

# AFRICA - U. N. BULLETIN

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George M. Houser  
Executive Director

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South Africa: Apartheid; Treatment of Persons of Indian Origin: The Special Political Committee considered again this year the related questions of apartheid (segregation) and treatment of persons of Indian origin by the South African government.

On the question of apartheid the Committee adopted by a vote of 59 to 5 with 10 abstentions a 30-country resolution deploring the Union's failure to respond to the UN's 1957 resolution on the subject and appealing to it to reverse its policy. Australia, Belgium, France, Portugal, and the United Kingdom opposed the resolution on the grounds that the question was one of domestic jurisdiction over which the UN had no authority. Herman B. Wells, American alternate delegate, delivered a sententious speech on the subject early in the debate and abstained from voting on the resolution. The ACOA hoped that the Committee would vote to reestablish the Special Commission on the Racial Situation in South Africa, which did such effective work several years ago, but there was no apparent support for such a move.

The draft resolution on the treatment of persons of Indian origin similarly regretted the Union's refusal to negotiate with the Indian and Pakistan governments as urged by the previous sessions of the UN, appealed to the South African government to enter negotiations in the future, and invited the parties to report back to the Assembly jointly or separately on the course of such negotiations. The United States supported this resolution.

The General Assembly approved both these draft resolutions.

Southwest Africa: Brazil Elected to Good Offices Committee: As reported in the last Bulletin, the General Assembly voted to establish a good offices committee, consisting of one representative each from Britain, the United States, and one other nation, to attempt to deal with the Union of South Africa about its unacknowledged trust territory, Southwest Africa. Brazil was selected as the third nation represented on the committee.

Uruguay, Egypt, and Indonesia were elected as members of the General Assembly's Committee on Southwest Africa by the Fourth Committee (confirmed by the Assembly). The Committee membership was enlarged from seven to nine members by the last Assembly, with the senior one-third of the members withdrawing each year.

Transmission of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: Another Defeat: The preliminary efforts of the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee to bring determination of the existence of non-self-governing territories within the competence of the UN was defeated again this year in the General Assembly.

As reported in the preceding Bulletin, the Fourth Committee wrestled with the problems of non-self-governing territories for many days and finally sent four draft resolutions on the subject to the Assembly. The most controversial was aimed indirectly at the refusal of Portugal to submit economic, social, and educational information to the UN about its African possessions, Angola and Mozambique (which the Portuguese claim are self-governing provinces to the same extent as the provinces

of the metropolitan country). Sponsored by seventeen "anti-colonial" countries, the resolution, as amended, called for the election of a special six-member committee to study a summary, to be prepared by the Secretary-General, of differing opinions expressed by members in UN meetings and treaties on the interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter (covering non-self-governing territories generally); the special committee was also to consider specifically the problem of the transmission of information as required by Chapter XI and to report the results of its study to the next session of the Assembly.

The United States opposed this resolution with all its power and prestige. Miss Irene Dunne, the American alternate delegate, read a very strongly worded statement which claimed that the resolution was unnecessary, misleading, and unproductive. She pointed out that Portugal was not alone in denying the application of Chapter XI to areas which other members might consider non-self-governing; she referred specifically to India, a co-sponsor of the resolution, which, she noted, refused to report on certain island possessions. Miss Dunne reiterated the American position that the question of what is a non-self-governing territory is ultimately a matter of internal concern. Despite the opposition of the colonial and western powers, the resolution passed by a vote of 42-27, with 8 abstentions.

During the interval before the General Assembly considered this draft resolution, it is alleged that some of the most intensive lobbying of this session took place, as delegates were cajoled, pressured, or beguiled into opposition. On the floor of the General Assembly the attack took the form of a procedural objection by Colombia, which argued that this was one of the "important" questions on which a two-thirds, rather than a straight majority, vote was necessary. (As stated in the last Bulletin, the Fourth Committee referred this question as to voting majorities to the Sixth (Legal) Committee for its opinion.) On a roll call, the Colombian procedural point was approved by a vote of 38-36 with 7 abstentions. (Votes on procedural questions, such as the voting requirements for other resolutions, are always decided by a simple majority.) The Assembly then voted on the Fourth Committee's draft resolution; due to the two-thirds requirement it was defeated, since it received only 41 "ayes" to 30 "noes," with 10 abstentions.

