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**Chairman: Mr. Thanat KHOMAN (Thailand).**

**AGENDA ITEM 13**

**Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3595 and Corr.1,  
 A/3718, A/C.4/372) (continued)**

**HEARING OF PETITIONERS (continued)**

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Charles Assale, Mr. Paul Soppo Priso and Mr. Jean Ekwabi, representatives of the Groupe d'action nationale du Cameroun, Mr. Ndeh Ntumazah, representative of One Kamerun, Mr. Félix Roland Moumié, representative of the Union des populations du Cameroun and Mr. Jacques Ngom, representative of the Confédération générale kamerunaise du travail, took places at the Committee table.

1. Mr. NTUMAZAH (One Kamerun) thanked the Committee for giving his party a hearing, to which it attached great importance because the United Nations was the supreme authority over the Trust Territories. It hoped that the events of the past would be forgotten, so that a better atmosphere might prevail, and that the Cameroonians' demand for the right to self-determination would be considered in a spirit of goodwill. The people of the Cameroons knew that they were governed under international law and that neither the United Kingdom nor France could on its own initiative meet their requests. The Administering Authorities could of course make suggestions, which the United Nations might approve if they were in conformity with the Charter, but he assured the Committee that neither of them was likely to make any suggestion short of integration into the French Union or in Nigeria. The United Kingdom had agreed that the Western Cameroons should become independent within the Federation of Nigeria in 1960, but there seemed no reason why 1960 should not be set as the date for the independence of the Cameroons, which could then decide for itself its relationship with Nigeria. France, on the other hand, would grant independence immediately if integration were approved by the Cameroonians. There was, however, no mention of integration in the United Nations Charter.

2. The Charter had been designed as an instrument to put an end to war in all its forms but the great Powers were using it for their own ends. The Cameroonians had repeatedly called on the United Nations to ensure the implementation of Article 76 b of the Charter, which guaranteed the accession of Trust Territories to independence, but instead they had been

subjected to violence by the Administering Authorities. He stressed that his party was an all-Cameroonian organization and enjoyed the overwhelming support of the people of the two Trust Territories, who regarded their country as one, regardless of the arbitrary line dividing it. His party's objective was immediate independence for a united Cameroons and it was resolved to continue the struggle. The cry for unification and independence echoed from all quarters of the Cameroons. He had been educated in a British school and had been taught the importance of unity, which his English teachers had held up as a shining ideal. Nevertheless, a few months previously he had been arrested and imprisoned, simply for preaching unity.

3. Shooting, deportation, murder, the dethroning of legal traditional chiefs and enthroning of illegal ones, the burning down of houses and the infliction of corporal punishment were common practices in the Cameroons today. The people were faced with the difficulty of throwing off the yoke of colonialism, which tended to retard the progress of the country in all spheres of life. They realized that only the attainment of independence would solve that problem. The question therefore was how to transform the country into an independent and democratic nation as a means of bringing to an end the repression which for some two and a half years had prevailed in the Cameroons under the administration of the United Kingdom and France. He wished to make a special appeal to the Administering Authorities to change their present attitude and to transfer power to the people of the Cameroons in accordance with the sacred trust they had undertaken. The Cameroonians hoped that the United Nations would not fail them or allow them to believe that Trust Territories had no right to self-determination, as appeared to be the attitude of the two ruling great Powers, which wanted to substitute integration for independence. He was confident that the United Nations would proclaim with one voice the unification and independence of the Cameroons through democratic processes. The greater part of the world today believed that democracy was the best form of government, yet the Cameroons had been divided without consultation of the Cameroonian people and those people strongly desired its reunification.

4. In demanding the unification and independence of the Cameroons he had in mind General Assembly resolutions 558 (VI) and 1064 (XI). He had already dealt with the question earlier, <sup>1/</sup>when he had been granted a hearing as the representative of the liberation movement, the Union des populations du Cameroun (UPC), whose strength was so greatly feared by the Administering Authorities that they had both outlawed it so that they could continue to exploit the Cameroonian population. The problem of unification was a

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Fourth Committee, 640th and 641st meetings.

thorny one and individuals, political organizations and Cameroonian students' associations all over the world were expressing concern about it. The Commissioner of the Cameroons under British administration had informed the Trusteeship Council, at its nineteenth session that several Western Cameroons parties had considered the unification question and that no party had ruled it out. Mr. S.T. Muna, Southern Cameroons Executive Member in charge of Public Works and Deputy Leader to Mr. Endeley, Leader of Government Business, had resigned from the Government in protest against the proposals for integration. He had now become a vociferous advocate of Cameroonian secession from Nigeria and ultimate unification. The Southern Cameroons had first been administered as a part of Eastern Nigeria and in 1953 Mr. Endeley had preached against Nigerian domination and called for secession. The question had been put to a vote and the Cameroonian people had voted for secession as a first step towards unification. Mr. Endeley had informed the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under British Administration and the Cameroons under French Administration, 1955, that the reason for that vote and for the desire for the unification of the two Trust Territories was that the Southern Cameroons was a small territory and that if the Federation of Nigeria were dissolved and the three regions became independent entities the Southern Cameroons would be left to fend for itself. The Mission, too, had stated that as soon as it had entered the Southern Cameroons it had been confronted with demands for unification from the three main political parties and other groups (T/1226, para. 119). All the political parties used the name "Kamerun" as it had been written in the days of the Germans, to indicate that they wished the Cameroons to remain as it had been from 1884 to 1916.

5. Unification was a necessity and a right for Cameroonians, for many reasons. Firstly, there were ethnographical reasons: the Cameroons was a historical family with its own ways and customs, which had been divided by the colonial transaction of 1916. The delimitation of African countries at the Berlin Conference of 1885 had taken into consideration ethnical and historical affinities. Whatever differences there might be between the ethnic entities in the Cameroons, there was a fundamental unity among its people which manifested itself in a characteristic outlook, attitude and way of life. The Cameroonian, whether he spoke French, English, German or any of the hundreds of vernacular languages, was undeniably a Cameroonian. The arbitrary boundary had cut many tribes in two. The problems of administration of Adamawa in the British zone, for example, evidenced by the frequency with which the *lamidos* had been deported, sprang directly from the fact that the people in that area had not resigned themselves to the existence of the illogical frontier. There were ethnic ties which bound Cameroonians of both zones and their reunification was therefore imperative.

6. Secondly, for legal reasons the carving up of the Cameroons was an act of injustice. The Cameroonian people had never declared war or been conquered and there was no reason for the territory to be divided. In 1884 the Germans had established a Protectorate in the Cameroons. From 1914 to 1919 the Cameroons had been a battlefield and had experienced the horrors of war. After the war the Cameroons had been cut in

two and divided between France and the United Kingdom. That act had led to great unrest in the Cameroons in recent years, which still continued.

7. He was confident that the two Administering Authorities would not place obstacles in the way of Cameroonian development or of its people's appeal to the United Nations for the abrogation of the Trusteeship Agreement. Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, had stated categorically at the Nigerian Constitutional Conference that there could be no question of obliging the Cameroons to remain part of an independent Nigeria contrary to its own wishes. Nevertheless he had appeared to recommend the integration of the Western Cameroons into the Federation of Nigeria, which was nowhere suggested in the Trusteeship Agreement as a possible ending to the trusteeship.

8. For some three years the national sentiments of the Cameroonian people had been disregarded. The people felt that the matter should be brought before the United Nations in order that a peaceful solution might be found as early as possible. Such a solution demanded in the first place the recognition of the right of the Cameroonian people to immediate unification and independence. The colonial Powers concerned must be made to recognize that today all peoples had the right to aspire to independence. Those Powers had frequently asserted that the Cameroonians were not ready to stand on their own feet; even if that argument were true, it was the responsibility of the Administering Authorities to accelerate the economic and educational progress of the country. Because they had been entrusted with the administration of the Cameroons by the League of Nations and later by the United Nations, the United Kingdom and France seemed to think they were entitled to annex the country in compensation for the training given to its inhabitants.

9. Freedom and self-determination could not be denied to the Cameroonians on the grounds of economic immaturity. The condition for independence was neither economic independence nor the possession of highly qualified persons but the will of the people to attain it. If there was a criterion of a people's preparedness for self-government it was its readiness to assume the responsibility of managing its own affairs; only the people themselves could say when they were ready for self-government. The General Assembly at its eleventh session had adopted resolution 1064 (XI) recommending that the Cameroons should achieve independence at an early date, but that resolution might be compared to an undated cheque which could not be cashed; surely the cheque could now be dated so that it could be cashed.

10. His party advocated a unitary form of government for a unified and independent Cameroons. To allay the fears of the minority groups, it recommended the division of the country into equal provinces, disregarding the arbitrary boundary which now divided it. Voting would be by universal adult suffrage and each province would return an equal number of electors. Each province would be under a provincial head. There would be a council of ministers headed by a prime minister. His party, which believed strongly in democracy, was satisfied that only a Cameroonian conference embracing all shades of political opinion could draw up a workable programme for the government of a united Cameroons and that could take place only when independence had been achieved.

11. As far as economic stability was concerned, the Cameroons' prospects were encouraging. The country's minerals were at present left untapped but there was hope for a brighter future when they could be exploited for the benefit of the country and of the world at large. He was aware that large sums of money would be required for that purpose but he did not think the raising of loans would present an insuperable difficulty. The Cameroons' natural resources were such that the country would be able to meet its obligations. At the present time prospecting and drilling were being carried on to determine the extent of the petroleum deposits. Mining would become very important in the Cameroons in the near future; a number of minerals were known to exist there and were only awaiting exploitation. The Cameroons already exported some minerals including gold and tin; timber, bananas, cocoa, coffee, rubber, livestock, groundnut oil and palm oil were among its other exports. If economic stability was to be the criterion for independence the Cameroons should obtain independence before Nigeria. From that point of view the party's demand for immediate independence was irrefutable.

12. The reasons that had led to the arbitrary disbanding of the UPC by the United Kingdom authorities were, he thought, the following. Firstly, the UPC had filed an election petition against the candidates from British-supported parties who had defeated its candidates unfairly in the elections; the United Kingdom authorities, realizing that their protégés had no valid defence to offer, had decided to disband the UPC and deport its leaders in order that the case might be dismissed owing to the non-appearance of the plaintiffs. Secondly, the United Kingdom Government held the UPC responsible for the pressing demand for unification and, knowing that a plebiscite would be held in the Western Cameroons before Nigeria attained its independence in 1960, wished to silence the party. Thirdly, the United Kingdom planned to incorporate the Western Cameroons into Nigeria and considered that the UPC represented the most serious obstacle to that objective. The General Assembly resolution recommending the early attainment of independence by the Trust Territories as also the appearance of UPC representatives before the United Nations constituted a threat to the United Kingdom's policy of integration. For want of a good reason for disbanding the UPC and allied parties, the United Kingdom had contrived a case against them, in collusion with the Nigerian Ministers who were anxious for the Western Cameroons to be incorporated within the Federation of Nigeria.

