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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 28 February 1958, at 10 a.m.

President:

Mr. ARENALES CATALAN

(Guatemala)

Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration /4d and 5/ (continued)

Note

The Official Record of this meeting, i.e., the summary record, will appear in provisional mimeographed form under the symbol T/SR.871 and will be subject to representatives' corrections. It will appear in final form in a printed volume.

AGENDA ITEMS 4d and 5

EXAMINATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE CAMEROONS UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION: (continued)

- (a) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY FOR 1956 (T/1351, 1354, 1363; T/L.813)
- (b) PETITIONS RAISING GENERAL QUESTIONS (T/L.813; T/PET.4 and 5/11; T/PET.4 and 5/L.15, 16, 17 and Add.1 and 2; T/COM.4 and 5/L.2; T/PET.5/L.416, 417, 430 to 432, 434 to 451)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Deniau, special representative for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration, took a place at the Trusteeship Council table.

General debate (continued)

Mr. ZADOTTI (Italy): When, last year, the Council was informed of the promulgation of Decree 57-50l of 16 April 1957 setting forth the Statute of the Cameroons, by which a considerable measure of self-government was granted to the Cameroonian people, my delegation, after having sought some clarification from the French representative, did not at that stage consider it proper to comment on the various provisions of the Statute. I wish to emphasize that our attitude was not motivated by lack of interest and appreciation for the very important step taken by the Administering Authority. Rather, we felt, as we feel now, that a theoretical analysis of the provisions of the Statute would hardly serve the purpose. We felt, as we feel now, that it would have been preferable to consider the merits of this very important document after it had been implemented. In this connexion I can quote the old English saying to the effect that the proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof.

We are now in a position to state that the adoption of the Statute was admirably planned, admirably timed and very well fitted to the conditions of the Territory. The Territorial Assembly elected in December 1956 by universal adult suffrage has now become the new Legislative Assembly -- a truly representative organ of the Cameroonian people. We know that the Assembly has been very active in its legislative work, and that it will be called upon to solve more pressing and more important problems in the future with a view to completing the necessary implementation of the Statute.

(Mr. Zadotti, Italy)

A Cameroonian Government enjoying the confidence of this Assembly was formed, and it has been replaced quite recently by a new one, as we just learned from the representative of France. In other words, the new democratic institutions have not only taken over the responsibilties required of them by the Statute, but have shown considerable vitality in their accomplishments. These accomplishments are recorded in the documentation before us, and I shall not take the time of the Council to enumerate them. I shall only note that in the opinion of my delegation the new Trust State now enjoys fully all the powers granted to it by the Statute. We think in this connexion, that the Council should express its satisfaction both to the Administering Authority and to the Cameroonian Government.

It can be observed that the Administering Authority is still retaining certain powers. In this connexion we think it useful to point out that these powers are retained mainly because, in our view, they could not be surrendered without prejudice to the exercise of the responsibility incumbent on the Administering Authority by virtue of the Trusteeship Agreement. In any event, we are very gratified to note that the door is left open by the Statute itself to further enlargement of the powers of the Cameroonian institutions.

We think, therefore, that it would be pointless at this stage to analyse which powers could be further surrendered to the Cameroonian authorities, since the Statute guarantees that they can at any stage demand an amendment of the Statute.

I want to note with great satisfaction one more important fact in the political field. During the year under review an excellent relationship in the political situation of the Territory has been noticeable between the Administering Authority and the Cameroonian people. In this connexion, we must note with deep regret that while the overwhelming majority of the Cameroonian people is united in supporting the Cameroonian Government, a small minority is still resorting to violence. May I say very frankly that we cannot accept the method of violence. It is well known that violence calls for more violence and that the inevitable outcome is only bloodshed and loss of human life.

(Mr. Zadotti, Italy)

The Administering Authority, by the adoption of the amnesty law, has now offered what I might call the traditional olive branch. We hope that this opportunity will not be disregarded and that the situation will soon turn for the better. In our opinion, the Council, while commending the Administering Authority for the promulgation of the amnesty, should also make it clear to those concerned that the observance of normal democratic practice is the procondition for the attainment of a climate of complete trust in the Territory and for its peaceful and rapid pragress.

Turning now to economic development, it can be observed that progress in this field has been perhaps less spectacular. However, no one will deny that here also there is alear evidence of the energetic way in which the Administering Authority is facing the problems of the economic development of the Territory. In this connexion, it is worth noting that the burden of financing the various plans is still borne by the Administering Authority. But the Cameroonian Government has now been closely associated not only with their implementation but also with their preparation.

It is true that many problems remain to be solved, problems which are common to all under-developed countries: budgetary difficulties, low production, deficit in balance of trade and of payments, shortage of capital investments, and so forth. But it is also true that the Administering Authority is doing its best to remedy this situation. A ten-year plan, financed mostly by FIDES funds, has been terminated. Though its results are not known in detail, it is not impossible for us to detect at this stage its beneficial effects. These effects are more evident in the fields of production, industrialization, trade, credit and so forth.

Here again we believe that the Council should acknowledge its appreciation to the Administering Authority and to the Cameroonian Government.

(Mr. Zadotti, Italy)

Without entering into any details on the various accomplishments in this field, I would rather confine myself to pointing out three of them which in the opinion of my delegation deserve the full attention of the Council, namely the completion of a new aluminium plant at Edéa, the creation of credit co-operatives, and in general the very interesting activity of la Société africaine de prévoyance. We trust that the Council will consider these developments with much satisfaction.

I now come to the social and educational fields I wish to say, to begin with, that the development in these fields is of great interest to my delegation. We realize what an important element this development represents for the general advancement of the Territory. But my delegation finds itself in a rather peculiar situation. We know that practically the complete totality of powers have been surrendered to the Cameroonian Government. So we can say that in this particular field the Cameroonian Government is entirely self-governing. Therefore, in the opinion of my delegation it would be somewhat difficult to comment on what the Cameroonian Government as a self-governing body has done in this field. It is for that reason that we will only confine our remarks to suggesting that the Council should express its appreciation of and its confidence in the work of the Cameroonian Government.

In conclusion, I would say that the year under review has been one of remarkable accomplishment. We should therefore like to congratulate both the Administering Authority and the Cameroonian people, which, in our opinion, deserve the commendation of the Council. I also wish to express the appreciation of my delegation to the representative of France and to the special representative who have so well performed the difficult task of giving the Council up-to-date and invaluable information. It has been through this information that we have been able to discuss, in the context of the 1956 annual report, conditions in the Territory for the year 1957 and, if I may add, for the first few months of 1958.

Mr. TOMEH (Syria). While the deliberation in this Council were going on regarding the French Cameroons, a number of events took place simultaneously, leading us to assume that there is a turn for the better in the Cameroons: first, the adoption by the French Parliament of an amnesty law to abolish sentences against Cameroonians for political infractions committed before 2 January 1956, provided that such Cameroonians were not deprived of their liberty for a twenty-year duration; secondly, the resignation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Mbida, preceded by a change of a High Commissioner.

Nevertheless, the scanty trickle of information received about the French Cameroons during our deliberations goes to show that the situation is not as happy as we desire it to be. We gather that rebel bands continue their activities in Sanaga-Maritime and the Bamiléké region. To put an end to such a state of affairs, military enforcements amounting to two companies were declared to come from French Equatorial Africa. La Presse de Cameroun wrote on 14 and 15 December that the UPC need not hope that the army shall be leaving at the end of several weeks or several months -- the army would remain as long as the rebellion was taking place.

At the same moment that the French Parliament granted the amnesty law, the subdivision of Ngambe witnessed between 15 December and mid-January a massacre in which a large number of innocent men, wemen and children lost their lives. Political prisoners in Edea have been compelled to undergo forced labour without being permitted the visit of medical officers. Some of them, like Kameni Anatole, delegate of the Association de Notables Kamerounais to the eleventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, have been exiled to unknown places. Others, like Jean Bayiha, are subjected to corporal punishment.

In December 1957, it was reported that Dr. Marcel Bebey-Eyidi, publisher of the weekly periodical, LiCpinion au Cameroun, and petitioner to the Fourth Committee at the eleventh session of the General Assembly had been arrested for re-establishing a dissolved organization.

On 7 January 1958, The New York Times reported that over a seven-week period, twenty-nine had been killed and seventeen kidnapped -- all this to show that the situation in the French Cameroons at the present time is far from being normal.

We do not need to investigate at length the causes of this unhappy state of affairs. We all know the facts of history. What is taking place now in the Cameroons is but a manifestation of the deep revival that is taking place throughout Africa and Asia where peoples are awakening to their rights and dignities and revolting against a rule arbitrarily imposed on them.

The division of the Cameroons into British and French was arbitrary and accidental. It is enough to quote a short passage from the Encyclopaedia Britannica:

"During World War I British and French troops conquered the Cameroons and in 1916, after the German forces had been defeated, France and Great Britain agreed upon a temporary divisioning of the Territory, which gave the former about nine-tenths of the Territory, whereas the section adjoining Nigeria came under British control. In July 1919, the Cameroons was formally divided by the London Declaration signed by Great Britain and France."

