

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTEENTH SESSION

Official Records


**793rd
PLENARY MEETING**

 Friday, 20 February 1959,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

Continuation of the thirteenth session

1. The PRESIDENT: I call the meeting to order.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The PRESIDENT: As we resume the thirteenth session, after an interval of a little more than two months, I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

AGENDA ITEM 13

The future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French administration and the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration: special report of the Trusteeship Council

3. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 1281 (XIII) of 5 December 1958, the thirteenth session is resumed today to consider

the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French administration and the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration. Since the last meeting of the Assembly, the Trusteeship Council and the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1958, have submitted reports on the question now before the Assembly.

4. Consequently, the Assembly now has before it three documents relating to these Trust Territories: the first is a report by the Visiting Mission concerning the Cameroons under French administration [T/1427 and T/1434]; the second is a report by the Visiting Mission concerning the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration [T/1426 and Add.1]; the third is a special report of the Trusteeship Council on this item [A/4094].

5. In accordance with the practice of the General Assembly and with its rules of procedure, this item will be considered by the Fourth Committee, which will then report to a plenary meeting of the Assembly.

6. I understand that the Prime Ministers of the two Trust Territories whose future the Assembly is now to consider are attending the present session. I should like to extend my welcome to them, as I do to representatives of Member States who have come here to participate in the work of this resumed thirteenth session.

7. A meeting of the Fourth Committee has been scheduled for 11 o'clock this morning. At this stage, there is nothing further for the Assembly to consider. I therefore propose to adjourn the meeting so that the Fourth Committee may begin its work. I trust that that Committee, under the able chairmanship of Mr. Boland, will be able to proceed with its work expeditiously and that we shall soon be able, in plenary meeting, to consider its report.

The meeting rose at 10.50 a.m.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



794th PLENARY MEETING

(Closing Meeting)

 Friday, 13 March 1959,
at 8.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 13

The future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French administration and the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration: special report of the Trusteeship Council (concluded)

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4095)

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

1. Mr. EILAN (Israel), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: Once again, I have the honour to appear before you to introduce a report of the Fourth Committee [A/4095]. Exactly three weeks ago the General Assembly resumed its thirteenth session and referred the question of the future of the Cameroons under French administration and the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration to the Fourth Committee. During the past three weeks the Committee has devoted as many as thirty-six meetings to this question. In order to facilitate the work of the Committee, a number of representatives of the two Trust Territories concerned have participated in its discussions as members of the French and United Kingdom delegations. They include Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, Prime Minister of the Cameroons under French administration, Mr. Daniel Kémajou, President of the Legislative Assembly of that Territory, Mr. John Foncha, Premier of the Southern Cameroons, Dr. Emanuel Endeley, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly of the Southern Cameroons and Malam Abdullahi Dan Buram Jada, Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs in the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria. The Committee is greatly indebted to them for their efficient co-operation.

2. One of the salient features of the operation of the International Trusteeship System is the right of petition. This right has been widely used by various organizations and groups in the two Trust Territories concerned. As many as thirty of these organizations and groups have been granted hearings, and twenty-

eight of them have sent representatives to the Fourth Committee, which has devoted a great number of meetings to their hearing.

3. At the conclusion of its examination, the Committee adopted two draft resolutions, one on the future of the Cameroons under French administration and the other on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration. By draft resolution I, the General Assembly would, among other things, resolve, in agreement with the Administering Authority, that, on 1 January 1960, when the Cameroons under French administration becomes independent, the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly on 13 December 1946 shall cease to be in force in accordance with Article 76 b of the Charter of the United Nations. Draft resolution II would, among other things, have the General Assembly recommend that the Administering Authority, in pursuance of Article 76 b of the Charter, take steps, in consultation with a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, to organize, under the supervision of the United Nations, separate plebiscites in the northern and southern parts of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, in order to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory concerning their future.

4. An account of the proceedings of the Committee is set forth in the report now before the General Assembly. The text of draft resolutions I and II proposed by the Committee is annexed to the report.

5. I should also like to point out that the report now before the Assembly contains a number of corrections introduced as a result of the requests of the delegations of Liberia, Mexico, the Philippines and the United Arab Republic.

6. In concluding, may I recall that once before I have had the privilege of introducing here a draft resolution concerning the attainment of independence by a Trust Territory. That was during the thirteenth session of the Assembly, at the 780th plenary meeting held on 14 November 1958, when the historic resolution concerning the future of Togoland under French administration was unanimously adopted by the Assembly [resolution 1253 (XIII)]. Today, once again, I am called upon to introduce a draft resolution providing for the attainment of independence by another African Trust Territory, namely, the Cameroons under French administration. To be called upon twice during the same session to announce the realization of the ultimate and the most noble objective of the International Trusteeship System, is indeed, Mr. President, a very unusual privilege and honour which I greatly cherish.

7. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly knows how hard and studiously the Fourth Committee has worked during the past three weeks, and I am sure members will want me to express to the Chairman of that Committee, to its Rapporteur and also to the other officers, as well as to its entire membership, the appreciation and

gratitude of the General Assembly for the good work which they have done. We are happy indeed to receive the results of their work this evening and to deliberate and decide on them.

8. The Assembly has before it draft resolutions I and II which are contained in the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4095]. I request members to address themselves to these two texts.

9. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): The question of the Cameroons has, I think, been rightly termed an African question. It is admittedly an African question inasmuch as the emergence of an African country as an independent State is a partial fulfilment of the common aspiration of all Africans to see their continent free from colonialism and from foreign domination of all forms. Africans consider that even those few countries that are now free cannot feel secure as regards their continued independence as long as colonialism persists in Africa. It might be said that this apprehension is groundless, that no one thinks today, in the middle of the twentieth century, of colonizing independent countries while the colonial countries are in the process of being liberated, and so on. But, if one considers that it was in the middle of this enlightened twentieth century that Ethiopia, my country, fell victim to colonialism; that it is in the middle of this twentieth century that Africans are being killed *en masse* for merely requesting to be treated as human beings; that it is in this twentieth century that the worst kind of exploitation is practised in Africa; then one will appreciate that the apprehension of the African is well founded and justified.

10. Colonialism in all its forms must, therefore, end in Africa. The relationship between Africans and the colonial Powers must be one of equal partners if genuine co-operation and full confidence are to be promoted between the two parties. This is the common objective of all Africans, which they hope will be supported by all freedom-loving nations.

11. On the other hand, Africans, who commonly fight foreign domination, who oppose foreign interference in their affairs, must be very careful lest they themselves be accused of trying to interfere in one another's affairs. It is in this sense, after hearing the solemn declaration of the French and the Cameroonian Governments as to the genuineness of the independence of the Cameroons, that the Ethiopian delegation has decided to consider all other questions to be the prerogative of the Cameroonians and not to meddle in their internal affairs.

12. We therefore voted in the Fourth Committee for the twelve-Power draft resolution recommending the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and the proclamation of the independence of the Cameroons on 1 January 1960, and we shall vote for that draft resolution now.

13. As for the eight-Power draft resolution relating to the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, my delegation will abstain, for the reasons that I stated in the Fourth Committee.

14. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation would like to explain its votes on the draft resolutions before us. The General Assembly is about to take a decision that will determine the future of the Came-

roons, which for twelve years has been under United Nations trusteeship. The Soviet delegation cannot fail to recall here the enormous responsibility which this decision imposes upon the United Nations.

15. The 5 million people of the Cameroons are watching closely to see how thoroughly and conscientiously the United Nations will perform the obligations it assumed under the Charter. The Cameroonian people attach tremendous importance to the decisions of the United Nations on their country's future. This was demonstrated, for one thing, by the unprecedented number of petitioners who came to the General Assembly on behalf of Cameroonian organizations and parties to inform States Members of the United Nations of the strivings and aspirations of the Cameroonian people.

16. We can say without risk of exaggeration that, in the person of the petitioners whom we heard in the Fourth Committee, we heard the Cameroonian people. Furthermore, whether the Cameroonian people retain their faith in the United Nations and whether they will accept the General Assembly's decisions with a feeling of satisfaction and gratitude or with feelings of bitterness and disappointment will depend on the extent to which our decisions meet their hopes and strivings.

17. In speaking of the special responsibility the United Nations bears in deciding the Cameroonian question, we must not overlook the fact that the people of the other Trust Territories which have not yet attained their independence are watching our work no less intently and will judge the results of our work no less sternly.

18. Lastly, we must recognize the importance which the question under discussion has for the people of the independent African States. They have a closer understanding of problems related to that question and rightly claim that, in deciding the fate of African Territories, the General Assembly should listen first to the views of the African countries.

19. In defining its position on the Cameroonian issue, the Soviet delegation proceeds from the universally recognized right of self-determination of peoples, the principle which has guided Soviet policy in regard to the national liberation movement of colonial and dependent peoples.

20. As we know, the Cameroonian people have for a long time demanded and striven for the independence and reunification of their country. Accordingly, the Soviet delegation whole-heartedly favours the attainment of independence by the Trust Territories of the Cameroons no later than 1 January 1960. It also whole-heartedly supports the Cameroonian people's demands for reunification of both parts of the Cameroons in a single, independent, national State. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation supported in the Fourth Committee the proposals of the African delegations, which were designed to achieve these goals.

21. In their proposals, the African delegations fully considered the pressing needs, with which they are well acquainted, of their Cameroonian brothers. The petitioners who addressed the Committee made it quite clear that the independence of the Cameroons will not be complete if it is granted under the conditions created there by the Administering Authorities, which used armed force and repression to prevent the patriotic organizations from participating in solving the problems of building up the future independent Cameroons.

That is why the petitioners insist so strongly on a change in these conditions, so that the Cameroonian people can be given the opportunity to elect, under United Nations supervision, a constituent assembly which would be competent to take decisions on establishing the institutions of a free and independent Cameroons. They also demand that the elections should be held under free and democratic conditions and that all parties and organizations be permitted to participate, particularly those groups which roused the national consciousness of the Cameroonian people. They were the first to raise the banner of the struggle for independence and, for this very reason, were outlawed by the Administering Authorities and made the victims of reprisals and terror.

