

MASARYK UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL STUDIES

SEPARATISM IN AMBAZONIA AND ITS COUNTERING

Master's Thesis:

Wongbi Blaise Fru

UČO: 492345

Supervisor: Prof. JUDr. PHDr. Miroslav Mareš, Ph.D

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCES

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Declaration of Authorship

I Wongbi Blaise Fru, do hereby declare that this diploma thesis is an outcome of a research conducted by me, the thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university. All data, pictures and other information collected from other persons have been duly acknowledged and referenced in the bibliography.

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Notwithstanding the above, I remain solely responsible for any shortcomings that this work may suffer.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Acronyms	Full Meaning
AAC	All-Anglophone Conference
AAC II	All Anglophone Conference 2
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AM	Ambazonia Movement
APLM	African People’s Liberation Movement
AWARD	Ambazonia War Draft
BICEC	Banque Internationale du Cameroun Pour L’Epargne et le Credit
BIR	Rapid Intervention Battalion
CACSC	Cameroon Anglophone civil Society consortium
CAT	Cameroons Air Transport
CDC	Cameroon Development Cooperation
CNU	Cameroon National Union
CPDM	Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement
ELECAM	Elections Cameroon
GICAM	Groupement Inter-Patronal du Cameroun
GZ	Ground Zero
IG	Interim government of Ambazonia
KNC	Kamerun National Congress
KNDP	Kamerun National Democratic Party
KPP	Kamerun People's Party
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
NCPBM	National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism
NOSO	Northwest and Southwest Region
OHADA	Organisation pour l'Harmonisation en Afrique du Droit des Affaires
OKP	One Kamerun Party

PMO	Produce Marketing Board
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SNEC	Société Nationale des Eaux du Cameroun
SOCADEF	Southern Cameroons Defense Forces
SONARA	Société Nationale de Raffinage
TRNC	Cyprus and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UBSU	University of Buea student Union
UNDVA	Upper Nun Valley Development Authority
UNGA	United nation General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNPO	Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization
UPC	Union des population des Cameroun

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ABSTRACT

This Master thesis deals with the reasons for secessionist movement in Cameroon and counter separatist methods adopted to prevent recognition of proclaimed independence of Ambazonia Republic. With the end of colonialism and the reunification of British southern Cameroon and French Cameroon, Cameroon have been challenged by secessionist movement and calls to maintain or return to the federal system of government adopted during reunification agreement. The Anglophone community feel marginalized over the course of history by the political reforms which have been adopted to harmonize the two distinctive cultures. The study indicates economic, political, and cultural factors as the underlying reasons behind the formation of secessionist movement in Cameroon while financial motivations have helped to maintain militia group which benefits from the crises. Furthermore, the study looks at the Cameroon governments counter separatist and recognition initiatives, which have helped to prevent Ambazonia secessionist agenda from becoming a reality.

Keywords: Anglophone crisis, secession, recognition, Independence, Cameroon, Ambazonia, counter-separatist

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Research Problem

With an end to colonialism and the Cold War, there has been an increase in the demand for rights to self-determination (in association with secession) in Africa and the world. Decolonization, the most important means of creation of new States during the second half of the twentieth century, was not viewed by the international legal order as a case of secession. The reason for this is summarized in the Declaration of Principles of International Law embodied in UNGA Resolution 2625 (XXV): “the territory of a colony or other non-self-governing territory has, under the charter, a status separate and distinct from the territory of the State administering it”. (Kohen, 2006) Another reason was the emergence of the right to self-determination which was incorporated into international law and provide for the first time in history rights to those who qualified as people to create their own state. In recent time most minorities groups in established states, are continuously attempting to use the right to self-determination to demand for secession from parent state as could be seen in Nigeria, Spain, Iraq, and Cameroon. We have also experience recent secessions of Kosovo, Southern Sudan, and Eritrea but no matter the successes of these states, the rights to self-determination and to secede remains ambiguous and vague with unspecified principles.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of September 2007 revisits this notion of self-determination. According to the UN General Assembly Resolution 2625 (a Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States adopted on 24 October 1970), all people have the right to determine their political status and the freedom to pursue their cultural, economic, and social development without any external interference. (UNGA, 2007) According to Griffiths the right to self-

determination is one of the most normatively confused and unspecified principles of the legal doctrine because beyond colonialism, the right to self-determination is beset by an excess of indeterminacy both in relation to its content and scope. (Griffiths, 2016) Archibugi view the subjective right to self-determination can be interpreted in at least three different ways, as; the right of colonial peoples to become a state; the right of minorities of a state (or more than one state) to become an autonomous (or to join another) state; the right of ethnic minorities to benefit from certain collective rights. (Archibugi, 2003).

Similarly, the different and numerous political, economic, and cultural strategy used at achieving the goal of secession has made it a subject of inquiry in many unrelated disciplines. This diversity in the approach of achieving autonomy has resulted to different definition of secession. For instance, James Crawford limited the concept of secession to the withdrawal of territory which is opposed by a functioning host state. According to this definition, mutually agreed withdrawal of a territory or a withdrawal, which is opposed by a disintegrating state, will not count as secession. (Crawford, 2006) Thomas and Falola defined secession as a group or territory's political removal from a sovereign and recognized state and establishing as a distinct sovereign body. What is especially important within this definition is the creation of a new and recognized sovereign body, (Thomas & Falola, 2020) Recognition by the parent state usually pave the way for creation of states but it's not a condition for existence. The definition of Thomas and Falola turns to depict the situation of Ambazonian independence struggle with the aim of creating a sovereign and recognized state.

