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Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts

**Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa; a Case Study of Cameroun and  
the Agitation for Secession by Southern Cameroon.**



by

Sadoh Lorretta

Division of International and Area Studies

The Graduate School

Pukyong National University

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사례 연구

Advisors: Prof. Kim Dong Soo and Prof. Ahn Sang Wuk



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Sadoh Lorretta

A thesis submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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in the Department of International and Area Studies, The Graduate School,  
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A thesis

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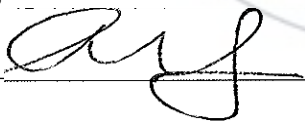
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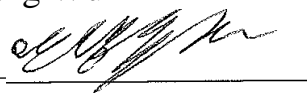
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## List of Abbreviation

AAC: All Anglophone Conference.....	27
AU: African Union.....	66
CAM: Cameroun Anglophone Movement.....	32
CDC: Cameroon Development Corporation.....	34
CHRDA: Center for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa.....	1
GDP: Gross Domestic Products.....	33
HYDRAC: Hydracarbures Analyses Controles.....	34
IMF: International Monetary Fund.....	34
SCDP: Societe Camerounaise Des Depots.....	34
SCNC: Southern Cameroon National Council.....	10
SCYL: Southern Cameroon Youth League.....	32
SNH: Societe Nationale Des Hydrocarbures.....	34
SONARA: Societe Nationale de Raffinage.....	34
UK: United Kingdom.....	1
UN: United Nations.....	1
UNPO: Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization.....	8
UNU: United Nations University.....	66
WCMB: West Cameroon Marketing Board.....	34



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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to the special people in my life. First, to my mother, Elizabeth Sadoh, who has been my pillar of strength and for always showing unwavering love and support. This research is also dedicated to my amazing siblings, including my late brother Kevin Sadoh. Thank you for giving me courage and helping me through tough times. I am proud to have you all in my life, your immense contribution and support throughout this process, have made me who I am today, and I am grateful.



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I wish to extend my appreciation to all the lecturers at the Division of International and Area Studies, for contributing to my academic development and enlightenment throughout my journey. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to my course mates, for their thoughtful contributions, support and encouragement. I acknowledge and appreciate the Camerounians I encountered during my journey, for sharing their experiences and stories on the Anglophone problem and giving me an insight on the phenomenon.

Finally yet importantly important, my sense of gratitude goes to my family and everyone who have encouraged or inspired me to pursue this venture. You all played different but important roles in my journey and, I say a big thank you.

# Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa; a case study of Cameroun and the agitation for secession by Southern Cameroon.

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## Abstract

The people of la Republique du Cameroon have a unique and diverse colonial history. The British and the French, separately colonized Cameroon following the ouster of Germany during World War 1, both Cameroons were later reunified in agreement of having a federal system in October 1961. However, their diversity is having significant effect in post-unification Cameroon. Since October 2016, the English-speaking region of Cameroon (Southern Cameroon) has been plagued by crisis between government forces and armed separatists groups.

This study examines factors that present a practical basis in understanding the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis, and to discern the rationale behind government policies and its effect on the people of Southern Cameroon. I analyzed post-colonial events in Cameroun leading to the crisis by drawing from relevant theories, including human needs theory and secession theory as it relates to the minority people of Southern Cameroon and their agitation for secession. In addition, the concept of nationalism is embraced, specifically Michael Hechter's state-building nationalism in order to explain the nature of the nation building policies of the Francophone led government in a multi-national state such as Cameroun, and the implications of these policies.

The findings of this research indicates that the nationalistic character and policies of the Francophone led central government of Cameroun, geared towards nation building and a national identity in a multinational state, over time, resulted in the marginalization of the Southern Cameroon. This, in turn, led to the resistance of assimilation and struggle for a federation, a socio political consciousness widely known as the Anglophone problem, and recognized in this research

as “human need”. Subsequently, they clamored for secession and sovereignty over their region, leading to the Southern Cameroon crisis.

In conclusion, this study submits that, most cases of crisis and instability in multinational states could have been avoided. Actions and policies taken by states, without proper consideration of its diversity, often result in the marginalization of minority groups that end up in revolt and the call for self-determination. For a multinational state to thrive, it is pertinent that it creates an accommodating environment and policies that promote the prosperity of its diverse population.

**Keywords:** Anglophone, Francophone, Southern Cameroon, Cameroun, Nationalism, State-building Nationalism, Crisis, Human need, Secession, Separatism, Self-determination, Assimilation, Multinational state.



아프리카사하라 사막 이남 지역의 갈등;  
카메룬 내 남부 카메룬 분리독립운동 사례연구

Sadoh Lorretta

국문초록

카메룬 국민들은 다양한 식민지배세력의 지배를 받은 독특한 역사를 경험하였다. 제1차 세계대전 중 카메룬을 식민지배 하던 독일을 축출하고 영국과 프랑스는 카메룬을 분할하여 식민지로 삼았다. 영국과 프랑스의 지배를 받던 2개의 카메룬지역은 1961년 10월 연방제를 채택하는 것에 합의함으로써 다시 한 나라가 되었다. 그러나 다양한 식민지배세력의 지배를 받은 경험은 통일 후 카메룬에 큰 영향을 미치게 되었다. 2016년 10월 이후, 영어를 사용하는 남부 카메룬은 정부군과 무장 분리주의 단체의 충돌에 시달려 왔다.

본 연구는 남부 카메룬의 위기를 초래하는 원인의 실질적인 논거를 고찰하고, 정부 정책의 이면에 있는 근본적 이유와 그 정책들이 남부 카메룬 사람들에게 미치는 영향을 파악하고자 한다. 이를 위해 남부 카메룬의 소수민족의 분리 운동과 관련되어 있는 두 이론, 인간의 욕구 이론과 분리론을 이용하여 카메룬을 위기로 내몰고 있는 식민지배 이후의 사건들을 분석하였다. 또한 민족주의, 특히 Micheal Hechter의 국가형성 민족주의를 받아들여 카메룬과 같은 다문화국가에서 카메룬의 주류인 프랑스어권 정치인들이 주도하는 국가 건설 정책들의 본질과 그 정책들이 함축하는 바를 설명할 것이다.

본 연구의 결과로 카메룬의 중앙 정부를 이끌고 있는 프랑스어권 정치세력의 민족주의적 성격과 정책이 카메룬의 국가형성과 카메룬과 같은 다문화 국가 내에서 하나의 정체성을

만들어 가려는 시도와 연결된다는 점을 밝혀졌다. 그리고 시간이 지남에 따라 사회적 주류에서 남부 카메룬의 소외를 초래되는 현상이 발생하였다. 이는 카메룬의 프랑스어권 지배세력의 동화정책에 대한 영어권 카메룬인의 저항과 반발, 영어권 카메룬 문제로 널리 알려진 사회정치적 인식으로 차례로 이어졌다. 본 연구에서 영어권 카메룬인의 사회정치적 인식은 “인간의 욕구”로 인식된다. 이후 이들은 자신들의 지역에 대한 분리독립과 주권을 외쳤으며, 이는 곧 남부 카메룬 사태로 이어졌다.

결론적으로, 본 연구는 다문화 국가가 맞닥뜨린 대부분의 위기와 불안정성은 피할 수 있는 문제였다는 것을 제시한다. 국가를 형성하는 집단의 다양성에 대한 숙고 없이 행해지는 국가 정책과 행정은, 주로 반란을 일으키는 소수 집단의 소외로 귀결되며 이는 곧 민족 자결권의 필요성과 연관된다. 다문화 국가가 번영하기 위해서는 다양한 국민집단의 경제적 풍유를 일굴 수 있는 환경과 정책을 만들어내야 한다..

키워드: 영어권 카메룬인, 프랑스어권 카메룬인, 남부 카메룬, 카메룬, 민족주의, 국가건설 민족주의, 위기, 인간의 필요, 분리 독립, 민족 자결권, 흡수, 다국적 국가



# **CHAPTER 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Background of Study**

The Anglophone problem is a socio-political consciousness in Cameroun, rooted in the inability of successive governments to address the underlying cultural, political and economic grievances of Southern Cameroonians. The Southern Cameroon crisis, known as the Ambazonian war or the Camerounian civil war, is an arms conflict between the self-acclaimed Ambazonian separatist group of the Anglophone region of Cameroun, known as Southern Cameroon and government forces of the Francophone led regime of la Republique du Cameroun. The ongoing crisis between the Southern Cameroonian Separatists and the government of la Republique du Cameroun started in October 2016, with over 679,000 Internally Displaced People, over 51,000 refugees in neighboring Nigeria and about over 3,000 casualties, according to the Center for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa (CHRNA).

Following Germany's loss during WW1, French and British soldiers forced the Germans out of then Kamerun. In light of the Treaty of Versailles, the former German territory was divided unevenly between French and British League of Nations Mandates on 28 June 1919. The British controlled twenty percent, while the French administered eighty percent of Cameroon. The British mandate consisted of two different territories namely, the British Southern and Northern Cameroons while the French mandate was called Cameroun. By 1946, the League of Nations was no longer in existence, and that prompted the reclassification of most of the Mandate Territories as UN Trust Territories, administered through the UN Trusteeship council (Lee, Alexander, and Kenneth A. Schultz 2011). British Cameroon was administered from, but not as part of Nigeria.

Looking back at history, the origin of the Southern Cameroon grievance, a socio-political issue popularly known as the Anglophone problem can be traced back to the reunification of the two territories with different colonial legacies. In 1961, Southern Cameroon reunified with the newly created state of la Republique du Cameroun, as the UN Trusteeship Council gave them two options, they were to either stay permanently with Nigeria or go back to the union with la

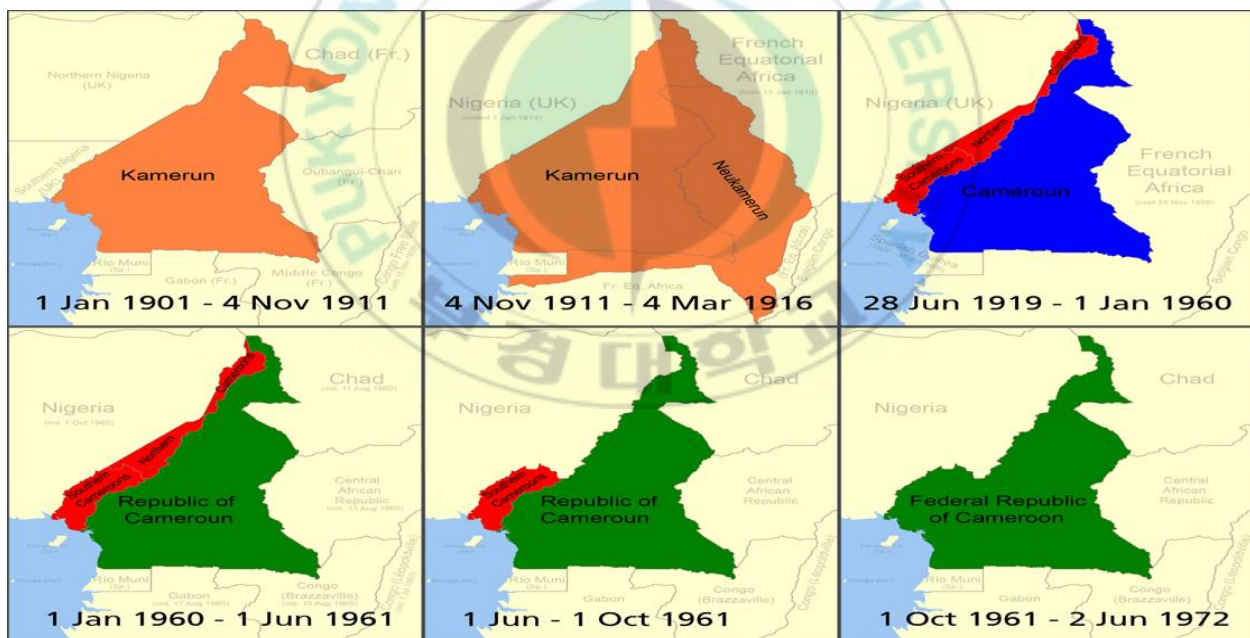
Republique du Cameroun. The then UK representative to the UN Trusteeship Council, Sir Andrew Cohen, on grounds that British Cameroons were not self-sufficient, opposed the option of self-determination. After a referendum, British Northern Cameroon voted to remain permanently with Nigeria, while British Southern Cameroon voted to reunify with French established state of la Republique du Cameroon.

**Table 1.1 1961 British Cameroon referendum**

<b>Results</b>	<b>Northern Cameroons</b>		<b>Southern Cameroons</b>	
	<b>Number of votes</b>	<b>% of votes</b>	<b>Number of votes</b>	<b>% of votes</b>
<b>Union with the Federation of Nigeria</b>	<b>146,269</b>	<b>59.97%</b>	<b>97,741</b>	<b>29.50%</b>
<b>Union with the Republic of Cameroon</b>	<b>97,659</b>	<b>40.03%</b>	<b>233,571</b>	<b>70.50%</b>
<b>Invalid/blank votes</b>		<b>-</b>		<b>-</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>243,955</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>331,312</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Registered voters/turnout</b>	<b>292,985</b>		<b>349,652</b>	
<b>Source: African Elections Data base</b>				

At the Founban Conference of July 17 –21, 1961, both parties (Southern Cameroon and the Cameroun government) agreed to the formation of a federal state. A federation of two states equal in status and autonomy. Seven years after the reunion, the country began to witness constitutional changes. In 1972, former President of la Republique du Cameroun Ahmadou Ahidjo altered the structure of the union by abandoning federalism and transforming the country into a unitary state known as the United Republic of Cameroon. Twelve years later, President Paul Biya assumed power in 1984, and made further changes by renaming the country la Republique du Cameroon, which was the indigenous name of the French-administered East-Cameroon. In addition, he made significant change to the country’s flag with two stars representing the two parties in the union.

**Figure 1: Timeline and changes in the map of Cameroun**



Source: Wikimedia Commons

The changes to the constitution in the union from the early seventies fostered the Southern Cameroon struggle, creating a socio-political grievance notably known as the Anglophone problem. The Anglophones perceived the union to be merely a transitory phase to the total integration of the Anglophone region into a strongly centralized, unitary State. In 1994, the architect of the reunification and former Vice President to la Republique du Cameroon John Ngu Foncha in his last public declaration on the Cameroon unification said;

*“I can state here and now that the people of Southern Cameroon would never have voted in favor of unification if it had not been the assurances given that the resulting union would take form of a federation”. Quoted in Dr. Foncha’s speech during the Constitutional Consultative Committee in December 1994*

**Table 1.2: Features of Cameroun vs Southern Cameroon (East vs West Cameroun)**

	Cameroun	Southern Cameroon
<b>Territory</b>	183,568 square miles	Approximately 16,490 square miles
<b>Population</b>	21, 545,864	Approximately 5 million
<b>Official language</b>	French	English
<b>Legal system</b>	Civil Law	Common Law

**Table 1.3: 1972 Cameroun referendum**

Choice	Votes	Percentage %
For	3,177,846	99.99
Against	176	0.01
Invalid/blank votes	1,612	—
Total	<b>3,179,634</b>	<b>100</b>
Registered voters/turnout	3,236,280	98.2
Source: African Elections Database		

## **1.2 Significance of study**

Following the de-colonization of Africa from the late 1950's to 1960's, the newly created African states adopted the colonial administrative system of government and were left to manage their affairs. The case of Cameroon is a unique one considering their colonial history; the country has been experiencing the social political issue known as the Anglophone problem since the early 1970's, when the regime started making changes to the constitution. There are well-documented literatures on the Anglophone problem; most studies predicted the crisis and others focus on what the regime did to induce the crisis. Majority of these writers are English speaking Camerounians and their focal point is the injustice met on the Southern Cameroon region. This study aims to contribute to the literature on the Southern Cameroon crisis, by providing a theoretical

understanding to the motivation behind the actions of the regime. The application of the theory of nationalism, its rise in Africa, and how post-colonial leaders weaponized it to achieve their nation-building goals. The application of this theory fits the Cameroun context that not only have different ethnic groups, but experienced diverse colonial history thereby, adopting diverse colonial cultures.

As a former professional football player (Nigeria), I played against the Cameroun women national team several times and made some friends (French speakers). In 2012, I met a Cameroonian that spoke very good English, and I was baffled as to how it came to be. I, like many other people, have viewed Cameroun from the lens of a Francophone country. The dynamics and structure of the Francophone dominated system has made it easy for many outside Cameroun to perceive the country as a Francophone country. With this study, I intend to draw awareness to the multi-national and bi-lingua feature of Cameroun and the ongoing Southern Cameroon crisis (Ambazonian War) to the international audience and as many that have not had the privilege to learn about this phenomenon. This research also seek to contribute to the limited literature available on the Southern Cameroon crises.

