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

ADDENDUM TO THE REPORT ON THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE CAMEROONS  
UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION (T/1426)

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL DATED 6 FEBRUARY 1959 FROM THE CHAIRMAN  
AND MEMBERS OF THE VISITING MISSION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

We have the honour to refer to our letter to you of 19 January 1959 transmitting the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1958, on the Cameroons under British administration, and to say that as anticipated in that letter the Mission has reviewed the final section of the report in the light of the results of the general elections held in the Southern Cameroons on 24 January 1959.

The Mission has unanimously approved an addendum to the report and transmits it to you herewith. It is making available informally to the Administering Authority a number of copies; it would be grateful if you would officially transmit the addendum in document form, in accordance with rule 99 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, to the Administering Authority and each other member of the Council, and if you would release it for general distribution at a date to be determined by you in consultation with the Administering Authority.

(Signed)	Benjamin Gerig Chairman	(United States of America)
	Georges Salomon	(Haiti)
	Rikhi Jaipal	(India)
	Gray Thorp	(New Zealand)

204. The difficulty which, as explained above,<sup>1/</sup> the Mission felt in making precise recommendations in advance of the elections as to the manner in which the future of the Southern Cameroons might be determined made it preferable, if that had been feasible, to await the results of those elections before completing and submitting its report. The Mission felt obliged, however, to take into account the timetable of United Nations discussion which had been established by the decision of the General Assembly<sup>2/</sup> to resume its thirteenth session on 20 February 1959 in order to consider the question of the future of the two Cameroons, and by the fact that the Mission's report would have to be considered by the Trusteeship Council before that date. To allow time for this, the Mission approved and submitted on 19 January the whole of the foregoing part of its report and Annexes I - V, reserving the right to review the final section after the elections and to submit an addendum if it considered this to be necessary.

205. With the co-operation of the Administering Authority, the Mission was able within a few days of the elections to study detailed results of the polling and other information of relevance, including major statements of policy and objectives placed before the electors by the leaders of the main political parties. It was therefore in a position to complete its report in the following terms.

206. It appeared to the Mission that the attitudes and objectives of the main political parties on the eve of the elections were basically the same as those explained to it in November. Election broadcasts made by the party leaders on the Nigerian national and regional transmitters during the last ten days before the polling seemed to confirm that while the ultimate future of the Southern Cameroons was not and no doubt could not be posed in clear terms, the leaders nevertheless regarded the question of the relationship of the Southern Cameroons with Nigeria as the central issue involved. The leaders of the KNDP and the KPP put this issue in direct terms as a choice between federation with Nigeria and "secession" from Nigeria, and all of the leaders could be said to have related matters of internal policy and development to the consequences of that choice. On the other hand, the question of Cameroons unification appeared to remain in the background, as is illustrated by the statements referred to below.

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<sup>1/</sup> See in particular paras. 183, 191, 193-196 and 203.

<sup>2/</sup> Resolution 1281 (XIII).

207. It is to be noted at the same time that the issues were not presented exclusively in terms of the future of the Southern Cameroons. Each party leader offered election programmes of economic, social and other development calculated to appeal in themselves to the electors and no doubt to influence many of those voters who might have been predominantly concerned with local issues.

208. In the first of these addresses,<sup>1/</sup> on 15 January 1959, Mr. P.M. Kale, leader of the Kamerun People's Party (KPP) - part of the alliance forming the Government at the time - declared that "the choice is before the Cameroons electorate" between two alternatives which he posed as the following questions:

"Having reached puberty somehow from British tutelage in so far as to achieve Regional status, have a Legislative Assembly with a Premier and Ministers, and guaranteed equal rights in the Federation of Nigeria, is it right for us to secede now and constitute the Southern Cameroons into a minute nation of three quarters of a million people against thirty-three million strong of Nigeria, East, West and North, and four and a half millions of the French sector - or, having seceded, join the French sector with its four and a half millions and thereby throw overboard a culture that we have imbibed for forty years, and then embrace an entirely new one and start it all over again? .....

"Or is it better to remain as a component part of the Federation of Nigeria, and keep what we already hold for ourselves, the living ones of today, and for sons and daughters of the Cameroons yet unborn, bearing in mind that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush? The choice is before the Cameroons electorate."

209. Speaking on 16 January for the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP),<sup>2/</sup> Mr. Foncha presented the issues to the voters in this fashion:

"And now, ladies and gentlemen, the general election and its purpose: You have been warned of the consequences of your vote on the 24th. You will choose between freedom or eternal subordination. the KNC and KPP stand for permanent subjugation of your right for a Cameroons nationhood to that of Nigeria .....

"But if you vote the KNDP to power, you will secede from the Federation before 1960. You will then work for real freedom for the Cameroons as a nation. You will build up the economy of the Southern Cameroons on a better footing under the guidance of United Kingdom Government as the Administering Authority .....

<sup>1/</sup> See Annex VI (a).

<sup>2/</sup> See Annex VI (b).