22. The Cameroonian people also demand that obstacles to reunification be removed and that conditions be created for the simultaneous attainment of both goals: independence and reunification in a single national State.

23. The Soviet delegation deeply regrets that the proposals of the African delegations, which were based on the United Nations Charter and on the demands of the Cameroonian people, were defeated in the Fourth Committee by the bloc of colonial Powers and the delegations that joined them. Instead of these proposals, a draft resolution on the Cameroons under French administration prepared by the delegations of Italy, New Zealand, the United States and several other countries, was imposed upon the Committee.

24. The Soviet delegation opposed this draft resolution in the Fourth Committee on the grounds that it completely ignores the demands of the majority of the Cameroonian people, disregards the position of the African peoples, which are bound by close ties to the Cameroonian people, and prevents the United Nations from completing the performance of its trusteeship obligations.

25. In this connexion the delegation of the Soviet Union deems it necessary to say that now, as before, it strongly favours the prompt attainment of independence by all Trust Territories, including the Cameroons.

26. For many years the Soviet delegation has fought tirelessly for this and has repeatedly submitted proposals in the United Nations setting time limits for the attainment of independence. As long ago as the eleventh session of the General Assembly, the USSR delegation proposed that a decision should be taken to grant independence to the Cameroons in 1960. As we know, the Soviet proposal was rejected at that time by the efforts of the colonial Powers. The Soviet delegation firmly upholds the same position today and supports the attainment of independence by the Cameroons no later than 1 January 1960. Accordingly, the Soviet delegation will vote in favour of operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution I, providing for the termination of trusteeship over the Cameroons when it attains its independence on 1 January 1960, and it will also vote in favour of operative paragraph 3, recommending the admittance of the independent Cameroons to membership in the United Nations. The Soviet delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole.

27. The Soviet delegation considers the draft resolution on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration submitted by the Fourth Committee to be unsatisfactory, in so far as it does not reflect the

aspirations of the Cameroonian people to reunification in a single national State. One can even go further and say that the draft resolution was inspired by a policy aimed at perpetuating the forced partition of the Cameroons carried out during the imperialist Powers' redistributions of territory forty years ago. This is particularly evident in the recommendations regarding the plebiscite to be held in the northern part of the Territory, set out in operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. The population of the Northern Cameroons would even be denied the opportunity to express its opinion on the reunification of the Cameroons into a single State, while the women would be unfairly denied the right to participate in the plebiscite. The Soviet delegation has spoken and continues to speak against the holding of such a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations. The Soviet delegation also deems it necessary to explain that it will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole, since it wants to respect the wishes expressed in the Fourth Committee by representatives of various political parties in the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration who asked to be given the opportunity to achieve greater unanimity on the future of their country. The USSR delegation reserves the right to express its views on the question as a whole at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, when the final decisions on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration will be taken.

28. It is the view of the Soviet delegation that the Fourth Committee did not fulfill the task placed before it. It was unable to reach sound decisions on the Cameroonian question, that is to say, decisions that would promote the reunification of the Cameroons into a single independent State in accordance with the aspirations of the Cameroonian people. Yet the Fourth Committee had every opportunity to prepare such decisions.

29. Who prevented it from properly carrying out its tasks? Those primarily responsible are the traditional colonial Powers: the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Australia and others which formed a solid bloc opposing the demands of the Cameroonian people and the proposals of the African countries. In the actions of this bloc, we can see the futile attempts of moribund colonialism to halt the democratic forces of the African liberation movement which wish to cast off the shackles of colonialism as quickly as possible.

30. The United States, as we know, has shown especial activity in the case of the Cameroonian issue. It can be said that it openly headed the bloc of colonial Powers and used every opportunity to prevent the United Nations from taking a decision based on the provisions of the Charter.

31. At this session of the General Assembly the bloc of the old and the new colonialism came out into the open. This time it did not even use its customary methods of camouflage. The United States delegation, for example, did not dissociate itself from the other colonialists when it spoke vigorously against the holding of democratic elections in the Eastern Cameroons under United Nations supervision and even against the granting of the right to vote to women in the northern part of the Cameroons. The special role of leader of the colonial Powers which the United States delegation has played at this session also imposes on it a special responsibility for the obstacles which have kept the United Nations from fulfilling all its obligations to the Cameroonian people.

32. In voting on the draft resolutions, I should like to request that when a vote is taken on draft resolution I on the Cameroons under French administration the preamble should be voted on as a whole and paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the operative part should be voted on separately; in draft resolution II on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration I should like to request a separate vote on operative paragraph 2.

33. The PRESIDENT: You now have before you a request by the Soviet Union that we act on these texts before us, by parts.

34. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): Allow me to explain briefly my delegation's vote on the draft resolutions before us.

35. In the first place, we shall vote in favour of the two draft resolutions as approved by the Fourth Committee. With regard to the Cameroons under French administration, we are already witnessing the birth of a new nation. The French representative has just, in his own immortal language, uttered the word "independence" and my delegation welcomes this new contribution by France to human progress.

36. In the debate in the Fourth Committee we made certain points which we thought suitable for inclusion in the draft resolutions. We should have preferred a different wording in operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution I on the Cameroons under French administration. I myself had occasion to suggest, after a long debate, the deletion of any date whatsoever, leaving it to the discretion of the Administering Authority itself to set the date for the elections in the light of the various opinions expressed during the debate in the Fourth Committee.

37. We also thought that, in draft resolution II concerning the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, the part referring to the procedure for holding the plebiscite might have been rather differently worded. We should have preferred what we have maintained as an unshakable principle of our democratic creed, namely, the principle of universal suffrage without distinction as to race, sex, or religion, that is to say without any of the distinctions rejected by the Charter in affirming the fundamental rights which together make up what it calls the dignity of the human person; according to this concept men and women are equal before the law and human progress is the responsibility of all, without any of those distinctions and prejudices which have hitherto weighed so heavily on the individual and the world and slowed down the pace of universal progress.

38. In operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution I, the General Assembly resolves that on 1 January 1960, when the Cameroons under French administration becomes independent, the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly on 13 December 1946 shall cease to be in force. The draft resolution also recommends that when the Cameroons under French administration has attained its independence and is exercising its sovereignty in the community of free nations, it shall be admitted to membership of the United Nations and shall be seated, of right, in the General Assembly and in all the other organs of the United Nations. These are principles which we supported during the debate.

39. With regard to operative paragraph 2, we steadfastly maintain the principle which is a basic element

of our belief: there must be consultation of those who are cast for leading roles in the drama of granting independence to a nation, in this case the people of the Cameroons. I repeat that we should have liked these consultations to take place before the date indicated in the draft resolution. But since this draft resolution has been adopted by the Fourth Committee, where we voted in accordance with our principles, my delegation will support it and vote in favour of it, for over and above all differences of opinion towers one fundamental and vital fact—the independence of a people. The remaining problems will be solved by that people, working out its own destiny.

40. Accordingly, in voting in favour of the draft resolutions, we believe that, in accordance with the principles which underlie our historical traditions with regard to consultation of the population in the one case and to equal rights for men and women in the other, we are serving the cause of freedom expressed in the two grants of independence and the plebiscite, dealt with in the draft resolutions before us.

41. If you will allow me, Sir, I should like to revert to something that was said at the beginning of this evening's meeting. It is quite obvious that the discussion in the Fourth Committee was an outstanding occasion in the history of the United Nations and, had the modesty of the Chairman not prevented us from doing so, my delegation would have liked this afternoon to express, on behalf of the Latin American delegations, our gratitude and admiration for the work accomplished by the officers of the Committee: the representatives of Ireland, Poland and Israel.

42. In voting in favour of the draft resolutions, the delegation of Uruguay welcomes the independence of the Cameroons under French administration and looks forward hopefully to the plebiscite to be held in the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration.

43. Mr. MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): I regret that I could not speak earlier because I did not want to explain my vote, but simply to make a remark concerning the Spanish translation of the report which was originally drafted in English. Unfortunately, the list of speakers had already been established so that I could not be given the floor before this.

44. As Paraguay was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution concerning the Cameroons under French administration, I should like to point out that two words on which a separate vote was taken in the Fourth Committee have been omitted from the report. I am referring to the ninth preambular paragraph, which begins with the words "Noting the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons...". In the Spanish text, the words "y capacidad" have been omitted in the phrase which reads "y de los representantes del Gobierno del Camerún con respecto al deseo". A vote on these words was taken in the Fourth Committee and they were approved by 56 votes to 14, with 10 abstentions. I should like to ask the Secretariat to make the necessary changes. 1/

45. Furthermore, in paragraph 2 of the operative part of the draft resolution concerning the French Cameroons, we find in the Spanish translation "Confía en

1/ The words "y capacidad", which appeared in the provisional text of the draft resolution, were replaced in the edited text by the expression "y a su preparación para ello".

que" and this expression appears again in paragraph 21 of the report. In paragraph 22, however, the amendment submitted by Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic provides that, in operative paragraph 2, the words "Expresa su confianza en" should be replaced by the word "Recomienda". In other words, in the Spanish translation, the expression "Expresa su confianza en" has been used instead of "Confia en que".^{2/}

46. I hope that note will be taken of my remarks and that the corresponding changes will be made, so that the Spanish text of the report will reflect the discussions that took place in the Fourth Committee.

47. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Ireland is on my list as one of the speakers. I understand that he wishes to raise a point of order and I now call on him.

48. Mr. KENNEDY (Ireland): I have asked for the floor on a point of order relating to rule 91 of the rules of procedure. Rule 91 provides that "a representative may move that parts of a proposal or of an amendment shall be voted on separately", and some time ago we heard the representative of the Soviet Union move for separate votes on parts of each resolution which lies before us. But rule 91 goes on to say that: "If objection is made to the request for division, the motion for division shall be voted upon. Permission to speak on the motion for division shall be given only to two speakers in favour and two speakers against."

