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# Policy Alternatives for the Cameroon Conflicts with Views on Abolishing the Federation

Christmas Atem Ebini  
*Walden University*

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# Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Christmas A. Ebini

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## Review Committee

Dr. Augusto Ferreros, Committee Chairperson,  
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Mi Young Lee, Committee Member,  
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. James Mosko, University Reviewer,  
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

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Abstract

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by

Christmas A. Ebini

MSW, 2005 Howard University, Washington, DC

MMFT, 2001 Abilene Christian University, Abilene, TX

MS, 1995 Abilene Christian University, Abilene, TX

MBA, 1995 Abilene Christian University, Abilene, TX

BBA, 1985, Harding University, Searcy, AK

AA, 1984 Ohio Valley College, Parkersburg, WV

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

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Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration: Homeland Security and Administration

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September 2019

## Abstract

The violent conflicts in the Northwest and Southwest provinces of Cameroon (Southern Cameroons) have obtained national and international attention. The government of Cameroon and armed separatists (Southern Cameroonians) have been called upon to address the root cause of the conflicts and reach a lasting peaceful settlement. This qualitative study is aimed at providing policy alternatives for the current conflict. The primary research question seeks to establish how the 1972 abolition of the federal system may have provided the impetus for the current conflicts. A second question addresses the options for resolving the conflict and the prospects of resolution. Data was collected from a focus group of 20 participants and from secondary data. Data analysis was completed using Jagar's critical discourse analysis. According to the findings of the study, the root cause of the current conflicts and the associated political, social, and economic issues can be attributed to the abolition of the federal system of governance. Policy alternatives to resolving the conflicts may require international mediation, an all-inclusive dialogue/negotiation without preconditions, the unconditional release of all in detention, a general and total ceasefire, and a general amnesty and resettlement program. This study may provide an understanding of the root cause of the conflicts and policy alternatives that will help restore peace, save lives, stabilize the region, and return dignity to the lives of the citizens.

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## Dedication

This work is dedicated to the people of the Federal Republic of Southern Cameroons, Ambazonia, to all the patriots killed fighting for freedom and justice, to all those abducted from their homes, demonstrating in the streets with peace plants, or those protesting against the compliance of a corrupt Nigerian government, from a meeting at the Nera hotel in Abuja Nigeria. Moreover, this is also for all those still held captive in the dungeons of the terrorist and genocidal La Republique Du Cameroun, for all the Southern Cameroonians maimed, injured and left to succumb to their wounds and scars, inflicted by the invading troops of the colonialists. This is for all the Southern Cameroons children and families chased out of their homes into refugee camps and forests, to all the comrades who believe that the genocidal government of Mr Paul Biya and the entire system of La Republique Du Cameroun has crossed the redline and will stop at nothing to support and finance the revolution for the total independence of the Southern Cameroons. This is for all the men and women of goodwill and human heart, fighting for justice to make sure Mr. Paul Biya and his friends pay for their crimes against humanity and the genocide they are carrying on against the people of the Southern Cameroons. This is for President Sisiku Julius Ayuk Tabe of the Interim Government of the Federal Republic of Ambazonia and the nine members of his cabinet (Professor Cheh Augustine Awasum, Dr Fidelis Ndeh-Che, Dr Cornelius Njikimbi Kwanga, Dr Egbe Ogork Ntui, Dr Henry Kimeng Tata, Barrister Shufai Blaise Berinyuy, Barrister Eyambe Elias Ebai, Chairman Nfor Ngala Nfor, and Mr Wilfred Tombang Tassang), who are detained in the dungeons of the terrorist state of the Republic of Cameroun. I thank them for their defiance, strength and show of resolve as they are taken into the kangaroo military court of French Cameroun. To add to the list of dedication brave

Southern Cameroons citizens such as: Bibixy Mancho, Patrick Ndangoh, Sanator Penn Khan Terrence, Tsi Conrad, George Nfor Ntang, the Bush Hunter Fritz Takang, Jerry Nkwo, Ngalim Felix, and all those held in the two Yaounde high security prisons: Kondengui Centrale and Principal. An exceptional dedication is also made to sons and daughters of the EyangAtemAko kingdom held in the Douala New Bell prison: Agbor Rene, Ayuk Collins, Ebot Hans, Bate Pauline, Enoh Daniel, and Agbor Deba.

Finally, this work is equally dedicated to my wife Judith, my sons Arsene and Scott, my daughter Kwedi, and my granddaughter Alya Joan Alice Ebini.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

### **Introduction**

In this study, I explore and present policy alternatives for the Cameroon conflicts, with views on the abolition of the federation. Currently, Cameroon is engaged in violent conflicts, with the government military forces fighting against armed Southern Cameroons groups seeking independence (citation). Before making policy recommendations or posing solutions to the conflicts, it is necessary to have a clear understanding the history of the federation and its abolition in 1972. The perceptions of expert Anglophones and Francophones regarding the May 20, 1972 referendum that changed the structure of government from a bicultural federation to a centralized unitary system, and its effects on the national integration of the Cameroon nation have been examined. I also examined their perceptions of the abolition of the federal structure and the current threats to disintegrate the country and make some alternative policy proposals to deal with the current armed conflicts. I explored how the abolition of the agreed upon 1961 federal structure may be the cause for the intensification of the Southern Cameroons independence movements currently threatening to plunge the country into a civil war.

In this chapter, I present a brief background of the Cameroon nation and a historical presentation, along with the origin and basis for the choice of a federal system of governance and the reasons given for abolishing the federal system.

### **Background of Study**

The political culture of Cameroon has been one of a dictatorship; a single political party where political power is centralized in the hands of a single individual—the

president (Mukong, 1990). This has been the political reality of the country from 1965 until 1990 when a return to multiparty system was forced on the government (Ndi, 2013). From the time of independence to the present, Cameroon has known only two individuals as president. The first president, Ahidjo, ruled until 1982, and the second and current president, Biya, who has been in power from 1982 (Mukete, 2013). Cameroon came together to form a federation in October 1961, after French Cameroon gained independence in January 1960 and the British Southern Cameroons gained independence in February 1961 (Mukete, 2013). The options the United Nations gave the Southern Cameroons was limited to the option of independence by joining either Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroon resulted in a plebiscite, which today is the center of the country's biggest political challenge (Nfi, 2014).

The modern political history of the Cameroons starts with engagements in colonialism, passing from under one colonial power to another. The postcolonial history begins with their independence and reunification. The events of May 20, 1972 saw a referendum being organized against the spirit of the reunification of the constitution of October 1961, resulting in the abolishment of the federal agreement of 1961, which is the premise of exploration of this inquiry (Tebid, 2009).

The country of Cameroon covers an area of about 475,440 square kilometers, in the western part of Africa, spreading into central Africa (Fombad, 2007). Countries that are along the borders include the following: Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, the Republic of Congo Central African Republic, Chad, Nigeria and lake Chad.

After French Cameroon attained independence, there was an organized

nationalists' resistance, which turned violent, between the new government and the citizens, resisting what they saw as France's unwillingness to grant full independence to the territory (Welch, 2007). Reunification led to a federal structure with a federal constitution that guaranteed some rights to the minority of the numerically smaller West Cameroon (Southern Cameroons). The referendum of May 20, 1972 led to a different political climate in the new United Republic of Cameroon, with a centralized system of governance (Ngwane, 1990).

Armed French and Francophone military forces entered the region to suppress any uprising among the Southern Cameroons' population (citation). Dissident forces rose from Anglophone Cameroon but were quickly suppressed (Ngwane, 1990). From 1961 to 1990, most Cameroonians who had any dissenting political views, as opposed to the well-planned program of national integration, were either co-opted with positions in the government, arrested, or forced to flee the country into exile (Mukong, 1990). While there are peaceful groups in the former Southern Cameroons advocating for a return to the federation against the referendum of May 20, 1972, other armed groups are fighting for complete separation from the Cameroon union with the Republic of Cameroon (Ayim, 2010). Since November 2016 things have taken a turn for the worse, with the agitations in the two Anglophone or Southern Cameroons regions moving into an armed resistance (Ayim, 2010). Militants, and many Southern Cameroons groups, have since been taking steps to question the constitutionality and legality of, not only the events of the referendum but also the United Nations' organized plebiscite of February 11, 1961 that gave Southern Cameroons two choices (The Two Alternatives)—to achieve

independence by either joining the Republic of Cameroon or the Republic of Nigeria (Butake, 2013; Mukong, 1990; Pervival, 2008; Vakuta, 2012). Southern Cameroonians have increased their public demand for either a return to the federation, as it existed before May 20, 1972 or advocating for a separate and independent nation of their own (Ndi, 2013). Due to the actions of the government of President Biya, a majority of the population of the Southern Cameroons have been presenting the independence option as the only option acceptable (Dipoko, 2010). Those seeking a return to federalism have become the moderate and minority voice or are seen as collaborators in the eyes of the majority seeking total independence (Dipoko, 2010). Add summary and synthesis throughout the paragraph to balance out the use of information from sources with your own words.

Awasom (2000) claimed that the 1961 unification between the former British Southern Cameroons and the former French Cameroons was a historic occasion, given that people or regions of diverse and different political experiences were coming together to form a single state. This unification was against the expectations and maneuvers of the metropolitan powers in 1961. Awasom stated that the experiences of unification in, *the second republic* was something that should not have happened. It was only intended to deceive and was a dangerous political game, placing the country and the union at the precipice of destruction (Awasom, 2000). From exploration of different literature presented above, the political uncertainty of Cameroon continue to present significant current and future problems.

Therefore, this study explores policy alternatives to the Cameroon conflicts, with



views of the impact of the referendum of May 20, 1972 on Cameroon's national integration, and how that has, or is impacting, the former Southern Cameroonians' quest for independence from the union with the Republic of Cameroon. I also present an update on the current situation in the country, regarding the state of keeping the two Cameroons as an indivisible entity.

### **Problem Statement**

When Southern Cameroons joined the Republic of Cameroun in 1961, it was with the understanding that two political territories operating with different political systems and setups would be able to function together under a federal system (Ebune, 2016). Under Britain, Southern Cameroons practiced a political culture of power sharing, while the Republic of Cameroun, under French administration, used a centralized system. "To solve this problem after reunification, a federal structure was created with a view to respect the cultural differences in both states and work toward a true united Cameroon nation" (Ebune, 2016, p. 133). Abolishing the federal structure was not the only situation affecting Southern Cameroonians post-1972. The territory of the Anglophone regions lost control of their political, economic, and social power in the country (Ebune, 2016). Southern Cameroons became La Republique du Cameroun and French culture was imposed on Southern Cameroonians (Ebune, 2016).

According to Atang (2007), the Southern Cameroons' self-determination struggle is about the wish to be left alone and to claim sovereignty to the Southern Cameroons homeland by native Southern Cameroonians. Such desires do not align with the Cameroon national integration quest that became the focus of its existence as a nation

following its reunification in October 1961 from the United Nations' organized plebiscite of February 11, 1961 (Atang, 2007). Cameroon's political history includes unity and stability, but the political activists and groups from the Northwest and Southwest provinces, the two provinces that were created out of Southern Cameroons after reunification, have demonstrated that all may not be well and all is not well with the national integration quest of the Cameroon political elites and setups (Ndi, 2013). These groups have petitioned to the secretary general of the United Nations demanding a separate state for Southern Cameroons (Atang, 2007). Groups such as the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL), Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM), Ambazonia, and others have made demands against the referendum of May 20, 1972 that abolished the federal system (Atang, 2007). Some members of these groups are either in jail or were pushed into exile (Atang, 2007). The Cameroonian nation has been in great turmoil since November 2016, with continuous unrest in the Anglophone regions of the country (Cocks, 2018). Strikes, armed resistance, and demonstrations are being carried out frequently, with calls for separation and independence suppressing the moderate voices of continuous reunification under a return to the federal structure (Cocks, 2018). Add summary and synthesis to fully conclude the paragraph.

In this study, I explored policy alternatives to the Cameroon conflicts, with views on the impact of the political decision and action of May 20, 1972 on the national integration of Cameroon from the perspective of the Southern Cameroons independence struggle. This impact is viewed considering regions having power or autonomy of

making decisions that impact local areas, access to relevant political representation, and economic growth. Problems with these concerns influenced or impacted the results of the 1961 plebiscite, pushing southern Cameroonians to choose reunification with the republic of Cameroon rather than continuous union with Nigeria (citation). Adig (2017) presented the association of Southern Cameroons to Nigeria as an arrangement that played to the disadvantage of Southern Cameroons. The experience with Nigeria planted the seeds of protests, demonstrations, and resistance for a regional autonomy, against all forms of marginalization (Ndi, 2013). From some facts of history, the social, political, and economic realities of the past with Nigeria, seem to be similar to that with Cameroon (Ndi, 2013).

Gros (1995) stated that Cameroon was never technically either a French or British colony because the league of nations partitioned a territory that was a German protectorate since 1884, ceded the territory to France and Britain without much justification. However, the reality is that the territory ended up being treated as a colony of the two world powers, leaving in place the current problems between the French Cameroon and former British Cameroon (Gros, 1995). From the above discourse, Southern Cameroons forcefully started being treated as a French colony from the moment it joined the Republic of Cameroun.

### **Significance of the Study**

The Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun were colonial territories placed under the United Nations' trusteeship and administered by both the French and the British in 1945 (Buea Peace Initiative, 1993). Many political engagements

have given different meanings to this historic political event in the life of this nation; however, most significant may be the threat that this has posed towards the national integration and stability of Cameroon (Mukong, 1993). The integration process of nations and peoples can come about through the meeting of common political and socioeconomic values, principles, and objectives.

Currently, Cameroon and neighboring countries, such as the Chad and Niger, are trying to consolidate their military powers to check the cross-border advancements and atrocities being committed across the borders of Cameroon by the Nigerian insurgency of Boko Haram (Haruna, 2018). Furthermore, there is also the Cameroons' armed conflicts in the Anglophone or Southern Cameroons regions (Cocks, 2018). For over 5 decades, Cameroon has only experienced unsettled peace that has somewhat been held up through political abuses, intimidations, and closeness to maintain a status quo (Tebid, 2009). However, the last 3 years have seen the nation be enamored in political violence in the two Anglophone provinces (Cocks, 2018). The rise and threats of violence from the Nigerian Boko Haram and the continuous harassments, marginalization, and abuses from the government on Southern Cameroons citizens has emboldened those who are already discontent with the political system in the country into violence (Letsa, 2018).