"Secession from the Federation of Nigeria will place the Southern Cameroons in a position to negotiate terms for reunification with the Government of any free section of Kamerun which desires it. In this connexion, the Cameroons under French Trusteeship has made a big stride as France has already consented for its independence in 1960. Northern Cameroonians have already vindicated the stand I took during the Resumed Conference when I said that a large element among them were desirous of reunification with the Southern Sector. This they did by presenting a memoranda to the United Nations Visiting Mission in November 1958. <sup>1/</sup> They are watching at us. The building up of a Cameroons nation once again is a matter which is our concern. The question of reunification is now quite clear that it will be accomplished by independent sections rather than dependent ones under British or French. Therefore, don't be confused by the integrationists who talk of our taking you to France. Soon there will be no French or British subjects in West Africa."

210. This series of broadcasts was completed on 17 January by Dr. Endeley as leader of the Kamerun National Congress (KNC), <sup>2/</sup> who supported federation with Nigeria by implication rather than in direct terms. He devoted his address mainly to an account of the success of the KNC and its ally, the KPP, in securing agreement to "an advanced constitution for the Southern Cameroons which would secure her as an autonomous State equal in all respects with the other Regions of the Federation of Nigeria at all times," and to the achievements for which his Government claimed credit in the fields of economic and social development. Dr. Endeley put his case principally by arguing that the programme which his party had put into actual practice stretched far into the future, whereas its opponents offered "nothing but the never-ending and meaningless slogan of secession from the Federation of Nigeria". He stated further:

"They advocate secession and unification with the French Cameroons and a blank future. Their reason for this is that they fear enslavement by Nigeria but wouldn't mind enslavement under a French Cameroons which would have been independent in January 1960 and therefore politically more advanced than the Southern Cameroons. They talk glibly of wishing to retain the Cameroons identity. What other identity do we want besides the one offered by the independence of our legislature and the power to manage our domestic affairs in the way we want?"

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<sup>1/</sup> The Mission assumes this to refer to the representations made to it on behalf of either or both of certain groups of people immediately to the north of the Southern Cameroons boundary (see para. 165 and Annex I).

<sup>2/</sup> See Annex VI (c).

"They have allied themselves to One Kamerun party, the reincarnation of the notorious UPC which was very fitly rejected in 1957 elections. If the French Camerons is in such a happy state over their political future why do French Cameroonians now resident here not pack up en masse and go home to rejoice as Ghanaians and Guineans did? Why do they cling like leeches and flock daily to this Sector?

"The issues before you all are clear as crystal. The Kamerun National Democratic Party neither have the men nor the programme for the next Government of this country ..... A new KNC Government assures you of fearless and thoughtful leadership, continued progress and a secure and peaceful future. A KNDP or One Kamerun Government, means nothing but noise, a blank and uncertain future and a possible plunge back into barbarian tribal law and the stone age ....."

211. The elections held on 24 January for the twenty-six elective seats in the House of Assently resulted in a majority for the KNDP, which won fourteen seats against twelve secured by the KNC/KPP Alliance. The KNDP also won the majority of the popular votes: it gained a total of 75,326 votes (which appeared, however, to include 2,021 cast for two candidates of the One Kamerun or O.K. party), as against 51,384 for the KNC/KPP Alliance and 10,509 for independent candidates. The provisional results in each of the twenty-six constituencies, as supplied to the Mission, are set out in the following table:

GENERAL ELECTIONS FOR SOUTHERN CAMEROONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, 24 JANUARY 1959

CONSTITUENCY	REGISTERED VOTERS	KNC/KPP <sup>1/</sup>	KNDF <sup>2/</sup>	INDEPENDENT	TOTAL VOTES	SEAT WON BY
Victoria S.W.	5,769	2,100 *	1,027	71	3,198	KNC/KPP
Victoria S.E.	5,916	1,182)	1,293	-	3,288	KNDF
		813)*				
Victoria N.W.	6,309	3,086	841	-	3,927	KNC/KPP
Victoria N.E.	8,652	2,079	2,464	-	4,543	KNDF
Kumba N.E.	12,870	4,876	4,089	-	8,965	KNC/KPP
Kumba N.W.	9,550	Unopposed*	-	-	-	KNC/KPP
Kumba S.E.	15,459	5,057 *	6,429	-	11,486	KNDF
Kumba S.W.	3,880	1,538	513	247	2,298	KNC/KPP
Mamfe W.	8,630	1,702	4,004	297	6,003	KNDF
Mamfe N.	12,085	6,519	2,111	-	8,630	KNC/KPP
Mamfe S.	8,074	1,449	3,024	1,769	6,242	KNDF
Mamfe E.	10,590	3,076	5,761	-	8,837	KNDF
Bamenda N.	10,793	3,083	2,879	-	5,962	KNC/KPP
Bamenda E.	7,205	473	3,239	269	3,981	KNDF
Bamenda Central W.	7,746	462	5,736	-	6,198	KNDF
Bamenda Central E.	10,423	725	4,937)	133	7,735	KNDF
			1,940)			
Bamenda W.	12,950	1,595	7,478	79	9,152	KNDF
Bamenda S.	15,932	166	5,929	6,908 <sup>3/</sup>	13,003	KNDF
Wum N.	3,709	674	1,031	736 <sup>4/</sup>	2,441	KNDF
Wum Central	4,234	1,442	1,398	-	2,840	KNC/KPP
Wum E.	4,469	453	3,263	-	3,716	KNDF
Wum W.	2,621	769	1,079	-	1,848	KNDF
Nkambe N.	2,440	1,215	87)	-	1,383	KNC/KPP
			81)			
Nkambe E.	5,444	2,113	1,355	-	3,468	KNC/KPP
Nkambe Central	5,775	2,638	2,243	-	4,881	KNC/KPP
Nkambe S.	4,051	2,099	1,095	-	3,194	KNC/KPP
TOTALS	205,576	51,384	75,326	10,509	137,219	-

1/ An asterisk (\*) indicates a KPP candidate; the others were KNC candidates.

