UiT The Arctic University of Norway

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon

Historical and contemporary perspectives

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Dedication

To all those who lost their lives in connection to the Anglophone Crisis in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon.

Declaration

Confirmation

I hereby confirm that this Master thesis is entirely my own work and I have not used any additional assistance or resources other than indicated. All quotations, paraphrases information and ideas that have been taken from other sources, including (the internet as well as other electronic sources) and other persons work, have been cited appropriately and provided with the corresponding bibliographical reference. The same is true for all drawings and sketches, pictures and other illustrations that appears in this work. I am aware that neglect to indicate the used of sources is considered as fraud and plagiarism in which sanctions are imposed that can lead to the suspension or permanent expulsion of students in serious cases.

Tromsø, 28.10.2021, George Ikome Menyoli

Acknowledgment

There is a famous African proverb, which says; "It takes the whole village to raise one child". The meaning of this proverb is that, the up bring of a single child is an effort that can only be successfully completed by the collective effort of a community of people, soiling into the life of the child, training the child in the ways of the village and even discipline the child so they can grow up and become an independent human being. Everyone in the village becomes involved in the process of raising the child; mothers, fathers, grandparents, cousins, and even neighbors. Everyone in the village carries experience, traditions and stories with them, factors that implement on the child while they grow up. In the same spirit of the African proverb, I want to submit to everyone that it takes the whole community to raise a person in Africa. I want to thank the entire CPS family who has helped me throughout my two years at CPS. To the faculty, I thank you for constantly presenting content that have challenged my mind and views on the world. I am fully persuaded that there is no other university in Norway that have a faculty who are so involved and connected with their students as you are, administrators, deans, and all the professors. Your tireless work has paved the way for me to have the best experience possible. I also want to thank all the cleaners that make sure our classrooms stays clean and pleasant for learning even during the peak of the coronavirus. To my family, I want to thank you for the constant love and encouragement throughout my study, to all my classmates and lifelong friends, Bertila Akegeh, Adam Azzam and others. It is because of you that my CPS experience have been one of a kind. Special thanks to Margrethe Winther for your constant words of affirmation, support and encouragement since the day I came to Norway. Without the help of each group of people who I have just named, it would have been impossible for me to complete my studies. It takes each and every single person in the community, working together in unity to raise a whole person. Each person is valuable in the quest I have been on for the past two years to become a whole person. My appreciation also goes to my supervisor Dr. Christine Smith-Simonsen for her endless support in the course of this work, her constructive criticism was essential towards the realization of this project. Sincere gratitude to all the workers at the Buea Municipality, Governor`s office in Buea, News Agencies in Buea for the unwavering support given to me from the inception to conclusion of this study.

Tusen takk alle sammen!   **III.**

Abstract

The historiography of the "Anglophone Problem" has drawn a lot of ink from Cameroonian historians', lawyers, politicians and scholars. This is because an Anglophone in Cameroonian context is not necessarily a Cameroonian who speaks or writes English, or who imbibed with the Anglo-Saxon culture. Cameroonians are confronted with who an Anglophone is, what is the Anglophone problem, the origin of the Anglophone problem and why the Anglophone Crisis. An understanding of the Anglophone Problem has been complicated and compounded by the differences in political philosophy and culture between the Anglo-Saxon philosophy and the Gallic philosophy of governing the polity. The discourse on the Anglophone problem has been animated intellectually and politically by two schools of thought: one school of thought animated principally by the French-speaking (Francophones) and another school of thought animated by the English-speaking (Anglophones).

It is important to note that, understanding the Anglophone Problem lies in the fact that it had a deep impact on the life of the Republic of Cameroon. However, the first school of thought argued that there is no Anglophone Problem *per se*, while the second school of thought argued that there is an Anglophone Problem. In order to better understand the Anglophone Problem, the researcher looked at some historical events that has or may have had an influence on the current situation. Important events in this context are for example the German rule in Cameroon 1884 -1916, the Anglo-French Condominium in Cameroon 1914 - 1916, the partition of Cameroon by Britain and France in 1916, the Foumban Constitutional conference in 1961, the 1961 plebiscites, 2016 demonstrations (Lawyers and Teachers) and The Grand National Dialogue in 2019. These historical and contemporary events gave the researcher a deeper understanding of the Anglophone Problem, reasons for the current situation, and the government efforts in resolving this Anglophone Problem in Cameroon.

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1. Chapter 1 – Introductory chapter

1. 1 Background of the study

Rising incidence of post-colonial conflicts in Africa is an increasing concern especially in former French colonial countries. A civil war is an armed conflict within a country among different groups or an armed group against the government in power (Fletcher, 2007). Over the past decades, civil wars have caused many deaths in African countries, destruction of properties, force Africans to migrate to Europe passing through the Mediterranean Sea and has even rendered the sovereignty of an internationally recognized state questionable. Since the start of legitimate trade that replaced the Atlantic Slave Trade, Some European powers rushed to the continent of Africa to acquire lands in the hinterlands and to assume political, economic and social control over the African territories. Which eventually assimilate the inhabitance thus, which resulted to the scramble of Africa and, later lead to the partition of Africa (Tazo, 2010, pp 73-85). It should be recalled that, the effect of the partition of Africa after WWII created tensions crossed African territories caused by the artificial political boundaries. The newly born states in Africa were unable and struggled to deal with these conflicts, which however often resulted to civil wars or genocides. Some African scholars and historians has pointed out some key factors as to why Africa has registered the highest numbers of civil wars since after independence (Tazo, 2010, pp 73-85). Some of the factors mentioned are; the economy of African countries depend more on the production and exportation of natural resource and cash crops. These recourses are sometimes mismanage by the country's government and most often, the inhabitance where these resources are found, do not benefit from it thus, there are marginalized. For example, the Anglophone Cameroon crisis from 2016 until today, the Biafra/Nigeria war 1967-1970 and others, which consequently resulted to low per capita income. The level of production and per capita income in Africa, are very low as compared to the European countries. As a result, many university graduates are unemployed and lack of basic commodities. The unemployed youths are prone to joint or form a rebellious group(s) to fight against their home government (Tazo, 2010, pp 275-290). Neo-colonialism is another issue, which have reveal African countries to a risk of a civil war. Former colonial powers such as France and United Kingdom still have a strong domination over their former colonies to protect their economic interest (Tazo, 2010, pp 275-290). For example, some existing African governments does not guarantee or foster

their interest they will instigate a civil war by financing and arming an adversary to the government. As a concrete example of domination from the Western Powers, Muammar Gaddafi was an anti-imperialism. The United Kingdom, United States and, France forces attacked the Libyan president, which lead to his death (BBC, 2011).

Also, the growth of conflicts in Africa could be associated with the selfishness of some African leaders. These leaders have no interest giving or sharing their power to other people. It should be noted that about 20 % of African leaders since 1960, have actually been succeeded in terms of being elected by their people. The chair of the African Union Alpha Oumar Konare said, *"Africa is suffering a crisis of leadership"*. This is true, the people of Africa need a leader who will reform the African society, rebuild the economy and, lead Africa to prosperity (Fletcher, 2007). For example, Rwanda gained independence from Belgium in 1962, prior to that, a referendum was held to determine if the monarchical system of government, which had existed since the 18th century, should be retained. The results were overwhelmingly against keeping the Tutsi monarchy in an independent Rwanda. In 1959, there was a revolution, which led to the Hutu taking charge of the newly formed republic. The violence from the Revolution made refugees of thousands most of them Tutsis over 800.000 Rwandans were massacred (Fletcher, 2007). On October 1ˢᵗ 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front, known as the *RPF*, which consisted mostly of Tutsi's refugees who fled to Uganda, launched an attack on Rwanda and began a war which ended in 1993 thanks to the African Union (AU). In Liberia, before the civil war happened, Liberia had been a republic for 100 years, the coup unsettled the previously peaceful country and created the actors, the environment for the civil war which started in 1989 and ended in 2003 (Fletcher, 2007). Another example of a conflict in Africa is the civil war in South Sudan, a country with a similar culture to Liberia. In 2013, a fight broke out between the Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM), the ruling party, and the Sudan People Liberation Movement In Opposition (SPLM-IO). It should be noted that, peace talks between both groups have broken down twice in recent years (Fletcher, 2007). In Algeria, conflicts arose from the reinstatement of dominant Islam. After colonial rule, Algeria faced many political problems, where some Algerian were of the opinion that they should go back to an Islamic state. In the 1992 election, the Islamic party won the election and thus, this provoked violence and civil war erupted (Tazo, 2010).

The many different cultures and ethnicities in Africa has led to conflicts over boundaries drawn by the Europeans during colonialization and partition (Tazo, 2010). The African cultures were more or less erased by the Europeans who forced the Africans to follow western beliefs *"Assimilation"*. However, the Europeans did not respect the different tribes and religious believes. Colonization, the Europeans and Americans involvement in African countries has a clear effect or reasons why civil wars and high rate of violence are continuing. For example, the civil war in Democratic Republic of Congo erupted in 1998, due to ethnicity, which lasted for five years and ended in 2003. The second Congo war remain the deadliest conflict worldwide since WWII, which resulted to around 5.4 million deaths through starvation and disease (Tazo, 2010). Also, Angola, Chad and, Somalia have had many years of armed conflicts. In addition, the Eritrean and Ethiopian war (The Badme battle), a small group of Eritrean soldiers entered a disputed territory zone on the Badme Plains along the western border of Eritrea and Tigray (Tekeste & Tronvoll, 2000). The move was intended to mark Eritrean presence, a small shootout between the Eritrean unit and the local militia followed thus, which resulted to few causalities (Tekeste & Tronvoll, 2000). After the first rush of fighting between May to June 1998, in February 1999, the two parties used the lull in fighting to restock arms supplies from Europe. It is estimated that both countries had spent Millions of US dollars for arms purchased (Tekeste & Tronvoll, 2000). Today, Africans are still solving the economic, social and political conflicts. In 1990, the organization of African Union was formed. Its main objective or responsibility was to maintain peace in the African continent and also to solve the economic problems. In 1997, the African Union also helped prevent human right violation and growth of freedom and peace in the Member States. Thus, the organization could not help to its full capacity (Tekeste & Tronvoll, 2000). Many African politicians and philosophers characterized the African Union as a "toothless bulldog" which means it can only bark, but it cannot bite. This allegation is somehow true when we see the increasing numbers of civil wars, political instability, economic depression, high rate of illegal migration from Africa to Europe due to lack of opportunities and unemployment on the continent. One can categorically agree to the fact that the African Union lacks the power and ability to stop and resolve conflict situations in many African countries. Although some historians argued that, The African Union could not work to its full potential due to financial crisis in the organization (Tekeste & Tronvoll, 2000). Some African countries made progress after independence from their colonial masters. However, there were a lot of setbacks after

this milestones due to the boundaries set by the colonial masters thus, left tension with the various African communities. Civil wars and mass murders resulted from this tension. Without no aid, it was impossible for African states to resolve this tension and find a lasting solution. Unfortunately, Africa is still struggling after numerous efforts to create stability in the various countries on the continent.

1. 2 The case of Cameroon

Cameroon, as it is called today, did not exist before the nineteenth century. What was known of the territory by European traders was limited to the coastal areas. The Arabs from the North Africa knew only the northern region of the country. The first European to arrive the coast of Cameroon was the Portuguese sailors in the early 1470s (Fanso, 2011). When they arrived, they saw plentiful supply of prawns around the River Wouri, which they named *Rio dos Cameros,* meaning the river of prawns from which the name Cameroon is derived (Ngoh, 2018). The British reluctant to annex Cameroon made the German traders in the territory to pressure their home government to annex Cameroon. The German Chancellor at that time, Otto Von Bismarck was against acquisition of territories in Africa. The German traders faced strong competition with the French in Cameroon. Gradually, Bismarck eventually supported colonialization mainly for prestigious purposes and as part of search "a place in the sun". After much pressure from the German traders who dutifully aided by the German Colonial Society and because France and Britain economic benefits in North Africa. In 1883, Bismarck approved the annexation of Cameroon. It should be noted that, the German colonial constitution of 1886 – 1888 established the German administration in Cameroon. The supreme authority in Cameroon was the Governor who received instructions from the Kaiser and German Chancellor (Ngoh, 2018).

During WWI, Germany was defeated and ousted from Cameroon by Britain and France (Ngoh, 2018). The German protectorate in Cameroon existed between 1884 and 1916. After the defeat of Germany, Britain and France failed to jointly administered Cameroon due to differences in opinions and the only way forward was to partition Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018, pp 83-90). The French took the greatest portion of Cameroon where they administered and introduced the *Policy of Assimilation,* while the British on the other hand administered its own territory as part of Nigeria and introduced the *Policy of Indirect Rule*. On 1st October 1961, Southern Cameroon gained its independence through a plebiscite by accepting to join

their Francophone brothers and sisters "The Republic of Cameroon" over the Nigerians (Ngoh, 2018, pp 198). The flag of the Republic of Cameroon was hosted in Buea, which was the capital of the Southern Cameroon. Today Buea is the regional headquarter of the South West region. Since the independence of Southern Cameroon, the "Anglophone Problem" has drawn a lot of concern from international bodies, Cameroonians and lawmakers in the past decades. Cameroonians are face with questions about who is an Anglophone, what is the Anglophone problem, what is the origin of the problem, when did it start and why, what is the Anglophone crisis all about and what is the solution to this crisis (Monono, 2015). A mastery of the Anglophone problem has been complicated and compounded by the differences in the political philosophy and the Anglo-Saxon culture. It should be noted that, the topic the "Anglophone problem" has been animated by two School of Thoughts; one School of Thoughts animated by the French-speaking Cameroonians and the other School of Thoughts by the English-speaking Cameroonian politicians (Ngoh, 2018, pp 380). The importance of knowing the Anglophone problem lies in the fact that, it has a deep impact on the existence of the Republic of Cameroon. In 2016, an event made the question and debate around the Anglophone problem, to arise again. Demonstrations from University students, teachers and lawyers in Buea, in the South West region of Cameroon, made the question gain new relevance again (Ngoh, 2018). The first School of Thoughts argued that there was no Anglophone problem and the second School of Thoughts argued that there is an Anglophone problem (Ngoh, 2018, pp 389).

The Anglophone problem should be traced back to 1961 during the Foumban constitutional conference of July 1961 and the Yaoundé Tripartite Talks of August 1961 (Ngoh, 2018, pp 380-433). It should be pointed out that, some Cameroon historians, lawmakers and philosophers argued about the actual core of the Anglophone problem. Some books on the history of Cameroon proclaim that the Anglophone problem started from the Picot Provisional Partition, which was confirmed by the Milner-Simon Accord of July 1919 (Ngoh, 1996). They argued that, there would have been no problem in Cameroon if the proposed joint Anglo-French administration between the French and the Britain had succeeded. They further disagree that there should have been no Anglophone problem if the British Southern Cameroon had achieved its independence as a separate political entity in 1961.

Early 2015, some Common Law Lawyers from the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon met in Bamenda, the regional capital of the North West region. Amongst other

things, they accused the government of deliberating and organizing a program without following the procedures to replace the Common Law system with the Criminal Civil procedure. The lawyers also argued that they had evidence of the government wanted to assimilate the English Common Law system into the French legal system of Civil Law (Ngoh, 2018). The Lawyers jointly rejected the government ideas and they demanded the restoration of the referred Common Law, procedures and practices. Cameroon has two judiciary systems because France and Britain colonized the country. In the French part, they introduced the policy of Assimilation and Civil Law and in the British Cameroon; they introduced the policy of Indirect Rule and Common Law system (Ngoh, 2018). The lawyers demanded that the divisions of Common Law and Civil Law should be clearly defined and should operate alongside in National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM), the non-adulteration of the educational sub-system in the North West and South West regions; the creation of a law school and the protection of the anglophone minority (Ngoh, 2018). The Common Law Lawyers gave the government enough time to react positively, but unfortunately, it felt on deaf ears. In February 2016, Cameroon Education Forum (CEF) drew the attention of the government to the plight of the English sub-system of education in Cameroon. The CEF also addressed the issue of non-appointment of an Anglophone as Minister of Education and demanded that "The Minister of Education should be reorganized to reflect the bilingual cultural nature of the country" (Tazoacha, 2015). The inability of the government to properly address the Common Lawyers demand in 2015, led to a four days strike. In October 2016, the syndicate of University teachers known by its French acronym as *SYNES*, issued an official statement "We, Teachers of Higher Education endorse the Common Law Lawyers" *as a genuine expression of the continual frustration Anglophone have lived throughout this tiresome union, we call on all Cameroonians to support the lawyers quest for equality for the good and betterment of the country"* (Ngoh, 2018, p 380). The government downplayed the lawyers strike action despite the fact that it was well respected. On 21st November 2016, the Teacher's Trade Union in the North West and South West regions, declared an indefinite strike action until their requests or problems were addressed by the government. The decisions by the Lawyers and the Teacher's Trade Unions to solicit support from the population without having schooled the various sectors on the end game and from whom they should take instructions from, would haunt them down the road. It should be recalled that, some Cameroonians also supported the lawyers and teachers on the street. For

example, Mancho Bibixy resident in the North West region and a radio presenter seized the opportunity and launched his "Coffin Revolution" (Ngoh, 2018). He carried a white coffin in his car and drove to Bamenda City Council. He was accompanied by the masses, signing, calling for change and calling the president to resign from office. The crowd was protesting against the following; the littering nature of the city, poor roads, unemployment, the slow advancement of the water project in Cameroon among other things. The peaceful protest calling for change degenerated and became violent as forces of law and order engaged in running confrontations with the peaceful protesters. The confrontation led to hundreds of peaceful protesters wounded, some even killed by stray bullets, some arrested and detained in Bamenda while others spear headed this peaceful protests like Mancho Bibixy where send to Yaoundé Maximum Security Prison "Kondegui". These and other events and circumstances, marks the beginning of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon.