49. Mr. President, if you would allow me, I should like to be one of those two speakers against division and to urge on this august Assembly the desirability of our accepting the two draft resolutions before us as they have come to us from the Fourth Committee as an organic whole. I am sure that I do not have to recall to my colleagues in this Assembly the long hours of patient endeavours which have gone into the drafting of the two resolutions which now lie before us for decision, long hours of debate and discussion in the Fourth Committee which have resulted, I think it is fair to say, in their adoption by that Committee last night, with substantial majorities in each case: by a majority of 56 to 9 in the case of draft resolution I, and by a majority of 57 to none in the case of draft resolution II.

50. It would be the feeling of my delegation, accordingly, that the path of wisdom would lie in accepting these resolutions as they have come to us, each as an organic whole, and that if parts of them should be cut away by separate votes, that may distort the meaning and the significance of each text. I am sure that I need hardly recall to this Assembly how frequently we have tested almost every phrase in each draft resolution. We had no less than twenty-six divisions last evening. So that as regards both draft resolutions, each one now comes to us tried and tested, not only by public debate but by extensive and detailed voting.

51. For these reasons, we feel that the wisest course of action would be for the Assembly to accept these draft resolutions as they have now come to us, in each case an integrated essential unity, each part of which has been tried in debate and which forms an essential part of the whole. In putting this point to the Assembly under rule 91, perhaps you will allow me, Mr. President, to say that my delegation has not been associated

^{2/}The words "Expresa su confianza en", which appeared in the mimeographed text of the Committee's report (A/4095, para. 22), were replaced in the printed text by the words "Confia en que".

with either draft resolution, but we do feel that the wisest course of action would be to vote on them as a whole.

52. It is for these reasons that I now formally move, under rule 91, that we should do so and that we should decide not to accept the proposal for separate voting on parts of the text as proposed by the representative of the Soviet Union.

53. The PRESIDENT: The observations made by the representative of Paraguay do not affect, I take it, either the English text or the French text of draft resolution I, but only the Spanish text, and as such they would certainly be taken into account by the Secretariat.

54. The representative of the Soviet Union has requested—and he has full right to do so—that both draft resolutions be put to the vote in parts, in accordance with a system that he himself suggested. The representative of Ireland now has invoked rule 91 of the rules of procedure which permits any other representative to object to such a request. In the presence of such an objection, I will have to apply the specification of that rule, namely, to allow two speakers in favour of the division and two speakers against it.

55. The representative of Ireland has stated that he wanted to be listed among those who would speak against the division and he has already spoken against it. I take it that his share in the contest is already consumed by his speech which he has just given us. I therefore have before me only the option of allowing one other speaker against the division and two other speakers for the division. Before we come to the voting, I still have before me a number of speakers, namely Ceylon, the United Arab Republic and Albania, and either of them can speak for or against the division in the course of their intervention, with the proviso which I have just indicated, that I will allow only one more speaker against the division, but two speakers for the division. I leave it to them to decide. They may either carry on their intervention apart from that point of order now and speak about the point of order after they are through with their substantive statement or they can include both matters in the same intervention at the same time.

56. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): Ordinarily, if there were a request that a resolution should be put to the vote in parts, my delegation would have no objection, for it is the right of delegations to test a resolution not only as a whole but in parts. But the position is different on this occasion. We have here a draft resolution which has been tested in that manner and after that testing the draft resolution has come to us as a balanced whole.

57. It would be wrong, in the opinion of my delegation, to disturb this balance at this stage, particularly since there would not be the same opportunity here as there would have been in Committee to deal with any changes that might be made as a result of such a test. If, in the Committee, when this matter was considered, a certain proposal was approved or disapproved when put as a part of the whole, there would have been an opportunity for the members of the Committee to put forward any other proposal to take the place of the one that had been either accepted or rejected. Therefore, it would seem to me somewhat unreasonable, and perhaps a little unfair, to ask the Assembly at this stage to deal with this proposal in parts.

58. Furthermore, as I listened to the representative of the Soviet Union, he made it clear that he was in support of operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution I and was also in support of operative paragraph 3 of that draft resolution, leaving it clearly to be understood that he was opposed to operative paragraph 2 of the first draft resolution. That means that the purpose of putting this draft resolution, particularly the operative part, in separate proposals to the Assembly, is to oppose operative paragraph 2. This particular paragraph is the result of an amendment proposed by seven Powers and contained in document A/C.4/L.583 which was placed before the Committee. As was explained in the Committee, the object of the amendment was to provide a kind of bridge between the position taken in the original five-Power draft resolution [A/C.4/L.580] and the eight-Power draft resolution [A/C.4/L.581]. It was in order to facilitate the position of certain delegations which had difficulty in reconciling these two positions that the sponsors of the amendment put forward such an amendment. That question, as was stated by the representative of Ireland in regard to the whole work of the Committee, was discussed thoroughly and in great detail. So far as operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution I is concerned, I should like to bring to the notice of the Assembly the fact that, apart from the very large vote which the whole draft resolution received, this particular paragraph, which is the one now in question, was put to the vote and was carried by 48 votes to none, with 33 abstentions. In other words, this particular paragraph, which is the only paragraph now in question, as I have tried to point out, was already put to the vote and was adopted unanimously—my interpretation being that as there were none against this paragraph, and the 33 abstentions being discounted, it is a case of almost unanimous acceptance.

59. Now, is it reasonable at this stage in the present Assembly to request that draft resolution I should be voted on in parts when there was such a clear opinion expressed in the Committee after a great deal of detailed discussion?

60. For these reasons I feel that the objection made by the representative of Ireland is sound and, at this stage of our proceedings, reasonable. Therefore, I should like to support the position which he has expressed regarding voting on draft resolution I in parts.

61. The same reasons would apply to draft resolution II, on which I need not elaborate.

62. The PRESIDENT: Two speakers have spoken against voting in parts, namely, the representatives of Ireland and Ceylon. I would request any other speakers who may wish to speak before the vote is taken not to speak against voting in parts. There is still an opportunity, however, for two speakers to support the request of the Soviet Union delegation that these texts should be voted upon in parts.

63. Mr. MUFTI (United Arab Republic) (translated from French): My delegation would like to support the proposal for a vote by parts made by the USSR representative. He asked for a separate vote on the three operative paragraphs of draft resolution I and a separate vote on operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution II.

64. With regard to draft resolution I, my delegation considers that the proposal for separate votes would enable those delegations desiring to take a different stand on the three operative paragraphs to make their

position clear. We know that attempts have been made in the Fourth Committee to distort the position taken by the African delegations and many others in the Committee and to give the impression that they are opposed to the independence of the Cameroons under French administration and desirous of delaying the date of attainment of that independence.

65. We therefore consider that opposition to the USSR proposal for a vote by parts would be tantamount to inviting further attempts to do so in plenary meeting. While my own delegation is in a position to vote in favour of operative paragraphs 1 and 3 of draft resolution I, it cannot vote for operative paragraph 2, and delegations in the same position would be placed in a predicament. We are confident that the majority of the members of the Assembly would not wish that to happen.

66. My delegation would like to recall that objections were raised in the Fourth Committee to operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution II. The objections related both to the questions to be put in the plebiscite to be held in the Northern Cameroons and to the electoral register to be used as a basis for the plebiscite.

67. My delegation wishes to stress that the amendment submitted by the African States to replace the second question given in the draft resolution obtained 32 votes in the Fourth Committee, which is ample proof that the questions as they stand are not entirely satisfactory.

68. It also wishes to stress that utilization of the existing electoral register would mean that women in the Northern Cameroons would not participate in the plebiscite, whereas universal adult suffrage is in force in the Southern Cameroons. It would further like to emphasize that if the existing electoral register is used, Nigerians possessing a receipt for the payment of taxes in the Northern Cameroons would be able to take part in the plebiscite, and that this would be intolerable.

69. In conclusion, my delegation would like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that rejection of operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution would in no way affect the principle of the plebiscite, which is embodied in operative paragraph 1, and that the date of the plebiscite might well be negotiated between the Plebiscite Commissioner and the Administering Authority.

70. For those reasons, my delegation will support the proposal for a vote by parts.

71. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Albania, the second speaker in support of the proposal for a vote on the draft resolution by parts.

72. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (translated from Russian): The Fourth Committee has spent almost three weeks discussing the question of granting independence to the Cameroons under French administration and the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration. This in itself is an indication of the problem's great significance. There is no doubt that the Cameroonian people and all other peoples still under the yoke of colonial domination have been closely following the discussion in the Fourth Committee.

73. We view the Cameroonian people's struggle for independence as an integral part of the general movement of African peoples towards total liberation from colonial oppression. The Albanian people has always welcomed the establishment of new sovereign and independent States in Africa. During the discussion in the

Fourth Committee, the Albanian delegation stated—and deems it necessary to reaffirm now—that it wishes to see the Cameroonian people freed from foreign domination and that it favours the establishment of an independent Cameroons.

74. In this connexion, the Albanian delegation fully supports the termination of United Nations trusteeship over the Cameroons as from the date of independence. However, my delegation is against any attempt to impose a mere formal independence on the Cameroons, as it is against any design of the colonial authorities to use the termination of trusteeship to retain their domination over the Cameroons.

75. The draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly by the Fourth Committee cannot really serve as a sound basis for seeking a just solution to the problem of granting full independence to the Cameroons. Draft resolution I, submitted in the Committee by the United States of America and a number of other delegations, lacks the necessary guarantees to ensure that the new State will be free from the influence and pressure of the Administering Authority. This draft resolution is no more than an endorsement of the views set forth by the Administering Authority and the Visiting Mission. We know that the Visiting Mission's report was influenced by political considerations and that it does not give an objective picture of the actual situation in the Cameroons.

76. It must be pointed out that draft resolution I, submitted in the Committee by twelve Powers, completely ignores the practical and constructive proposals made by the African delegations, although these delegations are very familiar with African problems and are immediately concerned with the emancipation of that continent's peoples and the establishment of peaceful and friendly relations among them. The proposals of the African delegations should not be ignored. On the contrary, they should be taken as a starting point in seeking a solution to this problem. My delegation deeply regrets that the Fourth Committee rejected the amendments proposed by the African delegations.