There are already negative social shifts in the country from those who feel the political system has been against equitable broad-based social progress since the abolition of the federation (Nkwi, 2010). Many skilled workers have left the country, separating families and depriving the country and communities of skilled labor. The negative impact on social change has led to people's lives being disrupted, whole families being uprooted,

and significant economic and social hardships, including insecurities.

The Cameroonian political culture cannot address national and local problems because they do not fit within the circle of interest of the president. Most of the problems in the country are not adequately addressed because all the institutions of the state, either private or public, exist at the pleasure of the president, and his office is the only branch of government. The system of checks and balances is nonexistent (Atanga, 2011)

The results of this study will help in bringing awareness to the potential consequences of Cameroon's integration quest and the sociopolitical impact of the political system and the abolition of the federal system through the referendum of May 20, 1972. This study will also shed light on minority concerns and issues related to the country's political, social, and economic problems (see All Anglophone Conference Standing Committee Resolutions, 1993). Cameroon has not yet developed a culture of empiricism in its policies or decision-making processes. The political leaders do not make informed decisions but rather depend on uniformed sentiments and loyalties in crafting and implementing decisions and policies that have far sweeping consequences. Studies of this nature help in promoting the utility of evidence-based and informed decision making.

### **Assumptions of the Study**

In this study, the assumption is that the Cameroonians from the English-speaking regions have legitimate concerns over the referendum of May 20, 1972 that abolished the federal system and the subsequent change of the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroun. Being the minority in a union

between Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroon, the assumption is that the majority political force of the French Cameroon has marginalized and use force and political mechanization to undermine the basic rights and economic wellbeing of the Anglophone region, and the entire population of the country.

The French Cameroon obtained a cosmetic independence from the French and remained, in effect, a colony of the French, with the French still having a say on almost every aspect of the political, economic and social decision-making and functioning of the country. Through this French influence, the actions of the Cameroon government have violated the reunification agreements and contract between Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun (Akum, 2009) . The assumption is that the abolition of the federal system of governance is mostly responsible for the build-up of the current violent conflicts, and that any solutions taken to end the conflicts that do not revisit this part of the history will be short lived.

### **Research Questions**

1. How has the abolition of the federation affected the national integration and unity of Cameroon?
2. How has the abolition of the federation increased secessionist activities amongst Southern Cameroonians, leading to the current waves of violence in the two provinces?
3. How would a return to the federal structure resolve most of the country's current political, social, and economic problems?

### **Rationale for Study**

The Republic of Cameroon began its independence with an armed revolutionary resistance and sought stability through reunification and national integration with the Southern Cameroons, based on maintaining a federal structure of governance. Since the referendum, groups within the English section of the country (former Southern Cameroons) have been advocating for the independence of the Southern Cameroons. According to Welch (2007), “revolution is never a boring subject. It has led to the birth of many nations as they exist today, and the death of some of the greatest leaders and tyrants in history” (p. 1). Atang (2007) claimed that the level of discontent amongst Southern Cameroons could pose a problem in the efforts to keep the country together. However, Langmia (2008) stated that the different focus and style of governance of the two colonial administrations, accounts for the current postcolonial, post-independence, and post-reunification tension that exists in integrating the nation of Cameroon. It is important and relevant for scholars to engage in studies such as this, to create an environment for informed preemptive and proactive approaches in identifying, addressing, and resolving potential areas of social and political conflicts, before they become unmanageable.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The qualitative approach has been employed for this study, using a focus group and an unstructured interview process as the mechanisms for the data collection. This study uses the theory of federation or federalism. The theory of federalism, which is also the advocacy of the federal principles of governance and structure of a nation, presents power sharing within and without members and institutions (Follesdal, 2016). The theory

of federalism presents a decentralized system that grants autonomy to different institutions and regions, with effective power sharing and required checks and balances. The sovereignty in the federal theory is constitutionally based, and the different units have powers in the decision-making processes at various levels of the state.

According to Dosenrode (2010), “A federation is one form of state among others in international relations” (p 10). The theory of federation provides a pathway and various forms through which integration can take place, for regions and states seeking some form of it. Federalism provides some guidelines in establishing trust, clarity, accommodation and in resolving disagreements. In the case of the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun, the choice of a federal structure was agreed upon as a safeguard and assurance against the fears of the minority partner, Southern Cameroons, in the reunification process. According to Ebune (2016), “a federal structure was created with a view to respect the cultural differences in both states” (p. 133). In projecting the model of the federalist theory, Ebune used the American federal example to explore the advantages and benefits of federalism, as compared to the centrist system later adopted by the Cameroonian nation.

### **Limitations of the Study**

This study serves as the foundation for further research interests around the topic. Using a qualitative, unstructured interview model lead to the researcher being overloaded with information from the respondents that was beyond the scope of the area of interest—this became time consuming. Generally, using this method can be very exhaustive due to the bulk of data that is generated, thus taking more time to put together the data and



findings.

A significant limitation is the scarcity of current peer-reviewed scholarly materials or articles that deal with the topic directly. The updates in scholarly interest regarding research on this topic is sparse, and I had to consult materials older than desired. However, there is much international interest in the country and regions, due to the current and ongoing violent conflicts there.

### **Summary of the Chapter**

I explored and presented policy alternatives to the Cameroon conflicts, with views of the impact on Cameroon national integration, the abolition of federalism, and on the independence claims from groups in the Southern Cameroons (formerly West Cameroon). Chapter 1 presents an introduction to the political history of Cameroon from the German colonial era, to the reunification and the referendum of May 20, 1972. The assumptions are that there are legitimate concerns within the Anglophone Cameroonian circles against the referendum that abolished the Federal Republic of Cameroon, making way for United Republic of Cameroon. It is also assumed that the federal system was meant for abolishment from the time of its creation.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### **Introduction**

Existing research on the political life of Cameroon, from the colonial era to the May 20, 1972 referendum, has not explored the perceptions of Anglophones and Francophones regarding the impact on the desired Cameroonian national integration, as a consequence of the abolition of the federation. In this chapter of the study, I reviewed and analyzed the available literature on the political history of Cameroon, from the period of colonialism to the referendum. I also looked at the period after the federation was abolished. Additionally, the literature on the abolition of the federal structure, the views of national integration, the centralized system, and implications of the existing political realities towards public policy are also explored. The chapter also includes the theories of federation and national integration.

In searching for literature to this study, various libraries, databases, and search engines were used. Some of the sources used include the following: Walden University Library, ProQuest, Google, and Google Scholar. Given the period that this study covers, material from books written as far back as the 1970s have been included.

### **Cameroon Under German Administration**

Cameroon has undergone different variations of its appellation. The name that has stayed and survived the transitions from the colonial era to independence are the River of Prawns (Rio Dos Cameroes) from the Portuguese, and Cameroon from the English translation. Gros (2003) looked at the origin of different versions of the country's name and claimed that they were a result of the country being a by-product of European

exploration from as far back as the 15th and 16th centuries. After the Germans annexed the region, they called it Kamerun (Ardener, 1962). After the territory became a part of the League of Nations Mandates, the French and the British named their mandates differently. According to Adener (1962), “the British Mandate was called by the full English form ‘Cameroons’, the French by the Gallicized form ‘Cameroun’” (p. 341). According to Tabi (2008), what is known as present day Cameroon is an indication of the pieces of territories that were put together by the colonialists.

The colonizing forces were able to use religion to subdue and control local people in their colonies physically, spiritually, mentally, and psychologically. Awoh (2012) presented that the intrusion of Christianity was very disruptive and destabilizing to the ethnic settings and functions of the colonies, challenging both the wellbeing of the royals and commoners alike. Wives left palaces and husbands to join the wave of Christianity, with some returning pregnant in violation and defiance of the existing ethnic and cultural norms (Awoh, 2012).

It can be complex to examine the day-to-day lives of the people that the colonialists pulled together to constitute Cameroon. Enonchong (2009) stated that there was harmony within the various communities. Although there was no written constitution, the traditional rulers or chiefs and members of secret societies were responsible for the execution of community laws that guaranteed justice, human rights, and the respect for civil liberties (Enonchong, 2009).

The German presence in the Cameroons lasted for about 30 years, leading to the first world war. When the Germans were defeated, its colonial possession of the

Cameroons fell into the hands of the British and the French (Dekome, 2012). This happened after the capture of Douala, and later the fall of the fort of Mora in Northern Cameroons. Add summary to fully conclude the section.

### **Under the British and French United Nations Trusteeship**

The German control of the territory of Cameroon lasted until 1919, when they were defeated by the British and the French during the First World War (Fombad, 2011). The two world powers proceeded to dividing the territory into two unequal parts. Two unconnected and unrelated parts of the country, Southern and Northern Cameroons were bundled up together by the British. The French were entrusted with the bigger portion of the country, making up about two thirds of the whole territory. This move and action to divide the territory, as a post war engagement, was later legalized and legitimized by the League of Nations in June 28, 1919, when the territories were declared mandates (Fombad, 2011).

According to Gros (2003), by March 1914, the French were entrusted with 90% of the country, and the British were administered 10%. This partition was credited to the bilingual nature of the country, following its reunification in 1961. The eastern part of the country, which was the Republic of Cameroon during reunification, was Francophone with a French political culture. The western part was Anglophone with an English political culture. The British administered Southern Cameroons through a culturalist approach, allowing some degree of democracy and respecting the indigenous cultures. The French employed the assimilationist approach and subjected the people of French Cameroon to live by ways of the French culture. This fueled and encouraged the

nationalist movements of 1950s, organized by the Union Populations du Cameroun (UPC) to fight the French for the liberation of Cameroon (Langmia, 2008).

Administered under the British as League Nation territories, Southern and Northern Cameroons enjoyed some degree of autonomy, building on a democratic culture of polity (Dipoko, 2010). Following the end of World War II, as the United Nations replaced the League of Nations and all mandate agreements were replaced with trusteeship ones, the two partitioned Kamerun territories under the British and the French were transformed into United Nations trust territories (Dipoko, 2010).

According to Ardener (1962), the Cameroon territory administered by the British mandate consisted of a small portion along the Nigerian boarder, a territory that was shaped like “two penknife blades pointing at each other, the smaller down from the north, the longer up from the south” (p. 341). While the British administration gave some degree of autonomy to the colonies, the French practiced a policy of assimilation that was focused at integrating her colonial subjects politically and culturally with those of France (Vine & Nye, 1974). Wolf (2001) presented Britain’s colonial policy of self-development and lackadaisical attitude towards its engagement of Southern Cameroons as a policy that was liberal and un-imperialistic in dealing with other cultures, or just an uncaring and careless practice.

### **Southern Cameroons Independence by Joining the Plebiscite**

Some historians have interpreted the United Nations organized plebiscite of February 1961, limiting Southern Cameroons’ gaining of independence by either joining Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroun, as a case of betrayal. Southern Cameroons was not

given a third option of outright independence without being forced to join either of the two nations presented in the Two Alternatives of the United Nations organized plebiscite (Percival & Neal, 2008).

After the weakening of the colonial powers of the Western empires, the African colonies' focus was on independence, diplomacy, and nation building. While other colonies had a straight path of engagement in setting up and organizing their postcolonial destiny, the path for the Cameroons involved the intrigues and political games of a dual colonial power, the British and the French (Mokube, 2012).

The decision to conduct a plebiscite in Southern Cameroons was historic for the future of the people and monumental to the concert of the United Nations, as the world body engaged in putting behind the remnants of colonialism. Nfi (2014) explored the notion that the reunification agenda was well planned and planted in the political psyche of Southern Cameroons, to the extent that the options for the United Nations organized plebiscite were limited to two very unpopular alternatives and did not seem to bother many at the time. Immigrants from French Cameroun formed themselves into pressure groups to force the reunification agenda when they realized that they were not getting equal opportunities like the indigenes in the existing Southern Cameroons settings (Nfi, 2014).

Since there were great divisions amongst the political leaders leading to the 1961 plebiscite and the reunification agenda was carefully planted by French Cameroon immigrants within the Southern Cameroons, there was bound to be some tension following the outcome and results of the plebiscite. According to Anjoh and Nfi (2017),

the outcome led to winners and losers, with petitions from those who wanted to join Nigeria, requesting that Southern Cameroon should be partitioned so those who want to remain with Nigeria could freely do so. These petitions were made mainly by the coastal ethnic groups, who feared domination by the more populous grass fields ethnic group (Anjoh & Nfi, 2017).

What might have enticed southern Cameroonians to vote for reunification with the Republic of Cameroun might be based on the promise of a federal structure, whereby the Southern Cameroons would be allowed to manage its own affairs. According to Fonchingong (2010), Southern Cameroonians saw the promise of a two states federal system and talks of equality in the management of state affairs as a guarantee that union with the Republic of Cameroun would not be as problematic as being with the federation of Nigeria.

Southern Cameroons scholars and historians continue to blame the British for the mess they left behind in their former colonies and the case for British Southern Cameroons is no different as indicative in the limited options of independence (Anyangwe, 2010). According to Anyangwe (2010), there are proofs from declassified documents or files that show the bad faith and ill intentions of the British towards Southern Cameroons with regards to its independence. This also became the premise of why Southern Cameroons never joined La Republique Du Cameroon, since the British handed over the documents of independence to President Amadou Ahidjo of La Republique du Cameroun, instead of to Hon John Ngu Foncha, the then Premier of the Southern Cameroons. Literature presented here seem to conclude that the program of

independence for Southern Cameroons was deliberately presented in with faith to disfavor the citizens of Southern Cameroons.

In looking at the world order in matters that concern the lives and destinies of the weak, for the perceived inconsequential nation states and vulnerable people who are not allowed to determine their own destiny (as in the case of multiparty systems and western complicity in Africa), the response has always been either tacit consent or a posture of cool indifference (Gros, 1995). Thus, with regards to this and the reality that technically, Southern Cameroons was never a British colony, the same as the French Cameroon never being a French colony, the tacit consent of the British and the posture of cool indifference of the rest of the world put in place what maybe the greatest case of political deception and manipulation (Gros, 1995).