It seems clear that a certain number of countries which felt they could not afford to be counted in opposition to the Fourth Committee's resolution nevertheless felt able to vote for the Colombian procedural point, which defeated the resolution indirectly, because the procedural matter was too obscure to be picked up by most observers. Israel, Malaya, and Uruguay, which supported the Colombian objection, voted for the Fourth Committee's resolution; Argentina, China, the Philippines, Thailand, and Venezuela, which supported the Colombian procedural point, abstained on the main resolution. By and large, the constant supporters of the resolution on information from non-self-governing territories consisted of the Soviet bloc, the Afro-Asian countries, and Costa Rica, Greece, Guatemala, and Haiti; while its steadfast opponents included the colonial and Western European countries, along with most Latin American countries. Even the representative of the Union of South Africa turned up to oppose the resolution.

ACOA regrets that the United States has again been moved by considerations of military strategy (bases, NATO, strategic raw materials), solicitude for pro-European sentiment, and its concern as a semi-colonial country (Hawaii, Alaska, the Virgin Islands) to represent itself as unsympathetic to the ideals of the UN and to the aspirations of the colonial peoples of Africa, while the Communist countries gain credit as their supporters and defenders.

Having cut the guts out of the Fourth Committee's resolutions on non-self-governing territories, the General Assembly thereupon approved three other draft

resolutions which: (1) approved the special report on economic conditions prepared by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories; (2) called upon the Secretary General to prepare for the next Assembly a study of developments in connection with the association of non-self-governing territories with the European Economic Community; and (3) attempted to speed up processing of applications received for offers of facilities for study and training extended by UN members to students of non-self-governing territories.

After the Assembly vote had been taken, the Sixth Committee refused to proceed with its examination of the voting majority needed for questions concerning non-self-governing territories on the grounds that the question posed by the Fourth Committee was by then moot.

Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: Brazil was elected to replace Peru as one of the seven non-administering powers on the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (the Committee has equal representation of countries which do and do not administer non-trust dependencies). The vote was close: 39 for Brazil, 35 for Liberia, and 1 for Bolivia (38 votes required for election). This represents a defeat for the African countries, not because of the defeat of Liberia specifically, but because Brazil has consistently supported the position of its former mother country, Portugal, which is generally considered not only the worst offender against the Charter provisions relating to dependencies but also the spearhead of most of the opposition against any effective UN control over all colonial areas.

French Togoland: Progress toward Self-Government? The Fourth Committee began its consideration of the future of the French Togoland Trust Territory with a discussion of the reports of the Special UN Commission on Togoland, which visited the Territory last spring, and of the Trusteeship Council, which convened in special session to study the subject early this fall. The French delegate, M. Kosciusko-Morizet, opened the discussion by calling attention to current reforms of the organic statute establishing the "Autonomous Togo Republic in the French Union," which he claimed clearly showed the ability and competence of the Togoland government. In an effort to persuade the Committee to recommend the termination of trusteeship, he declared that residual powers retained by France would automatically be transferred to the Togo Republic as soon as trusteeship ended; such powers could not be handed over until then, for France would in that case remain responsible without the power to act. M. Robert Ajavon, President of the Togoland Legislative Assembly and a member of the French delegation, followed and stressed the positive aspects of the special commission's report: the trend of events which made inevitable a progressive transfer of power to the Togolese and the liberality of the French interpretation of the organic law. He stated that his country wanted independence, but not while it was "ill-prepared," and therefore it wished to remain in the French Union to gain additional financial resources, to intensify social and economic development, and to gain additional training. Although he felt that the overwhelming majority of Togolese who supported the adoption of the Territory's organic law in a 1956 plebiscite made new elections unnecessary, he said that, in a spirit of conciliation, his government was prepared to accept new elections to the Legislature before the end of 1958 on condition that the Legislature should examine, modify if desired, and accept as modified the organic law and that trusteeship should thereupon automatically terminate.