The multiplicity of cultural identities, languages and geographical landforms present in Cameroon has made it gained the name "Africa in Miniature". Cameroon is home to more than 240 tribes which are found in three main ethnic groups: Bantus, semi-Bantus, and Sudanese. These ethnic groups speak more than 240 different languages. And even though they exist different ethnic groups and many

tribes in Cameroon, discussion about marginalization, secession, favoritism, and oppression about minority ethnic groups has been overlooked in favor of Anglophone minority and Francophone dominance. Cameroon democracy has struggled to create a national identity because of the diverse population and colonial heritage. The failure to achieve complete national unity has resulted to secessionist campaigns. To understand the situation in Cameroon, regarding the Anglophone crisis and secessionist request for creation of a separate state called Ambazonia requires us to go back in time and trace the colonial, independence and reunification conditions that made Cameroon to be in its present predicament.

Cameroon colonial legacy associates the territory with three leading ex-colonial nation in the world such as Britain, France, and Germany. The colonial history is significant in determining the events in Cameroon historiography that was responsible in unify two former trusteeship territory of French and British Cameroon to produce a Bilingual, Bi-jural and Anglo-French status in Cameroon, making it the second nation after Canada to have English and French as official Language because of colonial tussle. The colonial union had the effect of bringing people together with stark difference in language, educational system, legal system, culture, political style, and expectations to form a nation. Also a look at Cameroon history would help in determining where secessionist procure legitimacy of their territory called Ambazonia, with the self-determination to reverse the political maneuver executed by the dominant Francophone government.

The Reunification of French and British Cameroon and amendments of the Federal constitution intended to guarantee independent administration and respect for the different cultural identity, played a major role in present day Anglophone crises. But it was only until 1990 when multi-party system was reintroduce characterized with freedom of mass communication and association, including the ability to hold public meetings and demonstrations as opposed to the former regime of Ahmadou Ahidjo, did Anglophones elite seize the opportunity to make

their grievances officially heard, demanding for constitutional amendments with some groups fostering successionist ideas. Creation of several associations and pressure groups to mobilize anglophones elite to defend their interest became common, notably the Ambazonia Movement (AM) of Fon Gorji Dinka, advocating for outright secession, but other known associations demanded return to federalism like the All-Anglophone Movement (AAC). With political liberalization in the 1990's, the Social Democratic Front (SDF) emerge from the Anglophone region with pro-federalism ambition and became the first opposition party to exist in Cameroon. A massive rally to launch the SDF on 26 May 1990 ended in the deaths of six young Anglophones, the state-controlled media tried to deny government responsibility for this bloody event and to distort the true facts. (Nyamnjoh, 2005) Anglophones student at University of Yaoundé who participated by showing support to the SDF were accused of marching in favor of reintegration with Nigeria and of singing the Nigeria national anthem. Francophone politicians of the leading party Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) requested strict sanctions be meted out, calling Anglophones "Baifrans" meaning secessionist and referring to anglophones as the "enemies in the house". This Resulted to the First Anglophone vice president and architect of reunification, John Ngu Foncha deciding to resign from his position of Vice president of the CPDM by explaining:

"The Anglophone Cameroonians whom I brought into union have been ridiculed and referred to as 'les Biafrais', 'les ennemies dans la maison', 'les traitres' etc., and the constitutional provisions which protected this Anglophone minority have been suppressed, their voice drowned while the rule of the gun replaced the dialogue which the Anglophones cherish very much." (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997).

The feeling of anglophone suppression and voice drowned while the rule of the gun replaced dialogue matured into the present-day Anglophone crises and Ambazonia separatist struggle in 2016. When Anglophone lawyers went on strike to present the Justice system failure to use common law (Legal system Acquire by Anglophone regions during colonial period from Britain) in anglophone region, demand for translation of code of the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa (OHADA) to English and criticizing the appointment of Francophone magistrate and judiciary to the Common law jurisdictions. The demand of lawyers for return of Common law system as was in the time of federalism was meet by gendarmes manhandling lawyers and arresting supporters. Teachers went on strike as well. They organized rallies against the lack of Anglophone teachers, the appointment of teachers who did not have a good command of English and the failure to respect the “Anglo-Saxon” character of schools and universities in the Anglophone zone. (Group, 2017) The army and police force intervein violently which led to severe beatings, arrest and at least 2 reported death. Finally, University of Buea students organized a peaceful protest to denounce banning of University of Buea student Union (UBSU) among other pleas, and this resulted to brutalization of student, arrest of some students from their hostel, female student beaten, undressed, rolled in mud, and allegedly raped by the national security, hence aggravating emotions on marginalization and inhumane treatment exhibited by government forces against Anglophone people and promoting secessionist justification. The result of this occurrence was the declaration of Ambazonia independence by secessionist leaders in the diaspora and the formation of armed militia groups with aim to define the territory under Ambazonian state.

1.2. Statement of Research Problem

The number of secessionist movements in Africa and the world at large is on the rise. In Africa the secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia, separation of Sudan and South Sudan, Katanga secession between 1960 -1963 has help to inspire

more secessionist euphoria as could be seen with the Biafra secession struggle in Nigeria and Ambazonia secessionist in Cameroon. The Cameroon secessionist plight is characterized by both internal and external protest movements and uprising, carried out in the English-speaking region of Cameroon. At the international level, demonstration are organized in front of Cameroon embassies in Western countries, sensitization march in front of the United Nations Head Quarters and in front of the White house with Placards hoping to bring international awareness to the Ambazonia people quest for secession and recognition of their Independence from their French counterpart.

The post-colonial period of Cameroons and Independence in 1960-1961 saw the emergence of two official languages equal in status per the constitution of The Republic of Cameroon, despite the French Cameroonian population constituting 80 percent of the population and the political live is dominated by Francophones. Over the years the French Language commence to dominate as most official communique are published in French and even administrative offices in anglophone regions were occupied by representative who had little mastery of the English language and at times required anglophone indigenes to express themselves in French. This more than any factor brought to light marginalization, not only of the language but of a people whose representative, were not able to understand them and understand their culture and way of live. The imposition of French system and systematic assimilation of the anglophone community to French way of live generated the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon which has degenerated to secessionist quest for an independent state.