### **The Postreunification Political Intrigues**

After the Southern Cameroons joined the Republic of Cameroon in a reunification of two equal states, it became clear that the political elites of the Republic du Cameroon had other motives for supporting the reunification (Ndi, 2013). By 1962, Ahidjo forced on the nation ordinances that gave him unchecked presidential powers. This was done under the pretense that the country was at war with terrorism (due to the armed resistance to the continuous presence and control of La Republique political and economic affairs post-independence). According to Ndi (2013):

Immediately following unification on 1 October 1961, Ordinance No. 062/OF/18 of 19 March 1962 on subversion was signed instituting tight restraints on freedom of expression and association, and allowing the



security forces to arrest, torture and send citizens who voiced dissent to prison with abysmal prison conditions—all of which served to intimidate them. The Ordinance established new offences termed “subversion” or “rebellion” which all prohibited free expression of opinion, making it a crime for anyone to oppose or criticize any government action. (p. xxiii)

Ahidjo dismantled anything in the country or state apparatus or institutions that placed any check on his powers. Gradually, the Federal Republic of Cameroon became a police state under Ahidjo and continued to be so after his successor and current long-term president, Biya.

Southern Cameroons was reunified with the republic of Cameroon, which led to the contractual embrace of the democratic processes and system of governance that were set in place from October 1, 1961. However, emboldened by the unchecked powers he had assumed through the 1962 ordinances, Ahidjo became uncomfortable with the structure and settings of the country. The existence of a federal system constitutionally limited his powers. The existence of two states under the federation that were autonomous, and each with a prime minister, a state government and a state legislative body, tied the hands of Ahidjo and France from executing their dictatorial and neocolonial plans. The West Cameroon, that represented Southern Cameroons, had multiple political parties and some aspects of a democratic culture. This was a threat to Ahidjo’s power grab and dictatorial tendencies. He dismantled the democratic structures of West/Southern Cameroons and imposed his will on the whole state of West Cameroon. Ahidjo intruded into the internal affairs of the federated state, using a policy of divide and

rule, to set up the political elites against each other. This injected divide into the leadership of West Cameroon as well, weakened their abilities and resolves to team up to resist his intrusions. The 1990s was an era of political protests in Cameroon and across Africa. Before that, leaders who opposed the post-independence and neocolonialist dictatorships were branded as communists, and the United States assisted the dictators to rid themselves of opposition.

There are legal, social, and constitutional complexities in the situation of southern Cameroons, from the premise that two territories which were not administered together during the colonial era were being annexed together, has resulted in a long time international debate, with no room yet for a satisfactory solution (Achankeng, 2014). A new generation of Southern Cameroonians, post the plebiscite era, have come of age and are feeling the betrayal of the United Nations that forced them into further colonialization, rather than grant them the rights to their own statehood. This generation of Southern Cameroonians see it as a duty and responsibility to resist and restore their statehood (Achankeng, 2014).

Some scholars have claimed that President Ahidjo wanted the reunification with Southern Cameroons for economic and strategic reasons. He knew that the territory of Southern Cameroons was endowed with natural resources, including oil in the southwestern part of the territory. Thus, the acceptance of federalism and its institutions for political pluralism, democratic principles, and practices were temporary positions to lure Southern Cameroonians into accepting reunification with the French Cameroun (Tebid, 2009). Ahidjo exploited the inexperience and the ethnic feuds and tensions of the

political representatives and elites of the Southern Cameroons, who were responsible for negotiating with him, the French Cameroun political setup, and their French backers. (Dipoko, 2010). On May 20, 1972, the abolition of the federal system in Cameroon came after the abolition of the multiparty system and political pluralism in 1966. This made the will of the president capable of superseding the constitution, legality, justice, due process, and the rule of law. Before Southern Cameroonians voted on February 11, 1961, in a United Nations organized plebiscite, they were falsely promised and guaranteed that there will be equality, freedom, and democracy if they voted for reunification with La Republique du Cameroun. Add summary to fully conclude the paragraph.

The plebiscite has been a source of criticism for the Southern Cameroons activists who argue that the United Nations violated their rights and the ordinances of the United Nations itself by limiting the choices for acquiring independence to the Two Alternatives, subjecting Southern Cameroonians to choose between two options that were equally undesirable for their independence. Huntington (1984) claimed that African countries could not move towards democracy, given the realities of the poverty and the political violence that the continent was subjected to by its post-independence political elites. Vanhanen (1990) also stated that implementing democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa was difficult due to the lack of the resources to effectively manage and maintain the processes and structures of democratic societies. Vanhanen claimed that the distributions of resources and power were lacking in ensuring democracy. This can be seen as insensitive to the need for freedom and human decency in the African political life.

On October 1, 1961, Southern Cameroonians walked into a union with a country

operating on public corruption, tribalism, and lack of accountability of its public officials. There was no practice of the rule of law, due process, or respect for the constitution. Orock and Oben (2012) explored the justifications on why citizens should be paying taxes to a governmental system that is corrupt, disruptive, unproductive, and is incapable of providing even the basic necessities to its citizens and communities.

### **The Case for Reunification with the Republic of Cameroon**

The Francophone political establishment easily penetrated the Anglophone one. According to Kah (2012), the Francophone political establishment was created in the Anglophone community to promote their divide and rule policy. Kah (2012) stated, “there is a gulf between the elite of the two provinces, which in recent times has extended to non-elite groups” (p. 75). According to Aseh (2008), “although it is often said that the type of leadership a people have is always equal to them, the reverse is even truer in that a leadership that lacks vision can compromise the historical development of its people” (p. 1). Southern and Western Cameroonian leadership did not present a direction for providing opportunities for the implementation of a divide and rule policy from the central Francophone government. As Aseh (2008) claimed, Endeley, who was Southern Cameroons leader from 1949 to 1961, lost focus of his initial vision of leadership and became subjected to British influence. Foncha, the successor of Endeley, became an ally of the political agenda of the French and the francophone allies in “the dishonesty, treachery and falsehood that led to the annexation of the Southern Cameroons by La Republique du Cameroun” (Aseh, p. 1).

### **The Era of Agitation and Anglophone/Southern Cameroons Rise**

What others have referred to as the Anglophone problem in the nation state of Cameroon, Atanga (2011) explained it as the Anglophone Cameroon predicament. His studies addressed the federal structure of 1961, the dismantling of Southern Cameroons or West Cameroon as a false project of national integration, to the rise of the spirit of resistance in the s\Southern Cameroons. Atanga (2011) saw the Anglophone Cameroon predicament as one of the greatest or severest threats to any hopes of keeping together the postcolonial Cameroon together as a nation state.

Southern Cameroonians who felt marginalized within the current central or unitary system, have been advocating for the restoration of their independence, which was acquired on October 1, 1961. According to Dicklitch (2011), the quest for the restoration of independence has been championed by the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC). In response to the claims for independence, the Cameroon government has branded those advocating for justice as terrorists, using all forms of arbitrary and deadly forces to subdue or silence them.

Scholars and human rights activities have questioned and continue to question the premise for the United Nations granting independence to its trust territories by limiting their choices, as in the case of Southern Cameroons. According to Terretta (2012), all the promises of the United Nations leading to the organized plebiscite of 1961 were deceptions to auction off a territory and its people into another form of colonialization and abuse of human rights. According the literature, the United Nations helped in setting a time bomb in Cameroon with a deceptive model for independence.

Southern Cameroons resistance began in 1972, when the federation was abolished. In 1985, His Royal Majesty Fon Gorji Dinka published *The New Social Order*, suggesting significant reevaluation of the union between the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun (Ayim, 2010). *The New Social Order* was distributed during the 1985 Cameroon National Union (CNU) congress in Bamenda, which saw the end of CNU and the birth of the Cameroon People Democratic Movement (CPDM). President Biya arrested Fon Gorji Dinka for revolutionary sentiments and inciting the public through the publication of the *New Social Order*. He was later pushed into exile and has been in exile ever since.

The 1990s was an era of political agitations, affecting the whole nation of Cameroon. The push for political liberalization and political plurality started from the Anglophones of Southern Cameroons, where there had been complaints of political repressions, economic deprivation, and disproportional economic opportunities and distribution (Akum, 2009). Citizens put pressure on the political elites for liberalization and for allowing increased participation in the political process. The push for the creation of an opposition political party, the Social Democratic Front (SDF), forced the government to accept the creation of competing political parties to the single existing political. Groups such as the All Anglophone Conference (AAC), the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM), the Southern Cameroons National Conference (SCNC), the Southwest Elites Association (SWELA), and the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL) (Nyamnjoh, 1996), were organized to seek political change. According to Welch (2007), this justified why people saw the path of rebellion as the only path to address

their grievances, when those in authority were rendering them to unbearable living conditions. With such a burden on their livelihood, the people become embolden to tread the path of direct confrontation and open rebellion as the only option to make their discontent known and felt. It was in this condition that some citizens forcefully launched an opposition political party.

Nkwi (2010) presented an avenue for voicing the voiceless and subalterns through a focused approach that has existed and been practiced in South East Asia. This has been the focus of scholarly work since the 1980s. He decried the fact that the interests of Cameroon scholarly works have mainly focused on the political history that is controlled and directed by the wishes of the rulers and political elites. According to Nkwi (2010), the realities of the daily lives of the common and ordinary folks have been grossly ignored.

Nkwi (2010) presented that the social and political structures of the country have no room for the functioning of civil societies, which are instrumental in the shaping and transformation of any society or nation. He indicated that the subjection of the people and the country's institution to many decades of autocratic rule has severely undermined and destroyed the moral compass of the nation. This has made it impossible and impractical for an effective civil society to function.

Some, and if not most, of the postcolonial setups and human rights abuses in African countries that were colonies are being blamed on the United Nations (Terretta, 2012). According to Terretta (2012), the actions of the United Nations subjected the trust territories to widespread human rights abuses in the postcolonial area can be clearly seen

within the developments in British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon. They were both placed under the United Nations protectorate.

### **Significant Political Events Post May 20, 1972 to Present**

According to Johnson (1970), the same system that brings different or separate political systems into a union may also be the one that keeps them together. The experiences of Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroun are no exception to existing theoretical constructs. The project of abolishing the Federal Republic of Cameroon and putting in its stead the United Republic Cameroon, under a centralized structure, was under the leadership and presidency of Ahidjo. According to Ndi (2013), to seek an understanding on how to deal with the situation, the Southern Cameroons (West Cameroon) members of the Federal Assembly walked out of the assembly and met at the residence of Fonlon. As soon as this happened, President Ahidjo quickly dispatched armed troops to surround the residence. Fearing what could happen if they decided to resist the actions of President Ahidjo, Fonlon advised the Southern Cameroons representatives to return to the assembly. He suggested that since they were ill-prepared to resist President Ahidjo, they should leave the fight for their children and future generations to fight. From then on, Southern Cameroons (West Cameroon) was to watch in silence as its institutions and structures were dismantled and replaced with those favorable to the majority Francophone (the Republic of Cameroun, East Cameroun) institutions and structures.

### **The Theories of Federalism and National Integration**

The theory of federation dates as far back as 1863, when Proudhon wrote the



principles of federation, translated by Vernon (1979). In presenting the principle of federation, Proudhon contended that liberty and authority are conflicting requirements of existing polities, and there should be a push towards a balance between the two, with liberty putting pressure on authority to reduce its expansion (Vernon, 1979). Vernon (1979) stated:

Among the various devices or models which history offers, federalism alone extends liberty to its practical limits and confines authority to its practical minimum; in federalism alone an expanded liberty and a compressed authority reach final equilibrium. Federalism, in short, is human progress. (p. 3)

Federalism is a political system that may work for large territories, working together under one governmental administration to serve as an alternative to an empire or monarchy (Filippov & Shvetsova, 2004). Filippov and Shvetsova (2004) stated:

Federalism is commonly understood as a theory of government that uses power to check power amid opposite and rival interests. Authority is limited, and no single body exercises supreme control nor has monopoly over the use of force. (p. 1)

The theory of federation contains several components: Two levels of government control the interests and affairs of the same land and people, and each level of government has autonomy and control over its area of jurisdiction, with constitutional protection of such autonomy and power (Filippov & Shvetsova, 2004). According to

Dosenrode (2010), “the name federation is derived from Latin foedus, meaning pact, alliance, covenant, and arrangement entered into voluntarily and implying a degree of mutual trust and duration” (p. 10). The theory of federation embraces the integration of diverse territorial and political entities.

The theory of federation can be presented in two contexts: functional theory and legislative theory, showing different levels of government and the levels of legislator or legislative activities. The functional theory of federalism addresses the purposes of government, which should be developmental and redistributive in the policies of allocating resources to the poor. The legislative theory of federalism presents the setup of the policy making body involving selection and redistribution.

In a federation there is a setup of regional, local, and federal structures and there are the necessary checks and balances that set a federal system of government apart from the unitary system. The federation theory includes different types of federation, in which one type empowers states and regions in areas of competencies, in the functioning of government and the delivery of goods and services. Another form of federalism is the more centralized form, with the federal government holding and maintaining most of the powers and control in national affairs (Dosenrode, 2010).

There has not been a globally acceptable definition of the term federation. It is a political concept that goes beyond interdisciplinary applications and understanding. Researchers have differing views and perspectives of a federation (Gamper, 2005). Amid the various opinions and views towards the theory of federation, Gamper (2005) stated, “despite apparent differences, all theories of federalism are more or less based on a small

number of historic prototypes that serve as model federal systems” (p. 1298). However, to be able to recognize an existing political system as a federation, certain characteristics should be present. The basic components that should exist in a federal structure are based on the principles of unity and diversity, that allow for regions and localities to have powers over their local jurisdictions and have a place to participate at the federal table in terms of resource sharing and decision-making (Gamper, 2005).

The arrangements for any federal structure are presented in an agreed federal constitution. In such a federal setting, there are states and local governments, states and local legislative structures, and states local judiciary. The states are represented at the federal level through their elected representatives. According to Karmis and Norman (2005), “federalism is an arrangement in which two or more self-governing communities share the same political space” (p. 1). Citizens in federalism maintain a dual belonging to both their localities and the larger federation. Federalism should include the division of power, representation in central institutions, the integration of markets and legal institutions, and amending formula and provision for secession (Karmis & Norman, 2005). In a federalism with many states, the peace and liberty of the states are safeguarded by the union, helping control factions and insurrection (Hamilton, Jay, & Madison, 2005).