1. 3 Problem statement of the study

The birth of the Federal Republic of Cameroon on October 1ˢᵗ 1961, marked the reunification of the two parts of Cameroon, which had undergone different colonial administration (the French policy of Assimilation and the British policy of Indirect Rule) after the WWI in Cameroon, which was the end of the German administration in Cameroon. The German protectorate was partition between the French and the British as mandate under the League of Nations and trusteeship under the United Nation (Könings & Nyamnjoh, 1997, pp 1-24). It should be noted that, the British mandate/trusteeship territory which became southern Cameroon, was part of the eastern province of Nigeria until 1954, when it achieved a quasi-regional status and a limited degree of self-government in 1958 (Fanso, 2008). There is no doubt that, Southern Cameroon as integral part of Nigeria resulted in neglect of basic infrastructural development in the territory and as well, the Ibos and Ibibio migrants dominated the economy of Southern Cameroon, treated them as slaves and, hold key positions. For Southern Cameroon to gain independence, they needed to join Nigeria or the French Cameroon (Könings & Nyamnjoh, 1997, pp 1-24). In 1961, the people of Southern Cameroon voted to join their brothers and sisters in the French Cameroon rather than integration into Nigeria. On the plebiscite day, there were two options given to the people of Southern Cameroon, which was joining the French part of Cameroon, or integrate to Nigeria. There was never a third option if the people of Southern Cameroons wished to be alone and

independent. A few years after independence, discerning voices were raised by some Anglophones about the assimilation politics of the Francophone leaders. After the establishment of the Unitary State in May 1972, manifestation were carried out mostly through individual efforts (Ngoh, 1996, pp 315-328). The main force of the Anglophone awareness was Paul Biya's introduction of a large measures of political liberation in December 1990. The results of these measures was the formation of a political party, which was associated with pressure groups. Simultaneously, private newspapers was also established in Anglophone Cameroon (Ngoh, 1996, pp 315-328). These measures however, expresses and presents Anglophone interests in several occasions. In recent years, the Anglophone Cameroonians have organized protests and demonstrations, and even sent mission to the United Nation Organization calling for secession of West Cameroon.

1. 4 Research question of the study

A good research question is what are the Cameroon government responses to the Anglophone crisis and what measures have the government taken so far?

1. 5 Research objective of the study

The overall objective of this study are; what is the Anglophone crisis and also to analyze the outcome of the Grand National Dialogue which was organized by the president Paul Biya between 30th September to 4th October 2019.

1. 6 Significant of the study

The selection of this study stemmed from the fact that, the inability of the government to vividly address the grievances of the Anglophone Cameroonians particularly from the two speaking regions of the country nonetheless, has led the country into politically unrest. This however, have affected or hampered development at the local level, led to loss of lives, destruction of properties and other circumstances. This research seek to examine the Grand National Dialogue organized by the Head of State to seek lasting solution and to restore peace in the two English-speaking regions and also to evaluate the government's response towards the ongoing crisis. The research also carries out which measures that the government have taken to put an end to this crisis. In addition, this study will examine the economic and

infrastructures lost thus, hinder development in the two English-speaking regions in Cameroon and the country as a whole.

1. 7 Delimitation of slope

The research is based on the history of West Cameroon/Southern Cameroon, which is commonly known as the Anglophone Cameroonian or English-speaking Cameroon. This study take us to 1961, when West Cameroon gain its independence by joining the Republic of Cameroon which had got its own independence in 1960 (Monono, 2015). This study is divided into two phases; the first phase the researcher analyzes the Anglophone grievances after independence and the second phase, examine the Grand National Dialogue, which was organized in 2019 by the Head of State, President Paul Biya. The researcher also, looked at the origin of the Anglophone crisis, its effects both on the government and on Cameroonians. The research is drawn from 1960 -1990. Important historical events in this context is West Cameroon who gained its independent by joining the Republic of Cameroon through a plebiscite in 1961 and the Foumban Conference in 1961. In extension of this, was the Anglophone grievances in 1961, the birth of a multi partyism in Cameroon and the formation of the first opposition party in Cameroon known as the Social Democratic Front (S.D.F) in 1990. In the recent years from 2016, which has led to the current situation, were the petition sent by teachers and lawyers to the government of Cameroon, expressing their grievance, asking for immediate action while carrying out peaceful protests. These circumstances led to the National Dialogue in 2019, designed to seek lasting solutions to the Anglophone Crisis.

1. 8 Literature review

Könings and Nyamnjoh in their article *the Anglophone problem in Cameroon,* traced the root cause of the Anglophone crisis back to 1961. The two parts of Cameroon that is the republic of Cameroon and West Cameroon, had two different colonial systems that is; the French system (policy of Assimilation) and the British colonial system (the policy of Indirect rule). The political elites of both Cameroons agreed on a formation of a federal state, which unfortunately did not go as planned or succeeded to provide equal partnership of both parties. Let alone for the preservation of the cultural heritage and identity of each, but turned out to be merely a transitory phase into a strongly centralized unitary state which gradually created an Anglophone problem, the feeling of been marginalized, exploited and assimilated in your own

country by the francophone dominance (Könings &Nyamnjoh, 1997, pp 1-3). The authors highlights incidents in the 1990s when some members of the English-speaking elite started openly to protest against the supposed "subordination position" to the Anglophones and to lay claims to self-determination and autonomy. In many occasion, some political elites from the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon, that is the North West and the South West regions, have called and sent petition for a return to the federal system. But, the government of Cameroon headed by president Paul Biya refused to discuss any constitutional reforms which have however, force some English-elite to adopt a secessionist stand such as Joseph Wirba. He was the first Cameroonian parliamentarian to raise the 2016-2017 Cameroonian protects which eventually escalated into the Anglophone crisis (Könings &Nyamnjoh, 1997, pp 1-3). Koning and Nyamnjoh also talked about the birth of an opposition party and multi partyism in the 1990s, appeared in Anglophone Cameroon known as the Social Democratic Fronts (S.D.F). The party was founded in Bamenda, the regional capital of the North West region of Cameroon, and the main objective was to fight for the interests of all Anglophones and Cameroonians in general (Könings &Nyamnjoh, 1997, pp 2-5). With the introduction of multi partyism and political liberation in the 1990s, lead to the creation of pressure groups, several political parties, private newspapers, organization of public meetings, which resulted to public demonstrations and others. These private newspapers in the Anglophone regions created awareness within the Anglophone communities, exposed the government, expressed and represented Anglophone interests, which became the Anglophone grievances (Könings & Nyamnjoh, 1997, pp 1-7).

Könings & Nyamnjoh in their article presents the Anglophone crisis from 1961 when the two territories decided to become one Cameroon, when West Cameroon voted to be part of the republic of Cameroon. The political situation also lead to the plebiscite in West Cameroon, the birth of an opposition party and multipartyism in the 1990s. Other circumstances that lead or had an impact on the Anglophone crisis, was the economic and political crisis in the 1990s, the marginalization policy and the exploitation of natural recourse to the French territories of Cameroon, the high unemployment rates in the two English speaking regions of Cameroon. All of these grievances has led to the ongoing Anglophone crisis in Cameroon.

C. Nna-Emeka Okereke, is the head of the department of Area and Regional Studies at the Center for Strategic Research and Studies, National Defense College Abuja, Nigeria. Okereke points out in his article titled *The analyzing Cameroon's Anglophone crisis,* that the

abolishment of federalism and the adoption of a Unitary State in Cameroon by the former president Ahidjo escalate the Anglophone problems in Cameroon. Cameroon was known under the Unitary State as United Republic of Cameroon. In 1982, President Paul Biya took power from Ahidjo and in 1984, he changed the name to *La Republic du Cameroon*, which means the Republic of Cameroon (Okereke, 2018, pp 2-6). Some Anglophone elite interpreted this change of names as an act of succession from the spirit of union between the two parts of Cameroon and amounted to forced assimilation of Anglophone identity. Some Anglophone elite have resist what they considered as wearing a way of their unique identity have lingered on since the 1972, alteration of the political structure and processes since the change of name in 1984 which was contested in the courts by leading Anglophone elites (Okereke, 2018, pp 2-6). Okereke in his article, identified the causes of the Anglophone problem. These causes includes; criticisms of the centralized state, transfer of decision to the capital of Cameroon, Yaoundé, making the center of power geographically far from the Anglophone population and their problems. Furthermore, Okereke points out the failure to respect commitments to take equitably into account the institutional, legal and administrative cultures and traditions inherited from the former colonial powers. Also, the non-compliance to the solemn promises made during the referendum campaigns (referring to the 1961 plebiscites and 1972 referendum), and the change of the name of the state from United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. Lastly, Okereke identify the disrespect of bilingualism in the public sectors as a factor towards the Anglophone problem, although the constitution makes French and English two official languages of equal status (Okereke, 2018, pp 2-6). According to the author, the current crisis is an extension of the historical resistance to the alleged assimilation of the indigenous English-speaking population. He addresses the harassment of the Anglophone lawyers in a peaceful protest in September 2016 in Buea, the capital of South West region of Cameroon. The lawyers protest was held to express their grievances over the perceived marginalization of the Anglophone common law practices in the country (Okereke, 2018, pp 2-6). In the same spirit, the Anglophone Teachers Trade Union also staged a solidarity strike to protest against the educational system in the Anglophone regions targeting the University of Buea and Polytechnic Bambli in November 2016 (Okereke, 2018, pp 2-6). It should be noted that, the arrest, torture and killing of some youth in connection of the peaceful protest in the two English-speaking regions, that is North West and South West regions, also aggravated the ongoing crisis. The author also talk about

the creation of the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC), which was formed in December 2016 by an activist lawyer Felix Agbor Nkongho Balla (Okereke,2018, pp 2-6). Furthermore, the idea of the formation of the Consortium was to championed the initial demands of the Anglophone community. In addition, the demands included putting an end to the marginalization and annexationist disposition of Yaoundé, a return to the two-state federation in the management of public affairs in Cameroon, which was the basis of the union entered in 1961. The demands also incorporated preservation of the cherished legal and education system of the Anglophone Cameroon, unconditional release of over 100 bona-fide Cameroonians arrested in connection of the peaceful protest in the North West and South West regions. Also, the restoration of the internet service in the two English-speaking regions, following with failed attempt to address the demands of the Consortium by the Cameroon government, set the stage for an ongoing Anglophone crisis (Okereke, 2018, pp 2-6). Emmanuelle Pommerolle and Marie Heungoup in their article title *The Anglophone Crisis a tale of the Cameroonian post colony*, talk about the abolition of the federal system in 1972 and the 50 years of a centralized system of government in Cameroon. The two authors points out that there have been wide gaps between the two English-speaking regions compared to the rest of the country, both politically and economically. Politically, with the policy of *regional balance,* it should be kept in mind that today out of 36 ministers in Cameroon, only two are Anglophone (Pommerolle & Heungoup, 2017, pp 3). Both authors brings out the issue of marginalization and underdevelopment in the two English-speaking regions. Another example of marginalization is that 75 % of the country's mineral recourses comes from the two English-regions. These are nevertheless underdeveloped compared to the cities of Douala and Yaoundé, both found in the French part of the country. This underdevelopment and economic marginalization have resulted to the ongoing crisis (Pommerolle & Heungoup, 2017, pp 3-4). Due to the sensitivity nature of the topic "The Anglophone Crisis", few authors in Cameroon have written about the crisis due to fear of the unknown from government officials. One of the few Cameroonian historian who have written about this topic is Victor Julius Ngoh. He is a professor of history at the University of Yaoundé 1. Ngoh has examine the provocative question of who is an Anglophone in Cameroon historiography; what is the Anglophone problem all about and, when did it started. He further explains the marginalization and the second-class status position of the Anglophone, which do not constitute the Anglophone problem, but rather are effects or manifestation of the problem. He also provides an

examination of the Anglophone crisis, which erupted in 2016. According to Ngoh, he is of the opinion with other authors, that the origin of the Anglophone crisis should be traced back to the Foumbam Constitutional Conference of 1961 and the Tripartite Talks of August 1961. In his book, he present several reasons why the origin of the Anglophone crisis should not be traced back to 1916 and points out some facts, which could have prevented the so-called *"Anglophone Crisis"*. The first fact is; there would have been no Anglophone Problem in Cameroon if the proposed joint Anglo-French Administration (Condominium) had succeeded. Furthermore, there should be absolutely no argument that there would have been no Anglophone problem if the British Southern Cameroon had achieved independence as a separate political entity in 1961 in spite of the 1961 partition. There would have been no Anglophone problem if the electorate in February 1961 had voted to achieve independence by joining Nigeria, another Anglophone country. This argument is supported by the fact that British Northern Cameroon, which opted to achieve independence by joining Nigeria, never complained of an Anglophone Problem in Nigeria. Last, but not the least, Ngoh points out that Southern Cameroonians (Anglophone) would not have talked of, or complained of, an Anglophone problem in Nigeria (Ngoh, 2018).

The author also present the grievances of the teachers trade Union, tabled the grievances of the English sub-system of Education were the Cameroon Anglophone Teachers Trade Union (CATTU), the Teachers Association of Cameroon (TAC), the Presbyterian Education Authority Teachers Trade Union (PEATTU), the Catholic Education Teachers Trade Union (CETTU), the Baptist Teachers Trade Union (BATTUC) and SYNES/UB (Ngoh, 2018). Some of the grievances, which the teacher trade Union presented were; the educational system in the English sub-system should not be adulterated, improvement of working conditions and recruitment of teachers and support staff. Furthermore, they asked that the francophone teachers with little or no mastery of English language in Anglophone schools and universities, should be redeployed to the French-speaking regions. They also required creation of a Higher Teacher's Training College exclusively reserved for English-speaking regions (Ngoh, 2018, pp 380-393).

In addition, the common lawyers also presented their grievances. The lawyers decried the manner in which justice is rendered in the North West and South West regions, which was not in conformity with the Common Law. They also asked for the absence of an English version of the Organization for the Harmonization in Africa of Business Law (OHADA) and Uniform

Acts. These laws are the main documents used in commercial proceedings before the Cameroonian Courts. The lawyers also addressed that there were no Common Law Section in the Supreme Court to examine appeals from the North West and South West jurisdiction. They also required use of the Civil Code in the jurisdictions of the English-speaking regions instead of the Common Law, reduce of the absence of English Law in the Cameroonian judicial system and lastly, protection of the Anglophone minority according to the Constitution because of the bi-jurial, bilingual and bi-cultural nature of Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018, pp 380-395).

According to Ngoh, the government of Cameroon misjudged the gravity of these grievances tabled by the teachers Trade Union and the Common Lawyers. However, in a response from the government to address these grievances, the Prime Minister Philemon Yang convened a meeting in Bamenda, the regional headquarter of North West region of Cameroon. The meeting was designed to call off the strike from the lawyer's and teacher's unions, but unfortunately, the meeting ended without the strike action being canceled. This was a failure from Prime Minister Yang's side (Ngoh, 2018, pp 390-393). On the issue of federation, Prime Minister Yang, replied that he had no competence to discuss on federation. Fon Abumbi II of the Bafut tribe, on his part, acknowledged that "There is an Anglophone problem which should be addressed and what we do not stand for is secession" (Ngoh, 2018, pp 390-393). Thus, the strike action gained more momentum as students from the University of Buea went on the street asking the payment of presidential excellence award for the 2015/2016 academic year and the cancellation of 10.000 Franc CFA penalty fee for late registration. The strike action by the University of Buea students turned ugly as some of them were brutalized and dragged in the mud by the Cameroon military. Others were arrested and jailed (Ngoh, 2018, pp 390-393). It should however be noted that, the failure of the government to address the teachers, university students and lawyers grievances, have led to to the ongoing Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon. The consequences of the unresolved situation have again resulted in displacement of people, destruction of property, increasing rate of insecurity, loss of lives and, high rate of unemployment in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon.

1. 9 Motivation

In 2016, when lawyer's and the teacher's unions went on the street to protest. At that time, I was pursuing my first master degree in Germany and paid little attention to the situation back at home. When some students of the University of Buea carried out a peaceful protest demanding for better learning condition, the government dispatched military to the campus. Some students were beaten, some were killed by tray bullets, there were female students who were raped by unidentified, properties were destroyed, and students flew to their family homes for safety. This really got to me, combined with the fact that, I did my bachelor in this prestigious university, which for many years has been a pride of the Anglophone Cameroon. In 2017 the situation arose, and Cameroonians abroad carried out peaceful protests in major cities in Europe calling for western countries to come to the needs of the Anglophone Cameroonians. They were also calling the Cameroon government to address the situation and restore peace in both English regions (North West and South West regions). As a Cameroonian and a peace scholar, it is important for me to write about the ongoing crisis and give some recommendations in which it can be a tool for the government of Cameroon to use in resolving the ongoing crisis.