Those years did not witness only the division and subdivision of the Cameroons, but many other countries in the world, including my own, suffered the same fate. Thus, whereas now we have to deal with the French and British Cameroons separately, it is obvious that during the German occupation this part of Africa had unity.

The trouble that we have been facing in the last quarter of the century stems from this fact, namely, that peoples under colonial rule have come to realize more and more that they cannot carry on a heavy load of injustice arbitrarily imposed upon them.

The Cameroonians are no exception to this situation. In their political development in recent times, the problem of reunification has been basic and predominant. From 1926 to 1935, the League of Nations had been flooded with petitions urging unification. In the last three years, 40,000 petitions were sent to the Council in support of independence and unity.

The French Government proceeded with reforms to tranquilize the country, but the condition necessary for executing reform, which is to have co-operation between the indigenous population and the Administering Authorities, does not seem to exist.

The dissolution of the UPC constitutes an unfortunate development in the relations between the French authorities and the Cameroonian people, for my delegation believes that a better and more peaceful situation would have developed if this dissolution did not take place.

It appears from the statement of a Cameroonian petitioner to the Fourth Committee that negotiations did at one time take place between French representatives and a representative of the UPC. On 30 November 1957, Mr. Moumie of the UPC was asked what had been the outcome of the meeting between himself and Mr. d'Arboussier. Mr. Moumie replied that Mr. d'Arboussier had sought him out and had invited him to leave the opposition and to collaborate with France. Mr. d'Arboussier had told him that if he agreed to take part in the elections he would have the support of France, which would endeavour to find him aministerial post. Mr. Moumie replied that he was not fighting to satisfy his personal embition but to defend the interests of the Cameroonian people.

With regard to the Statute of the Cameroons published in the Journal Officiel of the French Republic of 18 April 1957, for the introduction of which the Trusteeship Council commended the Administering Authority and considered it to be an important step towards the attainment of its objectives, my delegation wishes to make the following observations.

First, the Statute does not contain any stipulation about intermediate targets in the development of the Territory for the attainment of self-government and independence. We wish to observe, at the same time, that neither the opening statement of the representative of France nor of the special representative contained anything to that effect. The implementation of the Council's recommendations in accordance with Article 76 b of the Charter is in order and would, in the opinion of my delegation, contribute greatly towards bringing peace to the region and towards better relations between France and the Cameroons.

Secondly, a reading of the Statute leaves the impression that the integration of the French Cameroons into the French Union is contemplated more than the creation of an independent Cameroons. I wish particularly to refer to article 8 of the Statute giving Cameroons' citizens the right to enjoy the several civic and social rights of French citizens and giving at the same time French citizens by virtue of reciprocity all the rights attaching to the status of citizens of the Cameroons. We believe that this reciprocity is much more in favour of French citizens than Cameroons' citizens for obvious reasons as to number and qualifications.

Thirdly, in spite of a long list enumerating methods which fall under the jurisdiction of the Legislative Assembly and the local government, the fact remains that the powers are more formal than actual in view of the great authority given in the Statute to the High Commissioner. I believe that this matter has been amply discussed during our deliberations and does not warrant any further analysis. The normal and logical result both in the interests of France and the Cameroons would be: first, to ascertain the rights of the Cameroons to independence and unity; secondly, to encourage the setting up of democratic political parties standing for unity and independence; and, thirdly, to invest the legislative and executive authorities of the Cameroons with actual powers.

With regard to the economic situation, it is obvious that, if the resources of the country are fully exploited and if mining and industry are developed more and more, the indigenous population would enjoy a higher standard of living. It would be redundant to bring up again all the points that have been raised and discussed with the special representative and the representative of France. But my delegation wishes to subscribe to the observation in paragraph 47 of the working document (T/L.813) to the effect that African participation in commerce and industry has been relatively small up to the present time.

As to labour, although the Labour Code for the Overseas Territories lays down the right to work, the principles of equality of remuneration and of the total payment of wages in cash and recognizes freedom of association and the right to strike, the labour situation between employers and employed is far from being a satisfactory one. Mr. Ngom of the Confédération Générale Caméronnaise de Travail, petitioner to the Fourth Committee on Monday, 25 November 1957, explained how since 1944, when the right to form trade unions had been recognized in the Territory, that right met with pronounced hostility from the employers and the authorities. He cited as an example of the policy of repression to which the trade unions and workers had been subjected since 1955 the case of the agricultural workers on the rubber plantation at Dizengué in Sanaga Maritime. Those workers had been on strike for a month in 1955 in defence of their trade union rights and in protest against a wage of 146 francs a day. Troops had been sent in and the organizers of the strike had been given sentences ranging from one to four years of imprisonment. All the workers who had belonged to the union, who amounted to

more than half the 3,500 workers on the plantation, had been dismissed and ruthlessly turned out of their huts. The funds and the cards of the union had been confiscated. The director of the company, and this is from his statement, a French senator, had forbidden any activity by the CGKT on the plantation, which covered an area of sixteen by eight kilometres. Other instances were also mentioned to prove that the relations between employers and employed are not in accordance with the terms of the labour Code of the Cameroons.

With regard to education, my delegation wishes to lay special emphasis on this field. It is our custom to discuss political life in the beginning and educational life at the end. I believe it would be more adequate to follow the reverse order, for, as I had occasion to say, political life is meaningless without an educational foundation. Here I may note, as has already been noted, the great disparity that exists in education between the North and the South Cameroons and also between the number of public primary schools and private primary schools. We believe that the Administering Authority should devote much more care than they have so far to the system of public education and its necessary expansion. It does seem, on the other hand, that the number of indigenous teachers is relatively small to cope with the situation, and that particular attention ought to be devoted to teachers' schools and to fundamental education.

I think it would be appropriate in this general debate to emphasize some basic principles in contradistinction to specific points, as I am afraid that a lengthy discussion of details and particulars may be conducive to losing sight of the ultimate objectives. For here we are face to face not only with specific cases pertaining to specific colonial countries, but also with a definite mentality and psychology inspiring a whole system, for the remedy of which the Trusteeship System has been devised. It has been customary in certain countries, and unfortunately so, to describe as Communist any national anti-colonial liberating movement in Africa or Asia. I shall, however, be content to quote a Western writer -- in fact, an American writer -- Mr. C. L. Sulzberger of The New York Times, commenting on certain unfortunate and tragic events that have taken place recently. Under the title "The Agonies of Giving Up Empire", he wrote:

"It is almost as cruel and bloody a process to relinquish as to make an empire. This old truism of history was learned successively by Rome, Madrid, Vienna and Constantinople. Now again London and Paris are acquainting themselves with its sad, bitter verity."

Partition, such as occurred in the Cameroons, has unfortunately become a prototype of international settlements. But partition, says Sulzberger, in India produced millions of dead and a permanent brink of war in Kashmir. Partition in my own country, Palestine, produced two full-scale Arab-Israeli wars. I quote again from his article:

"When Woodrow Wilson, a coolly reasonable man, unlocked the Pandora's box of nationalism forty years ago, he did not foresee that cool reason was the least element which would apply in solving the difficulties presented as, one after another, new groups of people demanded the right of nationhood and their old rulers fought to check the pace of imperial dissolution."

We have been reminded by some representatives at this conference table of principles of morality. It is really gratifying to hear this. I can assure you, Mr. President, in all modesty and humility, that there is no subject on which I like to dwell more than the subject of morality. But morality is neither slanderous nor arrogant. Morality is humble and loving, because it suffers for its own and other people's sins. Morality puts the disturbing, challenging question to every man: Am I my brother's keeper? When ensuers are inspired by this question, I can assure you, Mr. President, that many of humanity's ills will be healed, not only in the Cameroons, but elsewhere in the world.

Mr. KOSCZIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (interpretation from French): I do not wish to intervene at this stage of the debate; I shall be able to answer the various points raised when I make my final statement on all the comments which have been made. But there is one factual point regarding which I should like to make a correction.

The representative of Syria referred to talks between Mr. Moumie and Mr. d'Arboussier, conversations to which Mr. Moumie alluded in the Fourth Committee. At that time, the version which he had given of these conversations seemed to me rather extraordinary, having known Mr. d'Arboussier for a long time and knowing his struggle for the emancipation of the peoples and the establishment of a Franco-African community based on liberty, equality and

(Mr. Koscziusko-Morizet, France)

fraternity. Nevertheless, as I wished to check these things and their sources, I said nothing at that time because I wanted to get in touch with Mr. d'Arboussier himself. I am now in a position to say, not only with the authorization, but at the express wish, of Mr. d'Arboussier, that this version of the conversations is absolutely fantastic and that Mr. d'Arboussier never made the comments which Mr. Moumie attributed to him at that time.

The FRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The statement of the representative of France will appear on the record.

Mr. SYLVAIN (Haiti) (interpretation from French): The new Statute which, by virtue of the loi-cadre of 23 June 1956, the French administration, by the Decree of 28 January 1957, granted to the Cameroons, is indeed a step forward towards the achievement of the contractual end of the Trusteeship Agreement by which France is committed to lead the Territory, according to the freely expressed wishes of the population, towards self-government or independence.