### **1.3 Literature review**

The attention of the world has never been drawn to this central African country as it relates to conflict and instability as it is now. To understand the situation, and summarize the literature as regards the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis is daunting, considering the diverse history, controversial reunion of both Cameroons and the events that followed. For clarity, the literature review will focus on works done on Cameroon from its reunification to the emergence of the Southern Cameroon crisis.

#### **1.3.1 Post reunification literature**

In every conflict, different elements and actors play various roles that eventually build up to a crisis. In most cases, the problem is foreseen and predicted based on ongoing or past events. Since the late 1960s and early 70s, there have been some literature on the well-known socio-



political issue in Cameroon called ‘the Anglophone problem’. In addition, the 1990s, a time known as the political liberation period, witnessed a growing body in the literature (Konings, 1996; Bayart, 1989; Nkoum-Me-Ntseny, 1996; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997; Eyoh, 1998).on the Anglophone problem, its manifestation into public place and the prediction of the Southern Cameroun crisis.

In this study, it is important to recognize the work of Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh, reknown authors in the literature of Southern Cameroon and the Anglophone problem. Their (1997) journal article “The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon”, examines the profile of the country, the manifestation of conflict in Cameroon, the root and proximate cause of the problem, stakeholders of the Southern Cameroon conflict, the problem dynamics and the unproductive efforts made at making peace. They resolved that “the highly centralized form of federalism experienced by Cameroon during 1961-72, remained a historical and symbolical reference for the Anglophone pursuit of self-determination and autonomy after the opposed creation of the francophone-dominated unitary state”. They also noted that President Biya’s Government’s refusal to discuss the scenario, made secession an overt option with mounting popularity among Southern Cameroonians. As at the time of their work, they projected that “the Government's continued denial of any ‘Anglophone problem’ in Cameroon, and its determination to defend the unitary state by all available means, including repression, could lead to an escalation of Anglophone demands past a point of no return”.

In an attempt to further shed light on the cause of the Anglophone problem, Chi Atanga Nixon (2014) in his study “Ethnic minority crisis in Africa: case study of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon and socio-economic development” analyzes the situation. In his work, he reviews ethnic relations and its history in Africa, mechanisms needed for conflict reduction, socio-economic development in a regional perspective. He went ahead to evaluate the history of Cameroon and the origin of the problem, including colonial inheritance and the consequences. Thus, according to Chi Atanga Nixon (2014), Cameroons diverse colonial heritage influenced marginalization problem in the territory. Stating, “British and French influence over Cameroon has created two different cultural and language barrier after colonization leading to the Anglophone problems who feel dominated by the Francophone regime in place” [41].

Niyong Roger Mbihbih (2016) echoed this submission, in his article, *Europhone Divide in Cameroon: Constraining Nation-Building and Democratization in the Post-Colony*. His work focused on identifying the divide of dynamic colonial legacies of European powers (Britain and France) in Cameroon, submitting that this cleave has been a deterrent in nation building and democratization of the state (Cameroon). Trailing the inception of the divide to the Anglo/French separation of 1916, he highlighted how their colonial difference and uneven partition of the former German territory resulted in the marginalization of Southern Cameroons by different Francophone regimes. Presenting a situation in the context of ethno tribal heterogeneity, which necessitates the breeding of conflict.

Sighting the nation-building project in Cameroon as a systematic way of rubbing Southern Cameroon of their sense of identity and solidarity instead of proposing the French values as an alternative culture (Mbihbih, N. R. 2018 pp 10-19). This prejudice for French culture he warned will be a threat to the state's socio-political stability and sustainability. To this, he recommends the regime foster a bicultural heritage.

Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh (1997) and Chi Atanga Nixon agree that the regime's strong grip of power made the people of Southern Cameroon second-class citizens. Furthermore, Chi Atanga Nixon believes that the behavior of the regime is the ripple effect of colonialism. Nevertheless, as opposed to Cameroon, which is supposed, to be a democratic state, it has shaped the French government in a realistic way of centralizing power and having fixed goals even with different regimes. I am of the opinion that different colonial legacies played a part in inducing the problem. However, their studies lack a theoretical analysis in describing the behavior of the regime.

International organizations also provide more insight on the cultural, social and political impulses behind the Anglophone Problem. "Across contemporary African politics and civil societies, interethnic and linguistic divides remain an important obstacle to peace". The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) in their Universal Periodic Review on Cameroon, submitted to the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (2008), made this



statement. Following critical investigations on the grievance of the people of Southern Cameroon, UNPO (2008) ascertain that “the plight of political minorities in Southern Cameroons is largely centered on poor political will by the Francophone government to recognize grievances from Anglophone leaders, and implement policies of equal recognition and respect. Based on research, the findings of UNPO (2008) point to the regimes refusal to recognize the Anglophone problem; this is a problem in itself. The submission of the UNPO thereby, corroborates the claims of the previously mentioned authors on the phenomenon.

The different colonial experience of Cameroon makes it a unique state. This is argued to be one of the causes and in fact the root cause of the Anglophone Problem. However, some authors argue that the genesis of the Anglophone Problem rests on the leadership that is unfavorable to the Southern Cameroon people. In Susan Dicklitch’s article on Failed Democratic Transition in Cameroon: A Human Rights Explanation (2011), she examines the historical and structural factors that account for Cameroon’s failure in transiting to a democratic state, including the colonial legacies, the centralization and personalization of power, ubiquitous corruption, and external intervention. She argues that, “the lack of a “rights-respective society” and a “rights protective regime” not only undermines the prospects for democratic consolidation, but also heightens the potential for future violence and chaos”. She cites the structural and historical foundation of Cameroon as one that encouraged the development of a rights-repressive regime and impeded the development of a rights-respective society and a strong civil society. Dicklitch also analyzes communal or social rights and minority rights problem as it relates to Southern Cameroon, highlighting how the exploitation, marginalization and assimilation by the Francophone-dominated state and Francophone population have induced the call for secession (Dicklitch, S. 2011).

Furthermore, the author explains how authoritarian policies and colonial culture evolved in post-colonial Cameroon under President Ahidjo and President Biya, contributing to the development of a rights repressive regime. In addition, she notes that the centralization and personalization of power in the Federation by the regime in 1972 and the brutal repression of any opposition group was an eye-opening factor for the Anglophones. This work is appreciated for the in-depth analysis on the abuse of human right by the francophone regime, which is a mechanism that can heighten

violence and the case of Southern Cameroon, the Anglophone problem and ultimately the Southern Cameroon crisis.

Halle Edward's (2014) work, "The Force of Argument" and "The Fight for an Anglophone Identity in Cameroon" illuminates on the adoption of pressure by secessionist groups in Southern Cameroon especially the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) to follow the path of nonviolence through their motto of 'the force of argument not the argument of force' in resolving the question of the Anglophone problem, an ideology that leans towards Gandhi's Ahimsa or the way of nonviolence. He projected a high risk that the nonviolent approach may be abandoned to that of a violent one if the Cameroon government continues to ignore the problem of the Anglophones and all the peaceful attempts advocated by the groups to solve it (Halle, E. 2014 pp.1). He analyzes events and government policies that brought about the Anglophone consciousness and measures adopted by pressure groups and Anglophone elites to address the problem including calls for institutional reforms, offensive diplomatic efforts to draw the attention of the international community for mediation in their bid for secession.

Halle also identify leadership problems amongst Southern Cameroon movement and disagreement on the tactics to be embraced resulting in a loss in momentum, coupled with the regime's attempts to deconstruct Anglophone identity and control Anglophone organizations. Still, the movement in Southern Cameroon adopted tactical, less visible and less controllable ways of placing the Anglophone problem in public space (Halle, E. 2014 pp. 25). He concludes by projecting a time when the Southern Cameroon National Congress's (SCNC) adopted guiding principle of nonviolence, which is "the force of argument", will one day prevail over the repression of the Francophone dominated government. Quoting Gandhi; "A small boy of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history". However, the Southern Cameroon crisis is proof that the people of the English speaking part of Cameroon have run out of patience in maintaining their diplomatic tactic of "the force of argument".

Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh yet again did a comprehensive analysis of the Southern Cameroon agitation in their book *Negotiating an Anglophone Identity* (2003). The book, critically talks about Southern Cameroons' persistent demands for reforms and rearrangement of state power

in respect of the 1961 reunification at the Foumban Conference. The book further explores the 1990's, a period of opposition democratic movement in Cameroon by the Anglophones in a bid to restore their identity and restructuring of the system. Konings and Nyamnjoh, strongly argue in affirmation the existence of the Anglophone problem and the regime's uncompromising denial thereby treating the problem as inconsequential. In all, they assent to the fact that the Anglophone Problem is entrenched in the different colonial tradition inherited, language divide and different sense of history and territoriality, supporting the claims of Chi Atanga Nixon.

Similarly, Konings co-authored *Occupation of public space Anglophone nationalism in Cameroon*, with Nantang Jua (2004) is a study that examines the period which the Anglophone problem that was down toned and often discussed in private took to the wings of nationalism and made its way into public space. This was during the political liberalization period in the 1990s, constituting grave threat to the Cameroon's post-colonial nation building and integration project (Jua, N., & Konings, P. 2004). They consider Anglophone nationalism as an unexpected, recent invention by both Francophone scholars and politicians (Donfack 1998; Menthong 1998). They are convinced that the post-colonial state's imposition of a project of *nationisme* upon the existing ethnic and national identities had effectively wiped out most traces of what they called "Anglophoneness", or what Edwin Ardener referred to as a "distinctively British Cameroonian way of life", from the public space. Sighting a statement from the former vice-prime minister in charge of Housing and Town Planning, Hamadou Mustapha: "*À un moment donné effectivement, on a commencé à oublier que les Anglophones étaient là; on a eu l'impression que les Anglophones s'étaient déjà francophonisés*" (Edwin Ardener 1967 pp. 292).

Jua and Konings draws from Cahen's (1999) thesis regarding a nation and the state, warning that it will be a Senghorian error to assume that the state would precede the nation, in the area of "producing" or preparing" the nation. Cahen perceives the state as a midwife for *nationisme*, the agenda of an ultra-minor elite to rapidly "fabricate" the nation (Jua, N., & Konings, P. 2004 par.2). Jua and Konings submit that the failure of the state's nation building project is evidence that nationalistic ideas are still endemic among Anglophones, and it continues to grow as at the time of their work in 2004, over four decades after reunification. Contrary to the idea that Anglophone nationalism was newly formed, the study asserts that it was a result of a long process of

Anglophone identity formation, induced by the multiple grievances in the post-reunification era (Jua, N., & Konings, P. 2004 par.54).

This submission is echoed in President *Paul Biya and the "Anglophone Problem" in Cameroon* (2004). A study done by P Konings, FB Nyamnjoh that examines the Anglophone problem following the leadership of Paul Biya. It explores how the president's new deal policies presented Southern Cameroonians their long awaited opportunity to air grievances and to place the poaching Anglophone problem, which was repressed during Ahidjo's reign, in the open, to become a public discourse. Konings and Nyamnjoh ascertain that continuous denial of the problem, francophone domination, assimilation and economical exploitation made the Anglophone problem gain momentum in the 1990's, during the aftermath of the political liberation period, resulting in their request for a return to the federal state and later, absolute secession (Konings, P., & Nyamnjoh, F. B. 2004 pp. 191-228).

However, according to Konings and Nyamnjoh, their agitation lost tempo from 1996 due to several reasons. One reason was internal problems, specifically, lack of firm Anglophone leadership, which was also affirmed by Halle (2014). Another reason was the determined effort of the Biya regime to deconstruct the Anglophone identity. Exploiting the existing differences of the South West and North West regions of Southern Cameroon by offering lucrative, political and strategic appointments to South West elites to sway them away from the Anglophone solidarity movement. la Republique du Cameroun's acceptance into the Commonwealth of Nations on 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1995, scored the Biya regime more international recognition thereby placing a cloud over the domestic crisis in Cameroon. However, he points out that the insistent refusal to enter into negotiations and the repressive strategy of the regime risks further radicalization of Anglophone movements and people. Therefore, urging both parties to come to the negotiation table (Konings, P., & Nyamnjoh, F. B. 2004 pp. 191-228)

A notable number of the Southern Cameroon public perceives the 1961 reunion of both Cameroons as the origin of the Anglophone problem. Achankeng Fonkem (2015) makes a theoretical argument against the 1961 Foumban Constitutional talks in his paper "The Foumban Constitutional Talks and Prior Intentions of Negotiating: A Historico-Theoretical Analysis of a False Negotiation and the Ramifications for Political Developments in Cameroon". It was a study centered on



negotiation involving parties with asymmetrical power relations. In his paper, he submits that the yearning to restore independence in post reunification Cameroon and the long-standing agitation for constitutional reforms by Southern Cameroon was because of what he called “false negotiation” at the Fouban Conference.

He explores the theory of negotiation by extracting from works of scholars like Saunders (1991), Mitchell (1998), Mnookin (2003), Kriesberg (2002, 2007), and Glozman (2014) on negotiation failures in the public policy arena and from human needs and structural theories as they relate to the cause of conflict. Examining prior intentions of negotiating parties and strategic barriers to negotiation from works of the above-mentioned scholars, Saunders specifically highlights five obstacles to achieving negotiation success: the definition of the problem, commitment to a settlement, arranging the negotiation, the negotiation itself, and the implementation of negotiation.

Achangeng claims that both parties had different intentions and that la Republique du Cameroun’s status as an independent state in the 1961 negotiations was a strategic advantage. In his words, la Republique du Cameroun sought “not only to get the bigger slice of the pie but also to get the entire pie” as it relates to Mnookin’s (2003) distributive gain in a two-party negotiation (Achankeng, F. 2015 pg. 137). Working from a position of strength as a sovereign state and benefitting from French legal and expert advice, la Republique du Cameroun presented a constitution with a highly centralized federal system of government.

Years after the union, the people of British Southern Cameroons as they were called, realized that it is vital to make changes to the constitution, and this has continued to fuel their struggle in postcolonial la Republique du Cameroun to “restore independence and sovereignty” as a human need (Achankeng, F. 2015 pp. 138). In addition, the author likens the demands for sovereignty to Kriesberg’s (2007) concept of justice, shared truth, mutual regard and mutual security theorized in Kriesberg’s *Constructive Conflict* as a foundation for successful negotiations. Understanding the Human needs theory is clear from the work of John Burton in international relations, and Johan Galtung in *Peace Research*. Burton (1984) Identifies three human motivation; needs, values, and interests. He views needs as being universal and primordial, perhaps genetic, and notes that unlike values and interests, needs neither change nor are they scarce. He perceives the human species as pursuing his needs by all means available.

Achankeng sums up that the result of the 1961 Foumban Talks has been a consequence of false negotiation, taking into account the different visions of the parties, the implementation of the talks and the divergent influences of their conduct. Overtime, this has led to lingering agitation for the restoration of independence and sovereignty for the people of Southern Cameroon and their territory as an issue of their security, a people's identity and national pride (Achankeng, F. 2015 pp. 139- 150).

In spite of the claims of injustice and marginalization by the Southern Cameroons, one wonders why their agitation and struggle have been lightly spoken about over the years. *The Southern Cameroons Nationalist Conflict: A destiny in the shadows* by Michael Fonkem Achangeng (2012) examines the factors that present practical support in understanding the situation. Evaluating conflict case on the premise of related theories involving the framework of structural theorists, human needs, collective action theory and the work of scholars in active nonviolence, which seeks to understand why marginalized populations within the context of power relations consent to power relations on their lives (Achankeng, I. F. 2012).

Achangeng, claims that the inability of the Southern Cameroons' nationalists, to rally their people around for collective action and the coercive structures of state centered international politics are some of the key reasons. Describing the shadowy character of the conflict, citing state centric scholars like Mearsheimer (2001); Morgenthau (1978); and Waltz (1979) who view nation-states as the principal actor in world politics. Notwithstanding the toned-down nature of their agitation, their quest for self-determination persisted. This, the author examined through the work of human needs theorists like, Len Doyal and Ian Gough (1991). He also took to account authors like Galtung (1989) and Burton (1990), who considered the refusal of human needs as the principal cause of conflict. In addition, they describe conflict resolution as being determined by the satisfaction of such human needs (Achankeng, I. F. 2012 pp. 7).