2/ All these candidates were KNDF except in Bamenda Central and Nkambe North, where the second of the two figures is understood to represent an O.K. candidate.

3/ Three independent candidates polled 5,780, 988 and 140 votes respectively.

4/ Two independent candidates polled 621 and 155 votes respectively.

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212. The Mission was informed further that the average poll was 70 per cent of the registered electors. It is difficult to indicate with accuracy the percentage of votes cast for candidates supporting the two main political trends, since the Kumba North-West seat was won without opposition and the positions of the independent candidates are not known. For an approximate indication, however, the Kumba seat might be calculated as being worth to the KNC/KPP 70 per cent of the 9,550 registered electors there - i.e. as 6,685 votes. On this basis a total of 58,069 votes, or 40.4 per cent, might be said to have been cast in favour of candidates pledged to support association with the Federation of Nigeria, and 75,326 votes, or 52.3 per cent, in favour of candidates supporting "secession" from Nigeria. The remaining 7.3 per cent of the votes were cast for independent candidates. The Mission has no evidence that unification as such was an immediate issue. It should also be said - and the Mission's own observations in the Territory bore this out - that personal likes and dislikes towards candidates and issues of a purely local character, undoubtedly had a bearing on the polling.

213. The first and, at the time of writing of this report, the only practical result of the elections is that the leader of the KNDP, Mr. Foncha, has been invited to form a government; and on 30 January he was appointed Premier. The precise intentions of his Government concerning the future of the Southern Cameroons are not yet known; the Mission can only refer again to the programme which the Premier had in mind before the elections.<sup>1/</sup> In brief he envisaged taking the following steps: (a) to request the Administering Authority to bring about the separation of the Southern Cameroons from the Federation of Nigeria; (b) to secure in the House of Assembly the adoption of a resolution "confirming the consent of the people" for Cameroons unification; (c) to negotiate in advance the conditions for unification; (d) to remain under Trusteeship until the attainment of independence, and to attain that independence with unification taking effect - if it proved practicable - at the same time. It must be noted, however, that in the election broadcast mentioned above he limited himself to saying that if the KNDP came to power, the Southern Cameroons "will secede from the Federation before 1960", and that "secession from the Federation of Nigeria

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<sup>1/</sup> See paras. 99-103.

will place the Southern Cameroons in a position to negotiate terms for reunification with the government of any free section of Kamerun which desires it."

214. The elections have created a new political situation whose implications and consequences cannot immediately be assessed. The situation must be given the necessary time to evolve further, whether to produce general agreement as to the future of the Southern Cameroons or, failing that, to allow the practicable choices confronting the people to be precisely formulated. The way in which the situation evolves will in the Mission's view depend in the first instance on the representatives of the people themselves. It has said elsewhere in its report that importance should be attached to the fact that the Southern Cameroons possesses institutions of its own - the House of Assembly and the Government responsible to it - which have wide powers and whose authority and representative character, now that they are based on universal adult suffrage, must be given full weight. On the face of the election results, these institutions are now controlled, by a small margin, by a political party pledged to try 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 is administered as an integral part of Nigeria. It is to be noted that this has 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.

215. It appears to the Mission to be essential to give the new Government time to review its intentions in this respect. The party forming the Government appears to the Mission to be now 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 is to be expected that this will require in any case a thorough examination of the administrative and financial arrangements at present existing. But in addition, and this may be of larger importance, the Government will have to take into account the political aspects of the matter. In the first place it may 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 is sufficiently secure and its mandate sufficiently clear to enable



it to pursue separation from Nigeria. The Mission has noted in this connexion that the leaders of the opposition alliance have already requested<sup>1/</sup> an immediate meeting of the House of Assembly on the grounds that because of the closeness of the election results, the policy of the new Government party "needs restating and testing" on the floor of the legislature.

216. In the second place, the Government will no doubt 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 Premier's intention, as stated before the elections, was to explore at an early date the possible terms of some form of association with the Cameroons under French administration as the eventual destiny of the Southern Cameroons. On the basis of the acceptability or otherwise of those terms he may have to examine alternative courses, not necessarily excluding a continued relationship with Nigeria.

217. The Mission therefore considers 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 is still its purpose, to ascertain by discussion with the Government of the Cameroons under French administration the terms under which some form of unification 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 as to the attainment of the objective of trusteeship and their views as to the determination of the opinion of the population. Only then, in the Mission's opinion, will it be possible to state what practical course, or choice of courses, confronts the people of the Southern Cameroons.

