voters voting on the second day.

545. It will be noted^{55/} that for the purpose of securing secrecy of the vote by persons of particular areas or places, I had agreed to the proposal that the notices on the ballot boxes indicating the alternative, the polling station and the plebiscite district be removed from the ballot boxes at the ballot boxes at the time of counting. The procedure for this operation was provided for in regulation 36(1) under which "Before opening any ballot boxes the Chief Returning Officer shall, in the presence of a United Nations Observer alone reverse the notice attached in accordance with paragraph (1) of Regulation 11, and shall mark upon the reverse side of the notice a code number issued by the Administrator for the polling station and plebiscite district in which the box was used".

546. Closely connected with this was the question of how the declaration of the plebiscite results was to be made. When the proposal was made to me that the results be announced by plebiscite districts and not by registration areas, I drew attention to Article 4(2)(d) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council, 1960. Under this provision the regulations to be made by the Administrator were to make provision "For ascertaining and publishing the result of the voting that has taken place in each registration area".

547. I was given to understand that this provision did not prevent the Administration on behalf of the Administering Authority, from withholding the results in each registration area from the general public, if he so wished. In no way, however, would this mean that the Plebiscite Commissioner and his staff on behalf of the United Nations would be deprived of this information

^{54/} Paragraphs 555 to 558.
^{55/} Paragraph 589.

and of the results obtained in each polling station.

548. To confirm this understanding the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator sent me the following letter on 12 November 1960:

"You will recall that during our discussions yesterday it was agreed, for security reasons, that the results of the polling in the Northern Cameroons would be announced by plebiscite districts and not, as was done in the previous plebiscite, by individual polling stations.

"I would wish to assure you that although the results will be announced to the public in this way the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Administration will keep records, which may be examined at any stage of the proceedings by your Observers, of the actual votes cast polling station by polling station. At the conclusion of the poll these detailed results will be handed to your Observer by the Chief Returning Officer in charge of the counting centres."

549. On 3 December, I received a revised copy of the Voting Regulations, incorporating the changes which had been agreed upon earlier, and a note from the Legal Secretary of the Northern Cameroons with comments relating to new proposals.

550. I welcomed a proposal to modify the procedure for the voting of blind or otherwise disabled voters under regulation 19, whereby the Presiding Officer was authorized, instead of the voter's friend or relative, to place the ballot paper in the ballot box. On the other hand, I had strong reservations to a new proposal under which no person was to be appointed a Polling Agent or a Counting Agent who was not entitled to vote in the Registration Area for which he was appointed. While I appreciated the reasons given for that proposal, i.e., that only persons from the area would be acquainted with the voters and consequently be in a position to detect impersonation, I considered that this condition was not only unprecedented, but also too restrictive, since in practice it might prevent smaller parties from having Polling Agents in some areas. Perhaps, if the intention had been to make non-residents ineligible for appointment as Polling Agents in some areas, this point could have been covered in the Regulations by excluding persons who were not entitled to vote in the plebiscite.

551. Concerning the same proposal I raised the question of whether, for the recognition of political parties as sufficiently representative for the

purpose of the appointment of Polling and Counting Agents under regulations 10(2) and 34(1), consultations should not be had with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner.

552. On 10 December the Administrator accepted my views on the appointment of Polling and Counting Agents and agreed to amend the proposed regulation 10(4) to read "No person shall be appointed a Polling Agent who is not registered as being entitled to vote in the Plebiscite". He further agreed to provide for consultations with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner in regulations 10 and 34, The final text of the Voting Regulations incorporating the changes agreed upon was published in the Northern Cameroons Gazette No. 5, Volume 1, of 31 December 1960, Supplement Part B. as the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations, 1960. 56/

B. Date of the Plebiscite

553. During my preliminary discussions with Colonial Office officials in London on 4 January 1960 concerning the organization and conduct of the forthcoming Plebiscites in the Northern and Southern Cameroons, I had insisted that in preparing the time-tables for the two Plebiscites full account should be taken of the desirability of conducting polling in the two Plebiscites on the same day. I made this request because I feared that the results in one part of the Territory might influence the voting in the other, should voting take place on different days. On 15 March, the Administering Authority transmitted to me detailed proposals concerning the time-tables for the two Plebiscites and informed me that, in its preparation, the Administering Authority had been anxious to meet my wish that the voting in the two Plebiscites should be conducted on the same day. This had, however, led to one serious difficulty caused by the fact that Ramadan, which is widely observed in the Northern Cameroons, began during 1961 in mid-February and that for this reason it would be impracticable to conduct the voting in the Northern Cameroons during or at the end of the fasting period. The only possibility, therefore, was to arrange for the voting to take place in both Plebiscites before the beginning of Ramadan and, in the light of the overall time-table, to designate 11 February 1961 as Polling Day. This arrangement met with my satisfaction, and I informed the Administering Authority to this effect.

554. During the early days of my stay in the Territory, the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator approached me on the subject of extending the number of days for polling from one to two, for the following reasons:

- (1) the people of the Northern Cameroons were asking for two Polling Days. They argued that with the enfranchisement of women they were unwilling that their villages be left unguarded throughout an entire day when the population went to vote, and the men did not wish their wives meeting in close proximity with other men around the polling stations.
- (2) the number of polling stations then proposed to cover the Territory totalled 350. The Plebiscite Administrator would be hard-pressed to find sufficient numbers of polling staff. In the event of polling being confined to one day, the large number of people having registered would necessitate a virtual doubling of the polling stations and a corresponding increase in staff requirements. If the proposed number of

polling stations were to be used, a total of 700 Polling Officers would be required, but if on the other hand polling were to be confined to one day, their number would have to be increased to at least 1200 and would require the employment of from 500 to 600 persons from outside the Territory. This would prove to be administratively impossible.

555. For these reasons, the Plebiscite Administrator felt that a two-day period should be set aside for polling.

556. In order to enable the largest possible number of inhabitants, particularly the recently enfranchised women, to participate in the Plebiscite, and wishing to avoid the introduction of polling staff from outside the Trust Territory, I agreed to the extension of the polling period from one to two days, provided that the Plebiscite Administrator could assure me concerning the safety of the ballot boxes during the night separating the two polling days. The assurances subsequently given to me were entirely satisfactory, and the Plebiscite Administrator designated 12 February 1961 to be an additional Polling Day.

557. Notice to this effect was published in Northern Cameroons Notice No. 22, published in Gazette No. 6 of 31 December 1960 and posters were displayed throughout the Northern Cameroons announcing that on both dates polling would be conducted between the hours of 7 a.m. and 5 p.m.

C. Printing of ballot papers

558. Regulation 9 of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations provided that every ballot paper should be in a form prescribed by the Plebiscite Administration and should (a) have a serial number printed or stamped on the back, and (b) be attached to a counterfoil bearing the same serial number as printed or stamped on the back of the ballot paper.

559. On 6 June 1960 I was advised by the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations that arrangements were being made for the printing of ballot papers in the United Kingdom and that I would be informed as soon as possible when the printing was to take place so that arrangements could be made for a United Nations Observer to be present.

560. Upon my arrival in the Territory, I was informed by the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator that arrangements were being made for the printing of the ballot papers in the United Kingdom to begin some time during the second half of November. Subsequently, samples of ballot papers were submitted to me for comment and approval. I suggested, and the Administrator agreed, that the Northern Cameroons ballot papers should, for security reasons, contain background micro printing. I was advised that the Northern Cameroons ballot papers would be printed in the plant of George C. Caster and Company, Limited of Peterborough, England, where the Southern Cameroons ballot papers had previously been printed, with the stipulation that the printing should be supervised by a United Nations Observer and that proofs were first to be submitted to the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Administrator for his approval.

561. Mr. Abdel S. Dajani, the United Nations Observer who had supervised the printing of the Southern Cameroons ballot papers, was present during the printing of the proofs of the Northern Cameroons ballot papers and saw to it that all the types, plates, negative and monotype spool used for printing the proofs were packed in two packages, sealed, countersigned by the Director of the firm and by him and placed in the printer's strongroom.

562. Mr. John H. Goetelen, who had been appointed as United Nations Observer to supervise the subsequent printing of the ballots, reported to me that he was satisfied that no work had been started before his arrival at the firm's premises. He also reported that the printing and numbering of the ballot and tendered ballot papers, which had taken place in his presence, was completed on 6 December 1960, and their packaging on 13 December. All spoilage, waste, type, negatives, plates and settings were burned in his presence. The boxes, containing the ballot and tendered ballot papers, numbered 50 in all. They were locked in the firm's strongroom and kept there until 16 December 1960 when, under the supervision of the Observer, then driven to London Airport. There they remained in the Airport's strongroom until they were loaded, under the Observer's supervision, on board a commercial aircraft which departed that same day for Kano, Nigeria.