13. The Administering Authority had then tried to provoke the members of the UPC in the hope that their reactions would justify banning the party, but that attempt had been unsuccessful. Mr. Field, the Commissioner of the Cameroons under British administration, had stated that the UPC was under investigation for Communist activities, yet his investigations had revealed nothing more than vague suspicions which no democratic government would have acted on in such a way.

14. In disbanding the UPC and allied parties, the Administering Authority had subjected the leaders to arbitrary arrest and detained them under inhumane conditions. Party and personal property to a value of some £2 million had been seized. As a further measure, deportation orders had been served on thirteen

of the arrested leaders. In justifying his action, the Governor-General had referred to "UPC unpopular support" at the polls. It had been further alleged that in order to achieve its political objectives the party might have resorted to violence.

15. The United Kingdom policy in suppressing the UPC had been shown in its true light by Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his answers to questions asked by Mr. Fenner Brockway, a Labour Member of Parliament, published in the West African Pilot of 29 June 1957. Mr. Brockway had asked on what evidence of intention to resort to violence the UPC had been declared to be an unlawful society by the Governor-General in the Council of Nigeria and on what charges thirteen of its leaders had been arrested and ordered to leave the country. Mr. Lennox-Boyd had replied that the Acting Governor-General had acted on the advice of the Nigerian Council of Ministers with the full support of the Executive Council of the Southern Cameroons and that the action had been taken in accordance with the criminal code and the alien deportation ordinance after careful examination of evidence leading to the conclusion that the UPC had become a serious threat to law and order in the Southern Cameroons. Mr. Lennox-Boyd had also affirmed that the Governor-General was not bound to give the evidence on which he had reached his decision and that it would not be in the public interests for him to do so. When Mr. Brockway had expressed concern that people had been deported from the Territory, not because of any unlawful act on their part but for fear that they might resort to violence, Mr. Lennox-Boyd had insisted that those deported were aliens who had abused the hospitality of a British-protected Territory.

16. A closer examination of those answers would show the injustice of the action against the UPC party and the innocence of its leaders. In the first place, the fact that the decision to ban the party had been taken in the Nigerian Council of Ministers was in itself a violation of article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement, which required that the Trust Territory should be administered in accordance with the Administering Authority's own laws. If there had been good cause to transfer the responsibilities under that Agreement to Nigeria, the United Nations should have been asked to abrogate the Agreement. Secondly, if, as alleged, the action in banning the UPC had been taken in accordance with the criminal code and the alien deportation ordinance, it was difficult to understand how a person could be punished under criminal law without a trial. According to English law a man was considered innocent until proved guilty, yet the United Kingdom authorities deported the UPC leaders on a charge of violence without the slightest evidence against them. Furthermore, the contention that the Governor-General was not bound to give the evidence on which he had reached his decision and that it would not be in the public interest for him to do so, indicated that that action would not bear the scrutiny of the British public. Capital offences were dealt with in open courts, yet a non-existent crime for which punishment had been meted out had to be kept secret in the public interest. That proved that the charge that the UPC might resort to violence was unfounded and that the real objections to the UPC had not been disclosed. Mr. Lennox-Boyd had said that the deported UPC leaders were aliens who had abused British hospitality. Mr. Endeley, the appointed agent of the British Government, had however

revealed the true state of affairs when he had said that ever since the UPC leaders had taken refuge in the Southern Cameroons they had repaid that hospitality with violent abuse against their hosts, the leaders of the Southern Cameroons Government, accusing them of jeopardizing the elections and practising corruption and tyranny. Had those accusations been false, there would have been nothing to prevent the Southern Cameroons Government from giving the offenders a fair trial.

17. In the statements concerning the ban on the UPC and the deportation orders, no mention was made of the forfeiture of personal property. Apart from the possessions of the party being seized, the leaders had been stripped of their personal belongings, which had never been returned to them.

18. The lives of various party members had been threatened and as a result of the failure of the United Kingdom authorities to provide police protection an innocent person had been assassinated. The investigation into that assassination had been conducted in a very dilatory manner and had led to no result. He himself had been refused police protection although his life was manifestly in danger and houses were being set on fire in his home town of Mankon-Bamenda.

19. For a considerable time, Baham had been the scene of bloodshed and violence, as a result of the French authorities' interference in the appointment of the traditional chief. The authorities had failed to prevent the chief's election and had been unable to dethrone him, since he was both popular with his subjects and observant of the law. Troops had therefore been sent to the town in an attempt to provoke him and he had been arrested when he had gone to divisional headquarters to inquire about that unusual measure. After a term of imprisonment under inhumane conditions, the chief had been released but had been immediately rearrested and detained on a deportation order. The stationing of troops in Baham had been followed by the substitution of an illegal chief by the French authorities. The notables who had refused to perform the traditional ceremonies for the new chief had been slain by French troops, who had also opened fire when the villagers had refused to accept the unlawful chief. Most of the houses had been burned down and the villagers had fled to the forest for safety. Military camps had been installed in all quarters of the city and the French had built a number of concentration camps. Furthermore, many women and girls were being assaulted by the soldiers. The number of known killed was 480. He had photographic evidence of the burning of houses and other crimes committed.

20. Regrettably, the United Nations had paid little heed to the massacre and bloodshed in the Baham and Sanaga-Maritime regions, although the French had ignored General Assembly resolution 1067 (XI). He therefore appealed to the United Nations to call upon the Administering Authority to respect the Charter and the General Assembly resolutions.

21. Although the Administering Authorities taught that democracy was the best form of government, they practised the reverse: instead of government of the people and by the people, the Cameroons was governed by foreigners. The Cameroonian people had never entered into a protectoral agreement with either of the Administering Authorities which had been placed over

them first by the League of Nations and then by the United Nations. The protectoral agreement entered into with Germany had been due to expire in 1914, but at the end of the First World War the Cameroons had been treated like a conquered German territory. Since the United Nations had placed the Cameroons in its present position, the United Nations alone could put the matter to rights. All the Cameroons asked for was the fundamental right of independence, the right to work, the right to security and the right of free assembly.

22. All kinds of groundless charges were preferred against the Cameroons in order to preclude the sympathy of other nations. When India and Ghana had asked for independence they had been labelled Communist, but neither of them had given any justification for those charges since achieving their independence. France had paid a tribute to the part played by Cameroonians in the Second World War; their contribution showed that the Cameroons held freedom as dear as did any other nation and that it had a right to the freedom for which it had fought.

23. His appeal to the United Nations could be summarized as follows: the United Nations should call upon the two Administering Authorities first, to permit freedom of assembly, speech and movement and to ease the tension in the two areas; secondly, to permit the unconditional return of all Cameroonians deported or detained, to restore political freedom and to annul the French Decree of 13 July 1955 and the United Kingdom Decree of 30 May 1957, so that the Cameroonians might be free to express their wishes regarding the future of their country; thirdly, to protect the lives and property of all Cameroonians throughout the country, without discrimination of any kind; lastly, to abrogate the Trusteeship Agreement in the Eastern and Western Cameroons and to proclaim the independence of the single Territory of Cameroon.

24. Mr. MOUMIE (Union des populations du Cameroun) thanked the Committee for granting his party a hearing. He stressed that the hearing granted by the Committee at its 692nd meeting had been to the party as such rather than to Mr. Ouandie in person. The attempt which had been made to convey the contrary impression was typical of the colonialist policy described by the expression "divide and rule". The UPC, having been granted the hearing, had the right to decide who was competent to be its spokesman. It should be noted, however, that despite the attempt to represent Mr. Ouandie as being more trustworthy than other members of the party, he too had been subjected to arrest and deportation.

25. Some delegations seemed to be under the impression that the right of petition did not apply to a political party which had been denounced as undesirable by the Administering Authority. There was nothing in the text of either the Charter or the Trusteeship Agreements, however, which imposed such a restriction on the right of petition. To give such an interpretation to the provisions of the Charter for the sake of pleasing the colonial Powers would be tantamount to recognizing that the United Nations supervisory powers over the Administering Authorities were meaningless. Such an admission would, of course, be in conformity with the policy which had prompted France and the United Kingdom to dissolve the UPC, a party which, although outlawed, commanded the support of 85 per cent of the



Cameroonian people. By silencing the leaders of the UPC the Administering Authorities hoped to be better able to control public opinion in the Territories. Another tactic was to use the allegation that certain organizations represented minority interests as an excuse for outlawing them and deporting their leaders. If, however, those organizations or persons were really in a minority and did not represent a large sector of the population, their presence surely constituted no threat. Conversely, if it was argued that they were a threat to great Powers having modern armaments at their disposal, then it must be inferred that they represented a large proportion of the population. The provisions of the Trusteeship Agreements and the Charter guaranteed the rights of all the inhabitants of the Trust Territories without distinction. Opposition parties existed in many countries and were not subject to dissolution or deportation orders simply because they represented minorities.

26. The discussion upon which the Committee was about to embark was extremely important in view of the tension which had prevailed in the Territories since the events of May 1955 and which had increased after the elections of 23 December 1956. Foreign observers in the Cameroons agreed that the existing situation was serious. The United States publication *Africa Weekly* of 7 August 1957, for example, wrote that the Cameroons under French administration had been in a state of chronic ferment ever since May 1955 and that repressive campaigns were carried out periodically by the French. At the Committee's 640th meeting, held during the previous session, the petitioner representing the UPC had referred to the many statements in the French Press concerning the gravity of the situation. The United Nations, in addition to hearing petitioners, had received many thousands of petitions from different groups and individuals describing the atrocities which had been committed, particularly by the French authorities, and stressing the seriousness of the political tension prevailing in the Cameroons. A number of petitions mentioned the arrival of troop reinforcements after 11 September 1957 in the French-administered part of the country and, according to the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3595 and Corr.1, P.122), the French representative himself had told the Council at its nineteenth session that about 300 soldiers and forty paratroopers had been brought in to maintain what he had called "public order". *La Presse du Cameroun*, reporting a recent speech by Mr. Mbida, the Prime Minister, had said that stern measures would have to be taken to quell what it called the "rebels" and it appeared that the Administering Authority was prepared to use massive force to achieve that purpose. Such measures were contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Trusteeship Agreement. When two UPC members, Irénée Taffo and his wife, had been killed in April 1957 in the Cameroons under British administration, the authorities had done nothing to bring the criminals to justice, despite the abundant evidence which the party had placed at their disposal. On the basis of no more than unjustified suspicions the United Kingdom authorities had dissolved the UPC, as well as the only women's and youth organizations in the Territory, and had deported thirteen of their leaders. The serious consequences which such arbitrary measures could have on the political evolution of the Territory were a

matter for grave concern. The many petitions from the Cameroons under British administration made it clear that those measures had not had the support of the population. The degree of political awareness reached by the people of the Cameroons was such that the failure of the United Nations to take action to solve the problem would not only lower its prestige in their eyes but might even appear to them to indicate concurrence in the atrocities which were daily being committed.

27. Such was the situation which had developed in the Cameroons. A people which had attained a sufficient degree of political maturity to be self-governing and had since 1955 been defending itself against tyranny and oppression was opposed by a crumbling régime which sought through violence, corruption and calumny to maintain itself in power. It was easy to understand why, in such circumstances, the Administering Authorities had not fulfilled the mission undertaken by them in accordance with Article 76 of the Charter to lead the two Territories to self-government.