The accumulated grievances of the anglophone community from reunification in 1961 with French Cameroon have led to the rebirth of secessionist movements in Cameroon. Attempts to resolve the Civil war, by dialoguing a road map to end the violence has failed to yield fruits. Both parties are not ready to shift from their position; secessionist are determined to form a separate state and the

Government of Cameroon is not willing to dialogue on any terms which include secession or federalism.

This research seeks to examine the inalienable grievances which have made the position of the Ambazonian secessionist determined in establishing a separate state by declaring their independence on 1st October 2017, and the counter separatist measures carried out by the Cameroonian government to prevent recognition of the declared independence.

1.3. Research Questions

- 1) How has the form of the state contributed to the secessionist movement?
- 2) Why does the Anglophone community feel marginalized?
- 3) What are the motivating factors for secessionist movement in Cameroon?
- 4) How has the government of Cameroon prevented recognition of separatist proclamation of independence?

1.4. Research Objectives

- 1) To understand how the underlying political transitions of the form of State has promoted secessionist movements in Cameroon.
- 2) To examine the causes and motivation of secessionist movements in Cameroon.
- 3) To analyses counter separatist and recognition strategies employed by the Cameroon government against Ambazonian secessionist movement?

1.5. Scope of the Study

The study focuses on the counter separatist and recognition methods adopted by the Cameroon government to prevent Ambazonia secessionist quest of

Independence from becoming a reality. It analyses internal and external policies implemented to prevent recognition of Ambazonia and acts which would legitimize their existence. To understand the emergence of secessionist movement in Cameroon the study looks at the ethno-national causes, political motivation, economic grievances, and financial motivation of secessionist organization and anglophone community. It also zooms into how Cameroon history timeline has played an immersed component to secessionist uprisings. The choice of scope is based on the fact that, although the anglophone crisis in Cameroon remerged in October 2016, some aspect in its history has played an important role to secessionist revival and also played a huge role in the governments counter separatist measures by trying to assimilate the British southern Cameroonian people into French Cameroon.

1.6. Rationale of the study

This study is significant because of the rising case of secessionist movement around the globe which encourages the parent state to adopt counter-separatist policies to prevent secession. Some cases include the Serbia and Kosovo declaration of independence, Cyprus, and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), Canada and Quebec State, Nigeria and Bafria and also the Cameroon government against Ambazonia secessionist among others. The reasons for an increase in secessionist movement in the recent century has made political analyst and researchers to question the reasons for aspiring to secede, the policies which could be adopted to preventing rise of secession, policies used to prevent recognition of unilateral declaration of independence and how to prevent acts which would legitimize the proclaimed Independence.

The study aims to add more knowledge to the already existing knowledge on counter-separatism and preventing recognition of unilateral declared independence by Ambazonia secessionist.

1.7.Theoretical Framework

1.7.1. Secession

Secession and recognition turn to be closely related terms. Early secessions were, however, generally portrayed as assertions of independence from colonial empires or unions rather than as secessions. (Dugard & Raic, 2006) With International Law laying emphasis to respect of states boundaries and existing boundaries as an absolute rule, recognition became essential for separatist and secessionist to form a state. Recognition served as the instrument for the validation of claims to statehood on the part of new entities by existing member States of the community of nations. (Dugard & Raic, 2006) It is worthy of note that, although International Law embraces the principles of self-determination, it does not support right of secession. It may be argued that international law merely tolerates secession in instances of external self-determination, where a people is colonized or oppressed (like in the case of Kosovo). (Sterio, 2018) As Woodrow Wilson famously announced at the end of the First World War, "national aspirations must be respected; people may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent." (Brilmayer, 2015)

Beran categories secession struggles into two theories, namely primary and derivative right theory. Primary theory gives provision for a group of people exercise the right of voting to secede. The primary right theory is embodied with plebiscitary or choice theory and national self-determination theory to secede. While derivative right theory view secession as a resultant from basic human rights violation, violating public equality of members of a democratic state, violation of intra-state autonomy and unlawful occupation or incorporation of states. (Beran, 1988) Ambazonia secessionist struggle is associated to derivative right theory. Collier and Hoeffler explain the cause of rebellion and civil war from their greed and grievance theory. Civil war according to grievance theory is caused by atypically severe grievances, such as high inequality, a lack of political rights, or ethnic and religious divisions in society. Alternatively, the rebellion

might result because of greed and atypical opportunities present for building militia and rebel group or organizations. (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004).

Table 1. Conceptualizing related terms used in the Ambazonian secessionist struggle

Separatism (in a broader sense)	
Secessionism Split of one territory and/or a racial, national, ethnic or religion community from another (others) and creating a new state	Separatism in a strict sense Split of two or more territories and/or a racial, ethnic or religion community/ies from the existing states and creating one new state
Autonomism (federalism) Demands for autonomy and/or federal unit(s) for a race, nation, ethnic or religious community within the existing state (by secessionist or separatist intra-state way)	

Source: (Mareš, 2015).

1.7.2. Greed Theory

Collier and Hoeffler theory of causes of conflicts analyses greed as a criterion for financing rebellion. They consider three common sources which include extortion of natural resources, donation from Diasporas and subvention from hostile government. Their descriptive statistic gave little support that conflict episode was dependent on extortion of primary commodities. It was presumed that if natural resources are sufficiently abundant the government could be well finances that rebellion is infeasible. Hence, extortion of natural resources as financial opportunity to rebellion is associated with other characteristics that may cause war, such as corruption, economic mismanagement, and poor public service. Other writers were of a contrary opinion regarding the impact of natural resources especially Oil. Oil seemed prevalent in most secessionist civil wars, Michael Ross identified several case studies linking oil and other minerals to

separatist conflicts: Cabinda in Angola, Burma independence movement, Katanga in Congo, Aceh and West Papua in Indonesia, Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, and South Sudan. (Englebert & Hummel, 2005) In other words, this could be considered as the natural resource curse, where countries with abundant natural resources such as fossil fuels have the least economic progress, non-democratic and less developmental progress, hence increasing secessionist tendencies. Michael categorizes these natural resources, into one's which required foreign investment for extraction and natural resources requiring no foreign investment. Resources requiring foreign investment for infrastructure and extraction machines such as oil would heighten secessionist agenda, as local can attract such investment only with sovereignty while natural resources not requiring foreign investment would encourage locals to back a warlord and bother less about independence.