563. To supervise the safe delivery of the 50 boxes containing the ballot papers from the Kano airport to a designated place of safekeeping in the Northern Cameroons, I appointed Mr. M.A. Shamsee, United Nations Observer at Bama. The Observer reported that the shipment arrived in Kano on 17 December 1960, with seals and labels intact. It was received by the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator, in the Observer's presence, and then loaded on a police lorry for dispatch under police escort to Bama. The Observer supervised the shipment from Kano to Bama where the boxes were delivered to the Senior Divisional Officer and placed in his strongroom.

564. A total of 307,000 ballot papers and 30,700 tendered ballot papers were printed. The ballot papers were printed on buff paper in purple print on grey micro background, made up in books of 20 printed for the nine different Plebiscite districts in Northern Cameroons, lettered and numbered serially for each district. The tendered ballot papers were printed on buff paper in brown print on yellow micro background and bound in books of ten.

565. On the basis of the reports of the Observers who supervised all phases of the printing, packaging and shipment of the ballot papers for the Northern Cameroons, I am in a position to state that adequate measures were taken for the security of the ballots.

D. Colours Distinguishing the Alternatives

566. On 9 July 1960 I received a letter from the Plebiscite Administrator in which he suggested that a combination of symbols and colours be used to differentiate the two alternatives and it was suggested that a white symbol on a black background might be conveniently used. It was further suggested that a N symbol be used for the box favouring joining with the Federation of Nigeria and a C symbol for the box favouring joining with the Republic of Cameroun. In response to this suggestion, I informed the Plebiscite Administrator that I had no particular comments to make on his proposal but that it was my view that the agreement of the leaders of political parties on the proposed use of colours and symbols should be obtained before making a final decision in the matter. In the light of experience gained during the

Northern Cameroons plebiscite in 1959, I deemed it to be essential that the identification of colours and symbols with the propositions to be put in the Plebiscite should neither be selected by the Administration nor myself, but should instead be chosen by the people of the Territory to whom such colours and symbols would have specific meaning. Subsequently, the Administrator's proposal for the use of symbols was conveyed to leaders of political parties in the Northern Cameroons some of whom pointed out that C stood for Cameroons and since some of the people of the Territory considered themselves to be Cameroonians it might be possible for disaffected persons to claim that C symbolized independence of the Territory. A further objection was raised to identical colour background for both symbols. Accordingly, the original suggestion was dropped and, in its stead, the Administrator suggested the use of a white triangle on black background and a white circle on blue background. This second suggestion was conveyed to me, but I reserved my position on the use of the blue colour on the ground that it was the colour of the United Nations flag and that its use might give rise to misunderstanding or misinterpretation.

567. Following my arrival in the Territory, I was invited by the Administrator to attend a meeting held in Mubi on 22 October 1960 with representatives of the Northern Kamerun Democratic Party (NKDP), the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), The Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and the Action Group (AG) to discuss the questions of colours and symbols to be used in the Plebiscite. After a lengthy discussion of several alternatives, it was finally agreed that the colours should be black for the proposition favouring union with the Federation of Nigeria and dark pink for the proposition favouring union with the Republic of Cameroun.

E. Ballot Boxes

568. In the course of consultations I held with the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator for the Northern Cameroons on 10 and 11 November 1960 in Buea, I made inquiries concerning the type of ballot boxes the Plebiscite Administrator proposed to use in the plebiscite. I was informed that it was intended to obtain again the type of metal boxes which had been used in the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite in 1959 and the Nigerian Federal Elections in the same year. During this consultation I drew the Deputy Plebiscite Administrator's attention to the fact that it had come to my attention that a fairly large number of keys fitting these boxes were abroad in Nigeria. I therefore wished

to be assured concerning the security of the contents of the ballot boxes, should the Plebiscite Administrator insist on their use in the forthcoming plebiscite. I pursued the matter with the Administrator in Mubi on 22 December 1960 when he assured me that the keys in themselves were not an essential security element, since special seals would be attached to the boxes which could not be tampered with. Subsequently he informed me that the ballot boxes would be locked and sealed in full view of the people at the commencement of polling on the first and on the second day of the plebiscite and that it was his intention to use separate sets of boxes for each of the two polling days. On the close of polling, the boxes would immediately be sealed with a special lead seal threaded with wire. He assured me that it would not be possible to duplicate these seals anywhere within the Territory. Moreover, instructions had been issued to all Polling Officers that once the boxes had been closed and sealed they were to remain in the possession of the officers concerned until they could bring the boxes to designated collecting points where they would be handed over to Senior Plebiscite Officers against signature. These Officers would deliver the boxes, under police escort, to the counting centres, where they would be received by the Chief Returning Officer who would keep them under lock and key until the time for counting had arrived. I was satisfied that the proposed measures outlined above would meet the necessary requirements for the security of the boxes and their contents, and I informed the Administrator accordingly.

F. Polling and Counting Staff

569. Regulation 4(1) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations, 1960 provided that "the Administrator shall direct for which area or areas Assistant Plebiscite Administrators, Returning Officers, Assistant Returning Officers, Presiding Officers and Polling Officers shall exercise their functions and he may delegate to any Assistant Plebiscite Administrator such power in respect of Returning Officers, Assistant Returning Officers, Presiding Officers and Polling Officers". In accordance with this provision, the Administrator appointed the respective officials and assigned them the appropriate duties as follows:

570. Assistant Plebiscite Administrators. The three Assistant Plebiscite Administrators, concerning whom details are given in paragraph above, were in charge of making arrangements for and to supervise all activities in connexion with polling and counting, before, during and after the two polling days, in their respective areas of responsibility, and for this purpose were designated in Northern Cameroons Notice No. 3 of the Northern Cameroons Gazette No. 2 dated 25 January 1961 to be Chief Returning Officers with effect from 10 January 1961.

571. Returning Officers. The appointment of nine Returning Officers, each being responsible for the training of polling staff and the supervision of all phases of polling and counting in respect of each of the nine plebiscite districts in the Northern Cameroons, was published in Northern Cameroons Notice No. 3 of the Northern Cameroons Gazette No. 2 dated 25 January 1961 and was effective from 10 January 1961.

572. Assistant Returning Officers. Eighteen senior service departmental officers from the Northern Cameroons Administration were appointed to assist the Returning Officers in conducting training courses, to supervise the proper construction of polling stations and the collection of the ballot boxes after the close of the polls.

573. Polling Supervisory Officers. A total of 80 such officials, all Cameroonian, were selected from among the best members of the polling officers training course given to Cameroonian polling staff. Each of these was given overall charge of a number of polling stations to supervise the work of the Presiding and Polling Officers. The number of polling stations under their charge varied according to the number of stations they could conveniently visit during each polling day.

574. Presiding and Polling Officers. A total of 760 Presiding and Polling Officers were recruited from within the Northern Cameroons, with the exception of twenty-five students from the Numan Teacher Training College in Adamawa Province of the Northern Region of Nigeria. Of the latter, some were residents of the Northern Cameroons. Although I had requested the Administrator insofar as possible to recruit staff from among qualified persons in the Northern Cameroons, I raised no objection to the employment of these twenty-five students because these men's previous experience and their knowledge of the difficult Mambilla plateau could most usefully be employed during the polling period. The Presiding and Polling Officers were recruited from among senior and junior primary school teachers, mission school teachers and pupils who had completed standard IV or above. Training courses were held at each of the Returning Officers' headquarters, lasting over periods of from eight to nine days. These courses were begun on 28 January and lasted until 6 February. During the training courses, these officials were instructed in the construction of polling stations, the mechanics of polling, and their duties concerning the delivery of ballot boxes to the counting centres and were issued written instructions.^{57/}

575. Polling Marshalls. A total of 760 Polling Marshalls, including female searchers, were appointed from among pensioners and village heads to maintain order at the polls and to search persons, if directed to do so by the Presiding or Polling Officers.

576. Counting Officers. Under the authority vested in him by Article 6 of the Order in Council, and in accordance with Regulation 36(1) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations, 1960, the Administrator delegated to Chief Returning Officers, the responsibility for the appointment of a sufficient number of officers to conduct the counting of the ballots and to issue instructions concerning their duties.^{58/} Those selected for this important function had for obvious reasons to be selected from amongst non-Cameroonians. Also excluded by common consent were those officials who were primarily charged with the administration of the Territory. In the circumstances, the field of choice was narrowed to technical or contract officers and their wives. In some instances priests and missionary staff were selected to serve. At one counting centre, for example, the counting officers included a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, a nursing sister, two professional engineers and doctor of medicine.