The former Territorial Assembly has been replaced by a Legislative Assembly elected by universal suffrage, the attributions of which are still too limited, in the opinion of my delegation, but nevertheless are a step towards autonomy. By virtue of the new Statute, a Cameroonian Government has been established, whose Prime Minister, appointed by the High Commissioner, is invested by the Assembly, which can overthrow him through a vote of censure adopted by a two-thirds majority. Finally -- and I think that this should be stressed -- this Legislative Assembly can, by resolution, request an amendment of the Statute. The Cameroons under French administration has moved, according to the text of the laws, from the status of an administered Territory to that of a Trust Territory.

However, a careful confrontation of the text with the reality as it now appears in the new Trust Territory since the promulgation of the Statute, has not contributed to allay the missivings which my delegation, which has paralcipated actively in the work of the Council for the last five years, has not ceased to voice. Would it be timely to recall on this occasion the traditional position taken by Haiti in colonial matters and those which are connected with them, such

(Mr. Sylvain, Haiti)

as the one now before us? Our thankfulness and our filial admiration towards France, to which we owe the great benefit of our culture and our passion for freedom, has always prompted us to pay careful attention to its moral interests, to its influence and prestige throughout the world. That is why the reservations which my delegation may have to express in regard to French administration proceeds from this spirit. The position of principle of the Haitian Government in regard to colonial matters in general, and particularly concerning the Cameroons, is known by the Administering Authorities, with which we wish to have the most friendly relations.

The delegation of Haiti, which has always upheld the thesis of independence and unification for the Cameroons, for reasons of principle and because of our loyalty to the cause of peoples who are seeking their liberty, cannot but try to contribute towards finding a solution to this double problem within the framework of constitutional evolution. The Council, therefore, cannot expect my delegation to accept without reservation any development which would not give the greatest possible degree of satisfaction to public opinion in these Territories, as freely expressed, and which would net take into account the spirit of Article 76 of the Charter.

If the texts which we have mentioned earlier seem to bring us closer to the main purpose of the Trusteeship System and even, to some extent, may have brought about the achievement of one of these ends, which is self-government, the evolution of the situation in the Cameroons -- that is to say, the facts -- does not seem to allay the misgivings expressed by the General Assembly at its twelfth session in its resolutions 1207 (XII) and 1211 (XII). These resolutions relate precisely to the accession of the Trust Territories towards self-government and independence and to the situation in the two Cameroons.

By virtue of the law of 23 June 1956, which instituted universal suffrage, elections were held in the Territory. One may doubt the genuineness of the ballot if one takes into account the atmosphere of exacerbated passions and some violence within which this election was held. I think that we can also doubt the sincerity of this ballot if one takes into account the fact that one of the most important sectors of Cameroonian nationalism, the UFC -- which was

(Mr. Sylvain, Haiti)

We do not wish to take up again the reasons which, in the opinion of the Administering Authority, would justify the dissolution of this party, but I should like to stress that the absence of the UPC and its affiliated organizations from these elections has certainly contributed to falsification of the results of the ballot to an extent which will be evaluated only when the leaders and political clientele of these organizations have been able to participate freely in elections -- which my delegation hopes will take place as soon as possible.

(Mr. Sylvain, Haiti)

In this connexion, it was extremely encouraging to have heard the representative of France say, in reply to a question put by my delegation, that, although there is no question of abrogating this decree of dissolution, it is nevertheless true that if the amnestied members of the UPC wish to form a new party which, whatever its political programme, will adhere to the laws of the Cameroons, there is no reason to prohibit such a new party.

One of the justified concerns of the Fourth Committee -- a concern reflected in the resolution on the situation in the Territory adopted by the twelfth session of the Assembly -- was that the Administering Authority, through the long-delayed promulgation of the amnesty law, should contribute to the creation of a relaxed atmosphere which would promote the prompt re-establishment of a normal situation in the troubled areas, as well as the development of democratic progress and political activities in the Territory.

This amnesty law has finally been promulgated, but my delegation regrets to note that it has not resulted in a relaxed atmosphere. While we do not wish to camouflage or justify the violence which has become evident in the Territory and which continues to evidence itself in plundering, arson and murder, my delegation believes that it is up th the Administering Authority -which, under the new Statute, reserved for itself responsibilities in the field of security and public freedoms -- to make a major effort to calm the over-excited minds by giving satisfaction to the just aspirations of all the elements of the population. For it seems to us regrettable that the amnesty law, because it was promulgated so late and because it covers only a limited category of infractions, has been by-passed by the events and has, as it were, missed the boat. Because of this parsimonious generosity, the amnesty law as promulgated appears, contrary to its avowed purpose, to have prompted the nationalist elements who are receiving their orders from the exiled leaders to stiffen their position -- and it is not difficult to predict that this will have unfortunate consequences.

My delegation would like to appeal to the Administering Luthority to revise its policy in this respect in order to show a greater and more patient understanding of the reactions of those whom it has undertaken to lead to

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(Mr. Sylvain, Haiti)

true self-government or independence. It would be desirable that, through the application of broader measures, measures more in line with the dangerous political situation now existing in the Territory, there should be created that atmosphere of tolerance and peace without which any progress would be a mere illusion. When one is constantly obliged to use armed force to maintain order, it is obvious that there is deep unrest, the causes of which must be ascertained. Now, we know the cause of the unrest in the Cameroons: it is the understandable impatience of the Cameroonians to enjoy full independence. It is up to the administering Authority to calm this impatience, and not by the use of force -- even though, regrettably, the impatience manifests itself in violence. It is up to the administering Authority, while there is still time, to sileuce violence by persuasion and not to permit violence to replace constructive conversation.

Since the Council is behind its time table, and in order to please the President, my delegation will confine itself to these brief remarks which we have just made. I do not, however, wish to close without paying a well-deserved tribute to the Administration for the progress achieved in other fields -particularly that of education -- since the last report. We are particularly grateful to the representatives of the specialized agencies for the useful contribution which they have made to our work. In conclusion, we wish once again to express to the special representative our deep appreciation for the courtesy and earnestness which he has shown in the fulfilment of a task that we are the first to recognize is not always an easy one.

U KYAW MIN (Burma): The delegation of Burma participates in the Council's general debate on conditions in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration with some ambivalent feelings -- feelings of hope and anxiety. Our hopeful outlook is based on the fact that this Trust Territory, after a prolonged period -- dating from 1922 -- of political stagnation and socio-economic immobility, has now entered into what might appropriately be termed a new phase. This new phase in the life of the Territory, if given proper guidance and well-intentioned direction, holds good promise for the future. The inhabitants of the Territory -- the educated classes in particular, and the populace in general -- have, it seems, awakened to their status and the status of their country in the community of nations. The enormous number of petitions that have been addressed to the United Nations and that, with some exceptions, reflect the popular sentiments and aspirations of the indigenous people; the remarkable number of petitioners, representing many shades of political opinion in the Territory, who have hitherto exercised the right of oral petition and have presented their cases to this body; the extraordinary alacrity with which the people, despite the unsettled conditions in certain parts of the Territory, have registered their votes and have thus indirectly voiced their demands in the Territory-wide elections of November and December 1956: all these give ample evidence, if indeed such evidence is needed, of the political awakening of the people and their democratic desire to participate in shaping the country's destiny and, what is more significant. of their capacity to do so. This, in itself, is a very heartening development.

But it is all the more heartening to find that this development to which I have alluded has not been an isolated phenomenon. As the members of the Trusteeship Council are aware, this political awakening on the part of the Cameroonians has led, either directly or indirectly, to a correlated awakening on the part of France to the inevitable realities of a changing world -- although this latter awakening seems to be rather sluggish and, to some extent, forced.

However the case may be, the important thing to my delegation is that the two factors which I have just mentioned, acting mutually and alternately as cause and effect, have occasioned in the immediate instance the introduction of new reforms and the institution of new measures which were to some extent

overdue and the most significant of which has been the granting of the new Statute to the Territory.

It would appear, therefore, that, barring any unforeseeable reverses, the two forces which I mentioned earlier as having a cause-and-effect relationship on each other will carry everything before them until the objective of Chapter XII of the Charter has been truly and speedily realized.

However, as my delegation sees the matter, the most important pre-guarantee of such a smooth and harmonious process of evolution is the parity of pace between the national awakening of the people, which inspires demands for greater measures of rights and powers, and the correlated awakening of the Administering Power, which makes that Power yield to those demands.

A retrospective examination of the record of French policy and performance would indicate that such has not been the case. For, had it been the case, an entirely different story might have been written of the tragic events of May 1955, December 1956 and December 1957.

My delegation considers that it was the failure on the part of the Administering Authority to state and execute a liberal and liberating policy, the failure, I say, to yield to the just and justifiable demands of nationalism in time and in sufficient measure, that has brought about the fermentation of the national aspirations of the people and the emergence of the more militant political parties. If the new constitutional reforms instituted by the Statute had been made half a decade or more ago, the political situation in the Territory might have been entirely different from what it is today and the harmonious advancement of the Territory towards the goals of the international Trusteeship System might have been better assured. Reforms instituted in time can intercept revolutionary tendencies and avert revolutionary behaviour on the part of the people, but the denial of reforms, or delay in granting them, does nothing but nourish such tendencies and the people, once possessed of those revolutionary tendencies, will find it difficult to discard them. We feel, therefore, that the Administering Authority would do well to take to heart the wise truth of an old English proverb, which if I might tamper with its original form so as to put it into a political context might read, "a reform in time saves nine".