A second source of greed rebellion is because of finance from the Diasporas. Ethnic Diasporas are usually much richer than the population of their country of origin and turn to provide funding for local militia organization. They barely suffer consequences of the conflict but turn to provide irredentist support, magnify beliefs of ethnic purity to ensure grievances stay alive. The provision of funds to militia arm groups and secessionist organization, promotes the recruitment of militia and activist to buy their rhetoric because of the financial benefits attached with it.

1.7.3. Grievance Theory

In a grievance-rebellion the objective is not predation, but rather to assuage grievance. (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004) Grievances are usually rooted in some emotionally feeling or a group perceiving it's not justly threatened, such circumstances include Inter-group hatred (Ethnic hatred or differences), Political exclusion which most often turn to have a negative impact on the economic development of the excluded and generates feeling for vengeance or disassociate from union.

1.7.3.1. The Ethnic Factor

Ethnic conflict is a form of conflict in which the objectives of at least one party is defined in ethnic terms, and the conflict, its antecedent, and possible solutions are perceived along ethnic lines. The conflict is usually not about ethnic differences themselves but over political, economic, social, cultural, or territorial matters. (Britannica) Two criteria provide for the basis of identifying different ethnic groups; firstly, a prominent or distinctive cultural trait and secondly, a sense of the fact that those traits distinguishing the group from the general society who do not share this same characteristic. Ethnic theories of civil war and secession turn to relate the likely hood of rebellion and secession to cultural suppression. Cultural, religious, and linguistic heterogeneity of a state are usually claimed to be the underlying factor for secessionist grievances. A government's suppression of certain cultural groups, even in moderately homogeneous national environments, is also alleged to encourage the pursuit of the group's own political fortunes. (Kingsley-Arthur, 2018) Numerous scholars uphold the view, the more culturally heterogeneous a country's population is, the more likely they exist grievances and room for self-determination especially if a group feels its culture is threatened. The belief in a distinctive ethnic culture and characteristic is the most common explanation of civil war and secession. Nevertheless, some scholars are opposed to this view of cultural heterogeneity having an impact on secession quest. Sustein postulated that the more heterogenous a state is, the more difficult it is for secessionist tendencies to exist in such diversity. (Nfi, 2014) For secessionism to succeed the size of the ethnic group which constitute a people with a distinct culture matter. Also of utmost importance is the concentration of this ethnic group desiring to secede to concentrate in an identifiable territorial space within the existing state from which they intend to break away.

1.7.3.2.Political Factor

Political science literature has already explored the relationship between conflict and the political rights of a society, which ranges from dictatorial repression to full representative democracy. The econometric studies have found that, unless political repression is extremely severe which could crush those politically excluded, then it turns to increase chances of conflict. (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004) By the econometric principle, a highly authoritarian state would be less susceptible to secession than a democratic state.

Secession movements are commonly formed when a small group fear permanent exclusion and turn to form political movement and allegiance based on ethnicity. Even democratic regimes could generate grievances if one voting block is able to dominate consistently and exercises its powers against the minority. Secessionism according to Brown can be influenced by democracy in two major ways. Firstly, democratic states and regime could provide protection to minority communities and ethnic group, giving them autonomy over their affairs to ensure their voices are heard, in exchange for their loyalty not to secede. Secondly transition to democracy can give opportunity for prevailing grievances to be expressed and disintegrate the state. (Brown, 2010) Whatever the case, the level of democracy or how democratic a state is, doesn't always prevent the existence of secessionist organization as we have witnessed in Canada, Spain, Britain, and France.

1.7.3.3.Economic Factor

Most often than not, political exclusion promotes economic inequality. Although they turn to be no consensus as to how income inequality is associated with secessionist tendencies. Some authors anticipate and stress on the fact that poorer regions are more likely to break up while others believe wealthier regions than the rest are more likely to build secessionist sentiments easily. Scholars in support of low per capita and slow economic growth rate as determinants which promote secession, base their argument on the fact that poverty increases grievance in

most community and reduce the cost of war. Reasoning in the same light Collier and Hoeffler suspect a negative relationship between education and ability of nationalist to motivate secessionist agenda within the local population. Uneducated or less educated citizen easily buy the secessionist rhetoric and embrace nationalist sentiment, making the cost of recruiting less educated male to secession militia groups less costly. Horowitz's affirms Collier and Hoeffler observations by his contention that groups with low skills are unable to compete in the economy and are more likely therefore to seek a protectionist advantage by seceding. Conclusively, irrespective of the income class which suffers inequality, secession arise from the perception of the inequality which encourages the region suffering the effects to reassess the cost and benefit of continuously belonging in the national union.

1.8. Criticism to Secession

Although the quest for secession is legitimized by rights of self-determination, for a group which is unjustly treated within a state. There exists some criticism to the theory of secession of nations from a state. One of the Major flaws of secession is the fact it aims at protecting an affected group by ensuring it obtains sovereignty and become an autonomous territory as an Independent nation. Hence secessionist see statehood as the best option of protecting an affected group, but when this new state is formed, they might or would contain minority groups seeking to join former parent of secessionist territory and this would result to a never-ending cycle. Like Canada, Quebec, and Montreal area. Also, some new states turn to be less equipped with enough resources, legal system to ensure adequate living standard of its citizens to protect human rights or secession turns to be devastating to the remainder state. (Sudan and South Sudan).

1.9. Methodology of Research

This research was conducted using a qualitative approach with the aim of exploring and understanding the key reasons, factors, and motivation of secessionist

movement in Cameroon and to comprehend measures adopted by the government to prevent the creation of a new state. The work represents a qualitatively disciplined interpretive case study. Here an existing theory or phenomenon is used to investigate a unique case which that theory has not yet been applied. A detailed empirical is typical for the case study research that explores a certain phenomenon within its authentic context, especially where the boundary between phenomenon and context it is not clearly evident (Yin, 1994).