^{57/} Annex XX

^{58/} Annex XXII

G. Appointment of polling and counting agents

577. Polling agents. Regulation 10 of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations, 1960 provided that on or before 14 January 1961, any political party was entitled to apply to the Administrator for permission to appoint polling agents for the purpose of detecting personation at the polls. Under the same regulation, notice in writing of the appointment of polling agents, stating their names, addresses and numbers on the register of voters and stating the polling stations to which they were assigned were to be submitted to the Assistant Plebiscite Commissioner in charge of the plebiscite district not later than 25 January 1961. The regulation also provided that not more than one polling agent could be appointed for any polling station by a political party or alliance of parties. In accordance with those provisions it was decided that one polling agent should be appointed to be present at polling stations to observe polling on behalf of each of the two alliances of parties. Although letters were sent by the Assistant Plebiscite Administrator to the heads of political groups in their respective plebiscite districts, advising them of the right to appoint such agents, considerable difficulties were experienced by the parties in nominating suitable agents, and the period of acceptance of such nominations was actually extended in each plebiscite district until the day before polling. Upon receipt of appointment, each agent was issued with a letter of appointment and was given a copy of a document^{59/} listing the rights accorded to polling agents by the Administrator. The number of polling agents appointed by the two alliances of parties contending in the plebiscite were as follows:

<u>Plebiscite District</u>	<u>1st Alternative</u>	<u>2nd Alternative</u>
1. Dikwa North)		
2. Dikwa Central)	122	97
3. Gwoza)		
4. Cubunawa-Madagali	47	47
5. Mubi	54	54
6. Chamba	53	53
7. Gashaka-Toungo	14	14
8. Mambilla	28	28
9. United Hills	-	18
Total	318	311

578. Counting agents. Regulation 34(1) of the Voting Regulations provided that "any political party or alliance of parties accepted by the Administrator after consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner as representing a sufficient number of persons to merit recognition may appoint a counting agent to attend at each place appointed for the counting of votes". Accordingly counting agents were appointed by each of the two alliances of parties contending in the plebiscite in respect of each of the six counting centres in the Northern Cameroons. In addition, Returning Officers could, in their discretion, permit alternate Counting Agents to attend if, in their opinion, the Counting Agent had a legitimate reason to absent himself from the Counting Centre.

H. Polling Stations

579. Regulation 5 of the Voting Regulations provided that "the Administrator shall appoint a polling station for each registration area: provided that where in his opinion the number of persons entitled to vote at any polling station is excessive, the Administrator may divide the polling station into two or more sections".

580. Two considerations guided the Administrator in establishing polling stations. In the first place, each registration area should have its own polling station in the locality where the Assistant Registration Officers had made their headquarters during the registration period, and which in many cases had been the locale where polling stations had been established during the 1959 plebiscite. These places were chosen because the people were familiar with them and the slogan "where I registered, there I shall vote" was adopted in the second enlightenment campaign to remind the people where to vote. Secondly, it had been determined that approximately 650 persons could vote at each polling station in a day. Owing to the heavy registration of women, it became apparent that more than 800 persons would have to vote at each polling station. To accommodate this number, the Administrator could either double the number of polling units at each station, or set aside an additional day for polling. As has already been explained before,^{60/} the second alternative was adopted. Nevertheless, there remained the possibility that, in spite of

their stated desire to spread voting over two days, some villages might decide to vote on one day and thus swamp the polling stations. For this reason, directives were issued by means of publicity teams and posters, that men should vote on the first day and women on the second, but at the same time it was stressed that this was a matter of personal and administrative convenience. In no case would men and women be refused to vote if they appeared on days set aside for the other sex.

581. Regulation 7 provided that Assistant Plebiscite Administrators should: "(a) ensure that in each polling station there is a compartment in which voters can cast their votes screened from observation; (b) furnish each presiding officer with such number of ballot boxes and such ballot papers under sealed covers as may be necessary; (c) provide each polling station with instruments for making an official mark on the ballot papers and with pads impregnated with indelible ink of a distinctive colour; (d) provide each polling station with copies of the register of voters; (e) ensure that a presiding officer shall be in charge of each polling station; (f) cause to be published in each polling station the colour which has been allocated to each alternative on which a vote can be cast; and (g) do such other acts and things as may be necessary for conducting the plebiscite in the manner provided in these regulations."

582. During their course of training, polling staff were instructed in the construction of polling stations and each was provided with a construction plan which required that the stations were built on an axis between the borders of the Republic of Cameroon and the Federation of Nigeria and that the ballot boxes were placed in the respective directions. In this way, a total of 378 polling stations were erected in the 246 registration areas of the Northern Cameroons in locations which had previously been sited by the Returning Officers. The polling staff was also provided with all necessary equipment called for in Regulation 7, before being sent to their stations.

I. Counting Centres

583. It will be recalled that during the 1959 plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons one counting centre had been established in each of the nine plebiscite circles in the Territory. Due to the shortage of staff in the Territory during

the present plebiscite which would necessitate bringing additional staff from Nigeria if nine centres were again to be established, I agreed to the suggestion made by the Administrator to reduce the number of counting centres to six, which could all be staffed by officials from within the Territory. Under this arrangement, ballot boxes were collected at the respective headquarters of the Returning Officers in each plebiscite district and measures were taken to ensure the safe transfer of the ballot boxes to the respective counting centres under appropriate police guard.

584. The counting centres thus established were situated as follows:

<u>Plebiscite district</u>	<u>Counting centre</u>
1. Dikwa North)	Bama
2. Dikwa Central)	
3. Gwoza	Gwoza
4. Cubunawa/Madagali)	Mubi
5. Mubi)	
6. Chamba)	Ganye
7. Gashaka-Toungo)	
8. Mambilla	Gembu
9. United Hills	Baissa

585. Counting centres accommodating more than one plebiscite district were under the charge of a Chief Returning Officer, while those centres where counting of boxes from one plebiscite district was conducted were controlled by the Returning Officer of that plebiscite district.

IX. POLLING DAY

586. The weather on both polling days was bright and clear. Throughout the Northern Cameroons, people turned out in large numbers and the majority of the voters, both men and women, had cast their votes on both days well ahead of the closing of the polls. Augmented by the four members of the Mubi Headquarters staff whom I had designated as Observers for the purposes of polling days, a total of thirteen United Nations Observers travelled throughout the nine plebiscite districts in the Northern Cameroons and observed the conduct of polling at a total of 236 out of the 378 polling stations in the Northern Cameroons. Having spent 11 February observing the conduct of polling in the Southern Cameroons, I visited on 12 February a number of polling stations at a near Garaye, Mubi and Michika. Polling on both days proceeded in an exemplary manner and with the exception of minor errors made by presiding and polling staff at a few of the polling stations, voting proceeded without major incidents. Observers reported that at practically all polling stations polling agents, appointed by the two groups of parties contending in the plebiscite, were present throughout the two days and in each case expressed themselves as being satisfied with the conduct of the poll. In addition, the Plebiscite Administrator had authorized a number of representatives from the Republic of Cameroun and from the Federation of Nigeria to witness the polling on both days.

587. Although separate figures on participation in the voting according to sex were not available, Observers reported that women voted in great numbers. Generally speaking, men and women voted on both days in most areas, although there were a few stations where men voted on the first and women on the second day. A separate set of ballot boxes was used at each polling station on the two polling days and security provisions had been made calling for the transport of the boxes at the end of each day to the designated counting centres where upon arrival the boxes were locked up and placed under police guard.

588. I am satisfied that polling proceeded in an orderly and correct manner and that the provisions for the security of the ballot boxes, which I had the opportunity to inspect personally at Mubi, were completely adequate.

X. COUNTING OF BALLOTS AND RESULTS OF THE PLEBISCITE

589. For reasons I have already stated in paragraphs 545 to 548 above, I agreed to the Administrator's proposal that the results of the plebiscite should be announced to the public by plebiscite districts instead of by registration areas, provided that I would be given a record of the votes cast for the two alternatives in each registration area and that counting agents of political parties would be able to observe and check the counting of ballots. The Administrator assured me on these points and subsequently adopted a method whereby all ballot boxes for each plebiscite district were sent to counting centres, where they were stored under police guard. Polling Agents were entitled to accompany the boxes to the Counting Centre, and in some cases it was reported that Polling Agents slept outside the buildings where the boxes were stored. I had occasion to pay a visit on the night of 12 February to the Mubi Counting Centre, to which the boxes for the Cubunawa/Madagali and Mubi Districts were being delivered. In accordance with the counting instructions^{61/} issued by the Plebiscite Administrator, it was the responsibility of Presiding Officers to bring the ballot boxes into the Counting or Collecting Centre, under instructions of the Chief Returning Officer. In order to ensure continuity of the counting operation, as well as a minimum of delay, the Chief Returning Officers were instructed to commence counting as soon as the first half of the boxes from a plebiscite district had been delivered at the Counting Centre. While the first half was being counted the other boxes arrived, thus permitting continuous counting of ballots for each district. As for the actual counting itself, the method followed was that laid down in regulation 36(1) and (2), according to which the Chief Returning Officer, in the presence of a United Nations Observer alone, reversed the cards attached to the boxes showing the alternative and the name of the polling station. On the reverse side of this card the Returning Officer marked a secret code number which had been assigned by the Administrator to the polling station. Only the Returning Officers and the United Nations observers were in possession of the codes and knew the number belonging to a particular polling station. The Counting Agents, although able at all times to satisfy themselves of the accuracy of the count, could not identify a particular polling station as such. During this procedure the Counting Agents were located at a point close enough to them to observe the coding operation by the Returning Officer and the United Nations Observer,

but not close enough to be able to identify the code number with its polling station. Once the foregoing operation was completed, the opening of ballot boxes, the counting and all other procedures were fully witnessed by the Counting Agent.