The above considerations are, in brief, the grounds for my delegation's anxiety as regards the Territory's future, anxiety not so much for the future or goal of the Territory, namely, the attainment of nationhood which we naturally take for granted, as for the undesirable manner in which it might progress towards the attainment of that goal. No doubt new reforms have been introduced and a new and significant stage, though rather belated, has been reached. However, the consequence of the currents and counter-currents, the effects of the clash between the forces of progress and those of reaction which are perceptible in the Territory, are such that the Territory, without persevering guidance, might be carried away in the wrong direction. Our anxiety, then, is to ensure that the black patches on the pages of recent Cameroonian history shall not grow in number or become stained with blood.

Speaking of reforms and timely corrective and preventive measures, my delegation's attention is drawn to a matter which for some time has, I know, absorbed the interest of the Council. It relates to the promulgation of the much-debated amnesty bill and its early execution. As we know, the political

situation in the Territory, particularly in certain areas, is still far from being placid. The recurrent disturbances of public peace attest to the prevalence of such a situation and to the existence of dissenting elements either in exile or in the maquis. Such a situation is, to put it mildly. fraught with many dangers and we feel that the first step towards the restoration of normality in the Territory is the promulgation of a general amnesty which should cover not only the incidents of April and May 1955 but also the other political disturbances which have taken place since that time. We hold the view, and this view has in fact been confirmed during the questioning period, that the matter of granting an amnesty falls, under the new Statute, entirely within the province of French competence. France, in granting the Statute, thought fit to retain the right of decision in such matters. What we do now is to ask France to exercise that right of decision in compliance with the wishes of the Trusteeship Council, the General Assembly, and I believe also the majority of the Cameroonians themselves. My delegation deplores the resort to force by anyone in any form, but we also feel that in this particular case repentance rather than further violence should be given a second chance.

I have already had occasion to allude to the new stage attained by the Cameroons as exemplified by the new Statute. I have also had occasion to refer to this new stage as an important step in the life of the Territory. May I now therefore briefly return to the same subject in order to offer a few comments.

In the first place, although the Statute gives the Territory a considerable measure of home rule, it has not however conferred upon it the status of a full-fledged sovereign state, and as regards the Statute itself my delegation, while recognizing it as an important step forward in the political evolution of the Territory, is prepared to give it two cheers. The third cheer we shall reserve for later, and I shall try to indicate in my subsequent remarks why it is necessary to reserve the third cheer until later.

Many important and vital subjects have been reserved to the central organs of the French Republic. I need not weary this Council by enumerating those reserved subjects. I may merely refer you to the relevant chapters of the Statute. Furthermore, the powers and competences, ordinary and extraordinary,

that have been vested in one man, the French High Commissioner, appear to my delegation to be rather excessive -- at least, they appear to be far in excess of the powers which the Head of State of the French Republic either possesses or can normally exercise. The basic constitutional conceptions underlying the Statute would in effect enable the High Commissioner to interfere in the work of the Legislative Assembly, which is the elected representative body of the people, and also with that of the Council of Ministers, even in those fields where competences have been delegated to those organs, while the latter organs would have no control whatever over the actions and decisions of the High Commissioner in many matters which vitally affect the Territory itself. recent resignation of the Cameroonian Prime Minister, for instance, occasions some misgivings as to whether it was really due to a ministerial crisis, which is not unusual for a democratic parliamentary system, or whether it could possibly be a "constitutional crisis", having its roots in the basic functional arrangements of the Statute determining the constitutional relationship between the High Commissioner on the one hand and the Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers on the other.

Therefore, my delegation believes that we are justified in considering that the new phase that has been ushered in by the granting of the Statute, though admittedly of considerable significance in the Territory's political advancement, cannot be regarded as anything more than what we in Burma used to call during our own colonial period the "beginnings of the transfer of sovereignty". It follows from this, therefore, that further transfers of powers to the Territory must be made before it can assume any semblance of an independent nation, and my delegation would venture to think that such transfer would be better sooner than later. In this respect, my delegation would like to urge the Administering Authority to set intermediate and final target dates, in accordance with which progressive transfers of powers are to be effected.

Another measure envisaged in the Statute leaves my delegation with some apprehension. As we all know, the indigenous peoples of the Cameroons are not homogeneous, either by religion or by ethnic composition. The people of the north are predominantly Muslim by religion and Sudanese by extraction; the people of the south are predominantly Christian by religion and Bantu by extraction.

The feelings of distrust and separationism which such differences tend to generate can be combatted effectively only by making consistent efforts designed to foster a sense of national unity transcending all local differences. not serve this purpose, however, if the Territory were to be divided and subdivided into separate legal entities along the pattern of religious or ethnic affinities. Subdivision of the Territory into administrative units purely for the sake of administrative convenience is a different matter, but segregation of the population along religious and ethnic lines, in our view, would only make for further separationism and fragmentation. Religious and ethnic plurality and national unity are not incompatible. There are numerous societies in the world which are plural yet unified. We hope, therefore, that the Administering Authority and the Comeroonian Government will give this matter their further serious consideration and embark now upon a planned programme to promote better understanding of and respect for differences existing between the peoples of the north and the south by encouraging closer contacts and intercultural education.

And while I am still dealing with this question, I should like to express the gratification of my delegation on learning that the Legislative Assembly has recently adopted an official emblem and motto as well as a national anthem for the Cameroons. It is measures such as those which, in our opinion, contribute immeasurably to the enhancement of national consciousness and, consequently, of national unity.

Turning to the other aspects of development in the political field, my delegation would like heartily to welcome the creation of a separate Cameroonian civil service which is administratively independent of the metropolitan civil service. This separation, we think, will provide the necessary basis for the progressive Cameroonization of all the cadres of the civil service according to a pre-established programme. Concurrently with the establishment of this new service, a programme for the accelerated training of Cameroonians in all branches of civil administration should be drawn up and implemented. We understand that, for the time being, advanced training must perforce be carried out abroad by utilizing the facilities offered by French institutions such as the Ecole nationale de la France d'outre mer. However, training in overseas countries necessarily involves heavy expenses, and it should therefore be contemplated only as a temporary measure. We would urge the competent authorities to blueprint plans as soon as possible for the initiation of a training programme for civil servants in the Territory itself, for which purpose the services of experienced civil servants and of those who have returned from their studies abroad can be usefully enlisted. We hope that in good time -- by which we mean fairly shortly -- the Territory will have its own university system which will meet its need for young men and women of high educational qualifications, when recruitment for the higher grades of the civil service can be done on the basis of competitive public examination

In the economic field many of my colleagues who preceded me in the general debate have, I have noticed, dealt systematically and painstakingly with various problems pertaining to the Territory's economic development. I do not, therefore, propose to weary the Council by going over the same ground again when it has been so ably covered by my colleagues. However, there is one

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problem to which my delegation attaches particular importance, and on which I should like to offer our observations at some length.

As the Council is aware, the Territory has benefited to an appreciable degree from the financial assistance for developmental purposes rendered to it by France through the various capital advancing agencies. However, my delegation holds the view that the Territory cannot indefinitely remain dependent on external financial assistance. We feel it our duty to emphasize that for long-range expediency domestic capital must assume a principal role in the financing of the economic development of the Territory, and that the role of foreign or outside capital should be of but a secondary or subordinate character. Although my delegation can fully appreciate the many difficulties besetting the attainment by an under-developed country such as the Cameroons of an economic millennium chiefly through domestic efforts, we nevertheless consider that the ultimate end towards which economic development should strive is, paradoxically enough, not economic development as such but, rather, economic viability and economic independence. By this we do not intend to say that the financial assistance which France is as present administering to the Territory should be cut off altogether and abruptly. That would indeed be an inexcusable and irresponsible pronouncement on our part. We feel, on the contrary, that outside financial assistance should continue to benefit the Territory as long as such assistance is necessary, and, furtheragra, and we hope that such assistance will be made available to the Exeritory in the future. But we also feel that, concurrently with external financial help, efforts should also be made without undue delay to guicken the rate of domestic. capital formation by all possible means, so that in time domestic croital would constitute the major factor undergirding the economic infrastructure : . . . of the Territory.

My delegation would even say that such a situation is the prerequisite of economic viability, in so far as economic viability of any country is possible in an increasingly interdependent world economy. Such a condition would, at any rate, enable the Territory to plan and implement the social, political and economic policies which its people and government might consider most suitable for the raising of their living standards, without fear of external pressures.

It is with the desire to see a healthy situation of this nature prevailing in the Territory that I shall now venture to proffer a few suggestions. The questions in the economic field which I had the privilege of putting to the special representative during the questioning period revolved, as the Council may have noticed, around the central problem -- the problem of exploring the potentialities for demestic capital formation for productive purposes in the Territory, the extent of those potentialities and the possibility of intensifying the process of capital accumulation.

First of all, allow me to say how grateful I am to the special representative for the relevant information which he was kind enough to furnish me with in reply to my various questions, even though, through no fault of his own, he was unable to give me all the information -- especially statistical data -- that I had wanted. I have, indeed, found it extremely useful in formulating my views and suggestions, which I shall now place before the Council.