218. In the light of the foregoing, the Mission has come to the conclusion that the results of the elections cannot be regarded as decisive as far as the future of the Southern Cameroons is concerned. If general agreement should develop in the newly-elected House of Assembly concerning the future of the Southern Cameroons a formal popular consultation may prove to be unnecessary; but if no such agreement emerges, it may only be through a consultation at some appropriate future date, probably a plebiscite, that it will be possible

<sup>1/</sup> See T/PET.4/L.14.

to resolve the basic issues. In that event, the Mission considers that the conditions for such a consultation, including its timing and the question or questions to be put to the people, will 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. The Mission considers that if by the time of the resumed thirteenth session of the General Assembly, the essential elements required for any decision affecting the determination of the future of the Southern Cameroons are not complete, it would appear advisable to defer further consideration of this question until the next regular session.

ANNEX VI.

ELECTION SPEECHES BY THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL LEADERS IN  
THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS, JANUARY 1959

(a) Election broadcast by Mr. P.M. Kale, leader of the Kameruns People's Party (KPP), 15 January 1959

As we are approaching the third General Election into the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly which was created in 1953 following the dissolution of the Eastern House of Assembly, I take this opportunity of addressing myself to the electorate of the twenty-six constituencies of the Southern Cameroons through the medium of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation on the stand of the Kameruns People's Party. But before I go further let me first of all give you a background of the K.P.P. The K.P.P. was born in 1953 just at a time when there was a serious political crisis in Enugu which ended in the dissolution of the Eastern House of Assembly, during which time the Cameroons was attached to the Eastern Region. Thirteen Cameroonians were then legislators in the Eastern House of Assembly. After the crisis they broke off into two factions, forming two political parties, the K.N.C. and the K.P.P. Since its inception the K.P.P. has dedicated itself to the propagation of truth, the service of the Cameroons people and the preparedness to pay even the supreme sacrifice on behalf of our Fatherland, in order to bring home to our people those things that make for prosperity, health and happiness amongst civilized mankind. In the pursuit of these ideals, the K.P.P. advocated this period of mingled goodwill and peaceful coexistence between Cameroonians and non-Cameroonians, irrespective of racial or tribal affinity. In other words right from the word go the K.P.P. adhered to the principle that the unity of the Cameroons with Nigeria was vital to the political progress and healthy development of the Cameroons. These ideals, lofty as they are, were misunderstood by the enemies of the Kameruns People's Party, who painted themselves as saints and saviours of the Cameroons. The result was that everything was done to discredit the Party's leaders and followers before the people throughout the length and breadth of the Cameroons. In spite of that, however, we held our ground firmly. Today, barely six years after, the cause of the K.P.P. has been more than vindicated. A cross-section of the people have begun to view matters from the right perspective.

The future of the Cameroons is clear to them now in the light of constitutional arrangements and/or changes. Others, for sentimental or other reasons are sceptical or rather pessimistic, and therefore hold divergent views as to the future of the Cameroons in relation to the Federation of Nigeria.

In plain language let me discuss the main differences, which seem to be purely ideological, between the K.P.P. and its opponents. There are really only two of these opponents, the K.N.D.P. and the O.K. - that is One Kamerun. As to the K.N.C., there is now no ideological difference between them and the K.P.P. The two Parties' programmes are basically the same, because they have agreed that there can be no brighter future for the Cameroons than its continued association with Nigeria. There is, however, an element of political opportunism in most of the K.N.C.'ers, and a rather relentless attack on the leadership of the K.P.P. by inconsequential followers of the K.N.C. The seeds of these were, of course, sown by the entire pyramid of the K.N.C. in 1953, but things have changed through the magnanimity of the leadership of the K.N.C., so I can afford to ignore that. The K.P.P. believes in parliamentary democracy, Britain's proudest system of government; and to believe in democracy one must appreciate what Voltaire meant when he said "I disapprove of what you say, but will defend to the death your right to say it". We believe in freedom of speech and right to appeal. We hold it as a fundamental human right that our opponents have the right to exist and to express their views as they see fit, so long as they do not impinge upon the rights of others. It is with that at the back of my mind that I am discussing the other political parties, and addressing myself strongly to the Cameroons electorate to be wary when the clock strikes for them to cast their votes on Saturday, 24 January this year of our Lord, 1959.

During the two Constitutional Conferences held in London which I attended, the leaders of the K.P.P. and the K.N.C. agreed that the political life of the Cameroons, for reasons of administration and other arrangements concluded since forty years ago, was better secured by its continued association with Nigeria.

The last Constitutional Conference upheld this view by agreeing that, all things being equal, the Cameroons would constitute a full Region in the Federation of Nigeria equal in all respects with the other Regions. As a practical step towards that goal the political status of the Cameroons has been enhanced by the introduction of the ministerial system of government. The