The concept of national sovereignty, in any political setup, is a universal requirement, especially for regions whose history have been based on foreign occupation and rule. Cohen (2011) suggested that most states have rejected the tendencies of foreign intrusion and forced annexation, setting up forms of nation states, establishing self-

determining political systems that give them constitutional autonomy, with recognized international borders. Cohen (2011) stated:

There are now 192 sovereign states recognized by international law and enjoying U.N. membership, each of which clings tenaciously to its sovereignty. Yet the legitimacy and efficacy of state seem to be undermined by undeniable ideological transformation, legal development and structural trends. (p. 1)

The theory of federalism includes a constitutional agreement system that is not hierarchical but hierarchical; one that is not monistic but pluralistic, rendering the existence of external and internal powers, allowing and enabling self-rule and shared rule, and embracing the full respect of autonomy and general participation (Cohen, 2011).

In federalism, when the established constitution is not adhered to, the result is an expansion of power from the center that uses force to coerce people and territories, erasing their rights to autonomy and independent decision making on their political and economic lives (Cohen, 2011).

Federal unions of states are ideal typically based on a consensual foedus—a pact or covenant, that articulates the purposes of federating, and which establishes a totality, a polity that has its own distinct representative body and within which each of the member states are represented. (Cohen, 2011, p. 5)

Some authorities may be resentful of the concept of federalism. The Cameroonian reunification contract of 1961 was based on the conflicting existence between liberty and

authority when the choice of the structure of state or the union was federalism. This agreement was embedded in union and autonomy. According to Chofor (2014), “the union aspect of federalism refers to the co-management of society in general, and the will of the people and politics to bind together for the achievement of purposes” (p. 10).

When assessing federalism, the views of significant, established, and appropriate allocation of power and functions between the federal structures and federated states are factors to be taken into consideration, whereby the rights of both the states and federal government are fully protected (Chemerinsky, 1997). According to Chemerinsky (1997), dual federalism restricts the powers of congress and protects the rights of the states in those areas where states should have authorities as guaranteed by the constitution. The theory of federalism includes power sharing and defining areas of power and concentration between the member states—which includes the governments of the federated states and the federal government. Institutions that are of common interest between the states and the federal government are managed in the federal structure. Writers have presented the federal system or structure of governance as a system that provides justice, liberty, stability, and order. According to Proudhon (2005),

Among the many constitutions proposed by philosophy and put to the test by history, one alone reconciles the demands of justice, order, liberty and stability, without which neither society nor the individual can live Truth, like nature, is one. It would be strange if it were otherwise for the mind and for its grandest work, society. (p. 173)

Proponents of the theory of federalism suggest that the federal structure of

governance is a system of political arrangement with a focus on “the need for an orderly arrangement of relationship among different tiers of government in a nation” (Ariyo, 2003, p. 1). The United States, India, and Canada started out as parliamentary political settings before adopting federal structures that were suitable for their various geographical realities (Verney, 1995).

The Cameroonian reunification agents showed a preference for a federal system of government, because they saw this structure of government as a covenant of mutual trust and duration. This theory was presented to Southern Cameroonian politicians as enticement, to either be integrated with the federation of Nigeria or reunify with the Republic of Cameroon (Percival, 2005). The political elites of Southern Cameroons had this in view when they negotiated for a federal structure of governance with La Republique du Cameroun, as the basis for reunification in 1961, following the plebiscite. The new republic of the Federal Republic of Cameroon was to be guided by the theory of federalism, in sorting out solutions to state and federal problems; adopting policies and understanding and analyzing parameters for state and federal rights, duties, powers, and shared areas of both states and national interests. Federalism guaranteed oneness and commonality in settings that are diverse and could otherwise pull people apart. According to Ariyo (2003), “federalism is usually categorized by function, whether political or economic. However, regardless of this, it is important to note that federalism is about nature and form of association among interacting states” (p. 1).

Southern Cameroons came into reunification with the Republic of Cameroon by embracing the concept of federalism as their preferred government setup for the two

entities to reunite (Mukong, 1990). The Southern Cameroons, with Nigeria as United Nations Trust Territories, maintained the federal system of governance. Thus, the Southern Cameroons political elites used federalism as a bargain in the two alternatives, that the United Nations subjected the Southern Cameroons to in February 1961 as conditions for independence (Ndi, 2013). According to Babalola (2013),

Federations are formed through a political bargain between two sets of rational politicians, and the motive for the federal bargain is principally military. This theory is predicated on the assumption that two conditions, the expansion condition and the military condition, must be present for a federation to be formed. (p. 1)

According to Inman and Rubinfeld (2014), “the economics of federalism views the primary task of government as solving the failures of private markets to satisfy the demands of citizens for goods and services”.(p. 2). The adoption of a federal system suggests the preference of a decentralized system as against a centralized system, which projects political plurality and competition, economic efficiency, personal rights, liberties, open participation, social and economic fairness (Inman & Rubinfeld, 2014). Most federal structures engage an economic system that is open and based on a marketing structure. There is a free circulation of goods and services, with pricing and distribution based on the forces of demand and supply.

In a centralized system, economic activities are planned, and the movement of goods and services are determined by a centralized authority. As stated, a centralized economy subjects everyone to a control hierarchy and superior to obey and take others

from. Individual citizens and localities do not directly participate in determining what goods and services are produced or how they are distributed.

### **Theory of National Integration**

National integration, according to Khurana (2013), is the awareness of belonging and having a common identity by the citizens of a nation. When there is national integration, differences in ethnicity, religion, and language are minimized; the citizens feel a sense of oneness. This can be a resource for building prosperity, growth, unity, and peace. National integration can also lead citizens to building and maintaining an emotional attachment to their country (Gurung & Bhandari, 2009). In political integration, the political process is progressively bridged and integrated, and there is a participant political community (Coleman, 2011). There will also be territorial integration, which should reduce cultural and religious tensions to create a homogeneous political community. According to Chiabi (2011), “in Cameroon, the major attempt at redressing the problems of imbalance and therefore fostering national integration began in the early 1960” (p. 53). Cameroon is a country of diversities, which may make it a candidate for political national integration.

There has been growth in minority nationalist movements, challenging the social science theory of national integration and pushing governments to adjust to accommodate nationalistic and secessionist agitations (Birch, 1978). Scholars have challenged the image of self-determination, that was accorded to the post-colonial Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun (Chem-Langhee, 2004). The Southern Cameroons agitations, that intensified since the 1990s, are directed towards returning the country to



the federal system of government. This challenges the legality and legitimacy of the federal system that was abolished through the referendum of May 20, 1972. Some groups within Anglophone Cameroon are advocating for a total independence or autonomy of Southern Cameroons. However, these goals can only be attained through unity between the different regions within Southern Cameroons (Fonchingong, 2013). According to Fonchingong (2013), a return to the federation or the total autonomy for Southern Cameroons can only be attained when Southern Cameroonians are able to put the common good or interests ahead of their personal interests and goals.

According to Akum (2009), the Francophone administration was set to begin the process of marginalizing the Cameroon Anglophones after the July 17, 1961 Foumban Constitutional Conference. These actions made the goals of national integration less attainable through peaceful means. According to the New Social Order,

Cameroon, like many other African countries, is a confederation of independent ethnic, religious and cultural communities. National integration of these communities is therefore a national objective, which is the duty of each and every individual or section of the component communities. For some time now, there have been activities, which have put the entire concept of integration in jeopardy. Individuals, groups, and even the government are guilty of bringing us to the brink of total disintegration. (Ayim, 2010, p. 79)

### **Theory of Conflict Resolution**

In making and proposing policy alternative to the Cameroon conflict, the theory of conflict resolution forms the basis of informing and consulting. Any approach to conflict resolution can also be seen as reconciliation, a path to ending conflicts through a peaceful proposal to retribution and conflict. The use of a conflict resolution theory should be one that provides instruments and a path to transforming theory into practice. Conflict theory presents conflict resolution, conflict prevention and conflict management as globally coordinated engagements, which bring parties together to resolve an active conflict. Kelman (2006) suggested a conflict resolution model, “based on direct communication, in a non-official context, between politically influential members of the communities in conflict” (p 209).

According to Rupesinghe (1987), violence and protracted ethnic conflicts are the major challenges in the attempt to study conflict resolution and in applying its theory. In the area of social studies and psychology, the theory and concept of conflict resolution has been expanded in the accumulation of research, in the areas of bargaining, negotiations, arbitration and mediation. The focus of conflict resolution theories are targeted and specific. According to Burton (1986), “the term also encompasses the process whereby institutional and policy options are discovered that meet the needs of the parties, thus establishing the basis for a resolution of the conflict” p 125.

When considering conflict resolution theories, it is necessary to consider the type of conflict and the approach taken by the parties. The two main conflict resolution theories are: Thomas-Kilman conflict mode instrument (TKI) and the interest-based

relational (IBR) approach. According to Thomas and Kilmann (2008), people behave and act differently in any given conflict situation and the Thomas and Kilmann instrument (TKI) can be used, and is being used, to assess the behavior of any individual in the face of conflicts. There are two main known dimensions that can best describe a person's behavior in a conflict situation: assertiveness and cooperativeness. Assertiveness projects an individual's concerns of self-gains in conflicts and cooperativeness projects the individual concerns for the gains and needs of the others as well. The Thomas and Kilmann instrument (TKI) presents five conflict handling modes, which are: competing, collaboration, compromising, avoiding and accommodating.

The Interest-based Relational (IBR) conflict resolution theory works at getting the parties in conflicts to not be locked in fixed positions or take uncompromising positions but to accept the differences that exist and respect them. This approach works well with establishing good relationships, separating the individuals from the problem, taking into consideration the difference of interests.

## Chapter 3: Research Method

### **Introduction**

A qualitative research approach was used for this research. The focus group approach is one of the qualitative research approaches and was suitable for this study. The focus of the study was to explore and present policy alternatives to the Cameroon conflicts, with views on the abolition of federation. The views of participants helped inform the designing of the policy alternatives. This was necessary, because the assumption was that the abolition of the federation or federal system set the stage, or is responsible, for the build up to the current conflicts.

Data was collected through a focus group and an unstructured interview. I conducted an unstructured interview with Anglophone and Francophone individuals, with knowledge of the Cameroonian political history and situation, to determine their perspectives about abolishing the federation, and what would resolve the current violent conflicts. The use of the qualitative approach was best suited for providing a naturalistic view of the issues relating to the topic under exploration.

Information was collected from a total of 20 participants, from both the Anglophone and Francophone regions of the country, residing in the United States, who were involved in either the political, economic, or educational realities in Cameroon. Their views and perspectives informed the research in exploring and designing policy alternatives to the ongoing violent conflicts. The participants were chosen from the different cultural, professional, and nongovernmental Cameroonian groups that are organized and active in the Cameroon diaspora community.

### **The Qualitative Method**

Based on the type of study, data collecting can be suitable using either the qualitative or quantitative methods. There are significant differences between the two methods. Whereas the qualitative method uses review of documents, focus groups, in-depth interviews; the quantitative method uses documents for numerical data, structured interviews, observations and surveys. The quantitative method is number based, while the qualitative method is text based. The quantitative method is more generalizable; the qualitative method is less generalizable. The qualitative method may arrive at a theory or hypotheses through inductive processes; whereas the quantitative method works with a deductive approach pretest concepts, hypotheses, and constructs to form a theory. There is objectivity, with observed effects of a situation or problem, that backs the researcher's interpretation. The qualitative research presents the results of a problem or situation from the presentations of the respondents, who experienced or are experiencing it. Thus, making the qualitative method more subjective. While the qualitative method is more in-depth in gathering information and data from a few or limited number of cases, the quantitative method is less in-depth, although it works with and presents a breadth of data and/or information with many cases. While the quantitative method uses a fixed response method, using statistical tests to make analysis, the qualitative method does not use statistical tests and depends mainly on semi-structured or unstructured responses (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, & Namey, 2005)

I used a focus group with an unstructured interview approach to gather the participants' views, perspectives, and knowledge of the abolition of the federation and the

possible effects on the nation. The inductive approach is used to collect data, focusing on participants' perceptions. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (2008), "the most flexible form of personal interviewing is the non-structured or nondirective interviews" (p. 215). There are different views on the abolition of the federation and the agitations of Southern Cameroonians that threaten the harmony and integration of the Cameroonian nation. Using the unstructured interview approach allowed the participants to engage in a free approach or setting, as most of the questions were generated from their responses. The narratives generated from this study provide some understanding on the impact of the abolition of the federation and how it is viewed by people who experienced this change in the political structure of the Cameroon, as viewed by Anglophones and Francophones. These views have helped me in designing policy alternatives to the current ongoing conflicts

### **Data Collection Method**

According to Creswell (2009), "those who engage in this form of inquiry have assumptions about testing theories deductively, building in protection against bias, controlling for alternative explanations, and being able to generalize and replicate the findings" (p. 4). A sample of the population represents the general population. The method I chose for data collection and design was the unstructured interview approach, whereby a total sample of 20 individuals formed the focused group, representing the different political and regional perspectives in the population.

There are five types of qualitative methods: phenomenological, case study, grounded theory, narrative, and ethnography. As much as these different methods may

apply or use data collection methods that are similar, such as text review, interviews, and observations, their differences do stand out per the reason or purpose for the study (Sauro, 2015). Ethnography focuses on the participants and their environment, with regards to motivations, challenges, themes, goals, and cultures. The narrative approach puts events from settings or individuals to build a story for the situation. The grounded theory tries to generate a theory or explanation of an event or phenomenon. This approach usually has a larger sample size (20 to 60) than the phenomenological approach, which recommends a sample size of five to 25 (Sauro, 2015). The case study method uses a deep understanding of a situation, with data generated from multiple sources.

The focus group method (employed for this study) was used to obtain an in-depth understanding of political or social issues (see citation). Companies have been known to use focus groups research methods for marketing. Focus groups involve discussions that capture the experiences and views of participants as regard some specific issue of topic. It is also suitable for collecting data were there may be multiple views or perspectives in the face of the same problem.

According to Freitas et. al (1998), “the Focus Group (FG) has been actually employed by marketing and is becoming important in other areas as well, such as education, health, management, decision-making and information systems, among others” (p. 1). Depending on why a research is being conducted for, a focus group can be used in combination with other methods or it can be used alone. In considering how each individual or a group of individuals feel about an experience, an event or an idea, a method or technique can be used to present individual or collective reality. Add summary

and synthesis to fully conclude the section.