Four petitioners spoke in opposition: Sylvanus Olympio, representing the All-Ewe Conference; Anani Ignacio Santos, representing the Mouvement de la Jeunesse Togolaise (JUVENTO); and Andre Akakpo and Alexandre Ohin, representing the Mouvement Populaire Togolais. All petitioners agreed that although the Territory had made some advances under the loi cadre and subsequent developments, any talk of the termination

of trusteeship was clearly premature. They argued that vital powers still are reserved to the French government, so that the Togolese in fact have only limited local autonomy; that political repression still continues in various forms and consequently that political tension remains high; and that many of the present Togo government officials are mere French stooges without French support. They asked for independence; the holding of new general elections on the basis of universal suffrage and under UN supervision (alleging fraud and force in the 1956 elections, which were boycotted by several opposition groups) as well as new municipal elections (which were due in 1956); and continuation of trusteeship until full independence is achieved.

Charles King, Liberian Ambassador and head of the special UN commission on French Togoland, submitted a resolution co-sponsored by Canada, Colombia, Denmark, and Ireland, which provided that the new Legislative Assembly, to be elected in 1958, should, in consultation with the Administering Authority, formulate proposals for the "early attainment of the final objective of the Trusteeship system;" that the UN should send a commissioner, to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly, with an adequate staff, to observe the election; that the commissioner should report on the conduct and results of the election to the Trusteeship Council; that the Administering Authority should inform the Trusteeship Council about changes in the organic law made as a consequence of the election or otherwise and about any wishes as to the future of the country expressed by the newly elected Legislature; and that the Trusteeship Council should report thereon to the General Assembly so that it can, if requested, reach a decision concerning termination of the Trusteeship agreement.

Numerous amendments were submitted, most of them by a group of eleven African and Asian nations, to strengthen and clarify the five-power resolution, by calling the attention of the French and Togo governments to the observations of the special Togoland Commission; by noting specifically that new elections to the Legislature are to be held in 1958 on the basis of universal suffrage (instead of merely implying this); by providing for the election (by the Assembly) of a commissioner to supervise (rather than observe) the elections; and by adding that the Administering Authority shall transmit information on legislative wishes in relation to the organic statute as well as the termination of the Togoland Trusteeship agreement. As amended, the resolution passed by a vote of 51-0, with 25 abstentions, primarily by the Soviet bloc.

The General Assembly adopted the draft resolution.

Subsequently, however, a deadlock developed in the election of the supervisor of the Togoland elections between the supporters of Benjamin Cohen of the Secretariat and Ambassador Nunez of Costa Rica. Eventually both were persuaded to withdraw in favor of M. D'Orsinville of Haiti. M. D'Orsinville's previous record indicates that he is generally persuaded of the value and justice of the French position in most questions.

Cameroons Trust Territories: Colonialism Oustsmarts Itself: As has been reported in previous Bulletins, the Cameroons Trust Territories, particularly the French Cameroons, are largely responsible for the deluge of petitions which is received annually by the UN. When the Fourth Committee began its general discussion of the Trusteeship Council's report on trust territories this fall, it granted hearings to the representatives of five petitioning groups from the Cameroons: Charles Assale, Paul Soppo Priso, and Jean Ekwabi of the Groupe d'Action Nationale du Cameroun; Felix Roland Moumie of the Union des Populations du Cameroun; Ndeh Ntumazah of One Kamerun; Jacques Ngom of the Confederation Generale Kamerunaise du Travail; and Ossono Rabeland Dika Akwa of the Federation des Syndicats Independants du Cameroun.

The petitioners did not make the most of their opportunity to appear before the Committee due to their failure to think through in advance their exact objectives, both long-term and strategic or tactical, and to stress their points of common agreement and limit their disagreements. However, it was clear that all desired the following; recognition of the principle of independence for the Cameroons; unification of the territories in one state (there is a growing suspicion that the British are attempting to integrate their territory into adjoining Nigeria while the French are trying to weld their territory into their adjoining colonial areas); a general amnesty covering all political parties in opposition, particularly the UPC, which was banned in the French Cameroons and subsequently in the British Cameroons after many of the French leaders had fled there; cessation of the flagrant abuse and repression of indigenous peoples; and the despatch of a special commission by the General Assembly to both territories to study conditions thoroughly, with a UN police force to protect the members from the alleged dangers which apparently circumscribed the activities of the last inspection team sent there by the Trusteeship Council on its regular two-year tour.