attainment of self-government has also been agreed upon by constitutional arrangements to take effect as from October this year. These are some of the major achievements, amongst several other ones, which the combined efforts of the K.P.P. and the K.N.C. have borne for the benefit of Cameroonians, irrespective of creed or tribal connexions. In other words, the K.P.P. is demonstrating to the world in a humble way the capacity of the black man to rule himself in his own country. Our stand to remain as a component part of the Federation of Nigeria is compatible with world opinion - an opinion which supports unity and not fragmentation of African races or groups, and it is also based on the indisputable fact that Cameroons political evolution has been greatly influenced by our association with Nigeria. That is so because for the forty years or more of the administration of the Cameroons as an integral part of Nigeria, Nigerian politicians and other leaders of thought in their struggle to free Nigeria from the yoke of foreign rule, have always been conscious of Cameroonian national aspirations, sympathized with same, and encouraged our growth towards a self-governing territory. In fact, political parties in Nigeria have always had the Cameroons in their programme: for instance the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and Dr. Mbadiwe's new political party, the Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons. But contrary to what the K.P.P. maintain is contemporaneous with world opinion, the K.N.D.P. hold the view that the salvation of the Cameroons lies in its secession from Nigeria. Another political party, One Kamerun, holds the same view, and demands also unification of both the French and the British sectors of the Cameroons. The fundamental issue at stake, as I see it, is not who is right, but what is right. Having reached puberty somehow from British tutelage in so far as to achieve Regional status, having a Legislative Assembly with a Premier and Ministers, and guaranteed equal rights in the Federation of Nigeria, is it right for us to secede now and constitute the Southern Cameroons into a minute nation of three quarters of a million people against 33 million strong of Nigeria, East, West and North, and 4.5 million of the French sector - or, having seceded, join the French sector with its 4.5 million and thereby throw overboard a culture that we have imbibed for forty years, and then embrace an entirely new one and start it all over again? Because however the protagonists of secession and unification argue the case, British

political culture in relation to colonies is different from the French, and it is unthinkable that 4.5 million tutored French Cameroonians would surrender to three quarters of a million British trained Cameroonians.

Or is it better to remain as a component part of the Federation of Nigeria, and keep what we already hold for ourselves, the living ones of today, and for sons and daughters of the Cameroons yet unborn, bearing in mind that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush? The choice is before the Cameroons electorate. May the footprints on the sands of time which have guided great nations like Great Britain and the United States of America to build a heritage of freedom, guide you all in casting your votes.

(b) Election broadcast by J.N. Foncha, President-General of the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), 16 January 1959

Cameroonians and friends of the Cameroons, in a few days you will be called upon to perform the most important of the civic duties you owe the Southern Cameroons. The forthcoming general election to be held on 24 January 1959 is an opportunity for us all to choose the party which has proved itself to be devoted to the preservation of the national identity of the Cameroons. I have spoken to many of you right in your village gatherings and have given sufficient warnings as to the ensnares the K.N.C. Government was preparing for us. Now that your time to give judgement against them is drawing near, I wish to recall some of the reasons why you should be careful as to make a proper choice.

When in March 1955 I took the decision to go on the Opposition I had foreseen that the K.N.C. would abandon our cherished policy of secession from the Federation of Nigeria. The alliance concluded with the Action Group without consulting the opinion of the national executive Committee was a direct reversal of the famous "Benevolent Neutrality" declaration of April, 1953, and was a piece of insult to democratic minded Cameroonians. It was a pointer that worse decisions would be taken again unless something was done to curb the emerging dictators within the party. Those who now remain within the K.N.C. have stooped so low to policies propounded against their own conscience that they have accepted serfdom as their lot. This is the time to shake off the chains of dictators from your hands and conscience and so help the nationalist party to regain freedom of thought and speech for you.

I have tasted the bitterness of being in opposition to a Government which works against the wishes of its people, but I have been the more happy for it because I have held up the national aspiration of Cameroonians from being bartered away secretly. At the Bamenda Summit Conference of May 1956, the K.N.D.P. stood firmly for secession from the Federation of Nigeria and so forcing the K.N.C. to take refuge under the platform of the K.P.P. The two hitherto bitter enemies found room for a compromise and together they signed a common resolution to remain part of an independent Nigeria, and requested that only a full regional status be accorded. This first submission of the K.N.C. to the K.P.P. was a betrayal of the trust imposed upon it by well meaning citizens of the Southern Cameroons and an eye opener to my prediction that it was heading towards integration.

It was a happy issue that the disagreement created at the Bamenda Summit Conference was carried to the Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London in 1957. Here, the K.N.C./K.P.P. continued to present a united front against the K.N.D.P., but ideology rather than numerical strength was the deciding factor. The result of the Conference as could be seen proved to be more favourable for the K.N.D.P. than the allied parties; for the Secretary of State for the Colonies being between and betwixt had to rebound the matter to the Cameroons people at home. He, however, gave the two options to choose between remaining a permanent part of an independent Nigeria or to secede from it and to continue under the Trust Administration of the United Kingdom Government for a time before our own independence as free Cameroons people. He then added the warnings that Her Majesty's Government would be bound to follow the wishes of the majority whichever way they might choose to go.

The Resumed Conference made no marked change in the stand of the two opposing parties. However, the K.N.D.P. delegation was able to force an agreement for the time for the general elections, an achievement which is all the more appreciated in view of the delatory and unwillingness on the part of the K.N.C./K.P.P. Government to go to the polls.

Each succeeding conference revealed some hidden aspects of the K.N.C. plans for integration and hastened its fall. The Bamenda Conference prepared the way for the 1957 general election in which the K.N.D.P. rose from two to five, thus reducing the K.N.C. from ten to six, and enabling the K.P.P. to increase its

lone member to two, thus forcing a patched-up government formed by using the Six Native Administration nominated members. The Second Conference caused a further internal strife which resulted in the formation of two factions within the K.N.C. Government. The Secessionist faction later on broke off and joined the K.N.D.P. To maintain a majority at least in the House of Assembly, a huge concession had to be offered to the K.P.P. to enable them to agree for a Coalition government. Meanwhile the K.N.C. had become so depleted that the few members remaining had to be kept up by false promises. Some of them have been appointed members of boards which do not exist and they now know only too late that they have been deceived.