Respect for diversity can be key in peaceful coexistence in a multicultural society. Costa, J. (2003) examined the relevance of a theory of "multinational states" which are termed as states that give

official or constitutional recognition to their national diversity, typically with the entrenchment of certain institutional arrangements, a situation that can be likened to the constitution drafted at the reunification of both Cameroons at Foumban. In his book, *Theories of secession: minorities, majorities and the multinational state* (2003), he argues that the pursuit of nationalism and nation-building policies might be an infringement on minority rights. In addition, he submits that the failure of a state to respect the rights of national minorities- either by refusing the adoption of meaningful multinational arrangements or by infringing on existing ones should be a valid reason for minorities to secede (Costa, J. 2003 pp. 75).

This claim validates Allen Buchanan's endorsed remedial right only theory of secession, supporting secession in the face of injustice. Costa asserts his argument for the legitimacy of secession "in the circumstances of a multinational state where minorities in a multinational state cannot fully exercise their right to self-determination Vis a Vis the majority through extensive territorial self-government or meaningful equal power sharing agreements". This is on the assumptions that the adoption of multinational arrangements is an issue of justice.

Selena Gould makes a strong claim on the legacy of colonialism and its effect on the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis in her work "The Genocide that everyone should have seen coming: How the Cameroon Anglophone crisis extends the forces of Domination and Consent". Exploring Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, domination and consent, Selena argues that "tactics of domination as seen through French colonial assimilation are being consented to and reproduced by the current Francophone-majority government, that has erupted into a crisis as inequality between Francophones and Anglophones increases" (Gould, S. 2019 pp. 90). Highlighting on using tactics such as institutions and language as established during colonization to continue enforcing relations of domination and consent in the diverse Camerounian society.

Furthermore, Gould submits the Southern Cameroon crisis is as a result of a historical legacy of inequality imposed by the British and French on the region that was perpetuated by hegemonic relations of force" that is being adopted by and propagated by the present day French majority government in Cameroun. Noting the efficacy of the French assimilation policy in direct rule as promoting greater subordination to domination as compared to the British indirect rule in the

region, shaping Francophone Camerounians to be carriers and transmitters of French language and culture. Gould claims that the domination of Francophone led majority government since the unification of both regions is expressed and legalized politically and economically leading to provocation and agitation by some Anglophone activists (Gould, S. 2019 pp. 92).

Some scholars have identified different factors in determining the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis. From colonial to post-colonial period, analyzing the root cause and how it evolved into the present Southern Cameroon crisis. Some like Gould agree that colonial legacies, government policies and the regime's denial of the "Anglophone Problem" are the most sensitive elements that have nurtured and triggered the crisis. Scholars like Horowitz and Sambanis have also propounded that cultural pluralism within a country is one facet that will increase secessionist claims (Horowitz 1985; Sambanis 2000; Collier and Hoeffler 2002). There are also, theoretical claims of government policies and how they affect minorities within a state (Costa, J. 2003).

Existing studies touched on government policies and the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis and the events leading up to it. An important aspect in the literature of post-colonial Cameroun also known as post-reunified Cameroun is the motivation behind the actions of the Cameroun government which is very important to understanding why certain actions were taken, policies were adopted and its impact on the minority citizens of Cameroun. The contribution of this study is to theoretically address and understand governance in the multi-national state of Cameroun, the motivation behind the regime's behavior, and how its national policies influence secession movement of Southern Cameroon.



*Figure 2. Map of Cameroon with a view of all its neighbouring countries*



Source: maps-cameroon.com

This (not being recognized as a distinct people), is the discontent of the Southern Cameroon people. The marginalization of the Southern Cameroon people by the regime, is the independent variable that led to the centralization of power, non-recognition of bi-cultural policies, poor educational system and a hijacked legal system, lack of representation at the national level, gross

violation of human rights, particularly of certain persons advocating for the independence of Southern Cameroons etc. These have led to the loss of identity of the region as a people, raising issues of reforms and separation as the only options out of the crisis. The government's response to their plight was one of intimidation, repression and denial. The inability of the two parties to come to resolve overtime birthed the resurface of the people showing their grievances in forms of street protests and strikes in the Education and Legal sectors. This soon resulted in a political crisis that radicalized the protagonists.

## **1.4 Research Overview**

### **1.4.1 Research Objectives**

In October 2016, lawyers went on strike to protest the appointment of French Judges in the Anglophone courts. Soon afterwards, teachers joined the strike protesting the posting of Francophone teachers and administrators in English speaking schools. As a result, sectoral groups surfaced venting their frustrations that sprout into strikes, riots and political demands. The groups grew into movements with the inclusion of Anglophones in diaspora. Government's response to the situation was strong and aggressive; this further radicalized the antagonists, prompting calls for the return of true federalism and eventually secession.

Wood (1981) defines secessionism as the demand for formal break out from a central political power by a member, a group or groups, on the grounds of a claim to independent sovereign status (Wood 1981: 110). The conversation on self-determination and the right to secession continues to be a highly controversial topic in the international sphere. Allen Buchanan's Remedial Right theory asserts that, a group has a basic right to secede only if they have experienced specific injustices; as a result, secession is the appropriate remedy or last resort. In the case of Remedial Right Only Theory's focus on the right to secede, is when the injustice by the government is met upon a particular group of people or tribe within the state and efforts towards a resolve have failed.

Then, the call for secession is considered to break away from the state, to get political and economic control over the region (Buchanan, A. (1997) 26(1), 31-61).

This study seeks to understand Southern Cameroons right to secession theoretically, exploring theories of secession as well as factors inducing the call for secession. Specifically, Allen Buchanan remedial right only theory. In addition, this study briefly examines the theory of human need and its effect when groups are denied the right basic human needs. This study recognizes Cameroon as a multi-national state and, one cannot ignore this, as one of the legacies of colonialism in discerning the events that unfolded, leading to the crisis. One of the key objectives of this study is to examine the conduct of the regime and theoretically understand how ideas were shaped and the motivation behind its actions. To this end, this study explores the concept of nationalism, its rise in Africa, and how it is a tool for the Francophone led regime to further their nation-building goals. The theory of state-building nationalism helps us to understand the motivation behind the regimes promotion of nation-building policies, in Cameroon and its effect on the Southern Cameroon crisis. Additionally, this study will examine the French assimilation theory, and its effect in post-independence governance in Cameroon. As such, this study poses two questions.

#### **1.4.2 Research Questions**

- What is the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis?
- Following the 1961 agreement by both Cameroons for reunification and a federal system of government, what is the motivation behind the actions of the Francophone led regime?

#### **1.4.3 Hypothesis**

The marginalization of the Anglophones by the dominant Francophone led government, stoked by nationalism, is the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis.



#### **1.4.4 Research design**

This Research is divided into the following chapters: introduction, research design, theoretical framework, methodology, findings and conclusion.

### **Chapter 1**

This is the introductory part of this study. This section focuses on the background of this study, providing a brief history of Cameroon and its diverse colonial history. Furthermore, briefly highlighting the different events that took place, leading to the struggle of recognition and secession by Southern Cameroon in post-colonial Cameroun. This chapter also shows the study's research approach, the aims and objectives this study tends to achieve, including specific research questions to be answered. Included in this chapter is also the literature review section, which will feature the work, done on post-colonial Cameroun, the Anglophone problem and multi-national states by different scholars. In addition, this chapter reflects the structure of the thesis, providing a plan that allows a trouble free process of the different research operations, methods adopted and their reliability. Thus, making the research process as efficient as possible and achieving maximum result.

### **Chapter 2**

This chapter encompass an important part of this study. It provides a review of empirical literatures and discussions on the cultural and historical background of the phenomenon. This section centers on two main analyses. First, the chapter explores the theory of nationalism, its origin and rise in Africa and the diverse form of nationalism witnessed in post-colonial Cameroun. In addition, this part of this study will explore the theory of French assimilation and its effect, as witnessed by French speaking Camerounians through direct colonial rule. Second, this chapter will explore theories of secession and its justification, from Christopher Wellman (2005) and Allen Buchanan (1997), secession theorists and examine the factors and events that fostered the Southern Cameroon crisis. In addition, John Burton's Human needs theory is tested to understand the motivation behind the actions of the people of Southern Cameroon.

### **Chapter 3**

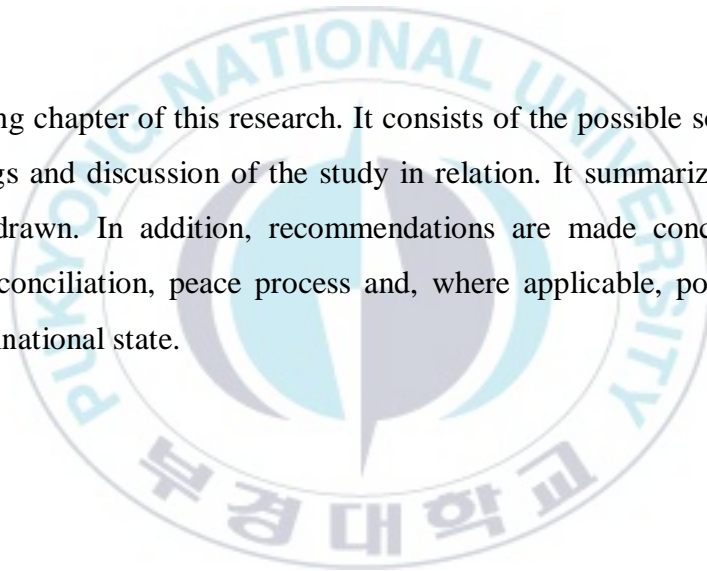
This chapter focuses the methodology adopted in this research work. It elaborates on the tools and techniques used for collecting and analyzing data and the justification of using the method adopted.

### **Chapter 4**

Chapter five is based on the findings of this study. It deals with data presentation, analyses and interpretation of the findings.

### **Chapter 6**

This is the concluding chapter of this research. It consists of the possible solutions and opinions based on the findings and discussion of the study in relation. It summarized this study and the conclusions to be drawn. In addition, recommendations are made concerning the Southern Cameroon crisis, reconciliation, peace process and, where applicable, policy on the future of Cameroun as a multinational state.



## **Chapter 2**

### **2.1 Theoretical Framework**

The Southern Cameroon crisis has manifested in different forms based on the policies of the central government. In 1972, the regime's decision to unite both states in a unitary system as opposed to the federal system agreed upon in the constitution during the reunification of both states in 1961 overtime created a consciousness of nationalism amongst the Southern Cameroon people. According to clause three article 47 states that "proposals for revision shall be adopted by simple majority vote of the members of the Federal assembly, provided such majority includes a majority of representatives of each of the federated states" (Konings & Nyamnjoh 2003 pp.46). This action can be argued to be the genesis of this agelong struggle for reform in post unified Cameroun. In their bid for integration and promotion of national unity, the regime-embraced nationalism through strategic nation building processes with the goal of attaining national integration and one national identity. In contrast, its actions birthed inequality that rippled into marginalization of the minority Anglophone people.

This chapter centers on two main analyses. First, the chapter will analyze the theory of nationalism, its origin and rise in Africa and the diverse form of nationalism witnessed in post-colonial Cameroun. Second, this chapter will explore theories of secession and its justification, from secession theorists like Christopher Wellman (2005), Allen Buchanan (1997) and examine the factors and events that fostered the Southern Cameroon crisis. In addition, John Burton's Human needs theory is tested to understand the motivation behind the actions of the people of Southern Cameroon.

### **2.2 Theories of Secession and its justification**

According to Wood (1981), secessionism is the demand for formal break out from a central political power by a member a group or groups on the grounds of a claim to independent sovereign status (Wood 1981: 110). The discourse on self-determination and the right to secession continues to be a highly debated subject in the international sphere. There continue to be diverse opinion on

the dynamics and justification of secession movements by scholars and international organizations. Overtime, some secession theorists such as Allen Buchanan (1997) and Christopher Wellman (2005) have explored factors that provokes a group's call for sovereignty and self-determination from a larger body, concentrating on the legal and theoretical stance of group's rights to secede (Buchheit, 1978; Horowitz, 2003/4(2), 5-17; Dahlitz, 2003).

Christopher Wellman (2005) a secessionist scholar, built his argument on his notion of the determining features of secession. He submitted that, the ability to carry out principal political obligations is justification for a separatist group to disintegrate from an established state. He contradicts the legitimization of secession due to cultural diversity, arguing that a group's inability to effect fundamental governance over itself, denies it claim over a specific territory (Wellman, C. H. (1995) 24(2), 142). Wellman's concept on the justification for secession, allies with the desire of the people of Southern Cameroon to secede. Their history as an autonomous entity before the reunification of both Cameroons in 1961 indicates their ability to govern themselves. During the British colonial rule, British Cameroon was administered from but not joined to Nigeria, and from 1954, it officially became an autonomous territory within Nigeria with E.M.L. Endeley, as premier (Awason, N. F. 1998 pp. 15(1), 163). However, Southern Cameroon's current agitation for secession is not just motivated by their history and ability to govern themselves.

Disparate from Wellman's idea is Allen Buchanan's (1997) view on secession. In his book *Theories of Secession*, he presented two theories explicating factors driving groups to pursue self-governance and sovereignty.

### **2.2.1 Primary Right Theory**

This first theory he claims, centers on natural right of group to self-determination. The principle of self-determination as enshrined in the UN Charter connotes the right of a people to choose their sovereignty as well as their international political status without interference, by virtue, on grounds of human right and fairness in equality (UN Charter, chapter 1.1945). Focusing on the idea of nationalism, this theory supports the right of nations (groups) to their own state without suffering any injustice from a just state. This theory identifies two classes of groups. The first one is

Ascriptive Group Theory, describing a group of people based on a shared ethnicity, culture, language or history and their union is forged by their commonalities, not politically driven. According to Buchanan, an ascriptive society's unique features, qualifies it a nation, and permits it to construct its own political entity (Buchanan, A. (1997) 26(1), 31-61). The second class of primary right theory is the Associative Group Theory. In disparity, having cultural or historical similarities is not a criterion for group membership or as a perquisite for them to secede. Their right to secession falls on the volition of the people to cohabit in a designated territory and the aspiration of owning a state.

The African society is recognized for its multicultural and multiethnic characteristics and Cameroon is part of it. However, Cameroon's unique colonial experience created a cleavage, forging new identities of two distinct people. The people of Southern Cameroon are the English speaking Population setting them apart from the rest of the population that speak French. The peculiarities of the Southern Cameroon people complements the principles of the ascriptive group class of the primary right theory. The Anglophones, as they are popularly called, share features beyond their common ethnic culture that sets them apart from the Francophones, including diverse educational and legal system. Considering these differences, we must remember that Southern Cameroon voluntarily had a referendum to reunite with the French Speaking la Republique du Cameroun in 1961. Therefore, over five decades later, this study argues that though this theory justifies their right to secession, their struggle was not motivated by their cultural or historical differences.

### **2.2.2 Remedial Right Only Theory**

This theory asserts that, a group has a general right to secede if and only if it has suffered certain injustices, for which secession is the appropriate remedy of last resort. The Remedial Right Only theory is said to share some features with John Locke's right to revolution theory. Locke's theory supports the right to revolution arguing that, people of an entity or state have the right, or responsibility to revolt and overthrow a government on the grounds that their rights are infringed on, and attempts at peaceful resolve has been fruitless. This theory stresses on the injustice done to the whole state and the purpose of the revolution is to topple and change the regime (Buchanan, A. 1998, pp. 248). In the case of Remedial Right Only Theory that focuses on the right to secede,



the injustice by the government is met upon a group of people or tribe within the state. Then, the call for secession is considered to break away from the state and strip the government off its control over the region (Buchanan, A. (1997) 26(1), 31-61).

To satisfy the objective of this study, the case of Southern Cameroon is correlated to fit the Remedial Right Only Theory. It embodies the most important feature of the Remedial Right Only theory, which is the right to secede after been treated unjustly. After decades of enduring unjust practices by the central government with failed attempts at a peaceful resolve, the thought of losing their identity also heightened their call for secession and self-government. In understanding the kind of injustices suffered by the Anglophones in Cameroon that led to the Southern Cameroon crisis and the call for secession, this qualitative research study will explore the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis as a case study will exploring the cultural, economic and political factors of secession by Katharine Boyle and Pierre Englebert (2006).

#### **2.2.2.1 Cultural Factors of Secession**

Culture is a way of life that includes beliefs, customs, values, languages and traditions. Language is a congenital trait to the dissemination of culture. Strengthening solidarity and sense of identity among groups. It is an important medium of conveying beliefs, customs and values. A means by which traditions may be transferred and culture preserved.