I find myself in agreement with the special representative that the capacity to save by the majority of the indigenous population is low, due to a low level of consumption. However, I believe that, as in all underdeveloped countries, there must exist in the Territory -- which, after all, is an under-developed country -- some small private savings, whether in the form of hoarded cash or in the form of hoarded property such as precious metals and jevelry, which are convertible into money and which, if released, could be usefully employed for productive purposes. Although, admittedly, the total sum of such small non-productive savings is not very large, there is, nevertheless, an overriding need to mobilize these small savings and to channel them into productive enterprise. For this purpose, mobilizing machinery in adequate quantity must be produced or the small savings will continue to remain idle. Hence it is extremely desirable, and indeed necessary, that savings institutions such as banks, post office savings banks, co-operative savings societies, social insurance companies, etc., should be established in places where they would be easily accessible to the general population. And to provide the necessary incentive to save, especially in a Territory where saving and banking habits are not widespread, these savings

institutions should offer, as far as possible, attractive rates of interest within the range that may be determined by general economic conditions. In this way the process of demestic capital formation may be put under way.

I believe that I have had occasion during the questioning period to indicate that it might be desirable to effect some forced saving on the part of the higher and middle-income groups by compulsorily reducing their consumption -- particularly their luxury consumption, which, as I indicated earlier, seems to be unnecessarily and conspicuously excessive.

Authority on the imports of luxury goods, or for that matter on the retail of such goods, have not been sufficiently strict so far. We consider it necessary at the present stage of the Territory's development to restrict imports of luxury goods quantitatively by licensing and slso to impose heavy duties on all luxury items that are allowed to enter the Territory. We further consider that in addition a purchase tax should also be imposed on such goods in the retail market. This would be the only effective way of restricting the luxury consumption of the middle and higher classes. Taxing their personal incomes or their personal properties, in our opinion, is not enough since imposing heavy personal or income taxes alone would tend to reduce their savings rather than reduce consumption.

My delegation feels that the only effective way of forcing them to save and of getting hold of their savings for productive purposes, is to employ both muthods concurrently. If this could be done, considerable savings would be released for productive investment and, as such, would be in the public interest. I do not believe that anyone would be unhappy for long.

Another question which bears closely upon this matter is the question of foreign commercial concerns. These foreign companies are presumably making fairly large profits in the Territory. I remember requesting the special representative to furnish some statistical data in this respect, but unfortunately he was not in a position to provide me with such data. Hence, I can only presume that these foreign-based companies and enterprises do make fairly exorbitant profits, for, after all, that is their primary concern for going to the Territory in the first place.

My delegation feels strongly that the Administering Authority should adopt legislation requiring compulsory investment in the Territory of a certain portion of the profits accruing to these companies from their operations in the Territory. Here again the current practice of levying comparatively light taxes on the profits reinvested in the Territory is, in our view, not sufficient by itself.

Furthermore, we consider that more rigid restrictions should be imposed on the transfer of profits back to their respective base countries by these foreign companies, since such a measure would oblige them compulsorily to reinvest some of their profits in the Territory itself. We have no desire to deny them a fair and equitable share of the profits earned by their labours. But we think that the Territory itself, especially at this infant stage of its economic development, should derive far greater benefits from the activities of foreign concerns established on its soil than it has thus far enjoyed.

I have attempted to emphasize the need for maximum mobilization of domestic capital and for the provision of adequate mechanisms to ensure that the capital thus mobilized will be invested in the most productive activities. We feel that once started, the process of capital formation, investments, production and further capital formation and investment will, barring reverses and given careful consideration, intensify itself and carry everything before it.

We are glad to note in the economic field that the year 1957 had been a good year for the Territory. Its economy, which was put to severe strains last year owing to the fall in world market prices of its principal cash crops, seems to be making a good recovery, thanks to an upward swing in the world price of cocoa coupled with a substantial increase in cocoa exports, which reached a record tonnage of 53,000 tons. We note that this figure is almost equal to the total production figure of cocoa for the preceding year.

Generally speaking, the various painstaking measures taken by the authorities to improve agricultural production seem to be yielding increasingly satisfactory results. However, we feel it our duty to sound a word of caution. The Territory's economy, despite its encouraging trends, is still largely dependent on the production and export of agricultural commodities and, as such, is highly susceptible to the fluctuations in world prices of its major export commodities.

In view of the dangerous and precarious character inherent in a situation such as this, we should like to urge the authorities concerned to intensify their efforts at diversifying the Territory's economy and broadening its economic base, and to persevere in their efforts to that end.

In the social field my delegation notes with satisfaction the progress made in many fields of activity, particularly the improvements in housing public health and general working conditions, and the remuneration of labour. My colleagues have touched upon these matters in rather great detail, and I therefore do not wish to comment on those aspects at length. However, there remains one pressing social problem which seems somehow to have escaped the Council's attention. It refers to the problem of juvenile delinquency, which, as pointed out by the special representative in his replies to my questions, is becoming a very grave social problem. He has also been kind enough to explain to me the etiology of juvenile delinquency in the Territory, which seems primarily to be the outcome of detribalization and urbanization, with their attendant disruption of the normal patterns of life.

I have also noted with gratification the various reform measures taken by the authorities which, to my mind, seem to be highly commendable. However, we all know that prevention is better than cure. We should therefore like to urge the competent authorities to consider ways and means of preventing the growth of this problem. Perhaps it might be desirable to maintain a register of all young persons who have migrated to the towns in search, of employment, so that proper check of their movements and whereabouts could be maintained.

Furthermore, the authorities might actively encourage the extension of social services both through private voluntary agencies and through governmental agencies in order to assist the young people in locating appropriate jobs, accommodations, and so forth. The organization of youth social clubs might also be considered, since such clubs could help to absorb the interest of the young persons, whatever their interests might be, and thus divert their attention from any delinquent tendencies. My delegation hopes that this problem will receive the close attention of the authorities which its seriousness warrants, and also that we might receive some further information on this problem in the next annual report.

In the educational field, my delegation would like to join with other delegations which have urged the authorities to consider the early creation of a university system in the Territory to meet its future educational needs.

The availability of a little over 200 scholarships for higher studies abroad is, in our view, not sufficient to fulfil the educational requirements of a country actively engaged in all-round development.

We should also like to emphasize the over-riding importance of teacher training and of the availability of sufficiently qualified teachers in sufficiently large numbers. This, together with its related problem of promoting higher school attendance in the North, should receive the persevering attention of the authorities.

I now come to the close of my statement. But before I conclude, I should like to thank the special representative and the representative of France for the very useful information that they have so courteously and patiently given us. I should also like to thank UNESCO, and especially its representative here, for their highly learned and lucid observations regarding the Territory's educational problems and their recommendations for solutions. Their observations and recommendations have immeasurably lightened the task of my delegation, and I could do no better than to commend them to the authorities.

Before I close, I should also like to thank the petitioner, who is unfortunately not present here with us. Some of the speakers who preceded me made brief comments on their not unpleasant encounter with the petitioner. If I am not mistaken, all of my colleagues who had a short exchange of views with him did express some measure of delight and the pleasure with which they entered into an affray of light comedy with the gentleman who asserted that he represented no one and who nonetheless went to great length, and who was at great pains to leave this Council with the impression that he represented everybody in the Territory from which he came.

His singular prowess at quick repartee was only matched by his ready response to pay back the inquisitive inquirer in his own coin. Whatever the real motive and mission of this learned gentleman may be, the timing of his arrival, combined with the impact of his dramatic appearance and perfect performance in this chamber in the course of the general debate, is, to put it mildly, terrific, and his accomplishments cannot fail to bring satisfaction and give comfort to those who really know why he had to come here the way he did.

My delegation for one has never denied the sacred right of any inhabitant of a Trust Territory to appear before this august body to petition and plead his cause.

I addressed a few questions to the petitioner so that, at least in this particular case, his presence might well be justified. If anything, the brief intermission, such as was witnessed the day before yesterday by the Council, had its desired effect. It certainly, in my opinion, succeeded in injecting a certain healthy and lively atmosphere in this chamber by reviving friendly competition between the two Administering Powers, which is not bad at all. The question

as to which of the two Trust Territories is nearer the goal of self-government or independence is so well understood by the petitioner that no intelligible, no coherent reply, was given by him.

If I were to make an attempt at using the same language in which the petitioner displayed so much relish and skill, I would have to tell him this: I would tell him that my country also produces bananas, but then we have other more important and lucrative products than bananas to export. Economics aside, social diversions are entirely of a different order. However, the medium of practical jokes that we as children take delight in inflicting upon unwary individuals is the same elusive banana peel. I could tell him that we impishly derive pleasure and laugh ourselves hourse when a man entrapped or decoyed by us slips on the banana peel and falls heavily on the ground.

But we observe a certain code of honour even if we indulge in such forms of amusements -- amusements not without some purpose. We lay the banana skin in front of shops in the market, frequented not by bone fide customers but by unwelcome and unwented individuals, so that we can gallantly protect our fair young ladies against molestations. Victims of our childish pranks have no remedy, legal or otherwise; they dare not lose their temper and thus expose themselves to further ridicule and derision; violent retaliation is out of the question because in all cases of guilty conscience, they too perforce have to observe certain codes of honour.