1. 10 Outline of thesis

Chapter 2 – Conceptual and theoretical framework

The objective of this theory chapter is to inductively develop on a framework for defining conflict and discuss the assumption that dialogue can be a tool in peacebuilding. To define conflict as a form of "struggle over values claims to scarce status, power and resources", I draw literature from Ho-Won Jeong. Conflict is further addressed from a micro level perspective through Bruck, Justino and Philip`s theory which implies finding answers to three fundamental questions; *what is violent conflict mean at micro level, why do violent conflict take place and who are the perpetrators.* The theory also help us to develop our understanding of conflict by its ability to account for individual and diversity within a country. This chapter also define dialogue as a form of communication, drawing literature from Inge Eidsvåg, Dag Hareide and Steinar Bryn. Communication is further addressed on a macro level through Juri Lotman's theory, which illustrates the role of context and codes in communication. The educational sociologist Basil Bernsttein's theory outlined dialogue as a peacebuilding tool, addressing power and control in communication. This theory chapter also

seeks to address conflict analysis framework, conflict process and, strategic of resolving conflict-drawing literature from Ho-Won Jeong and John Galtung. This output theory chapter is solely a ground work for defining and understanding conflict and how dialogue can be a tool of peacebuilding.

Chapter 3 – Methodology and data collection

The methodology chapter will outline the ontological and epistemological positions in the research, methods used in the development of research project and collection of data, as well as reflections on my position as a researcher. The collected data have been used to answer the research question on what are the Cameroon government responses to the Anglophone crisis and what measures the government have taken so far in resolving the ongoing crisis in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon.

Chapter 4 – The Anglophone crisis

This chapter seeks to examine the origin of the Anglophone Crisis. The origin of the crisis consist of; who is consider an Anglophone in Cameroon, addressing Anglophone grievances drawing from 1961 Foumban Conference and the 1961 Plebiscite in Southern Cameroon. Furthermore, the origin exists of events leading to a Unitary State, the birth of opposition political party, the introduction to multi partyism and, the teacher's and common lawyer's petitions to the government drawing literature from Victor Julius Ngoh.

Chapter 5 – Government responses

In this chapter, the researcher examine government responses to the Anglophone grievances, common lawyers and teachers Trade Union petitions. The researcher also analyzed the humanitarian support from the government to the Anglophone communities, the creation of the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Committee by the Head of State and the Grand National Dialogue, which was designed to seek lasting solutions to the current crisis by the government of Cameroon.

Chapter 6 – General conclusion and recommendations

The last chapter will serve as a conclusion of the research by summarizing the development of the study, the discussion and analysis, recalling the research questions, provide some recommendations to the government of Cameroon.

2. Chapter 2 – Conceptual and theoretical framework

2. 1 Understanding conflict

Ho-Won Jeong is a professor at the institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University United States of America. In his book *Understanding conflict and Conflict Analysis*, he provide students with the knowledge base needed to successfully study conflict sources, processes and transformations. It equally addresses the multiple social, political and psychological features central to understanding conflict situation and behavior. A range of both recent and historical examples such as the Arab – Israeli conflicts, the war on terrorism, the cold war, and civil wars in Sudan are discussed in his book titled *Conflict Analysis.* He also illustrated the application of concepts and theories essential to analysis of inter-state and inter-state conflicts and their resolution in a wider context. According to Ho-Won Jeong, conflict dates from the beginning of human history, it is inevitable, and it will probably never end. However, the most destructive conflicts are inter-state conflicts and civil wars according to Ho-Won Jeong, which consist of coercive, violence mode of confrontation, that often lead to destruction of personnel and states own properties and loss of lives (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). It should however be noted that, conflicts is not only limited to physical violence however, conflicts has been broadly associated with tension and sometimes, manifested in confrontation between different social fronts. None violent form of struggle are also prevalent in the pursuit of different values and scarce resources, in bringing about important social change, resorting to force is neither necessary or inevitable. A conflict can be defined as a series of disagreement or argument, conflicts can occur between two individuals, groups of people and even between countries. Conflicts arise due to opposing desires or needs, or as a result of different opinions, values or interest which seems incompatible (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). Nevertheless, conflicts can be seen as part of life and is not necessarily negative. It can been seen as an opportunity to understand an opponent perspective, advocate for the party's own self-interests, while practicing a negotiation and compromise. Nonetheless, it is important to exercise a positive resolution and conflict skills in order to maintain healthy relationships and avoid emotional injuries or physical violence. However, emotion plays a large role in a conflict. Often the situation leading to disagreement, triggers strong emotions particularly jealousy, ressentiment, fear and anger. Anger is an essential part of the emotion if, not properly channeled can lead to physical consequences or damages. In agreement with Ho-

Won Jeong, in understanding the concept of a conflict "it is imperative to examine the birthplace or source of discontent and animosity" to identify the phases of evolving, relationships between the adversaries and illuminate. Serious attention needs to be devoted to the regulation and management of hostile relations even if it may take longer to resolve deadly conflicts (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008).

Note, different conflicts have different approaches and methods in resolving them. Thus, each conflict should be treated differently, the method of investigation in any given conflict have to be associated with the nature of the conflict, cause of the conflict and the dynamics of the conflict (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). In general terms, conflicts is commonly described as a struggle over values and claims to scare status, power and resources (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). The efforts to attain desired objects become more intense in the absence of agreed rules prescribing their equitable allocation. People's expectations alter in response to shift in their social and economic environments. If the governing norms of a given country is too rigid, the demands to adjust to new expectation will be high and as such, inflexibility breeds resentment utilized for the mobilization of groups that are discontent with the status quo (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008).

It is generally accepted that, in any conflict situation it is important to understand the cause of the misunderstanding, meet with everyone aspirations and goals. When the relationship become incompatible, it means one's own interests are threaten by the action of another. However, in most situations, the parties involves prevent each other from achieving their objective or goals in the course of the conflict. Thus, tension comes into play when there is disagreement in opinion. According to Ho-Won Jeong, a conflict situation is represented by perceived goals incompatibilities and attempts to control each other's choices, which generate adverse feeling and behavior towards each other. At the end, what is at stake is the relationship between the two parties involve and how the relationship is defined. Thus, if the cause of conflict is left underdressed, the conflict have the potential to affect negatively an interdependent relationship that is mutually beneficial (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008).

2. 2 Conflict from a micro level

This study introduce a special issue on the micro level dynamics of mass-violent conflicts. Most analyses of conflict adopt a rational, national or global perspective often using country level data. This study however, takes a micro level approach focusing on behavior and

welfare of individuals, households, groups and communities. A micro level approach, advance our understanding of conflicts by its ability to account for individual and diversity within one country. To understand conflict dynamics and its effects the society, one have to take into account the incentive and constraints shaping the interaction between the civilian population and the arms actors (Brück, Justino & Verwimp, 2009).

According to Brück, Justino and Verwimp, addressing violent conflict from a micro level perspective implies finding answers to some fundamental questions. The questions are; *what does a violent conflict mean at a micro level, why do violent conflict take place and, who are the perpetrators, how does violent conflict affect individuals, their families and society and how does these affect the cause of the conflict.* The answers to these questions will help us to better understand why there are violent conflicts, why some countries recover quickly from conflicts and why others find themselves in the same situation (Brück, Justino & Verwimp, 2009). After a longer period of violence, people are affected differently leaving some households displaced, other dispossessed of their assets, others dead, disabled or wounded and, others scared and psychologically affected, but physically unaffected. It should be noted that, during a conflict situation some household may experience all these impacts while others may benefit materially, socially or politically from the conflict (Brück, Justino & Verwimp, 2009).

In the situation of the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, just 1/3 of the total population are affected, this is due to the fact that Anglophone constitute just 2 out of 10 regions in the country. Other people will, as mentioned by the authors above, benefit positively during the conflict situation in Cameroon, while others are affected negatively ending up losing more than they had before the conflict. For example some Anglophone elites with political positions, are of the opinion that there is no Anglophone problem in Cameroon. Paul Atanga Nji, Minister of Territorial Administration, has many times over the national television refused to admit that there is an Anglophone problem, which need to be address (The post, 2018).

Brück, Justino and Verwimp defined violent conflict as a systematic breakdown of social contract resulting from and/or leading to changes in social norms, which involves mass violence instigated through collective action (Brück, Justino & Verwimp, 2009). From this definition, one can deduce that violent conflicts can sometimes bring development in the communities. In understanding a conflict from a micro level perspective and considering the

cause and effect of the conflict at a household-, individual-, groups-, and community level. Several authors have proposed more or less overlapping classification of violent conflicts, which includes; definitions of violence against citizens, civil war, coups, riots and others (Brück, Justino & Verwimp, 2009). This study is drawn from the ongoing Anglophone conflict in Cameroon. The classification of this conflict in Cameroon makes it difficult to analyze violence from a micro perspective because it differs from regions to regions and persons to persons. Thus, the same household may experience conflicts differently depending on their level of exposure to the different modalities of violence (Brück, Justino & Verwimp, 2009).

2. 3 Conflict analysis framework

Different conflicts have different temporal process and outcomes. Ho-Won Jeong's, theory of *Multidimensional frameworks of analysis*, it is important to understand the word *conflict.* The various parties involves in the burning issues. Conflict analysis or conflict assessment, is an initial stage in a conflict resolution in which the parties seek to gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics in their relationship (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). Conflict mapping methods provide a system for illustrating the scope of a conflict by evaluating the goals of the various parties, their relationships and the issue of disagreements (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). It is important to identify the various parties that involves in the conflict before understanding their position, interest, capacity and as well as external support without any form of bias. For example, in the case of the Anglophone conflict the various parties are the government of Cameroon and the Anglophone separatees. The external support in this case could be Cameroonians in the diaspora and others. The processes for conflict management or resolution can be clarified by exploring strategies that respond to the origin of contention. For instance, related to security, political, economic and other social issues (Ho-Won Jeong, 2018).

An important purpose of conflict mapping is to help opposing parties differentiate their existing position from their true interest and needs, while clarifying a diversity of options for settling the costly struggle (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). Conflict mapping is an important tool that helps to identify the parties involved, how they relate to each other, power relationships and outside forces that may influence the various parties involves. To develop a conflict mapping, some important steps or processes are required according to Ho-Won Jeong. First, identifying all parties, this include the primary parties who are in a conflict, secondary parties; people

who may be impacting or influencing the conflict, and the third parties can be addressed as spectators or people who may be involved in the conflict, but to a lesser extent (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). The mapping as illustrated in figure 1.1 below shows the structure of the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon.
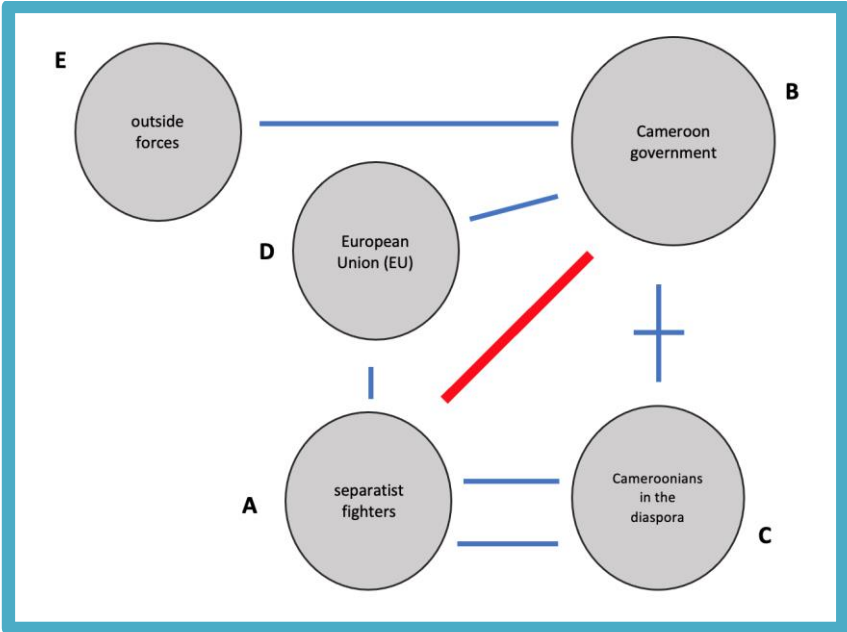

Figure 1.1 The Anglophone conflict mapping

From the conflict mapping above, party B is drawn bigger because party B has more power than party A. The red line between party A and party B indicate conflict, disagreements and grievances between both parties. From the mapping, there are three additional parties which are; C, D and E. In this situation, both party C and D has relatively less power in this conflict; they can however influence the conflict to an extent. The conflict is primary between the parties A and B and a double line indicate a strong relationship between party A and party C. We can see a broken relationship between party C and party B. Furthermore, there is a relationship between party D and B, and party A and D (common relationship). In this situation party D can be as a moderator or a facilitator.

The strategic points of entry into the conflict from the mapping are two entering points that is through party D and outside forces. The outsiders from the mapping could be international institutions like the European Union, Amnesty International and others. These parties gives pressure to the government (Cameroon) to resolve the conflict. However, there is also a

common relationship from the mapping which is the European Union. It is worth bearing in mind that, some European Union member states, are not in support of the way the government of Cameroon is handling the conflict such as Great Britain and Germany, while France is in support of the government. To France, the conflict could be more or less seen as a mere misunderstanding by a small group of people in the country. Switzerland for instance, is willing to be a moderator between the separatists and the government, but the separatists are not in support of this due to the special relationship the president have with Switzerland. It has been reported that the President spend more time in a calendar year in Switzerland than in Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018). The conflict mapping above however, gives us a clearer understanding of the Anglophone conflict with literature drawn from Ho- Won Jeong conflict analysis framework.

According to Galtung, a conflict can be attributed to *attitude, behavior* and *contradiction,* which are however interlinked to all conflict fronts. In Galtung's conflict triangle, contradiction, can be seen as incompatible goals and they are situated within a goal seeking system. It should be recalled that contradiction are the content of a conflict and can be the starting point of any conflict, thus contradiction can also mean misunderstanding. Also, attitude and behavior respond to contradiction affect the conflict. Attitudes and behavior can be constructive as well as destructive in a conflict. Galtung did not use the word "violence" when defining conflict, to him violence is solely one possible manifestation of behavior and attitudes in a conflict. A conflict is open to both positive and negative outcome of incompatible goals. Galtung's triangle as illustrated in figure 2.1, shows how the elements are in relation to one another being interlinked and affecting each other (Galtung, 1996).
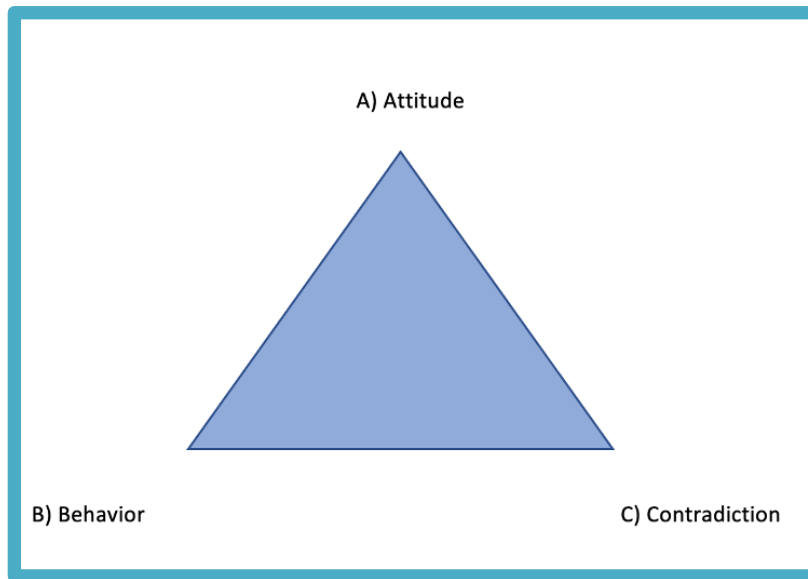
Figure 2.1 - Johan Galtung: Conflict Triangle

Conflict is a term widely used and has many interpretations in an assortment of context. Under the mantle of conflict are words such as disagreement, incompatibilities, fights, argument, debate combat, clash and wars. These are the equally terms to understand the term conflict. According to Bercovitch, a "situational thinker" defines conflicts as a situation, which generates incompatible goals or values among different parties (Ahmad, 2011). Lewis Loser, an American sociologist, defined conflicts as the clash of valves and interest, the tension between what is and what some group feel ought to be (Ahmad, 2011). Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall's defined conflict as "the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups within a given geographical territory" (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011). From the above definitions, a conflict can be seen as a relationship between states or a group of people in a given country. In addition, a conflict situation is often characterized by hostilities, tension, and manifestation. According to Galtung's conflict triangle *contradiction, attitudes and behavior,* in the case of Cameroon's ongoing Anglophone crisis. The main actors are the separatists commonly known as the "Ambazonia" (Ngoh, 2018). Against the background of marginalization, suppression of the English-speaking Cameroonians, lack of jobs for universities graduates and insufficient satisfactions of the most basic human needs. However, the conflict in Cameroon can also be classified as an asymmetric conflict. This is because, there is an inequality of power between the separatist (The Ambazonia Defense Forces) and the Cameroon military. In this case, the Cameroon military is the strongest

player while the Ambazonia forces is the weaker player. It should be noted that, in this situation, the weaker player holds the advantage position on the battlefield because of the strategies and tactics used – *guerrilla warfare,* which is known as the strategic and power asymmetry (Ngoh, 2018). Galtung's triangle model shows how altered the perceptions of the parties within a conflict can be in the general cause of conflict. Galtung's theory of asymmetric model and Ho-Won Jeong's conflict mapping model, are an appropriate theoretical framework to approach and understand the Anglophone ongoing conflict in Cameroon.

