South West Africa: In the last issue of this Bulletin a short analysis was made of the report of the United Nations Good Offices Committee, which suggested partition of South West Africa as a solution to the problem which would be acceptable to the Union of South Africa. Once the shock of this proposition had worn off, the Afro-Asian bloc rallied to demonstrate that partition was in every sense unacceptable to them.

The colonial powers, who would have been glad to sweep this question under any available rug, maneuvered to arrange debate in the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee so that the report of the Good Offices Committee would be accepted (they hoped) before the substance of the solution proposed in it was considered; and for a while it appeared that a first-class diplomatic donnybrook was in the making. However, when all the procedural by-play was concluded, the Fourth Committee voted overwhelmingly to invite the Good Offices Committee to renew discussions with the Union government for agreement on an international status of the Territory "as a whole" and not to accept suggestions envisaging partition of the Territory. Although Eric Luow, the Foreign Minister of the Union, attended the opening session of the General Assembly this fall and obviously intended to participate in discussion of this item, no South African remained for the debate after the Fourth Committee voted to hear the Reverend Michael Scott and Mbumbura Kerina, perennial petitioners for the Hereros and other South West African peoples.

In addition, the Committee approved the report on conditions in the Territory made by the Assembly's (standing) Committee on South West Africa in a resolution which expressed "deep concern" about the social, political, and economic conditions there. This resolution was acted upon clause by clause, and the expression of "deep concern" was opposed by the American delegate, obviously embarrassed by the position of the United States, whose representative is one of the three members of the Good Offices Committee which was directed to continue negotiations with the Union. The Committee also approved three other resolutions concerning South West Africa, the most significant of which directed continuing efforts to investigate the possibility of obtaining an advisory opinion from the World Court on South Africa's duties in connection with the Territory. In the anticipated course of events it appears that some form of appeal to the World Court will be the next step by the UN.

These draft resolutions of the Fourth Committee were approved in the Assembly's plenary session.

Apartheid in South Africa: For years the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly has had before it at each session the same problem of the racial situation in South Africa. For years the Committee has gently, pleadingly, or severely, as suited its temperament and circumstances, chided the Union for its failure to live up to UN Charter standards. And for years the United States has abstained from voting on such resolutions on the grounds that apartheid, however much we might disapprove, was the Union's internal concern over which the UN had no jurisdiction. This year, in a surprising and pleasing change of form, George McGregor Harrison, the American representative, supported the current resolution and spoke forthrightly on the subject. In deference to the United States a tougher
Indian draft was toned down to a "conciliatory" approach, but nevertheless the South Africans have lost an important point: the United States can never again claim that the question is one of internal concern only, and the pressure of the times will probably lead to a stronger and more forceful position in subsequent years now that the great barrier has been lowered.

Consideration of Trusteeship Council's Report: At each session of the General Assembly, the Fourth Committee has as one item on its agenda consideration of the current report of the Trusteeship Council. Consideration of the future of French Togoland and of the British and French Cameroons which technically were included under this item, are discussed separately in this Bulletin. However, questions affecting other African trust territories or all trust territories generally were also discussed under this item. Among these were: (1) the question of lack of political development in Tanganyika — speakers attacked particularly the "multi-racial" electoral system, by which each race (white, African, Asian) is entitled to the same number of representatives in the legislature regardless of the proportion of the total population which such "race" constitutes (this item was discussed prior to the September elections which heralded a substantial improvement in Tanganyika's race relations); and (2) the problem of Ruanda-Urundi, about which a native of Uganda, across the border, was allowed to address the Fourth Committee over Belgian objections — the petitioner alleged that the Belgians neither established a higher education system for the people in the Territories nor allowed the inhabitants to leave for any foreign training (except a handful, primarily students of religion, in Belgium).

In the course of considering the vast subject comprised in the Trusteeship Council's report, the Fourth Committee proposed the following draft resolutions for consideration by the plenary (in addition to several formal resolutions of lesser importance):

1. A resolution urging the administering authorities of trust territories for which no trust termination date has yet been set to establish intermediate "target dates" for political, social, economic, and educational development and to estimate the period of time necessary for the achievement of independence or self-government. The Soviet Union's perennial amendment to establish a date for termination of trusteeship over Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi within five years was again defeated on a paragraph by paragraph vote on the resolution.

2. A resolution requesting again that the administering authorities submit information on the effects of the European Economic Community on the development of their trust territories and requesting the Trusteeship Council to examine this question and report on it to the next session of the Assembly. The United States opposed this resolution.

3. A resolution calling for more dissemination of information about the United Nations and the trusteeship system to inhabitants of trust territories.