77. Draft resolution I contains a number of statements which are not in accordance with fact. In that text, for example, the General Assembly notes the adoption of the amnesty law by the Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons and in fact recognizes this amnesty to be satisfactory. However, this assertion is incorrect, since the amnesty granted under this law is neither complete nor unconditional. Proof of this was given in the statements made by many petitioners in the Fourth Committee.

78. Again, the draft resolution refers to freedom of the Press, freedom of assembly, freedom of political association and other fundamental freedoms as existing in the Cameroons. But actually, fundamental freedoms are completely lacking in the Cameroons, as was convincingly demonstrated by many of the petitioners who addressed the Fourth Committee.

79. We cannot agree that there is complete freedom in the Cameroons when we know that colonial laws and methods still prevail there and are used, *inter alia*, to ban and persecute such progressive political organizations as the Union des populations du Cameroun, the Union démocratique des femmes camerounaises and other groups which were the first to stand up for the independence and unification of the Cameroons.

80. The draft resolution advocates an unjust solution to the question of general elections. General elections in the Cameroons should be held in a normal atmosphere and under United Nations supervision. It is common knowledge that the 1956 elections to the Territorial Assembly were held under abnormal conditions, in a disturbed atmosphere.

81. The present political situation in the Cameroons is such that the existing Assembly must be dissolved and general elections held under United Nations supervision before the attainment of independence. Only a new Assembly can have the competence to deal with the important questions relating to the Government of the new independent Cameroonian State.

82. France's determination to maintain the institutions it has set up in the Cameroons even after independence and after the termination of trusteeship has given the States Members of the United Nations cause for great concern as regards the future of the Cameroons. It should be noted that the draft resolution does not dispel these misgivings.

83. For the above-mentioned reasons, the Albanian delegation cannot vote in favour of this draft resolution and will therefore abstain in the vote.

84. With respect to draft resolution II, submitted in the Committee by seven Powers, the Albanian delegation considers that the proposed method of solving the problem completely fails to satisfy the interests and aspirations of the Cameroonian people. In fact, this draft resolution makes no reference whatsoever to the unification of the two parts of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration with the Cameroons under French administration, and the formation of a single State—an independent and unified Cameroons.

85. The organization of separate plebiscites in the two parts of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration and the proposed method of holding them does not take the matter of Cameroonian unification into account. The question which would be put to the population in the plebiscite is the wrong question, for it does not refer to unification with the Cameroons under French administration, but to unification with Nigeria. This device, which was carefully worked out by the United Kingdom delegation, is not intended to favour the unification of the Cameroons but, on the contrary, is designed to maintain that country's partition.

86. The Albanian delegation protests against the schemes of certain delegations to perpetuate the partition of the Cameroons. There can be no doubt that this policy will bring serious consequences in its wake. Hence, when this draft resolution is put to the vote, the Albanian delegation will again abstain.

87. My delegation considers that the United Nations should carry out its obligations to the Cameroonian people to the very end. Only in this way can it guarantee the Cameroonian people liberty, national independence, internal peace and progress. It is our sincere hope that the Cameroonian people will advance and prosper and will consolidate its national independence.

88. As regards the USSR delegation's request for separate votes, my delegation wishes to point out that it is the right of every delegation to ask for an opportunity to specify its position on each paragraph of a draft resolution, particularly when such important draft

resolutions as these are involved. That is why my delegation fully supports the USSR delegation's request.

89. The PRESIDENT: I do not think that the representative of Albania spoke at any great length about the division, and therefore I would still regard the possibility of one speaker for the division as open. The representative of Iraq is on my list to speak in support of voting by division and I now call on him on that point.

90. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): My delegation will support the request for division on the voting on the draft resolutions before the Assembly. We were quite surprised that any proposal opposing a division should be submitted to the Assembly. It has been an accepted practice in the United Nations General Assembly and in its Committees that whenever a delegation asks that a division be made on the vote on proposals, that that desire should be met. The reasons given for opposition to this division have been singularly unconvincing. One of the reasons was that the Fourth Committee voted by a substantial majority to approve these resolutions. That of course is a fact. But does that prevent any delegation from asking that its own views be registered through a vote? What other resolution of such an important and complex character as the one we have before us, emanating from any other Committee of this General Assembly, has not been subjected to the same division in the Committee and yet been subjected again to the same division in the General Assembly? It is quite novel that because a resolution has been subjected to a division in a Committee it should not be subjected to the same division in the Assembly because, after all, it is the vote in the Assembly that counts and it is the right of every delegation to register its vote in the manner it sees fit.

91. We find this even more difficult to understand since the opposition is sure of a majority on this resolution. Why is it that they do not want to give the minority a last opportunity to register their votes and their views?

92. For all these reasons we find it unwarranted and unfair indeed that the Assembly should decide to prevent delegations from voting by division on this draft resolution. As far as my delegation is concerned, we would certainly vote for the termination of the trusteeship over the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration. In other words, we will vote for operative paragraph 1, but we will not vote in favour of operative paragraph 2.

93. I should like to make it known to the Assembly that while we agree to the termination of trusteeship in the Cameroons under French administration, we still feel that elections must be held there. That is why we cannot support an expression of confidence that elections should be held after independence.

94. I think that every delegation should be given the right to register its views, and I am sure that the members of the French delegation would be the first to uphold our opinion on this question. They would not rob us, they would not prevent us from expressing our opinion on the termination of trusteeship, and they would certainly be agreeable to letting us express our opinion that elections for independence should be held. This is our opinion and we are entitled to it. No one can prevent us from expressing this opinion.

95. While I am at the rostrum, I would like to explain the vote of my delegation on the two draft resolutions

before us. As I have said, my delegation will vote for the termination of trusteeship over the Cameroons under French administration. However, we shall abstain on draft resolution I as a whole because it does not contain a recommendation that elections should be held before independence. We feel that the draft resolution, which was presented by eight African States and which recommended that elections be held before independence in a Trust Territory under United Nations trusteeship, was rejected on insufficient grounds, as we explained in the Committee. I would not like to repeat those arguments here.

96. With regard to draft resolution II, we shall vote for all the paragraphs except operative paragraph 2, because we feel that a clear alternative must be given to the people of the Northern Cameroons. In addition to joining the northern part of Nigeria, they should be given the opportunity to decide on association and unification with their brethren in the Cameroons under French administration. We feel that this is a matter of great importance and we regret very much that it was not included in the draft resolution. For that reason we shall abstain on operative paragraph 2. If that paragraph is adopted, we shall abstain on the draft resolution as a whole.

97. The PRESIDENT: Two speakers have now spoken in favour of the request for a vote by division and two speakers have spoken against that request. That part of the procedure is therefore closed. Are there any members who wish to speak before the vote on the substance of the question?

98. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (translated from French): Before we vote on the two draft resolutions before us, my delegation would like to make its position clear here in plenary meeting.

99. Firstly, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to thank the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, his colleagues and all the members of the Secretariat who have done excellent work during this part of the session on the Cameroons.

100. We should also like to pay a tribute to all the delegations which have spent over three weeks working for the independence of the Cameroons.

101. My delegation is happy to have taken part in the consideration of a question which concerns Guinea, since our country has recently been freed from colonial oppression and is anxious to assist our brother countries in obtaining their full sovereignty. For us, the Cameroonian question involves the issues of true independence and also of African unity, in accordance with the wishes of the peoples themselves.

102. My delegation is proud to have laid before you, together with the other African States, the real Cameroonian issue, that of independence supported by the people itself, independence which excludes no sector of the population and which takes into account the necessity of restoring normal political conditions before the young State embarks on its perilous path as an independent African nation.

103. My delegation, with the other African delegations, has never concealed its joy at the fact that the Cameroons under French administration might become independent on 1 January 1960. An attempt has been made to create the impression that our insistence on general elections evidenced a desire to delay the acces-

sion of our brother State of the Cameroons to full independence. That argument will not hold water.

104. My delegation is also proud to be able to reveal here that it was responsible in the first instance for the provision establishing the principle that the Cameroons will be admitted to membership in the United Nations simultaneously with the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, so that, from the very first day of its liberation, it will be able to play its part on the international scene. We have never ceased, however, to stress the need for general elections under United Nations supervision prior to the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. This is also the opinion of all democratic organizations whether they are Cameroonian or inter-African. The Conference of Independent African States at Accra, the Union générale des travailleurs d'Afrique noire, the women's organizations, and the organizations of young African students abroad, all of them called for elections under United Nations supervision, that is to say free and impartial elections. They all insisted on the need for national reconciliation in the Cameroons before it becomes independent, because they all desired—and still desire—a soundly-based independence for the Cameroonian people.

105. Our draft resolution, which was resubmitted in the form of amendments, had the active support of several delegations, and I should like to thank them for the understanding which they have shown of African problems, since the Cameroonian peoples' problem is that of "black" Africa as a whole, and our African delegations have merely acted as interpreters for the whole of Africa, which hopes shortly to see the end of foreign oppression.

106. The pace of Africa's development is now remarkably rapid. The struggle for freedom and dignity is gaining ground daily; it is stirring the continent from east to west, from north to south. But, for us, the new form of colonialism, which we felt in duty bound to denounce before the Fourth Committee, is more dangerous than the old. For what are the colonial Powers doing in the face of the irresistible surge of African nationalism? They are trying to continue to exploit us while appearing to satisfy the colonial peoples' desire for independence. We are sure that all the nations here represented will know in future that, although the day of liberation in Africa is near, there is on that continent at this time a danger which is even more threatening than colonialism itself. It is what might be described as the danger of supervised independence, sham independence, "chartered" independence, designed to reflect in the country the desires and inclinations of the colonial Power itself.