590. As regulation 39 of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Regulations, 1960 provided that Counting Agents should see the verification of the ballot papers account after the count of each polling station was completed, safeguards were devised to avoid divulging the identity of polling stations and, for this purpose, the ballot paper account sheets were divided into two parts. The top half listed the name and other details of the polling station, while the bottom half contained the details of voting. The envelopes containing the ballot paper accounts of Presiding Officers were opened by the Returning Officer, who inserted the code number in a reserved space on both halves of the account and the bottom half was torn off and handed to the Counting Agents for verification. The two portions of the paper were subsequently placed by the Returning Officer in an envelope which was kept together with the other documents of each polling station in the custody of the Plebiscite Administration. Counting began on 12 February, and was completed on the 15th.

591. The results of the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons were as follows:

<u>Plebiscite district</u>	<u>The proposition in favour of joining the Republic of Cameroun</u>	<u>The proposition in favour of joining the Federation of Nigeria</u>
1. Dikwa North	10,562	22,765
2. Dikwa Central	24,203	28,697
3. Gwoza	2,554	18,115
4. Cubunawa/Madagali	13,299	16,904
5. Mubi	11,132	23,798
6. Chamba	25,177	9,704
7. Gashaka-Toungo	3,108	4,999
8. Mambilla	7,467	13,523
9. United Hills	157	7,791
Total	<u>97,659</u>	<u>146,296</u>

XI. THE PROTEST PERIOD

A. The Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1961

592. On 12 January I received a draft of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting) Petitions Regulations, 1961 from the Administrator.

593. On 16 January I received from the Administrator the following draft text proposed for inclusion as a new paragraph in regulation 3:

"No petition based upon the grounds specified in sub-paragraph (a) or (b) of paragraph 1 shall be entertained by the Court unless the Administrator, after consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, certifies that it is a petition, the determination of which might materially affect the results of voting in any registration area".

594. I felt that as the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner I could not accept the proposed change to regulation 3.

595. The Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Order in Council had provided, under Article 4(2)(e), for regulations to be made by the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons" for the lodging of petitions relating to any dispute concerning the result of the voting" and, under Article 7(2), for the establishment of a Special Court to hear and determine such petitions. These provisions seemed to provide for a right to a judicial recourse that was in no way dependent upon the eventuality of whether the petition, if successful, could materially affect the results of voting in any registration area. Should petitions be subject to a screening procedure, the whole basis of the right to have a complaint examined by a Court acting under established rules of law would fall to the ground. Moreover, I considered that it was not within the terms of reference of my office to express an opinion on a determination of whether the result of the plebiscite, either in its entirety or in any particular area, could not be affected by any petition. Finally, I could see nothing in the relevant plebiscite resolution to authorize excluding from the examination of the General Assembly facts or complaints that having been determined by a Court of law might be valuable for the evaluation of the plebiscite's results. In view of my objections the proposal was withdrawn.

596. It was also agreed to add a new regulation 12 as follows:

"(1) The decision of the Court in respect of any petition, including the findings upon the facts of the case, shall be transmitted to the Administrator in accordance with the provisions of the paragraph (1) of Article 9 of the Order.

(2) A copy of the decision, including the findings upon the facts of the case, shall be transmitted to the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner."

597. The final text of the Voting Petitions Regulations with the changes agreed upon was published in the Northern Cameroons Gazette No. 3 of 11 February 1961 as the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1961.^{62/}

B. Voting Petitions

598. The Administrator of the Northern Cameroons informed me through the United Nations Observer, whom I had designated to be present in the Territory during the period set aside for the submission of voting petitions, that he had received no voting petitions within the time limit established under regulation 3(2) of the Northern Cameroons Plebiscite (Voting Petitions) Regulations, 1961.

62/ See Annex XXIV

XII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

599. Out of an estimated population of 774,000, the final register of voters included a total of 292,985 persons, of whom 146,721 were men and 146,264 were women. Registration was heavy and it was particularly gratifying to note that women registered in large numbers.

600. Of a total of 243,955 valid votes cast on polling days, 97,659, or 40.03 per cent, favoured the alternative for joining the Republic of Cameroun and 146,296, or 59.97 per cent, favoured the alternative for joining the Federation of Nigeria.

601. The plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons, as a whole, has to be viewed in the context of the circumstances prevailing in the Territory as set forth in the chapter of the present report devoted to the political situation. It should also be mentioned that, although the majority of the people of the Northern Cameroons may not have grasped the intricate and complex constitutional implications of the two alternatives, they were aware, nevertheless, that the decision they were called upon to make at the plebiscite meant joining one or the other of the two neighbouring countries. In making this clear, the political parties played an important role.

602. The plebiscite was efficiently organized and conducted by the Administering Authority in accordance with the legislation promulgated for the purpose. In spite of the defects and weaknesses inherent in the situation prevailing in the Northern Cameroons, I am satisfied that the people had the opportunity to express their wishes freely and secretly at the polls concerning the alternatives offered in the plebiscite.

603. Tribute is due to the people of the Northern Cameroons for the enthusiasm and interest which they displayed during the plebiscite and for the disciplined manner in which they conducted themselves on both polling days.

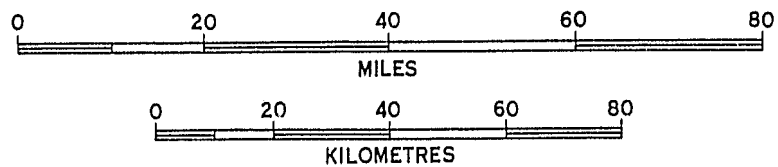
604. I wish to record my appreciation to the Administrator of the Northern Cameroons and the Plebiscite Officials for the ready cooperation shown to me and to the United Nations staff during all stages of the plebiscite operation. I cannot fail to mention the Administrator's readiness to give careful consideration to the matters raised in our numerous consultations, and his efforts to meet the points which I brought to his attention. Particular credit is due to the

Deputy Plebiscite Administrator, the Assistant Plebiscite Administrators and the Plebiscite Supervisory Officers for the effective training and supervision they provided which enabled the registration and polling staff to contribute in no small measure to the successful conduct of the plebiscite.

605. Finally, I wish to state here, as I did in connexion with the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons, how deeply grateful I am to the members of the United Nations Secretariat for the devoted efforts, high sense of duty and ability which they displayed at all times.