2. 4 Conflict processing

Conflict processing can be defined as a process that begins when one party perceives that another party has negatively affected or is about to negatively affect something that the other parties care about (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). In the case of the Anglophone crisis, party "A" is the government of Cameroon and party "B" is the English-speaking Cameroonians. Party "A" wish to assimilate the Anglophone by abolishing the English system of education and the court system which party "B" can be seen as a symbol for party B`s identity. There are five stages in conflict process, which can be illustrated in figure 3.1 as seen below;

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5
Potential opposition	Cognitions and personalization	Intentions	Behavior	Outcomes
Antecedent conditions	Perceived conflict	Conflict handing intentions	Overt conflict	Increased group performance
- communication (miscommunication, language ton and misunderstanding) - structure (task conflict especially in organization or in an office) - personal variables (personal interest)	- awareness (situation that lead to conflict or existence of conditions that create opportunities for conflict to arise) - emotional involvement (tension, frustration and hostility)	- competing - collaboration - compromising - avoiding - accommodating	- parties behavior - others reactions (aggressive, physical attacks, threats)	- decreased group performance

Figure 3.1 Source: unpublished manuscript.

A conflict, however, originates from a particular situation, leads to escalation, and eventually must cease in one way or another after de-escalation. While almost every conflict is likely to go through the emergence of intense struggles, the transformation of conflicts is not uniform especially with its unpredictable outcomes (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008, pp 91-95). According to Ho-Won Jeong, every conflict proceeds from the articulation of manifest interests, values or needs by a social unit that is dissatisfied with the existing system or relationships. This is similar with the case of Cameroon, the Anglophones Cameroonian are unhappy with the system, lack of basic social amenities in the in the North West and South West region, demanding for change; which led to grievances for many years and conflict is inevitable. Prior to their manifestations in 2016, the latent condition for conflicts can be built in a structure that engenders a sense of injustice and resentment. In a conflict situation as seen from figure 3.1, misunderstanding and misperception are a strong conception, which in many case will led to conflicts. In some situations, the sources of conflict can be handled by promoting dialogue, or other facilitative methods of learning disagreement or misinterpretations thus, this kind of process is successful in organizational environment that does not suppress an expression of diverse views (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008, p 92).

Social inequalities might also lead to conflict process in a given society. This can be justified on the basis of exclusive group status and identities. In the case of the Anglophone crisis the English-speaking Cameroonians believe that they are marginalized, seen as second-class citizens in their own country and, not given a fair share of the national cake in terms of benefits and other public support to the society. For example, out of 34 ministerial position in Cameroon only 2 are Anglophones, this alone shows the high rate of inequality (Ngoh, 2018). It has been commonly pointed out that frustration in deep-rooted conflicts often results from the failure of the social system to respond to the satisfaction of security, self-esteem, and other basic human needs. For example, sever oppression of national minorities increases the chance of armed resistance (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008, pp 91-92). Ho-Won Jeong argued that, inhibiting factors can lead to conflicts. For example, the failure of the 1989 students and labor unrest in Beijing is contrasted with the collapse of the Eastern European Communist regimes. Some Chinese students protesting the autocratic nature of the one-party rule erected a model of the Status of Liberty in Tiananamen Square of Beijing, calling for political freedom and rights to a free press and the organization of civic associations. After their initial reluctance,

the Chinese leadership brought in military forces to shoot students and other protest groups, and as well as the execution of labor strike leaders in Shanghai and other places. In this incident, the control of police and military instruments within the leadership remained key in blocking the demands by disenchanted intellectuals and unban supporter (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008, pp 94-95). The incident in Beijing is similar with the ongoing Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. In 2016, the Common Lawyers went to the street calling the government to reform the system, but the government sent its military forces and tortured some of the Common Lawyers in the South West region of Cameroon. Later on, it was the students of the University of Buea, who protested for better learning conditions and requesting for the usual annual presidential grants of 50.000 CFAF (78 Euros). The government deployed the military to beat up students of the University of Buea, some female students were raped, properties stolen, some students were taken into custody and some were reported death (Ngoh, 2018). Ho-Won Jeong, in his book titled *Understanding conflict and conflict analysis,* talked about overall conflict stages, which can be portrayed in terms of an orderly evolution from initiation of struggles, escalation, entrapment, de-escalation and termination as demonstrated in figure 4.1 below (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008, pp 96-98). The early stage of a conflict process includes precipitating events, public awareness, and consciousness of incompatible goals. In the manifestation of a conflict, one or both parties perceive or anticipate resistance from others when they attempt to improve their situations. This is a typical example of the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon whereby the English-speaking regions felt the government of Cameroon has neglected socio-economic deployment in both regions and they are asking for a change. In general, a conflict is more likely to be intense, especially when actual value and interest difference, thus, put partisans in a zero-sum contest opposing positions are recognized along with the emergence of concrete issues. Furthermore, antagonistic expressions are manifested when one party makes demands for changes in its favor to an existing situation, but faces resistance by another group (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008, p 98).
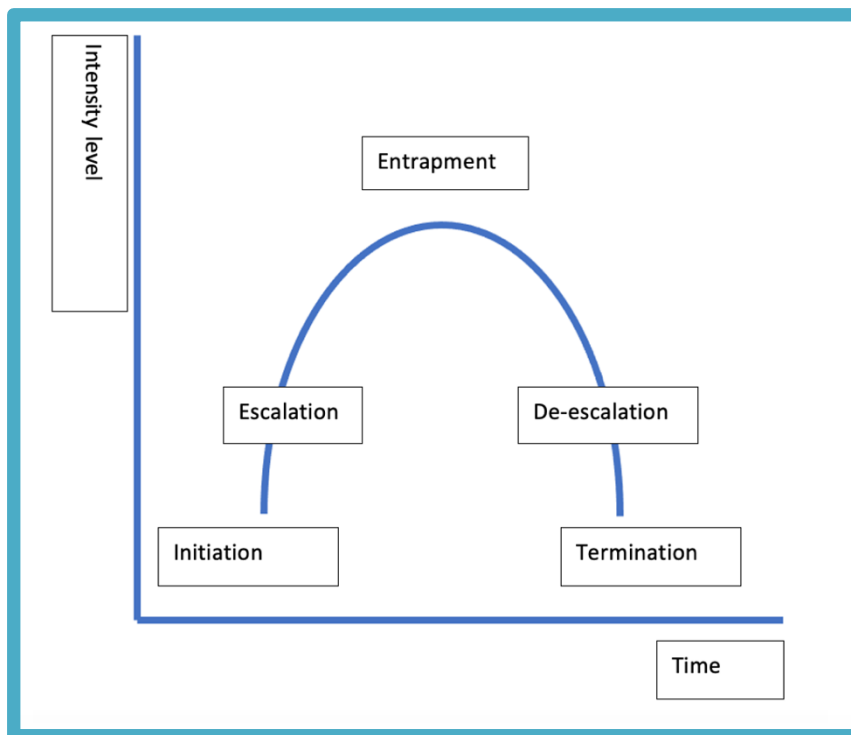
Figure 4.1 - Ho-Won Jeong: Conflict progression model

As a conflict emerges and escalates, it produces considerable confusion between the two parties (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008). However, interactions between the two parties change, at times drastically or abruptly. For example, in the case of the ongoing Anglophone conflict in Cameroon, we have seen situations whereby the Anglophone separatist fighters commonly known as the *Ambazonia Defense Forces* and the Cameroon military, are killing themselves every day in the hinterland in both Anglophone regions (Ngoh, 2018). Still on the issue on relationship between two conflicting parties, we see cases where the Anglophone Separatist Fighters have put embargo to all Anglophone communities not to associate themselves with the government or to consume products from the government's companies. For example, Brasseries Du Cameroun is a brewing company in Cameroon with headquarter in the Douala-littoral region, the economic capital of Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018). The brewing company has a regional office in Ombe in the South West region, which distribute drinks to communities around the regions. There are examples of cases where the separatist fighters attacked the distribution trucks and burned them, and stopped the circulation of their products, demanding them to evacuate the region. In some cases, the military cars accompany these trucks to the distribution points. Unfortunately, this type of protection from the military was not effective

because the separatists is difficult to identify them because the separatists lives among people and in the society. In some situations, the separatist fighters attacked the bar owners because they bought drinks from Brasseries Du Cameroon. In some remote areas, bar owners are even killed and their bars are destroyed because the separatists fighters consider them to be betrayers in the revolution (Ngoh, 2018).

Another example where the separatist fighters have tried to influence and threaten people and businesses, have been towards the Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC). The company is one of the major exporters in the country, formed for the purpose of developing and running plantations of tropical crops in Cameroon. The head office of CDC is based in Bota-Limbe in the South West region of Cameroon. Its principal products includes rubber, oil palm, bananas, coconuts, tea and others (Ngoh, 2018). About 80 % of the plantation workers are Anglophone, which plays an important role in generating revenue from the government. These plantation laborers worked in deplorable conditions with very little payment and very long working hours. There are examples of workers who have been attacked by separatist fighters, demanding the workers to leave the work field. In some cases, workers at the CDC have been killed because some separatists considers them as so-called *black legs* or betrayers in the Anglophone areas of Cameroon. The main reason behind this is to reduce the country revenue, which the government depends on.

From the figure above 4.1, Ho-Won Jeong said "Escalation is often drawn out by the eruption of a new conflict spiral in which opposing sides search for every possible advantage in their battles and rally support for their cause" (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008, pp 98-99). In the case of the Anglophone conflict, there is a mutual escalation from both parties. The parties move from light tactics such as debates, arguments, and heavy tactics such as violence from both parties. Additionally, escalation occurs when a conflict grows in size, more people tend to become involves. For example, the primary cause of the Anglophone crisis was the lawyers and teachers grievance, but soon after it was the issue of the Anglophones. The number of issues in contention expands and parties devote more resources to the struggle and the relationships between the parties deteriorates.

2. 5 Conflict resolution, dialogue from a micro level

There is always a need to understand conflict resolution and the need to suggest what the parties involved should discuss, how they may agree and how agreements can be turned into

reality and not the least, how settlements can be made durable. Thus, free new generations from repeating bitter war experience. A conflict occurs when two or more parties disagree with each other or when one party feels its position is threaten. The goal of any conflict resolution is to seek lasting solutions to the burning issues or disagreements between the parties involved (Ho-Won Jeong, 2008).

There are many ways of resolving arms conflicts. The most commonly method is through "dialogue" or "peace agreements" between the various parties. Since the Cold War ended, there have been more peace agreements than in any period after the termination of WWII. Many of these peace agreements have turned violence successfully and transformed conflicts into more constructive relations between states, people and groups. On the other hand, other peace agreements have not been successful and the lives of the citizens being exposed to the danger of warfare (Wallensteen, 2019).

In the case of the Anglophone crisis, the government of Cameroon organized *The Major National Dialogue* between the separatist fighters and some stakeholders on the 30th of November to 3rd of October 2019 (Ngoh, 2018). This dialogue was designed to seek lasting solutions to the ongoing Anglophone crisis, but failed utterly. However, most Cameroonian historians and politicians says it was never a dialogue, but rather a monologue, (detail of the Major Nation Dialogue in chapter 5). In this section, we will define the term dialogue, and what are the conditions for a good dialogue and its limitations. There are many definitions of the word *dialogue*. Each definitions sharpens the mind and facilitates in addressing the meaning behind the use of the term. Incerti Thery Irene, in his master's thesis titled *Dialogue as a tool in peacebuilding*, he gave an overview definition of a dialogue, which states that a "dialogue is a conversation between two or more parties which is characterized by a mutual understanding, open mindedness, and seeking solutions to the existing problems" (Incerti, 2016, p 36).

3. Chapter 3 – Methodology and data analysis

3. 1. Introductory methodology

This method chapter seeks to provide details description of the research design, study sampling and sampling procedure and tools that was used for data collection. It also describes how data was collected and analyzed, and it reveals how the ongoing Anglophone conflict has affected not just the Anglophones in the North West and South West regions, but also, Cameroonians in the French regions.

3. 2 Research design

This research was a documentary study, which was evaluative. The researcher did an evaluation of what the Cameroon government are doing to put an end to the ongoing Anglophone crisis since 2016. By exploring intuitions archives with the use of an evaluation guide, this was done to analyze the outcome of The Grand National Dialogue, which was organized by the Head of State, Paul Biya from the 30th of September to the 4th of September 2019, to seek solutions to the ongoing Anglophone crisis.

3. 3 Study area

Buea is the regional capital of the South West region of Cameroon; located in the Eastern slopes of Mount Cameroon and has a population of about 500.000 inhabitants (NAB 2020, p 108). The town Buea is originally spelled as "Gbea", which means a *place of happiness*. Buea was founded by a hunter who came from the Bomboko area. Buea was the colonial headquarter of German Cameroon from 1901 to 1919 (Ngoh, 2011), from 1949 to 1961 the capital of Southern Cameroon, and the capital of West Cameroon until 1972, when President Adamadou Ahidjio abolished the federation of Cameroon (Motomby, 2013). The South West region share boundaries to Benue-Nigeria, Cross River State-Nigeria, Taraba-Nigeria, Insular region-Equatorial Guinea, Littoral region-Cameroon, West region-Cameroon and North West Cameroon. The largest settlement in South West region is Kumba with a population of about 144.413 (2012 census) and the smallest town is Fontem with a population of 42.689 (NAB, 2019). Figure 5.1, showing the map of the South West region with all six divisions.
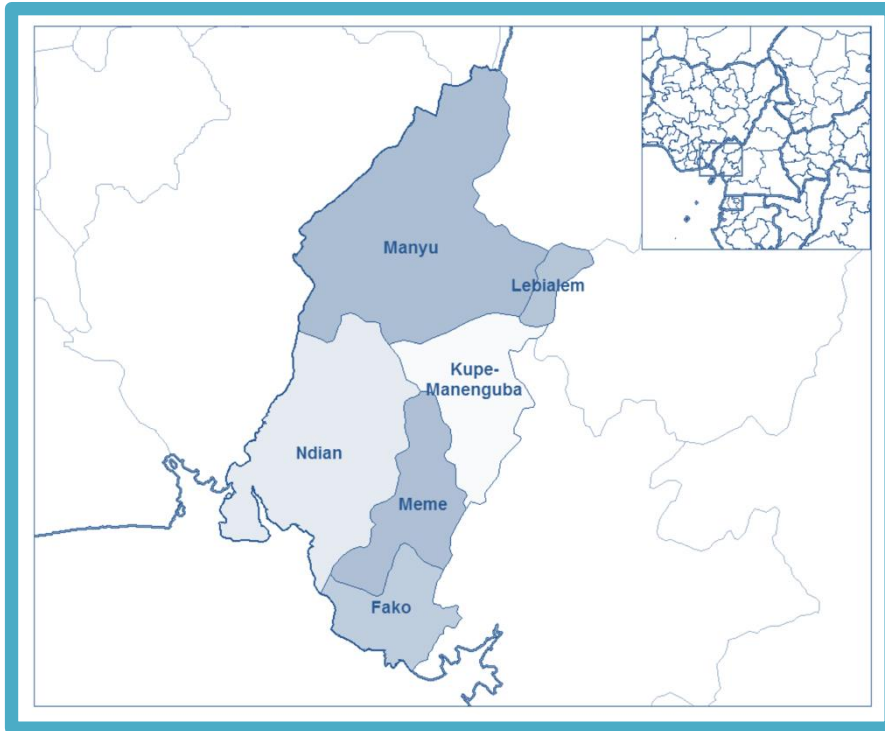
Figure 5. 1. Source: Wikipedia: Map, South West region of Cameroon

The South West region was notable for having the first English-speaking university in Cameroon. The region is divided into 6 divisions, which are; Fako, Koupe-Manegouba, Lebialem, Manyu, Meme and Ndian divisions. On the other hand, Councils are the fifth units of administration in Cameroon, organized by each province (later regions) as of 2005 and since 1996 (NAB, 2019, p 300). There are 365 councils in Cameroon which are headed by mayors, and municipal councilors elected by universal suffrage. The mayors have the principal responsibilities of managing local affairs under the supervisor of the state. The Buea municipality was created on June 29th 1977 by presidential decree number 77/203, and has a surface area of 870 square kilometers with more than 67 villages and 4 districts (NAB, 2020 pp 220). Thus, it is highly (complexed community) caught between a blend of urban, semi urban and traditional settings. Buea is surrounded to the north by tropical forest on the slop of Mount Cameroon (Summit 4.100 meters above sea level). The Council shares its boundaries with major towns like; Limbe to the South West, Tiko to South East, Muyuka to the East and Idenau West. The climate is equatorial, temperatures are moderate with a slight seasonal variation rainy and dry seasons. Figure 5.1 showing the map of the South West region with all 6 divisions and Buea is found in the Fako division.