4. A resolution calling upon the administering authorities to take necessary measures to see that scholarships and training opportunities offered by UN member states are utilized to the full, suggesting certain improvements in the offers made, requesting the Secretary-General to report on use made of such offers, and setting down the matter for further consideration at the next Assembly session.

5. A resolution welcoming the Italian offer of economic aid for about-to-be-independent Somalia, and urging sympathetic consideration of Somalia's requests by all UN agencies.
French Togoland: This session of the UN General Assembly has in effect written "finished business" beside the French Trust Territory of Togoland. Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, the French representative, and Sylvanus Olympio, Togolese Premier as the result of UN-supervised general elections in Togoland last spring (see Bulletin No. 10, of January 16, 1958, for background), jointly announced to the Fourth Committee that their governments had reached agreement on 1960 as the date for French Togoland's independence and that they requested the termination of trusteeship as of that time. The intervening year will provide for the orderly transfer of the administration and the preparation of the Togolese to take over the many positions now held by the French.

The Committee, after congratulating the speakers and their countries and also Ambassador Dorsinville of Haiti, who supervised the 1958 Togo elections for the UN, unanimously adopted two resolutions: (1) approving termination of trusteeship simultaneously with the attainment of independence in 1960; and (2) urging UN officials and agencies, including the Special Fund, the Technical Assistance Board, and the specialized agencies, to give urgent and sympathetic consideration to requests for assistance to Togoland. Both resolutions were adopted by the plenary committee.

British and French Cameroons: The accelerating pace of the rise of African nationalism was most apparent in the debate on the British and French Cameroons in the Fourth Committee this fall. At the time that the French representative announced the agreement on the future of French Togoland, he also stated: (1) that his government had worked out with the French Cameroons government as of October 24 of this year an agreement transferring substantially full powers to the Cameroons government; (2) that full independence would be granted to the Cameroons government on January 1, 1960; and (3) that both governments requested termination of trusteeship by that date. The French delegate spoke of a plebiscite, such as that conducted in British Togoland in 1956, to determine the wishes of the people as to the future, including the question of reunification of the French and the British Cameroons.

The British delegate, Sir Andrew Cohen, at approximately the same time announced that in accordance with plans worked out by the United Kingdom and Nigerian leaders, Nigeria would be granted independence in October, 1960; at that point, he stated, Britain would ask the dissolution of the trusteeship agreement covering the British Cameroons, as that territory is administered through Nigeria, an arrangement which could not be continued after that country obtained its independence. Sir Andrew was open to a determination of popular will as to the future of the British Trust Territory after the General Assembly heard the Trusteeship Council's report on the results of its visiting mission's current study of conditions in the two Cameroons Trust Territories. (Each visiting mission consists of one representative each from two administering and two non-administering powers on the Trusteeship Council; the Cameroons mission has representatives from the United States, New Zealand, India, and Haiti.)

It was apparent that the British and French representatives were between them jockeying the timetable of events so as to create a situation similar to that in the Togolands two years ago, in this case so that the British Cameroons would, when the choice came between reunification with the French Cameroons or integration with Nigeria, find the first choice substantially foreclosed and thus feel obliged to choose the second. The resentment caused by this strategy was exacerbated by the conduct of Ahmadou Ahidjo, Premier of the French Cameroons government, who spoke as a member of the French delegation on behalf of the French request to end trusteeship in the manner proposed. He led a number of skeptical delegates, particularly from the other African countries, to believe that he would be available to answer questions...
later in the debate and then disappeared on a plane back to his "home responsi-

bles" before he could be questioned on numerous other matters, including the repre-

sentative quality of his government, which was elected (by universal suffrage for the

first time, he stressed) during a period when the largest political party was sup-

pressed and a program of military repression by the French military was alleged to be in full force.

Four petitioners appeared before the Committee to urge political amnesty,

end to political and military repression, and free elections as necessary pre-

requisites to any action on the future of the Cameroons. These were: Felix Moumie,

spokesman for the banned Union des Populations du Cameroon (UPC) and the Union

Democratique des Femmes Camerounaises, who is now an exile in Cairo; N'deh N'tumazah

of One Kainerun; and Michel Dookingue and Jean Ngounga of the Union Nationale des

Etudiants Camerounais. All opposed the present government and urged reunification of

the Cameroons. When some of the delegates, picking up the petitioners' points,

quired why the French had not followed out last year's Assembly resolution calling

political amnesty, among other measures, to restore normal political conditions,

French representative claimed that new violence, murders, armed rebellion, and

similar conduct fostered by the UPC had made such an amnesty impossible.