Consideration of action to be taken on the Cameroons was extremely confused, as the colonial and anti-colonial powers jockeyed for positions of strength. The first, eight-power resolution introduced merely recommended that the Trusteeship Council should take account of the Committee's debates and stated that it was confident of further democratic progress upon the application of appropriate measures by the administering authorities and the renunciation of violence by all political parties. A spate of amendments followed, many sponsored by members of the Asian-African bloc and several Latin American countries, some of which would have: called attention to the "continued tensions and disturbances" in certain areas of the French Cameroons; noted that the projected amnesty law had not been promulgated; called upon the French, in view of the many expressions of hope for independence, to refrain from taking any "constitutional measures" in the preparation of the territory for self-government which would preclude the eventual attainment of independence (i.e., refrain from merging the Cameroons with the adjoining French colonies); extended the reference from "amnesty law" to "general political amnesty"; and requested the Trusteeship Council to instruct its next visiting mission, at the earliest possible date in 1958, to examine the entire situation in the two territories in the light of the discussions at this session of the Assembly; etc. In the course of the maneuvering most of the amendments to strengthen the draft resolution were defeated, leaving it too weak to satisfy some countries and still too strong to satisfy the colonialists. The British delegate, Sir Andrew Cohen, blandly announced that the summer tropical rains, which last from April to October, would make it physically impossible for any mission to inspect both the north and the south parts of the British Cameroons this summer and that the Administering Authority would be unprepared for any mission before April. The final form of the resolution was defeated in the Fourth Committee by a tie vote of 35-35, with 10 abstentions, some by the disgusted anti-colonial countries.

The horror and dismay with which this Fourth Committee action was greeted, however, resulted in such widespread concern that a resolution quite similar to the defeated one was introduced in the General Assembly on December 11 by Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela and passed two days later by a vote of 57-0, with 7 abstentions. The resolution, noting the tensions and disturbances in the area and the fact that the envisaged amnesty law had not been promulgated, expresses the hope that, with the application of appropriate measures, particularly early promulgation of the amnesty law, and the renunciation of violence, a normal situation will be restored and democratic progress furthered, and requests the Trusteeship Council to instruct its next visiting mission to take account of the observations and suggestions of this Assembly session in examining the situation in the two trust territories. Thus the Cameroons petitioners need not return entirely unrewarded, although this resolution falls far short of their desires.

Other Resolutions Affecting Trust Territories: While the resolution on the Cameroons was being defeated, six other resolutions concerning trust territories, also introduced during the discussion on the report of the Trusteeship Council, were adopted by the Fourth Committee:

1. A more or less pro forma resolution introduced by Denmark, to take note of the Trusteeship Council's report and to recommend that the Trusteeship Council take account of the comments and suggestions made in the discussion of its report at this session of the General Assembly, was passed unanimously.

2. The Committee also passed unanimously a revised resolution co-sponsored by the United States, India, and Liberia, relating to the economic development of Somaliland under Italian administration; the resolution, after noting the reports of the Mission of the International Bank and of the administering authority regarding the financial conditions in and prognosis for the future of Somalia when it attains its independence in 1960, requests the Trusteeship Council to continue its study, in conjunction with the administering authority and the Somaliland government, of the methods of meeting the requirements of an independent and financially viable country and to report thereon to the next session of the General Assembly.

3. The Committee passed with a single dissenting (Australia) vote and 6 abstentions a resolution which (a) urges the administering authorities of all trust territories to take the necessary steps to ensure that scholarships and training facilities offered by UN members are fully utilized by trust territory inhabitants and to give the fullest assistance to scholarship holders and applicants; (b) requests the Secretary General to assist in this matter and to include in future reports to the Trusteeship Council detailed information on actual use of the proffered scholarships and facilities; and (c) requests the Trusteeship Council to report on this question to the next session of the General Assembly.

4. Nine nations introduced a resolution which, as revised, noted the inability of the Trusteeship Council up to the present to carry out a recommended study of land, land utilization, and land alienation in trust territories and recommended to the Council that it complete the study thereof and report on the results to the next session of the General Assembly.