When I posed my questions to the petitioner the other day, the idea of a slippery banana peel did not enter my head at all. Now that he helped me get ideas I cannot help wondering whether, in my personal opinion, the petitioner was not after all unconsciously playing the unenvious sole of an unwelcome and unwanted suitor coming post haste to court, to cajole my fair ladies in this Council when he answered my last question.

Mr. ROLZ REMNETT (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): Of the Trust Territories, the one which presents dramatic characteristics in its recent development is without doubt the French Cameroons and it is not an exaggeration to affirm that the state of crisis, especially in the political field, has been going on for several years now. To determine the profound causes of this state

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of affairs is not an easy task. But it is a duty from which we cannot shrink; that is to say, the Administering Authority, the Government of the Cameroons, as well as the Trusteeship Council, cannot shrink from this duty, because only in this way can adequate measures be taken to solve a difficult situation, inasmuch as the date is rapidly approaching when the Territory will achieve the goals laid down in Article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is not our intention to paint a dark picture. The picture can be plainly seen. We do not wish to change realities by depicting the situation with alarming tones. We know that in certain zones of the Territory, especially those which have been agitated by political convulsions, and despite the tension prevailing there and, as a consequence, throughout the Territory, certain political, economic and social reforms have continued. But it is also true that unless the underlying cuases are rooted out there will always be a possibility of disorder and it will be even more difficult to achieve loyal co-operation from all the elements of the population, in fulfilment of the highest objective which for the moment lies before the Territory, namely the achievement of independence and the beginning of the Territory's life as a member of the commonwealth of the community of nations.

Above all, it is for the Administering Authority to tackle this problem, because among the fundamental duties of the Administering Authority is the duty of promoting the progressive development of the inhabitants towards self-government or independence, with all respect for human freedoms, as is prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations as well as the Trusteeship Agreement.

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The present situation in the Cameroons has a remote as well as a more recent origin. It would be useful on one occasion or another to go back into the history of this matter. This might shed a great deal of light on the Cameroonian problems.

But it is more urgent that we concern ourselves with the present and especially with the future of the Territory. No one can deny that the true interests of the Administering Authorities ought to be to see that independence is achieved peacefully and under circumstances favourable to the maintenance of co-operation between the administering countries and the new States coming into existence. The United Nations, for its part, has the duty to see to it that the political aspirations of these peoples are satisfied without meeting obstacles and under economic, social, and educational conditions which will make their future viable as members of the international community.

The recent evolution of the Territory and the grave events which have brought about tension in the Territory such as has not prevailed in any other Trust Territory make it very clear that in the political field the gravest problems are as follows: the way to return to normalcy, the evolution of constitutional reforms towards independence, the establishment of new political institutions in the Territory and the unification of both Cameroons. The events which, for the last two years, have been occurring periodically and with violence, seem to be symptoms of a deeper-seated disease. Important sectors of the Territory have had as a counterpart severe measures taken against them by the Administration. As a consequence, political disturbances in these Territories has not slackened. Rather the roots of this trouble seem to have gone deeper.

Under these circumstances, certain groups in the Cameroons and spokesmen for various political tendencies in the Territory and in France itself asked for the passage of an amnesty law so as to bring many Cameroonians back to civic life and thus contribute by means of political measures, not repressive measures, to a climate of normalcy in civic life. The United Nations reflected this request in a resolution approved at the twelfth session and expressed the hope that as a result of the application of appropriate measures -- in particular, the early promulgation of an amnesty law and the renouncing by all political parties of the use of violence -- it would be possible to achieve a return to normalcy in the disturbed areas.

In a statement made by the representative of France at our 863rd meeting on 18 February 1958, he made known to us that the amnesty law had finally been voted on 7 February 1958 and that, as a consequence, all persons under prosecution or sentenced for the events of May 1955 or for offences committed before 2 January 1956 would be granted amnesty with the exception of those responsible for murder. We felt then that this was a great credit to the Administering Authority inasmuch as the Administering Authority, only two months after the General Assembly had passed a resolution, did promulgate an amnesty law. Unfortunately, the explanations given by the representative of France and the special representative during the questioning period concerning the contents of the law have brought dark clouds on the horizon because they have said that there are restrictions and conditions in the amnesty law which somewhat take away from its validity. My delegation, which has not had the occasion to study the text of the law because the Administering Authority has not yet submitted it to the Council, will abstain from passing a definitive judgement on this law. However, we have a few preliminary doubts, which are as follows: will those Cameroonians who have not yet been finally sentenced for offences which scarcely exceed a sentence of twenty years not be able to benefit from the amnesty? What is the situation of those who have lodged an appeal in cases where the sentence was for twenty or more years imprisonment? Will the amnesty cover those who have been sentenced in absentia?

We note, on the other hand, that in reply to a question by the representative of the United States, the special representative said:

(continued in English)

"In other words, persons wanting ammesty will have to present an application for ammesty. There has to be the consent of the Cameroonian Government and the agreement of a committee... Persons wanting the ammesty would need only to submit their application. This would be examined by a committee, and a representative of the Cameroonian Government would be a member." (T/PV.864. pp. 8-11)

(continued in Spanish)

This reply seems to indicate in the first place that the amnesty is not automatic and that persons wishing to be covered by it have to make application. Secondly, it indicates that a committee -- the membership of which we do not know, but on which a representative of the Cameroons Government will sit -- is to examine the application for amnesty. Does this perhaps mean that the committee will also have the power to reject amnesty coverage for the application? What are the procedures to be followed by this committee? Why was it felt necessary to establish a body outside the judicial system to deal with amnesty cases?

Further on, in reply to a question from my delegation, the special representative stated:

(continued in English)

"The individuals who wish to enjoy the amnesty must present their request to the chief of the judicial service requesting the benefit of the law of amnesty." (Ibid., page 54-55)

(continued in Spanish)

It will be observed that the special representative does not speak of a committee any longer but of the chief of the judicial service. How can the two replies be brought into conformity? We were also informed that amnesty may be applied for within the period of one year. This leads to further questions in my mind.

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What will happen if, during the time that a trial is under way, it is indicated that some person will be sentenced after the one-year period has elapsed? Are we to understand that, by virtue of the promulgation of the Amnesty Law, there will be a suspension of all the trials which were initiated because of offerces committed and covered by the present Amnesty Law? Allow me to express the hope that these and other doubts which my delegation has with regard to the contents and effects of the Amnesty Law will be dissipated, because it would be discouraging if a measure from which so much was expected should prove to be restricted in its scope to too great an extent, and if it should be self-defeating and not lead to a pacification of political tension in the Territory.

The development of the constitutional reforms towards independence is another of the great question marks. This is an urgent problem in the Cameroons at present. By virtue of the decree of 16 April 1957, promulgated on 9 May, there was set forth a Statute of the Cameroons and, from that time on, the Administering Authority, as well as the Cameroonian authorities, have devoted the greater part of their efforts to the implementation of new institutions provided for in the Statute.

During the nineteenth session of the Council we had some opportunity to examine -- although not to an extent desirable -- the provisions of the Statute, and we pointed out that, although it constituted a step forward, the development of events seemed to have left behind these reforms which were introduced by the Statute; and, consequently, the Statute was already far behind the aspirations of wide sectors of Cameroonian public opinion. In particular, we pointed out -and now reaffirm -- that the Statute does not contain adequate recognition of the desire for independence as evinced by the population of the Territory, and it may be seen by all political parties that numerous and decisive powers are reserved for the French authorities in the political, administrative, economic, social and educational fields, and that there exist provisions, such as the representation of the Cameroons in the central organs of the French Republic and the French Union, as well as the reciprocal exercise of citizenship between Cameroonians and Frenchmen, which may lead, whatever the intentions of the parties concerned, to the integration of the Territory within the political framework of the Administering Authority.

It is not too bold to assert that very soon the Cameroons Government and the Legislative Assembly will request further modifications of the Statute. The recent crisis which arose in the Cameroons, and which resulted in a new Cameroons Government presided over by Mr. Ahidjo -- and in which Government, in addition to the important party of the Prime Minister, there is also participation by other groups, such as the Groupe d'Action nationale which, until recently, was an opposition party -- constitutes an indication of a desire to have a clearer definition of the Territory's status in the sense of more independence. In effect, the representative of France himself has told us that the principle points of the Government programme of the new Prime Minister are indeed unification of the two Cameroons and the establishment of co-operation between France and Africa on a legal basis.

Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of this political change is to be found in the fact that it is Mr. Ahidjo, a member of the Union camerounaise party, which has the largest number of members in the Legislative Assembly and which, according to the special representative, has not yet taken a definite stand with regard to certain aspects of the future of the Territory, who set forth a programme the first point of which is a desire for independence and unification of the two Cameroons. This can only mean, in effect, that the Union camerounaise has now taken a more definite stand in favour of these objectives. We must also recall that the Groupe d'Action nationale, which in the present Government has important representation, has summed up its programme before the twelfth session of the General Assembly through Mr. Soppo Priso. He set forth the following points of a fundamental programme: first, recognition by the Administering Authority, without any doubt whatsoever, of the desire for independence of the Cameroons; secondly, adoption of a compremise formula so that there could be recognition of the national sovereignty of the Cameroons; thirdly, transfer to Cameroonian authorities of the residual powers; fourthly, urgent promulgation of a general amnesty law; fifthly, re-establishment of the unity of the Cameroons by the freely expressed will of the two Territories.