The origin of the cultural and ideological differences between the Anglophone and Francophone people of Cameroon dates back to the colonial era. Having spent over half a century under diverse colonial masters, the colonial era was a period that shaped their identities, behaviors and ideologies. Abiem a Tchoyi expresses, *“The power tussle between European powers to dominate Africa and its resources during the colonial period instituted diversity in a country that once shared an identity, and the regime’s failure to honor its allegiance to equitably take into account the institutional, legal, administrative, cultural and traditional differences of the Anglophone people takes root in the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis”*. Abiem a Tchoyi (2017). In a country of over 250 ethnic groups, cutting across different languages, cultures and religion, the

multicultural structure of Cameroon, like in other African countries, has been an influencer of conflict over time. Scholars like Hale, 2000; and Sorens, 2005, submits that cultural diversity in a country increases the call for secession. However, I am of the opinion that bipolarity is not the only determining factor to spark a conflict, except the people's identity is being threatened. Since the alteration of the Cameroun constitution in 1972, Southern Cameroonians have been defiant against assimilation, which is now a "war of identity".

The issue of a national language has been tasking and controversial discourse in post-colonial Cameroon. Scholars like Ngijol (1964) champion the need for Cameroon to embrace one national language for literacy, education, integration, communication and promotion of national unity. However, considering the historical diversity of Cameroon, the fear of language conflict as a threat to national unity has also been lurking. The inheritance of the English language is one legacy that the Anglophone people hold dearly. The Federal Constitution of 1961 states the equal promotion of French and English languages as the national languages. However, the highly centralized system resulted in the presiding use of French in public official documents, communications, media and other sensitive areas.

The Education system is not exempted from the perceived inequality. To promote integration and nation building policies, the regime has managed to foist the use of French language in nursery and primary schools in the Anglophone regions. Standardized entrance examinations are offered in French with little or no chance of English translation. This is discerned as unjust treatment to Southern Cameroon students who are compelled to learn the French language in order to meet with the standard of the system. This language barrier also manifests itself in university enrollment process and bleak opportunities in gaining employment in government parastatals. There is supposed discrimination in getting admission into professional institutions like the National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM) which is said to have seen to the abolition of the Anglophone section, and Higher Teachers Training College (ENS). provide Camerounians direct opportunities in the job market and government parastatals (Ayim, M. A. 2010 pp. 105). These discriminations create an unequal opportunities of job and education for both regions. Studies (Stewart 2008, 2010) have shown that identity group inequality fosters armed conflict. Anglophones also decry the absence of bilingual policies and the gradual erosion of Anglophone values in their legal system of common law. The appointment of Francophone judges in

Anglophone courts and as academic administrators in Anglophone Universities, thereby disseminating the French language in their legal and educational system ignited the protests leading to the Southern Cameroon crisis in October 2016. In fact, to say that French influence as expressed in language, culture and political policy prevails in all domains is not an exaggeration (Wolf, H. G. 1997: pp. 421). In addition to the ineffective bilingual policies, that guarantees minority rights, the dominance of French language can be attributed to demographic factor that puts the French at advantage. Furthermore, the sustained occupation of top ranking positions in government and the civil service by Francophones.

The unpleasant outcome of the union for Southern Cameroon prompted this statement by the Anglophone elites at *the All Anglophone Conference (AAC I) in 1993*, Fonkem Achankeng (2015) declares:

*“Our aspiration in Fouban 1961, was to establish a unique Federation on the continent of Africa, and to evolve a bicultural society in which the distinct heritage of each of the parties to the Cameroon Union would flourish. We believed that such a lofty goal could be achieved”.*

*Quoted In the Buea Declaration, 1993. [2]*

Cultural insecurity felt by a group heightens the pursuit for secession (Bartkus 1999), submitting that diversity is insufficient except the group's identity is in peril. According to Davis 1999, in ‘Vanishing Cultures’, the loss of language is the loss of culture and identity. The failure of all attempt at reforms awakened a consciousness of identity and fear of losing their cultural heritage, sparking assimilation resistance and the desire of Southern Cameroons to save and preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage.

### **2.2.2.2 Political Factors of Secession**

At the Fouban Conference in 1961, la Republique du Cameroun and Southern Cameroon came into agreement to re-unite as East and West Cameroon to form a multinational state, built on a federal system. The union saw Amadou Ahidjo a Francophone as the federal president and John Ngu Foncha an Anglophone, as both vice president of the country and prime minister of West

Cameroon. In accordance to the 1961 constitution, the vice president must be from West Cameroon if the federal president comes from East Cameroon, and conversely. The union of both Cameroons is a unique one intended to be a model for Africa's diverse society. The early 1970's saw the commencement of alterations to the constitution, following the regime's ambitions to culturally integrate Cameroon and promote nation building policies inspired by nationalism.

Nation building is the construction or structuring of a national identity using the power of the state (Karl et al 1966). Nation building aims at the unification of the people within the state so that it remains politically stable and tenable in the end, through institutions like the judiciary, economic, bureaucratic, civil service and university organizations. Its features include cultural and economic integration, political centralization, military conquest and subjugation, bureaucratic control, creation of common interest, establishment and democratization of common citizenship (Hippler 2005 pp. 3-4). Ethnic diversity and tribalism has been a challenge to nation building. Furthermore, integrating nations with different colonial history has proved to be more difficult, taking into account the case of Senegambia. In Cameroon, several nation-building policies have been executed that have propelled disintegration rather than integration. These include;

### **Indigenization**

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, Indigenization is the deliberate act of making something more native (local). It is the transformation of ideas, services etc. to fit a certain local culture, particularly by using more indigenous people in administration and employment. In the case of Cameroun, the indigenization process is witnessed areas such as;

1. Renaming Country (Federal Republic of Cameroon- United Republic of Cameroon- la Republique du Cameroun)
2. Changing the country's flag ( from one with two stars to the present one with one star).
3. Changing city names ( Victoria – Limbe)
4. Change of national currency ( British Southern Cameroon pounds - Franc CFA)
5. Appointment of Francophones in strategic administrative positions
6. Prioritizing the French culture over the English culture in every sphere

**Harmonization:** Cameroun is one of the most heterogeneous states in Africa, because of its geography and history that is why it is popularly known as “Africa in Miniature”. Following reunification in post-colonial Cameroun and the need to promote nation-building policies, the Camerounian government saw the need to adopt the idea of harmonization in order to integrate its multi-national population. Harmonization is simply the act of making diverse people, situations, plans etc. right or appropriate for each other. The harmonization idea was promoted through national integration, bilingualism and relocation of political headquarters.

National integration is the exercise of socio-political development or the process of nationally constructing communities that are loosely linked initially for a long period, in order to achieve a common society in line with the attributes of a nation-state. The act of consciously merging different ethnic communities into a veritable amalgamated state, allowing leaders and citizens to deliberately foster a national identity, a sense of belonging, history, traditions and aspirations. Geographically and economically, its purpose is for the whole country to benefit from resources and tourist sites in the country, regardless of its geographical location. This idea echoes an African adage that says, “Though the rooster (cock) belongs to an individual, it crows in the morning for the whole village” (Jua 2004, pp.323).

**Centralization:** This is the process by which the activities of an organization or state, especially activities regarding planning and decision making, framing strategy and policy making is concentrated within a specific geographical location group. Thus transferring the important decision-making and planning powers to the center. In political science, centralization is the concentration of government’s power, geographically and politically to a centralized government. In championing nation-building policies in Cameroun, the government adopted the systems of centralization of power, one party system and nationalization of land. This resulted in the concentration of the executive, legislative and judiciary powers on the executive (the president). Bicameralism was replaced with unicameralism and federalism was quickly replaced by unitary system in 1972.



The nation building process in Cameroon is plagued by challenges like cultural and regional bias, with the belief of a superior and inferior group consciousness, giving rise to periphery nationalism (Dinnen, Sinclair. 2006). Awasom expresses this view:

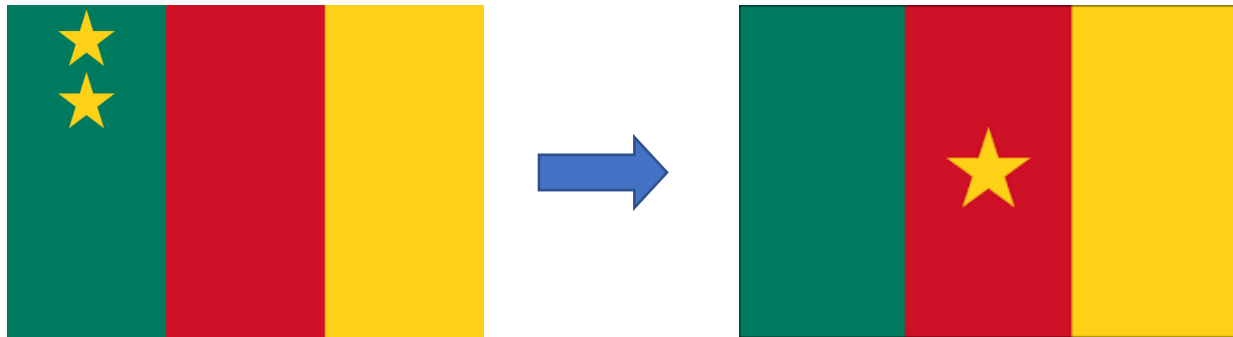
*“National integration is jeopardized by ethno-regional jingoism, fanned and sustained by the state. Small wonder then that the notion of national unity is ridiculed. People are overtly encouraged to demonstrate stronger loyalties to their ethno-regional or sub-national group than to the Cameroon nation. Priority is given to belonging to a group first and the nation second, and this state of affairs engenders the crisis of citizenship as full acceptability in one's fatherland suffers from a delimitation of a geo-ethnic order”* (Awasom, 2004, pp. 268).

In addition, nation building in Cameroon fostered centralization of power, with Southern Cameroons losing autonomy over its region. The 1961 Foumban Constitution bears that the Vice President of the state who is often of Anglophone descent, was the second most important person in state protocol. Subsequent shuffling in the hierarchical standings in the state now places the Vice President in fourth position in state protocol, after the President of the Senate and the President of the National Assembly. The idea of placing Francophone citizens above the Anglophone Vice President is viewed as a sentiment of nationalism, which favors one nation or identity above the other in a multinational state. Begrudged by their under-representation at the national council and important decision-making positions in the unitary system, the Anglophones are incapacitated in solving regional problems, as they always have to depend on the insufficient resources from the central government (Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh, 1997).

The ascension to power of President Paul Biya in 1982, cemented the hegemonic dominance of the Francophone government and Francophone nationalism in Cameroon. Two years into power, President Biya singlehandedly made further modifications to the Cameroon Constitution, changing the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to la Republique du Cameroun, in spite of strong objections that it was the name of the French territory before the union. In addition, the second star representing the other party in the union (Southern Cameroon) was removed from the flag (Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh, 1997).



### *Cameroun Flags (Previous and Present)*



The United Republic of Cameroon

La Republique du Cameroun

According to the regime, like its predecessor, the rationale behind the changes was that Cameroun is now matured in its pursuit for national integration, nation building and a united Cameroon with one national identity, as such; the country's symbols should reflect this transition. However, the Anglophones, it portrayed their invisibility in the union. Therefore, for fear of assimilation and loss of identity, met it with resistance. The nation building process in Cameroon is perceived by many as a systematic way of erasing the Southern Cameroons sense of identity and solidarity (Mbibihih, N. R. 2018 pp.10-19). The actions of the regime is viewed as a threat and an attempt at assimilation and annihilate the Anglophone identity, sparking the continuous call for reform and a return to the federal system. In an attempt to restore control over their region, Southern Cameroonians are exploiting the right to self-determination and secession from la Republique du Cameroun. Separatism is advocating for a state of cultural, ethnic, tribal, religious, racial, governmental or gender separation from the larger group, often referred to as full political secession. However, research have shown that separatist groups may seek nothing more than greater autonomy of their region (Harris, R.; Harris, Jerry 2009 pp. 320), as the case of Southern Cameroon whose demands was initially political reform and return to the federal system.

Respect for diversity in a multinational state is key for a successful nation-building project. Costa 2003 argues that the pursuit of nationalism and nation-building policies might infringe on the rights of minority people in a state. Furthermore, in support of Buchanan's Remedial Right Theory of secession, he states that "in the circumstances of a multinational state where minorities in a multinational state cannot fully exercise their right to self-determination vis a vis the majority

through extensive territorial self-government or meaningful equality through power sharing agreements”. On this assumption, the adoption of multinational policies in a multinational state is an issue of justice (Costa, J. 2003 pp. 75).

The Francophone regime continued to monopolize major posts in the system and consequently, nepotism became a norm. In 1995, a period of political liberation in Cameroon, the Southern Cameroon National Council (S.C.N.C) emerged in continuous protest of the Anglophone marginalization. There were also the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) and the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL). These pressure groups continued in the Anglophone struggle for recognition, preservation of identity and a return to federation; following the path of nonviolence through their motto of ‘the force of argument not the argument of force’. Their frustrations heightened with the regime’s persistent trivialization of the topic, resulting in the inability of both parties to dialogue and come to a resolve. Considering past events, some scholars (Halle 2014, Dicklitch 2011, Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh 1997) predicted the crisis in Southern Cameroon. Halle projected a high risk that the nonviolent approach may be abandoned to that of a violent one if the Cameroon government continues to ignore the Anglophone problem and all the peaceful attempts advocated by the groups to solve it (Halle, E. 2014: 1).

According to Gurr 1993, a group’s autonomous history can motivate their call for self-determination in a larger entity (Gurr 1993:76-77). Southern Cameroon’s past as an autonomous region is undoubtedly another motivating factor in their struggle for self-determination. Furthermore, some argue that the original federated structure of the union legally permits them to leave the union. Arnold B.Yongbang opines:

*An Aggregative Federation is the form of federation the Southern Cameroons voted for in the 1961 plebiscite – it is formed by sovereign states, which have internationally recognized boundaries. Although the Southern Cameroons was not a sovereign and independent state, at the time of the plebiscite, it had its international legal status as a UN Trust Territory that allowed the Southern Cameroons to form an aggregative federation with la Republique du Cameroun. That was the reason why the UN could not simply ask the Southern Cameroons at the plebiscite to integrate itself into la Republique du Cameroun. It was on this legal ground that the UN envisioned the workout of a Treaty of Union for the projected federation according to the international law on*

*Treaties. So one wonders why la Republique du Cameroun calls the Southern Cameroons a province of its territory. Members of an aggregative federation are called Federated States: each of them has the right to quit the federation.*

*Quoted in the Legal Argument in International Law on the Independence for the Southern Cameroons (2011)*

Having the perception that their presence in the union has become irrelevant and insignificant, prompted the war of identity, pursuit of secession, and the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis, with the aim of achieving cultural restoration and some form of economic and political autonomy.

### **2.2.2.3 Economic Factor of Secession**

Regional income and wealth inequality can play a key role in a group's consideration for secession. While Gramsci submits that fundamental historical crisis are determined by economic crisis (Gould, S. 2019 pg. 39), other scholars claim that poorer regions have tendencies of breaking away from larger entities (Hechter 1992:275); for instance, Bangladesh was a relatively poor region that seceded from Pakistan. Other studies argue that secessionist ideas increase because of regional wealth (Hale 2000:33); an example is Katanga, a resource rich region in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Gérard-Libois 1963). As a region, Southern Cameroun is blessed with natural resources climate and arable land for agricultural cultivation. The region is also endowed in petroleum products particularly oil which was discovered in 1973 off the coast of western Cameroon (Konings, 1993). However, the Southern Cameroon region is yet to witness the level of economic and infrastructural growth that reflects the regions recourses. According to Ayaba, approximately, “60% of Cameroon's GDP is obtained in the Southern Cameroons” as the “oil and wood are exploited by foreign companies, but the profits go to Yaoundé” (Ayaba as cited in Zongo, 2018). Some studies claim that poorer minorities blame the state for the lack of development in their region (Horowitz, D. L. 1981). For the past 60 years, the region has been underdeveloped with no infrastructural benefit, which has monumentally limited growth in the rural areas. The absence of accessible roads from the farm to the market has affected productivity level, relegating the people to live in penury.

Regions rich in resources are likely to be more confident about their future feasibility as independent states or more conscious of their group identity (Collier and Hoeffler 2002: 2). Anglophones are vexed by the fact that crude oil emanates from the Southern Cameroon, but the region does not benefit from the revenue. Perturbed that all public corporation related to oil such as the Societe Nationale de Raffinage (SONARA), SCDP, HYDRAC and SNH are principally located in the French-speaking region and have predominantly Francophone staff despite the fact that the oil exploitation and production occur in Southern Cameroon. In addition, revenue derived from oil and taxes are paid directly to the state in Yaoundé in the Francophone region, with no adequate return going to the Anglophone region. In 1994, pressured by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the government of Cameroon privatized the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) an agro-industrial company. The corporation is situated in the Anglophone region, playing key socio-economic and developmental role in the region and the second largest employer of labor in the country (Konings, 1997).