The first part deals with the causes and factors contributing to the Ambazonia separatist struggle. It adopts Collier & Hoeffler theory of greed and grievance theory to approach the motivating factors in the Cameroon secessionist civil war. Collier and Hoeffler theory it's a widely acceptable article that accounts for complex ranges of factors motivating civil war, hence making it a suitable tool for the detailed analysis in this case study. The first part draws its theoretical aspect from Greed and Grievances in civil war (2004), by Collier and Hoeffler and in which his typology of the causes of internal conflicts is presented. The concept of an Ethnic Group of Donald L. Horowitz (1985) also serves as a theoretical anchor. I use secondary data from several researchers describing the circumstances of the origin, the history and the mutual relations of the Cameroonian francophone majority and the Anglophone minority. However, most of their texts tend to map the period to 2016 (usually much earlier), that is, before this conflict passed to violent form. Hence, inter-governmental organizations such as African Union and United Nation addressing to the issues in Cameroon after 2016 help to provide valuable statistics. An important source of information is provided by The Federal Republic of Ambazonia webpage, which gives organization information, aspiration, expectations, and resources of the secessionist movement.

The second part dealing with counter separatist and recognition, it draws motivation from the works of James Ker-Lindsay, the foreign policy of counter secession; preventing the recognition of contested state. (2012) The analytical concept will

be applied with the available scholarly work that has focused on counter separatism and recognition in Cameroon and available data from state institution, NGOs, and other secondary sources. For analysis purposes, this section draws more resources from organization's reports such as, Amnesty International, Independent Advisory Group on Country Information (IAGCI), International Crisis Group, Human Rights Watch, which provide very valuable information and unbiased statistics.

1.9.1. Arrangement of the chapters

This study comprises of six chapters, and has been arranged as follows:

Chapter One comprises the introduction by highlighting the background information, problem statement, research questions, study objectives, scope and rationale of the study, theoretical framework, sources of data, research methodology, and the arrangement of chapters.

Chapter Two present the historical bases of Cameroon and how its bilingual culture came into existence. Traces the evolution of the form of the state at the core of secessionist movements.

Chapter Three discusses the causes and dynamics motivating secessionist movements in Cameroon

Chapter Four analyses the counter separatist and recognition schemes adopted by Cameroonian government to contain secessionist aspiration to rural areas and cyber space.

Chapter Five analyses the consequence of the secessionist struggle on the socio-political, economic, and humanitarian live of Cameroonians and Anglophones in particular.

Chapter Six discusses the research findings, states the conclusions, and suggests recommendations for the study.

1.9.2. Limitation

Case studies have become in many cases a synonym for freeform research where anything goes". The absence of systematic procedures for case study

research is something that Yin (2009: 14-15) see as traditionally the greatest concern due to a relative absence of methodological guidelines. The most prominent critique of the case study analysis is the issue of external validity and general applicability. How can one case offer reliability beyond the case in question.

CHAPTER 2

2. The Roots of Ambazonian Secession

2.1. Introduction

An understanding of the history of Cameroon is instrumental and of utmost importance to have a grasp of Ambazonia aspirations and comprehend how the present conflict unfolded. The Republic of Cameroon is an independent country located in Central and western Africa with a 26 million population, speaking over 250 different languages (2 official languages i.e., English, and French) and has a land surface of 475,442 squares Kilometers. The importance of the historical aspect is to first enlighten how Southern Cameroon (Ambazonia) trace their legitimacy, secondly to argue why such autonomy of Southern Cameroon never existed or is not recognized internationally and Finally how government constitutional mechanism, policies, and centralization of power by changing the form of the state has led to secessionist agenda in the anglophone communities.

2.2. German acquisition of Cameroon

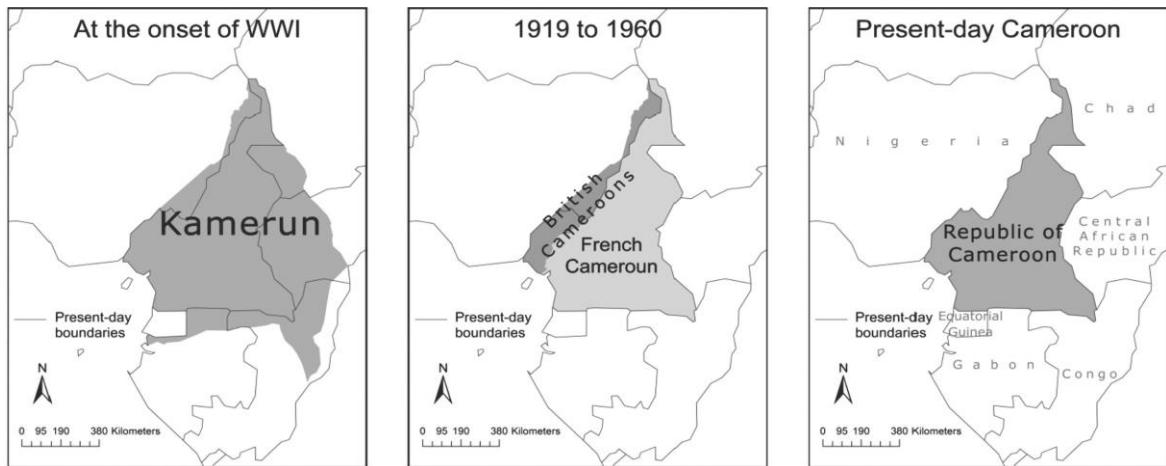
To commence, Cameroon has been controlled by three different European powers for 77 years before it gained independence in 1960. The scramble for territories in Africa saw the German, French and British interested in Cameroon. Although the Cameroonian chiefs had favor and craved for an English Annexation, the German acted swiftly to secure the Germano – Douala treaty of 12 July 1884 establishing Kamerun as a protectorate under Germany. The English Consul Hewett assigned to annex Cameroon arrived two days late (16 July 1884) and went ahead to annex only Victoria (named by Alfred Saker in 1858 in honor of Queen Victoria) formally known as Ambozes or Amba Bay (origin of the name Ambazonia) in English. However, this territory was eventually ceded to Germany in 1887.