You can now see how much we of the opposition have done to sustain the fight for freedom for the Cameroons. By delaying tactics we have given Cameroonians the opportunity to mobilize. It is now the business of the whole nation to strike with a mighty force the final blow. Therefore let us all be ready for the zero hour which is 24 January 1959.

Why must the K.N.D.P. capture the next Government of the Southern Cameroons? We all know the answer only too well. I mentioned earlier that I have for the past four years tasted the bitterness of a government which works against the wishes of its people. The future of the Southern Cameroons to me looks gloomy and I am determined to set things right with the goodwill of the thousands of Cameroonians now ready to contribute their shares for the success of a K.N.D.P. Government.

I wish therefore to ensure all citizens and friends of the Cameroons that once the K.N.D.P. is voted into power they will have justice and the respect due to them. The implementation of the recommendations of the Resumed Conference would be a regrettable thing if it were left in the hands of the K.N.C./K.P.P. Government. Cameroonians, if they would be considered for higher appointment at all would have to bend low, cap in hand, and consent to the meanest orders against their conscience. If they now rule with an iron hand even when the soil has been removed beneath their feet, how much more if they were given another opportunity to carry on for the next five years. Intimidation and victimization of the civil servants had been the order of the day, and I fail to see how in a democratic world of today human beings would continue to work under such conditions.



A K.N.D.P. government would liberate our workers from fear and uncertain future and would enkindle in them the spirit of patriotism and self-respect which are essential for success in any business. Employment and promotion shall be on merits, and efficiency shall be obtained by mutual respect and trust which are essential between the legislators and the civil servants. The establishment of a Cameroons Civil Service this year will mean nothing to Cameroonians if this were done by a KNC/KPP Government. The K.N.D.P. as the nationalist party will be the one to follow our policy of Cameroonizing the Civil Service of this Territory. While strangers continue to have chances for employment, this will be limited to the very few, special ones with special technical knowledge necessary for continuing the present establishment.

Another important constitutional change which must not be allowed to fall in the hands of a dictatorial government is the inauguration of the House of Chiefs. The K.N.D.P. regards the House of Chiefs as an additional authority for the building up of a peaceful and stable government. Its inauguration will disclose the valuable experience gained through long experience of village politics which should be directed to fit in with the running of modern Governments. The only party fitted to direct such a body is the K.N.D.P. which has long been interested in it.

Let me now draw your attention to our economic potentialities and say what a K.N.D.P. Government would do about them. The integrationalists have since the inception of the Southern Cameroon Regional Status fed us with the alleged poverty of the Territory, but we were never discouraged because we know the facts. We maintained that this was not true, but that the shortcomings in our yearly estimates was due to the arbitrary award of 1 per cent to the Territory as its own share of the constitution grant, and continued to say that it was quite below our just contribution. How far we were right was proved by the Fiscal Commission, an impartial body which quickly saw the matter in its correct perspective. Instead of 1 per cent it proved that our share was 5 per cent. Thus, instead of receiving from the Federal Bank only £200,000 in a good year for the Southern Cameroons, we were due £1m. and a balance of £800,000 was retained in error. Secession, we maintain will bring the Southern Cameroons an era of prosperity, for instead of receiving only a part of our income, we shall retain the whole.

Indeed, we are poor in the midst of plenty. Our soil is comparably richer than that of any Region of the Federation. Our banana crop, the easiest source of wealth available for everybody, refuses to grow in other Regions of the Federation. In addition oil palm, cocoa, coffee and rubber, the main source of the wealth of the Eastern and Western Regions grow almost uncultivated in the Southern Cameroons. Tea, pepper, castor oil, citrus, soya beans etc. etc. are proved to grow luxuriantly in the Territory. Vegetables are of numerous varieties. Our timber resources are great.

It is our plan that once we come into power we shall liberate the funds of the Regional Development Agency and give suitable loans to those farmers who are desirous of making use of our rich soil. The KNC/KPP government has failed in its promise for loans.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, the general election and its purpose: You have been warned of the consequences of your vote on the 24th. You will choose between freedom or eternal subordination. The KNC and KPP stand for permanent subjugation of your right for a Cameroons nationhood to that of Nigeria. The return of the KNC/KPP to power would mean submission to the regime of approved dictators. It shocks right thinking people to imagine it could happen again. If you do, apart from giving up yourselves, your children, the land and its goodness to an independent Nigerian Government, you would be giving yourselves once more for brutal rebuke as well as restoring a regime of terror into the peaceful, loving people of the Cameroons.

But if you vote the KNDP to power, you will secede from the Federation before 1960. You will then work for real freedom for the Cameroons as a nation. You will build up the economy of the Southern Cameroons on a better footing under the guidance of United Kingdom Government as the Administering Authority. The freedom loving peoples of the world will admire you and will, through their representatives in the United Nations Organization give us the assistance necessary for a new, emerging nation. Under the KNDP Government you will enjoy the sympathy of those who have suffered injustice in order to make you free and happy.