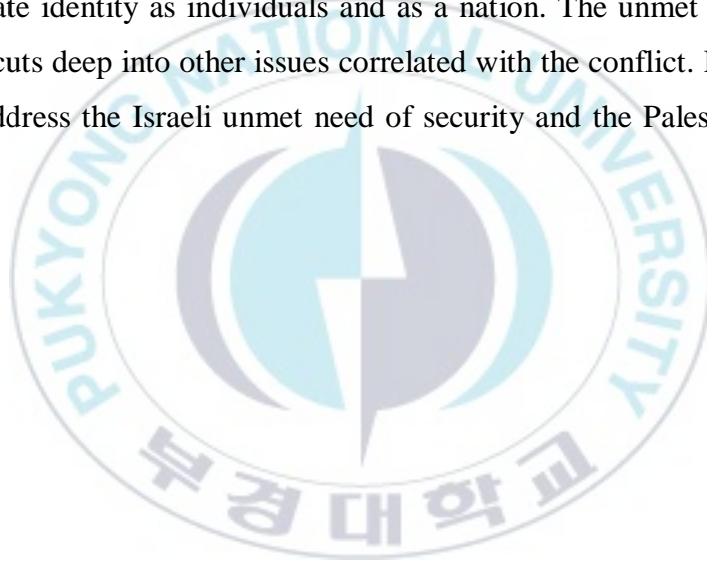
Anglophones began to perceive the degeneration of their economy as the unification implies the centralization or dismembering of their economic structures, including West Cameroon Marketing Board (WCMB), *Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Ltd* (Pamol), the Cameroon Bank and Powercam. In addition, Anglophones decry abandoned projects such as the Port of Limbé, and airports at Bamenda and Tiko, and angered that investments in the French speaking part of the country were gaining in infrastructure (Konings 1993). In addition, regardless of the type of inequality experienced by a group in a state, secession movements are often presumed to emerge from a “perception of economic injustice” leading the region to reevaluate the cost or benefit of being part of the union (Bookman 1992:39).

### **2.2.3 Human needs theory and conflict causes**

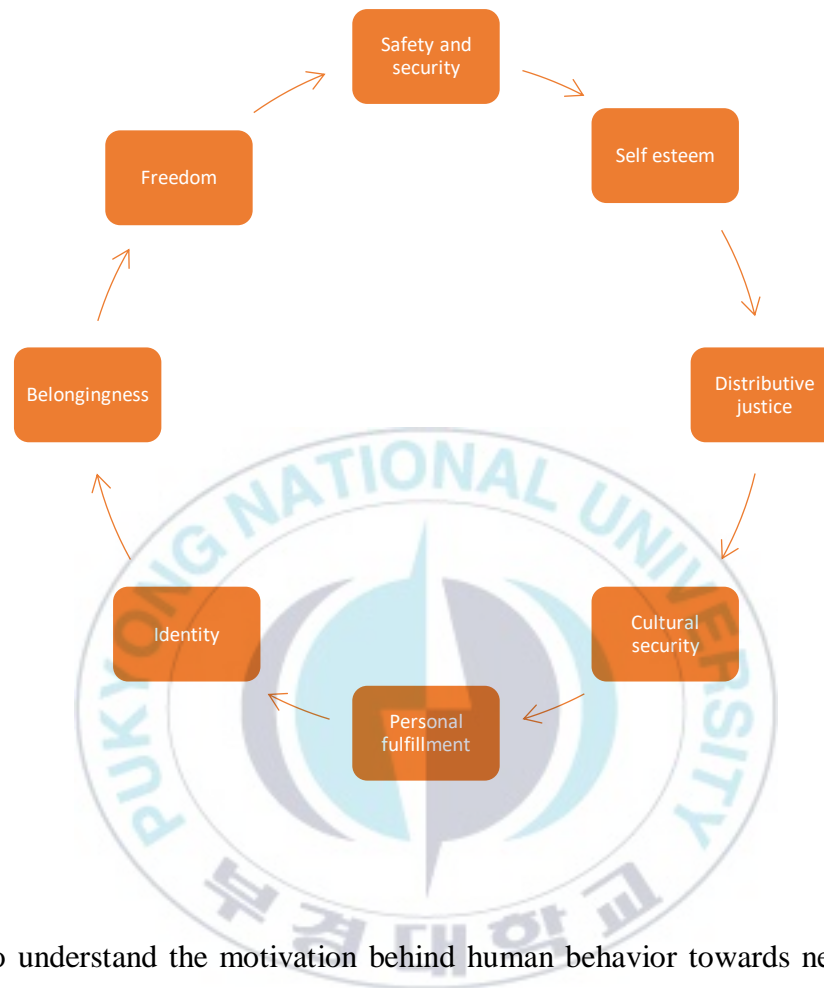
In understanding the Southern Cameroon struggle and the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis from the perspective of human needs and its relation to conflict. According to human needs theorists (John Burton 1990, 1984, Abraham Maslow 1973, Simon Hertnon 2005) human needs are certain primary necessities for human existence and survival, and societies or communities are prone to conflict when these needs are not met (Danesh, H. B. 2011: 1). These theorists expound

on the intrinsic nature of groups and individuals to pursue fulfillment of their needs. Burton (1990) distinguished a set of needs that he deemed to be universal in their manifestations. These includes safety and security, self-esteem, distributive justice, cultural security, personal fulfillment, identity, belongingness and freedom.

Supporters of the concept of human needs claim that individual, group or society's inflexible desire to meet their unmet needs is the principal cause of prolonged or unmanageable conflict (Northrup, T. A. (1989). An example of this is the conflict between Israel and Palestine, entailing the unmet needs of security and identity. The individual Israelis feel threatened and unsecured by the activities of groups like Hamas, as a nation, the government struggle with lack of recognition from its neighbors and the Arab world. On the other hand, Palestinians perceive that they are being denied their legitimate identity as individuals and as a nation. The unmet needs of both parties directly affects and cuts deep into other issues correlated with the conflict. Hence, any resolution should be able to address the Israeli unmet need of security and the Palestinian unmet need of identity.



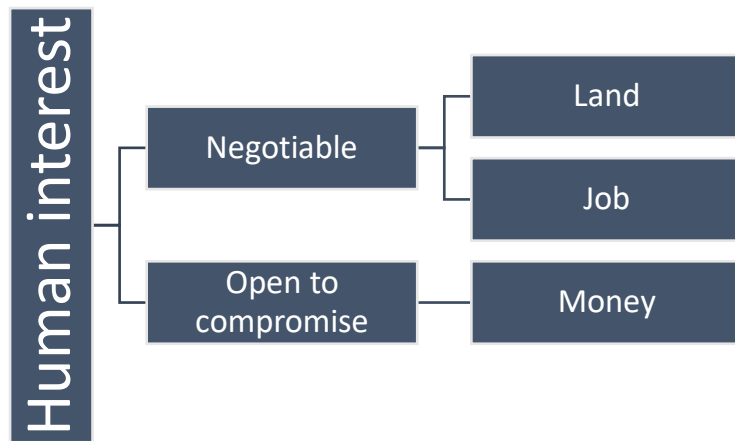
**Figure 3: John Burton's set of human needs**



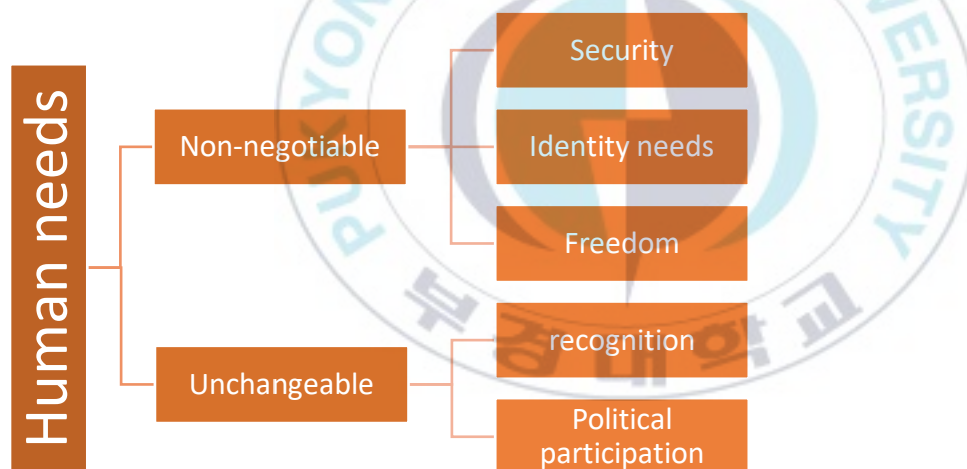
Furthermore, to understand the motivation behind human behavior towards needs and conflict, Burton discerns between human needs and interests, claiming that conflicts emanates when peoples struggle to meet their primordial needs are defeated. In addition, he argued that Interests are those motivations that change according to circumstances, and while human interests are negotiable and open to compromise, human needs are not scarce; they barely change and are non-negotiable. Consequently, conflict and paradoxically violence are inevitable if non-negotiable human needs are suppressed (Burton, J. 1990: 36-37). Additionally, having said that needs cannot be compromised, they can be resolved ordinarily in a positive sum way. The case of Kosovo can be likened to a positive sum situation. After the Albanians attained protective security, Serbians also got protection, thus it was an agreement that benefited both sides. [1]



**Figure 4: John Burton's Human Interests**



**Figure 5: John Burton's Human needs**



The inability to assimilate into the dominant French culture of both Cameroon, and the French dominated Central Africa region is an act of defiance by Southern Cameroon. Considering their history of having a recognized international boundary dating back to the 1913 Anglo-French partition and their experience as a self-governing region from 1954-1961 motivates their agitation for self-governance and secession. The people of Southern Cameroon view their status in the La Republique du Cameroon union as insignificant hence; reinstating governance over their region is an issue of security. In addition, preserving their cultural heritage and having national pride ensues

cultural security, identity, belongingness, recognition, political participation and freedom. The frustrated efforts to meet these needs resulted in the southern Cameroon crisis.

## **2.3 Conceptual Framework**

### **2.3.1 Nationalism and Nation building**

The expression nationalism is a phenomenon that has manifested in different forms, thus exposing the study to diverse theories, definitions, ideologies and origin. It can be recognized as a call to action or a political movement. Mirrored in simple emotional actions such as reciting the national anthem in a football match to carrying out dangerous acts of racism, xenophobia and ethnocentrism. The concept of nationalism is regarded as a social, political, ideology and movement identified by the advancement of the interest of a specific nation, mainly with the goal of attaining and sustaining the nation's sovereignty over its homeland. It supports the notion that every nation should govern itself (self-determination).

A notable name in the study of nationalism, Anthony Smith, defines nationalism as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential “nation” (Smith, 2001).” Concluding that the key objective of nationalism are national unity, national identity and autonomy. Based on shared attributes experienced in a singular history such as religion, culture, language, politics and beliefs, nationalism strives to construct and maintain a single national identity, to foster solidarity or national unity (Smith, Anthony 2010 pp. 9, 25–30). According to Oyeleran, nationalism is a sense of solidarity among people of a nation and allows them to defend their territory but also the culture and commons traditions (Oyeleran, 1981:268-273). Hence, nationalism looks to conserve and promote a nation's traditional culture and the idea behind nationalist movements are related to cultural revival. Closely associate to patriotism, it invigorates pride in national achievements (Nairn, Tom; James, Paul 2005), (Smith, Anthony 2010 pp. 6–7, 30–31, 37).

A diverging definition of nationalism is that of Hans Kohn. He asserts that, “Nationalism is a state of mind, in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation-state (Kohn, 1965).” With more focus on ethnic relations to nationalism and elements like blood, language and land as the basis of the concept, Carlton J. H. Hayes defined nationalism states as Loyalty and attachment to the interior of the group (namely the nation and homeland) are the bases of nationalism” (Hayes, 1926). To harp on Hayes’s definition, he maintains that, “What distinguishes one human being from another are not their beliefs, but their birth-place, homeland, language and race. Those who are within the four walls of the homeland and nation belong to it, and those who are outside it, are aliens. It is on the basis of these factors that the people have a feeling of sharing a single destiny and a common past. (Hayes, 1926).”

In addition to this study, another noteworthy scholar, Ernest Gellner, submits that, “nationalism is a primary political principle holding that the political and national unit should be congruent (Gellner, 1983)”. Gellner holds the opinion that nationalism is a political force like other scholars. Emphasizing on the conformity of nation and politic, he does not trust one can materialize without the other. An important definition to this research is that of Michael Hechter. His idea of nationalism is as a “collective action designed to render the boundaries of the nation congruent with those of its government unit (Hechter 2000 pp.7).” He expounds that, “Nation and governance can be made congruent by enacting exclusive policies that limit full membership in the polity to individuals from more favored nations (Hechter, 2000).” Like Gellner, Hechter emphasizes on the significance of the consistency of government and the boundaries of a nation, supporting that nationalism needs congruency for it to occur. Hechter’s book, *Containing Nationalism* conveys his trust that nationalism comes to play as a result of self-determination. In addition, he identifies two types of nationalism behind his definition. The first is related to the idea of freedom, with the French revolution as an example. The second one is “xenophobic or even goes as far as genocide”.

### 2.3.2 Origin and emergence

The diverse characteristics of nationalism provides a wide range scholarly work and ideas in its study. Theoretically, Llobera's *Recent Theories of Nationalism* (1999), identifies four major theories recognized in the concept of nationalism.

***Primordial and socio-biological theory:*** According to primordialist, nationalism is a feeling or attribute that has existed in people. They posit that it is an awareness rekindled by the advent of political self-consciousness (Brown 2003). Submitting that nations have always been in existence, which makes nationalism a natural phenomenon.

***Instrumentalist theory:*** This theory differs from primordial theories by claiming that the boundaries of ethnic groups are not fixed and they can be viewed as nations, however, this changes according to their needs, like economic development (Llobera, 1999). Supporting this theory is Barth (1969), opining that ethnicity is not a reference to biological or cultural heritage but more as a result of social organization. According to Barth's (1969) claims, the purpose of boundaries are specific, and could be economic, ecological or political/historical (Fredrik, B. 1969).

***Modernization theory:*** Modernists advocate nationalism as a contemporary social phenomenon, requiring socio-economic framework of modern society in order to be in existence (Smith, Anthony 2012). Strongly contradicting primordialists, modernization theory ascertains that the emergence of nationalism is as a result of modernization which is the process of industrialization, accommodating political, socio-economic and cultural environment. Thus, the likes of Kohn (2017) and Gellner (1925 1995) who support this submission, views nationalism as a modern conception (Hall, J. A. (Ed.) 1998). For Hall (1998), this conviction is embodied in ideological and civic types of nationalism.

***Evolutionary theory:*** In order to understand the idea behind this theory, evolution theorist to some degree incorporate primordial and modern theories. Also known as Ethno- symbolism, its theorists describe nationalism as a dynamic, evolutionary phenomenon and emphasize on the significance of symbols, myths and traditions in the growth of nations and nationalism. In Europe, the notion grew from the ideas of Gellner (1969) and Andersen (2006) of imagined communities

authenticated by some form patriotic nationalism, argued to have been present since the middle ages (Llobera, 1999).

### **2.3.3 Types of Nationalism**

According to some scholars, (Chatturvedi) there are different types of nationalism and it can be expressed as a popular non-state movement or as part of a formal state ideology. Furthermore, these expressions can be organized into different types of nationalism, including civic, religious, ethnic, ideological and cultural nationalism (Chatturvedi, 2005). These forms of nationalism are used to classify sub-type nationalism. Nevertheless, these classified categories are incompatible, as many nationalist movements fuse some or all of these features to different levels.

#### **2.3.3.1 Civic nationalism**

This form of nationalism is also known as liberal nationalism. Civic nationalism is identified by political philosophers who give credence to an inclusive form of nationalism that adheres to traditional liberal values of freedom, equality, tolerance and individual rights (Auer, S. 2004, Tamir, Y. 1995). In order to lead meaningful, autonomous lives civic nationalist often champion the need and importance of having a national identity. Oftentimes civic nationalism is differentiated from ethnic nationalism, stressing the need for democratic polities to have a national identity to properly function (Miller, D.1995). Theoretically, a civic state does not focus on promoting one culture over another (Stilz, A. 2009 pp.257).