Germany administered Cameroon until 1916 when the First World War ended in Cameroon, the defeat of Germany led to its oversea territories being shared. This was in accordance with Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles by which Germany renounced all her colonies in favor of the Allies and the Associated Powers. Britain and France signed a treaty in London partitioning Cameroon between them, Britain obtained one-fifth and French obtain four-fifth of the territory. The League of Nations recognized this treaty and place Cameroon as a mandated territory of League of Nation, administered by Britain and France.

2.3. British and French administration of Cameroon

The partition of Cameroon led to the major difference of political culture. The region under British Administration used English as its official Language, the justice system was characterized with the British common law system, adopted the Anglo-Saxon system of education, currency and social norms followed the British model. In addition, the British administered her territory of Cameroon through indirect rule via Nigeria, this had the consequence of allowing traditional chieftdom in power and promoted the emergence of self-governance. In contrast, the French administered their territory with assimilationist model with less autonomy to traditional elites. French was the official language and France's legal, social, and political system shaped the centralized form of government in French Cameroon which contested nationalist movements such as the Union des population des Cameroun (UPC). In facts, the French system was less democratic in nature.

Figure 1: The Evolution of Cameroon's Boundaries



Sources: Gifford and Louis 1967, 1971.

“After the official demise of the League of Nations on April 18, 1946, its mandated territories were taken over by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organization. Article 76 of the United Nations Charter on Trust Territories stipulated the objectives of the trusteeship system as being: to promote the political, economic, social and education advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the circumstances of each territory and its people concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement ...” (Ngho, The Political Evolution of Cameroon, 1884-1961, 1979).

Britain and France were hence task, with the responsibility to prepare their trusteeship territory of United Nations for independence and self-governance. The process of independence and reunification of the two Camerouns is at the heart of the Anglophone problem and emergence of the Ambazonian insurgences. The

Francophone territory gained independence on 1 January 1960, becoming The Republic of Cameroon (La Republique du Cameroun) with Ahmadou Ahidjo as the first president who glamourised for a reunification with British Cameroons.



Figure 2: The Flag of French Cameroon (1957-1961).

Britain had initially in 1922, divided its portion of Cameroon into British southern Cameroons and British Northern Cameroons. The Northern part was incorporated into the Northern Province of Nigeria and the Southern part was placed under a British resident. The Southern part, known as British Southern Cameroons, was divided into four divisions: Victoria, Kumba, Mamfe and Bamenda. In due course, British Southern Cameroon was put under the administrative aegis of the Nigerian Southern Province. (Ngoh, 1979) In order to grant self-governance to British Cameroons which had been administered separately, the UN decided to conduct a separate referendum in British northern and southern Cameroon. At the time of the 1961 referendum, the political landscape in Southern Cameroons was already dynamic. According to reputed historians, most of the population aspired for independence. But Britain and some developing countries were against it on the grounds that Southern Cameroons would not be economically viable and that it was best to avoid the creation of micro-states.

In February 1959, Political leaders of Southern Cameroon had initially visited the United Nations to determine the plebiscite questions, One Kamerun Party (OKP) which was an ally of the French Cameroon Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC) demanded a unilateral reunification of British Cameroons with

La Republique Du Cameroun, since historically Cameroon was never consulted when Britain and France signed treaty in London partitioning Cameroon, The Kamerun National Congress (KNC) and Kamerun People's Party (KPP) leaders argued in favor of “integration” with Nigeria against “reunification”, while Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) opted for “secession from Nigeria” or “integrating with Nigeria”. The inability of the Political leaders to come to a consensus made the United Nation to demand, the leaders to return home, come to an agreement before the next UN General Assembly. (Group, 2017).

To get a consensus, an all-party plebiscite conference was held in Mamfe on 10 and 11 August 1959 under the supervision of Sir Sidney Phillipson, Commissioner of the Southern Cameroon. During the conference, Chief Achirimbi II of Bafut, in a colorful and a memorable statement, metaphorically presented the French Cameroons as "being on fire" because of the civil war that was raging there, and giant Nigeria as the "water" in which the Southern Cameroons would easily drown if they chose to go there *“To me, the French Cameroons is fire and Nigeria is water. Sir, I support secession without reunification.”* (Awasom, 2000). However, the first plebiscite question was unanimously agreed to prevent electoral confusion, “integration with Nigeria”, while for the second plebiscite question 67% of the delegates favor “secession from Nigeria” and “Independence” as second question while 33% supported a “reunification” with French Cameroon. After the Mamfe Conference, the British southern Cameroon political leaders returned to United Nations in September 1959. To their greatest surprise the United nation acted against the Mamfe All-party conference resolution which endorsed Integration and secession from Nigeria as the most popular options and succumbed to pressure from Pan Africanism bloc championed by Nkrumah’s Ghana which was against microstates and British declaration about Southern Cameroon being economically non-viable to be independent to prevent continuous financial commitment in the territory.

The United Nations then proceeded to impose the following choice on the Southern Cameroon electorate: either joining Nigeria or Cameroon in a plebiscite as a way of obtaining independence. The plebiscite question was contained in the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1352 XIV, of October 1959, which read:

- (I) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria? OR
- (II) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of Cameroun (Awasom, 2000).