### **Instrument of Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis**

This study uses the critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the instrument of analysis of the data and information gathered. According to Van Dijk (2012), critical discourse analysis falls in the ranks of discourse analytical research that explores, in the social and political settings, the manner in which in societies, nations, communities and/or tribes, social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are brought about, set up, reproduced and resisted through talk and text. Critical discourse analysis could be considered a dissident research approach, in the view that a researcher using this approach gets interested in understanding, exposing and push towards the direction of resisting social injustice and inequalities. In this light, critical discourse analysis not only considers text or verbal discourse but also the social context

According to Janks (1997), the CDA has its foundations in the critical theory of language that views language in the context of social practice. In this case, CDA is seen in relationship to and with power. “Where analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relations of power, it is called critical discourse analysis” (Janks, 1997, p. 329). In the case of this study, critical discourse analysis is used to understand the political and economic power dynamics in the Cameroonian political setup, that resulted to the abolition of the federation and the agitations from Southern Cameroons for independence. Putting together a critical discourse analysis began with the text, with the view that text is just one of the many lenses required and essential in developing other perspectives in drawing the final conclusions (Janks, 1997). The texts coming from the



discourses of the respondents are complimented with the historical and current realities of Cameroon's political and economic disposition.

In working with critical discourse analysis, one must develop a sense of critical language awareness (CLA). According to Case (2005), CLA has been used to develop critical thinking amongst students in reducing the disparities they face due to class, linguistic and racial inequalities. With this awareness, the concepts of discourse, language and ideology help in conducting a critical discourse analysis (Case, 2005). CLA gives the researcher a greater understanding of the ideological, social, economic and political clarity of language in conducting a critical discourse analysis.

According to Meyer (2001), as far as its theoretical framework or background is concerned, the critical discourse analysis is eclectic with different theories, with different levels of approaches; not a unique or singularly accepted method or approach to data collection and analysis, but it is more problem oriented. According to Meyer (2001),

The similarity most evident is a shared interest in social processes of power, hierarchy building, exclusion and subordination. In the tradition of critical theory, CDA aims to make transparent the discursive aspects of social disparities and inequalities. CDA in the majority of cases takes the part of the underprivileged and tries to show up the linguistic means used by the privileged to stabilize or even to intensify inequalities in society. (p. 30)

The CDA, as presented by Jager (2001), was used as an instrument to explore what knowledge the participants' responses brought to the study. This concerning place

and time, valid knowledge, how the knowledge is passed on (broaden or replicated), the function of the participants in shaping the outcome to society, and the impact this may have to the development of society or the country. Jager's discourse strand was used to analyze themes, arguments, points of view, and other relevant information from the experiences of the participants. Contrasting and analyzing, the various themes, arguments, and assumptions that correspond or contrast with the data collected as the focus of using this instrument. The points, discourses were coded and analyzed. This study does not require any software to analyze the data collected, given the nature of the studies.

### **Role of the Researcher**

Qualitative studies are unique and there is no one standard or one-size-fits all. This makes the researcher the main driver and architect of the study. The researcher is responsible for data collection, data analysis, and making recommendations. It is the researcher's responsibility to keep whatever bias they may have about the topic in check, so as not to mar the authenticity of the conclusions that are drawn.

## Chapter 4: Findings

In this qualitative study, I investigated the perceptions of Anglophones and Francophones on the abolition of the federation. I also explored policy alternatives to the Cameroon conflicts that threatens Cameroon's national integration. I examined at whether the abolition of the federation has enhanced or retarded social, political, and economic growth in Cameroon. To get better perspectives of the sentiments of the people in relation to the abolition of the federation, the Cameroon national integration doctrine and the Southern Cameroons resistance, an equal number of people from both the French and the English sections of the country were engaged in direct interviews in the focus group. The study concludes with recommendations on policy alternatives to try and bring an end to the current Cameroon conflicts.

### **The Process Leading to Data Collection**

After receiving institutional review board (IRB) approval, I began the data collection phase. Going into the application process, a consent form was submitted along with the application and adjustments and clarifications were made per feedbacks and requests from the Institutional Review Board (IRB).

Once the Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was obtained, I made contact through phone calls and texts to recruit potential participants. Getting participants on the Francophone side was more challenging than on the Anglophone side. The terms Anglophone and Francophone, as used in this study, reference more to regional belonging/affiliation.

### **The Interview Process**

For data collection, I used a qualitative focus group interview method. According to Cohen and Crabtree (2006), a researcher can use unstructured interviewing when they have an adequate understanding of the subject of interest, with a possible agenda, but they are open to making changes from information gathered from the participants. This means that there were no pre-prepared questions. Although the Institutional Review Board (IRB) had suggested some sample or introductory questions during the approval process, most of the questions were generated from the information provided by the participants and according to their level of knowledge of the subject being discussed. The setting was scheduled to meet the convenience and comfort of the participants, and all the participants were presented and given time to read and sign the consent form before the interview started. Participants were appreciated for accepting to help with the data collection process of the study and reassured of their rights and strict confidentiality and anonymity. Although the introductory questions submitted to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) were slotted in during the interview, they were not asked in any specific order. Here are the three introductory questions that could be rightly seen as part the focus of the study:

1. One of the reasons that were brought forward to abolish the federation or federal system of government, was to engage in the process of national integration. In your view, how has the abolition of federalism been negative or positive to Cameroon's national integration?

2. How do you think the abolition of federation has contributed to either advancing or retarding the political, social and economic progress of the country?
3. How and to what extent do you think the current separatists' activities, resulting in waves of ongoing violence in the two Anglophone provinces, is as a result of the abolition of the federal system of governance?

### **The Transcription Process**

According to Bailey (2008), “transcribing appears to be straightforward technical task, but in fact involves judgement about what level of detail to choose” (p. 127). Since it was stated in the Institutional Review Board (IRB) application that the interviews were going to be recorded and a professional transcribing service was going to be used, a confidentiality contract was established with the transcribing agency. For security and effectiveness, and to have appropriate backups should anything go wrong with the recording, three recording devices were used during most of the interviews and two with some others. After the interviews were completed, the transcriber sent a link for the audio files to be uploaded and for a work order to be filled out and signed. The process was smooth and thorough and the transcribing agency was professional, efficient, and reliable.

### **The Theory of Federalism and National Integration**

The theories of federalism and national integration informs a comparative base to what exists as a system of governance in Cameroon today, a centralized system..

“Federalism as a concept of governance connotes a political system or arrangement erected on two (or more) levels of government. And these levels deal with common and territorially diverse issues and policies” (Akindele & Olaopa, 2003, p. 170). I used the

theory of federalism and national integration to explore the main areas of concerns of the study. In this study, federalism was viewed as a theory that provides a system for regional division of political and economic power within the common state institutions or regional state territories (Akum, 2009). Two separate and distinct political and regional entities like the Republic of Cameroun and the Southern Cameroons first opted as a set up for their union to have a federal system, whereby each entity could maintain its unique identity and culture, while sharing federal bilingual institutions. In this federal setup, the minority Southern Cameroons kept its cultural and political identity as the federated state of West Cameroon. The majority of the Republic of Cameroun kept its political, territorial, and cultural identity as the federated state of East Cameroon. For the common use and benefit of both entities, federal institutions were setup, including a federal government and a federal national assembly.

All 20 participants in the study responded that the federal system would have presented a better outcome for managing the affairs of the country, than the outcome of the centralized system. The 10 Anglophone (Southern Cameroons) participants saw the abolition of the federation as just one of the acts in a well-planned strategy to assimilate Southern Cameroons. Although the Francophones (La Republique du Cameroun) agreed that abolishing the federation was a wrong move, they saw it more in comparing the current unitary centralized system as less preferred to the abolished federal system. They do not see the federal system they desire, as the two states federation that existed in 1961. They talk more of a decentralized setting with local autonomy. For the Anglophones, federation to them is the bicultural setup of two separate states and a federal government.

### **The Theory of National Integration**

Part of the reasons given by the Francophone political establishment and leadership to abolish the federal system, in favor of a centralized system of governance, was the argument that a centralized system would enhance national integration much quicker. In collecting data through the interviewing of both the Francophones and Anglophones, the issue of national integration, as linked to the abolition of federalism, was raised equally to all participants. The respondents were unanimous in the view that given the current realities on the ground in the country, there has been failure to prove that federalism and national integration are mutually exclusive concepts. All 20 participants dismissed this concept outrightly.

According to Khurana (2010), national integration is being aware of a common identity that exists or may exist among the people or citizens of a country or nation. National integration may occur in the presence of great diversities, meaning that although people and communities may be different in language, religion, tribes, caste, or culture, the process of national integration can be engaged. This form of integration provides unity in diversity and can be very important, if engaged in an honest and genuine way, in building a country or nation that will be strong and prosperous. National integration, as is the case being pronounced by the government in the Republic of Cameroun, is not oneness or one and indivisible or similarity. National integration does not include the elimination of differences but to use differences as a force for building and promoting commonality in a general sense of belonging (Khurana, 2010).

All participants agreed that the abolition of the federal system has not helped the country achieve the goals of national integration, as was proposed by the government. They all agreed that the abolition of the federation has pushed the country more towards disintegration than integration. Both the Francophones and Anglophones participants agreed that the country was moving more towards disunity and disintegration under the unitary and centralized political structure. All participants agreed that the current tense political atmosphere may not have been the case if the country was under a federal system. A federal system that comes with the sharing of power, equally spread economic opportunities and needed checks and balances on the existing political powers, that is currently concentrated on a single individual, the president.

For the purpose of presenting the findings and concepts generated from the interviews, the participants are labeled in two groups: A for the Anglophones and F for the Francophones and then followed by a number. Rather than focus on words, phrases and/or sentences in analyzing the similarities, differences in the language of the participants, political and social concepts were the primary focal points. These concepts were used to bring out the views, perceptions, and experiences of the participants towards the subject matter and any additional information generated in the course of the interview. A fourth focal point of interest was to ask the participants if they thought the protests and resistance of the Anglophone citizens against the government were justified. All 20 participants responded that they were justified, as presented in Tables 1 and 2 below.



Table 1

*Anglophone Responses in Agreement or Disagreement with the Key Concepts or Questions in the Study*

	Has the abolition of federalism helped enhance or advance national integration?	Has the abolition of federalism contributed to either advance or retard the economic, social and political progress in the country?	To what extent do you think the current violent activities, resulting in waves of ongoing violence in the two Southern Cameroons provinces can be seen as a result of the abolition of the federal system of government?	Are citizens of Southern Cameroons is justified in its protests and resistance of the government on the abolition of federalism?
A1	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A2	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A3	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A4	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A5	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A6	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A7	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A8	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A9	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified
A10	Not at all	Retarded	Fully	Justified

*Note: A = Anglophone participants*

Table 2

*Francophone Responses in Agreement or Disagreement with the Key Concepts or Questions in the Study*

	Has the abolition of federalism helped enhance or advance national integration?	Has the abolition of federalism contributed to either the advancement or retardation of economic, social and political progress in the country?	To what extent do you think the current violent activities, resulting in waves of ongoing violence in the two Southern Cameroons provinces be seen as a result of the abolition of the federal system of government?	Are the citizens of Southern Cameroons justified in their protests and resistance of the government on the abolition of federalism?
F1	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F2	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F3	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F4	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F5	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F6	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F7	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F8	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F9	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified
F10	Not at all	Retarded	Mostly	Justified

*Note: F = Francophone participants*

The primary concepts used in rating and analyzing the participants responses centered on the following: political manipulation, corruption, patriotism, fraud, deceptions, failed state, dictatorship, resistance, the use of force, lack of independence from France, dubious and incompetent political leaders, abuse of trust, two state solution and fear from past traumatic experiences; these concepts were used to direct the interview as well. All the participants, from F1 to F10 and from A1 to A10, believe that the abolition of the federation in 1972 was out of political manipulation, corruption, fraud, deception and abuse of trust. They believe that Francophone dominated political elites were under the advisory of the French government that continues to have political and economic influence in the country. All the participants see France as being the main cause of Cameroon's political and economic woes.

In relating to the main focus of the study, the Francophone and Anglophone participants were asked further, if they think a return to federalism will resolve the political crises in the country and if they support the current call from the citizens of Southern Cameroons, to separate from the union and form or restore their own independent nation. Whereas all the Francophone participants agreed, all the Anglophone participants stated that the actions of the government, in the manner in which the current crisis is being managed, has crossed the redline. For them only the option of two sovereign independent nations will resolve the crisis. They say that what has happened—the mass killings of innocent unarmed civilians, Anglophone citizens, the burning down of whole towns and villages with frail elderly citizens burned alive in their homes by government forces—is unacceptable. They see this as indication that these were planned

acts of the government from the moment of reunification, should the citizens of Southern Cameroons ever rise to resist their planned assimilation project.

The Francophone participants do not see separating and splitting of the country as the right solution. They believe that all the country's political problems should be blamed on the manipulations of France's refusal to grant the country full independence and still control every aspect of the country's political and economic life. They think, rather than the Anglophones opting to leave, they should work together to rid themselves of the corrupt and unpatriotic leaders, forced on the country by the French to represent their interest of remaining in power. They see the possibility of forming a force between the Anglophones and Francophones to chase out the corrupt government and the French.

On being asked why the Francophone population are silent regarding the excesses of the government for over five decades, and why they do not find the need to raise their voices as the government carries out all forms of violent crimes and massacres of innocent civilians in the Anglophone regions, their response was fear and trauma. They talk of the trauma and fear that was inflicted on their population during the period leading to independence, from the UPC resistance to the French manipulations. They say the killing of whole communities and the burning down of towns and villages were intended to plant a lasting fear in their hearts, and it worked. They say they experienced what the Anglophones had not, and that made them remain docile and accepting of the crimes and manipulations of the government, fearing for their lives. For them, they hope, that since the current president is very old, he might die soon and things might get better with a new president.

### **Demographics**

Most of the participants in this study were a mixture of males and females, born in the Cameroons and living in the United States. Their ages ranged within 40 to 70 years. All of them at least had a bachelor's degree and had attended schools both in Cameroon and abroad—Africa, Europe and the United States. All of them were either fully bilingual, or minimally bilingual, with either full or basic comprehension of both French and English. They all had a good understanding or knowledge of the Cameroon and Southern Cameroons political history, and some of them were actively engaged in various activities or affiliated to groups actively engaged in the pressures to seek political and social change in the country. They were all comfortable in discussing the political events and problems of the country.