In the preliminary sparring for advantage on this complex question, the

Italian representative moved, before a special session of the Trusteeship Council
called during this session of the General Assembly, that, in view of the agreement of
October 24 to give the French Cameroons independence in 1960, new instructions be
sent to the visiting mission in the Cameroons, directing them to consider procedure
"for organizing the consultation which will enable the people of the Cameroons under
French administration to express their views concerning the termination of trustee-
ship." When the petitioners asked to be heard by the Council on the subject, their
requests were voted down. However, the final version of the new instructions was
modified and expanded to read: "to express, at the appropriate time, their wishes
concerning the future, and concerning the termination of trusteeship upon the attain-
ment of full national sovereignty in 1960." As modified, it was passed.

Returning to the Fourth Committee, two interrelated resolutions were intro-
duced by the anti-colonialists in the hope of rearranging the timetable of events in
the Cameroons: (1) to request the Trusteeship Council to report to the Assembly on
the findings of its visiting mission not later than February 20, 1959; and (2) to
call a special session of the General Assembly at such time to discuss the report.
In this connection, just before Thanksgiving, Marian Anderson, the American delegate,
became involved in the session's most publicized contretemps. In a rather lackluster
speech she opposed calling the special session for such an "unimportant" issue (in
fact the United States was apparently afraid of another row over the seating of
Chinese delegates). After some biting comments by African delegates on the "unim-
portance" of independence for a new country, Miss Anderson suggested that she was not
in complete agreement with the American position but had made her speech as an
instructed delegate. The next day a compromise was unanimously adopted to provide
that the February sitting would be a "resumption" of the present session (thus raising
no question of the accreditation of delegates) and devoted "exclusively" to the
Cameroons question.

ACOA hopes that the General Assembly will at its February sitting request
the French government to hold, by mid-summer, new general elections (rather than the
suggested plebiscite) under UN supervision, with all parties participating; such
elections would follow the same general pattern as the Togoland elections last spring,
with the candidates setting forth their programs for the country's future for the
voters' choice. The people of the British Cameroons should thereafter, in time for
consideration of the results by the next regular session of the Assembly, be allowed to choose, also in a UN-supervised plebiscite, between reunification of the two Cameroons and integration of their territory with Nigeria when Nigeria becomes independent.

It has generally been assumed that the people of the Northern British Cameroons, which is now administered as an integral part of the Northern Province of Nigeria, would choose integration with their fellow Moslem Nigerians; it has also been assumed that the separatist Southern Cameroonians (who are separated from the North by a thin sliver of Nigeria as well as by considerable religious and cultural differences, and who are administered as a separate province) might opt for reunification with the French Cameroons. Such a vote, if the majorities were great in either or both areas, would raise embarrassing questions about the future although it is supposed that in such circumstances the British would advocate integration of the North only with Nigeria. However, there are some astute commentators who feel that the Northerners might vote in considerable numbers for reunification; the Northern French Cameroonians are also Moslems; trade is oriented more between the two Cameroons than between British Cameroons and Nigeria; and the Northern Cameroonians would not be so outnumbered in an all-Cameroons state as they would be in populous Nigeria. However, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that any fair test of the wishes of the Cameroonians depends upon a realistic timetable of events so that they are not foreclosed from making a meaningful choice.

Non-Self-Governing Territories: The question of non-self-governing territories is once again before the Fourth Committee as this Bulletin is written. As anticipated, Spain has joined Portugal, by formal communication to the Secretary General, in claiming that it has no non-self-governing territories: "Territories subject to its sovereignty are, in accordance with the legislation now in force, considered to be and classified as provinces of Spain... there are, legally speaking, no non-self-governing territories within the Spanish administrative system."

The American Committee on Africa has submitted to members of the Fourth Committee a printed pamphlet, "Portugal's African 'Wards,' A First-hand Report on Labor and Education in Mozambique" (available from the ACOA at 50 cents per copy or at bulk rates), which demonstrates that Portugal's "provinces" in Africa are, both in law and in fact, not self-governing. However, on the basis of previous years' experience, those delegations wishing to have the Portuguese African possessions held non-self-governing, and therefore subject to the UN Charter reporting requirements, face a long, hard struggle in the Assembly's plenary committee and in the delegates' lounge, where the United States has heretofore lobbied effectively to support the Portuguese position that the existence of colonies is a matter for each individual country to determine.

Admission of Guinea: M. Diallo Talli, Ambassador of Guinea and special representative of President Sekou Toure, arrived in the United States on November 29 to submit to the UN Guinea's request for membership (as well as to seek American friendship and assistance). Queried by reporters whether the announced "union" of Guinea and Ghana did not preclude admission as a separate state, M. Diallo pointed out that no such union was now in existence -- that Guinea and Ghana had merely formed an association for mutual assistance, much like the Organization of American States, for example, which both countries hoped would constitute the nucleus of a future union of West African states.

On December 9th Guinea was voted into membership in the UN.