3. 4 Research focus

This study is based on the Common Lawyers Union and the Teacher Trade Union grievances, which was presented to the government of Cameroon in early of 2015. These grievances spread across the Anglophone regions, which eventually led to the ongoing Anglophone crisis. This research is based on two fronts; the historical perspective (1961-1972 Anglophone grievances) and contemporary (2015-2020 Anglophone grievances and quest for independence). The historical perspective, this study look at; The Foumban conference in 1961, the reunification and plebiscite in Southern Cameroon 1961, accepting the Plebiscite results and the constitutional meetings in May to August 1961. The contemporary perspective runs from 2015-2020; the study evaluate the Common Lawyers and the Teachers grievances, the joint petitions from the Common Lawyers and Teacher Trade Union to the government of Cameroon. Furthermore, the research focus on the event where students of the University of Buea peacefully protested and, the Grand National Dialogue organized by the Head of State Paul Biya, in connection with the Anglophone problem. The aim of this study is to evaluate the government's effort or measures taken by the government to put an end to the ongoing Anglophone crisis.

3. 5 Data collection

The data collection was obtained through a checklist, an inventory of reports and petitions from the municipal archives. The research was based on a participant and non-participant observation. It was also based on interviews with some staff members of the Council municipality and some members of the community. The aim of the interviews was to get their view on how the Anglophone crisis have affected them and what they expect the government of Cameroon to do in order to put an end to the ongoing crisis. The researcher also conducted interviews with the local populations, community leaders and, government officials. The data evaluation guide was obtained from archived documents, correspondences, reports, and newspapers.

3. 5. 1 Field procedures

To be able to collect data for this research, the researcher had to obtain authorization from the governor's office in Buea, the regional capital of the South West region, to be presented at the municipality. Once this was approved, an authorization was issued to the researcher to go into

the archives to retrieve data for the question guide. The researcher also had an interactive discussion with key staff at the municipality from which the researcher got first-hand information regarding the ongoing conflict in both regions (South West and North West regions).

3. 5. 2 Data analysis

The data were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The researcher worked on available data at the level of the Buea municipality register. Data were split into two; the historical era and the contemporary era. The reason for this split is to better understand the Anglophone grievance and the root cause of it.

3. 5. 3 Interviews

The researcher interviewed eight people; two government officials, two government workers and four laymen. The age ranges from 25 years to 55 years old and gender equality was taken into consideration. The interviews was conducted in English and Pidgin English (Pidgin English is a common language amongst the Anglophones, introduced by the British administration during the colonial era which served as a means of communication between the indigenous population and the colonial masters. Pidgin English is not an official language in Cameroon, but it serve as an identity to the Anglophone) (Ngoh, 2018). Most of the interviews was stored by writing and some were audio taped. The interviewees were skeptical or scared of audio recording because of the sensitive nature of the topic. In such situations where the interviewee did not want recording, the researcher took down notes. The researcher opted to use both techniques (recording and writing) to avoid any disappointment with the audio recordings. Each of the interviewees was asked if it was alright to tape the interview or not, all of the government workers rejected the recording due to fears of the unknown, which was totally understood by both parties. In the case where the interviewee was hesitant for recording, the researcher assured them that it was strictly for academic proposes, and that no personal information would be used for personal benefit. The researcher also presented a letter signed by the supervisor stating the researcher's work was strictly for the master research' purpose. Some accepted the recording, whereas some of the interview objects did not. The researcher also had a one to one conversation with four of the laymen on the street,

this conversation where not taped, but where capture through notes during visits to the market.

3. 5. 4 Audio-visual data

Another major item, which informed my proceedings of talks, was a video recording of the Grand National Dialogue, which was organized by the Head of State. The video recording was in English and French, private medias such as Canal 2 international, Equinox and STV1&2 broadcasting many times, organized talks and debates with some political leaders and human rights activist choosing from the English speaking regions and the French regions.

3. 5. 5 Media monitoring

Private newspapers such as Cameroon Weekly, The Post, Le Messager and La Nouvelle Expression, provide a potential valuable source of information. The researcher prefer private newspapers because it is not influenced by the government and provides important information to the general populations. La Nouvelle Expression, The Post, The Herald, for example, provides an online edition, which the researcher accessed with the use of internet connection. Meanwhile, the government own newspapers such as; Cameroon Express and Cameroon Tribune. It is said that these newspapers hided some valuable information to the public about the Anglophone problem (Ngoh, 2018).

3. 5. 6 Review of document

The researcher made use of the Arctic University of Norway and the Center of Peace Studies library (CPS) to locate studies about contemporary conflicts, conflict resolutions and peace building. The researcher also reviewed some literature/references from online journals and articles related to the research topic. Search engines like Google scholar and, JSTOR resulted in the discovering of helpful articles, which was in line with the topic. Online search was limited because not many scholars have written about the ongoing Anglophone crisis for the reason that the topic is new and the fear of the unknown from the government. The researcher visited Buea, capital of the South West region of Cameroon. The municipality gave the researcher the opportunity to access files, which had relevant information about the topic and a guide to direct the researcher if needed. The researcher found valuable information and very helpful supplementing findings of the study.

3. 6 Reflexibility

I was born in Cameroon by Anglophones parents and grew up in an Anglo-Saxon culture, where English is the official language. Prior to the Anglophone crisis, the Anglo-Saxon system of education was one of the best educational system in Cameroon and Central Africa. In my university days in Cameroon, we used to have foreign students from Equatorial Guinea, Chad and Gabon coming to the university (university of Buea) to study English. The Anglo-Saxon educational system is the pride of an Anglophone in Cameroon.

There are several important points of reflexivity to consider in this research. Being an Anglophone Cameroonian, studying Peace and Conflict Transformation at the Arctic University of Norway, was a major point of reflexibility. As a peace student, "Peace Studies" teach us to understand the modern world and its increasingly complex challenges, as well as the various strategies available to promote justice and peace to the world. With my theoretical and academic background as a peace student, I am able to understand the experience of what the people are facing; trauma, violence, discrimination, kids who are prevented from going to school, rape cases amongst female university students and other criminal activities was a call for reflexivity in this research. During interviews, listening to all the interviewee narrating their stories and experiences without being emotional, was a crucial skill employed. These stories really change the narrative and structure of this research work.

Reflexivity sometimes goes beyond "reflection". Trying to understand where the Anglophone Cameroonians went wrong, who is an Anglophone in Cameroon and how they found themselves in this ongoing crisis, was a big part of this research work.

3. 7 Limitation

The researcher had many difficulties in tracing some files dated back to 1961. Some pages where missing making it difficult proceed part of the research. The researcher worked on what was available, making use of texts books and verbal information. Furthermore, schedule given to the researcher was not respected, in many occasion the researcher was unable to meet those already booked appointment with; many of them were not in their office due to ghost towns imposed by the separatist fighters "Ambazonia Defense Force". The researcher addressed this problem by being patient, focused and relentlessly. Another major problem the researcher faced was the fact that, some necessary information was considered confidential by

the majority of the council/government workers; this problem was mitigated with other sources. The internet connectivity was poor due to the ongoing crisis with slow and weak internet connectivity in both Anglophone regions; the North West and South West regions. The reason behind the slowdown of the internet has by some parties been seen as a strategy from the Cameroon government to stop the crisis to escalate (Ngoh, 2018).

The separatist fighters based in the diaspora, communicate with the Ambazonia Defense Force in ground zero. The researcher, however, travelled to Douala, the capital of the Littoral region and the economic capital of Cameroon (a French region) to have better connectivity.

3. 8 Ethical considerations

Confidentiality was of priority in this research work, taking into consideration that the topic is very sensitive and the council is a political institution. Conclusively, this method chapter sought to give detailed background of the research area, it also, examine the various ways in which the researcher analyses the data and how the source where carried out in the realization of this study.

4. Chapter 4 – The Anglophone crisis

4. 1 Who is an Anglophone in Cameroon

The German protectorate existed from 1884 to 1916, where the Germans were defeated by France and Britain and left Cameroon. Before the WWI, Germans plantation owners recruited Cameroonians from all over the territory to work on the plantations as porters, laborers and soldiers in the German colonial army (Ngoh, 2018). Most of these plantations where found at the slope of Mount Cameroon and most of the workers came from Western Grass field amongst others. The Allies "British & France" proposed to jointly administered (Condominium) Cameroon in 1914/1915, but failed due to differences in opinions. The best solution was at the time, considered to divide the territory Cameroon between the Allies (France and Britain). The partition failed to take into consideration the interest of the indigenous peoples, the ethnic, cultural, commercial, social, and religious affinity of the affected peoples (Ngoh, 2019). The results was that some ethnic/tribe, villages and lands were split due to the partition. For example, the result was the partition of the Duala, the Mbo, the Nso, the Bakossi, the Bangwa and Bamelike tribal groups. Consequently, some of the Duala, Mbo, Bassa, Bangwa and Bokoko plantation workers found themselves in the British Cameroon after 1916. Some of them never returned to their ancestral homes, they and their off-springs grew up under the British, and are what we referred today as an Anglophone. According to the author Ngoh, "(…) the indigenous peoples and their off-springs of the territory entrusted to Britain after the defeat and partition of German Cameroon are *de jure* and *de facto* Anglophones regardless of the facr that they spoke English or not or grew up in the Anglo-Saxon culture" (Ngoh, 2018, pp 381). These are the ethnic groups in the present day North West and South West regions of Cameroon. The children of indigens from the French-speaking sector of Cameroon (Francophone) who married an indigen from any part of former British Southern Cameroons were Anglophones (Ngoh, 2018, pp 381). However, an educated French-speaking Cameroonian who can speak and write English and, but did not assimilate into the Anglo-Saxon culture and in addition, did not use it as his/her first official language, is not regard as an Anglophone (Ngoh, 2019). This is because; his/her first experience did not expose him/her to the Anglo-Saxon culture and values.

4. 2 What is the Anglophone problem

Although it is generally agreed that there is an Anglophone problem in Cameroon, it is not easy to really define it. Many Cameroonians do not agree on the definition of the problem. What seems glaring is that, the problem revolves around the culture identity of a minority people in a union whose first right is to exist. The Anglophones feel and claim the right to exist as citizens of Cameroon and to be treated equally with the Francophones. However, the Anglophones constitute about 20 % of the total population in Cameroon thus, it can be generally agreed that the Anglophone problem is a minority problem (Ngoh, 1996). Francesco Capotori defined a minority as "(…) a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of the State or country, in a non-dominant position, possess *ethnic, religious, norms and linguistic characteristic* differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly a sense of solidarity directed towards preserving their culture, traditions or language" (United Nation, OHCHR, 1996-2021). Many Cameroonians are puzzled with the term the *Anglophone problem* and *the origin of the Anglophone problem*. Ngoh, believes the Anglophone problem is not "(…) the marginalization of the Anglophones, not the second class status of Anglophones, and it was not the non-appointment of the Anglophones to head certain ministerial departments" (Ngoh, 2018, pp 383). Contrariwise, the non-respect and non-application of the values, norms and culture of the Southern Cameroonians they took with them into the Foumban Conference in 1961 (Ngoh, 2018, pp 383). The Anglophone problem in Cameroon is deeply rooted into the history of Cameroon (colonial era). Many historians are of the option that, the main cause of the Anglophone problem is/was a clash between the French culture, which is the majority and the Anglophones culture, which is the minority. On the contrary others believe that, the Anglophone problem is wrongly defined or misunderstood as one of political, economic, social and marginalization of the Anglophone (Ngoh, 2018). These are mainly the consequences of the Anglophone problem and not the problem, as many history books will say. In order to better understand the Anglophone problem, prior to the French Cameroon independence in 1960, the territory comprised of small tribes like; Pygmy, the Bamileke, the Beti, the Douala, the Bamoum, the Fulbe and the Bassa amongst other ethnic group. These tribes/ethnic groups were never asked if they wanted to join the French Cameroon or Republic of Cameroon. These tribes or ethnic groups were schooled and trained in French, which was the official language of their colonial master – France after WWI (Monono, 2015). In Cameroon, there are two cultural identities which

defers from each other. After WWI, the territory Cameroon was administered by two colonial powers; the British and the French. These Allies introduced two different systems of administration - the British' introduced the policy of *Indirect Rule*, while the French introduced the policy of *Assimilation* (Fanso, 2011). This explains why Cameroon has two different cultures, norms, languages and tradition. From this, the Anglophone crisis can be address to the fact that, the government of Cameroon is not allowing two cultures to operate alongside. This differs from what was originally or generally agreed in the Foumban constitutional conference in 1961, where the British *values and system* would operate in the British Southern Cameroon (Anglophone) and the French *values and system* would operate in the French Cameroon (The Republic of Cameroon). The blending would happen in the centre of the country (Ngoh, 2018). In recent years, the government of Cameroon has not respected this narrative. For instance, in the French Cameroon judiciary system the *Civil law* is practiced, meanwhile the English judiciary system, practice *Common law*. The government appointed French judges to administer in English courts with little or no knowledge of the Common Law system and does not speak English fluently. Whereas there are Anglophone judges without any position of responsibility in Anglophones courts (Ngoh, 2018). Also, in universities and high schools the government has employed French-speaking teachers to teach in English institutions. For example in the University of Buea, there are teachers who cannot speak English fluently, at the same time, as there are Anglophone teachers being unemployed.

4. 3 Origin of the Anglophone problem

According to Ngoh "The Anglophone problem should be traced back to 1961 and essentially on what emerged from the Foumban Constitutional Conference of July 1961 and the Tripartite Talks of August 1961. Contrary to what is contained in some books on the history of Cameroon, the origin of the problem should be traced back to late 1916" (Ngoh, 2018, pp 384). After the WWI and the defeat of Germany in Cameroon, German Cameroon was divided into British and the French, the British took a smaller regions and the French took a greater regions. After WWI the League of Nation was formed and allowed the Britain to administer its own regions as a mandated territory of the League of Nation. After the WWII, the League of Nation was abolished and gave birth to the United Nation organization, which led Britain to maintain Cameroon (British Cameroons) as a trust territory. Furthermore, in 1954, the British Southern Cameroons became a quasi-regional territory exercising a limited

degree of self-government within the Federation of Nigeria (Fanso, 2011). It was in 1958 that a full, regional status was attained, the development of the Cameroon identity was partly due to the neglect of the advancement of Southern Cameroons by Nigeria and Britain. The influence, poor treatment and dominances of the Nigeria traders in the economy of Southern Cameroons, was a cause for concern. This partly explains why many Southern Cameroonians voted for reunification following the plebiscite of 11th February 1961. It can generally be said that, the British-Nigeria colonial experience had a lasting effect on the development of an Anglophone identity among the elite of Southern Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018). During the Foumban Conference of 17th to 22nd July 1961, the Francophone delegates bargained more than the Anglophone delegation and this paid off. The Francophone delegate went home having achieved a centralized system of government for the federation of Cameroon. The advantage here was the fact that, French Cameroon was already independent as Republic of Cameroon, but on Southern Cameroon was still to achieve its independence by joining the Republic of Cameroon. This fact played to the disadvantage of the Southern Cameroon because they bargained from the position of weakness. The Southern Cameroon delegate was headed by Foncha and of the Republic of Cameroon president Ahamadou Ahidjio. Both leaders had several meetings prior to the Foumban Conference, which they exchanged a draft resolution to be deliberated by the two parties. Foncha on his part, strictly hid the draft resolution from the Republic of Cameroon delegations to his Southern Cameroons delegates (Fanso, 2011). This is because Ahidjio had promised Foncha that if his delegation accepted to join the Republic of Cameroon, he would be the vice president of the Republic of Cameroon. Unfortunately, for Foncha, the vice president had little or no power because the president had an absolute power. Ahidjio on his part, had presented the draft resolution from the Southern Cameroon delegation to his delegations. They studied the resolution the night before and prepared for the conference, meanwhile the Southern Cameroon delegations only saw the Republic of Cameroon draft resolution on the day of the conference thus, there was no time to deliberate on it. This played a big disadvantage to the Southern Cameroon delegation. In 1966, attempts to harmonize the two legal systems failed (Ngoh, 2018). Furthermore, in 1966, Ahidjo succeeded to form the single party, the Cameroon National Union (CNU) and in 1970, Ahidjio dropped John Foncha as vice president and appointed Muna as vice president of the Federation. With a new political leadership, a referendum was organized on the 20th of May 1972 and Cameroon became a Unitary State (Ngoh, 2018).