Secession from the Federation of Nigeria will place the Southern Cameroons in a position to negotiate terms for reunification with the government of any free section of Kamerun which desires it. In this connexion, the Cameroons under French trusteeship has made a big stride as France has already consented for its independence in 1960. Northern Cameroonians have already vindicated the stand I took during the Resumed Conference when I said that a large element among them were desirous of reunification with the Southern sector. This they did by presenting a memoranda to the United Nations Visiting Mission in November 1958. They are watching at us. The building up of a Cameroons nation once again is a matter which is our concern. The question of reunification is now quite clear that it will be accomplished by independent sections rather than dependent ones under British or French. Therefore, don't be confused by the integrationists who talk of our taking you to France. Soon there will be no French or British subjects in West Africa.

To get a new Government we must get to the polls. If it costs you the whole day to trek to the polling stations, it would be better for us to do so. The K.N.D.P. has held up battle for four years until the whole nation has been mobilized. Those who feel like ourselves are penetrating the villages on their own to keep our people aware of the danger of integration if they vote by mistakes for the KNC/KPP. I therefore hope that within the next few days or hours you will be able to contact those who have been deceived to believe on the false propaganda of the KNC/KPP.

May I on behalf of my colleagues and myself thank those who have taken part in the campaigns and to say that the news from all fronts is encouraging. We are confident that victory will be ours. Therefore, be orderly and peaceful at the polling stations. Our opponents are using mean propaganda because they have not the truth to tell the people. We must continue to set the example. But I advise you to be firm and stand for your right until justice is noted to you. I hope to speak to you again in a few days. Goodbye, and may God bless you.

(c) Election Broadcast by Dr. E.M.L. Endeley, Leader of the  
Kamerun National Congress (KNC), 17 January 1959)

Dear Countrymen,

In a few days time you shall be called upon as citizens to cast your votes at the General Elections in order to choose those representatives whom you consider fit to form your next Government.

Through the courtesy of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation I take this opportunity as leader of the Kamerun National Congress to broadcast to you a message which I believe will assist you in making up your mind where you should throw in your card when you enter the polling booth.

I am a little worried, however, that a very large number of electors in this country are not in possession of radio sets and will therefore not hear what I shall say tonight. Let me hope that those who listen in to me will be kind enough to pass on my message to their less fortunate brethren in the far removed rural areas.

The elections have come on us as a result of constitutional advances which my Party and its ally the Kamerun People's Party sought and secured at the Nigerian Constitutional Conference in 1957 and 1958. These changes sought an advanced constitution for the Southern Cameroons which would secure her as an autonomous state equal in all respects with the other Regions of the Federation of Nigeria at all times. We asked for an increase in the number of elected members of our Legislative, a Ministerial system of Government and Universal Adult Suffrage in order that our women too may take an active part in the political life of our country.

In order to effect these changes the territory had to be divided into twenty-six constituencies and new electoral regulations had to be enacted. These preparations were not completed till the middle of last July when we were right in the middle of the rainy season, a time when travelling is almost impossible in this country, because of the intensity of our rainfall and the state of our roads and the flooding of our fast flowing rivers. Therefore, as soon as dry weather arrived, His Excellency the High Commissioner for the Cameroons, who is Her Majesty's constitutional head for this territory dissolved the old legislative and named 24 January 1959 as the date for the elections.

The last elections for a new House, that is, the House just dissolved, took place early in 1957, but these were conducted under a suffrage which very unfortunately excluded women. Under the old constitutional arrangements which the K.N.C. and K.P.P. sought to change at the Constitutional Conference I have already mentioned earlier in 1957 and last year, this anomaly was removed.

These elections due to take place in a few days are the climax to a series of political rights which the Kamerun National Congress has spearheaded and won for the Cameroons and the people of this country since 1953, and this noble party has consequently enjoyed the unstinted confidence of the electorate throughout this period by being in Government ever since the Territory became a distinct entity in the Federation of Nigeria notwithstanding its Trusteeship status.

It goes without contradiction that it is the Kamerun National Congress as a political party which has made the present Southern Cameroons and all that it stands for. There is no party or group of parties in the territory now who can share this honour with the K.N.C. It has meant a great deal of hard thinking, planning, a thorough knowledge of the problems and people of the territory and real hard work on the part of its leaders. In short, this country owes a great deal and ought to be thankful to the K.N.C. leaders for their boldness, selflessness, steadfastness of purpose and sterling patriotism.

Our policy has been based on the slogan of "The Welfare and advancement of the Southern Cameroons and its people first, and other things afterwards". Throughout our difficult period of running a Government from nothing, we sought to serve the interests of the people as our paramount responsibility and have therefore modified and adjusted our policy accordingly from time to time.

We had originally dreamt of a United Kamerun Nation which will fuse the sections under British Trusteeship together first and later incorporate the Sector under French administration. Experience soon taught us how unreal and hypothetical this dream was, for as we were growing, so too were the other sectors. It was necessary, therefore, to remember the wise philosophy of St. Paul to realize the folly of persisting in childish thoughts after growing into manhood and my party has hence modified its policy on Unification. It is a matter no longer on our priority list.

Turning to practical politics I would like to summarize what we have achieved as a party during our unbroken period of service to our people.