Structured around people with shared citizenship within a state, attaining civic nationhood is a political identity. Therefore, political institutions and liberal policies rather than language and culture determine a “civic nation” and civic nationalism in contrast to ethnic nationalism. Citizens vow to abide by and champion those policies. In addition, being a member in the civic nation is open to any individual who share those values (Stilz, A. 2009 pp.257). According to the argument

of Jürgen Habermas, a German philosopher, immigrants in a liberal-democratic state need to practice “constitutional patriotism”, which is the need to assimilate into the host culture but only give credence to the principles of the country’s constitution ( Stilz, A. 2009 pp.257).

### **2.3.3.2 Religious nationalism**

Religious nationalism involves the affiliation and practice of a central religion or spiritual doctrine by a group of people or state with direct influence on politics, government and the administration of the state. Similar to ethnic nationalism, religious nationalism champions shared ethnicity, language, culture and national identity. In addition, it is argued that a shared religion in a society promotes the feeling of national unity and a common bond among citizens. Politics is strongly influenced by religious ideologies and politically, laws are passed to advance strict adherence of religion (Juergensmeyer, Mark 1996), as seen in the medieval Roman Empire and present day states like Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and Iran, where the practice of only religious law (Sharia law) is practiced and respected.

Religious nationalism is a form of ideology that shapes the devotion of the people to a specific territory as a “sacred place or “holy land”. An example of this, is the conflict surrounding the city of Jerusalem for prosperity and happiness. Different from present day nationalism, religious nationalism is criticized as been illogical (Omer and Springs, 2013 pp. 80), and exhibits little or no accommodation for other religious faith (Kavalski, 2016). Lays more emphasis on religious unity in the pursuit of national unity and frustrates opposing views to avoid distractions.

### **2.3.3.3 Ethnic nationalism**

Ethnic nationalism and sub-class nationalism derived from it, describes the nation with reference to ethnicity that always reflects some features of historical descent from generation past. It involves



a sense of shared culture, language and heritage. Considering these features, being a member of a nation is innate and described by Roshwald (2001) as an inflexible form of nationalism and expressive of authoritarian regimes. German philosopher Johan Gottfried von Herder argues that features of education, language, tradition and inclination characterize a nation. He claims that the construct between state and individuals was false, and with Wilhelm von Humboldt, he maintained that language is key in constructing thoughts and that both cultural traditions and language are the ties that forms a state.

Ethnic nationalism is recognized to be the expression or movement to self-determination and self-governance by a group of people that share cultural homogeneity. In most cases, it arise as a resistance to tyranny, marginalization and injustice by a larger group or state. As much as ethnic nationalism and the pursuit of self-determination is considered a human right, some scholars (Adam Smith 1994, Opafola Sulaiman 2016), submit that ethnically diverse states and regions are often prone to conflict with the manifestation of ethnic nationalism. An example is Opafola's study on the Ijaw nation residing in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria (Opafola Sulaiman 2016, pp. 71-72).

#### **2.3.3.4 Cultural nationalism**

Cultural nationalism is a form of nationalism in which the nation is defined by a shared common culture. Belonging to the society is neither hereditary nor voluntary. This type of nationalism takes an intermediate position between ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism (Nielsen 1996 pp. 42-52). Therefore, it focuses on a national identity and institutions, formed by cultural traditions, but not on the concepts of common ancestry or race, a traditional culture that can simply be assimilated into a person's life, mostly when the person gets to learn the skills at an early phase of their life. An example of cultural nationalism is the type of nationalism expressed in the Quebec region of Canada (Knowles, R. W. (2003).

### 2.3.4 The rise of African nationalism

The concept of nationalism is a widely debated phenomenon. To understand its rise and dynamics in post-colonial Cameroon, it is important to understand its rise in Africa. The discourse on the rise of nationalism in Africa and its road to self-determination is categorized into three stages or periods. The first is the period of resistance by African communities to the imposition of colonial rule; this is ensued by the post-pacification period and the revolt against colonial rule and administrative practices; the third phase is witnessed in the modern agitation for self-determination.

In support of the primordialist perspective which recognize that nationalism has always been a part of human civilization and its need to organize based on shared origin. The first acts of nationalism was witnessed all over the continent of Africa during the resistance movement against European presence in Africa. The mutual benefit in the trade relations between Africans and the Europeans quickly went sour with advent of colonialism. Colonialism brought a new capitalist system rooted in imperialism and domination. To this effect, Africa and its traditional rulers lost political power, sovereignty and identity, with the people forcefully subject to foreign culture, as captured by Ranger (1987) *“He lost the right to administrate himself, the freedom to choose what he can change in his culture, do adopt or to reject from another culture”* (as cited in Gunn, Jean-Philippe 2018).

During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, threatened by the culture and ideas of the European imperialists, many African kings and in different territories led their people to try fending off the threat by resisting the European influence, in order to preserve their own cultural and socio-political values. As witnessed in West Africa by the Kabye and Tchokossi in Togo, the Ashanti in Ghana, the Hehe of Tanzania, the Zulus in South Africa and the Dahomey people of Benin. Showing resistance to German forces in 1890, the king of the Yeo people of Tanzania voiced these words:

*I have listened to your words but can find no reason why I should obey you—I would rather die first. . . . If it should be friendship that you desire, then I am ready for it, today and always; but to be your subject, that I cannot be. . . . If it should be war you desire, then I*

*am ready, but never to be your subject. . . . I do not fall at your feet, for you are God's creature just as I am . . . I am Sultan here in my land. You are Sultan there in yours. Yet listen, I do not say to you that you should obey me; for I know that you are a free man. . . . As for me, I will not come to you, and if you are strong enough, then come and fetch me (as cited in Gunn, Jean-Philippe 2018).*

The resistance displayed by Africans during the early period of colonization, shows their desire to be independent and preserve their way of life. An expression of loyalty to their native land was then perceived as a sentiment of nationalism against external influence and domination (Gunn, Jean-Philippe 2018).

Following the pacification period of Africa in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the continent has been colonized and subjected to different European political administration. Nationalistic consciousness grew during the colonial period because of colonial policies including, oppression, forced labor, taxation, racial discrimination and land partitioning as seen in Namibia and Togo during German rule (Gunn, Jean-Philippe 2018 pp. 2992). From the perception of Africans, nationalism as a movement and as masterminded by African elites, rose naturally as a reaction to oppression and exploitation by foreign actors through colonialism (Kedourie, 1971 pp.1). Some scholars consider African nationalism as an important factor that led to the end of colonialism (Breuilly, 1993 pp. 156).

Nationalistic bond between different African tribes with learning of a common language. The advent of Christian missionaries played a key role in educating Africans and learning the tongue of the colonizer. As a result, this permitted the educated ones to be leaders of different tribes, championing social revolution (Ajayi, 1972 pp. 513-527). The missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> century instituted nation-building ideas of Europe, giving special education to those that assimilate Western ideas well. Toyin Falola captures the effect of Western education rendered by Christian missionaries in Africa, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century saying:

*Missionary education produced new elite, different in its mode of thinking and skills from the indigenous and Islamic intelligentsia. Bookbinding, printing, carpentry, and smithing were some*

*of the new skills associated with these elite. To some extent, a new “industrial class” was also being created (Falola, 2001 pp. 23).*

Acquiring Western education created a disparity in social status for Africans. The educated became the elite group and people of high societal status. This group of people like Nnamdi Aikiwe of Nigeria, Kwame N’krumah of Gold Coast, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Dawda Jawara of Gambia, Sylus Olympio of Togo, Milton Margai of Sierra Leone etc., became political forces who went on to agitate for the independence and creation of their own states. They used their new status and their acquired economic, political and social skills to foster political agitation amongst new generation of Africans (Gunn, Jean-Philippe 2018 pp. 2992). This idea of nationalism and sense of identity precipitated by the knowledge acquired by some Africans is perceived to be an important factor that led to decolonization as recognized by Benedict Anderson stating; *the 19th century colonial States engendered the nationalisms that eventually arose to combat it* (Anderson, 1991).

The Second World War played another role in motivating African nationalism. Having access to guns and ammunitions as soldiers enrolled in the French and British army. Furthermore, inspired by the American army promoting democracy and freedom (Ibhawoh, 2007 pp. 221-243). The British were able to rally their colonies around to war against Germany through war propaganda, however, the effect of the war allowed the African elites to articulate their nationalistic requests on self-determination and freedom. Anti-colonial nationalism continued to grow in the 1940’s across Africa, led by the educated elites, they clamored for independence, liberation and a heightened sense of nationalism was present (Ibhawoh, 2007 pp. 224-238).

Following the position of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and then President of the United States of America Franklin Roosevelt on the in 1941, declaring their respect for the right of people to choose their leaders and the form of government they wish to have. The position of both World leaders was considered a proclamation to their right to self-determination and self-governance and intensified their agitation for independence (Ibhawoh, 2007 pp.239). From the mid 1940’s, towards the end of the Second World War, African elites who are now nationalist leaders intensified agitation and exhibited the will to be independent and attain freedom. Spanning a decade later, decolonization started taking place from mid to late 1950’s to 1960’s.

### **2.3.5 Post-Colonial Nationalism in Africa**

In light of the independence of new African states, the new African leaders accepted the identity given and boundaries drawn by the colonial rulers. Considering the diverse ethnic composition of the new African states, the concept of nationalism took a different turn and ideology. The sense of freedom and self-determination changed to political movements, sighting the difficulty in building a national identity and realizing developmental projects (M'bokolo, 1985 pp. 335-336). The following three decades from the 1960's to 1990's witnessed a one party system rule in most African countries. Their idea was to construct a state with all citizens having a national identity and allegiance to the state rather than their ethnic groups (Kalala, 1999-2000). The new political leaders as witnessed in countries like Benin, Zaire now Central Africa Republic, Cote d'Ivoire Democratic Republic of Congo and Ghana, adopted one party system of government. They started structuring the political system in ways to give orientation to its citizens in what is known as "mass nationalism", giving them political and social consciousness, promoting the leader as their "Sovereign Ruler" (M'bokolo, 1985 pp.336-337).

African states were created, but maintained the artificial borders made during the colonial era. Within these borders are different cultures, ethnic groups and behaviors, as a result the spirit of state nationalism is weak, as Africans pay more allegiance to their ethnic group than the state. Consequently, this gives room for favoritism, clientelism and nepotism (Gunn, Jean-Philippe 2018 pp. 2994). Post-colonial nationalism in Africa promoted a different kind of idea nationalism to that witnessed during the colonial era. The new consciousness advanced one party system, religious, regional and ethnic sentiments, corruption, and tyrannical autocratic governments, it is not surprising that after over five decades of independence most African countries still struggle with achieving a national identity. Nepotism and ethnic sentiments displayed by the leaders broke the national consciousness among citizens, provoking rivalry between ethnic groups, civil wars genocide and military coups in countries like Burundi, Nigeria Rwanda etc.

The end of the Cold War and the advent of democratization process in Africa encouraged the rise of other forms of nationalism. Secessionist movements grew stronger, with distinct groups and ethnic communities within states sought self-determination for autonomy and self-governance. The disintegration of the Soviet Union was motivation for secessionist groups to further their cause



and attain their goals. The democratization process promoted multi-party system and ethnic political leaders used their party platform to advance their political ambitions.

To sum it up, the rise of African nationalism was influenced by a series of events including the resistance against the imposition of colonialism, followed by the post-pacification period, which was the revolt against colonial administrative practices. The last phase was manifested as the agitation for self-determination and independence of African states. Afterwards, leaders of nationalist movements during the colonial era governed post-independence African states. The case of Cameroon saw Ahmadu Ahidjo become President of la Republique du Cameroun in 1960, and later the President of the unified Federal Republic of Cameroon in 1961. In less than a decade after the unification of both Cameroons and the creation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, the new state began to experience the features of post-independence nationalism, with the adoption of one-party system, promoting policies of one national identity and ethnic sentiments. With the adoption of the new concept of nationalism, which was promoting one national identity, the diverse colonial history of Cameroon as a state makes achieving one identity difficult and conflict prone, as Cameroon consists of not just hundreds of ethnic groups but two distinct national identities that each wants to preserve.

### **2.3.6 Nationalism in Multi-national states**

The expression nationalism as previously discussed, is a phenomenon that has manifested in different forms, thus exposing the study to diverse theories, definitions and ideologies. The concept of nationalism is viewed as a social, political, ideology and movement identified by the advancement of the interest of a specific nation, mainly with the goal of attaining and sustaining the nation's sovereignty over its homeland. Nationalism is a collective action designed to render the boundaries of the nation, a territorially concentrated and culturally distinctive solidary group, congruent with those of its governance unit, the agency responsible for providing the bulk of public goods within the nation's territory (Hechter, M., Kuyucu, T., & Sacks, A. 2006 pp. 2). However, for the purpose of this study, Michael Hechter's state-building nationalism is explored to



understand the behavior of the Francophone led regime, its aim of achieving a national identity and its effect on the provocation of the Southern Cameroon crisis.

According to Hechter, state building nationalism is the nationalism that is embodied in the attempt to incorporate or assimilate culturally distinctive territories in a particular state, the kind of nationalism experienced in post-independence Africa and Cameroon. It is the outcome of deliberate efforts by central governments to make a multicultural society or state culturally homogenous. It is basically an ideology that promotes one's own identity over others, it can manifest by integrating culturally distinctive populations into a state, like the seventeenth to twentieth century rulers of France and England or in a less liberal inclusive way, expel culturally distinct groups, like the Spanish Reconquista, the extermination of the indigenous people of North America and the genocide on Jews, carried out by Hitler (Hechter 2000 pp. 15). The imposition of nation building policies due to sentiments of nationalism in states with diverse cultural and socio-political ideology, can give rise to opposition movements, resulting in the call for self-determination, especially when such policies trump the rights of minority groups.

A state with distinct cultural and socio-political ideology can be called a multinational state. According to Costa (2003), a state is considered multinational when it constitutes more than one nation, or when its citizens belong to different national groups. To be more specific, the term multinational-national state refers to states that give official or constitutional recognition to their national diversity, usually with the establishment of specific institutional agreements (Costa, J. 2003 pp. 67). Cameroon is a typical example of a multinational state, considering the union of the distinct British and French territories of British Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun in 1961 at the Foumban Conference, to form the then Federal Republic of Cameroon. Taking into account its diversity, Costa highlights that one of the most important attribute of a multinational state is "conflicting nationalism", which is state or majority nationalism and sub-state or minority nationalism regardless of their constitutional structure, as is the case of Southern Cameroon in Cameroon, Catalonia in Spain and Quebec in Canada (Costa, J. 2003 pp. 67).

Costa's state or majority nationalism compliments Hechter's state building nationalism in capturing the adoption of nation-building policies in assimilating the entire population of a state

into one national culture and identity. The institutionalization of nation-building policies have been tools deliberately targeted at national minorities for harmonization and assimilation (Costa, J. 2003 pp. 68), as witnessed in Cameroun. However, only few states have been successful in their nation-building project of integration and assimilation, as minority nations are often defiant toward state or majority forceful integration (Kymlicka, W. 1998), this is evident in post-independence African states, Cameroon included. In addition, Hetcher argues that the pursuit of self-determination by national minorities are a result of state's nation building policies, inducing what he terms "peripheral nationalism". A type of nationalism embraced by culturally diverse minority groups, resisting incorporation to an expanding state or seceding to form an independent state like what is seen in Quebec, Scotland, Catalonia (Hechter 2000 pp. 17) and Southern Cameroon, which was also witnessed in Africa during the pre and colonial era.

Considering the 1961 unification agreement of having a federal state by both Cameroons, the theory of state-building nationalism explains the motivation of the central government in the implementation of its nation building policies and sheds light on the conditions under which national diversity may lead to high levels of conflict. Taking into account the post-unification alterations carried out in the Cameroon constitution, it is evident that the regime's quest to have full control of all regions including the Anglophone region and make Cameroon a homogenous state by assimilating the minority Southern Cameroon, over the years resulted in the marginalization of the Southern Cameroons. In order to resist the perceived threat posed by the dominant French regime, the Anglophones eventually develops a nationalist attitude, in defiance of accepting French ideology but strive to restore its culture, which birthed the Southern Cameroon crisis. The adoption of secession becomes a legit bargaining tool, considering the fact that states are naturally more resourceful and powerful than minority groups.