107. All our draft resolutions and amendments have had only one purpose: to give the floor to those most interested in the Cameroonian question, as we see it, the Cameroonian people themselves. Everyone has recognized the maturity of these people and their ability to manage their own affairs. Why then refuse to allow them to express their views? Why not give them an opportunity to hold supervised general elections, during which they would settle the question of reconciliation themselves, for since 1955 these people have been living on a war-time footing? These are the questions we wanted to resolve, with the support of other delegations.

108. The real aspirations of the Cameroonian people will eventually triumph, of that we are sure. But was

it not our duty to ask the United Nations to play its part and discharge its responsibilities—I am referring to its responsibilities under the Trusteeship Agreement which will not be terminated until 1 January 1960—and was it not our duty to point out here who would be responsible if every precaution was not taken and if, at a later date, after its accession to independence, the Cameroons experienced difficulties and internal disorders? These were the considerations that guided the delegations which co-sponsored our draft resolutions.

109. But the two draft resolutions which triumphed in the Committee, thanks to the support of a majority which, frankly, does not surprise us, have taken into account neither the need to consult the Cameroonian people nor the unanimous desire of the people in the two Cameroons for unification. That is why my delegation, like the other delegations which supported the draft resolutions submitted on behalf of the African States, will abstain in the vote. We are abstaining because it is impossible for us to oppose the birth of a free African State and because we wish to show our confidence in the people. If we have not been able to help them, at least we cannot fail to have confidence in them.

110. Our delegation also wishes to point out that in the Committee it approved the two principles which we regard as inviolable: namely, independence and unification of the Cameroons. This independence will be attained on 1 January 1960. We pointed out that we consider independence a permanent right, that there is no preparation for independence, that all peoples are of full age at all times and at all times capable of governing themselves, and that the best way to prepare for independence is to assume sovereignty, one's own sovereignty. Therefore, we could not do other than warmly support the termination of trusteeship for the Cameroons on 1 January 1960.

111. As I said just now, my delegation was also bound to approve of the admission of this young African State to membership in the United Nations immediately the trusteeship is terminated, so that it may avoid the dangers which we explained in detail in the Fourth Committee.

112. We can only welcome this brother State. The independence of the Cameroons can be regarded as a particularly happy event. This is the appearance of a new State. While it will undoubtedly find difficulties in its path, we continue to have confidence in the African peoples. What form does Africa's struggle for world peace and brotherhood take? It takes the form of a struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Therefore, friendship towards Africa must of necessity take into account the need to help Africa in this struggle against domination and injustice.

113. We did not wish to be responsible for the consequences which might well arise from operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution I. That is why we agree with the Soviet delegation that the draft resolution should be voted on in parts, and we shall vote against the operative paragraph in question. We cannot associate ourselves with this provision which mentions elections, because the need for elections was recognized all through the debate, but which does no more than mention them and merely raises a question without settling anything. We cannot associate ourselves with an operation which is, in our view, calculated to keep an independent Cameroons in a dependent status.

114. As regards draft resolution II, my delegation will abstain. It looks on this text as an attempt to legalize what has already been done in the way of division and integration of a part of the Cameroons with Nigeria. However, my delegation is aware that at the present time the question of division or unification in Africa has taken on a completely new character. We need only say that in its Constitution the Republic of Guinea makes provision for the relinquishment of sovereignty in favour of a larger African community, in order to show the real import of the alliance which we have concluded with Ghana and which aims at laying the foundations of the future United States of Africa. Thus, a strong trend in favour of unification will be inevitable in all the independent African States. It is this which makes the problem of division, which the colonial system has spread here and there, less difficult for us. But we did not wish to pass over in silence the fact that, if there is a problem in the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, the outstanding problem is reunification, the reunification of the two parts of a single country, and that it is accordingly necessary to ask the peoples straight out: once you are independent, do you want integration with Nigeria or do you want to unite with an independent Cameroons? It has been explained to us at great length that we ought not to interfere with the customs of the Northern Cameroons, that no question ought to be put which would be meaningless to the masses, that they ought to be asked quite simply if they wanted to remain with Nigeria or if they preferred to wait for a more auspicious time to opt for an alternative to be put before them then. At this time, the problem is the very opposite of that vexing the peoples and even the authorities of the Cameroons under French administration.

115. My delegation will abstain from voting on this draft resolution. Our abstention indicates our opposition, since I have just said that we are against the legalization of the division which has been carried out, but it also indicates that we are less anxious now, for we know that together with its powerful drive for emancipation, Africa itself has raised the question of its reunification. And we are convinced that it will reunite.

116. My delegation accordingly wishes to hail the birth of the independent State of the Cameroons, which will be welcome alongside the other free African States to fight the good fight to end colonial exploitation in Africa. May the free African States realize that their independence will be devoid of real meaning and significance and that it will not enable them to change the lot of the masses so long as vast areas still remain under foreign domination. We are sure that the Cameroons will, join the other nations in this Assembly to continue the struggle for peace and equality among nations and for universal brotherhood.

117. The PRESIDENT: I take it that there are no more speakers before the actual voting. I have, of course, a long list of speakers after the voting is completed.

118. Now, before we take up the substantive voting, we should first decide in accordance with rule 91 of our rules of procedure whether the Assembly shall proceed to the vote by parts. This is the preliminary problem and has nothing to do with the substantive issue either of the various parts that may have to be acted upon later or of the whole. I shall put it in accordance with the very language of rule 91, in the second sentence, where it says: "If objection is made

to the request for division, the motion for division shall be voted upon."

119. In other words, I am now going to ask the Assembly to vote on the motion for division made by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The motion was rejected by 43 votes to 28, with 8 abstentions.

120. The PRESIDENT: I shall proceed now to put to the vote, one by one, each taken as a whole, the two draft resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee in its report [A/4095].

121. We shall vote first on draft resolution I, which is entitled "The future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration".

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa.

Abstaining: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 56 votes to none, with 23 abstentions.

122. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution II, which is entitled, "The future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration".

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Ecuador, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic.

Abstaining: Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mo-

rocco, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 56 votes to none, with 24 abstentions.

123. The PRESIDENT: I take it that the Assembly has already taken note of paragraph 27 of the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4095] which deals with the financial implications of resolution II, and I take it that the Assembly finds in this paragraph a satisfaction of the requirements of rule 154 of the rules of procedure.

124. The Assembly must now proceed to appoint a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner as provided in paragraph 6 of resolution II which we have adopted. In accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, the election of the Commissioner will be held by secret ballot. I request members to please write on the ballot papers the name of the individual for whom you wish to vote.

At the invitation of the President, U Kyaw Min (Burma) and Mr. Pinochet (Chile) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<u>Number of ballot papers:</u>	80
<u>Invalid ballots:</u>	0
<u>Number of valid ballots:</u>	80
<u>Abstentions:</u>	15
<u>Number of members voting:</u>	65
<u>Required majority:</u>	33
<u>Number of votes obtained:</u>	
Mr. Abdoh (Iran)	58
Mr. Espinosa y Prieto (Mexico)	3
Mr. Loutfi (United Arab Republic)	2
Mr. de Marchena (Dominican Republic)	1
Mr. Pachachi (Iraq)	1

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Abdoh (Iran) was elected United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration.

125. The PRESIDENT: I congratulate Mr. Abdoh on the confidence which the United Nations has placed in him by electing him United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner.

126. I have a long list of speakers who wish to explain their votes, and I shall now give them the floor.

127. Mr. JACQUINOT (France) (translated from French): The General Assembly has just voted on a resolution of outstanding and historic significance. The Assembly has now given its sanction to the emergence as an international entity of the future independent State of the Cameroons, which will go down in history as the first of the Trust Territories to achieve independence as a State in its own right.

128. There is no doubt about the international character of the system under which the Territory has hitherto been placed. That international character resulted from the obligations of the mandate granted to France in 1922, which were renewed under the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the United Nations General Assembly on 13 December 1946. The organization representing the international community has thus been

associated throughout with the work of emancipation undertaken, and carried out for thirty-eight years, by France.

129. We are therefore entitled to say that the independence of the Cameroons is the fruit of a common endeavour, rather than a gift. Our discussions no longer centred on examining the international character of a legal system; they were concerned with approving the approaching emergence of a new State as a fully independent international entity.

130. The Government that I have the honour to represent has assumed the most solemn obligations in that respect.

131. On 1 January 1960, as Mr. Ahidjo has said, the full powers of a sovereign State will automatically be transferred to the Cameroonian State for it to use as it thinks fit. The Cameroonian State will thus have the same sovereignty as the States Members of the United Nations.

132. Accordingly France, which is proud to have led to independence the two States for whose government it was made responsible by the mandates and subsequently by the Trusteeship Agreements, will take the earliest opportunity to propose that the Cameroons should be admitted to the United Nations. I now formally announce to the General Assembly that the same course will be followed, as Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet has already informed the Fourth Committee, in the case of the Republic of Togoland.

133. When it achieves the full dignity of a free, independent and sovereign nation, the Cameroons will enjoy the rights—all the rights—that belong to it as a fully-fledged member of the international community. In its new status it will find additional motives for its beliefs and its efforts, the motives which underlie our Organization's mission of peace and progress. We may be sure that it will make a valuable contribution. It has had the experience, rare among African nations, of refusing to yield to the exigencies of mere geography, and of building up a national spirit and a national awareness based on the demands of national life and unity.

134. The Cameroons knows what its independence and freedom have cost and will not fail to make full use of them. It has had experience of the tests that any policy of emancipation has to face as a result of conflicting interests in the international sphere, and it knows that colonialism is sometimes disguised as anti-colonialism. As a member of the community of nations it will have its own convictions, its own hopes and its own commitments, like any other nation that has reached maturity.

135. It is already aware that the international community is based not on inflexible dogmas, condemnation of others or a partisan spirit, but on harmony, equality, and respect for all views and all beliefs. The Cameroons, an African nation situated at the heart of the "Black" continent, wishes to take its place in the vanguard of the new Africa.