The latent discontent of the Anglophone in the management and governance of the polity sipped through the vent in April 1993 with All Anglophone Conference (AACI) in Buea, which produced the *Buea Declaration* and the 1994 All Anglophone Conference II (AACII) Bamenda (Ngoh, 2018, pp 389). On the 9th of May 2015, around 700 Common Lawyers from both Anglophone regions met in Bamenda, the capital city of the North West region with some government officials headed by the Prime minister and head of government, Philemon Yang. The Common Lawyers demanded the division of Common Law and Civil Law in Cameroon, should operate side-by-side and the creation of a law school and the protection of the Anglophone minority. The Common Lawyers gave the government a reasonable period of time to react positively, but the government unfortunately delay (The Post, 2017). In February 2016, the Cameroon Education Forum (CEF) drew the attention to the government to the plight of the English sub-system of education in Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018, pp 389). In a memorandum to the Prime Minister, the CEF drew the attention to the Prime Minister of the non-appointment of an Anglophone as Minister of Education and demanded that the minister of higher and secondary education should be reorganized to reflect the bi-cultural nature of Cameroon (The Post, 2016). The inaction of the government to the lawyers demands of May 2015, led to a four days strike actions from the 11th to 14th of October 2016. Later in October 2016, SYNES/UB issued a communiqué stating; "We, teachers of higher education endorse the Common Lawyers action as a genuine expression of continual frustration Anglophones have lived throughout this tiresome union, their action mirrors their revulsion against the culture genocide we therefore, call all Cameroonians to support the Common Law Lawyers quest for equality for the good for our Cameroon" (The Post, 2016).

Before the Anglophone Teacher's Trade Unions officially went on strike in November 2016. Wilfred Tassang of the Cameroon Anglophone Teachers Trade Union (CATTU) in responds to the Lawyers strike said that; "The fight at hand is not a teacher's fight, if it were it would be talking living and working condition. This is an Anglophone struggle and this is the time for us to rise up as one" (Ngoh, 2018). Tassang's statement was revealing as it created awareness in both Anglophone regions because the Anglophone problem is a political issue and not a demand for Trade Unions grievances of a good living and working conditions, but the government failed to understand the importance of Tassang's statement. Later on, a joint communique was issued by the Fako Lawyer's Association (FAKLA), the Meme Lawyer's Association (MELA), the Manyu Lawyer's Association (MALA) and the North West

Lawyer's Association of Cameroon (NOWELA) on 15th of October 2016. Stating " We shall be synergizing with SYNES, Cameroon Teacher's Trade (CATTU), Teacher's Association of Cameroon (TAC), Trader Associations, Taxi Drivers Unions, Bus Companies and Commercial Motorbikes Riders Association across the North West and South West regions" (Eden, 2016, p 3).

The government downplayed this communique and the lawyer's strike action, despite the fact it was well respected by the society. On November 21st of 2016, the Teacher's Trade Union and the Common Law Lawyers in the North West and South West regions, declared an infinite strike action. Conclusively, the Anglophone problem would been avoided if the proposed joint Anglo-French administration had succeeded after WWI. According to Ngoh, "(…) there should be absolutely no argument that there would have been no Anglophone Problem if British Southern Cameroons had achieved independence as a separate political entity in 1961 (…). There would have been no Anglophone problem if the electorate in February 1961 had voted to achieve independence by joining the Federal Republic of Nigeria, another Anglophone country. This argument is supported by the fact that, British Northern Cameroons which opted to achieve independence by joining Nigeria never complained of an Anglophone Problem in Nigeria, and of course Southern Cameroonians (The Anglophones) would not have talked of or complained of an Anglophone Problem in Nigeria" (Ngoh, 2018, pp 385).

4. 4 The Anglophone grievances

Following the wind of change in Cameroon in 1990, Anglophones criticized their situation in the country stating that; one of the points that was raised by the Anglophone, was the criticism of the centralization of power by the Francophone leadership. Throughout President Ahidjo's presidency, Ahidjo introduced a policy, which was aimed at the centralization of power. In 1962, he coerced the Francophone parties into submission and in 1966, he created the Cameroon National Union. In 1972, the Federal system was abolished in approval of a Unitary system after a referendum, which Anglophones voted for a Unitary system which later they criticized the 1961 constitution (Ngoh, 2018). Some Anglophones were against the monopolization of power (economic and political) by their Francophone brother and sisters; they however claimed that they were either neglected or under-represented in various institution of the country (Ngoh, 2018). The Anglophones accused the Francophone leaders of

violating the agreement of 1961 Federal Constitution, which saw the establishment of a federal union of two equal federated states. They argued that, they went into the union with the hope that the Anglophones and the Francophones would establish a unique bilingual federation and evolve a bi-cultural country in which there would be respected for the cultural heritage of each state (Ngoh, 2018).

Since the emergence of the unitary state in 1972, the Anglophones claimed that they were relegated to a second-class position. The Anglophones were allegedly, systematically marginalized while the Francophones enjoyed some privileges such as job opportunities, ministerial appointments and, others. Note that the Anglophone where not given the opportunity to share with their Commonwealth brothers until 1995 (Ngoh, 1996), while the Francophones sometimes referred to France as their second home and the Anglophones had no second home. The Anglophones argued that their natural resources were exploited for the benefit of the Francophone regions. Some Anglophone leaders expected that the revenue derived from their territory, should be invested in their economy. It should be recalled that, any development that was carried out in the Anglophone regions, allegedly benefited only the area that was of benefit to the Anglophones. For instance, SONARA (The National Oil Refinery Company), which is located in Limbe in the South West region of Cameroon, is predominantly staffed by the Francophones (Ngoh, 2018). The Francophones feared that, the Anglophones educational system would suppressed their own educational system. In the early 1960s, and particularly after 1976, when the General Certificate of Education examination (GCE) was commercialized, the Anglophones expressed fear that their educational heritage from the British during the colonial era, would be suppressed and eliminated by the Francophones leaders (Ngoh, 2018). After 1990, the Anglophones was more concerned with the vision of a bi-cultural society. Because of this concern, they invited the Francophone leaders to come out with a workable framework, to present and discuss the co-existence of both cultures. Unfortunately, the Francophone leaders turned down the invitation (Ngoh, 2018).

Generally, some Anglophones elite attributed that the emergence of what could be termed regionalism and the lack of economic development but rather the hegemonic tendencies of the Francophones. The grievances of the Anglophones were mostly political, economic and cultural. They claimed that they were under-represented, played an inferior role in the national decision-making councils and the infrastructural development of West Cameroon,

was neglected (Ngoh, 2018). The resignation of the Anglophone architect of a federal state In his resignation letter, Foncha complained that the Anglophones were referred to as enemies and traitors. Foncha went further and said; several memos and representations he made in writing on important national issues have been ignored also the constitutional provisions which protected the Anglophones as a minority were suspended and their voice unheard of and that the rule of the gun had replaced dialogue. Foncha resignation in 1990, created awareness cross the Anglophone territories (Ngoh, 2018, p 301).

The 1992 Presidential election in Cameroon also contributed to the manifestation of the Anglophone grievances. During the election of October 1992, after the re-introduction of the multi-party system, the Anglophones voted massively for the opposition party of the Social Democratic Front (SDF). It was founded in Bamenda, the regional capital of the North West Province, now region. The party main objective has been and still are, to fight for equality and represent the Anglophones at the national level. The vote cast for the SDF was 86.3 % and the vote cast in the South West region was 51.6 % (Ngoh, 1996, p 360). There was a post-election violence across Anglophone regions, particularly in Bamenda, the headquarter of the SDF party and regional capital of the North West region. There was a three months state of emergency in the North West region. The Anglophones where not pleased and there were calls for the government to lift the state of emergency. The homes of some Anglophones who worked for the victory of the CPDM against the SDF, were destroyed by some Anglophones. Also, some pro-CPDM Anglophones were killed in the same period (Ngoh, 2018).

Some Anglophones associations and pressure groups, called the United Nation to take its responsibilities (prior to the plebiscite, Southern Cameroon was a mandatory territory under United Nation). They claimed that the Francophone Cameroon leadership had gone ahead ruling the country without constitutional basis since the proper guidelines for the enactment and amendment of federal constitution were neglected by Ahidjo. The name Southern Cameroon was used to signify that the Anglophone Cameroon was still under the period prior to the unification of Cameroon. The United Nation was petitioned by pressure groups like the Southern Cameroon National Congress (SCNC), to shoulder its responsibilities by granting independence to Anglophone Cameroon. This was done by Solomon Tandeng Muna and John Ngu Foncha, in 1995. The SCNC activists informed the Anglophone Cameroonians after a trip to New York that the United Nation would step in and grant Anglophone Cameroon independence, a statement which was false (Ngoh, 2018).

The formation and activities of the Anglophone Pressure Group created awareness across the Anglophone regions. Since the political liberation in 1990, several Anglophone groups and associations were created. These groups and associations included; the Free West Cameroon Movement (FWCM) and the Ambazonia Movement. These movements supported the so-called secession groups such as the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) and the All Anglophone Conference (AAC). Others like the Teachers Association of Cameroon (TAC) and Confederation of Anglophone Parents-Teacher Association of Cameroon (CAPTAC), were pro-federalist, but on a restricted agenda. These movements organized strikes, demonstrations and boycotts of celebration of 20th May, a national holiday they declared as a day for mourning (Ngoh,1996, p 333).

4. 5 Position of the churches

There are four main religion institutions in Cameroon. This is the Catholic church, the Presbyterian church in Cameroon, the Baptist Convention and Islam. These church bodies plays a keen interest in resolving the ongoing Anglophone crisis in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon. All these religious bodies (churches) have educational institutions in Cameroon from primary to university level, and the Catholic church control a large portion of these institutions as compared to the other religious denominations across the Anglophone regions (Ngoh, 2018). However, when the crisis started in October 2016, the Catholic church foresaw the gravity of the crisis and sent a Memorandum to the President of the Republic in December 2016. In the Memorandum, they expressed their willingness of the Catholic church to play a role in resolving the conflict. Unfortunately, the government of Cameroon never replied to the Bishops Memorandum and it was reported that the Memorandum sent to the Presidency got missing in the mail service at the Presidency (Ngoh, 2018).

The increase in violence, the effect of ghost towns and the non-resumption of classes in the North West and South West regions and the killings prompted the main religious leaders. The church bodies issued a joint Memorandum to the President dated on the 9th of February 2017, informing the government the devastating conditions of the North West and South West regions. The conditions informed consisted of the inhuman treatment and torture carried out by the Cameroon military/Ambazonia defense force, destruction of properties and violence perpetrated by unidentified persons, gunshots and, the shutting down of internet (Ngoh, 2018). This, to call out for help from the Cameroon government, to take necessary actions to

find a lasting solution to the ongoing Anglophone crisis. The government believed that the churches in both the North West and South West regions, and even felt that they were in support to the teachers and lawyers (Ngoh, 2018). According to the government, some of the churches shut down their schools because they were in support of the crisis so students could not come to school. In responds to the government allegations, the Churches re-iterated that contrary to the government accusation, they did not close their educational institutions. The churches withheld that "the doors of our schools are open to pupils and students, when parents bring their children to school" (The Star, 2017, p 7).

The issue of boycott of classes and the threats against teachers, pupils and students, where not only limited to religious educational institutions, but also to government educational institutions. Especially in the rural areas and lay private educational institutions, simply shut down of fear of the unknown. For example, in 2020, after a period with less increasement of conflict, and some sort of stabilization in both Anglophones regions, eight students were killed and twelve students seriously injured at a private school in Kumba, in the South West region by unknown men with weapons (NRK, 2020). This ungodly act spread fear across the regions and parents were scared to send their children to school. However, the resumption of classes was rendered very difficult because of the attacks by unknown armed men/groups and the enforced ghost town operations. These shutdowns took place especially on Mondays, and gradually became regular. The burning of cars that circulated on ghost towns, and also spread to burning of shops in situations where shop owners had not respected injunctions or orders of ghost towns. There were also situations where unidentified persons damaged public buildings. These vandalisms were later known to have been carried out by groups calling themselves or identified as the secessionist or Ambazonian defense forces (Ngoh, 2018). Some schools officials were killed, kidnapped and in some cases the kidnappers demanded ransom; these ransom varied from person to person depending on their position in the society. For example, the Principal of St. Bede`s College-Rev., Father William Neba, was kidnapped and released after two days (Ngoh, 2019, pp 395). The government promised to provide security and protection, to educational authorities and institutions, in order for schools to resume in the 2018/2019 academic year. Unfortunately, this promise felt short. For example, on the 3rd of September 2018, the principal of the Presbyterian Secondary School Bafut in the North West Region, and six pupils was kidnapped and were brutally wounded and released after 3 days (Ngoh, 2018). It was no secret, however, that some Anglophones clergymen and women

demonstrated, their sympathy and support for the teachers and lawyers grievances. Some of these clergy's supported the movement and supported the idea to move back to the pre – 1972, two state federal structure. Some even supported secession and independence of North West and South West regions.

The government, through the Minister of Communication Issa Tchiroma, however failed to recognize that the government ignored all Memoranda, which the Churches sent to the Presidency expressing their readiness and interest if giving the permission to assist in seeking lasting solution to the ongoing Anglophone conflict. In April 2017, the National Episcopal Conference of Cameroon (NECC) met in Yaoundé, the capital city of the Republic of Cameroon. The government instructed the Archbishop, Samuel Kleda to head a delegation to Bamenda dioceses to access the socio-political situation of the North West and South West regions. The visit was not well received from some Dioceses because of misunderstanding in breakdown in communication (Ngoh, 2018, p 396). Some church leaders were taken to court by the Cameroon government. This was because the government was of the opinion that the church leaders were in support of the crisis and for refusing to re-open their schools after they have collected school fees from parents in their various educational institutions (Ngoh, 2018). There was a huge crowd from various church bodies rallied in front of the courts permissive; some church members believed that the trailed of their leader was an attempt for the Cameroon government to put pressure on these leaders to re-open their schools for the academic year 2018/2019. The government move backfired and the Teacher's Trade Union suspended their strike on the 4th of February 2017, but this suspension had little or no effect because the timid resumption of classes which improved as weeks and months went by, was not an indication that the Teachers Trade Union were in charge. In May 2017, the Common Lawyers also called off their strike action and classes resumed in the most ineffective manner in several localities in the North West and South West regions. The teachers and lawyers where at this time not in control of the havoc they had created and some of them recognized that they were not for secession or independent of the two Anglophone regions (Ngoh, 2018).

4. 6 The government's reactions to the strike actions

The government misjudged the gravity and popularity of the strike action, especially, the call by the teachers for an indefinite strike and boycott of teaching. Paul Atanga Nji, Minister of Territorial Administration, provoked the anger of many Anglophones when he stated that

"there was no Anglophone Problem" on the national media Cameroon Radio Television (CRTV). The statement provoked because the reality of the situation and crisis in the Anglophone region was under communicated by the minister, and by some seen as a statement colored by his political role. He went further to say that the Anglophones should not be complaining because the Prime Minister were from South West region, and that this ministerial post had been occupied by the Anglophones for the last 25 years. Some people were of the opinion that Paul Atanga Nji failed to understand that, the post of the prime minister in Cameroon is the 4th top position in Cameroon and has little or no power when it comes to decision making in Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018). There have been situations whereby, ministers disrespected the Prime Minister from the Anglophone side, based on the affiliation and origin of the ministers to the Francophone part of the country and their strong network. Furthermore, Paul Atanga Nji continued by stating that, there were proofs that some of the strike actions from the Teacher`s Trade Unions and the Common Lawyer's Trade Unions collected bribes from some individual abroad to destabilize Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018, pp 391). In Cameroon, there are six states universities. Two are in the Anglophone regions, which are; the University of Buea (UB) in the South West region and the University of Bamenda (UBa) in the North West region. The staffs of the University of Buea was already engaged in the strike actions in support of the Teachers and Lawyers in the South West and North West Regions of Cameroon, but the staffs of University of Bamenda on the other hand were not involved in the strike action. In a meeting convened in Bamenda, the capital of the North West region, arranged by the former Prime Minister Yang Philemon from the 25th to the 26th November 2017 (Ngoh, 2018). The Prime Minister urged Prof. Theresa Nkuo Akenji, the Vice-Chancellor, to instruct SYNES/UBa (The National Trade Union of Teachers of Higher Institution) at the University of Bamenda to attend the meeting. It was important that they attended the meeting to present their petition to the Prime Minister and head of government. Some traditional rulers in the region also attended the meeting. The meeting ended without the strike action being called off because, the government failed to reach an agreement with the teachers and this made the SYNES/UBa to officially join the strike which was seen as a failure to the Cameroon government (Ngoh, 2018). The strike action gained more grounds and the situation increased to become more violent and bloody. As an example of the increasement, can be referred to when the students of the University of Buea went to the street to demand the payment of the presidential excellence award for the 2015/2016 academic year

and cancellation of the 10.000 franc CFA (15 Euros) penalty fees for late registration. The strike action from the University Students turned ugly as some of the students were brutalized and dragged in the mud, and some were arrested and jailed in some places by the Cameroon military (Ngoh, 2018).