5. Eighteen countries co-sponsored a resolution concerning the effect of the European Economic Community on the development of trust territories to be associated with it, which (a) invited the administering authorities to submit information to the Trusteeship Council on the possible effects of the treaty on the development of such territories; (b) requested the Trusteeship Council to include in its next report a separate section on such effects in the light of the surveys to be carried out by the Secretary General (see the preceding Bulletin) and other UN agencies; and (c) resolved to resume examination of the question at the next session of the Assembly. The resolution passed by a vote of 43 to 14 with 7 abstentions.

6. The sixth resolution, introduced by Burma, Guatemala, Haiti, India, and Syria, reaffirmed earlier Assembly resolutions calling upon the various administering authorities to effect independence or self-government at an early date and to estimate the time necessary therefor and requested the Trusteeship Council to report to the next session of the General Assembly as to the implementation of its recommendations, as yet unmet, that the administering authorities should indicate successive intermediate target dates in the political, economic, social, and educational development of the trust territories as pre-conditions for their attainment of self-government or independence. In the course of the discussion, the Philippine delegate, Victorio Carpio, made a deeply moving reference to the history of U.S.-Philippine relations as he appealed to the Committee to ensure self-government or independence for the

Cameroons and other trust territories in the foreseeable future in order to give the indigenous peoples a goal worth working and sacrificing for. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 44 to 15 with 12 abstentions.

All six resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly.

Algeria: A Stronger Resolution: The "question of Algeria," which France continues to consider a matter of purely domestic concern, was considered a matter of utmost public concern by the United Nations as it was debated by the First Committee and then by the General Assembly.

An original proposal for a solution co-sponsored by India, the United States, and Norway died a-borning as the French indicated it was unacceptable. After several days of discussion, which followed much the same lines as last year's, two competing draft resolutions were introduced. One, co-sponsored by 17 Arab, African, and Asian nations, recognizing that the principle of self-determination is applicable to the Algerian people and noting that the situation in Algeria continues to cause much suffering and loss of life, called for negotiations to arrive at "a solution in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations." The other, introduced by France's warmest supporters, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Italy, Peru, and Spain, followed in form the compromise of the last session of the General Assembly, early in 1957; it took note of the attempts to settle the problem through the "good offices of Heads of States (a reference to the offer of mediation by Tunisia and Morocco) and by French legislative measures (the new French statute on Algeria)," and expressed the hope that, in a spirit of cooperation, a peaceful, democratic, and just solution would be found, "through appropriate means" under the Charter. In consecutive votes in the Committee neither draft resolution received a majority; the stalemate was referred to the General Assembly.

In the General Assembly a compromise resolution introduced by 15 nations, including Argentina and Spain on the one hand and India and Iran on the other, passed in a few dramatic minutes, without debate, by a vote of 80-0 (France not participating) after the opening of the session was delayed to allow the Asian-African bloc to caucus on the issue. As finally formulated, the resolution (1) expresses again the Assembly's concern over the situation in Algeria; (2) notes the offer of good offices made by the King of Morocco and the President of Tunisia; and (3) expresses the wish that "pourparlers will be entered into and other appropriate means utilized, with a view to a solution" in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter.

Christian Pineau, French Foreign Minister, called the decision a "testimony of confidence in the French position," and there have been rumors since that the French government might reconsider the Tunisian-Moroccan offer of good offices. Similarly, the representatives of the National Liberation Front have declared the resolution satisfactory despite its failure to indicate the persons with whom pourparlers should be held and specifically to back the principle of self-determination. These statements make clear that France has tacitly acknowledged that Algeria is a matter of international concern, and that the Algerian rebels have conceded that negotiations should be carried on, if possible, even without any French commitment to Algerian self-rule.

Ethiopian-Somali Boundary Dispute: Arbitration Recommended: In the closing hours of this session, the Fourth Committee finally decided upon relatively drastic action to settle the long-smoldering boundary dispute between Ethiopia and the Italian Trust Territory of Somalia, which is scheduled to gain its independence in 1960. Realizing that it could no longer continue to recommend further negotiations, as it has been doing annually for years,

the Committee recommended that the two countries establish an arbitration tribunal within three months if possible. The tribunal should consist of three jurists, one appointed by each country, and the third by agreement between the two; in the absence of agreement, the third is to be appointed by the King of Norway. The two governments are to report to the next session of the Assembly as to action taken.

This draft resolution was approved by the Assembly in plenary session just before adjournment.

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