### **2.3.7 French Assimilation policy**

In understanding the actions of the Francophone led regime and the motivation behind its actions, this study also identifies the influence of Direct Rule of colonialism experienced by French speaking Camerounians. This was a distinct way of rule by the French in West Africa (1939), featuring centralization, uniformity, with the aim of assimilating colonial subjects into the French

system (Georges Hardy 1953, Lewis, M. D. (1962). Direct rule is said to be founded on the paired ideologies of the centralized unitary government of the French Metropole, with the French ideology of assimilation. This is also built on the argument that French law and citizenship was built on universal principles that emanated from the French Revolution (Diouf, M. 1998). As opposed to the British Indirect Rule experienced by British Cameroons, part of which is Southern Cameroon. Indirect Rule permitted the flexible use of local chiefs as intermediaries in colonial administration. This is not to say the British never practiced Direct Rule. Known as the British Raj, this was the direct rule of the British Crown over India from 1858 to 1947.

Cameroun's colonial history of dominance is evident however, the French policy of "assimilation" advanced significant subjection to domination than the British "indirect rule." Taking into account that Francophone Cameroonians experienced forceful assimilation of the French culture, Gould claims that Francophones were shaped as conveyers of French language and culture (Gould S. 2019). Assimilation affected Francophone system of governance after the independence and unification of the two territories, as they gradually embraced centralization of power and the promotion and legitimization of Francophone political, economic, and social institutions. Similar to the colonial era. Furthermore, the Francophone government through the systematic elimination of the British education and legal systems for the growth of the French culture and values carries out the assimilation process.

Cameroun as a state has witnessed the influence of the French assimilation policies and culture. Almost sixty years since the reunion of both regions, the people of Cameroun have experienced leadership under only two people. These two people (Ahmadu Ahidjo and Paul Biya), are Francophones, also, they have managed to shape and dominate the political system through representation of the Francophone-majority government increasingly limiting the Anglophone discourse in the advancement of the dominant Francophone culture. Another effect of direct rule and assimilation experienced by French speaking Camerounians is Institutional inequality. In other to assimilate, one has to dominate.

In the case of the regime, Southern Cameroon political and economic institutions are either converted to centralized government institutions or shut down due to abandonment, to strengthen

Francophone institutions and make them dominant. For example, Southern Cameroon is the state's region blessed with crude oil and petroleum products. However, institutions and organizations related to oil like the Societe Nationale de Raffinage (SONARA), SCDP, HYDRAC and SNH are principally located in the French-speaking region and have predominantly Francophone staff despite the fact that the oil exploitation and production take place in Southern Cameroon. Secondly, since the unification the Anglophones have witnessed a systematic dismembering of their economic structures, including West Cameroon Marketing Board (WCMB), *Plantations Pamol du Cameroun Ltd* (Pamol), the Cameroon Bank and Powercam. Abandoned projects include the Port of Limbé, airports at Bamenda and Tiko (Konings 1993)

Over the years, these events and activities whether consciously or unconsciously have resulted in the marginalization of the Southern Cameroon region and the forceful assimilation into a French structured society. In post-independence Cameroun, the influence of direct rule and the ideology of assimilation in a society as experienced in the colonial era is evident in present day Cameroun. The adoption of a centralized system of government in a supposed federal state and the promotion of nation building policies with the aim of achieving national integration and one national identity in a multinational state meant the assimilation of minority identities and their political and economic marginalization. Similar to the colonial era, the forceful assimilation of a weaker or minority group can only lead to civil unrest and the pursuit of self-determination.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Research Methodology**

#### **3.1 Case Study Research**

The case study approach of research is embraced in this study, due to the unique nature of the Southern Cameroon crisis. According to Anol Bhattacharjee (2012), the case study approach is effective when used for theory testing. Compared to other rivalry research methods, the case study research has some advantage over them including its ability to serve in either theory building or theory testing. Second, research questions can be refined during the research process if the original questions are discovered to be peripheral or unimportant. Third, case study research can help obtain richer, contextual and veritable interpretation of the phenomenon of interest than other research methods owing to its prowess to apprehend a rich array of contextual data. Fourth, the phenomenon of interest can be studied from the stance of multiple participants and using multiple level of analysis (Anol Bhattacharjee 2012).

Nonetheless, case study research has its defects. Considering the lack of experimental control, internal validity of inferences stays weak. However, this problem may be solved using “natural controls. Second, the quality of inferences obtained from case research chiefly relies on the integrative capacity of the researcher. A novice may miss concepts and patterns identified by an experienced researcher. Thus, there is criticism of the findings being subjective. Lastly, there is the predicament of generalization of inference from case research to other contexts; because of the inferences are heavily contextualized (Anol Bhattacharjee 2012 pp.93).

#### **3.2 Research Method**

To gratify the objectives of this study, a qualitative research method is adopted. This method of research is embraced because; its characteristics are mainly suitable for research with limited samples or access to data, while its results are not measurable and quantifiable. However, this



method has its advantages; this also embodies its primary disparity with the Quantitative research method, which is that it provides a thorough analysis and description of the subject, without restraining the scope of the research and the participator's answers (collis and Hussey, 2003). The unrestricted structure of this method permits the researcher to think independently, develop new ideas and arrive at a reliable result with the empirical data available to them.

The success of qualitative research is largely built on the ability and dexterity of the researcher, however, the result may not be recognized as dependable, in a view of the fact that they are chiefly the personal interpretations and judgments of the researcher. Though it is suitable for limited samples, it is also exposed to criticism and the results are often in doubt of exhibiting the stance of a larger population (Bell, 2005). Qualitative research method is appreciated for its feature that takes the object of study into account, for example, people. This research method creates a passage for researchers to view and understand social life as a process that is subject to change overtime, and justifying peoples change in behavior over a period.

### **3.3 Research Approach**

For this study, the deductive research approach will be used to analyze data. According to Anol Bhattacharjee (2012) deduction is the process of drawing conclusions about a phenomenon or behavior based on theoretical and logical reasons and an initial set of premises. In this study, the deductive approach is favored over inductive approach because; it goes beyond observing samples to analyze a phenomenon in a theoretical and logical way. To test a delicate case such as the Southern Cameroon crisis, empirical observations was conducted which was later tested with the different theories adopted as it relates to the unit of analysis. In addition, the effect of initial events on the behavior of a group was examined to understand its correlation to the Southern Cameroon crisis.

### **3.4 Data Collection Sources**

In attaining the goal of answering, the research questions posed in this study and developing an empirical hypothesis, the use of secondary data was collated and analyzed.



### **3.4.1 Secondary Data**

Secondary data are those data collected as part of a different research work, with the purpose of achieving a different result from the present research. They vary from statistical data, administrative data, researcher's data from past project or data compiled by commercial operators. Secondary data sources for this study were derived from existing literatures, which include articles, books, media reports, journals, year projects by past students of institutions and official documents of Cameroun. Secondary data played a vital role in achieving the objectives of this study, providing a background and in depth knowledge in understanding the intricate Southern Cameroon crisis and what has previously been done.

### **3.5 Sample Method**

The sampling method used for this study is the convenience sampling method also known as accidental or opportunity sample method. The method that belongs to the non-probability sampling category is defined by Anol Bhattacharjee (2012) as the technique in which a sample is drawn from that part of the population that is close to hand, readily available or convenient. Under the non-probability sampling category, we have the Convenience sampling, which is based on the availability of data. Furthermore, the nature of this case study research work only permits the use of this method, based on location and accessibility of data.

The author acknowledges the flaws of non-probability sample method as a technique that rarely helps the researcher know how well the target population is represented in the sample data. In addition, an unexperienced researcher may not be able to detect error encountered using this sample method. Due to the limited quantity of data collected, resulting to the use of this subjectively filtered sample method (as an alternative to a randomized sample), the results of the analysis are not generalizable to a broader population. Furthermore, the results determined from the primary data may not describe the features of the entire population. However, following observations, data collected and articles analyzed provide understanding and historical background to how various actors and events illuminated and influenced the rise of the Anglophone problem, leading to the Southern Cameroon Crisis, and the agitation for secession. The researcher hereby submits that, though the sample method may technically have flaws, the data collected is content

rich, diverse enough for the representation of the target population and provides very useful information in reaching an objective and empirical conclusion.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

Credible ethical codes were considered in carrying out this study and in the collection of data. Starting from the design and process of the study and ensuring that it aims at the good of public and causing no public harm, all through up until the period of attaining results, to ensure replicability and transparency. In addition, concerning the issue of validity and correlation. For the success of this study, the conclusion of this research work correlates and provides rejoinder to the research questions initially posed in the study.

### **3.7 Limitations of the study**

There are always limitations or shortcomings that every research work has to face. This study is not an exception; there were few hiccups beyond the control of the researcher in carrying out this study. These include:

- The data sample size was not enough. Getting more data from the location of the unit of analysis would have offered more opinions and increase the reliability of the study and representation can easily be justified.
- In some situations, participants may be bias about their opinions as it relates to their cultural background. This may affect the research findings, as the data content is partial.
- The Cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis may be influenced by other factors that were not cited in this study.
- This study may not be generalized in other crisis research cases, due to the structure of the Southern Cameroon crisis and Cameroun's complex history.
- The limited time of carrying out this study stands as a limitation, as having more time would have paved way for a more in-depth analysis of the study

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **4.1 Result**

After careful observation and examination of samples and data collected, based on the research questions guiding this study, which is to explore, examine and analyze the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis and the motivation behind the actions of the central government of Cameroun.

Identifying discrimination on different scales as the major cause of the crisis, but share the opinion of a federated state instead of a divided Cameroun.

In carrying out this study, thorough examination of secondary data collected was conducted. Focusing on previous literatures, journals, articles and press releases, this reseach findings as to the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis, is as a result of decades long marginalization of the Anglophones by the Francophone led regime, in a union that was consummated on equality.

The findings of this study corroborate with hypothesis of this research, that “the marginalization of the Anglophones by the dominant Francophone led government, is the causal determinant of the Southern Cameroon crisis”. This result is also consistent with related studies on the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis

### **4.2 Outcome of Factors**

The objective of this study is to observe and analyze data, and then draw a logical conclusion on the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis. Following thorough examination of data collected while conducting this study such as previous literatures, journals, articles, empirical papers and press releases, my findings as to the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis, is as a result of decades long marginalization of the Anglophones by the Francophone led regime, in a union that was consummated on equality.

### **4.2.1 Cultural Result**

Inequality in a society reduces social cohesion and in a multi-national state like Cameroon, it breeds intergenerational transfer of unequal economic and social opportunities, creating an environment for poverty traps. Studies (Stewart 2008, 2010) have shown that unlike inequality between class in a society, group inequality based on identity are more prone to political instability and conflict. Decades of promoting nationalistic policies like, indigenization and harmonization geared towards attaining one national identity created a society with unequal rights and opportunities for the people of both regions of Cameroon. The work of Ayim (2010) on unequal opportunities of job and education in Cameroun, supports the claim on language and identity hurdles Southern Cameroonians face in order to thrive.

A key factor in the findings of this study is the effect of government's actions and policies. States introduce policies to promote and sustain national growth, integration and national unity. However, in adopting and implementing policies in a multinational state like Cameroun, the need to be sensitive to the diverse groups encompassing the state is salient for a harmonious cohabitation. This study discovers that government's promotion of the French culture and identity in the state led to the systematic eradication of the Anglophone culture and identity. The fear of cultural eradication, loss of identity and relevance in the union birthed the Anglophone problem. This ultimately resulted to the Southern Cameroon crisis. This revelation is supported by Hechter's theory of state-building nationalism which, asserts that the promotion of nation-building policies in most cases, give rise to opposition movements resulting in the call for self-determination and conflict, especially when such policies threaten the rights and way of life of minority groups.

### **4.2.2 Economic Result**

It is said that regions endowed with resources are likely to be more confident about their future feasibility as independent states, or more conscious of their group identity's (Collier and Hoeffler 2002: 2). This study finds that an important factor that nurtured the Anglophone grievance to the

call for secession is wealth inequality in the state. Research shows that the emanation of crude oil from the Southern Cameroon region does not reflect on the development of the region, as the central government controls all revenue. In addition, Southern Cameroonians are disturbed that all public corporation related to oil such as the Societe Nationale de Raffinage (SONARA), SCDP, HYDRAC and SNH are principally located in the French-speaking region and have predominantly Francophone staff, despite the fact that the oil exploitation and production takes place in Southern Cameroon. The decay of old economic infrastructures, lack of new ones and the degradation of the region's economic situation have inspired their thought of self-resource management and independence.

## **Political Result**

Politically, this study uncovers that since the constitutional reform of 1972, changing the country to a unitary state, as opposed to the federal system agreed upon during unification. This reform was the genesis of the loss of regional autonomy and political power over the Anglophone region by Southern Cameroonians. This resulted in a centralized system of government, giving authority of all regions to the French majority led central government and the promotion of state nationalism. However, ethnic sentiments and nepotism is a sabotage to achieving nation building goals, and keeping the Anglophone elites in the shadows. Their inability to occupy important decision-making and policy changing positions or effect change concerning issues affecting their region for over five decades has been frustrating and kept them aggrieved. Taking into account their historical status as an autonomous region, subsequent efforts made at constitutional reforms and restoration of some level of autonomy failed, resulting in the Southern Cameroon crisis and the call for secession.

Overall, the findings from secondary data sources share a significant amount of correspondence with literature reviewed as to the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis and the effect of government policies. The most significant variables from both observation and analysis were marginalization and systematic attempt at assimilation, which can result in loss of identity for a group. These findings support the initial hypothesis of this research, that the marginalization of the

Anglophones by the dominant Francophone led government, is the cause of the Southern Cameroon crisis. This result is also consistent with related studies on the Southern Cameroon crisis and the Anglophone problem.





## Chapter 5

### 5.1 Discussion

It is paramount that the regime pays necessary attention to the deteriorating state of the Southern Cameroon Crisis, to ensure the peace and stability of the country. Both government and the Anglophone elites need to embrace dialogue in mapping out a feasible structure for the benefit of both parties and the future of Cameroon with the support of the international community.

Africa is a unique continent encompassing diversity. In some African countries like Nigeria, there is a saying that “our strength is in our diversity. However, the UNPO submits that, “Across contemporary African politics and civil societies, interethnic and linguistic divides remains an important obstacle to peace”. This means that Africa’s diversity makes it prone to conflict in which minority conflict is common as a result of various factors. This study attempts to understand the cause of the ongoing Southern Cameroon crisis and the call for secession by the Anglophone region. Furthermore, it examines the actions of the regime and the motivation behind their agenda. The government’s actions and policies geared towards nation building and the promotion of a single national identity as experienced in the pre-colonial era has been unsuccessful. The diverse colonial history of Cameroon created a post-colonial state with diverse inherited legacy and ideology, with the French being the dominant and most practiced.

In exploring the Southern Cameroon crisis and the motivation behind the secession movement of Southern Cameroons, Buchanan’s (1998) remedial right only theory of secession was adopted in justifying Southern Cameroons claim to secession as a people that have suffered some level of injustice. This study also examined factors of secession (Cultural, Political and Economic) to understand the events and actions that influenced the call for self-determination. The present Southern Cameroon crisis is the consequence of unequal systematic relations between the former British colony of Southern Cameroon and former French colony of East Cameroun overtime, leading to hegemonic relations in favor of the dominant Francophone majority. For Southern Cameroons, the reformation of the Cameroun’s constitution over time to her disadvantage

consequently led to the loss of political and economic control of their region and its resources, and lack of decision-making representation in the central government. In addition, the Anglophones are vexed by the unjust institutional policies of the regime that threaten their culture and identity, forcing them to assimilate. With this perception, efforts made at dialogue and reconciliation were fruitless, their discontent grew and the discourse of self-determination became popular as the only alternative to autonomy and liberation. Buchanan (1998) argues that when attempts at reconciliation and reforms fails, the pursuit of self-determination is eminent and justified (Allen Buchanan, 1997 and Bruno Coppieters, 2014). The current Southern Cameroon crisis is a reflection of lack of respect for Cameroun's colonial diversity and a non-inclusive government.

Furthermore, this research examined Burton's (1990) human needs theory, focusing on human behavior and how meeting its needs and interest shapes its approach towards different situations. Burton asserts that human needs are certain primary necessities for human existence and survival, and that humans will go to any length to meet their needs. If efforts to meet these needs are frustrated, it could result to conflict (Burton 1990). The state of Cameroun have witnessed the leadership of only two people since independence in 1960, and reunification in 1961. Ahidjo, who led the country after de-colonization handed over power to Paul Biya in November 1982. Both French presidents, promised to uphold the policy of official bilingualism as stipulated in the constitution but practically, have favored and promoted the French culture over the English culture in every sphere. This has led to the absence of the use of English language in official and relevant spaces such as in science and technology, education, the media, politics and culture. Consequently, forcing the people of Southern Cameroon learn and submit to adopting the French culture, in order to effectively take part in the society. Lack of promotion or effective use of culture, limits its preservation and transfer to the next generation. With culture insecurity staring them in the face, agitation sets in and the desperation to preserve their heritage follows.