28. Many of the countries now represented in the United Nations had gone through similar periods in their history and in some cases their leaders, like the leaders of the UPC, had been dismissed by their colonialist antagonists as representing only a minority faction or had even been accused of being Communists. Colonialist powers never yielded to anything other than force. It was necessary to recall those historical facts in order to understand the true nature of the campaign of slander waged against the UPC. The truth had triumphed in those other countries and the UPC was confident that it would one day triumph in the Cameroons. The people of the Cameroons demanded independence in the conviction that they were entitled to be free and were entirely capable of self-government. The Administering Authorities were trying by every means in their power to postpone the day of reckoning, seeking to justify themselves by alleging that the Cameroons was not economically and financially self-sufficient, that the Cameroonians were incapable of governing themselves and that independence prematurely granted might result in anarchy. Yet no country was self-sufficient and even the Administering Authorities themselves depended on foreign capital for survival; no one had ever suggested that they should for that reason be placed under trusteeship. History showed, moreover, that all countries which had demanded and won their independence had subsequently proved themselves worthy of it. France could not in good conscience deny to its African wards the right to govern themselves; indeed it should, as their teacher, be proud to see them take their place in the community of nations.

29. He would now seek to demonstrate two points: first, that the Cameroonians' appeal for unification and independence was in conformity with the law and reflected the realities of the existing situation; secondly, that the Administering Authorities had not led them towards independence in accordance with the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System. He would also offer a few constructive suggestions on the basis of which the misgivings of the Administering Authorities could be allayed, the interests of the peoples of the two Territories could be safeguarded as provided by the terms of Articles 73 and 76 of the Charter, and the General Assembly could serve as a mediator between the parties to the dispute.

30. His country's claim to independence was based on the economic Treaty of 12 July 1884 concluded by the Cameroonian leaders with the German Government, under the terms of which Germany was to maintain economic, cultural and political relations with the Territory for a period of thirty years on a footing of equality and mutual respect. The two countries had signed the Treaty as independent nations and its validity had been recognized by France and the United Kingdom at the time. There had been no question of a German occupation, as had later been argued during the drafting of the Treaty of Versailles, for the Germans who had entered the Territory under the terms of the Treaty of 1884 had simply been technical and economic experts. When Governor von Puttkamer had later attempted to abuse the powers vested in him under the Protectorate, the Cameroonians had placed the matter before the German Government, which had thereupon transferred him. The Treaty had expired in the year of the outbreak of the First World War, and after the defeat of Germany, the Cameroons had been divided as the result of obscure diplomatic negotiations at Versailles. Had it not been for the intervention of President Wilson the Cameroons would have been reduced to the status of a colony in the full sense of the word.

31. For a number of reasons the Cameroonians had not been able to recognize the provisions of the Versailles Treaty which applied to their country. First, they had been imposed by foreign Powers. Secondly, the populations concerned had not been consulted or given an opportunity to participate in their formulation. Thirdly, the Cameroons had not taken part in the war and consequently had not had the status of a defeated enemy. Furthermore, France and the United Kingdom, in agreeing to the division and subjection of the country, had acted in violation of the international legal instrument which they had recognized in 1884. The United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements, as also the French Constitution of 1946, provided that the fundamental objectives of the Trusteeship System were self-government or independence in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. Resolution 1064 (XI) adopted by the General Assembly on 26 February 1957 recommended that the Administering Authorities should take the necessary measures to ensure that the Cameroons would achieve independence at an early date, and the Trusteeship Council, had noted, at its nineteenth session, the Cameroonian people's desire for independence (A/3595 and Corr.1, p.126). The French representative on the Trusteeship Council had affirmed that all Cameroonians wanted independence, while Mr. Mbida, the Prime Minister of the Cameroons under French administration, in his speech of 9 November 1957, had recognized as legitimate and commendable the aims pursued by the UPC. The 1955 United Nations Visiting Mission had observed in its report on the Cameroons under British administration that the desire for unification was very much in evidence (T/1226, para.119). The publication *West Africa*, commenting on the elections of 15 March 1957 in the Southern Cameroons, had reached the conclusion that unification was the theme of the electoral campaign, and the United Kingdom representative had admitted to the Trusteeship Council, during its nineteenth session, that unification was not ruled out by any political party in that part of the Territory. The demand for unification had grown so strong that

recently the Deputy Prime Minister of the Southern Cameroons had resigned from Mr. Endeley's Cabinet in protest against the integration policy of the latter. A number of clerics in the Cameroons, including the Abbé Jean Zoa, the Reverend Akoa Abomo and the Reverend S. de Soras, had recognized that the attainment of independence was the most urgent problem in the Territory.

32. With regard to his second point, namely, that the Administering Authorities had not led the two Territories towards the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System, it was necessary to consider the present status of the Cameroons under French administration as a result of the French Decree of 16 April 1957 and that of the Cameroons under British administration resulting from the Nigeria Constitutional Conference held in London. The French maintained that the present Legislative Assembly at Yaoundé was fully representative, inasmuch as it had been constituted on the basis of allegedly democratic elections, and that the present Statute<sup>2/</sup> gave the country full self-government. There was no need to recall the fraudulent conditions in which those elections had been held, for at both the previous sessions of the General Assembly and the recent session of the Trusteeship Council petitioners from parties and organizations other than the UPC had demonstrated that the elections had been irregular, dishonest and undemocratic. It should suffice to draw attention to certain legal aspects of the matter, which showed that the new Statute was not in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and of the Trusteeship Agreement. While the Statute represented a step forward as compared with the situation prevailing earlier in the Cameroons, the direction in which it was to lead had been indicated by Mr. Paul Reynaud, who, in a statement to the Legislative Assembly at Yaoundé, had said that the Cameroons must always remain within the French Union. The Statute had, moreover, been unilaterally imposed on the Territory and was outmoded. Far from being the result of negotiations between France and the legitimate representatives of the Cameroons, it had been established as a result of the *loi-cadre* enacted by the French Parliament, in which the Cameroons was represented by only four deputies out of a total of 627, and was subject to modification only in the same circumstances. Indeed, the Conseil d'Etat had stipulated that the Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons was not competent to amend the Statute.

33. One of the most glaring anomalies in the present situation was the fact that the Cameroons was now called a "Trust State". The use of the word "State" presupposed national independence: how, then, could a State be under trusteeship? A country could not be considered independent unless it had all the attributes of sovereignty and was not subordinate to any other State. The existence of dual citizenship was likewise incompatible with the idea of sovereignty, while the fact that French laws for the most part remained in force and that the organization of the judiciary was controlled by France meant that the administration of justice in the Territory was in the hands of the Administering Authority. All key posts in the Administration were held by the French, including those connected with the police, the army, finance, secondary and higher

<sup>2/</sup> For the text of the Statute of the Cameroons under French administration, see T/1314 and Corr.1.

education and security. Furthermore, under article 41 of the Statute, the High Commissioner could in an emergency take whatever measures might be necessary to maintain or restore order without being obliged to inform the Prime Minister in advance. The country's foreign relations were entirely controlled by the French. Under article 58 of the Statute French was the official language of the country and there was no indication that the use of any of the Cameroonian languages was to be encouraged. Article 17 provided that the Legislative Assembly could be dissolved by a decree of the Council of Ministers of the French Republic. The Statute did not clearly distinguish the competences of the Cameroonian State from those of the French State and provided that in case of a conflict between the two French authority should prevail. Under article 32 the Northern Cameroons was designated a separate province, the purpose being to split up Cameroonian sovereignty in order to facilitate integration of the Cameroons into the French Union. Most of the delegations to the nineteenth session of the Trusteeship Council had stated their misgivings about that provision and the Council had expressed the hope that as the Legislative Assembly gained experience it would subordinate regional differences to the need for national unity (A/3595 and Corr.1, p.128). Finally, under article 49 the High Commissioner had the right of veto over the decisions of the Cameroonian Council of Ministers and Legislative Assembly.

34. The foregoing observations concerning the status of the Cameroons under French administration applied with a few minor variations to the Cameroons under British administration. The United Kingdom Government's desire to integrate the Territory had been revealed by Mr. Lennox-Boyd's statement that he hoped the Cameroonians would see the advantages of being associated with Nigeria. It was not true that all shades of political opinion had been represented at the Nigeria Constitutional Conference, for it had taken place after the UPC and other anti-colonialist organizations had been dissolved and their leaders deported. The elections of 15 March 1957 which had determined the choice of the delegates, had not been democratic, for only 10.6 per cent of the population had been inscribed on the electoral register. The Cameroonian delegates had represented less than 7 per cent of the population. The northern part of the country had not been truly represented, for Mr. Abba Habib had attended the Conference not on behalf of the people of that area or

of any Cameroonian political party but as spokesman for the Northern People's Congress. According to the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3595 and Corr.1, p.104), the Haitian representative had said at the Council's nineteenth session that the leaders in the Northern Cameroons who desired integration with the Northern Region of Nigeria represented a traditional oligarchy.

35. Despite the injustices perpetrated by the colonial régimes the UPC could guarantee that if the Administering Authorities would agree to negotiate with it fairly, on a footing of equality, it would be willing to let bygones be bygones and to seek a formula, in conjunction with them and under the supervision of the United Nations, for settling the present crisis. The prestige of the United Kingdom and France had been enhanced rather than damaged when they had finally come to terms with the nationalist leaders in other countries whom they had formerly slandered and persecuted. It would therefore seem that they should be willing to undertake negotiations with the valid representatives of the Cameroonian people and agree to recognize their independence, creating conditions favourable to the holding of such negotiations, proclaiming a general amnesty and repealing the Decrees of 13 July 1955 and 30 May 1957 by which the anti-colonialist organizations had been dissolved.

36. France and the United Kingdom had agreed to terminate the Trusteeship Agreements applying to the two Territories of Togoland and to grant independence to their inhabitants. There seemed, then, no reason why they should not do the same for the Cameroons. The United Nations, which as a party to the Trusteeship Agreements for the Cameroons could not shirk its responsibility in the present crisis, should dispatch an international police force to protect the millions of patriots whose lives were in danger, for it could not afford to let the impression prevail that freedom could be won only at the cost of violence and bloodshed. Finally, the transfer of sovereignty should be carried out under the supervision of a commission established by the United Nations General Assembly.