I will confine myself to things that are visible to the ordinary man and woman in the street, taking them casually.

The most remarkable is the vigorous interest that has grown among Cameroonians and other tribes resident in the Cameroons in Cash Crop farming in the last four years. This stimulus was brought on by the rejuvenation of the Co-operative movement which sought to encourage the people to improve the culture and quality of their crops and produce and also sought markets for new crops like banana and coffee. With this interest had developed a noticeable improvement in the social standards of the people generally.

Encouragement in this field has been sustained by advancing moderate short-term loans to farmers through their co-operative societies and the recent inauguration of the nucleus of a Co-operative Bank. This will lead to a definite policy of establishing a genuine spirit of self-help among Cameroons peoples.

Educationally, and in spite of our limited resources, we speeded our Scholarship policy and sent more Cameroonians who otherwise could not afford education abroad to study the professions and in a few years started reaping the benefit by seeing young Cameroonians take up Senior Service or European posts in the country. The first girls Secondary School has been introduced to save our girls from the difficulties they experienced in going abroad for Secondary Education, and it is a pleasure to see that Cameroons girls are quickly taking their place as workers in various fields. A vigorous programme for teacher training is being pursued.

In the sphere of roads, a great deal has been achieved in the last four years as compared with the state in which we were before 1953. There are now permanent bridges throughout our Federal network, and a programme of widening and surfacing is going on.

A plan to improve our feeder roads into the productive areas is being pursued and the Tombel road is to be made all-season by the end of this year. Work on the Mamfe road is in progress and survey work on the Bakabe-Fontem Road is being carried out now. By 1960, we shall not suffer the seasonal handicap of having our roads closed in the wet season.

We are now proud of having at least one hospital in every Division and are also improving and are expanding old hospitals as well as extending maternity and welfare services into the rural areas.

Plans are afoot for introducing pipe-borne water into all our important towns in the Territory, and towns like Kumba, Buea, Tiko, Bamenda, Nkambe have already been served.

I could go on like this the whole evening, and I can say categorically that in spite of handicaps, the face of this Territory has been greatly changed in the last four years than it was ever dreamt of in the first forty under British administration as part of the Eastern Region.

There has been vigorous commercial activity and expansion following on the wake of this political advance and both banking and commercial houses have opened up expensive branches throughout the Territory. Investment in timber business and plantation industry have not lagged behind. All these have meant more opportunities for employment and training for Cameroonians in their country, especially as Government has insisted on providing adequate safeguards for their welfare in their interests.

These and other things has my party planned and done for you. The programme stretches far into the future until greater prosperity and better living standards become the order of the day in the Southern Cameroons and our people can hold their own and command respect and recognition in the ever growing community of Independent West African Territories.

What do our newly fledged and untried adversaries like the Kamerun National Democratic Party and One Kamerun offer the people? Nothing but the never-ending and meaningless slogan of secession from the Federation of Nigeria. They simply have no faith in the capacity of the Cameroons people to progress at the pace of other Regions or manage their own affairs efficiently. They stated quite categorically before the Secretary of State last October that the Cameroons people are too backward to have absorbed the constitutional changes introduced in 1958 adequately and warrant the new proposals asked for by K.N.C./K.P.P. Alliance which include:

- (i) A full African Ministerial Cabinet (excepting the Legal Secretary);
- (ii) An independent Judiciary and Public Service for the Territory;
- (iii) Regional self-government this year;
- (iv) Independence with the other Regions of the Federation in 1960 on a basis of full equality.

They advocate secession and unification with the French Cameroons and a blank future. Their reasons for this is that they fear enslavement by Nigeria but wouldn't mind enslavement under a French Cameroons which would have been independent in January 1960 and therefore politically more advanced than the Southern Cameroons. They talk glibly of wishing to retain the Cameroons identity. What other identity do we want besides the one offered by the independence of our legislature and the power to manage our domestic affairs in the way we want?

They have allied themselves to One Kamerun party, the reincarnation of the notorious U.P.C., which was very fitly rejected in 1957 elections.

If the French Cameroons is in such a happy state over their political future, why do French Cameroonians now resident here not pack up en masse and go home to rejoice as Ghananians and Guineans did? Why do they cling like leeches and flock daily to this Sector?

The issues before you all are clear as crystal. The Kamerun National Democratic Party neither have the men nor the programme for the next government of this country.

If you allow yourselves to heed their emotional and alarmist cry of "Wolf Wolf" when there is no wolf about, you may live to regret it for generations yet to come. But I trust in the sound and independent judgement which is characteristic of the Southern Cameroons electorate and which has weathered you through the trials in the early years of our political struggles, and call on you to return the K.N.C. in greater strength than ever, for you have all the worthy sons of the country contesting on the K.N.C. platform and the rest in the K.P.P. platform. Reject the K.N.D.P. as political imposters who want to reap where they did not sow.

A new K.N.C. government assures you of fearless and thoughtful leadership continued progress and a secure and peaceful future.

A K.N.D.P. or One Kamerun government means nothing but noise, a blank and uncertain future and a possible plunge back into barbarian tribal law and the stone age.

I am confident that as usual you will vote for the "Banana and the house" and return your party, the K.N.C., to power to take good care of your future.