136. African solidarity does not involve a choice between France and Africa. France compels no one to make any choice. Faithful to a long tradition of combating all forms of discrimination, whether racial, economic or political, France intends to sweep away the barriers of doubt, misunderstanding and violence

and maintain firm and unequivocal ties of friendship and esteem with all the peoples of Africa, whoever they may be. It is merely that France has a special affection and esteem for those Africans who believe in France, and have asked France to believe in them.

137. Thus the Cameroons, at the dawn of its independence, is already justifying all the hopes centred on it. It now openly and freely assumes its responsibilities.

138. It is to France's credit that it has revealed the potentialities of this part of Africa to the inhabitants, brought the people and products of the Territory into the mainstream of international life and achieved, by an exchange of resources, ideas and beliefs, an incontestable national and international development.

139. This nation has already given proof of its maturity. On 13 February 1959, in order to satisfy an imperative need for unity, it set an example of reconciliation and proclaimed its will to build its own future as a united State without delay; these are the hopes of a young nation which is trying to find itself, but which, in order to act, will draw from your decision the impetus essential to its faith and its hopes, the hopes of a whole people, which wanted to be certain of only two things: that it would enjoy civil peace through official recognition of the actions of its Government and that a limitless future would lie before it as a fully independent nation.

140. The Cameroonians feel ready now to face the tasks of a free people. I have immense confidence in their success. They know that they must first deserve that success by their own efforts, by a lucid and reasoned analysis of their particular problems and by a firm determination not to yield to the temptations which accompany and imperil the greatest successes; the temptations of self-indulgence, demagoguery and routine. They know that for this price they will win the co-operation of many, including that of France, if they ask for it.

141. In a world where everything is interlinked, where the least act, the least event appears as a tangible manifestation of universal solidarity, no State, no people, can think of taking refuge in egoism or isolationism. That is true of the Powers which have reached the summits of economic and technical development and who now find a final chance to surpass themselves through giving of their best. It is all the more true of the less favoured countries, who need the assistance of others for their full development, though without sacrificing any of their freedom, for if we do not want the assistance of the great Powers to the under-developed countries to appear as a manifestation of international paternalism, such assistance must be granted without any feeling of domination, in an atmosphere of complete equality.

142. In 1789, in the fervour of the great revolution which awakened Europe and stirred the world, France inscribed over the freedoms it had won back, the dignity of man as the universal constant of ethics. Today France proclaims the problem of aid to under-developed peoples to be the major and fundamental problem.

143. The achievements of France, whether in the political, economic, cultural or scientific domain, are impregnated with this humanist ideal. Despite so many obstacles and inevitable mistakes, France intends to

remain, in the noble phrase of Jean Jaurès, "the mentor and emancipator of mankind".

144. That is the spirit which animates my Government when it asks you to recognize the independence of the Cameroons. Before a Cameroons which is one and indivisible, an illimitable future opens out. The independence of the Cameroons is an established fact. We thank the United Nations for having solemnly recognized it.

145. Mr. AH SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): Now that the General Assembly has adopted both draft resolutions on the problems under discussion during this resumed thirteenth session, my delegation wishes to explain the background of its position taken in this matter.

146. The continued presence of internal strife and turmoil in the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa is mainly the result of unbalanced and improper adjustments of social, economic and political forces prevailing in these societies. In the past the social, economic and political disorders in most of these countries were the consequence of policies imposed upon subject peoples. It is therefore after the achievement of independence that nations in Asia and Africa, being very cognizant of what caused those hardships, have spared no effort to attempt to mitigate and to eliminate where possible the recurrence of political, economic and social controversies.

147. It becomes obvious to state that in order to achieve the highest degree of social justice and political stability, the authority of governments in those countries should have the acceptance of the majority of the people without the exclusion of any opposing element within the body politic. For only with the acceptance of the people as a whole can the highest degree of political, economic and social integration be achieved.

148. It is against this background that my delegation has approached and evaluated the problem in the Cameroons under French administration, bearing in mind the facts with which we are so well acquainted and which were enumerated in the discussion in the Fourth Committee.

149. It is with the best of intentions and goodwill that my delegation has performed its duty for the sole benefit of the people of the Cameroons under French administration, and with the hope of reminding them of the problems that they inevitably will have to face, in view of the prevailing social, economic and political instabilities and uncertainties in the Territory.

150. We have made our endeavours in the light of the principles of Bandung, which were upheld by twenty-nine nations, most of which are now Members of the United Nations, and which at that time were interested in discovering ways and means for furthering the prosperity, growth and self-realization of their own peoples and dependent peoples in Asia and Africa.

151. Although my delegation fully realizes that it cannot impose its ideas on all concerned, we believed that it was our duty to draw the attention of the people of the Cameroons as a whole to fundamental issues, which undoubtedly most of the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa had in common before they achieved their status of full sovereignty and nationhood.

152. From the experience of its own country, my delegation attaches the greatest importance to the idea

of national conciliation as one of the most effective and dynamic forces in the building of a new nation and its future national life and destiny.

153. In every transition period before independence becomes a reality, the most dynamic forces in the country are represented by ardent revolutionaries and nationalists who are subsequently branded as criminals, opportunists and demagogues, and who suffer from all sorts of false accusations and unjust repressions.

154. The history of nationalism in Asia and Africa has proved, however, that without the co-operation of these revolutionaries and dynamic forces, the progress of these newly emerging societies cannot possibly proceed in a satisfactory and harmonious manner.

155. In every newly independent country in Asia and Africa there are always two types of nationalistic tendencies—the revolutionary vis-à-vis the evolutionary—which if estranged from each other will only retard the progress of the people as a whole in the political as well as in the social and economic realm.

156. It has, therefore, become a necessity to promote co-operation between these two nationalistic forces for the well-being of the country as a whole so that ultimately it could evolve to the greatest degree of national cohesion.

157. It is for this reason that my delegation entertains the highest hopes for these two opposing nationalistic forces now prevalent in the Cameroons under French administration to come together and, in the spirit of Bandung, to subordinate their differences for the sake of national unity and to surmount all sources of friction, so that by the time independence is achieved it will be embraced and celebrated by all sectors of the population.

158. My delegation also hopes that in the near future we will be able to welcome an independent and free Cameroons, not only as a new Member of the United Nations but also—and what is more important—as a strong nation united in the spirit of brotherhood and tolerance.

159. My delegation would like to wish the Cameroonian people all the happiness and prosperity possible on the day their dream of independence becomes an auspicious reality.

160. As for the people of the Cameroons who are still under United Kingdom administration and who are also on the threshold of achieving political emancipation, my delegation hopes that they too will soon enjoy the blessings of a free and independent nation.

161. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, Mr. Abdoh, who wishes to make a statement.

162. Mr. ABDUH (Iran), United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner: I should like to express my profound gratitude for the honour which the General Assembly has just bestowed upon my country and upon me, by appointing me to the post of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration. I feel that this is above all an acknowledgement of the traditional attitude of the Iranian delegation in the work of this Organization and, in particular, its deep interest in the operation of the International Trusteeship System.

163. In the resolution concerning the future of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration which has just been adopted, the General Assembly has made a number of recommendations concerning the organization of the plebiscites. Thus, it has recommended that the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons should take place about the middle of November 1959, and the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons during the next dry season, between the beginning of December 1959 and the end of April 1960. It has also made precise recommendations on the nature of the questions to put to the voters and the voting qualifications in the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons. No recommendations on similar matters have been made for the Southern Cameroons, but the resolution provides that these matters will be considered at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly.

164. In exercising the powers and functions of supervision on behalf of the General Assembly, I shall constantly be guided by the recommendations made by the Assembly as well as any additional decisions it may take at its fourteenth session. I shall endeavour to co-operate with the Administering Authority and the Cameroons authorities in the fullest manner and in a spirit of utmost impartiality.

165. In accepting the great honour which has just been bestowed upon me, I am deeply and humbly aware of the heavy responsibilities which accompany it. The future of a million and a half persons will depend on the coming plebiscites. Also at stake will be the prestige of the United Nations. I shall endeavour to the best of my abilities to justify the confidence which the General Assembly has placed in me. In this, I shall be guided by the example of my two illustrious predecessors, Mr. Espinosa y Prieto of Mexico and Mr. Dorsinville of Haiti, who have so ably performed similar functions, the first in the 1956 plebiscite in Togoland under United Kingdom administration, and the second in the 1958 elections in Togoland under French administration.

166. Mr. COOPER (Liberia): I wish to explain the vote of my delegation on the resolutions on the Cameroons under French and under United Kingdom administration. My delegation in the Fourth Committee, along with the delegations of other African countries, proposed certain amendments to the resolution on the Cameroons under French administration just adopted by the Assembly. The two principal amendments pertained to elections prior to independence and the lifting of the ban on political parties. Our chief concern in introducing these amendments grew from the fact that we felt that, because of the disturbing conditions in the French Cameroons which resulted in many cases in death, imprisonment and exile, in order to restore normal conditions and to guarantee the free expression of the people concerned, it was necessary to have elections for a legislature or an assembly in which all parties would be represented, thus ensuring that the Cameroons under French administration would enter upon its independence in peace and tranquillity. We also felt that to hold general elections in which the banned parties did not participate, would not be in the best interests of the Cameroons under French administrations, as the wishes of the people could not be expressed if certain political organizations did not participate in those elections.

167. Despite these doubts, misgivings and suspicions,

my delegation felt that it could never vote against or abstain on any Resolution that would grant to any country in Africa the right to be free and independent. We therefore voted for this resolution. We express the hope to the Prime Minister of the French Cameroons that those who are in exile will return to their native land and assist in the building of a new Cameroons free from fear and oppression. It is hoped that Prime Minister Ahidjo, having sensed the feelings of the African States, will do all in his power to make life free and pleasant for all his countrymen, realizing that a strong and united Cameroons will depend upon the people as a whole, that is, those who support him and those who oppose him.