37. Mr. GRINBERG (Bulgaria) proposed that the full text of the petitioners' statements should be circulated to the members of the Committee.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

NTUMAZAH (715)

CIRCULATED TO MEMBERS OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE IN ACCORDANCE  
WITH THE REQUEST MADE BY THE COMMITTEE AT ITS 715TH MEETING

Statement made by Mr. Ntumazah, representative of  
One Kamerun, at the 715th meeting of the Fourth  
Committee, on 22 November 1957 (See A/C.4/SR.715)



Mr. Chairman,

On behalf of the people of the Eastern and Western Kamerun, I wish to thank the distinguished delegates and those who gave birth to this international Organization which aims at promoting peace and security in the world. Permit me also to express the deep gratitude of the Kamerunians for the oral hearing granted to our party "ONE KAMERUN". We highly appreciate the hearing granted to us. I therefore feel it my place to avail myself of this opportunity to convey the profound gratitude of my people to the nations which view with sympathy and concern the present stage of servitude in which our territories find themselves. I therefore thank those who voted for the grant of an oral hearing to ONE KAMERUN, thus enabling me to appear before you. The present position in which we the Kamerunian find ourselves, though very distasteful, it has given us the chance of knowing the nations that have true love for the suffering Africans. There is no doubt that we shall one day be in a position to thank those who are giving us their moral support today. We might not in future become their friends, but we might ask for their advices. We regard this hearing as important because, we the people of the Trust Territories, know the United Nations to be the supreme authority over us. Although our expectations have always been adversely greeted, we hope and pray very fervently that the past days with their events and feelings will be put behind and that a purer atmosphere will prevail. We hope too that the Kameruns' lawful demand for the right of self-determination will now be treated in a spirit of goodwill. At this juncture sir, I wish to make it abundantly very clear to this sacred organization that, we the people of the Kamerun know that we are governed under international law and that neither Britian nor France can on its own initiative answer our demands. They can of course make some suggestions about us which your good office may approve if they are in conformity to the United Nations Charter, but I can assure you Sir, that none of the two administering authorities will make any suggestion which falls short of integration either in the French Union or in Nigeria. This fact has been made crystal clear by the two Administering Authorities in the Kamerun. Britain has admitted that Western Kamerun should become independent within the Federation of Nigeria in 1960. But why not set 1960 as the date for the Kameruns' independence and let the independent Kamerun decide for herself her relation with Nigeria? France, on the other hand, will grant independence to the Kamerun today if integration is approved by the Kamerunians.

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Where in the Charter of the United Nations is integration? It appears that since the Charter is written only in French, English and many other languages, they can interpret it to be anything because the language is theirs. Britain and France are our teachers and we owe them thanks despite the fact that they are doing all to prevent the Kamerunian population from manifesting for their right. Although France and Britain are doing all to suppress the evolution of nationalism in our country, by placing bans on national liberation movements, we have often assured them that, it is no use trying to make ripe bananas unripened, for instead they may grow rotten.

We the Kamerunian people hold in high esteem the conditions laid down in the United Nations Charter, because the Charter was formulated by the world's greatest and most learned and noblest men, because they saw in it an instrument to bring an end to war in all its forms. However, it appears that their work has proved a different result from the one intended because great powers want to turn the golden efforts of their predecessors into nothing. In the Charter of the United Nations there is Article 76 B which guarantees the accession of Trust Territories to independence. We have repeatedly called on this world Organization to cause the implementation of the said Article 76 B. But instead we have been subjected to violence from the Administering Authorities. I have well acquainted myself with the wishes of the Kamerunian people, and what I here place before you, must not be regarded on sectional veins at all. I should like to stress, Sir, that my party is an all Kamerunian organization which is functioning in all the two zones under Britain and France. My party should not in any light be regarded as a French Kamerun or British Kamerun movement, as had always been the case. Furthermore, I can state that it enjoys the overwhelming support of the Kamerunian people of all zones. We of the one Kamerun look at our country to be one, regardless of the arbitrary boundary imposed on it. One Kamerun has as its objectives "INDEPENDENCE FOR ONE KAMERUN NOW". This is a subject which I shall dwell on later. In the meantime, I would like to assure Mr. Chairman and the honourable representatives of the great nations that, although the two colonial powers have resolved to damage our genuine request for freedom, I can plainly state that we have also resolved to continue to advocate for independence because we deem it to be our right. The cry for unification and independence echoes from all quarters of the Kamerun, and my organization must stand for it once we know that it is the wish of the Kamerun

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people. Because of our present stand, our lives are threatened. Lives which will be useless to us, if we cannot use them for the well-being of the existing Kamerun generation and posterity. We of this generation will be regarded as traitors, if we should become selfish and succumb to the colonial temptations now placed before us which in fact had captured some of our now French naturalized Kamerunians. The stage in which our country now finds itself is one that many great nations of today had passed through. One has only to remember the days when Great Britain was split into kingdoms and each in turn was opposed to the other. But today Britain is spoken of as the United Kingdom, and its inhabitants are delighted with its unity. Before 1776, if one had told the English men that where we are today would be what she is today, Britain would have doubted the fact. If America had continued under British rule until this day, it could not have been possible for her to stand her present world position. Mr. Chairman, I wish to crave your indulgence to permit me to ask for an excuse from the delegation of this country if I have offended its composers in this vein. I merely quote their case to make my story understandable. I do not in the least doubt her reputation, but I am in the opinion that the colonial well dressed speeches should not be strange to most delegates, because it is the same chronic case that they have suffered or witnessed.

All of you are aware, Sirs, that it looks beautiful to speak of the United Kingdom and the Englishmen take pride in it. All Englishmen want England to be known as such. The Englishmen know the value of unity and this is the more reason why they are proud of it. Unity which in the days of England's foreign domination, was never contemplated. I can at this stage quote the statement made by Sir Winston Churchill, one of the great personages of the world and an Englishman, who contributed greatly to the formation of this world organ. During the last world war, he said "We should prefer to see England in dust and ashes than see it enslaved." He made this statement for nothing other than that he loved his country. If the Englishmen hate slavery, why enslave others? I was born and brought up under British rule, and at school, I was taught the importance of unity. But I am surprised that just about a few months ago, I was caught and fenced at Victoria in the darkest cell, simply because I preach unity. Unity which the English people my teachers had set up as a shining example; an example which should have gone down in history as the most glorious manifestation for the world to follow. Yet this is instead regarded as a crime in our country. You are all aware

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Sirs, that shooting, deportation, merciless assassinations, killing, the dethroning of legal traditional chiefs and the enthroning of illegal ones (as is the case at Baham) the burning of houses and the infliction of many bodily punishments are common practices in our country today, and the Administering Authorities find pleasure in doing these barbaric and inhuman acts. But even though these are the conditions in which our country finds itself, we hope and pray that by the goodwill of you all who form the United Nations, we shall part one day from the snares of colonialism with the warmest feelings of friendship and goodwill towards our former colonial powers. We are today faced with the difficulty of extricating ourselves from the yoke of colonialism, which tends to retard the progress of our country in all walks of life. We realize that it is only the attainment of independence that will solve this question - hence we are now confronted with how to transform the country into an independent democratic nation as a means to bringing an end to the repressive acts which for about two and a half years have been characterizing in Kamerun under the administrations of Britain and France. I must again repeat and emphasize Sirs, that our achievement of independence as Trust Territories is in your hands herein. In making this statement I wish to make a special appeal through you Sir, to the Administering Authorities to change their present attitude towards us, and to transfer power to the people of the Kamerun in accordance to the sacred trust undertaken by them. This was to prepare us for nationhood. Yet the circumstances now make it both honourable to the world and to ourselves, that we part from powers whose protection we had once enjoyed in a pure atmosphere. We value our position as Trust Territories because it brings us closer to all the Members of the United Nations, whose goodwill, we pray will cause the materialization of our desires and might even cement our link with this organization for the promotion of world peace in more permanent form.

Mr. Chairman, we make this request in good faith and we trust that you will not fail us or allow us to believe that Trust Territories have no right to self-determination as now appears to be the case following the attitude of the two ruling great powers who want to substitute integration for independence. The attitude of these Administrative Authorities in our country, make me think of the days when we Africans were used as trading cargoes by some European countries which believed that our black colour does not warrant us a place in the world. In remembering this, I do not ignore those who struggled and put an end to the savage trade.

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Oh God! Why is it that some people can not also end up colonialism because it bites sharper than slavery. I confide, Sir, that you will proclaim with one voice the unification and independence of the Kamerun through democratic processes. We make this genuine request for unification with the conviction that the greatest portion of the world today believes that democracy is yet the best form of government. Yet our country was divided without consultation, hence the Kamerunian people strongly desire that it be reunified because the split had damaged the matriarchal and patriarchal ties which existed between the Kamerun people of all zones.

Unification and independence for the Kamerun has now become an over-reaching necessity as the only remedy to prevent bloodshed in the Kamerun.

I am here and speak as a petitioner from the Kamerun Trust Territories demanding the Kamerun's right to unity and self-determination. Mr. Chairman, in making this demand I take in great consideration the General Assembly's resolutions 558 (VI) of 18 January 1952 and 1064 (CI) document A/RES/497 which recommended that the two sectors of the Kameruns attain independence at an early date. In making this demand now, I remember that I treated this question before this organization when I took seat here as the representative of the Kamerun liberation movement "Union de Population du Cameroun" the force of which is so highly felt by the two Administering Authorities who had jointly and separately outlawed it, in order to continue exploiting and raping the Kamerun population. I know that the English and his partner will be disturbed to hear me pronounce this word (U.P.C.) but I must point out that it strikes more forcibly when I look around and miss the heart-warming presence of my fellow ethnical brothers who were snatched away from home and from my company without cause and without trial. If there was any cause at all, it was because they were in keeping with the wishes of the masses. Britain and France must be made to realize that it is no use putting new sweet wine in old bottles under the name sour wine, for when it shall have been tasted the truth about it shall prevail. At this stage Sir, I believe the time to be overdue for the tasting of this wine, so as to rest assure your good self of which side of the balance is wanting. The question of the Kamerun unification is a vexing one, and all individuals, political organizations, Kameruns students' associations all over the world are expressing great concern about it.

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Mr. J.O. Field, Commissioner for the Western Kamerun, before the last Trusteeship Council in answer to questions put to him by M. Max Dorsinville, the Haitian delegate to the Council, said that several Western Kamerun parties had considered the unification question and that no party had ruled it out. Mr. S.M. Muna, Southern Kamerun Executive member in charge of works and deputy leader to Dr. Endeke, leader of Government business has resigned from his office in the Government in protest against the integration now talked of by Mr. Endeke. Muna has now become the most vociferous advocator of Kamerun secession from Nigeria and ultimate unification.

Mr. Chairman, you know that the Southern Kamerun was first administered as part of Eastern Nigeria and that in 1953, it was Dr. Endeke, now leader of Government business, who preached against Nigerian domination and called for secession from Nigeria, and the question was put to a testing vote and the Kamerun people voted for secession from the East as a first step towards unification. The United Nations last Visiting Mission's report, document T/1239, page 15, paragraph 117, under reference reads "In replies to questions by the Mission, the spokesman of the Kamerun National Congress (Dr. Endeke) stated that the motivating influence behind this request as well as that for the Unification of the two Trust Territories of the British and French Cameroons, were that the Southern Cameroons was a small Territory, in 1956 when the constitution would be revised, it might happen that the Federation of Nigeria would be dissolved and the three Regions might become independent entities, in which event the Southern Cameroons would be left to fend for itself". The same Mission also noted in paragraph 119 of the same report that the Mission was confronted right from its entry into the Southern Kameruns with the demands of unification displayed on the banners of and in the communications addressed to it, by the three main political parties and other groups. In the Southern Kamerun all the political parties go by the names of Kamerun written with (K) as it was written in the days of the Germans and this symbolizes that all the parties want the Kamerun to remain as it was when 1884 to 1916.