Thus, the government of Cameroon was unable to resolve the grievances from the Teachers and Lawyers Trade Union, the Anglophone conflict took a different stage. From this time the situation changed, and was out of the hands from the unions. It had now become a problem for all Anglophones in the North West and South West region.

4. 7 Consequence of the Anglophone conflict

The strike action called by the Common Lawyers and the Teachers Trade Union, was in a response to the reluctance of the government to seek solutions and to act promptly. Which brought to the surface the grievance of the Anglophones, and eventually led to the ongoing Anglophone crisis in both Anglophones regions since 2016. Due to the failure of the Cameroon government to act promptly, the political constitutional dimension on the strike was brought to the surface. The strike actions from the Lawyers and Teachers at the end of 2016, had different motives. There were those who genuinely wanted an improvement of their working conditions, salaries and living conditions according to their profession. Others members/demonstrates that supported the strike actions, wanted constitutional reforms and others wanted secession and independence of the North West and South West regions in what they called the "Federal Republic of Ambazonia" (Ngoh, 2018). In general, it can be agreed that, the ongoing Anglophone conflict had some economic and social impacts in Cameroon and in the North West and South West regions in particular.

According to *Groupement inter-patronal du Cameroon* (GICAM) commissioned a study on the economic effect of the Anglophone crisis in the two regions. The GICAM released its report on the 13th of September 2018, and according to the report, the conflict have been calculated to have a cost of approximately 2.153 billion francs CFA (3.3 millions Euros) as a result of the properties, machines and immovable goods, which were either destroyed or vandalized (Buea council archive, 2018, p 35). The economy of the two Anglophone regions lost about 269 billion francs CFA (400 million Euros) in the following sectors; agro-food industries, local agro-industries, telecommunications, cocoa, coffee, banana, tea, palm oil and

rubber. The South West region lost its leadership position in the production of agricultural products to the Center region.

As a comparison, the South West region produced about 45 % of Cameroon's cocoa production before the crisis. By the end of 2018, two to three years into the crisis, the manufacture had dropped to 32 %. Meanwhile, the North West region before the crisis produced about 70 % of Cameroon's Arabica coffee. This region was badly affected by the crisis and the production declined drastically (The Star, 2018). Furthermore, as a concrete example that were hit hard by the conflict situation and the demonstrations in the period around 2015/2016, are the CDC and PAMOL. These agro-food industries are specialized in the production of banana, palm oil and rubber. The destruction of several plantation or the harvested produced and the theft of tones of these plantation produces, was facilitated by the high rate of insecurity across the South West region. This led to the loss of about 9.2 billion francs CFA, which is equivalent to (14 million Euros) (Eden news, 2018, p 9). The CDC lost about 1 billion francs CFA (1.5 million Euros) because of its properties and economic structure were either destroyed or vandalized. In terms of jobs, the CDC lost 6.100 jobs, 5.800 other jobs were threatened and hundreds of CDC laborers were reported death in plantations by some unidentified armed men (Ngoh, 2018, p 423).

PAMOL and other enterprises or businesses, were badly affected by the imposed ghost towns, implemented by the Ambazonian defense force. The shutdown of internet operations in the two Anglophone regions, hindered a lot of business, which was depending on internet connections for productivity. It also hampered communication, dissemination of information and educational system. As an example, the internet connection was suspended from January to March of 2018 by the Cameroon government. The idea of the government to shut down the internet operations was to prevent the separatist to post articles, videos and pictures on social media, and also to prevent the separatists based oversea to have contact with the Ambazonian fighters. But, this did not work, many Anglophones before 2018 had already flew to Douala, the economic capital of Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018). The government received pressure from private investors to restore the internet communication in the two regions (Ngoh, 2018).

The impact and means around the ghost towns were strong. As mentioned, some private business owners chose to stay open. Some of these businesses were attacked by armed men, which later were identified as members of the Ambazonia defense forces. The Ambazonia forces also attacked schools, higher institutions, government offices across the Anglophones

regions who did not respect the ghost towns. Those who did respected the impose of ghost towns, the Ambazonia forces saw them as betrayers. In some cases some of these victims were brutalized, kidnapped and some even killed (Ngoh, 2018). These nonbearing situations made it difficult for the Anglophones, thus led to a high rate of criminal activities in both Anglophone regions. It should be noted that, the CDC is the second highest employer after the government in Cameroon. The situation of the CDC was alarming. According to Franklin Ngoni Ikome Njie, the general manager of the operation, "by December 2018, out of seven (7) palm estates in the oil-palm sector, only two were operational and, in fact, only partially. In the rubber sector, out of eleven (11) rubber estates, only four (4) were operational, and, once more, only patiently. The CDC, with an initial work-force of 20.000 workers, (…) almost 12.500 workers were jobless. Therefore, only 7.500 workers were effectively working and this number included clerical workers" (Ngoh, 2018, p 429). The situation with the CDC was not sustainable as workers were consistently put under pressure and in many cases attacked by separatist fighters. Some of the labors were abducted, some assassinated and others had either their hands or fingers cut off. In the brewery industries, which operated in the two Anglophones regions especially *Les Brasseries du Cameroun* and *Source du Pays,* were heavily affected as their trucks transporting drinks and mineral waters to their warehouses for delivering, were attacked and vandalized. In some cases some of these trucks drivers were assassinated (Ngoh, 2018). The aim of the separatist fighters was to prevent other CDC workers going to work, was an attempt to harm the government, creating chaos and gain more power and support from the society and thus, led to the reduction of government revenue (Ngoh, 2019). The reasons behind these attacks were because the separatist fighters demanded all government state own business should no longer operate in the North West and South West regions because these regions has a large market availability for brasseries products. The separatist believed cutting of the circulation of brasseries products and preventing CDC workers going to work will tremendously affect the government revenue and the government will find it difficult to prolong the war and thus, and call for a peace talk. Figure 6.1 showing the burning of Brasseries trucks transporting drinks by separatist fighters.

Figure 6. 1. Source: BBC News, Pidgin, 2018

These brewery industries that operated in the North West and South West regions, lost about 40 million francs CFA (61 million Euros) while theft and vandalism cost the brewery companies an estimated 500 million francs CFA (765 million Euros) in material lost (Ngoh, 2019). In the telecommunication sector, about 300 million francs CFA (459 million Euros) worth of equipment were destroyed and more than one billion francs CFA (1.5 million Euros) was lost monthly, as of 31st July 2018, a total of 114 installed telecommunications sites 20 % out of 618 sites in both regions were either partially or completely destroyed (Ngoh, 2019, p 430).

5. Chapter 05 – The government's responses to the Anglophone crisis

5. 1 The National Dialogue

On the esteemed instructions of the head of state, his Excellency President Paul Biya, convening authority, the major national dialogue held in Yaoundé the capital city of the Republic of Cameroon, at the Yaoundé Conference Centre from 30th September to 4th October 2019, under the chairmanship of Dion Ngute, prime minister and head of government in Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018).

As a prelude to the dialogue proper, the prime minister held a pre-dialogue consultation with the view of determining not only the most suitable framework for the dialogue, but also to solicit contributions and options from a broad spectrum of Cameroonians. The pre-dialogue also included those who continued to perpetrate acts of violence and terror across the two Anglophones regions in particular and Cameroon in general. The public responded positively to the head of state's call for a national dialogue in seeking possible solutions to the ongoing crisis. Representative groups and persons from the public that joined in the National Dialogue consisted of lawyers, teachers, civil society actors, political leaders, religious authorities, trade union officials, student organizations and Cameroonians based outside the country. From the government side, the dialogue was represented by independent personalities who were received by the prime minister, head of government Dion Ngute (Ngoh, 2018). Prior to the National Dialogue in Yaoundé, some Cameroonians human activist like Tapang Ivo Tanku, Mark Bareta and others expressed fears of the unknown and asked the Cameroonian authorities to move the National Dialogue to another country. Switzerland opted to be the moderator/facilitator, but the activists refused because of Switzerland role as a kind of a "second country" of president Paul Biya, spending more time in Switzerland than in his home country of Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018). Due to difference in options, the government however, dispatched renowned civil society personalities to meet with representatives from the activists outside the country, in an effort to engage them to seek a lasting solution to the Anglophone conflict and to restored peace and security in the fatherland. These meeting served to further demonstrate the great commitment of the Head of State, President Paul Biya, in involving Cameroonians residing outside the country in search for a lasting solution to the raging conflict in the afflicted regions (NAB, 2019, pp 366).

The governors of the ten regions in Cameroon where also engaged with inhabitants of their area of command to review all possible ways of making some positive inputs to the process. For the governors of the two Anglophone regions, the challenge was daunting because they had to contend, with displaced populations, ghost town operations and armed militia. The objective was to provide incentives for armed activists to cease insurgent operations and benefit from the government program on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in the centers of their region (Ngoh, 2018). Furthermore, the governors hoped that through public sensitization, communities, particularly the youth who had fled into the forest, neighboring countries like Nigeria for safety, could return to their villages and towns respectively. It should be noted that, Cameroon's diplomatic missions abroad, invited some compatriots for brainstorming sessions aimed at generating contributions, which would enrich the deliberations in the major national dialogue. However, some of these contributions were only in few pages whereas others were in hundreds of pages (Ngoh, 2018).

A sociological breakdown of these contributions revealed wide sections of the Cameroon population and stakeholders in conflict zones weight in. These contributions concerned losses suffered by students, parents, businessmen, medical and health personnel, civilians military personnel as well as Cameroonians (Ngoh, 2018).

Over 600 participants attended the major national dialogue in Yaoundé, which was chaired by the prime minister and head of government. Following the pre-dialogue consultations, participants were split into various commissions, which was generally composed of a bureau with a president and vice-president and a rapporteur. As instructed by chief of convenor Paul Biya, almost half of the total participants were drawn from the two Anglophone regions and about 5 % came from abroad (NAB, 2019, pp 369).

It should be recalled that, the major national dialogue was as per the guidelines contained in the message of the Head of State of 10th September 2019. The opening of the Major National Dialogue started with ecumenical prayers led by Imam Cheikh Oumarou, Pasteur Gustave Ebai, Pasteur Alain Ruben Ngwet and Monseigneur Jean Mbarga. The government delegate of the Yaoundé city Council, Gilbert Tsimi Evouna gave a welcome address, and a message from ex-combatants from the Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Center (DDR). The Prime Minister and, chairperson of the Major National Dialogue welcomed everyone. According to Joseph Ngute, the Prime Minster, the consultation he held prior to the National Dialogue, enabled him to realize the ardent desire by Cameroonians from all political and

social background for a return to peace in Cameroon and the recovery of socio-economic activities in the two Anglophones regions (Ngoh, 2018). Joseph Ngute, urged participants to show proof of patriotism and responsibility throughout the duration of the dialogue. Giving the myriad expectations of Cameroonians in this connection, he recalled that the social and security context in the North West and South West as well as in other regions, especially in the Far-north regions, were affecting all aspects of life in the country. Finding solutions through dialogue was urgent, Joseph Ngute stated. (NAB, 2020, p 390). Keynote speakers at the first plenary session included; Peter Mafany Musonge, Nfon Mukete, Rene Ze Nguele, John Fru Ndi, Rene Effa, Simin Munzu, Boubakary Abdoulaye, Atem Ebako, Calixte Beyala amongst others. They decried the senseless violence, killings kidnappings, destruction of public and private properties and called on all participants to set aside their differences in political party affiliations to work for peace and normalcy to return to the fatherland of Cameroon (NAB, 2020, pp 80). In this regards, all the major speakers stressed that, Cameroonians are sons and daughter of a territory whose overall boundaries were set, not by the people themselves, but foreign nations through treaties. The country was based on a territory which was divided into two zones of unequal sizes, again under terms of treaties between foreign powers of which, the people of Cameroon were not parties, delimited by foreign powers on existing indigenous culture, with each foreign culture being raised to a national status (Buea Council Achieve, 2020, pp 82). According to Peter Mafany Musonge, "the sons and daughters of those two parts could have remained definitely apart if the people of one part had not chosen, in February 1961, to forge a new nation with the people of the other" (The Post, 2019, p 4). Unlike the previous and other development in the constitution of Cameroon, in the educational and judiciary section, the idea of coming together as one in 1961, was not decided by foreign powers, but by Cameroonians. Thus, this explained the need to remain faithful to the initial intent to make the bilingual and bicultural heritage be of equal status rather an obstacles to the development of Cameroon (Ngoh, 2018, p 425). The key speakers emphasized on organizational forms like decentralization, federation and confederation. However, it was a common understanding that placing political science labels on the Cameroonian nation was not as vital as the content given to the form of power sharing with the regions. It was also a common view that the responsibility to address these issues was primarily that of the Cameroonian people. At the end of the major national dialogue, participants brainstormed on eight main themes. The topics that were raised, was

bilingualism, cultural diversity and social cohesion. The discussion and dialogue also included topics about the educational system, judicial system, the return of refugees and internally displaced persons in the North West and South West regions. Last, but not least, the dialogue centered around reconstruction and development of conflict affected areas in the North West and South West regions, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatant, the role of Cameroonians abroad in crisis and in the country's development, decentralization and local development (Ngoh, 2018).

The enthusiasm of the dialogue could be seen in the quality of participants, spanning actors of the political administrative, religious leaders, traditional rulers and private and civil society sectors of the society as well as their effective presence from the beginning through the end of the process. According to the Prime Minister and head of government, the dialogue was free, fair transparent and sometimes passionate, a reflection of the vitality and a keen interest that Cameroonians have in addressing the plight that has befallen the nation on its most recent history (NAB, 2020, pp 89).

5. 2 Recommendations after the National Dialogue

I. The commission for the bilingualism, cultural diversity and social cohesion

The commission stated the importance of enhancing the practice of bilingualism in all segments of society through the creation and implementation of programs stating from pre-school ages. Enrooting cultural divert through a strict implementation of regional balance and equitable access to public service and security force. Conceive and implement a curriculum on inter community fellowship, rebuilding fraternal trust and civic engagement in an effort to strengthen national social cohesion. The commission urged the government to pass a legislation that spells out the equitable use of both official languages in all areas of national life. Develop and codify principles for social dialogue, social cohesion and living together (NAB, 2019, p 366).

II. The commission for the educational system

For the commission it was important to ensure that the educational reforms integrate the need to keep the two educational subsystems afloat, buoyant and futuristic, recognizing the unique strengths and specificities of each subsystem, building on the strengths of each one to train well rounded and excellent Cameroonian graduates who will excel wherever they go. Also,

the commission of the educational system, highlighted the importance of ensuring that the Teacher's Trade Unions working in collaboration with the government, and regulation of the proliferation of Teacher's Trade Unions and promote better organization of Trade Unions to ensure synergy from the regional to national level (NAB, 2019, p 400).

III. The commission for the judiciary system

The commission urged the government to translate all legal instruments into both official languages and ensure their simultaneous publication in both official languages. Furthermore, the commission of the judiciary system stated the importance of the government ensuring the perquisite of English language proficiency and mastery of both Common Law Legal system when deploying judiciary staff to the North West and South West regions. The government should also according to the commission, set up a Law school for training lawyers and all legal practitioners at large in Cameroon. The commission insisted that the Common Law section of the supreme court of Cameroon into a fully-fledged legal bench comprising all sections dealing with specific matters of the Common Law. Lastly, the commission stated the importance to prove mechanisms for legal cooperation in view of commencing proceedings to those financing terrorism from foreign countries (NAB, 2019, p 305).

IV. The commission for the Return of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

The commission agreed that the state should set up communication channels for a better deployment of the army and freer movement of the people, as well as take measures for the construction of decent homes for displaced persons. The commission also stated that the government had to take measures geared towards granting general amnesty to foster the return of refugees and internally displaced persons. Furthermore, the commission claimed the importance of proceeding to the physical headcount of all displaced persons and come up with an estimate of their basic socio-economic needs such as free schools, health care, security and accommodation. Lastly, they highlighted the need to provide resettlement and reintegration kits to refugees and internally displaced persons (NAB, 2019, p 401).

V. The commission for the reconstruction and development of crisis affected areas

The commission emphasized the importance to formulate a vast program for the recovery, reconstruction and development of the North West and South West regions. The commission

aimed at improving the living conditions of the populations and consolidating social cohesion and national unity. Further, they pointed out the need of immediate resumption of projects whose works had been suspended over the past 3 years due to the crisis such as; the Babajou-Bamenda road constructions, the Loum, Tombel, Kumba, Mundemba and Akwa-roads and railway construction and others should resume work immediately. In an extension of this, the commission stated the importance of rehabilitation of public facilities and public infrastructure destroyed or rendered obsolete because of lack of use because of the crisis, particularly in the areas of education, health, transport, energy, water and communications infrastructure. The reconstruction of priority economic infrastructure was also pointed out as a main recommendation, in order to provide support or revive productive systems through revamping the public agro-industrial companies in the affected regions like; Cameroon Development Cooperation (the CDC), PAMOL plantation and others. Lastly, the commission stated that a compensation system had to be put in place for the losses suffered by private individuals, religious leaders, church bodies, communities, private production and businesses (NAB, 2019, p 401).