168. It gives us great pleasure, therefore, to welcome our sister State in the family of nations.

169. With regard to the resolution on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, my delegation submitted an amendment on the question of the electoral list. It is the belief of my delegation that if a plebiscite is held to ascertain the wishes of any people, it is necessary for the plebiscite to be conducted on the principle of universal suffrage. It should concern not one particular sect or one particular sex, but the people as a whole. It is contended that owing to the social customs prevailing in the Northern Cameroons, such an election would not be possible. My delegation is not convinced by such arguments when it is stated that universal suffrage is now enforced in other portions of the Cameroons. Furthermore, there are other countries having such social customs where universal suffrage is now practised.

170. My delegation, with other African countries, also submitted an amendment to the draft resolution on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration with regard to the questions to be put when a plebiscite is held in the Northern Cameroons. My delegation feels that two definite and clear questions should be put as to whether the Northern Cameroons under United Kingdom administration desires integration with Nigeria or whether it desires unification with an independent Cameroons. We could not accept the second choice in the draft resolution, which asks whether they would like to decide their future status at a later date.

171. If the people of the Northern Cameroons under United Kingdom administration should vote no with regard to integration with Nigeria, they would still have to decide their future status without such a question being asked. It is, therefore, the view of my delegation that in short only one question is being asked and that is: whether the people wish to be integrated with Nigeria.

172. Under these conditions, my delegation abstained with regard to the draft resolution on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration.

173. Mr. MATSUDAIRA (Japan): Now that a path has been cut which will lead to the independence of the Cameroons, it is a pleasure and a privilege for my delegation to extend our sincere best wishes to the people of the Cameroons. I earnestly hope that the free and sovereign nation of the Cameroons will be for the United Nations a striking symbol of what patience and high-minded work can accomplish, and for the Administering Authorities an achievement after their long and toilsome endeavours.

174. My delegation considers it a great honour to have been a co-sponsor in the Committee of the two resolutions now adopted. We strongly trust that the fulfilment of this Assembly's decisions portends the beginning of prosperity, happiness and freedom for the people of the Cameroons and for the entire African continent as well.

175. Mr. ORTONA (Italy): It is with full awareness of the importance of the problems of the African continent that my delegation has participated in the debate on the Cameroons under French and under United Kingdom administration. As representatives of a country responsible for a Trust Territory in Africa, we were in a position to approach the matter under consideration in the Fourth Committee with a keen awareness of the feelings expressed during the debate by so many representatives of new African countries, at the same time being fully cognizant of the strong desire by the administering countries to pave the way for a constructive future for the Territories concerned.

176. In our dealings with the problems of the two Cameroons we have striven to follow a course which in our mind and in our conscience could really be in line with the best interests of all parties concerned, upon the basis of the findings of the visiting missions and of the enlightening statements which we heard during the debate in the Fourth Committee. We could not, we felt, take part in the birth of a new nation in Africa unless the basic principles of the United Nations were upheld and a sound basis for the future of that country was laid. This, in our considered opinion, has been achieved by the adoption of the two resolutions before this Assembly.

177. With deep satisfaction, therefore, we salute such new achievements in Africa and wish well for the future of the Territories concerned.

178. At the same time, we should like to convey our congratulations to the two Administering Authorities on discharging their responsibility under the United Nations in such a satisfactory manner.

179. May I also take this opportunity to tender the congratulations of the Italian Government to Mr. Abdoh on the confidence shown in him by the General Assembly in appointing him United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration.

180. Mr. OSMAN (Sudan): I wish to explain briefly why my delegation voted, in the plenary meeting, in favour of the resolution pertaining to the Cameroons under French administration, which had been submitted in the Committee by twelve Powers.

181. During the discussions in the Fourth Committee my delegation, together with other African delegations, had the privilege of submitting a draft resolution known as the African draft resolution. The same delegations had also submitted certain amendments to the twelve-Power draft resolution, with the idea of securing two main objectives in addition to the basic objectives which the twelve-Power draft resolution was intended to achieve. First we intended to secure the holding of general elections under the supervision of the United Nations prior to 1 January 1960, the date fixed for the termination of the trusteeship in the Cameroons under French administration and also the date fixed for the attainment of its independence. The second objective we intended to secure was the abrogation of the decree

of 13 July 1955 which declared illegal certain political parties and organizations in the Territory.

182. We attach great importance to these objectives, and especially with regard to the political leaders who now live in exile, for they consider this to be the only bridge over which they can cross safely and return to their homeland.

183. We know now, of course, the fate of the African draft resolution and also the fate of those amendments. Nevertheless, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to make it clear that our abstention on the twelve-Power draft resolution when put to the vote as a whole in the Committee was natural and consistent with our stand at that particular stage—natural because we ourselves had put forward to the Committee our own draft resolution—and consistent because we had felt that the amendments we had moved, and to which we attach great importance, were not adopted. But we do not believe it will serve any useful purpose to persist in this stand, especially so when our amendments were rejected and our draft resolution was withdrawn and not put to the vote. For we believe that those amendments were not intended, and this to me is very important, to delete anything fundamental from the twelve-Power draft resolution, but to add to it new issues which we consider of great importance, and which I have just mentioned. But my delegation has not opposed, and indeed cannot oppose, the main objectives of the twelve-Power draft resolution, namely, the termination of trusteeship, the attainment of independence, and the right of the peoples of the Cameroons under French administration to apply for and secure membership in the United Nations. These in fact are the fundamental issues which face my delegation now in the plenary meeting.

184. My delegation believes that these great basic issues, like independence, like admission to the United Nations, belong, not to a particular Government, not to a particular group of leaders, but firmly and eternally to the nation of the Cameroons, and to no one else. It is for these weighty reasons that I do not wish at this final stage to associate the name of my Government and my country with a stand which may be interpreted in the future to mean, directly or indirectly, that on this historic occasion we have prejudiced in any manner the termination of trusteeship, the attainment of independence or the wish of the people of the Cameroons to enjoy full membership in this world organization.

185. It was our hope, when we submitted our draft and our amendments in the Fourth Committee, to give our positive assistance to bring about harmony and reconciliation among all sectors of the population in the Cameroons. This hope is still very much alive with us and still dominates our whole outlook as far as the question of the Cameroons under French administration is concerned. We do not believe that it is too late for such reconciliation to be forthcoming and for all concerned in this matter to do their utmost—and in a practical way—to bring about such reconciliation and amity in the country which they all love and which they wish to serve to the best of their ability. This we consider a cornerstone upon which the future of the independent Cameroons may flourish and advance in all walks of life.

186. We sincerely hope that our plea will not be in vain. Now, I will only conclude my remarks by wishing

the people of the Cameroons every success and prosperity in the future life they are now entering with dignity and determination.

187. As to the draft resolution on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, it has always been the policy of the Sudanese Government to support the right of people to determine their future by plebiscite.

188. Mr. JHA (India): The thirteenth session of the General Assembly which is now moving to a close has sometimes been described as an African session. It was our privilege in the concluding stage of the first part of this session to welcome Guinea as a Member of the United Nations. On this, the last day of the second part of the thirteenth session, we have taken a decision which will result in the birth of another African nation, and its eventual admission as a Member of this Organization.

189. Since the resolutions which we have adopted today with respect to the Trust Territories of the Cameroons, both under French and under United Kingdom administration, have received the fullest consideration in the Fourth Committee of this Assembly, and earlier in the Trusteeship Council, it seems unnecessary for my delegation to restate the questions and to restate our own position in any great detail.

190. The resolution relating to the Cameroons under French administration, which we had the privilege to co-sponsor in the Fourth Committee, incorporates the assurance that on the attainment of independence on 1 January 1960, elections will be held for the formation of a new Assembly which should take decisions regarding the establishment of the institutions of the free and independent Cameroons in their final form.

191. In this arduous task the delegation of India desires it to be known that the people of the Cameroons have the greatest goodwill of the Government and people of India. We have no doubt that the patriotic efforts of the leaders of the Cameroonian nation will be crowned with success and that another bright page will be added to the annals of African independence.

192. With respect to the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, the resolution we have adopted requires consultation with the people through a plebiscite. My delegation is confident that in the implementation of the procedures outlined in the relevant resolutions, the Governments and parties concerned will bring to bear imagination and constructive statesmanship.

193. We are very happy that the Assembly has elected Mr. Abdoh as United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner. His task is very important and it will involve heavy responsibilities. He has the goodwill of the Assembly, as indeed its overwhelming confidence. We are sure that no better choice could have been made in the selection of a Plebiscite Commissioner.

194. For three weeks we have worked hard to consider the future of the Cameroons. We have learned much about it. We have come to know the leaders of the Cameroons, both members of the Government and those of the Opposition. We have come to know their views, their hopes and their aspirations and, if I may say so, we have come to respect them greatly. We are sure that the destiny of the new State of Cameroons is safe in their hands. We are confident that the leaders of the

Cameroons under United Kingdom administration will prove their wisdom and statesmanship and, in the very near future, decide on their right destiny.

195. For three weeks in the Fourth Committee we have engaged in serious debate, often somewhat acrimonious. We have often differed from one another. But I believe that the area of agreement was always much, much larger than the area of our differences. We were all of one opinion—that the new State of Cameroons should be born and soon, and that its birth should not be delayed beyond 1 January 1960. In the Committee, we all expressed confidence in the Government of the Cameroons under French administration and in its very distinguished and able Prime Minister. We have all been actuated and motivated by the good of the Cameroonian people. We have all had the single desire to advance the freedom of the African peoples and to add one more independent State to that great continent of Africa where the peoples are yearning for freedom and have long been under suppression.

196. Now that the storm and fury of the debate is over, we can look to the future. Perhaps we can share with the leaders of the Cameroons under French administration and those of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration their hopes and aspirations. My delegation will watch with the greatest interest—fraternal interest if I may say so—the developments in the Cameroons.

197. In regard to the Cameroons under French administration, the Government will have many things to do. It has an arduous task before independence dawns on 1 January 1960. But in our opinion its greatest and most worthy task will be to secure reconciliation, to bring about goodwill and unity among its own people. That task is well worth-while. It is our sincere hope that the leaders of the Cameroons will grasp this great opportunity for making a united and great nation.