Unification is a necessity and a right for Kamerunians for many reasons:

- (a) Ethnographical
- (b) Legal
- (c) Historical
- (d) Geographical

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(a) Ethnographical reason: Kamerun is a historical family with its own ways and customs and which the colonial transmatism of 1916 divided. The integration of Western Togoland into Ghana may be justifiable by the fact that some tribes are living both in Ghana and in Togoland. But in the Kamerun the case is different and such similarities are rare, although there are ethnical resemblances between the Balundos, the Batangas and the Ibibios of Calabar or between the Fulanis of Adamawa and those of Northern Nigeria, these ethnic relations are only isolated facts resulting from the Balkanisation of African territories between colonial powers in 1911.

The delimitation of African countries at the Berlin conference in 1885 took in great consideration the ethnical and historical affinities of black tribes. To bind up territories, the Berlin conference followed the origin of families and also some geographical data. This was also the criterion employed in the delimitation of Europe because, between the Alsacian and an Iberian of the Pyrenees, there exists as much difference as between a Bakweri of Buea and a Mankon of Bamenda. One would see in the case of the Kamerun that whatever differences there may be between the ethnic entities which exist in it, there is a fundamental unity amongst its people which manifests in a characteristic outlook, attitude and a way of life. The internal migration which took place thousands of years ago, the peculiar historical experience of its peoples with western European countries over five hundred years, all these and others have to produce a being, a Kamerunian who whether speaking French, English or German or any of the hundreds of languages of its people is undeniable a Kamerunian. His sense of hospitality, his directness of manner and irrespressible sense of honour, and other qualities, not necessarily noble, combine to make him what he is. To quote Nehru, one may say: "Like the ocean, she receives the tributes of a thousand rivers and though she was often troubled enough and storms raged over the surface of her waters, the sea remains the sea". The arbitrary boundary has separated the Douala people of Tiko and the lower Mungo valley and the Bakweris and the Bamkokos, who are closely related to the main Douala group in the French zone. The lower Mungo which is not only geographically but also a cultural unit with its centre at Douala has been split. The persistence of the Douala language and the infiltration of cultural ideas from Douala to such places as Kumba and Victoria areas, is only a reminder of this

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illogical frontier. The Balongs, Bakossis, Mbos and the grassfield people and other ethnic groups have each been cut into two parts. Further in Adamawa the old empire founded by Madibo Adama and the stretching from Yola on the Benue right across central Kamerun has also been split. The problem of administration of Adamawa in the British zone, evidenced by frequency with which the Lamidos have been deposed, spring directly from the fact that the people in this area have not resigned themselves to the illogical of the frontier. An almost similar situation exists in the Dikwa area, the old Kingdom of Rabeh. Even the intensity of smuggling on the Western and Eastern Kameruns' border is not explained entirely by economic gain but also by an undercurrent hostility to the creation of artificial frontiers. Therefore, there exists ethnic ties which bind Kamerunians of both zones and thereby their REUNIFICATION becomes an imperative prerogative for the Administering Authorities and United Nations to give it every consideration it deserves.

(b) Legal reason: The carving up of the Kamerun is an act of injustice. In effect the Kamerun people never declared war on Germany; it has never been conquered. Therefore there was no reason for Kamerun being divided.

In 1884 the Germans established a contract of protectorate with them in order to remain in the Kamerun until 1914. Our ancestors were concerned with the maintenance of our national integrity and sovereignty and we cannot undervalue their godly efforts. The division of the Kamerun was and remains an act of injustice against which we protest vehemently.

If Germany were dismembered, it was because it had afflicted the world in sorrow within the living memory of the generation. What has poor Kamerun done? From 1914 to 1919 Kamerun was a battlefield and experienced the horrors of war. When the war was ended, the Kamerun was cut into two and placed into the hands of Franco-Britain. This act has led to a vexing unrest in the Kamerun during the past years and now. I cannot but repeat what the Czechoslovakian Minister for Propaganda said when his country was surrendered to Hitler in 1938 by the Western Powers to solve the Lebensraum Philosophy and the Sudeten land question. He said "it is a case without parallel in history that our allies and our friends should impose upon us conditions which are generally imposed upon vanquished powers. It is not the lack of courage that makes us submit to this cause. We are offering ourselves as a holocaust for world peace but history will pronounce about these days

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and those who left us in the lurch". The same is true of the Kamerun which the imperialists are forcing it to enter like a dreadful half beast, half creature - one part to be lulled in the French Union and the other dumb driven like cattle into the Federation of Nigeria without consideration to the international agreements. President Woodrow Wilson once as a great confessor said "the setting up of national frontiers without consulting the people was nothing but annexation, which is scarcely even veiled". The statesmen of 1919 had a singular opportunity to repair the world's ills. They miss the point because they were too busy and too anxious in giving a finishing touch to the Berlin Act of 1885.

I am confident that the two Administering Authorities will not endeavour to kick against our maturity to independence and our genuine calling on the United Nations for the abrogation of the Trusteeship Agreement, between Her and Franco-Britain. Mr. Lennox Boyd, the British Colonial Secretary at the last session of the Nigerian Constitutional Conference, speaking therein as the representative of Her Majesty's Government, made the issue of Kamerun's independence clearer than ever. To quote his exact words, he said "Her Majesty's Government fully recognizes their obligations to the Cameroons under the Trusteeship Agreement. One of these obligations had been and is to administer the Territory as an integral part of Nigeria. This has of course been on the assumption that Nigeria was a dependent Territory. When Nigeria becomes an independent country, this arrangement will no longer be possible so that the Trusteeship Agreement will in any case have to be reviewed at that stage. When Nigeria becomes independent, one possibility would be that the Cameroons should remain part of it. This would involve the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and require consultation with the United Nations. I can state quite categorically that there can be no question of obliging the Cameroons to remain part of an independent Nigeria contrary to her own wishes. Before Nigeria becomes independent the people of the North and South sectors of the Cameroons would have to say freely what their wishes were as to their own future. Among the options open to them would be to continue under the Trusteeship administration of the United Kingdom. I must in fairness add the warning that you would not thereby be given the golden key to the Bank of England. But many of the best friends of the Cameroons do not foresee a destiny more likely to promote her happiness and prosperity than to continue association with Nigeria. Her Majesty's Government will of course pay the very greatest regard to their views whatever form they may take".

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Although he appeared here in his statement to recommend Western Kamerun integration into the Federation of Nigeria, I regret that no portion of the agreement to which he has correctly referred, permits or suggests integration as an end to Trusteeship Agreement and any talk about it is vague and misleading.

About three years ago the national sentiments of the people of our country had been disregarded and today Kamerun is the scene of killing, amputation, burning of houses, dethroning of chiefs, deportation and destruction. This has created a situation which does not only threaten the peaceful relation between the parties concerned but has also endangered the stability and security of the country. Time which should have been employed in doing something good for the Kamerun has been used in wiping out the entire Territory. We of the Kamerun had felt that it is only right and proper that this vexing question should always be brought before the United Nations since we know it to be undeniable that an atmosphere of this nature should seek for a peaceful solution as early as possible. Such a peaceful solution demands in the first place, the recognition of the right of the Kamerun people to UNIFICATION and INDEPENDENCE NOW. The colonial powers namely: Great Britain and France who are responsible for the unpeaceful situation in our country must be made to recognize that it is the right of all people of this age of the United Nations to ascend to independence and the people of the Kamerun who are directly or indirectly under the United Nations must also enjoy this right. The two imperial bodies who have made our country the scene of bloodshed had often times taken delight in saying that we are economically and educationally unfit to stand on our legs but even if I should admit that their arguments are true, whose fault is it for not accelerating the economical and educational progress of our country? One would at once see that it is their fault for not complying to the terms of the Charter but had spent time in seeking means to integrate our country into theirs. It appears that because Great Britain and France were placed above and over us by the League of Nations and confirmed by the United Nations in 1946, these two powers want to annex our country into theirs in compensation to the training given us. I had not seen where teaching people what they do not know should be a debt to be paid by the loss of national identity. England got its religion from the Jews, much of its philosophy from Greece, literature largely from France and Italy, law from Rome and science and medicine from Germany, but she has not lost her national existence in payment for her foreign learnings. Instead she has gladly taken a prominent place above her teachers. /...



Mr. Chairman, freedom and self-determination cannot be denied us on the grounds of economic immaturity. There is nothing in the United Nations Charter which is emphatically criterial to independence. The condition sine-qua-non of independence is neither economic independence or the possession of highly qualified personages but rightly the will of the people to get it. If there is a criterion of a people's preparedness for self-government, then there I say it is their readiness to assume their responsibilities of ruling themselves. For who but a people themselves can say when they are prepared. How can others judge when the moment has arrived in the destiny if a subject people? Therefore I say that a people's readiness and willingness to assume the responsibility of self-rule is the only single criterion of their preparedness to undertake those responsibilities. The economical and educational arguments advanced are both logically and morally untenable. Respect for the Charter's principles of equal rights and self-determination cannot be denied us on economical reasons. Our demand is for political independence and it is an undeniable fact that even our two masters are not economically self-sufficient and therefore cannot expect this of us. I believe that article 1 of the Human Rights Declaration which stipulates that all men are born free and equal, does not exclude the Kamerun. It is important to have the United Nations Charter living and it is equally important to implement its contents. It is therefore the concern of you all present herein Sirs, and who participated either by person or by representation in the formulation of the said Charter, to order its implementation in the Kamerun. At the last eleventh session of the United Nations, a resolution approving the accession of our country to independence at an early date was taken, but I wish to ask your goodselves, Sirs, to allow me to call it AN UNDATED CHEQUE which cannot be cashable. Before I continue on this vein, I wish to seize this opportunity to thank those who drafted the resolution and those who supported it both before this Committee and in the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am therefore at this stage appealing that this open cheque be dated and made cashable because it is only by this that the present position in the Kamerun could be vanquished and let the rivers of the people's blood and mountains of human bodies which daily flow and are daily heaped may take its place in the pages of history instead of being a continuous happening as it is now the case. It appears that the United Nations find delight in hearing that the Kamerunians are slaughtered by France and assisted by his partner. In the British Kamerun there are practices of

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assassination, burning of houses in Bamenda, my home town, and deporting Kamerun UNIFICATIONISTS. These acts are perhaps because we are created black by God. O God, if black men were meant to be beastly and brutally slain, why did God waste His time in creating black beings whose existence offend France and Britain?

We of the "ONE KAMERUN" take a serious view of the present order of things in the Kamerun, not merely because we are Kamerunians, but chiefly because they are in conflict with our ideology of collective social interest which is our social philosophy. By our social philosophy is meant a collective conviction of a people, which anathemizes the evils of our times while clinging unfalteringly to a definite programme which conforms to material and spiritual yearnings. Ours is a group decision not to be neutral in matters affecting social destiny; a belief that the voice of the people is the will of God, a resignation to a cause; a will to die for our right. It means a definition of an end, and a determination to attend a particular end by democratic processes under the supervision of the world's organ. We are led to gird on our harness for a social combat which will destroy all evils existing in the present order of things in the Kamerun of all zones. This philosophy is so strongly rooted in us and our faith so strengthened in it that we the participants in the movement always picture our coming action as a cause in which by your help is certain to triumph.