The Cameroons under British administration, as well as the Cameroons under French administration, are also reaching those stages which will bring them to the final achievment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System. These stages

will culminate in consultation of the population in order that the latter may itself choose the future which it desires; and it is for the people and the people alone to decide their future. The role of the Administering Authorities and the United Nations is to ensure that such a decision will be taken in full freedom, in complete knowledge of the importance of the decision and its consequences, and in circumstances which will not hinder the choice of any of the alternatives open to the people.

It is for these reasons that, here and now -- while there is still time adequately, and with sufficient advance notice, to prepare those stages which will lead to the end of the Trusteeship System in the two Cameroons -- my delegation solemnly addresses itself to the two Administering Authorities, France and the United Kingdom, and calls upon them to organize, in close co-operation among thomselves and the Territorial Governments, the plebecites simultaneously in both Territories. The delegation of Guatemala is persuaded that the complexities of simultaneous plebicites could be resolved if enough good will were brought to the problem, and especially if a joint study were made sufficiently far ahead, such study to include participation by the Territorial Governments of both Cameroons.

Before concluding my remarks in the political field, I should like to make a few comments on an interesting aspect of the functioning of the Trusteeship System. This aspect has been developing for some time now and the present position is of concern to my delegation and perhaps to other delegations on the Trusteeship Council. It might be well to refer to the matter in connexion with our consideration of the Cameroons under French administration.

On many occasions, we have heard representatives of the Administering Authorities advance the thesis that the transfer of powers to Territorial Governments somehow releases the Administering Authorities from their responsibilities. The delegation of Guatemala will always defend the right of the Territorial Governments to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over those matters which have been transferred to them. We have requested and shall continue to request that those Governments should be granted broader powers until the Territories achieve self-government or independence. Nevertheless, we maintain that the Administering Authorities remain bound by the obligations they have assumed in the respective Trusteeship Agreements and, thus, they are the intermediaries between the Trusteeship Council and the Territorial Governments in respect of the matters which have passed into the hands of the latter. That is why the Trusteeship Council, in fulfilment of the obligations contained in the Charter, must continue to address itself to the Administering Authorities until the Trusteeship Agreements have been abrogated. For their part, the Administering Authorities must continue to fulfil the responsibilities which they have assumed under the Trusteeship Agreements -- directly as regards the powers which they have reserved for themselves, or indirectly as representatives of the Territorial Governments or, at least, as intermediaries between the Trusteeship Council and the Territorial Governments as regards the matters within the competence of the latter. Hence, we hope that we shall be able to continue in the future to examine in the most complete way all the aspects of the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the Trust Territories.

From the information presented by the Administering Authority in the economic field, it can be concluded that the French Cameroons has decreased in importance as a supplier of raw meterials and of products to be exported to the world markets. Exports decreased between 1955 and 1956 from about 16 million francs CFA to about 13 million francs CFA.

In 1957, however, there was a rise in the price of cocea and other products. This rise in the world price of cocoa has provided a great stimulus to the Cameroonian economy, especially at a time when the Administering Authority and the Territorial Government are faced with the need to broaden the economic basis of the Territory in order to enable the Territory to support the heavy financial burdens entailed in its economic development. I do not wish to minimize the importance of the industrial progress which has been achieved and which is reflected principally in the activities of ALUCAM and EDELCAM; these enterprises will play an ever-increasing role in the Territory's economy. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the country is still a fundamentally agricultural country and that a large part of the population is engaged in mere subsistence activities. The integration of the indigenous producers in more important aspects of the economy, the improvement of agricultural methods, the extension of credit, the improvement of communications and transportation in order to move the agricultural products: all these are basic problems of the Territory. Furthermore, livestock problems should be examined by the Administering Authority.

In 1956, exports reached 310,934 tons, with a value of 13,149,734 francs CFA. During the same period, imports amounted to 350,495 tons, with a value of 16,669,381 francs CFA. Thus, there is a trade imbalance, although this may have been somewhat overcome in 1957 by the increase in the price of cocoa.

This situation demonstrates that so long as the development of the economic infrastructure continues and so long as there is a need to purchase equipment, there will be a tendency to have a trade imbalance. The Administering Authority and the Territorial Government must watch this situation very closely in order to find some remedy which will not restrict the economic development of the Territory.

The decrease in exports between 1955 and 1956 also reveals the vulnerability of an economy which is not sufficiently diversified.

My delegation has noted the information which has been submitted on the development of the two large aluminium enterprises. This information, originally supplied by the Administering Authority, was supplemented by the special representative during the questioning period. My delegation would express the hope that efforts will be continued to train qualified Camerconian workers to assume more important posts in these companies. ALUCAM, as the Council well knows, has constructed a hydroelectric plant at Edéa, which will provide electric power for the aluminium industry. We hope that the population of the Territory will be given an opportunity to benefit from the provision of electric power, in the most favourable conditions. In this connexion, we would recall the statement made by the representative of the Cameroonian Federation of labour at the 717th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly to the effect that electric power was still not available to the population of Edéa itself.

The budgetary position indicates that efforts are being made to keep the expenditure within the limits of the revenue. This is a hopeful sign. Although the Legislative Assembly has jurisdiction over the operating expenses, caiptal investment for economic development must be approved by the Managing Committee of FIDES. My delegation asked the special representative for more detailed information on the way in which this control by FIDES is exercised. We would take the liberty of recommending that the Administering Authority should allow the authorities of the Cameroons to participate more in this control of investments so that they may gain experience and gradually assume a greater role in this very important aspect of public finance.

The ten-year development plan which reached its end in 1957 has led the Administering Authority to carry out an evaluation of the objectives and achievements of that plan. It will be very useful to the Council to receive information concerning that evaluation, and my delegation now requests that this data should be included in the next annual report, to enable us not only to examine the results of the ten-year plan but also to have a better basis for judgement with regard to our consideration of the new plan which is about to be put into operation and which, as was affirmed by the special representative, will lay special emphasis upon the question of rural equipment.

Agricultural production during 1956 does not show the increase which we would have expected. Cocoa, oil, tobacco and millet dropped in comparison with previous years, whereas coffee, palm kernels and palm oil increased, although only slightly. Other products remained almost stagnant with a slight increase in such export products as bananas and rice. If it is borne in mind that the country is predominantly agricultural, and that both for its internal subsistence and for its foreign trade it depends upon agriculture, it can easily be seen that an increase in production should constitute, as it does indeed constitute, one of the major concerns of the Territory. The second part of the ten-year plan did not seem to have given the results which we expected in the matter of increased agricultural production. Forest resources represented a very important part in the Cameroonian economy but the export of timber is mainly in the form of sawed lumber. It does not appear there is yet in the Territory any plywood industry or other timber processing facilities. It might be appropriate for the Administering .uthority to study this problem with a view to seeing that the processing should take place in the Territory itself, so that the finished products could then be exported.

My delegation has taken note of the statement made by the special representative to the effect that the Minister for Economic Affairs of the Cameroons participated in discussions relating to the association of the Territory with the European Economic Community. We have also taken note with interest of the statement made by the representative of France to the effect that the Administering Authority intends to propose the representation of the Cameroons

in the central organs of the European Economic Community. However, we must say that since this is a measure of considerable importance for the economic and political future of the Territory, it is indicated -- I would almost say that it is indispenable -- that formal consultation ought to have been made with the Government and the Territorial Assembly of the Territory concerning this association with the European Economic Community.

Among social problems in the Cameroons, the Council has been concerned in the past with questions relating to the status of women, the bride-price and polygamy. The Administering Authority, as well as the Territorial Government, have expressed concern about these matters and my delegation takes note of the efforts which have been made to improve the status of women. It is quite evident that there is still a great deal to be done and that it will be necessary to make more and more efforts, not only through legislation but in the educational and social fields, to give women a role compatible with the role they must play in a democratic society.

In the French Cameroons the trade union movement has developed very well but certain measures taken by the Administering Authority in recent years have provoked vigorous reactions from union leaders. The representative of the CGT has said that the measures taken had infringed union rights, the right of assembly and the right to strike, but on the other hand provisions adopted on 5 January 1956 designated the presidents of the unions as experts and arbiters in labour matters. We draw these complaints to the attention of the Administering Authority. Some explanation was given during the question and answer period and we were told that France has always been in the lead in social legislation and in matters relating to respect for workers' rights. We are sure of this, and we hope France will revise any of these measures which place obstacles in the way of the workers' rights. The decree of 20 May 1955 seems to have the effect, in the opinion of those concerned, of restricting the right to strike by introducing a procedure of arbitration which makes it impossible to have legal recourse to the strike as a means-of-defending union rights.