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE CAMEROONS UNDER UNITED KINGDOM ADMINISTRATION NORTHERN CAMEROONS

- Provincial boundary
- District boundary
- ==== Trunk road A
- ==== Trunk road A (projected)
- Regional road B
- Native Authority dry season road
- GWOZA** Administrative District
- Gwoza District Headquarters
- ★ Observer station
- ✈ Airport
- ✈ Airstrip
- ☒ Telegraph, Telephone and Post Office combined
- ☐ Post Office
- ☐ P Postal Agency
- ~~~~~ 3000 Countour line (1000 feet interval)

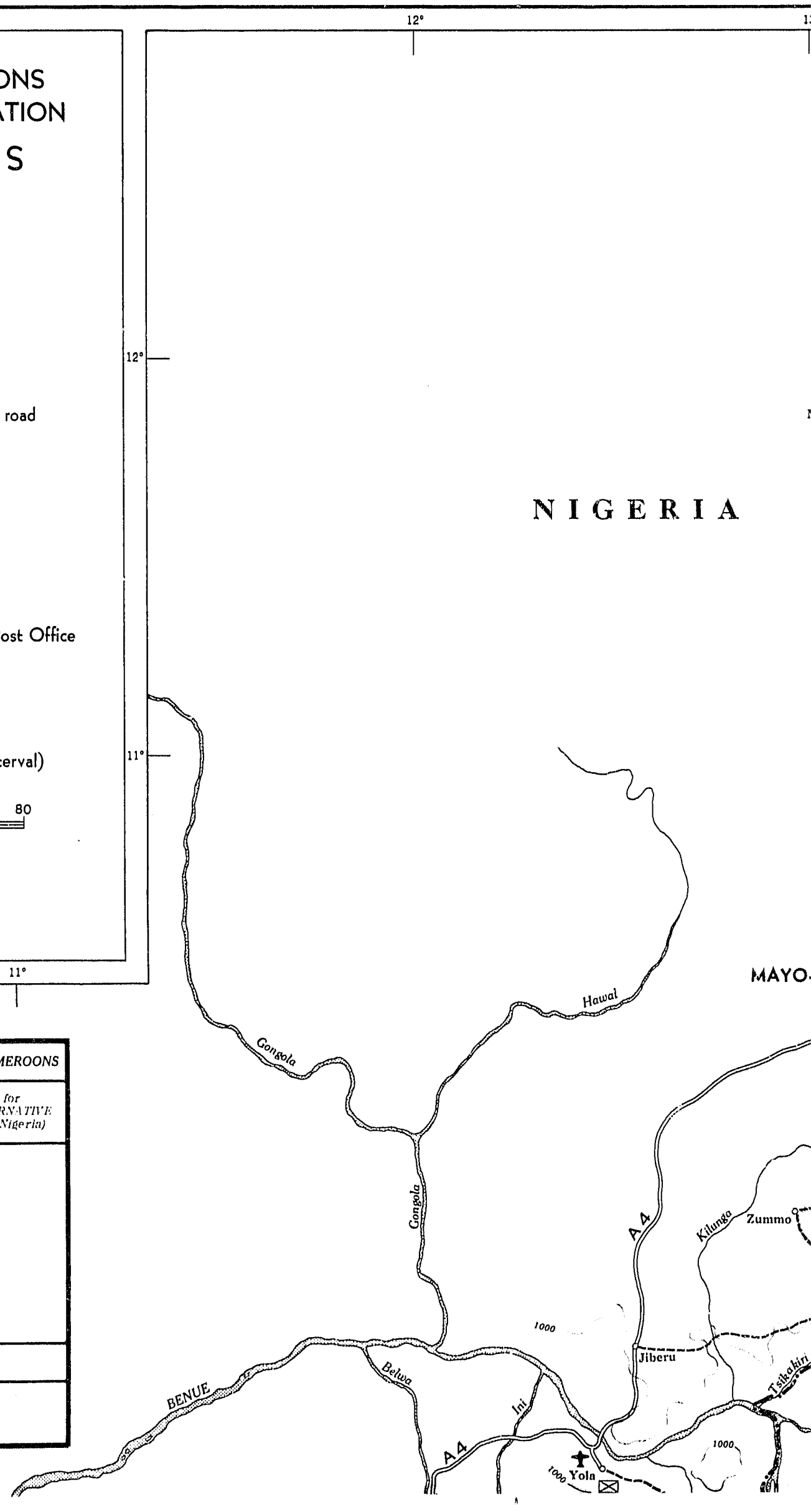


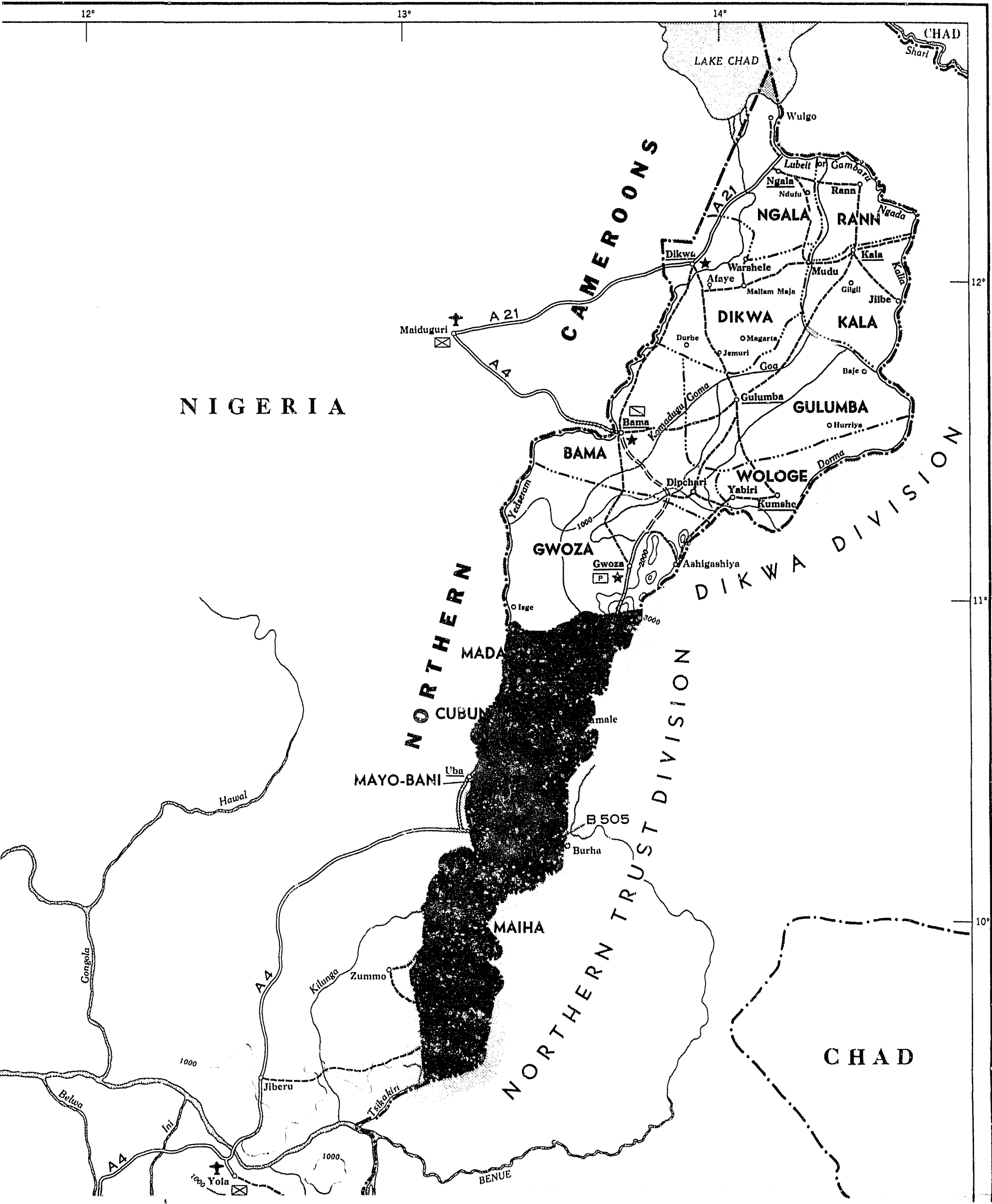
The boundaries shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

RESULT OF 11, 12 FEBRUARY 1961 PLEBISCITE IN NORTHERN CAMEROONS

Plebiscite District	Votes Cast for FIRST ALTERNATIVE (Republic of Cameroun)	Votes Cast for SECOND ALTERNATIVE (Federation of Nigeria)
1. DIKWA NORTH	10,562	22,765