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#### THE GOVERNMENT OF ONE KAMERUN

It is difficult for me to lay a hard foundation for the government of a unified Kamerun. The skeleton plan which I intended to draw is an attempt to give rise to discussions here and even at home. I must say that I do not regard the plan that I am going to place before you as a basis of absolute discussion, neither do I regard my party's views as anything beyond mere suggestions. My party which believes strongly on democracy and hopes to see it live for ever in the Kamerun feels satisfied that it is only a Kameruns conference, embracing all shades of political opinions that can draw up a workable programme for the Government of One Kamerun and this can only take place when independence shall have been achieved.

My party recommends a UNITARY form of government for a unified and independent Kamerun. To allay the fears of the now existing minority groups, my party recommends the carving of the country into equal provinces without considering the arbitrary boundary between it now. Voting shall be universal adult suffrage all over the country and each province shall return equal number of electors. Each province shall be under a provincial head. There shall be a council of Ministers headed by a Prime Minister. The Parliament of the Kamerun shall be the heart of the country and shall pump blood into all sections of the country. As I had said I do not want to enter into detail analysis on this subject. I have here only exposed how my party looks at the question. We do believe that we are squarely correct but we leave the right of further suggestions to other Kamerunians and all who are interested in our future governmental machinery.

#### ECONOMICAL STABILITY OF THE KAMERUN

As regards the economical stability of the Kamerun, I am positive when I say that our prospects as a nation are not gloomy; rather, they appear to me to be very buoyant, lively and promising. Although in the Kamerun our minerals are left untapped we do not regret the situation but hope for a brighter future when we shall have been bent on the exploitation of the said minerals for the well-being of the Kamerun and the world at large. From the point of view of the economy of our country, I can say with all certainty that the government of our independent country will not be far lacking. My submission is that we have everything to be

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proud of and nothing to fear. I make this statement with the fullest understanding that the exploitation of our minerals will entail huge sums of money, and I can see our way clear and I do not see our difficulties even if it should be the loaning of money. I say this with the conviction that the practice of entering into foreign loans is nothing strange in history. It is not long that the government of the United States had made a grant of thirteen thousand pounds as a gift to the Southern Cameroons for the construction of Mamfe-Ikom road. I do not here mean to say that we will fold our arms and wait for free gifts, but I say that the Kamerun can pay its way unaided and even if she can enter into loans, her natural resources guarantee that she can meet up her debts squarely. At the moment the economical prospects are not unhopeful. Active examination and drilling is going on now to determine the commercial extent of petroleum. Mining will become very important in the Kamerun in the near future. The following minerals are known to exist and only waiting exploitation: Tungsten, Liglite, Copper, Petroleum, Manganese, Mica and Tantalite. Already Kamerun exports some mineral produce. In 1951, the Gold mining industry employed about two thousand workers and about seven thousand one hundred and twenty ounces of Gold were exported. This production has since then expanded. In the same year about one hundred and five merit tons of tin and about six hundred and fifty-four merit tons of Titanium were exported. To show you further that our country has a brighter future I may add that in 1951 the budget of the Eastern sector (French Kamerun) with three and one-half million people was eighteen million pounds and it has since then increased. To give you an idea what this means I give you the budgets of a few other West African countries for the year 1954-1955:

Gold Coast, 5,000,000 people .....	44 million pounds.
Eastern Nigeria, 8,000,000 people.....	5 1/2 million pounds.
Western Nigeria, 6 million people.....	7 1/2 million pounds.
Northern Nigeria, 17,000,000 people.....	8 1/2 million pounds.
Federal government of Nigeria, 31 million people....	51 million pounds.

The above figures show that as far back as 1951 the Eastern section of the Kamerun (French Kamerun) expended approximately six pounds per head for the entire population whereas in 1954 the average estimated expenditure in Nigeria per head of the population was approximately two pounds and ten shillings and at this same year, the Gold Coast spent approximately eight pounds per head of the Ghana population.

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At this stage one will see that if independence should be based on economical reasons, the Kamerun should come second if not first in relation with other Western African countries. I do not want to enter into detail discussions which will entail the citation of our exports such as our limitless exportation of timber, bananas, cocoa, coffee, rubber, live stock, ground nut oil, kernel oil and Gold aluminium. My submission here is that if economical stability is a criterion to independence, the Kamerun stands a chance of attaining independence before Nigeria. Our party's demand for independence for ONE KAMERUN N. is far from this point of view unarguable.

THE REMOTE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THE UNLAWFUL BAN OF U.P.C.  
IN WESTERN KAMERUN

On March, 1957, the Southern Kameruns election was on. The U.P.C. did not challenge the unification candidates. It placed candidates on four constituencies which it believed parties which did not face the issue of unification squarely were gaining grounds there. The election was conducted in an unfair atmosphere and the U.P.C. which stands for justice filed an election petition against the candidates which succeeded unlawfully in these areas and hired a counsel from London to plead its cause. One of these candidates was Mr. E.M.L. Endeley the now British ear-marked Premier of the Southern Kamerun who had worked very hard for the interest of the British government and had been honoured with the British title O.B.E. The administering authority knowing what the result of the case was going to be and considering that the U.P.C. programme of unification and independence had echoed from all quarters, the British government were looking for a cause to enable them to ban the party. The Offices of the U.P.C. were provocatively searched by the police authorities and sometimes their money was seized and confiscated by the police. Sometimes the members were arrested unlawfully and detained without trial and released at will. These acts were to provoke the U.P.C. members to react so that the government could use that as a reason to ban the party but unfortunately to her the U.P.C. who are always law abiding bore all these illegal treatments patiently. It was the ultimate intention of the British government to defend their undemocratical dubious candidates whose positions were questioned by the U.P.C. in order that they might help them on the vein of integration. Having contemplated and agreed on these points they set out to manufacture a cause which they can place

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before the world as reasons for banning the party so as to have their ill-elected candidates on and to stamp out the ever thriving case of UNIFICATION.

Mr. J. O. Field commissioner of the Western Kamerun made these points clear before the last session of the Trusteeship Council where he said because of the establishment of the U.P.C. in the Southern Kamerun, UNIFICATION was not ruled out by any Southern Kamerun party. The remote causes of the ban of the U.P.C. can therefore be summarised in the following points:

- (1) Great Britain did not want the U.P.C. election case to be heard by the judge because she knew that her illegal elected agents were undoubtedly going to be defeated on the fact of the law and she saw that there was no way for her to do it rather than to ban the party and to deport the leaders so that the case could be struck out of court for non-appearance of the plaintiffs.
- (2) The British Government attributed the great cry for unification to the U.P.C. and knowing that there was going to be a plebiscite in the Western Kamerun before Nigeria attains independence in 1960, she saw it fit to ban the strong UNIFICATIONISTS AND ANTI-COLONIALISTS U.P.C., J.D.C. and U.D.E.F.E.C.
- (3) The British government wanted to be a master of a country made up of "YES" men so that she can joyfully annex Western Kamerun into its colony "Nigeria" and so as to shift it coolly into its pale "British Commonwealth of Nations" and seeing that the U.P.C. was the only strong danger of getting its plans through, she decided to jump upon it as a tiger upon its prey.
- (4) The U.N. resolution of Kamerun attainment of independence at an early date and the fixing of a date for Kamerun's independence and the intervention of the U.P.C. envoy before this organ was a threat to Great Britain's desire of integration and Great Britain believing that only the non-existence of the U.P.C. and some of its allies might lighten its difficulties, she resolved to ban the parties.
- (5) Great Britain employed some time to enable her look for a cause to ban the parties but found none hence she placed her case to the Nigerian Ministers who are keen on having the Western Kamerun within the federation of Nigeria and here with her Ministers they fabricated names for the good dogs so as to hang them without blame.

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The British honourable representatives here might say something to escape these remote causes but whatever they might say will be all lip service but the truth is there even at the bottom of their hearts. Mr. J.O. Field in the last session of the Trusteeship Council made the truth out when he said that the U.P.C. was under communistic investigation and up to the time of banning the party, his investigations only led to unfounded and vague suspicion which could not have convinced an democratic government to take the sandy decision which must have revealed to the world that Britain and her partner talk of democracy but find it difficult to practice. The aggressors of the past had friends, our masters make us believe that some people have stepped in their shoes. Let my speaking the naked truth not hurt my masters. I know them to be christians and they must not quarrel with me for treading on this vien of reality. One might call on me to explore deeply into the lives of my masters here, but nay, I dare not do it, for I know much it will cost me when I get back home: the result will be imprisonment, or being slaughtered in cold blood, but if I should be tickled, I may only call on you all to throw your eyes on their activities in other countries (Cyprus, Algeria, Egypt) and do not forget the Kamerun which is now the scene of crimes. Even though I know my attempt to speak what I know to be true will lead me to suffer the fate that my friends had suffered, I find it dead hard to kneel to falsehood for any price in my life. I cannot alter the shape of truth in order to be palatable to the racial oppressive colonialists at all. I am an undenominational christian and my faith forbids the telling of lies. Truth is that which we feel and know in our hearts to be right, or to be more exact, that which our souls embrace. Our souls are the vessels in which everything we are is contained, everything we are, everything placed in these vessels must take their shape even truth. Knowing the truth to be what I had tried to explain, I hope the parties concerned with the present inhuman state in which our country finds itself will bring things down to brass facts and let this organ place this vexing question squarely on its broad shoulders so that self determination will not be a mockery on the chapters of the U.N. Charter which neither me nor anyone else from our country contributed to its making, but which we wholeheartedly stand by it and crave for its realization.

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BRITAIN BANNED U.P.C.; J.D.C. AND U.D.E.F.E.C. ON SUSPICIOUS GROUNDS

Between the hours of 3 a.m. and 4 a.m. the U.P.C. leaders were arrested in their dwelling places. Dr. F.R. Moumie, President of the movement and Kingue Abel were arrested at Kumba and many others who make up the thirteen. Ernest Ouandie, one of the Vice Presidents was arrested at Bamenda and my door was forced open by armed policemen and their officers who also arrested me at Victoria. The thirteen leaders of the party were detained at Victoria and I was locked in the darkest police cell without food. Whatever was the condition of the thirteen leaders while in Victoria, I do not know but anyway they were miserably handled and they took to a five day hunger strike. The arrest was conducted in a provocative manner. The policemen were armed. The flinging of these great leaders into motor vans which cannot be used for carrying pigs was an act which should have been answered but the peace loving Kamerunians held their peace and smiled over the Nazis show. Not only were leaders arrested, personal properties were also seized. The U.P.C. two land rovers, materials in the well-equipped offices and the properties of the U.P.C. militants were gummed away. The total cost of the U.P.C. properties cannot be less than very nearly two million pounds. To ban the party the Governor-General based his grounds on what he call "U.P.C. Unpopular Support" at the polls. To quote the extraordinary gazette: "There now exist a grave possibility that in order to achieve its political objectives, the party may have to resort to violence". Deportation orders were also served on the thirteen arrested leaders. In order to understand the British Government on U.P.C. ban, I wish you, Sirs, to listen to the arguments advanced by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, in answer to questions put to him by Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP, and published in the West African Pilot of 29 June 1957.