Considering the leadership structure in Cameroun since reunification, Southern Cameroonians have had the feeling of intimidation and sense of a bleak future in the union. Successive Francophone presidents have managed to change and modify the constitution for their own benefit. There was the name change of 1972, from the Federal Republic of Cameroon to the United

Republic of Cameroun. In addition, a bicameral system of government representing both parties in the union became unicameral, stripping one party off regional autonomy and decision-making power (DeLancey and DeLancey). The administration backed its actions with the objective of promoting national unity and the process of nation building. President Biya made further alterations in 1984. The sensitive article 1, that has to do with the name of the country and the people it represents was changed and the country renamed La Republique du Cameroun, the name that represented French speaking Cameroun before reunification. Furthermore, the country's flag with two stars, depicting two parties in the union was altered and replaced with a flag with one star. This sparked anger and a loss of sense of belonging in the union. The most recent modification came in 2008; when the National Assembly overwhelmingly passed a bill to amend Law 96/06 to change the Constitution to give the president immunity from prosecution for acts as president and to allow him run for unlimited re-elections, from the constitutional two terms. Having previously changed the years per term to seven from five. These actions strengthened the doubts of Southern Cameroonians as to having a future in the union.

After decades of the socio-political struggle known as the Anglophone problem and failed attempts at dialogue with the regime to meet their needs, which includes reinstating governance of the Southern Cameroon region as an issue of security, preserving their cultural heritage and having national pride which stems from Burton's human needs of cultural security, identity, belongingness and freedom. The frustrated efforts to meet these needs resulted in series of protests and eventually the southern Cameroon crisis.

An important part of this study is, understanding the motivation behind the centralization actions of the Francophone led regime. Following the unification agreement of federalism in Fombrun in 1961 by both Cameroons. Southern Cameroonians felt a sense of betrayal haven gone into the union as one of two parties, their current status have become insignificant and as second class citizens. This study analyzed the sentimental structure of Cameroon institutions in a state with two distinct cultures. The implementation of nation-building policies by the dominating Francophone regime driven by nationalism in other to integrate the English speaking Southern Cameroons into the dominating French culture of Cameroon, consequently the resistance at assimilation by Southern Cameroon sparked the consciousness of self-determination and secession. Drawing from

Hechter's (2000) concept of state building nationalism in multinational states, this study describes and explains the role of nationalism in a diverse society like Cameroon and explore the moderating effect of nationalism on the relationship between national diversity and conflict.

Following the rise of African nationalism during the colonial era in resistance and protest against imposition of colonial rule and unjust colonial practices, which eventually led to the agitation for self-determination and independence of African states. The concept of nationalism widely recognized for the idea of promoting freedom, liberation and self-determination brought about the independence and decolonization of many African states. The adoption of a different concept of nationalism by post-independence African leaders laid the foundation for most regional and ethnic uprising. The idea of implementing nation-building policies in constructing a national identity for all citizens was daunting, considering the hundreds of ethnic diversity in each African state. Taking into account the diversity of the African society, this form of nationalism (state nationalism or mass nationalism) was to create a sense of loyalty and allegiance to the state rather than individual ethnic groups. To make matters worse, the issue of ethnic and regional sentiments, favoritism and nepotism came to play amongst African leaders. This brought about division, rivalry, civil war and military coup.

The case of Cameroun is not different from that of most African countries. Ahmadou Ahidjo of French colonial history was the first president of Cameroun in 1960. In 1961, he continued his presidency after the reunification of both Camerouns. He embraced the concept of state nationalism with the aim of nation building, thereby uniting the state and achieving a national identity. In this case, as opposed to other African countries, Cameroun does not only have hundreds of ethnic group but also consist of regions with different colonial background and ideology, which each is loyal to as its heritage and wants to preserve. The reunification at Foumban in 1961 was that of two nations with different identities, which makes Cameroon a multinational state. Considering these facts nation building in Cameroun is a sensitive issue and can only succeed in the absence of regional and ethnic sentiments on the part of the regime. The Southern Cameroons non-participation in important and strategic positions in the central government, their non-inclusion in important state affairs and decision-making led to regional marginalization. Marginalization could only but consequently birth and nurture a society overwhelmed by fear,

anger, hopelessness, resentment and a feeling of not been heard typically of the predicament of the Anglophones, which is undoubtedly enough to spring up violence, agitations, yearnings for redress and possible self-actualization.

The attempt of the regime to assimilate Southern Cameroons culturally, by institutionalizing policies of state building nationalism was not implemented with sensitivity to their differences. Studies (Hechter 2000) have shown that the imposition of nation–building policies on groups with distinct cultural and socio political ideology is a rationale for the rise of periphery nationalism. Lack of respect for constitutional agreements as witnessed in Cameroun, carried out by the Francophone dominated regime in a Multinational state gives room for mistrust among nationals and groups. In most cases as in the case of Southern Cameroon, the call for secession is not always the first or preferred option. Minority groups begin to groom resentment and the need to secure their political and cultural future becomes paramount. Costa (2003) asserts that multinational states are prone to conflict however; the key to peaceful coexistence depends on respect for diversity and recognition of constitutional agreements. After the failure of other options like dialogue or constitutional reforms, secession becomes an alternative to explore. Furthermore, I agree with Costa's (2003) submission that knowing the idea of secession is obtainable might induce the adoption of an equitable multinational consensus.



## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

#### 6.1 Recommendations and Implications

Intra-state conflict is perceived as the most common type of conflict in the recent history, and according to the United Nations University (UNU), Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa have witnessed the highest number of armed intra-state conflicts. Africa's cultural diversity and poor leadership choices continue to create an environment of hostility between different groups and parties. The Southern Cameroon crisis is a manifestation of these factors. Leaders of the Catholic Church and the African Union made unsuccessful diplomatic efforts at intervention and conflict management. In addition, the government of Cameroun organized a Grand National Dialogue on the conflict in Yaounde, from September 30 to October 4, geared towards mitigating the crisis and charting a peaceful way forward. It was claimed that the process was unsuccessful for lacking genuine inclusiveness from all parties involved in the conflict and the absence of international mediation (<https://www.aljazeera.com>). Human rights lawyer Agbor Nkongho, pointed out the absence of the discussion for a return to the federal system of government as one of the failures of the dialogue. Others like Agbor Gilbert, a Camerounian film producer faults the government's exclusion of addressing the root cause of the problem, which is the agitation of forming a new state as one of the shortcomings of the Grand National Dialogue (<https://www.voanews.com/episode/anglophone-crisis-cameroon-straight-talk-africa-4069226>).

Avoiding addressing and trivializing the Anglophone problem led to years of harboring grievances that morphed into the Southern Cameroon crises. Neglecting to tackle the crises through meaningful and peaceful dialogue can only lead to more death, destruction of properties and the degradation of the Cameroun economy. Moving forward, it is pertinent for both the government of Cameroon and the leaders or representatives of the separatist movement, to make sincere effort in creating an atmosphere for peace building process, which includes reconciliation, conflict resolution, and lasting peace. If the future of Cameroon is to continue as a state with two recognized identities, creating a new system is paramount. One with institutions that reflects and



equally represents all groups and their diversity as Camerounians, rather than that of dominant and subordinate.

Many academics argue that peacebuilding is a manifestation of liberal internationalism and therefore imposes Western values and practices onto other cultures. Mac Ginty asserts that although peacebuilding does not project all aspects of Western culture on to the recipient states, it does transmit some of them, including concepts like neoliberalism that the West requires recipients of aid to follow more closely than most Western countries do (Mac Ginty, R. 2008). In addition, Barnett states that the promotion of liberalization and democratization may undermine the peacebuilding process if security and stable institutions are not simultaneously pursued (Barnett et al 2007). It is vital that the people of Cameroun are empowered to provide their own solutions to the conflict, which aligns with culturally fitting procedure of justice.

The first step towards reconciliation and peace process should be the intervention and support of the international community like the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), including France and Britain that share colonial history and other respected states and organizations. The role of the international community is important because if not contained, the Southern Cameroon crisis will spill and result in regional instability. To avoid another occurrence of the Rwandan civil war that led to genocide and the death of millions of Rwandans, due to a lack of political will and delayed intervention by the international community. We must not let history repeat itself in the case of Cameroon. The international community is urged to take timely measures in the pursuit of conflict resolution to maintain state and regional peace.

The mandate of the international community would be to broker an immediate ceasefire deal and initiate an agreement for direct talks between the two sides. To achieve productive dialogue, every form of violent confrontation between government forces and separatist militias, bringing about the destruction of lives and properties needs to come to a halt. Furthermore, since the crises is also politically motivated, the release and inclusion of political prisoners involved in the conflict like Julius Ayuk Tabe, who is sentenced to life imprisonment for crimes including, inciting the secession movement, is crucial in initiating and sustaining peaceful resolutions and allowing an environment of inclusive dialogue for all parties. The release of political prisoners creates a confidence building atmosphere and motivation for representatives to participate effectively in the negotiation and peace process.

Secondly, under the supervision of the mediating third party (International community), it is salient to trace and address the root cause of the Anglophone problem and eventual Southern Cameroon crisis, to avoid reoccurrence. Addressing the symptoms of a problem without going deep to understand the cause of the symptoms, means the problem is unresolved and violence is likely to reoccur. Detecting the root cause of a problem aids third parties in identifying possible solutions. In addition, it can serve as a useful participatory peacebuilding technique. Involving both conflict parties in an active and careful activity, in describing the nexus of interconnected root causes of the conflict, can help them rethink their presumptions about what is at stake, and sometimes understand the position and motivation of the other party. In conducting the exercise of tracing and addressing root causes, one has to take into account that some root cause problems cannot be solved. An example is the historical divide of Cameroun created by colonialism. Having knowledge of this fact is good; however, the divide it brought cannot be overturn. It is important to focus on understanding current behaviors and events, which hampers trust, and working to reduce these obstacles. Tracing the root cause from Fouban, where both parties agreed to reunify as one state is a significant place and event for both parties to retrace their steps and revisit the conditions of agreement.

The third step moving forward in the healing and peace process is acknowledgment. Studies (Scheff 1994, Ignatieff 1997) show that acknowledgment plays a vital and effective role in the resolution of conflict, healing the aggrieved, an emotional way of restoring dignity and speeding peace process. Also making a claim is Joseph Montville, director of a program on preventive diplomacy. He affirms that acknowledgement of wrongdoing, often expressed through formal apology, is key for the healing of victims and their reconciliation with perpetrators. (Henderson, Michael 1996). Considering this, both parties need to engage in the exercise of acknowledgment, where there is wrongdoing, in order to heal wounds and build Cameroun without holding a grudge.

The fourth step is another important and sensitive stage in peace process, which is negotiation. Negotiation is the core of conflict resolution and is an important tool in conflict prevention, management and resolution. To settle a conflict, the third party or mediator should have a clear understanding of the needs and interests of both sides, in order to negotiate an outcome both parties can accept and live with. Agreement on how to resolve problems that gave rise to the conflict and future peaceful cohabitation by the parties involved is key in attaining a successful and sustainable

peace accord. Both parties involved in the conflict need to be open minded in adopting the attitude of compromise. Negotiations break down when one or both parties are bent on receiving hundred percent of what they brought to the negotiating table. Jeong (2000) asserts that the goal of negotiations is “to reach agreement through joint decision-making between parties” (p. 108).

A negotiation is usually successful, when involved parties compromise. Largely, they feel satisfied or rewarded. They may not feel complete satisfaction, but since each gave up something and left their original positions or ideas encourages the other to commit to the peace process. The government of Cameroun should make effort in improving the way it handles minority rights, colonial heritages and cultural specificities. In addition, it should consider the need for a more equitable redistribution of the country’s wealth for the benefit of all citizens. Considering this may quiet future agitation for secession and foster peaceful coexistence with Southern Cameroon. In further efforts to promote peace, Rothschild and Lake, describe four conflict management approaches for national leaders, including “demonstration of respect for all groups and cultures, formal and informal power sharing, election according to rule that ensures either power sharing or minimal representation of all ethnic groups in national politics, federalism or regional autonomy” (Rothschild and Lake1997. 291).

Lastly, is the post negotiation exercise of the peace process. The government of Cameroon needs to give greater priority to the peace process by having an increased political will and flexible policy consistency to create an enabling environment and mechanisms put in place for healing, reconciliation and future peaceful coexistence. Formal agreements should be respected by promoting positive attitudes, transparency and mitigating distrust through reconciliation initiatives, building or strengthening formal institutions and processes that serve and accommodate both parties. Acknowledging that as a sovereign state with no constitutional provision for secession, conditions of constitutional reforms cannot be imposed on the government of Cameroun. However, it is noteworthy that a multinational state that promotes just treatment of its minority population through multinational institutions, inclusive power sharing agreements and fair economic wealth distribution, experience minimal occurrence of minority claims to self-

determination and call for secession. The Francophone led government should take advantage of the peace process to adopt fair cultural policies and power sharing agreements. Providing the Southern Cameroon region with some form of autonomy in order to unite all people as Camerounians and preserve its territorial borders. A great freedom fighter once said, “In the end, reconciliation is a spiritual process, which requires more than just a legal framework. It has to happen in the hearts and minds of people” (Nelson Mandela).

In making these recommendations, I acknowledge that the manifestation of this crisis goes beyond my knowledge and it would entail the collaboration of the people of Cameroun and intellectuals, who are experts in this field to achieve a successful peace agreement and a lasting solution to the crisis to avoid a reoccurrence and project a peaceful future Cameroun.

## **6.2 Further Implications and Recommendations for Further Studies**

Regionally, Cameroun is located in Central Africa, bordering six different countries including Nigeria, which, is in the West African Region. This means that Cameroun is located in a sensitive position and considering the interwoven relations of governments internationally, in our present world, an unstable Cameroun can bring instability to the region in different ways. The Southern Cameroon crisis also known as the Ambazonian War is an arms conflict presently ongoing and mainly taking place in the English-speaking region of Cameroun. The only English speaking country bordering Cameroun is Nigeria, which as a result is having over 51,000 refugees from Southern Cameroon fleeing the conflict. With this, it is important for Nigeria to study the Southern Cameroon crisis and encourage peace as a regional leader.

The crisis in Southern Cameroon has fast turned the country, which was known to be peaceful into one of the serious humanitarian crisis the world is witnessing today. Currently, Nigeria is experiencing the impact of regional instability, with an alarming influx of refugees from Southern Cameroon, taking into account that Nigeria is the only English speaking country bordering Cameroon. According to the Global Conflict Tracker, Nigeria has over 2.5 million internally displaced people (IDP's), victims of Boko Haram attacks and clashes of Fulani herdsmen and local farmers in Northeastern and Middle belt region. The country is struggling to cater to its IDP's. The

addition of over 51,000 refugees might be overwhelming for a struggling government resulting in their inability to provide basic needs and services.

The issue of regional security is also important in the agenda of Nigerian government. Having said that, a morphing crisis threatens security in the region. The Cameroun military and security forces are already distracted from the coalition forces with the US, Nigeria, Niger and Chad in the fight against Boko Haram (a religious terrorist sect) that have killed an estimated 37,500 people since 2011 in the Northeastern region of Nigeria bordering these other countries. A distracted and unstable Cameroun leaves a loophole at the Cameroun border, and hampers the effort to curb insurgency, in the important fight against Boko Haram.

Considering the Southern Cameroon crisis is an ongoing phenomenon, there is need for more studies that are broad and generalizable, especially as it affects the region and neighboring countries. This study offers suggestions that can be explored. For example:

- What is the impact of the Southern Cameroon crisis on the joint security agreement between Nigeria and la Republique du Cameroun?
- Does the Southern Cameroon crisis have any effect on the present agitation for secession by Biafra, the Igbo speaking ethnic group of Nigeria?

### **6.3 Conclusion**

The most significant finding of this study (culturally, economically and politically) appears to be that nation-building policies in multinational societies are strong indicators of that cause peripheral nationalism and crisis. This study discovers that the change in socio-political factors as witnessed in post-colonial Cameroun, influenced the policy choices of Southern Cameroon's psychology towards cultural, economic and political insecurity, propelling them to seek self-determination. The constitutional changes effected overtime in post-independence Cameroun and the support for nation building policies, resulted in the marginalization of Southern Cameroon, leading to the crisis and the call for secession.



Cultural diversity give rise to hostility amongst people and groups. The Southern Cameroon crisis is a demonstration of this. However, studies have shown that good governance, respect for diversity and recognition of constitutional agreements are essential to attaining peaceful cohabitation in a multi-national state like la Republique du Cameroun.





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