2. DIKWA CENTRAL	24,203	28,697
3. GWOZA	2,554	18,115
4. CUBUNAWA-MADAGALI	13,299	16,904
5. MUBI	11,132	23,798
6. CHAMBA	25,177	9,704
7. GASHAKA-TOUNGO	3,108	4,999
8. MAMBILLA	7,467	13,523
9. UNITED HILLS	157	7,791
TOTAL	97,659	146,296

Total number of registered voters: 292,985
Total number of valid votes cast: 243,955





NIGERIA

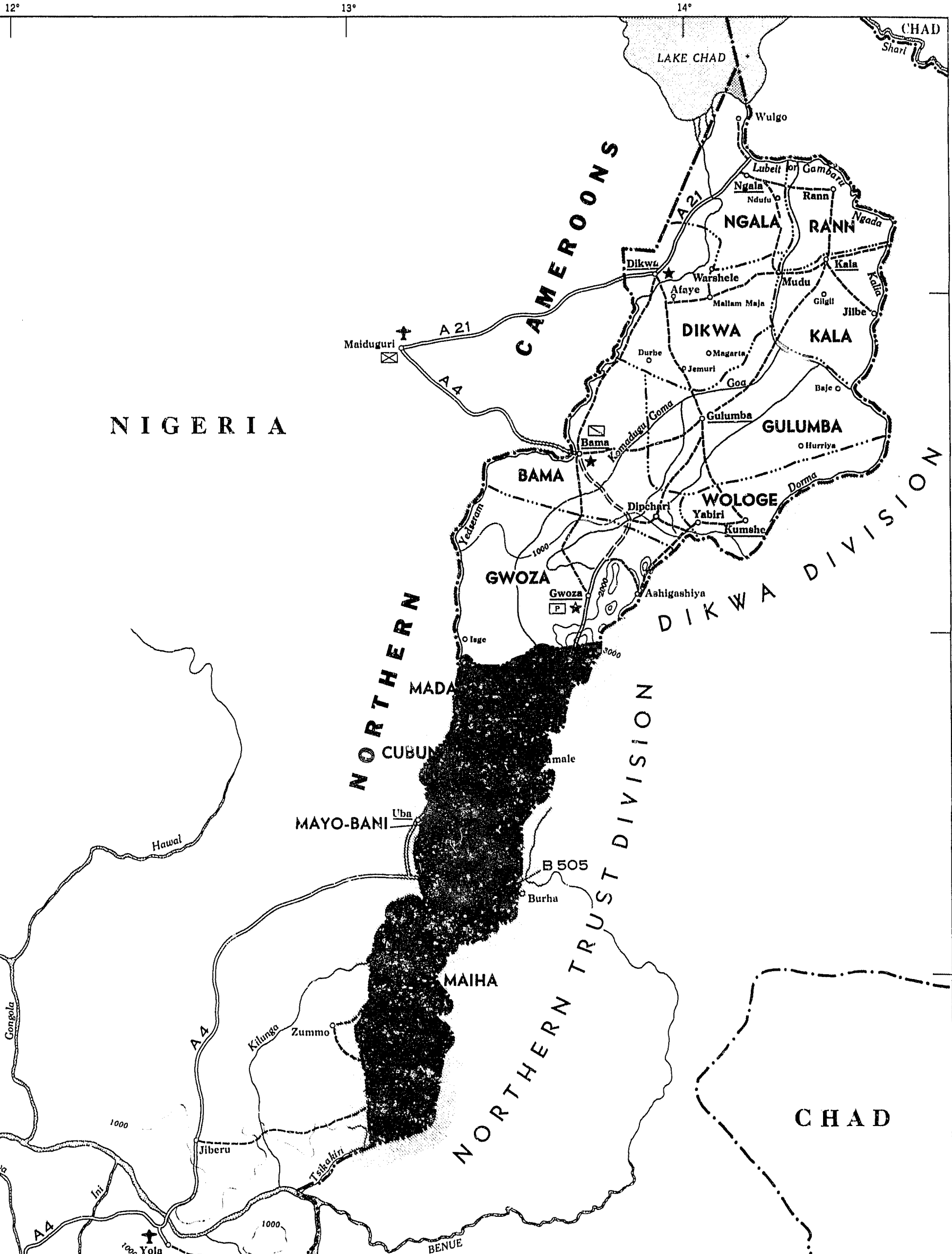
CAMEROONS

NORTHERN

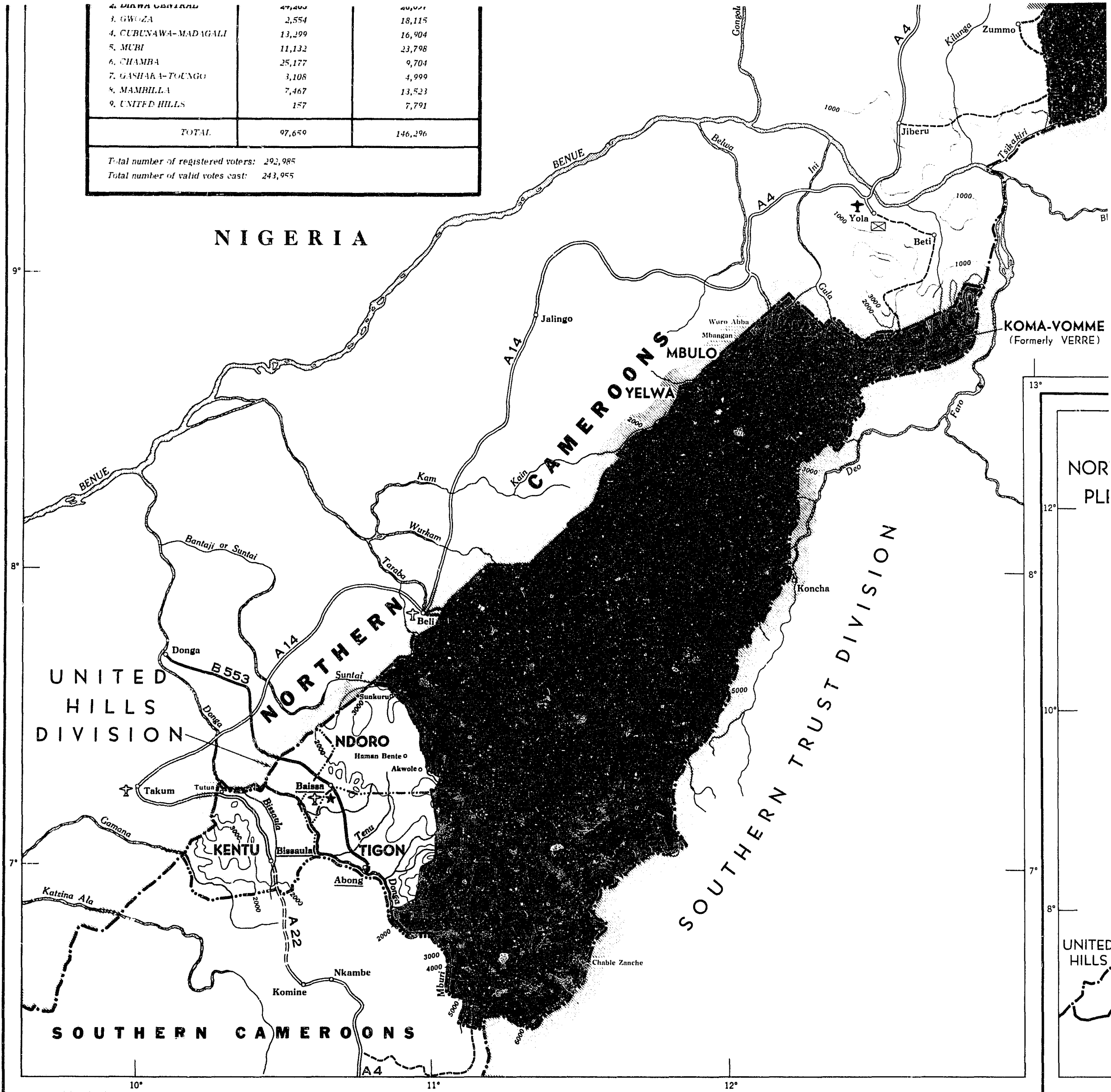
NORTHERN TRUST DIVISION

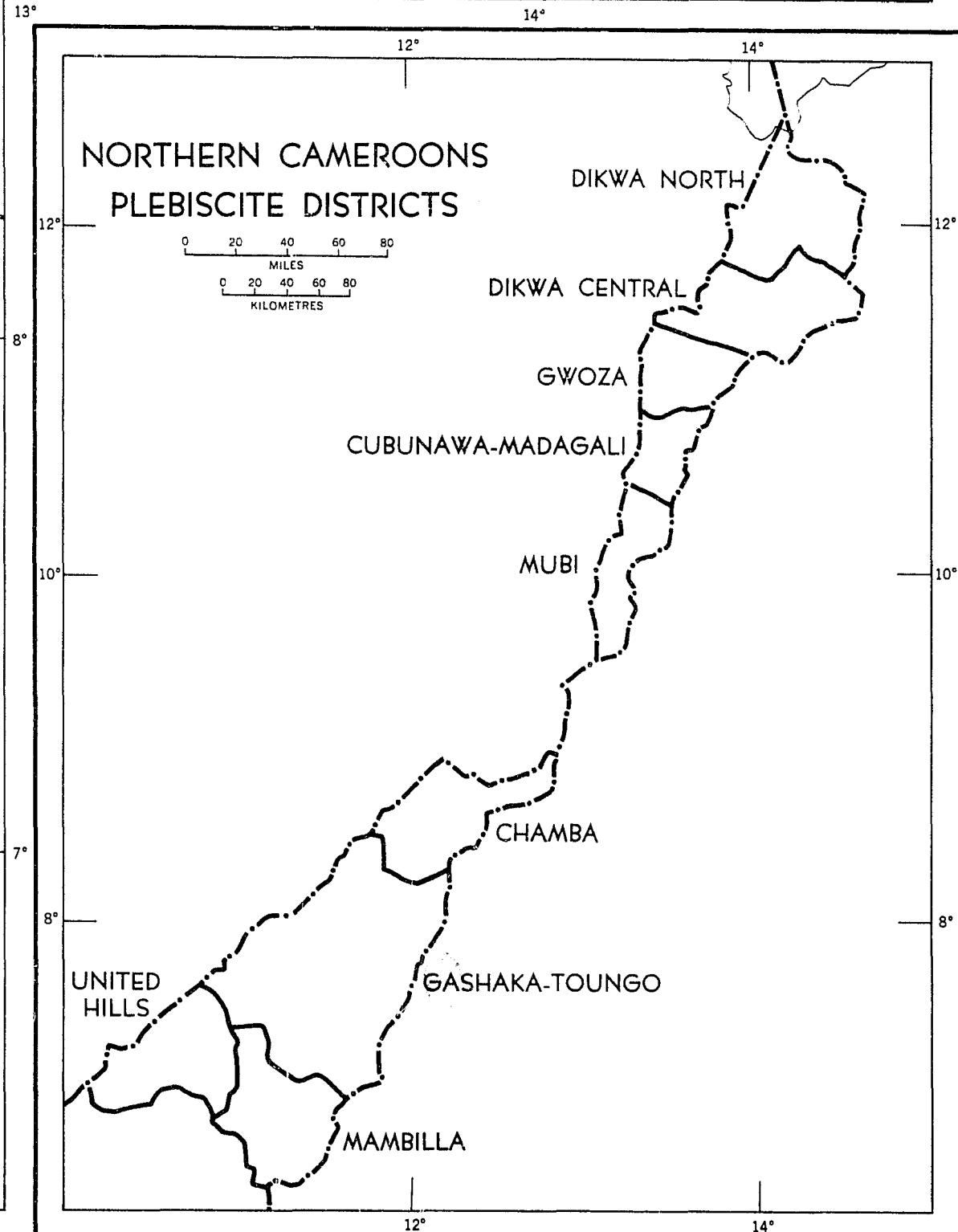
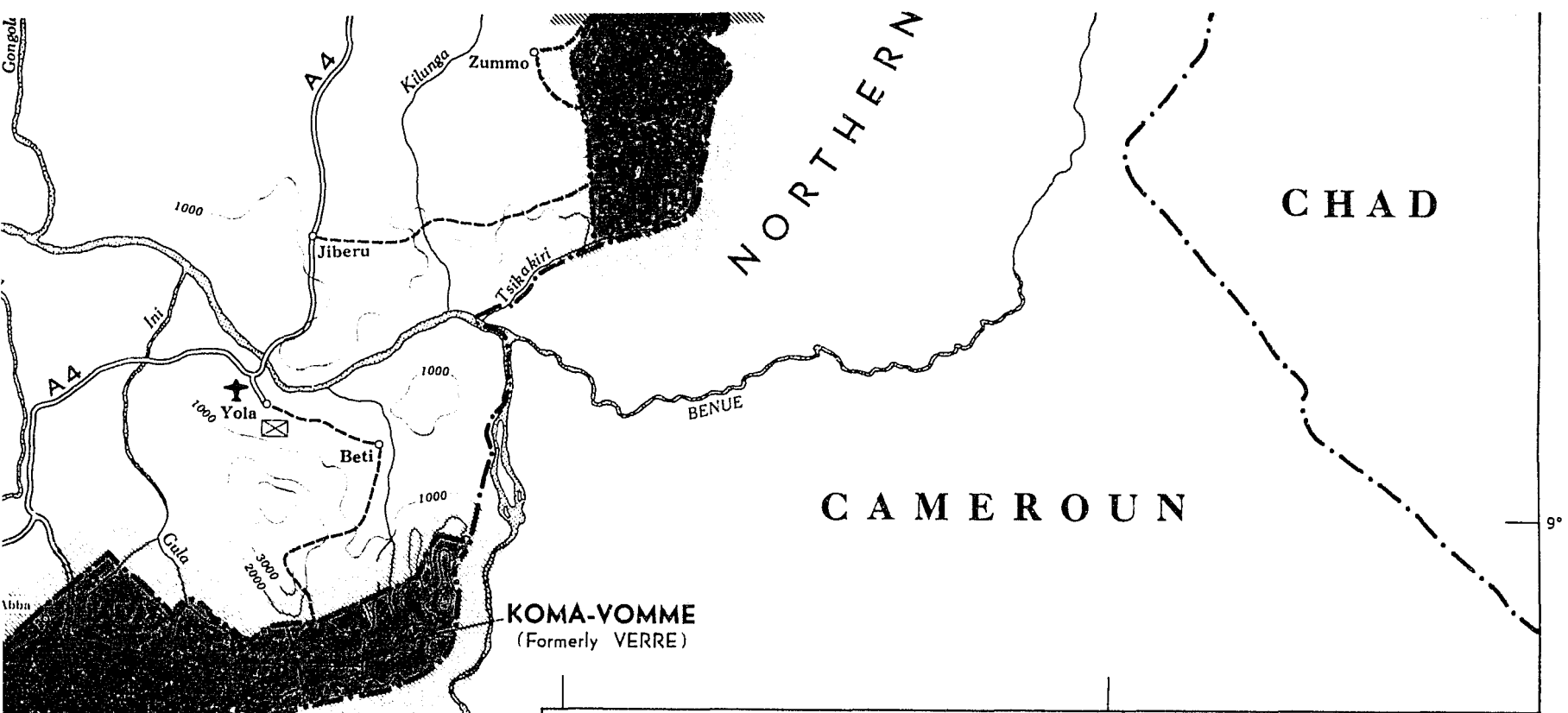
DIKWA DIVISION

CHAD

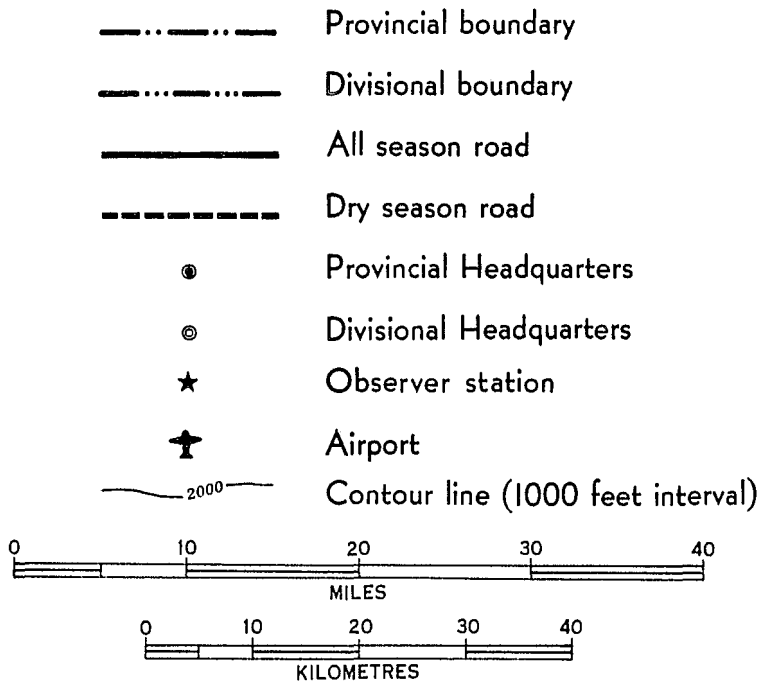


4. DIAWA GENERAL	47,400	40,077
3. GWOZA	2,554	18,115
4. CUBUNAWA-MADAGALI	13,299	16,904
5. MUBI	11,132	23,798
6. CHAMBA	25,177	9,704
7. GASHAKA-TOUNGO	3,108	4,999
8. MAMBILLA	7,467	13,523
9. UNITED HILLS	157	7,791
TOTAL	97,650	146,296
Total number of registered voters: 292,985		