LABOUR MP QUERIES COLSEC ON BANNED U.P.C.

LONDON, JUNE 28 - Mr. Fenner Brockway, a Labour Member, asked in the House of Commons yesterday on what evidence of intention to resort to violence the UNION DES POPULATION DU CAMEROUN had been declared by the Governor-General in the Council of Nigeria to be an unlawful society.

He also asked on what charges 13 leaders of the U.P.C. had been arrested and ordered to leave the country.

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Mr. Lennox-Boyd the Colonial Secretary replied:

(1) In declaring the Union des population du Cameroun an unlawful society and detaining some of its alien leaders with a view to deportation, the acting Governor General acted on the advice of the Nigeria council of Ministers and with the full support of the Executive council of the Southern Kamerun.

This action was in accordance with the criminal code and the alien deportation ordinance, and was taken after careful examination of evidence leading to the conclusion that the U.P.C. had become a serious threat to law and order in the Southern Kamerun.

The Governor General is not bound to give evidence on which he reached his decision, and I am satisfied that it would not be in the public interest to do so".

Mr. Brockway: "Many of us take a very serious view when deportations take place from colonial territories.

"It is the case that these men and women are being deported not because of any unlawful act but because, to quote the words of the extra-ordinary gazette, "There now exists a great possibility that to achieve its political objectives, the party may have to resort to violence".

"Are we really deporting men for intention rather than act"?

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: You work yourself up into a state which might give the impression that these people are British subjects: They are aliens who have abused the hospitality of British protected territory and I have no intention whatever of asking the government - which has got a large measure of local autonomy in the Southern Kamerun and even more as a result of the agreement, I recently reached with them - to reconsider their decision".

I am confident that you have followed up this argument between Mr. Lennox-Boyd the colonial Secretary and Mr. Fenner Brockway, Member of the British Parliament. Permit me also to take up these answers one by one so that you can rest assured your good selves of the unjust ban put on the innocent leaders of the U.P.C. According to the Colonial Secretary's answer number one, the parties were banned by a decision taken in the Council of Nigerian Ministers. This in itself is a violation of article 5 "A" of the trusteeship agreement which reads "shall have full powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in the

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territory and shall administer it in accordance with the authority's own laws as an integral part of its territory with such modification as may be required by local conditions and subject to the provision of the United Nations charter and of this agreement;" The phrase "Shall administer it in accordance with the authority's own law as an integral part of its territory," has on the face of the act of banning the U.P.C. been misinterpreted to be with its territory's laws and Britain cannot escape the violation of this article. This article clearly guarantees that Britain shall administer that portion of the Kamerun under it with its own laws and if there was anything that called for the transfer of the trusteeship agreement's responsibilities to Nigeria, the United Nations should have been called upon to abrogate the trusteeship agreement. Britain has taken the international laws into its great hands and has annexed Kamerun into its territory which had had the audacity to outlaw Kamerun parties. If the laws are made but not to be respected then the doctrines of peace highly preached by the U.N. will seem to have a different meaning.

ANSWER NO. 2

The Colonial Secretary in his answer No. 2 admitted that the action was taken in accordance with the criminal code and the alien deportation ordinance.

My difficulty here is that how can people be punished under a criminal law without trial. The English system of law says a man is regarded as innocent of a charge until he or she shall have been held guilty by the comparison of two statements by an impartial judge. But the British government has banned and deported the U.P.C. leaders of a charge of violence without the slightest proof either by action or by any dangerous weapon found in their positions. Let us look at this question in this way:

Tom reports to Sam that Dick was coming to murder him in the night and Sam reports to the police of the alleged plan. The police appear in the night to protect Sam. The police waited all the night long and Dick did not appear. The police went and arrested the innocent Dick and convicted him of murder. Is Dick indeed guilty of murder? Is he even guilty of attempting to commit murder? Even when we speak against Nazism, I do not think that the Nazis could have acted in this manner. The court has been considered valueless by Britain.

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ANSWER NO. 3

"The Governor General is not bound to give the evidence on which he reached his decision, and I am satisfied that it would not be in the public interest to do so."

At this stage the colonial Secretary feels it improper for his Governor not to wash the British dirty linens in public for the public will see clearly its unjust and partial act which is greeted with great concern by British Members of Parliament and some democratic Government, in the world.

There are capital offences that courts had dealt with them in open courts. If the cases of murder which mean the taking away of lives can be treated in courts, what is meant by keeping a crime for which people have been punished, a secret under the pretence of public interest. This too goes to prove that the alleged charge of "might take to violence" is false and the real charge for which the U.P.C. was banned and its leaders deported is left undisclosed and Britain can not escape the falsity of the charges preferred against the genuine advocates of Kamerun's Unification.

ANSWER NO. 4

Here Mr. Lennox-Boyd held that because the party was an alien party as he sees it fit to term Kamerun indigeneous inhabitants aliens, the party had been banned. According to him people are not equal before the law. He believed that the deportees had abused the British hospitality but in accordance to his answer number three the abuses can not be revealed for public interest but to his disadvantage his ill-elected agent Mr. E.M.L. Endeley replying to a question put to him by a student in London became too free in his tongue and disclosed what his master termed it a secret. I shall soon bring this out when I am finished with Mr. Lennox-Boyd's question.

Continuing on this paragraph Mr. Lennox-Boyd stated that he had reached an agreement with his Government to reconsider their decision. But I am surprised that he allows the charged atmosphere to keep hanging sine die.

When questioned in England by Kamerun students about the ban of U.P.C. as stated in paragraph 3 of Mr. Endeley's speech published in West Africa of 20 July 1957, which reads "that since coming for refuge in the Southern Kameruns the U.P.C. was allowed to stand at elections and to hold meetings freely; in

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return it has poured out a flow of abuse against its hosts, the leaders of the Southern Kamerun Government, accusing them of jeopardising elections, of corruption and tyranny. The advent of the U.P.C. has meant, who ever may be directly responsible on any particular occasion, the advent of violence in Kameruns politics, and the deportation of its leaders, though distasteful, is entirely their own fault. British MPs who express concern about the deportation should remember that the people concerned are foreigners who have probably been allowed more licence to attack their host Government than any similar group in the world.

Mr. Endeley, in answer to a question on this matter, said that the leaders of the U.P.C. had bitten the hand that fed them. They thought they could take shelter under British justice without accepting its responsibilities. Here Mr. Endeley has crystalized that the U.P.C. poured abuses on his Government and had accused them of jeopardising elections, of corruption and tyranny, and that it is this that caused the ban of the U.P.C.

This is what Mr. Lennox-Boyd termed it an evidence which should be kept in secret for public interest but his obedient servant saw it fit to be for the publics interest and had voiced it in London and it had been read all over. According to Mr. Endeley accusations should be punished by gagging the accusers by deportation. If indeed the alleged accusations were false, is there no law under which the offenders could have been tried? The U.P.C. made a case against Mr. Endeley accusing him of jeopardising the election why did Mr. Endeley not allow the case to be decided in his favour so that he can regard the accusations to be false? If the U.P.C. accusations were false, why did not Mr. Endeley institute a libelious claim against them?

In the said deportation orders and the wordings of the causes of ban, there is nothing said about the forfeiture of properties, but it is rather puzzling if not vexing that the U.P.C. members properties were seized and to this day the unfortunate members of the party who suffered this act had not been furnished with their properties. I do not see how a party should own beds, Oh! dear me, Mr. Endeley's Police did not only take away radio sets from my dwelling house at Victoria but swept away all the chairs, tables and all house utensils such as lamps and plates. At Bamenda the houses of U.P.C. members were deprived of all that is possessed, if a pin remained in any of the houses, then it must have been a magic one.

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THE MERCILESS ASSASSINATION OF IRENE TAFFOR AND HIS PREGNANT WIFE  
AT BAMENDA ON 4 APRIL 1957 AND THE CONSTANT BURNING OF HOUSES  
IN BAMENDA

On about the early part of this year 1957, the life of the Vice President of the U.P.C., Mr. Ernest CUANDIE was threatened. The same happened to me. On the month of January this year, Mr. Ernest Cuandie for himself and for his party the U.P.C. wrote to the senior Superintendent of Police, Western Kamerun, of the situation and copied other British high authorities about the situation. The United Nations was also informed.

On the night of 3 April 1957, Mr. Ernest parked one of the U.P.C. land rovers on the frontage of the deceased Irene Taffor. On the morning of 4 April 1957, Irene Taffor was found assassinated and the wife who died after twenty-four hours because she was severely wounded. Statement was recorded from the wife who died later. In her statement she said that she and her husband were shot by some white men. I do not accuse the Englishman of the crime but I hold him at his belt for not sending police to protect the lives of people whose lives were at danger and they sought the police aid. The manner employed in conducting the investigation was slow and up to this day there is no trace made. Sources close to the Government revealed that the customs police allowed pass a car that night that the incident took place and that the car returned the same night.

The refusal of the police to give aid to me and my friend and the police failure to question the customs officers of the car which stole itself into Bamenda and return the same night will convince one to believe that the two administering authorities gave birth to the crime. I must here report that up to this day my life is at danger hence, I stay the nights always in the bush. Even though this is my estate, I am refused police protection. Many houses had been set on fire in my home town Bamenda and all the houses were the houses of unificationists but nobody had been held responsible.

In my home town Mankon-Bamenda police patrol night and day but it is puzzling if not surprising that in a town were police patrol night and day such worse crimes are freely practiced. I make this statement to crystalize to your good selves that repressive acts are practiced in both sectors of the Kamerun hence the delayance of our freedom will mean the complete extermination of the Kamerun population. Up to this time the members of the "ONE KAMERUN" are being tortured in the both zones.

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### CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO BLOODSHED AT BAHAM

In the year 1954 the traditional chief of Baham died. His son Kamdem Ninyim Piere Henry who was seventeen years old then and who was then doing a degree course in France was traditionally chosen to become the traditional chief of Baham. Baham is a town in the Eastern Kamerun with a population of well over 30,000 people. Although the French administering authorities opposed his accession to the throne secretly, he was traditionally installed the chief of Baham. From this time he ruled justly without the slightest illegal act. His rulings were appreciated by all his subjects, and he ruled in accordance to native laws and customs of Baham - Kamerun while giving the highest regard to the laws of the administering authorities.