### **Evidence of Trustworthiness**

From the time this study was conceived to the time of data collection, the Cameroonian political situation has deteriorated significantly, in the areas of security and stability. Given the urgency of a study of this nature in this moment of the country's history, the researcher approached every aspect of this study with rigor. According to Lietz, Langer and Furma (2006), this rigorous approach is important in increasing the assurance that all the participants are fully listened to and reflected in the study.

The standards for trustworthiness of qualitative research include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Stumpfegger, 2017). The credibility of this study is enhanced by triangulations, rather than mainly relying on sample size. According to Stumpfegger (2017), there are four types of triangulations namely:

methodological, data, investigator and theoretical. This study's credibility was enhanced by the use of both data and theoretical triangulations. The results of this study can be generalized. There is transferability, because the results from the situation addressed in the study can be transferred to any other similar situation. The process and outcome of this study projects consistency. There is dependability, in the sense that there is comprehensibility of the presentation and flow of logic. There is confirmability through the researcher being neutral in analyzing all the data (Stumpfegger, 2017).

### **Summary: Findings**

This chapter presents the data collection process and the findings of the study. In interpreting the data from the responses of the participants, there is unanimity between the participants from both the French Cameroun and British Cameroons, that the abolition of the federation in 1972 has not enhanced the national integration of the country, as alluded to by the political leadership. There was also unanimity amongst the participants that abolishing the federation has set the country backward politically, socially and economically. All participants were also unanimous in apportioning blame on the abolition of the federation for the current violence and disintegration of the country, as coming from the resistance and armed conflicts in the two Southern Cameroons regions.

## Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

### **Policy Alternatives to the Cameroon Conflicts**

The feelings, responses, and sentiments of the participants in this study were presented above in Chapter 4. However, I also present balanced and more practical policy alternatives to resolving the ongoing violent conflicts in Cameroon. Although these recommendations may not be exhaustive, they add to other policy efforts that could be taken to bring an end to the conflicts.

It is better for every nation to have in place an active conflict prevention policy and practice before engaging in conflict resolution when conflicts arise. Humans and nations are in the face of real and potential threats of all sorts of violence or disruptions on a regular basis. In the face of such reality, governments should have in place practices and policies to prevent escalations of potential and emerging tensions from drifting into violence or wars. Having preventive policies and practices can help in “avoiding the immense human sufferings and problems that wars always cause, both for the countries involved and the rest of the world” (Lund, 2009, p. 288). It can be less costly and less complex and challenging to put in place preventive measures to avoid conflicts, than it would be to resolve a full-blown conflict. Taking concrete steps and measures to avoid conflicts is much easier than trying to stop one. It is wise for a nation or leaders of a country to be able to identify mitigating sources of conflicts and disintegration and take sound, practical measures to avoid them from occurring.

Conflict prevention, which could also be seen as preventive diplomacy, can be effective according to the moment it is applied in a potential conflict situation and not

necessarily how it is applied or done. According to Lund (2009), “conflict prevention applies to peaceful situations where substantial physical violence is possible, based on typical indicators of rising hostilities” (p. 288). The current conflicts in Cameroon have been over 56 years in the making and there were signs and indicators of the likelihood of it occurring. Had the political and cultural leaders seen the indicators as potential national threats for violence or war, preventive measures and policies could have been put in place. Methods of prevention could have included recognizing and accepting early warnings, putting in place nonpolitical partisan teams of mediation, engaging in ongoing research and facts findings, engaging in preventive deployment of resources, and creating peace zones that can assist in deescalating potential tensions. Resolving the Cameroon conflict is based on trust and there exist very little trust between the government of Cameroon and the resisting people of Southern Cameroons (Ambazonia)

The stages of peace and conflict include war, crisis, unstable peace, stable peace with basic order, and durable peace (Lund, 2009). During war, there is to be peacemaking which is also considered as conflict management. In times of crisis, there is crisis diplomacy, which is also crisis management. In an atmosphere of unstable peace, there should be preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention. In an atmosphere of stable peace, peacetime diplomacy and/or politics should be engaged in. Cameroon has had an atmosphere of unstable peace since reunification, without having any structure in place to engage in preventive diplomacy or conflict prevention. In 2016, Cameroon drifted into a crisis over a situation that was preventable. With the lack of skills and the will to engage crisis diplomacy or crisis management, the crisis upgraded into a war. Internally,



Cameroon lacks the right political atmosphere to take structural measures that address the societal, institutional, and policy factors for dealing with the conflicts and restoring meaningful and lasting peace. In the same vein, it also lacks the desire and will to face and/or address the immediate behaviors from its own governmental operatives that is affecting the conflicts and preventing the possibility of restoring peace. All the build up to the conflict can be blamed on lack of the right will and structures in place to prevent, manage or resolve conflict.

### **An Unconditional and Immediate Ceasefire**

No serious peace process or conflict resolution can effectively begin or be engaged when the government armed forces and the Southern Cameroons Pro-independent resistant forces are still engaged in heavy and ongoing fighting and exchange of fire. A bilateral cease fire must be called and respected by both parties. For this to occur, the government must first demilitarize all Southern Cameroons (Anglophone) territory. It should occur this way because the government declared the war and has been the aggressive party, with sophisticated weaponry and a trained professional military force. The Southern Cameroons (Anglophone) pro-independent fighters have been engaged in self-defense, resisting the attacks of the government forces. The government and its forces have lost trust from the people, since on many occasions the government has called for the resistance forces to lay down theirs while still going around killing unarmed civilians and burning down houses. The government has monopoly to the use of lethal force. Thus, it should withdraw its troops in the occupied territory.

The Cameroon government is using the military to fight and kill its own citizens. This creates an untrustworthy environment for demilitarization. This process must be supervised and monitored by a neutral third party. This could be done by the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, the Commonwealth, or a joint force or collaborative team of all these groups together. The United Nations should maintain a peacekeeping force in the region to maintain and monitor the ceasefire. As presented by Burton (1986) it is important to create an atmosphere where both parties in a conflict feel confident and committed.

### **The Unconditional Release of All Political Prisoners**

After the ceasefire, before any serious and effective peace dialogue or negotiations can begin, all political prisoners held in dungeons and prisons all over the country should be released without conditions. Most of the leaders of the Southern Cameroons (Anglophone) movement and resistance are in jail; 10 leaders were abducted from Nera hotel, Abuja Nigeria and taken to Yaounde. They should all be released to take part in the process of negotiation and restoring a lasting peace. Citizens who were either abducted or arrested and kept incommunicado must be produced, and those not seen must be accounted for. If any are dead, the government should be able to state the cause of death. As in the case with ceasefire, there should be a neutral and outside monitor to follow up this process. In the literature review existing literature project the impunities of the centralized system of governance that exists as incapable of addressing and resolving or managing conflicts. The findings per responses from the participants in the focused group suggest a platform for dialogue and negotiations to end the conflict. This goes in

consideration of the Thomas-Kilman conflict mode instrument in projecting assertiveness and cooperativeness.

### **Total Amnesty to all Citizens Leaving in the Diaspora**

Cameroon has a huge diaspora across the globe, and the diaspora has been active and very engaged in the current conflicts. Before and during these conflicts, the Cameroon diaspora had been a big economic powerhouse through remittances to families and various significant investment projects, including real estate. During the conflicts, the Cameroon diaspora has been engaged in providing humanitarian assistance to citizens in refugee camps, externally and internally displaced persons, those in prison, medical assistance to the injured, and legal services to those being paraded in the military tribunals. The resistance in Cameroon also depends on the citizens in the diaspora for strategic and logistic advice, and to create global awareness and diplomatic inroads of their plight.

When these conflicts were still at the crisis phase, the Cameroon diaspora was the group that was placed on a travel ban. Citizens of the Anglophone regions leaving in the diaspora were refused entry at the airport. The government continued to accuse the diaspora of inciting and sponsoring the resistance. There will not be a meaningful and lasting peace in Cameroon if the diaspora is not included in the peace dialogues or negotiations. Granting a general amnesty to the citizens in the diaspora will make this possible. From the findings and responses of both the Francophones and Anglophones, the need for broad base reconciliation and amnesty will be one of the considerations in resolving the conflict.

### **All Inclusive Dialogue or Negotiation Without Preconditions**

Conflicts go through different phases or stages. Brahm (2003) presented the following phases: no conflict, latent conflict, emergence, escalation, stalemate (hurting), de-escalation, settlement/resolution, and post-conflict peacebuilding and reconciliation. The latent stage is when people in society present with different interests, needs, and values. Although at this stage the potential for conflict may not indicate itself, it takes an event to lead to its emergence or beginning. At this stage, if the conflict is not resolved or a settlement reached, the conflict will rise the escalation phase. The peak of any conflict reaches the stalemate phase where there is too much hurt and destruction, with no side winning. From the stalemate stage, there is possibility for de-escalation and possible dialogue and negotiation, leading to the dispute settlement and post-conflict peacebuilding phase. With the international interest and pressures with the Cameroon conflict that could be said to be at the stalemate phase, there calls now for de-escalation, dialogue, or negotiations.

There is lack of trust between the two parties. Southern Cameroonians do not seem to trust or believe in anything coming from the government of Cameroon. They believe the intentions of the government towards them are all deceptions, ill-conceived and manipulations. The government has been known for not fulfilling promises and to use falsehood as policies. The practices of the government have been to pretend to initiate dialogue, then turn around and jail those with whom they were claiming dialogue. Thus, any form of dialogue or negotiations should be mediated by a third party. This could be either the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, Commonwealth or the

Vatican and all dialogue and negotiations should take place out of Cameroon. All the options should and must be on the table during this dialogue and negotiations.

Recently, the government of Cameroon has been talking about holding dialogues and ceasefire. The dialogue the government is presenting comes with preconditions. The government wants to dialogue but would not have separation or form of state on the table as part of the dialogue. The international communities, including the United Nations, the United States, the European Union, have suggested an all-inclusive dialogue without any preconditions. In any dialogue or negotiations between the two parties, the government should have no hand in appointing the representatives of Southern Cameroons and none of the current political parties' leaders should be made to represent the interests of Southern Cameroons. This is due to the culture of political groupthink and toxic and blind support for the president and his political party.

### **The United Nations Should Be A Part of The Dialogue/Negotiations**

Both Southern Cameroons (British Southern Cameroons) and the Republic of Cameroun (French Cameroun) were mandates and trust territories of the League of Nations and United Nations, respectively. The United Nations forced Southern Cameroons into attaining independence with the limitations of two options or the two alternatives, to either join the Federal Republic of Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroun, refusing Southern Cameroonians the full length of self-determination by not allowing for a third option or alternative—standing on their own, independent. The United Nations neglected its responsibility of monitoring the union as required and ignored the complaints and petitions from Southern Cameroonians over the abuses and

marginalization of both the Republic of Cameroun and France. All of what that the Southern Cameroons have gone through, since the reunification with the Republic of Cameroun, has occurred with the United Nations and other international bodies watching indifferently, failing to engage in preventive diplomacy.

The United Nations, as a moral duty, should take more interest in what is going on and play its part in resolving this conflict. Their actions set the stage for the conflicting relationship that the Southern Cameroons was forced into in 1961, and it will save the world a lot of hurt if the United Nations use this opportunity to correct whatever mistakes may have made in the past. With their presence, there should be only two options: either continuous union between Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroun under a bicultural (equal partners) federation, as was agreed upon in 1961, or total and complete separation, with the Southern Cameroons reasserting its independence as a free nation, away from being forced to join any other country. The determination of this should be made by Southern Cameroons only through a United Nations organized and supervised plebiscite. The findings from the responses of participants blame France for not giving Cameroon full independence and the United Nations for forcing Southern Cameroons to acquire independence by joining another country. This they see as an opportunity for the United Nations and the world community to right that wrong.

#### **Place a Caretaker Administration during the Period of Dialogue/Negotiation**

The current Cameroonian administrative and political structures have lost every credibility and trust to continue governing in Southern Cameroons. There will continue to be tension in the region if the Francophone administrators, appointed by the government,

continue present themselves as administrative leaders of the two Anglophone regions. They have been responsible for executing the violence and have used hate speech to incite violence. Letting them continue to working in the area during this phase of the conflicts would be seen as provocation and possible indication that the government is not serious or invested in resolving the conflicts. A caretaker administration supervised by the United Nations should be entrusted with temporally running the affairs of the regions, until a settlement for the conflicts is reached. One third of the budget of the country should be allocated to the caretaker body to run the affairs of the region.

### **Humanitarian and Resettlement Work and Assistance**

According to Kett (2005), “conflicts and disasters-whether manufactured-often result in the wide scale of displacement of people. This may be as a result of destruction of homes and environment” (p. 98). The three years old conflicts in Cameroon has left its wake deaths, injuries, arrests, abductions, displacements of persons—both internally and externally. Homes and whole towns and villages have been razed to ashes, tens and thousands have fled for safety into refugee camps in neighboring Nigerian and other countries; others have fled into the forests. There has been ongoing huge humanitarian needs, and assistance has been inadequate and limited. When the struggle gets to the de-escalations/negotiation phase, the process of bringing back citizens and resettling them should be engaged and much assistance would be required from the international and local communities.

When the internally and the externally displaced persons are asked to return, they should be shown and provided some degree of economic security, food security, health

security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. The international community and international charitable NGO should be of great assistance here. According to Kett (2005), “while the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is legally bound by international statute to assist and protect refugees, this is not for internally displaced people-though the commission often take responsibility for them” (p. 98)

The three years conflicts have and continue to be very traumatic to the people and entire population of the region. In the efforts to call people back home and resettle them, they will not only need physical things, they will also need to have mental, psychological emotional wellness. Psychological and psychiatry treatment will be much needed and volunteers from all over the world could be recruited to provide such services. Therapists, doctors, nurses, social workers should be brought in to provide therapies and counseling.

### **Make Efforts to Reduce Total Infrastructural Dependency**

One of the main areas of discontent of Southern Cameroons citizens on their marginalization and assimilation by the Republic of Cameroun, is the fact that there has been a complete neglect of the infrastructural development of the region. The region depends on French Cameroun for electricity, satellite services, phone services, water and international travels. There is not international airport in the whole of Southern Cameroons territory. During this period, and to reduce tension, infrastructural projects such as international airports in Tiko and Bali, will help reduce tensions. The region should have full control of its own satellite to provide internet and phone services to



avoid interruptions from the government in Yaounde. Water and electrical supplies should be fully in the hands of the regional administrations.