Total number of valid votes cast: 243,955		



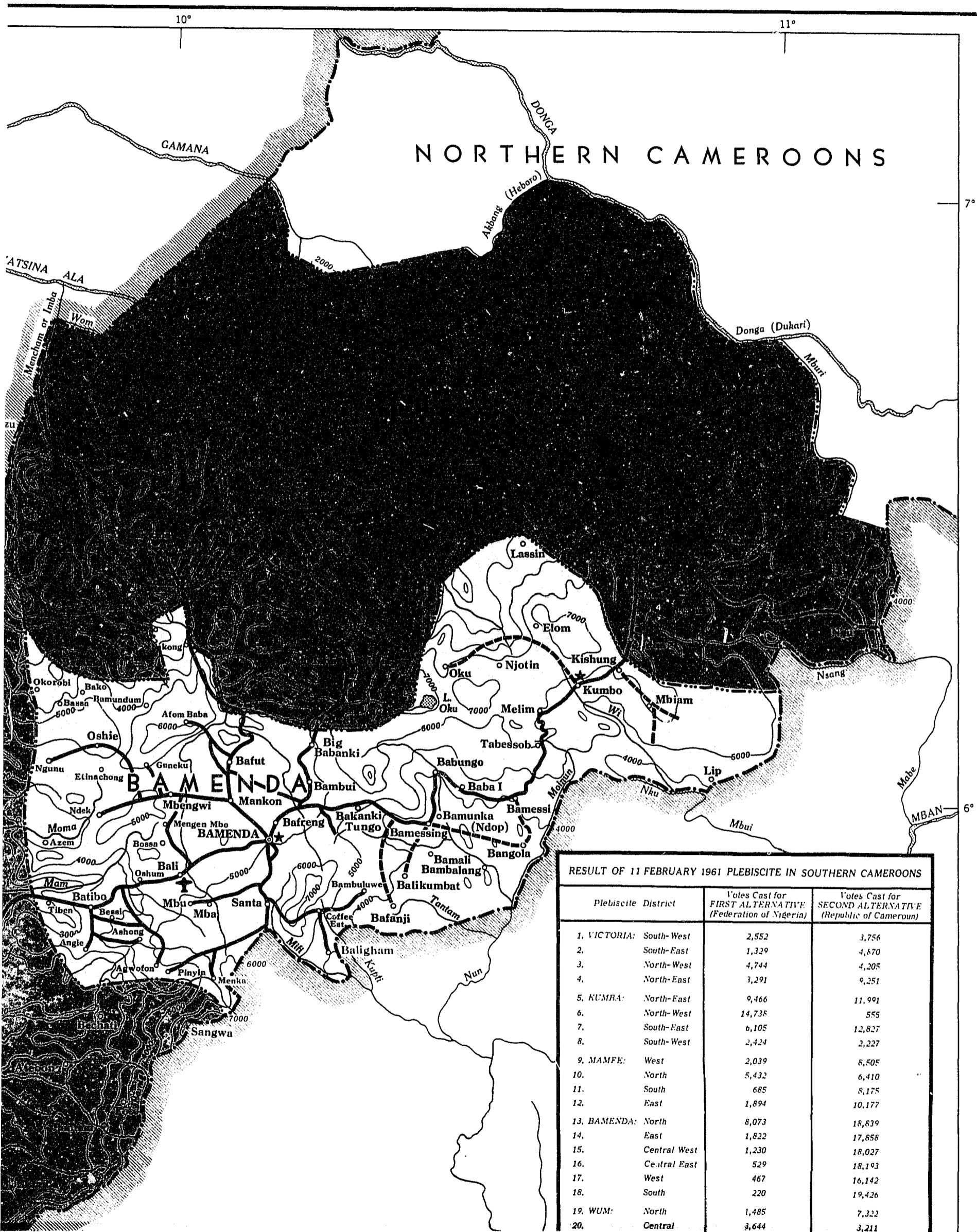


TRUST TERRITORY OF THE CAMEROONS UNDER UNITED KINGDOM ADMINISTRATION SOUTHERN CAMEROONS



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

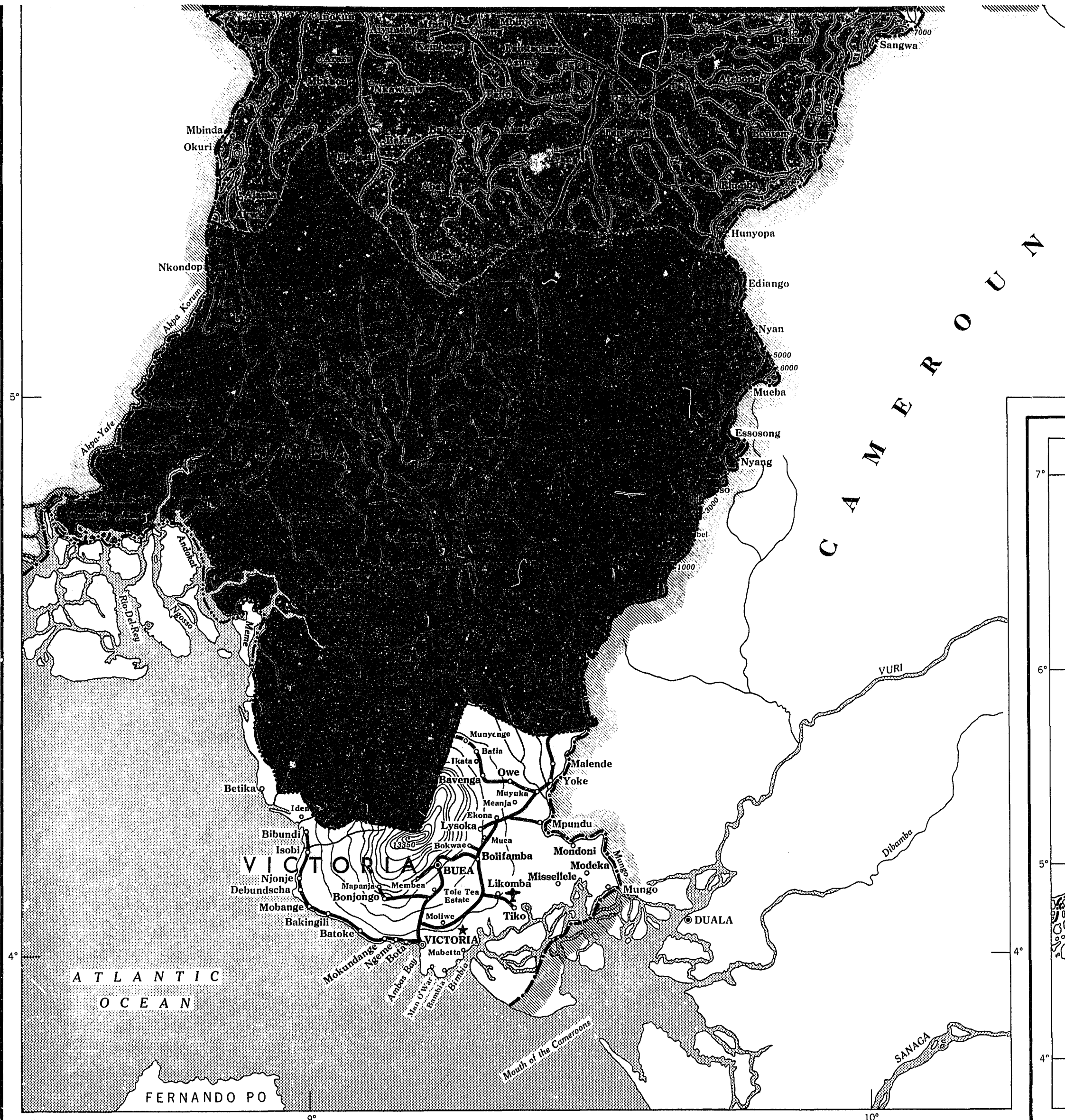


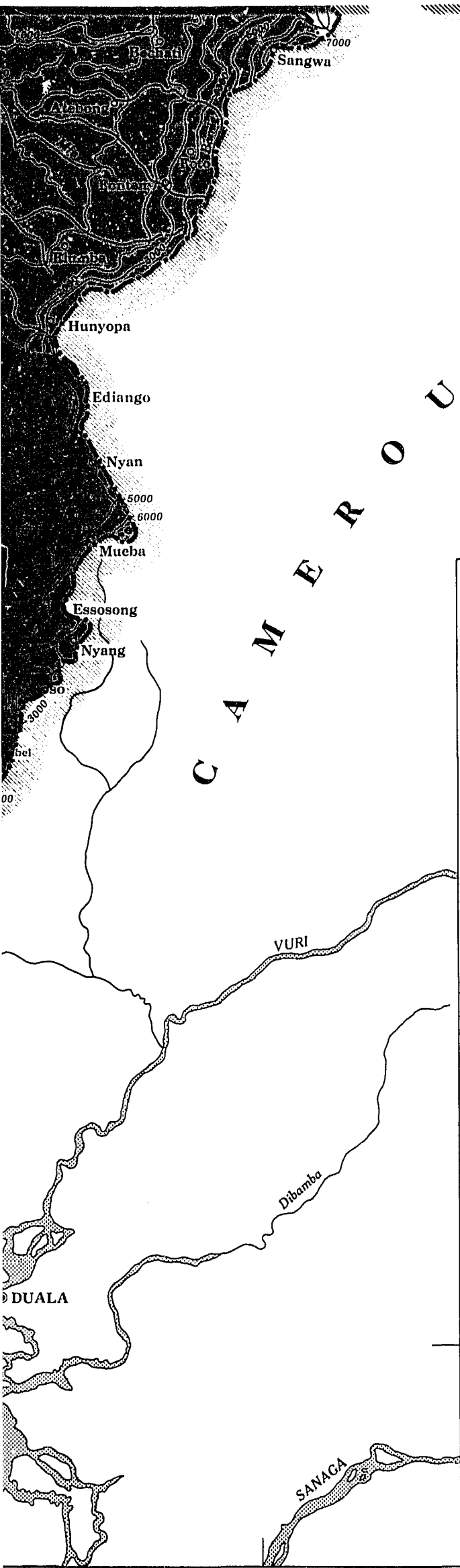


NORTHERN CAMEROONS

RESULT OF 11 FEBRUARY 1961 PLEBISCITE IN SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

Plebiscite District	Votes Cast for FIRST ALTERNATIVE (Federation of Nigeria)	Votes Cast for SECOND ALTERNATIVE (Republic of Cameroun)
1. VICTORIA: South-West	2,552	3,756
2. South-East	1,329	4,670
3. North-West	4,744	4,205
4. North-East	3,291	9,251
5. KUMBA: North-East	9,466	11,991
6. North-West	14,738	555
7. South-East	6,105	12,827
8. South-West	2,424	2,227
9. MAMFE: West	2,039	8,505
10. North	5,432	6,410
11. South	685	8,175
12. East	1,894	10,177
13. BAMENDA: North	8,073	18,839
14. East	1,822	17,858
15. Central West	1,230	18,027
16. Central East	529	18,193
17. West	467	16,142
18. South	220	19,426
19. WUM: North	1,485	7,322
20. Central	3,644	3,211





5. KUMBA:	North-East	9,466	11,991
6.	North-West	14,736	555
7.	South-East	6,105	12,837
8.	South-West	2,424	2,127
9. MAMFE:	West	2,039	8,501
10.	North	5,432	6,410
11.	South	685	8,175
12.	East	1,894	10,177
13. BAMENDA:	North	8,073	18,839
14.	East	1,822	17,658
15.	Central West	1,230	18,027
16.	Central East	529	18,193
17.	West	467	16,142
18.	South	220	19,426
19. WUM:	North	1,485	7,322
20.	Central	1,644	3,211
21.	East	1,518	13,133
22.	West	1,137	3,449
23. NKAMBE:	North	1,962	1,917
24.	East	1,845	5,896
25.	Central	1,059	4,288
26.	South	1,051	2,921
TOTAL		9,741	233,571
Total number of registered voters:		349,62	
Total number of valid votes cast:		331,31	