On about the end of November, 1956, the town of Baham was encircled by French military troops. On seeing this brutal provocative act, Chief Ninyim Piere did not know what to do. He rode to Bafousam the divisional Headquarter to know of why his town was surrounded by military troops, same as any man would have done who was in such a position. On arriving, Bafousam the Chief was arrested without a warrant of arrest and without the cause of arrest. This traditional chief was conducted to Dschang. After being brutally treated he was taken to Yaounde. At Yaounde he was put in an inhuman cell. On the 28th, November 1956, a warrant of arrest came from Dchang stating that the chief had been charged of "Re-organisation DE LIGUE DISSOUTE" and other charges of being in possession of dane guns and etc etc. From this time the chief was taken and fenced sometimes at Bamoum and in many other prisons. On the 8th of March, 1957, the Chief was taken before the court at Dchang where he was convicted for two years imprisonment and a fine of 150.000 francs for Reorganisation of LIGUE DISSOUTE and "5 ans d'interdiction de jour". Being unsatisfied with the judgement of this partial tribunal, the chief appealed against the judgement. On the 3rd July, 1957, the appeal was on. The sentence was reduced down to eight months imprisonment and a 50,000 francs fine for Reorganisation de Ligue dissoute. After undergoing this hard sufferings in prison the chief was liberated from prison on 30th July, 1957.

This is the most interesting part of the story. On being liberated on the 30th July, 1957, the chief again was rearrested while still at Yaounde and detained again at Yaounde on deportation order. I am surprised of this act.

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If indeed the chief was due deportation, why convict him? This is a question to Great France. This young chief is still in the cell till this day gnashing his teeth in prison. One of the charges preferred against the chief is for being in possession of dane guns. I do not know what this means. We have our dane guns. They are our traditional guns and we use them during traditional ceremonies.

Our Party "ONE KAMERUN" holds in high honor the respect of the U. N. charter and as a law abiding group, we take a very serious view when the resolution of the U. N. calling on the administering authorities to respect the customs and traditions of the trust territories are disrespected.

#### BLOODSHEAD IN BAHAM

The injection of military troops in Baham was followed by the enthroning of an illegal chief on the throne of Baham by the French administering authorities contrary to the Native laws and customs of Baham. Traditionally the chief of Baham is always annointed by nine nobles who will remain with the chief for a period of time teaching him the native legal code and performing many other ceremonies on him. Before the death of every chief, these nobles are always sworn by the Chief before his death not to alter his successor who has been lawfully chosen. When the French people placed on the throne of Baham one Tengia Jean Marie as chief, they forced these nobles to perform the required ceremonies on Tengia. These nobles knew the after effect of the matter should they yeild to performing the ceremonies and thereby going against the traditional oath, the result of which should be their death, refused to act as requested by the French administering authorities. The French troops were ordered to compel them to action but some fled and found shelter elsewhere. Among the nine nobles six escaped and three were openly slain by the French troops. The Village people were forced to give traditional respect to the Frenchman's chief awfully placed in Baham but the villagers refused to submit to a false chief. Because of this refusal, French troops opened fire on Baham and since then machine guns had been raining on these armless people. Houses had almost all been burnt down and the few villagers had fled to the forest for safety. About a month ago while touring the area at my own risk, I met a woman under pregnancy in the forest labouring. It was raining and this woman

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had no helper near her. I did not know what help to give her as I was indeed unconscious when I witness this happening. My camara man helped her and she gave birth to a male child. On enquiring of her life she told us that her husband and four of her children had been assassinated by the French military troops in the month of November, 1956. There are military camps now injected in all the quarters of Baham. The French men have built concentration camps in six important quarters at Baham and the crimes of raping and defilement are highly practiced by the soldiers. Many women and girls are losing their lives due to being raped by soldiers.

#### CEASELESS MASSACRING IN BAHAM AND IN SANAGA MARITIME

I do not infact know, what I should say about bloodshed in the Kamerun particularly in Baham and Sanaga Maritime. It is regrettable that the United Nations had given a death ear to the massive massacring in these two regions and the repressive acts in the Eastern Kamerun. Irrespective of the resolution taken by the eleventh session of the United Nations, the French administering authorities had lounched out more armed soldiers against the armless Kameruians. French troops are injected in Baham where Machine guns rain ceaselessly. The situation of Baham is indeed in a deplorable state and I do not infact know what I should indeed say as regards to the situation. It is difficult if not impossible to make any assessment of what has happened in Sanaga Maritime. People can be seen in the stations but it is difficult to say whether people still live in villages or not. It is not possible for a man to tour the area because, the French troops in Sanaga Maritime operate their machine guns ceaselessly. The French people had reinforced their strength in this area and the situation grows worse daily. Many hundreds of people have been killed in Baham but those whose names are known and identified are 480. To save time I do not intend to read this long list of names. The people so far identified are known to have come from the following quarters:

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Banka (Baham) .....	43	People
Dindjoue (Baham) .....	14	"
Bapi (Baham) .....	21	"
Veudjoue (Baham) .....	7	"
Cheffou (Baham) .....	58	"
Gongwa (Baham) .....	58	"
Kafo (Baham) .....	45	"
Balakgu (Baham) .....	19	"
Kafo (Baham) .....	18	"
Mkan (Baham) .....	45	"
Bahoo (Baham) .....	19	"
Demgo (Baham) .....	22	"
Djemghe (Baham) .....	26	"
Baghom (Baham) .....	44	"

Regarding the burnt houses and many other crimes, I have here photographs to support my case. We have often times called on the U. N. to call on the French administering authorities to end the bloodshed in the Kamerun. She had ignored the U. N. resolution. I need not suggest what should be done but I leave it to the U.N.

In conclusion Mr. Chairman, I think it would be of importance for me to summarise my appeal to you and in doing this I wish to crystalise that I do not want to bring up any fresh things but I only strongly call on the U. N. to call on the administering authorities to respect the United Nations Charter and the Resolutions of the General Assembly. The two ruling powers in our country are undoubtedly some of the great signatories to the charter and I think I am within the law when I modestly invite them to respect the laws which they formulated and which we are made to accept even perhaps against our own will.

We are taught by the two administering authorities in the Kamerun that democracy is yet the only best form of Government. Since democracy means "Government of the people, by the people, for the people", Mr. Chairman, I am afraid I am made to believe that world powers are teaching a different thing but are doing the reverse. Nobody will denie that today in the Kamerun and in many African Countries we instead of showing a "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people", we have governments of the people by the

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foreigners. Is this indeed the democracy so highly preached? Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates I know that I am between the hammer and the nail and that as I am speaking now, I am at the side of my grave, but should I for the fear of the assassination or the imprisonment which awaits me overlook the wrong and have the existing Kamerunians and the many generations to follow suffer. The blood which now flows daily in our country calls for your immediate attention. It has become difficult for us to define the phrase trust territories, and here I am calling on the U. N. to define it for our understanding. Britain and France have no direct relation with Kamerunian people. The Kamerunian people had never at any time entered into protectoral agreement with any of the two administering authorities. They were placed over and above us by the League of Nations which was made up of a good number of you who today form the United Nations, and who again in 1946 confirmed their continuous administration over us. We have been connected to France and Britain who are present herein, by the U. N., and today they have made the Kamerun the hot bed of war against a peaceful and armless people of the Kamerun who were not in the true sense a German territory at the time for German Conquest. The Kamerun entered into a protectoral agreement with the Germans in 1884, and this agreement was due to expire in 1914, but in 1914 which was the year of Kamerun freedom our country was made a battle field for the Germans and the world. In this war the Kamerun people were killed and today again we are being slaughtered in the streets. Unlawful arrests are unquestioned. To whom but the United Nations should we appeal? Who but the United Nations put us in the present position in which we are? It is indeed world peace when people who are even under the United Nations are experiencing these reprisal acts? In other countries who are suffering the same fate our masters say the U. N. must not intervene because its a domestic affair, what will they say about us? They will always fabricate stories and their white stories will always turn the truth from black men to be black. I do not regret our being black. We are created black and we enjoy our black colors. We pray, the whites to give us our freedom, we may not only do black things. Our case is one without parallel in the world today, that armless simple people are denied in ruins and bloodshed those simple and fundamental rights which are cherished by any people, the independence of our unconquered land, the instability of our homes,

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peace in our work, security in our lives and freedom to move freely and hold free assemblies in our own country. Not only this, the resolutions of the United Nations have been ignored and everything has been done to black-mail reality. The Kamerunian people are painted with all black colors to prevent the sympathy of many good countries but I am grieved that this old jest of France and Britain seems not to be clearly understandable by many a good man. When India made a simple demand for its independence, she was dubbed communist, the same was said of Nkrumah but today none of these had shown the slightest sign of meritting the wrong names put on them yesterday. This infact is a lesson from which one can draw a useful conclution. Nationalism has been given a new name in Africa. There is no doubt, Africa is called a black continent and it appears that many want it to remain as such. I pray to you Mr. Chairman and honorable leaders of the world to give the people of the Kamerun your helping hadn at this crucial hour of its history so that those roaming as birds without nests should find shelter somewhere, so that those whose arms have been amputated may get the assistance of the healthy ones.

Our demand is for freedom and nothing more. Freedom which our masters and ourselves fought for in the last world war. I am glad France has not forgotten the part we played in that war. The representative of France at the 695th meeting document A/C 4/371 of November 11th, 1957 admitted this fact where he said. I quote "66 When in the fore-front of the fight for freedom, metropolitan France fell temporarily under the yoke of invasion and occupation, Togoland, like the Cameroons and all the overseas territories, and indeed like all the protected states which are now independent, that is to say Loas, Cambodia, Viet-Nam, Moroco and Tunicia, I have pleasure in acknowledging here and in paying tribute to them displayed touching and answering loyalty to France." I here agree in toto with France. From this Mr. Chairman you can see that our demand for freedom is genuine. We joined our masters and we fought for freedom and here we are asking for our own share of the freedom which we fought for. We stood loyal to France in its crucial days but we are grieved that our loyalty is greeted with guns, which should be used against enimies.

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Mr. Chairman, The Kamerun appeal to the United Nations can be put out as follows:

A. That the United Nations should call on the administering authorities in the East and in the Western Kamerun to permit the freedom of assembly, Speech, Movement and to quell down the tensions which are now characterising in the two zones.

B. To allow unconditionally the return of all Kamerunians deported, detained in concentration camps, prisons and to restore political activities to normal conditions and annulate the decrees of 1955 by France and 1957 by Britain so that the Kamerunians connected there to should also be free to voice out their sentiments about the future of their country.

C. To protect the lives and properties of all the people of the Kamerun of all zones without distinction as to faith, religion or political creed, and to permit all political organisations to put their case to the people.

D. Last we pray the United Nations to abrogate the trusteeship agreement in the eastern and western Kamerun and to proclaim the independence OF ONE KAMERUN NOW.

Mr. Chairman, I have placed before you the problems that we now have in our country. As I am speaking there is no doubt that my coleagues are getting the worse at home. The position of Baham and the case of their chief who is now in prison and the situation of Sananga Maritime call for your immediate intervention. This is a case which involves the taking away of peoples lives hence I am praying that your good office will not fail the suffering Kamerunians who had been calling for your help for the past two and a half years. I thank this organization for the pains taken to listen to the complaints of a suffering country.

I trust that having asked for food I will not be served with a snake which will only bite. Down on my knees again I ask the United Nations through the forth Committee to save the lives of the remaining Kamerunians.

Long live the United Nations from which the world looks for peace!

THANK YOU

MR. CHAIRMAN.

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