The government's exploitation of the natural resources of the Southern Cameroons should be suspended until after the final settlements of the conflict is determined. Continuous exploitations of natural resources, especially oil and timber, could be avenue for further conflicts and tension.

### **Respect and Apply International Conflict Conventions**

There are international conventions governing the conducts of actors in violent conflicts and wars. The Geneva conventions set guidelines for the protections of persons who become victims to armed conflicts and wars. The conventions set standards of humane treatment of prisoners of war and civilians and fundamental guarantees to treat people with dignity and respect. Wars and conflicts put innocent civilians, women, children and vulnerable members of the population in harmful and risky conditions.

Since November 2016, social media has been flooded with very gruesome and disturbing pictures, videos and audios of the Cameroon conflicts. There have been images of beheading, maiming and inhuman tortures of civilians and children. Elderly citizens have been burnt alive in their sleep as their houses are set ablaze, wounded fighters have been pulled out of the hospital where they were receiving treatment and killed. Hospitals and schools haven set ablaze with patients in them. A young child of four months was killed in her parent's home. The conduct of the Cameroon conflicts may present with actions that may be crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide. All these need to be accounted for.

The international community should open an investigation into these crimes. The local population can be very helpful in providing the international investigators with relevant information, witnesses and testimonies. People who may have committed crimes should be punished to deter others from doing same and to provide and build justice and trust.

Further researchers could find interest in the future to explore the situation of the country and the union, either as one nation or two independent nations. It would also be beneficial to scholarship exploring the management of the current violent, war activities and bring to light some of the crimes and possible genocide being committed by the government of Mr. Paul Biya. Areas of interest could also include exploring the double standards of the world community and the United Nations, whereby they place different levels of importance and urgency to different conflicts and to human rights around the world.

### **For There to be Lasting Peace: The Reality of Two Separate Problems**

It has been common for the current conflict in Cameroon, as present in the two Southern Cameroons region, to be seen as a national problem. For there to be lasting peace in the region, the Southern Cameroons should be treated separately from other existing national problems. The whole of Cameroon has been subjected to bad governance, dictatorship, corruption, tribalism, economic neglect, massive unemployment, injustice and the lack of the rule of law. In addition to what prevails in the rest of the country, Southern Cameroons suffers from the abuse of the contractual agreement that brought the two entities together. The people of Southern Cameroons will

not let go the erosion of their statehood if it is not properly addressed in any solution, to bring an end to the conflict. The issue of two state solution, whereby separation becomes a lasting peace solution, should not be suppressed or considered an issue that is not considered or discussed. The Francophone participants still present an opening for keeping Cameroon together under a decentralized or federal system (keeping both Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroun together as a federal bilingual nations). The Anglophone participants see the violent and genocidal violent military actions of the Cameroun government as crossing the redline and making it impossible for the two to live together (they present the only choice being the two states/nations solution, with Southern Cameroons restoring her own independent nation)

### **Limitations of the Study**

The security situation in Cameroon has gotten so bad that even some Cameroonians living out of the country are afraid for their lives and those of their families to say anything about the political situation in the country. It was difficult getting willing participants for the study, taking a longer time and efforts to get those who were willing. While it was less challenging getting Anglophones to participate, it was more difficult getting Francophones who were willing to respond to anything political about Cameroon. It was also difficult to get a gender balance of participants. More males were willing to engage than women. There was also some difficulties getting some people of a certain age, who would have participated, because they feared that it might affect them back in Cameroon, since the government is actively targeting members of the Cameroonian diaspora who are politically active against the government. There were also

limitations of the existence of some required scholarly literature that address the issue in study here.

### **Implications for Social Change**

The social change implications of this study is that it provides a starting premise and a degree of understanding towards bringing peace and stability to a region that has been in conflict for some time. In this study, and the interest in conducting it, in and of itself, I provide an avenue for social change. This research might provide an path for understanding the problems created when certain political decisions are made with wrong intentions and provide information for policy makers to make informed decisions in framing progressive policies in the society towards the quest for genuine social change. It arms the population with available information and knowledge to engage in mobilization and pressuring authorities for genuine social change. It would also incite future researchers and social change advocates to develop interest in exploring the situation further. It can also inform policy makers in designing policies that will promote genuine social change. This study can further encourage the process of dialogue and negotiations, leading to an atmosphere of stability, peace and social change.

### **Conclusions**

Building a nation where all citizens can feel a part of, and be treated, as first class citizens can only be possible with visionary and patriotic political leaders. This is also possible and sustainable where citizens can fully participate in nation building and enjoy equal opportunities for personal growth and community advancement. The current situation that prevails in Cameroon has come to be because of political leadership based

on short term sugar rush gratifications and personalized benefits, rather than investing in the growth, peace, unity and long term stability of the country.

Findings from this study, from the literature and the responses from the participants, indicate that the activities and engagements of political leadership are responsible for leading the country to the current conflict situation. In seeking solutions to bring an end to the current ongoing conflicts, alternative policy suggestions have been made to bring an end to the current conflict and restore peace and stability in the region.

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### Appendix A: Southern Cameroonians Arrested

Table A1

*Table Title: Short List of Some Citizens Arrested Between 2016-2017*

Names	Date Arrested	Date Released
ABAN FELIX	BAMENDA 08/12/2016	11/1/2017
ABANG RAMSEY JAFARA	BAMENDA 08/12/2016	11/1/2017
ABANTELE VICTOR	BAMENDA 02/01/2017	11/1/2017
ABEN GERALD NDAM	TIKO 08/01/2017	14/02/2017
ABIA NORBET	TIKO 08/01/2017	14/02/2017
ACHA IVO ABEN	BAMENDA 16/01/2017	27/01/2017
ACHUE DIVINE	BAMENDA 18/01/2017	20/01/2017
ADAME FELIX	KUMBA 18/01/2017	14/06/2017
ADE KENNETH	MUNDEMBA 22/01/2017	24/02/2017
AGBOR TAKU JOSEPH	BAMENDA 27/01/2017	9/2/2017
AJUME KINGSLEY	BAMENDA 27/01/2017	6/3/2017
AKEMBOM DIVINE	BAMENDA 27/01/2017	6/3/2017
AKOM ALOYSIUS AKOM	BAMENDA 27/01/2017	6/3/2017
AKONWE CHARLSE UFEIJEI	BAMENDA 27/01/2017	5/3/2017
AKUMA DESMOND	BUEA 29/01/2017	18/02/2017
ALOBWEDE VAN KINGSLY S.	NDOP 30/01/2017	18/08/2017
AMBAH RALHIM	BAMENDA 30/01/2017	18/08/2017
AMBE IVO	BAMENDA 30/01/2017	6/3/2017
AMBE LOUIS	BAMENDA 30/01/2017	6/3/2017
AMBESA DIVINE	BAMENDA 30/01/2017	29/01/2017
ANYAM JIN AUSTIN	BUEA 13/02/2017	14/02/2017



ANYANGAWEI NELLY	WUM 19/02/2016	20/06/2016
ANYE DIVINE	YAOUNDE 28/05/2017	16/09/2017
ASELACHA MARTIN	NKAMBE 13/06/2017	12/10/2017
ATANGA CELESTINE NGU	BAMENDA 15/06/2017	15/06/2017
ATANGA DURAND CHENWEI	MAMFE 15/06/2017	3/10/2017
ATOH BENJAMIN	VICTORIA 03/07/2017	12/10/2017
AWAH GODLOVE TENENG	BUEA 03/07/2017	12/10/2017
AWAH ROSTAND	KUMBA 19/07/2017	12/10/2017
AWAH THOMAS DZENYAGHA Jnr	MBENGWI 02/08/2017	26/10/2017
AWO GREGORY ASHU	MBENGWI 02/08/2017	26/10/2017
AYUNKEM FRANKLIN	MBENGWI 02/08/2017	26/10/2017
BABILA VENA	BAMENDA 19/09/2017	10/1/2018
BAH PAULINUS	BAMENDA 19/09/2017	10/1/2018
BANDE IGNATIUS	BAMENDA 19/09/2017	10/1/2018
BANGU COLLINS	LIMBE 21/09/2017	1/12/2017
BEZENG MERVINE	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
BOMA ANTHONY	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
BUH MBI ROGER	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
CHE ANDONG WILLIAM	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
CHE ELI JAH	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
CHE FUH LESLEY	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
CHI EMMANUEL	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
CHOKOUNG KELLY	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
CYRIL BERINYUY	BAMENDA 22/09/2017	29/12/2017
DIENSI LEONARD	KUMBO 22/09/2017	28/12/2017

DIVINE YUYUN DZEREM	KUMBO 22/09/2017	28/12/2017
DOBGIMA FREDERICK	KUMBO 22/09/2017	10/1/2018
DZEKASHU PROTUS ALOMONIWG	KUMBO 22/09/2017	28/12/2017
DZEYUF RAUL WIYSAHNYUY	KUMBO 22/09/2017	10/1/2018
EBASOM NEWTON	BAMENDA 23/09/2017	29/12/2017
EFFIA GIDEON	SANTA 30/09/2017	15/12/2017
EFUETE ARMSTRONG	BALI 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
EPIFE HARRIS BOSEME	BIDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
ERIC YUFENYUY TATAH	BATIBO 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
ESSONO WAKEMBA	BATIBO 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
ESUA NORBERT	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2018
ETIM CLEMENT	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
ETOE BENJAMIN	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
EYE DENIS	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
EYONG CHARLES	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
FABIAN VISHIWGHO NOUANWOH	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
FON CHAM VALDO NYONBELA	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
FON EVARISTUS	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
FONGOD RICHARD	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
FONJONG ARMSTRONG	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
FONYUY TERENCE BANYEH	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
FRI CHRISTABELLE	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
FUH LURTHUR CHE	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017

FUNG CALEMBA	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
GEORGE MFOR TANG	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	29/12/2017
GERMAINE DZENZO	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
GUH GABRIEL	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
IKOE CLINTON ITOE	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
JOHN MARINUS	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
JOSEPH NGWA NGALING	DOUALA 06/12/2016	11/1/2017
JOHNSON BABILA	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
JEAN CLAUDE ZOBOU	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
JONES NJILA TANTO	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
JUDE VERANSO	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
KAINMEH BERTRAND NGONG	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
KAMA JUDE	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
KENDO EDWIN	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
KHAN MARCEL MBU	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
KINGAH VALENTINE	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
KINGSLEY LEKUMZE	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
KPUYUF ETIENNE	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
KUATE EDMOND	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
KUMLAK JEFTER	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	4/1/2018
KWALAR MARVIN	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
LAMBEH JIBRIL	BAMENDA 01/10/2017	15/12/2017
LENDZEMO PLATINI	MAMFE 01/10/2017	26/01/2018
LIVINUS DZELAMONYUY	BAMENDA 08/12/2016	23/12/2016
LON ISAAC CHUNG	MAMFE 01/10/2017	26/01/2018
LOPTE JACOB	MAMFE 01/10/2017	24/01/2018

MAKOLO EKOI MATHIAS	MAMFE 01/10/2017	26/01/2018
MANCHO BIBIXY TSE	MAMFE 01/10/2017	26/01/2018
MARTHA FOMUYONG	MAMFE 01/10/2017	26/01/2018
MBAH GEORGE	BAMENDA 02/10/2017	15/12/2017
MBAH STEPHEN	BAMENDA 02/10/2017	15/12/2017
MBU THOMAS	BAMENDA 02/10/2017	15/12/2017
MBUH RENE NSUH	BAMENDA 02/10/2017	15/12/2017
MENJI CHRISTIAN	BAMENDA 02/10/2017	15/12/2017
MIYAOU KOME	KUMBA 07/10/2017	5/1/2018
MOAHMADU ABDU CARIM	KUMBA 07/10/2017	5/1/2018
MOU FONKWAH QUARTUS TSI	MESAJE 08/10/2017	26/01/2018
MUKA KEVIN	MESAJE 08/10/2017	26/01/2018
MUSANG BENJAMIN	WABANE 08/04/2018	10/5/2018
NCHE BENJAMIN AMABU NDAWA	BAMENDA 27/10/2017	26/01/2018
NCHE BRUNO	BAMENDA 27/10/2017	29/12/2017
NCHE ROMEO	S. BABANKI 02/11/2017	28/12/2017
NCHOTFOU STEPHANE	JAKIRI 06/11/2017	24/01/2018
NDAMEN JULIUS	MESAJE 08/11/2017	26/01/2018
NDE JEREMIAH	MESAJE 08/11/2017	26/01/2018
NDEUCHA JEAN FLOBBE	MESAJE 08/11/2017	26/01/2018
NDIFOR RICHARD	MESAJE 08/11/2017	26/01/2018
NDIFOR SMITH	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NDUKONG JULIUS LAMBI	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NFAM IVO	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NGANYU TANGEM THOMAS	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018

NGOLEFE FRANKLINE	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NGORAN LIVINUS KERNYUY	MUNYENGE13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NGWA KINGSLEY	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NGWA LOUIS	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NGWA PETER	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NJABORI GILIO	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NJEYA JULIUS BAWE	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NJI VICTOR TEMBE	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NJINOH TITUS	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NJODZEKA LEONARD SUILIY	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NJONG ERNEST	BAFIA 13/11/2017	24/01/2018
NJU ALEX	MUNYENGE 17/11/2017	26/01/2018
NGALIM FELIX	BAMENDA 29/11/2016	31/12/2016
NKEMNKIA FON YA LINUS	MUNYENGE 17/11/2017	24/01/2018
NKWETA FOH ROBERT	MUNYENGE 17/11/2017	26/01/2018
NSADZENYUY JOHN RIDLY	MUNYENGE 17/11/2017	26/01/2018
NSAGHA ARUNA TATA	KUMBA 05/12/2017	26/01/2018
NSAWEH KENNETH	VICTORIA 31/03/2017	30/05/2017
NSOH BINDA	BAMENDA 17/02/2017	5/4/2017
NSOH EMMANUEL	BALI 15//02/2018	15/02/2018
NTANJI ISIDORE AKO	BAMENDA 15/06/2017	19/10/2017
NTSO BAYONG EUGENE	BAMENDA 02/03/2017	5/4/2017
NTUNFACK FLAVIO	YAOUNDE 01/03/2017	5/4/2017
NUMFOR GODLOVE	BALI 15/09/2017	15/02/2018
NUYIT HYCENTH	KUMBO	
NYALUM GANGTI GILBERT	KUMBA 09/02/2018	17/05/2018