The main figure heads of the Anglophone political elites desire for an independent British southern Cameroon were hence ignored by the United Nation, which left them with two options to campaign either for integration with Nigeria or Reunification with La Republique Du Cameroun. In addition to the exclusion of the option for an Independent country upon request and desire by British southern Cameroonians, Anglophone political elites such as Emmanuel Mbella Lifafa Endeley, John Ngu Foncha, Solomon Tandeng Muna and Augustine Ngom Jua, alternatively demanded for temporary independence to negotiate the terms of unification from a better position but was rejected. The Plebiscite saw 233,571 votes to 97,741, Southern Cameroons voted in 1961 to unite with the Republique du Cameroun. (Ngho, 1979) While British Northern Cameroon voted to join Nigeria. Ambazonian secessionist sees the plebiscite eventualities as the origin of the present predicament. Firstly the failure to include the plebiscite question of an Independent Southern Cameroon as requested by political elites and secondly they question the idea of how Southern Cameroon gained independence by attaching itself to an already existent state and hence making the legitimacy of Southern Cameroon being a separate state inapprehensive to international community as they never gained independence before the union with La Republique Du Cameroun but rather gained independence by joining La Republique Du Cameroun.

2.4. Reunification of La Republique du Cameroun and British Southern Cameroon

The Federal Republic of Cameroon came into existence in 1961 as the first bilingual federation in Africa and second bilingual country in the World with English and French as official languages. The federation had the effect of bringing together people with separate colonial experience providing stark contrast in language, law, administration, education, political style, and expectations. (Mufor, 2011). The negotiation of the federal constitution was characterized by the fact that La Republique Du Cameroun had a superior strength, because the size and population of Anglophone Cameroon compromised only about 9% of the Land surface and one quarter of the total population. Also, the British declaration of British Southern Cameroon not being economically viable weakened the position of the Southern Cameroon Prime minister John Ngu Foncha, quest for a loss federation as he failed to determine how their ideas would be finance.



Figure 3: Flag of Federal Republic of Cameroon (1961-1975)

The negotiation of federal constitution saw the British Southern Cameroon and the President of La Republique du Cameroun elites to meet for 5 days (17 until - 21 July 1961) conference at Fouban, to negotiate the term of reunification. The British where to make sure the Anglophones elites obtain a favorable and convenient agreement which ensure they preserved their autonomy, but the British failed at to show up cause of the disappointment of southern Cameroon opting for reunification. Nevertheless, the anglophone elites had anticipated they were going to participate in drafting the federal constitution but on the contrary,

President Ahmadou Ahidjo imposed a ready-made constitution that gave broad powers to the executive to the detriment of the federal states.

Per article 1.1 of the Federal constitution:

“With effect from the 1st October 1961, the Federal Republic of Cameroon shall be constituted from the territory of the Republic of Cameroon, hereafter to be styled East Cameroon and the territory of the Southern Cameroons, formerly under British trusteeship, hereafter to be styled West Cameroon”

Ahidjo was unwilling to accept suggestions which weakened the dominant position he had already acquired in the constitution of the Republic of Cameroon. (Njeuma, 1995) Hence the National Assembly of La Republique Du Cameroun adopted the Federal constitution and was promulgated by the President on 1 September even before the British southern Cameroon had ended trusteeship under Britain.

2.5. Unitary State

The reunification made Cameroon a Federal Republic but, it was a weak federalism with unequal power distributed between the two federated states. President Ahmadou Ahidjo at the time of reunification had already had monopoly of power in East Cameroon and aimed to attain same in West Cameroon. Ahmadou Ahidjo remained President of Federal Republic of Cameroon, the constitution provided the Vice President John NGU Foncha was to be from West Cameroon and Vice versa and there were two prime ministers for each of the Federal states.

On 20 October 1961, Ahidjo signed a decree reorganizing federal territory into six administrative regions, including West Cameroon, and appointed a federal inspector for each region, who was to report to the federal president. That

provoked discontent among Anglophones, because West Cameroon could not at the same time be a federated state according to the constitution and an administrative region by decree. (Group, 2017) In less than a month after Reunification the Presidential decree gave the federal inspector more authority than the prime minister of West Cameroon and this brought further humiliation to members of the federated government and parliament. In addition to authority loss, the federated states did not have financial autonomy and depended on subventions from federal government. Discovering where the real power lied, Anglophone political elite commence to compete among themselves to please President Ahmadou Ahidjo. The President played political factions because of their disunity to persuade them to accept a single party, the Cameroon National Union (CNU). The party was formed in September 1966, dissolved all parties nationwide and was able to penalize any anglophone leader who stayed committed to federalism. Furthermore, the discovery of oil in Anglophone Cameroon in 1964 gave an extra edge for President Ahidjo to seek political ends at getting full control and consolidated power over the entire country.

On 6 May 1972, Ahidjo announced in the National Assembly that he intended to transform the Federal Republic into a unitary state, provided the electorate supported the idea in a referendum to be held on 20 May, thereby abrogating clause I of article 47 of the Fouban document which read: 'any proposal for the revision of the present constitution, which impairs the unity and integrity of the Federation shall be inadmissible'. Even if the constitution were to be amended it should not be done by referendum, because clause 3 of article 47 stipulated 'that proposals for revision shall be adopted by simple majority vote of the members of the Federal Assembly, provided that such majority includes a majority of the representatives ... of each of the Federated States. (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997) The referendum question was:

“Do you approve, with a view to consolidating National Unity and accelerating the economic, social and cultural development of the Nation, the draft Constitution

... instituting a Republic, one and indivisible, to be styled the United Republic of Cameroon?" (Chem-Langhëë, 1995) ,

and saw a 99% vote in favor of a Unitary Republic. Per the referendum question President Ahmadou Ahidjo had intended at accelerating national unity and accelerating economic, social and cultural development of the nation but several Anglophones upheld the view regionalism and lack of economic growth was not because of federalism but because of hegemonic tendency of French elites' dominance. Also, anglophones claimed the referendum shouldn't have taken place in the entire territory but just west Cameroon since they had more to loss and. After the 20 May 1972 referendum, to prevent any unified protest of French dominance, President Ahmadou Ahidjo divided West Cameroon region into Southwest and Northwest Provinces.