VI. The commission for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex- combatants
For the commission, the development and implementation of a holistic strategy for communication to ensure the offer made by president Paul Biya; "Peace and forgiveness" for young separatist fighters, was important to have implemented. The commission urged the government to build strong relationship between the youth state holders and political leaders and that the security forces should be withdraw from the two Anglophone regions. Lastly, the commission recommended the government to put an end in manufacturing light weapons and importation of weapons through Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea into the North West and South West regions (NAB, 2019, p 415).

VII. The commission for the role of Cameroonians abroad
The commission urged the government to revise the country reform of the nationality code in which dual or multiple nationality to be authorized and accepted. Furthermore, the commission recommended the adoption of the principle of parliamentary and government representation of the diaspora (a ministry dedicated to the diaspora). The commission also stated the need of creation of a transnational investment and development agency for diaspora

and of a team responsible for mediation with radicalized members of the diaspora (NAB, 2019, p 420).

VIII. The Decentralization and Local Development

The commission emphasized that the two English-speaking regions should have a special status in conformity of the ongoing Anglophone crisis as stipulated in the Constitution. The commission further stated that the disbarment of special allocation of each of the Councils in the North West and South West regions have to facilitate the effective resumption of certain agglomeration. Also, the need of a substantial reduction of the powers of the supervisory authorities in the North West and South regions were pointed out by the commission. In the view of the reinforcement of financial autonomy of local authorities, the commission recommended an effective implementation of section 32 sub 2 of the law to better the needed decentralization process. Furthermore, the commission highlighted the importance of decentralization, would improve development in the two English regions, thus, strengthen the local decision-making. In this connection, the participants proposed that a margin of 10-15 % of the state budget needed to be allocated to the Councils, as a way to get more effective transferring of funds to the local authorities. This was in contrast to the current system with the principle on the single treasury account. The commission also stated that the suppression of provision for the appointment of government delegates has to end, whereas today, the Anglophone interests are more or less suppressed as the system works (Ngoh, 2018). Despite the above recommendation from the Major National Dialogue in connection to the Anglophone crisis, it is noteworthy to mention that, the Major National Dialogue faced a lot of criticism from some Cameroonians. In general, the criticism is that the crisis still exists even with the points and recommendations that resulted from the the National Dialogue. Furthermore, some Anglophone elites have been of the opinion that, the Head of State, Paul Biya should chaired the Major National Dialogue rather than the Prime Minister. The Anglophone Crisis is the first major crisis since after independence and reunification as compare to other countries in Africa. They are of the opinion that the President should lead by an example because the president is considered as the father of the country.

There have also been critiques by some Cameroonians regarding the choice of venue for the National Dialogue. To them, the dialogue should have been held in Buea, the capital of the South West region. The historical characteristic of Buea to the Anglophone Cameroonians

was a perfect venue for the dialogue as it is an Anglophone crisis. If the venue was in Buea, the affected persons or victims in connection to the Anglophone crisis, would have had the opportunity to express themselves more freely without any fear. It would also have been given room for more participants to attend the dialogue. The National Dialogue in Yaoundé demonstrate the level of centralization policy of Cameroon, which amongst other reasons the Anglophones are fighting to reduce. Anglophone participants described the dialogue to be a *Monologue*. According to these participants, the agenda of the dialogue was drawn by the government. They argued that important topics such as *independence of the Anglophone regions* were excluded, living an empty whole and the risk of another recession of the crisis (Ngoh, 2018).

5. 3   The government addressing the Anglophone grievances

As traditions demands, the President in the end of year 2016, after the National Dialogue, messaged his fellow compatriots in connection to the Anglophone crisis that all Cameroonians should come together, listen to each other and to think constructively in seeking solutions to the crisis.

The Lawyers and Teachers Trade Unions agreed on a set of recommendations that were accepted by the government as a third party. First of all, the government agreed to implement redeployment of Francophone teachers without a qualified mastery of English to schools in the Francophone areas. Furthermore, the government agreed on the creation of a department of French in the Higher Teachers Training College (ENS) Bambili, and creating another Higher Technical Teachers Training College (ENSET) for the Francophones. The parties also agreed on the creation of a Poly-technique for the English sub-system of Education, and special recruitment of 500 Anglophones lectures for the Universities of Buea and Bamenda. The number of specialties in English speaking technical schools were increased and a subvention of two billion France CFA (2 million Euros) to assist lay private schools and mission schools in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon. Some Anglophone leaders were released in connection to the peaceful protest in 2016 and 2017 respectively. Internet services were restored in the North West and South West regions. Also, the cases against some churches and their leaders were discontinued, such as the moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon (PCC) and the Executive Secretary of Cameroon Baptist Convection (CBC).

The Lawyers and Teachers Unions agreed with the President, that admissions into Anglo-Saxon medical schools should respect the Anglo-Saxon traditions under the supervision of the Ministry of Higher Education and the respective medical counts. The dialogue also resulted in an agreement of the abolition of the penalty of 10.000 francs CFA (15 Euros) for late payment of registration fees at the University of Buea and the payment of the Presidential Excellence Award Grants of 50.000 franc CFA (77 Euros). The parties also agreed on provision of the official English version of the Uniform Acts and the Cameroon Penal Code (OHADA) and the creation of the English-speaking section at the National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM). An agreement of establishment of a common Law Bench at the supreme Court of Cameroon and the creation of a Faculty of Law and political Science at the University of Buea were also set. Creation of a department of English Law at the Universities of Dschang, Maroea and Ngaoundere and also the establishment of public Law at the University of Buea and Bamenda. Integration, promotion and re-deployment of magistrates throughout the national territory were agreed on, which took into account their mastery of the official languages. Lastly, the parties agreed on establishing appointments of English-speaking magistrate to the post of President of the Judicial Bench at the Supreme Court and recruitment and placement of appropriate judicial personnel in the North West and South West Courts of Appeal (Ngoh, 2018).

In an effort to put an end to the Anglophone crisis, the President Paul Biya in addressing the bilingualism, bi-culturalism and multiculturalism, created a national commission on the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism by decree No. 2017/013 of 23rd January 2017 (Fanso, 2019). The aim of this commission was to have an organ that were responsible notably for submitting reports and recommendations on issues relating to the protection and promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism to the President of the Republic and the government. The creation of this commission on the other hand, drew mixed feelings amongst the Anglophones. Some welcomed the idea, whereas, others felt it did not address the issue raised by the Lawyers and Teachers Trade Unions (Ngoh, 2018, pp 424).

According to Julius Ngoh, in 2018, the Prime Minister announced a humanitarian assistant plan in both Anglophones regions worth 12.719.500.000 billion France CFA (11.8 million Euros) to support internal displaced persons, victims of abuse in the host localities and compensations to the affected families in the North West and South West regions (Ngoh, 2018, pp 424). Although, most of the socio-professional grievances were addressed by the

government, some secessionist, which included some of the lawyers and teachers who dialogued with the government during the National Dialogue, are still (2021) fighting for independence in the two Anglophone regions. The government, the churches and some well-intentioned Cameroonians, are still searching for solutions that will bring peace and keep the unity and territorial integrity of the country.

5. 4 Humanitarian assistance

The Anglophone crisis forced many Anglophones to abandon their homes and run into the forest and neighboring countries such as Nigeria for safety. Those living in the rural areas where badly affected. The Internal Displace Persons (IDPs) where estimated to be around 600.000 persons as of 2019 (NAB, pp 105). There were a high level of humanitarian support from individuals, religious bodies, from the Cameroon government, Cameroonians abroad and some international organizations. It should be recalled that, Cameroonians who fled to Nigeria and those whose villages were burnt down by unknown individuals, the Catholic Church undertook humanitarian actions to assist these affected persons. Amongst other division in the North West and South West region, Manyu division, suffered the most given its geographical location to the Cross River State and Nigeria (Ngoh, 2018). For example, the Bishop of the Mamfe diocese, His Lordship Bishop Andrew Nkea, after several villages were burnt in Akwaya and Eyumojock sub-division in the South West region, paid a pastoral/humanitarian visit to the affected villages and people. Bishop Nkea, provided food and shelters for the homeless villagers. In June 2018, a delegation of the National Episcopal Conference of Cameroon (NECC) led by President Archbishop Sammuel Kleda, and a host of other board members, visited Cameroonian refuges in Nigeria in three different localities. This was Bashua and Biajouta in the Boki local government area with over 20.000 refugees and Agborkem-waterfall in Etung local government area with over 4,500 refugees. These delegations preached to the refugees about peace, forgiveness, gave them words of encouragements and provided some basic food items and financial assistance. It should be noted that, in the French regions, Christian bodies contribute money in solidarity of the North West and South West regions for humanitarian work, to assist the affected persons and their communities (Fanso, 2019). Despite the churches in Cameroon, state holders, business owners based in the French regions, donated millions of francs CFA to the Cameroon government to assist in rebuilding the two Anglophone regions and to provide scholarships

for kids to return back to school. Cameroonians abroad also played a big role in the humanitarian assistance in the North West and South West region of Cameroon. They contributed money and carried out projects. For example in 2018, they contributed over 20.000 dollars. The money was used to construct modern toilets for two refugees camps in neighboring country Nigeria, designed to improve the hygienic conditions in the refugee`s camps. Money were also contributed through GoFundMe to set up businesses and sponsoring kids to schools in Nigeria (The Post, 2019, p 6). The concept of assisting distressed Cameroonians as giving and helping others is engraved in the sense of hospitality.

The government also played a major role in the humanitarian assistances to the affected persons. In June 2018, the government made known its Emergency Humanitarian Assistances Plan, which was estimated at 12.7 billion francs CFA (18 million Euros) for the victims of the Anglophone Crisis in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon. In addressing the humanitarian plans, the government identified some key priority areas (Ngoh, 2018). These areas or topics were protection of displaced persons, food and basic needs, healthcare, resumption of economic and agricultural activities especially in plantations, reconstruction of individual administrative documents and amongst others (Ngoh, 2018).

The government, in its report, contained in the emergency humanitarian plan, accused the separatist fighters, named "the Ambazonian defense force", of violation of the right of education and disruption of economic activities. The Ambazonian defense force were also accused of attacks on members of security force, on administrative authorities, abuse against the population, sexual abuse and violence against women and girls and incitement of violence through social media platforms (Fanso, 2019). The minister of Territorial Administration was appointed by the President of the Republic to coordinate the collection and distribution of humanitarian assistance. Cameroonians, both the Francophone and Anglophone, responded promptly and massively to the appeal of the government for humanitarian assistance to victims and affected persons in the North West and South West regions.

6. Chapter 06 – Recommendation and general conclusion

6. 1 Possible recommendation for the Cameroon government to solve the ongoing crisis

Since 2016, the ongoing Anglophone crisis has remained unsolved as all parties talked of the need for a genuine dialogue. Despite the National Dialogue that was organized to find solutions to the Anglophone crisis, the resolutions made, have so far not been able to solve the situation. One solution that has been made, is secession and independence for the North West and the South West regions, where the regions seeks and achieves a system based on federalism and decentralization (Ngoh, 2018). Federalism or decentralization is more practical in resolving the ongoing crisis. Federalism will uphold and protect Cameroon's territory. In a federal system, each regions in Cameroon would run and manage its own affairs with minimum intervention from the government. The principles and articles dealing with minimum intervention from the government, must be explicitly stated and written in the Constitution, which include a revenue sharing formula to all regions. This system will give room to the population to vote their respective leaders where the leaders are accountable to the population rather than to the government. In a federal system, the neglect of some regions or localities in Cameroon will be forbidden. However, in a situation whereby, a region is not financially viable to run and manage its federal structure, the government have the obligatory to support weak or small regions.

Like federalism, decentralization would preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Cameroon. In this system, the government of Cameroon would be able to ensure equal development. The 1996 Constitution clearly provided for decentralization, but in reality the delegation of power has not had any real function or effect in the society and has remained centered (Ngoh, 2018). The government of Cameroon needs to put in place strong policies that will enhance decentralization in all regions, sub-divisions and divisions in Cameroon. This system, will enable the citizens to manage their own projects while the government will be the supervisor. The Cameroon government has a centralized system of government. This system has had negative effects in both the Anglophone regions and the Francophone regions, and in some cases, some regions have been neglected because of the system of centralized power (Ngoh, 2018). If the government of Cameroon can reform its system to a federal or decentralized system, it will lead to development in all small localities and eventually leading to the end of the Anglophone crisis. To address these issues, the government need to look into

the request of the Anglophone grievances without no bias and political influence, demilitarized the two English-speaking regions, organize a national dialogue without any preconditions, and protect the Anglophone culture, tradition, and creating employment opportunities for Anglophone graduates.

6. 2 General conclusion

In 2016, President Paul Biya faced the most challenging socio-political problem in his over 35 years in power. The political situation were more or less stable up to 2016, since the attempt in 1984 states of emergency. The Anglophone problem with all its grievances and manifestation was the second socio-political crisis in Cameroon under Biya's presidency. Initially, it was the list of the socio-professional grievances presented by the Common Law Lawyers and the Anglophone Teacher's Trade Unions that metamorphosed into a demand for a return to the pre-1972 federal system. It finally generated into armed secessionist militia groups battling with government troops to achieve the independence of the Anglophone regions (North West and South West regions) which the secessionists called the Federal Republic of Ambazonia. The mistrust between the government of Cameroon, the lawyers and teacher`s trade unions and the financing of the secessionist movement by some Cameroonian in abroad, proved destructive to find solutions to the ongoing Anglophone crisis. During the National Dialogue, it was evident that, the government refused to talk about secession of the North West and South West regions, which some Anglophone political elites wanted to talk about. The crisis remains unsolved with enormous social, economic and human devastation where about 500.000 persons are internal displaced across Cameroon and about 30.000 have fled to the Nigeria.

Appendix

Violation of the right for education

Everyone in a given society, has the fundamental right to quality education. As stipulated on the United Nation Sustainability Goal number 4, quality education aims to facilitate literacy rate among youth in a given society regardless of gender or disability. The educational sector was and remains one of the main targets by the Ambazonia defense force. Schools are repeatedly attacked, students and teachers have been threatened, brutalized and, killed in their classrooms since the outbreak of this ongoing crisis. Because of this attacks, some students in the Anglophone regions have migrated to other regions in Cameroon in other to continue their education. The consequence of such a situation will be felt for a very long time after the inevitable return to normalcy. Here are some examples of terrorist attacks against the educational sector in the Anglophone regions;

- 5th February 2017, burning down of Government Technical High School Barombi-Kang in the South West region
- 31st July 2017, burning down of Government High School Afap in the North West region
- 23rd January 2018, burning down of the girl`s dormitory of Saint Rita College Nkambe. The lives of the students was saved because they have left the dormitory to the refectory prior to the act
- 1st Febeuary 2017, attacks on teachers of Government Secondary School Mbeta, Nguti Sud-division in the South West region which wounded many teachers
- 20th September 2017, a home-made bomb exploded in a classroom in Government Teachers Training College (ENIEG) Bonadikombo, Limbe 1 Sub-division in the South West region
- 29th January 2019, about 45 unknown men with machetes entered Government High School Bangem (Kupe-Muanenguba) in the South West region and chased away students from their classrooms. As a result of the fear thus created, the other students in the locality deserted their schools
- 25th April 2018, the principal of Government Bilingual High School was kidnapped by unknown gun men and she was released after

In report of 28 June 2018, Amnesty International denounced these attacks against students and teachers in the North West and South West regions. In a joint release of 1st June 2018, in Yaoundé, the representative of the United Nations Children`s Fund and the Director of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) regional Office for Central Africa condemned the acts perpetrated by armed men in the North West and South West regions of Cameroon. They also urged the unknown armed groups to release all educational staff and students kidnapped immediately.

Destruction of economic activities in the North West and South West regions

Addressing the concerns raised by the population in the Anglophone regions. In 2018, President Paul Biya ordered the release of a special fund to tackle some developmental projects in the two regions. Most of these development projects were slowed due to a repeated abuses perpetrated by unknown and armed groups and individuals. Here are some of the example;

- 23rd of March 2019, some employees of Socciete des Routes et des Batiments (SOROUBAT) in charge of constructing the Kumba -Ekondo Titi road in the South West region, were kidnapped.
- In 2017, the separatist fighters introduced ghost towns-operations. These ghost towns was imposed through intimidation and threat, which had disastrous consequence on the economic activities and household incomes. Due to these ghost town operations, CDC and PAMOL workers were heavily affected. Some workers were reported killed and some kidnapped.

Attacks against administrative and traditional authorities

Administrative authorities in the North West and South West region have been regular targeted. Here are some examples;

- 11th February 2018, kidnapping and assassinated of the Divisional Officers of Batibo in the North West region
- 5th March 2019, attack on the convoy of the Senior divisional officer in Libialen in the South West region
- 5th June 2018, assassination of the 3rd class chief of Esukutan in Toko Sub-division

- 13th February 2019, burning down of the resident of Chiefs of Myerem In Akwaya Sub-division in the South West region
- 22nd April 2018, attack on the convoy of the Governor of the South West Region in Lebialem

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