198. In the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, we hope that the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner will have all the co-operation necessary for him to carry on his task and that the Administering Authority, the political parties and the Government on their part will have for his task a great understanding. We hope that the plebiscite for the Northern Cameroons, which is due in November 1959, will be carried out smoothly and successfully.

199. Before I conclude I should like to pay the tribute of our delegation to the Government of France. It has good reason to be proud of the fact that the first Trust Territory to become independent as a separate national entity is one which was under its administration. That certainly is in keeping with the finest traditions of France.

200. I conclude by offering our respects and our salutations to the new nation of the Cameroons and by wishing it all success and assuring it of the co-operation of my Government and my people for all time in the future.

201. Mr. KANAKARATNE (Ceylon): On behalf of the delegation of Ceylon I wish to extend to the Prime Minister and Government of the Cameroons, here represented as members of the delegation of France, our warmest good wishes as a delegation which, together with eleven other delegations to this Organization, co-sponsored a resolution which tonight has been carried by a preponderant majority and in fact without a single opposing vote.

202. On behalf of the people and the Government of Ceylon I wish to convey to Prime Minister Ahidjo, and through him to his people, our warm good wishes and to assure him that the delegation of Ceylon awaits the arrival of the Cameroonian delegation to take its rightful place as a full, sovereign, independent Member of this Organization before long.

203. With regard to the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, the delegation of Ceylon wishes to explain the vote it cast in favour of the resolution which was adopted in this hall a short time ago. Operative paragraph 2 of that resolution refers to the plebiscite to be carried out on the basis of the electoral register now being compiled for the purposes of the federal elections. The delegation of Ceylon wishes to go on record that the vote it cast in this connexion is not to be interpreted in any way to mean by implication or otherwise that the Government or people of Ceylon subscribe in any way to a restriction of a franchise in any country under any circumstances. We for our part would have been happier if the plebiscite under United Nations supervision could have been conducted on a wider electoral roll. But in deference to the peculiar circumstances of the Territory, and in deference to the authoritative view stated to our Committee by no less a person than Malam Abdullahi, Minister for Northern Cameroons Affairs in the Government of the Northern Region of Nigeria, the Ceylonese delegation bowed to that authority on the social customs, usages and mores of the people of that part of the world.

204. The delegation of Ceylon therefore wishes here in public to reaffirm its faith in the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, to reaffirm its dedication to the purposes of the United Nations as outlined in Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter, in which we have all undertaken to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

205. My delegation therefore wishes here and now to state that we are without any reservation bound to respect in theory and practice the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

206. Mr. SEARS (United States of America): Considering that the first thirteen Colonies to become independent in modern colonial history were the thirteen original States of the present United States, it would be unnatural if we did not take pleasure in assisting others to obtain their own independence by voting for the resolutions presented here tonight.

207. In the course of our debates which have produced so many far-reaching decisions on behalf of the Cameroonian people, we have on more than one occasion been grateful for the assistance of the African leaders who have come here to represent them. They have represented their country well. Prime Minister Ahidjo and Mr. Kémajou and his associates have won the respect of all of us for the way they have presented their case. Likewise, Premier Foncha of the Southern Cameroons, former Prime Minister Endeley, and Malam Abdullahi of the Northern Region of Nigeria have been of the greatest assistance in advising us, out of their political wisdom, how we can best help their people. We have also benefited from the statements of the many Cameroonian petitioners who have gone to such trouble and expense to take part in our discussions.

208. It is also fitting that we should express our appreciation for the co-operation which the British and French Governments have given to us and the people of the Cameroons during the closing days of trusteeship.

209. At all events, now that the thirteenth session of the General Assembly is almost over, we have enjoyed being with so many other nations in producing two acceptable resolutions concerning the termination of trusteeship in the Cameroons. In the process, if we have differed with some of our friends, we respected their opinions; nor did any of us question the issue of independence.

210. Altogether, the adoption of the resolution on the Cameroons under French administration by such a decisive vote and by nations representing Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas, indicates overwhelming international recognition of the forthcoming independence of that country.

211. We were equally glad that the resolution on the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration received similar wide support. We believed that these votes were essential if West African nationalism, which we consider to be nationalism at its best, was to be properly encouraged in the Cameroons.

212. As in Ghana, in Guinea, in Togoland and in Nigeria, West African nationalism in the Cameroons has proved the value of a determined but peaceful approach to national independence. The support which was given to both the resolutions has therefore made an essential contribution to self-government in West Africa.

213. This is most important because the example of West Africa could have a most encouraging, if not a decisive, influence upon what we must all hope will lead to the early, peaceful and orderly attainment of nationhood in what remains of dependent Africa, and believe me, Mr. President, nothing could be more important to the continued welfare of the United Nations.

214. Finally, let me say to the people of the Cameroons that they have our best wishes for their future.

215. Mr. VIDIC (Yugoslavia): I will be very brief. I would have spoken in favour of the proposal to conduct the voting by division in parts, had I had the opportunity to do so.

216. In the resolution concerning the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, operative paragraph 2 was a subject of controversy in the discussions in the Fourth Committee. My delegation has had its doubts in connexion with the list of voters now being compiled in the Northern Cameroons. We also expressed in the Fourth Committee our support for the Liberian amendment concerning the right of women to vote. As there were no separate votes taken, my delegation did not have the opportunity to abstain on operative paragraph 2 of the resolution.

217. Therefore, I wish to state here that the vote of my delegation in favour of the resolution concerning the future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, does not imply our approval of operative paragraph 2 of that resolution.

218. Mr. MACHOWSKI (Poland): In view of the result of the procedural decision taken by the Assembly, which prevented my delegation from expressing its opinion on particular paragraphs of the resolutions just adop-

ted, I feel obliged to take this opportunity briefly to explain our position in this respect.

219. The Polish delegation, during previous debates, has always taken the position in favour of the achievement of the independence of the Cameroons by 1 January 1960. We have confirmed this position by casting our vote for operative paragraph 1 of the resolution on the future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration. If we had not been prevented from doing so by the previously mentioned decision, we would also have voted for operative paragraph 3 of the same resolution, recommending that upon the attainment of independence on 1 January 1960, the Cameroons shall be admitted to membership of the United Nations.

220. For the reasons which were presented exhaustively in the course of the debate in the Fourth Committee, and particularly because of the imperfections of this resolution, we were not in a position to give our support to it and thus we abstained in the vote on it as a whole.

221. Mr. CHAPMAN (Ghana): The stand of my delegation on the resolutions on the future of the two Cameroons can be stated briefly.

222. Our disagreement with the resolution which was adopted on the future of the Cameroons under French administration was not over the question of the attainment of independence by that Territory on 1 January 1960. We are in favour of the independence of our brothers in the Cameroons under French administration. Our disagreement was over the question of whether there should be elections before 1 January next year, and whether all those who have been victimized for working for the end of foreign rule and for the unification of their homeland should be allowed to take part in such elections. Because the majority in the Fourth Committee did not agree with our views on the need for elections in the Cameroons under French administration before independence, we were not able to support the resolution which the majority finally adopted on the future of that Territory.

223. Similarly, we were not able to support the resolution on the future of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration because of certain reservations which we had about the method by which the proposed plebiscite in the northern part of the Territory was to be conducted.

224. But I want to make one point clear before this Assembly, namely, that the Government and the people of Ghana stand fully behind the demand of the peoples of the two Cameroons for independence and freedom from French and British rule and domination. The Government and the people of Ghana will be among the first to welcome whole-heartedly and without any reservation the representatives of an independent Cameroons in our midst here. My delegation has no doubt at all that an independent Cameroons in the United Nations will contribute its best towards promoting peace and equality among nations.

Completion of the work of the thirteenth session

225. The PRESIDENT: Now that the Assembly has received and considered the report of the Fourth Committee and has taken decisions on the question of the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons, the

work of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly has been completed.

226. Before I close the session formally, I wish to congratulate the General Assembly on its historic decisions with respect to the Cameroons, and I wish to express my best wishes to the peoples and Governments of the Cameroons for a steady and prosperous growth in the life of freedom and responsibility.

227. At the end of the first part of the session, exactly three months ago, I called this session "the African session". The second part, which we are concluding now, confirms and enhances this appellation, for during the thirteenth session of the General Assembly Africa played a very important role—in fact, it played the leading role. It did so, first, in terms of the substantive subjects discussed and voted on, among which, representatives will recall, were the questions of South Africa, Algeria, and the welcoming of Guinea into the membership of the United Nations, and, in the present resumed part, the question of the future of the Cameroons. It has also played a role in terms of the active part undertaken by the African States themselves in our deliberations. Not only was Africa, therefore, the subject of our consideration, but the African peoples, through their representatives here, spoke more vigorously and more eloquently perhaps than ever before.

228. Africa, then, is coming into its own, and the United Nations is playing a constructive role in this process. Through the orderly processes of the United Nations, this Organization is helping significantly in the emergence of the peoples of Africa into a status of dignity, freedom and independence.

229. Three months ago, just as we were adjourning until this resumed part of the session, I expressed my personal appreciation of the co-operation which I was honoured to receive during this thirteenth session of the General Assembly from my colleagues on the General Committee, the Vice-Presidents, and the Chair-

men of the seven standing Committees of the Assembly, from the whole membership of the eighty-two nations represented here, and from the Secretary-General and his colleagues and assistants in the Secretariat. I shall now reiterate my profound gratitude for this massive co-operation which I received from every side.

230. The United Nations is likely to play in the future, a very important and perhaps even a decisive role in the critical and difficult days ahead, for it appears that the world still has before it most trying days. Guided by the Charter and its lofty principles, and by the dedication of all our membership to the cause of peace and justice, I am confident that the United Nations, in the crucial trials ahead, will live up to mankind's expectations of it. It is my profound conviction that only the spirit of truth, justice, and the deepest respect for what essentially belongs to man, is going to save the world from war, or from a fate even worse than war. I pray that the nations and their leaders may be inspired by this spirit; and my last word before I close this session is to wish you all, and your peoples, the best and highest that you wish for yourselves.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

231. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

232. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the thirteenth session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose on Saturday, 14 March, at 12.30 a.m.