In its consideration of educational matters in the Territory the Council has had available to it the valuable observations of UNESCO. My delegation would

like to associate itself in general terms with the recommendations to be found in the UNESCO document, and we would take the liberty of repeating once again our concern that school attendance in the two regions of the Territory is so out of proportion, 91 per cent of the children in the South attending school while 9 per cent do so in the North. It is true that these figures represent an improvement in comparison with the past year, but even so the rate of progress in the North is very slow. The wastage which occurs at various stages in education seems to be an ever-recurring problem and my delegation hopes that in future we shall have more precise information about the causes of the considerable wastage which occurs at various stages in school attendance.

The number of pupils in secondary schools seems to be very small, especially if we take into account the fact that it is secondary and higher education that will provide those persons who will occupy posts in the civil service, and so on, in the Territory. We continue to be interested in the growth of technical education in the Territory, and we are very happy to note that during the year under consideration there was an increase in the interest shown by students in this type of technical or vocational education -- especially in what is called "manual education". However, there is a case in which there has been a decrease in the number of students, namely, the case of the technical school at Douala. My delegation would recommend that the reason for this should be studied. We are happy to see that the Legislative Assembly is interested in educational matters, and we think that the reconsideration by the corresponding authorities of the objectives in fundamental education was indeed a very fine idea.

Finally, my delegation would associate itself with the opinion voiced in this Council to the effect that the Administering Authority and the Territorial Government should explore the possibility of establishing a university in the Territory which could be attended by local high school graduates. The establishment of institutions of higher education seems all the more necessary since the cost of scholarships abroad is constantly increasing, and since there are many more applicants for those scholarships and the Territory needs more and more graduates from such higher schools.

We would not wish to conclude our comments on the Cameroons under French administration without, in the first place, expressing our satisfaction with the development of political, economic and social institutions in the Territory. We are very gratified by the increasing participation of the indigenous population in all these activities. It thereby shows its maturity and gives proof that it is now in a position to exercise self-government and even to achieve independence. We should like also to extend our congratulations to the Administering Authority for the pertinent and abundant information which has been supplied. In particular we would extend our thanks to the representative of France and the special representative for the numerous clarifications which they have been kind enough to give my delegation and other members of the Council. We would also like to thank them for the very courteous and patient manner in which they replied to all the questions which we addressed to them.

The FRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): With the conclusion of the statement of the representative of Guatemala we have concluded the general debate on the Cameroons under French administration. It still remains for us, at a later date, to hear the final statement of the Administering Authority. I should like to thank members of the Council for the major effort which they have made in completing their final statements during yesterday and today in order to enable the Council to adhere to its programme of work.

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to make the following statement. Some representatives have stated that they did not enter into too many details of the situation in the Territory in order to please the President and to speed up our work. I wish to stress that the main concern of the President is that the Council's work should proceed with maximum efficiency and care. I think that the earliness of the hour at which we have finished this morning shows that we really have done very well. We shall meet again at 2.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

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Trusteeship Council 21st Session 24th Meeting (ALI)

Press Release TR/1359 28 February 1958

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TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

The general debate on conditions in the Cameroons under French administration was continued this morning by the Trusteeship Council.

VITTORIO ZADOTTI (Italy) said the adoption of the new political statute for the Cameroons was "admirably planned," "admirably timed," and "admirably fitted" to the conditions in the territory. The new democratic institutions, he said, were not only taking over the responsibilities conferred upon them, but had shown "considerable vitality" in their accomplishments.

The Trusteeship Council, he felt, should express its satisfaction to both the administering authority and the Cameroonian people for the progress achieved.

Mr. ZADOTTI also noted with satisfaction two other matters. One, he said, was the fact that the door was left open in the statute for further enlargement of the powers of the Cameroonian government. The other was the "excellent relationship" between the administering authority and the Cameroonian papele.

He noted with regret however, that, while the majority of the population were united in support of the new institutions, a small minority had continued to resort to violence. He hoped those involved would not disregard the opportunity afforded them under the newly promulgated amnesty law. The Trusteeship Council, he felt, should make it clear that observance of normal democratic practice was a precondition for the return of a climate of trust.

- After reviewing conditions in other fields, Mr. ZADOTTI said the year under review had been one of "remarkable accomplishments" for which both the administering authority and the Cameroonian people deserved commendation.

GEORGES TOWEH (Syria) declared that the adoption of the amnesty law had led his delegation to hope for an improvement in the situation in the Cameroons. However, according to press reports, there had been the recent resignation of the Cameroonian Prime Minister, and the continuation of the activities of "rebel bands" in the Sanaga-Maritime and Bamileke regions. Military units had been brought in from French Equatorial Africa and many people had been imprisoned and arrested.

The Cameroons, he said, did have unity before the last quarter of a century when the territory was divided up and placed under British and French administration. The present trouble, in his view, stemmed from the fact that the "people under

colonial rule" realized more and more that they could not "carry the heavy load of injustices" imposed on them. The people of the Cameroons were no exception.

The dissolution of the UPC, he said, had been an "unfortunate development" in the relations between the administering authority and the Cameroonian people, he added.

As for the new statute, Mr. TOMEH made the following comments: it contained no provision providing for intermediate targets for self-government or independence; he had the impression that integration with France was contemplated rather than the creation of an independent Cameroons; and there were the limitations on the powers transferred to the Cameroons.

He called for measures to achieve the independence and unity of the Cameroons, to encourage the political parties to work toward this, and to invest the Cameroonia legislature and executive bodies with real powers.

EDMOND SYLVAIN (Haiti) viewed the new statute as a step toward the achievement of the purposes of the trusteeship. A Cameroonian legislative assembly and a cabinet responsible to that assembly had been established. However, cortain misgivings of his delegation with regard to the situation in the territory had not been allayed.

During the last elections for the legislative assembly, he noted, one important segment of the population, as represented by the dissolved UPC and its affiliated parties, did not take part. While he was not condoning the activities of these parties, he felt that their non-participation had falsified the results of the election, the extent of which only the future could tell.

He regretted that the passage of the amnesty law had not brought about the expected relaxation of tensions. This however did not justify the continuation of violence. The amnesty law had been passed tardily and it covered a limited range of cases. As a result, there had been a stiffening of positions which, he said, was regrettable.

He appealed to the administering authority to review its policy and to make still greater effort to calm the more excited elements. He hoped the administering authority would show a greater understanding of the impatience of those Cameroonians to enjoy self-government, while there was still time.

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Trusteeship Council
21st Session
24th Meeting (AM)

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Press Release TR/1359 28 February 1958

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL -- TAKE 2

hope and anxiety. His hope was based on the fact that, after a "prolonged period of political stagnation," the territory was now entering a new phase. Given proper guidance, he said, the developments held good promise for the future:

His anxiety, he continued, was not in respect to the ultimate future of the territory, for he was confident that the Cameroons would attain nationhood. It stemmed from the possible consequences of the clash between progress and reaction. He hoped the "black patches," now visible, would not grow and move the territory in the wrong direction.

"repentence should be given a second chance." The amnesty law, he noted, covered events of limited scope.

The Burmese representative hoped that the administering authority would set intermediate target dates for the progressive transfer of further powers to the Cameroons. The new statute, he said, gave the territory a measure of self-rule, but not yet the status of full sovereignty. As such, it represented an important step forward.

Turning to other developments, he considered that the territory had benefited from the financial aid received from France for its economic development. However, he believed that no territory should remain indefinitely dependent on outside financial aid for its economic development. Domestic capital, he said, must assume the principal role.

In saying this, he made clear that he was not advocating that France should end its financial aid. Such aid should continue, as long as it was necessary. What he wished to stress was the importance of building up domestic capital and of encouraging savings for productive purposes.

Mr. KYAW MIN suggested that measures should be taken to require foreign companies to reinvest a certain portion of their profits in the territory.

JOSE ROLZ (Guatemala) said the "state of crisis" in the territory had been going on for many years. While it was difficult to find the underlying causes, it was nevertheless the duty of both the Council and the administering authority to do so. (more)

The two Cameroons, he said, were both reaching the final stages before independence and a popular consultation of the population as to their future was envisaged. It was the duty of the United Nations, he said, to ensure that the views of the population in such consultation should be expressed freely and in full knowledge of the implications of their decisions.

Pending that consultation, he suggested that both administering authorities should prepare the groundwork for the holding of a simultaneous plebiscite in both Cameroons in order to ascertain the wishes of the Cameroonian people.

Turning to other fields, Mr. ROLZ hoped that the administering authority would provide the Council, in its next annual report, an evaluation of the results whieved under the 10-year economic development plan. The second part of the 10-year plan, he said, did not seem to give the expected results in the field of agricultural production.

He urged that most of the processing activities should take place in the territory itself. He also hoped that the administering authority would provide information concerning the association of the territory with the European Common Market.

The trade union movement, he went on, had developed well, but certain measures taken recently had been regarded by trade union leaders as restricting workers' rights. He hoped that France would examine and modify such measures.

He expressed concern at the great discrepancy in school attendance between the north and the south. Although the figures represented an improvement, the rate of increase in the north appeared to be slow. He hoped the authorities would consider the possibility of establishing a university in the territory.

The President, EMILIO ARENALES CATALAN (Guatemala), said the debate on the French Cameroons had been concluded. The administering authority, he added, would make its closing statement at a later meeting.

The Council will meet again at 2:30 p.m. today when it will begin discussion of conditions in Tanganyika.

(END OF TAKE 2 AND OF PRESS RELEASE TR/1359)