NYUFORAM EUGENE	KUMBA 11/02/2018	17/05/2018
OBEN FRANKLIN	KUMBA 11/02/2018	17/05/2018
ODEMA FRANCIS	KUMBA 08/02/2018	17/05/2018
OTU AYUK CLIFFORD	KUMBA 08/02/2018	17/05/2018
OTU PRINCELY KEKEH	KUMBA 11/02/2018	17/05/2018
OWEN SMITH	KUMBA 03/01/2018	4/4/2018
PENN TERENCE KHAN	BAMENDA	
PLATINI ANGA AKWO	BAMENDA 08/12/2016	23/12/2016
PETER SULLIVAN MINJO	BAMENDA	
SAKWE OLIVER	BAMENDA	
SHEY NJOBATI	BAMENDA	
SHEY ZAHARATU SHINYUY	BAMENDA	
SHI EDWIN CHE	BAMENDA	
SIMEON MOUFOR	BUEA25/01/17	
SIMON TSE	MAMFE10/12/17	
SIMPLICE FOTABONG	12/12/2017	
SOH GABRIEL	3/12/2017	
SOH RAOUL	3/2/2018	5/8/2018
SUH PAUL VINCENT	18/02/18	
SUH EMMANUEL	19/02/18	23/08/18
SUNDAY JUSTUS	26/02/18	
TAH EMILE AGWE	28/02/18	5/8/2018
TAH GEORGE	3/3/2018	
TAKU TANKA RAYMOND	22/03/18	1/8/2018
TAMBA NORBERT	27/03/08	17/08/18
TAMINA TERENCE	27/03/18	17/08/18

TAMINAN EPHRAIM	28/03/18	5/8/2018
TAMNGWA ERNEST LONTUM	28/03/18	5/8/2018
TAMNGWA MARVIN T.	4/4/2018	
TANUE ERIC	24/4/18	17/08/18
TANYI ROBERT TATOH	3/5/2018	
TATIH ERIC NGUH	3/6/2018	
TAYO LIVITE	16/06/18	
TIKUM MOSES	16/06/18	
TITA GEORGES	16/06/18	
TSE CLARENCE	16/06/18	
TSE NOEL	KUMBA	
TSI CONRAD	EKOK	
VINCENT BOSI SONGWI		
VINTAR BERTRAND		
WEMJEH JUDE		
WIRBA BRUNO		
WIRBA DIDIMUS	KUMBO 22/02/18	5/9/2018
WIRDZEREM CLIFFORD	KUMBO 24/02/18	5/9/2019
NTUMNYUY		
WIRNGO BONGKIREH	KUMBO 23/09/18	5/9/2018
FLAVIAN		
WIRSIY FREDERICK (Died in detention)	KUMBO 22/09/18	5/9/2018
WOALA ERNEST NYUYTAI	BAFUT 27/02/18	10/9/2018
WOHLEN VITALI (Died in Detention)	BATIBO 24/03/18	10/9/2018

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YARAYEN PAUL	BAWURU 11/02/18	11/9/2018
YONGO COLINUS	BAWURU 11/02/18	11/9/2018
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YUKA EDWARD		
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YUYAR ISSA BERNSAH		
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ZEMO COLLINS		
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NKWO BELTUS		
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**Appendix B: Short List of Unarmed Citizens Killed by Government Forces**

- 1 Mathias—Andek
- 2 Esoka Bell Jacob—Kumba 24.12.2017
- 3 Mama Itoe—Foe Bakundu
- 4 Neba Elvis Suh—Plus 8 others unidentified
- 5 Arrey Franklin—Mbenyan 12.05.18
- 6 Mary Agawah—Oshie
- 7 Chasii Bali—17.05.18
- 8 Bawack Samuel—Etoko 18.05.18
- 9 Ashu Precilia—Etoko 18.05.18
- 10 Sam Soya—Belo 16.02.18
- 11 Mami Apih—Kwakwa 20.01.2018
- 12 Akum Julius—Akum 12.08.16
- 13 Denis Ngwa—Nbongongo
- 14 Egbe Maria Ndonge—Mungo Ndor
- 15 Chambong Christian T—Bafut
- 16 Edah Cedric—Widikum
- 17 Pascal Mbe Nenyam—Widikum
- 18 Akume Elvis—Epie
- 19 Elah Geoffrey—Buea
- 20 Akale Elvis Ako—Manfe Town
- 21 Ashu Thomas Nkongho—Kumba

- 22 Eboka—Ikata
- 23 Tendongmoh Pierre—Fontem
- 24 Sakwe Andreas—Kumba
- 25 Nkeng Hubert—Kumba
- 26 Jude Veranso—Kumbo Town
- 27 Frida Ndumu—Boa Bakundu
- 28 Charles Obola Bovet—Banga Bakundu
- 29 Nanje Queensearch—Boa Bakundu
- 30 Derick Ebah—Nguti 03.14.18
- 31 Mama Margaret—Kuruku
- 32 Fungwa Afanwi Jacob—Bafut 04.23.18
- 33 Valentine Mba—Ediki 05.15.18
- 34 Mama Maria—Tombel 05.20.18 + 4 unidentified
- 35 Mannaseh
- 36 Tebi Godwill Nji—Batibo 05.18.18
- 37 Fuh Enestor—Batibo 05.18.18
- 38 Fuh Randy—Batibo 05.18.18
- 39 Niba—Batibo 05.18.18
- 40 Eboka—Ekata 05. 07 2018
- 41 Tar Afoe—Nguti 05.21.2018
- 42 George Nwangi—Nguti 05.21.2018
- 43 Arrey Akpangi—Nguti 05.21.2018

- 44 Sebastien—Nguti 05.21.2018
- 45 Nasako Brandon Colerie—Foe Bakundu
- 46 Achiemba Dieudonne—Oshie 05.22.18
- 47 Changa\_Raymond—Mbalangi 05.20.18
- 48 Pa Nfornam
- 49 Abegesah Franklin (Ajasco)—Bali 05.26.18
- 50 Annung Nico—Bali 05.26.18
- 51 Edang Jarvis—Bali 05.26.18
- 52 Ajeikia (Precose)—Bali 05.26.18
- 53 Feigua Jerome—Bali 05.26.18
- 54 Acho Shadrach
- 55 Chasobola Borvet—Boa Bakundu
- 56 Akalle Elvis—Manfe
- 57 Nyie Clifford—Kombone Mission
- 58 Nyameya Foster Mudeh—Angie Batibo
- 59 Romanus Nyuyki 10.02.18
- 60 Spaco—Ntasen-Nkwen
- 61 Sakwe Andreas—Kumba
- 62 nkeng Hubert—Kumba
- 63 Jude Veranso—Kumbo
- 64 Charles Obola Bovet—Banga Bakundu
- 65 Derick Ebah—Nguti 14.03.18

- 66 Anung Nico
- 67 George Nwangi—Nguti 05.21.18
- 68 Awum Batibo—Bessi 05.31.18
- 69 Sidonie—Menka 05.21.18
- 70 Basile Enongene—Kumba 03.06.18
- 71 Enow Egbe—Mafe 09.22.17
- 72 Tiwu Titus
- 73 Oliver—Tinto 06.07.18
- 74 Mbain Germanus—Alim Fundong 06.11.18
- 75 Rene Junju—Alou 06.13.18
- 76 Arrey Tom—Kembong 06.12.18
- 77 Arrey Louise Egbe—09.22.2017
- 78 Titus Gobte—Boyo 06.21.18
- 79 Etienne—Fundong 06.25.18
- 80 George Amigo—Bafut 06.25.18
- 81 Mandi Paul—Muyuka 06.27.18
- 82 Tebid Evan—Widikum 07.11.2018
- 83 TebidHelen—Widikum 07.11.2018
- 84 TebidJohn—Widikum 07.11.2018
- 85 Tebid Rose—Widikum 07.11.2018
- 86 Tebid Julius—Widikum 07.11.2018
- 87 Achi Deborah—Widikum 07.11.2018

- 88 Tanyi Alphonse—Widikum 07.11.2018
- 89 Charles Koki—Widikum 07.11.2018
- 90 Tenjei Florence—Widikum 07.11.2018
- 91 Prohet Thom—Kumba
- 92 Pa Medhack Abiandong—Munyenge
- 93 Collins Amaboh Nformukong—Mendakwe 04.13.18
- 94 Pa Wirsy—Yaounde Prison
- 95 Vitalis—Yaounde Prison
- 96 Ndzoh Ngandembou—Bamenda 07.19.18
- 97 Alexander Sob Nougi—07.20.18 Rev. Father
- 98 Vernyuy Clarence—Mbah-Kumbo 07.18.18
- 99 Dickson Ma-Azi—Awing 07.20.18
- 100 Mbunwe Leslie—Buea 07.21.18
- 101 Nzoh Ngandembou Brandon—Bamenda 07.21.18
- 102 Nkengbeza Hilary—Fontem 07.21.18
- 103 Esambe Roland—Buea 07.30.18
- 104 Izabeth Ncha—Dadi 07.28.18
- 105 Agenes Ncha Ncha—Dadi 07.28.18
- 106 Cletus Ncha—Dadi 07.28.18
- 107 Patricia Ncha—Dadi 07.28.18
- 108 Richard Ncha—Dadi 07.28.18
- 109 Confidence Eban—Dadi 07.28.18

- 110 Rejoice Ncha—Dadi 07.28.18
- 111 Excellent Ncha—Dadi 07.28.18
- 112 Terence—Belo
- 113 Carey Kursuinyuy—Bambili 07.12.18
- 114 Awah Romeo—Bamenda 03.2017
- 115 Cyprian Sevidzem 09.04.17
- 116 Virsiy Mohamadu 09.04.17
- 117 Suh John—Kumba 09.2017
- 118 Edwin Mawoh—10.01.2017
- 119 Numfor Fidelis—Bamenda 10.01.2017
- 120 Enow Riddley Mbah—Kumba 10.01.2017
- 121 Sirri Monica Kwakwa
- 122 Teku George Jakija—Mutengene 10.01.2017
- 123 13) Donatus Azeh—Bamenda 10.01.2017
- 124 Ngambu Yanick—Sisia 08.03.18
- 125 Basil Enongene—Kumba 09.30.17
- 126 Kum Simon—Wum 08.6.2018
- 127 Eyong Collins Eyong—Bachuo-Ntai 08.05.2018
- 128 Clinton Mbuh—Muyuka 08.08.18
- 129 Reninho Nzene—Muyuka 08.08.18
- 130 Mr. Njong—Tad 08.10.18
- 131 Mrs. Njong—Tad 08.10.18

- 132 Kuma Titus—Ekombe 05.26.2018
- 133 Moyako Etienne Mukube—Dikume Balue 05.26.2018
- 134 Moses, Kantona, Bamusuh + 6 others at Baba—Mbonge 05.11.2018
- 135 Kenneth Ngong—Modungo 04.20.2018
- 136 Joel Zokoman—Ekumbe Mofako 04.09.2018
- 137 Piro Jean—Bonja 04.03.2018.
- 138 George Ngwangi—Nguti 05.29.2018
- 139 Fru Akuma—05.29.2018. \*\*Died in exile in Nigeria.
- 140 Titus Anyih—Ngwo in Njikwa-Momo County 05.24.2018
- 141 Prince Dan Mbah Njeck of Bessi Village—Batibo Momo County.  
05.31.2018. \*\*Shot by LRC soldiers at Bessi.
- 142 Ambiradan Oliver (Caravan) + 11 others—06.07.2018. \*\*Shot in the chest  
at Tinto, Upper Banyang
- 143 Tiwu Titus—05.20.2018. \*\*Shot in Batibo (corpse confiscated from  
family and buried by the military)
- 144 Pa Wirisiy Frederick (from Kumbo) 06.08.2018. \*\*Died in detention at  
Kondengui detention camp in Yaounde
- 145 Ajong Casmil + 6 others unnamed—Fako 10.2017. \*\*Shot
- 146 Tabe Elvis—Fako 10.2017. \*\*Shot
- 147 Endo Cyprian—Molyko 10.01.2017
- 148 Ikreji Marshal—Buea town 10.01.2017
- 149 Abokwa Cliff—Kumba 10.01.2017

- 150 Ntui Clifford—Muea 10.01.2017
- 151 Mawo Valerie—Mile 17, 10.01.2017
- 152 Tume Wilfred—10.01.2017
- 153 Ghakanyuy Terence—10.22.2017
- 154 Tange Emmanuel—Mile 10.16.2017
- 155 Valentine Ebekwa—Muea 10.15.2017 + 8 others unnamed
- 156 Agu Dinamoh—Buea 10.01.2017
- 157 Terence Mbunwe—Buea 09.25.2017
- 158 Augustine Atanga—Buea 09.27.2017
- 159 Prince Akwo Charles (16 years old)—Okoyong 12.30.2017
- 160 Chiabah Samuel (Sam Soya)—February
- 161 Anselm Konchi—Momo 08.19.18
- 162 Pinyin Massacre with over 38 dead, unnamed
- 163 Elvis Playboy—Chomba + 10 other unnamed 10.2018
- 164 Santa—Bamenda + 7 unnamed \*\*Burnt
- 165 Bali Nyonga + 40 unnamed 11.27.2018
- 166 Mbah Ivo 21.12.18
- 167 General Bibier 15.12.18 + 15 others unnamed
- 168 Kathe Bertrand 09.07.18
- 169 Formonyuy Ornella—Kombu 01.18.19 \*\*Pregnant
- 170 Nurse and husband killed—Munya
- 171 11 Unnamed—Ekona 01.26.19



- 172 More than 20—Bafut 01.30.2019
- 173 Atangana Jim 01.28.19
- 174 Oduma 01.28.19
- 175 Ayongel 01.15.19
- 176 6 unnamed—Bamenda 01.14.19
- 177 2 unnamed—Ekona 01.11.2019
- 178 1 unnamed—Bamili 01.08.2019
- 179 Gen Sebastien—Widikum 01.03.19
- 180 Dominic—Seminarian 01.03.19
- 1 unnamed boy at Ndu 01.03.19 \*\*Burnt Alive