Figure 4: United Republic of Cameroon

2.6. The Republic of Cameroon

On June 30, 1975 Paul Biya was appointed prime Minister of the United Republic of Cameroon, hence making both President and Prime minister from Francophone region. In 1982, President Ahidjo named his successor, Paul Biya following his ailing health and advice from his doctor that he should resign from power politics as Head of the Cameroonian State. (Ani, Kinge, & Ojakorotu, 2018) When Biya came into power he further centralized power, in 1984, he changed the Country's official name to Republic of Cameroon similar to the name of former Francophone territory causing vehement Anglophone protest. Anglophones agitation to the rename of the territory was not only because of the similarity of name but it failed to show records or ignored the fact Cameroonian are composed of two identities. In 1985 a prominent Anglophone lawyer, Fon Gorji Dinka, was arrested after distributing a statement declaring the Biya Government to be unconstitutional and calling for the Southern Cameroons to become independent and re-baptized as the Republic of Ambazonia. (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997) Follow the change of name of the country, President Paul Biya eventually changes the constitution, increasing the powers of the executive branch and removing the term limit for presidents.



Figure 5: United Republic of Cameroon – Republic of Cameroon flag (1975- Present)

2.7. Return of Multi-partyism

The 1990's was characterized by democratization of African states. Under considerable internal and external pressure, the government of Cameroon took a step towards democracy by reintroducing multipartyism in 1990. Not surprisingly the first opposition party in the country appeared in anglophone Cameroon during the growing economic and political crisis. In 1990 the Social Democratic Front (SDF) was formed at Bamenda, the capital of the North West Province. (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997) The chairman of the party John Fru Ndi stood for pro-federalism and ensured the parties influence spread to both anglophone regions. This was evident during the 1991-1992 ghost town campaigns. The impact of the anglophone community support and acceptance of the party's ideology was visible during the 1992 presidential elections, as the SDF got 86.3% and 51.6% of the votes cast in the North West and South West Provinces. SDF came close to winning the elections with a 36% while CPDM of Paul Biya had 40% and other parties shared 24%. (Nkengmey & Alfa, 2018) The proclamation of Biya as winner was met with traumatic experience, as anglophones protested violently for irregularities and electoral malpractice against Fru Ndi's supposed victory. As a result, the President declared a state of Emergency of both anglophone regions for 3 months and the chairman of SDF party was put under surveillance.

The introduction of Multi-party politics gave the prospect to review the constitution to adapt to the new system. The anglophones organized the All-Anglophone Conference (AAC) in 1993 which requested return to federation, with major political, financial, and fiscal autonomy of both states. The Consultative Committee for Review of the Constitution rejected this option in favor of decentralization. (Group, 2017) Confronted with the government refusal to accept federation as an option a second All Anglophone conference (AAC II) was held in 1994. Participant called for returned to two state federal system and if the government failed to engage into any meaning constitutional talks within a reasonable time then, proclamation of independence and sovereignty of Anglophone territory would be done. Anglophone elites such S. T Muna and John Ngu Foncha commence

diplomatic offences at United Nation to demand southern Cameroon independence. Movements were formed in 1995 which called for independence with the most popular being the Southern Cameroon National Assembly (SCNC). The SCNC members organized protest every 1 October and carried out spectacular actions such as proclaiming Independence of Ambazonia Republic on radio Buea in 1999 and 2009.

CHAPTER 3

3. Causes of the Ambazonia Separatist Struggle

3.1. Introduction

The end of the cold War brought with it many internal conflicts or civil wars. Henry Hale argued that dissolving Soviet Union served as a perfect petri dish for observing the increasing calls for secession, separatism, and sovereignty within an unstable region. (Thomas & Falola, 2020). This chapter hopes to identify factors promoting the Ambazonian secession.

3.2. Ethno-National Reasons for the Revival of secessionist movements in Cameroon

An ethno-national group usually entail communal characteristic which are unique from other groups and would include a shared historical experience, myths of a common decent, a common culture and ethnicity linked to a territorial region which the group may or may not be occupying. These characteristics can be categories into tangible and intangible; tangible characteristic may include some common culture or visible physical traits which help give the group a feeling of unique identity and solidarity, hence any threat to its tangible characteristics is perceived as real threat.

Ethnic hatreds are widely perceived as the cause of civil conflict and secessionist struggle. It is generally difficult to quantify such hatreds but could be common among multi-ethnic groups. The case of Cameroon with over 240 tribes forming three main ethnic groups is unique. These tribes with more than 240 languages between them harbor no major ethnic hatred among themselves or the main government. The current Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and Ambazonia secessionist quest is an extension of historical resistance to alleged assimilation by the Francophones and Francophone dominant government of the indigenous former British southern Cameroonians. The starting point of our approach to ethnonationalist warfare is the realization that ethnic groups find themselves in

radically different situations for various historical reasons. Whereas some ethnic groups came out on top of the geopolitical game, others were conquered early on, and therefore lost out in the competition for wealth and influence. Moreover, the uneven spread of nationalism delayed mass-level political mobilization in many parts of the world, thus creating differences in both economic and political development that were often exploited by alien rulers. (Gellner, 1964).

As observed from the historical background, France granted independence to its territory of Cameroon in 1960 while Britain's southern Cameroon gained independence by joining the already independent French territory of Cameroon known as "La Republique du Cameroun" on 1 October 1961. The birth of the Federal Republic of Cameroon on October 1, 1961 marked the reunification of the two territories that had undergone different colonial experiences since World War I. The federal republic of Cameroon drew up a federal constitution that guaranteed independent administration and respect of each state's cultural identity. The poorly managed decolonization process of two distinctive people (British southern Cameroons and French Cameroon) to form a country with no real foundations which could guarantee their cohabitation together led to the minority English speaking group being dominated by the French speaking majority and government. Thus, Anglophone Cameroon has been at the forefront of ethno-regional protests and demands rearrangement of state power. There is a widespread feeling in the Anglophone regions that reunification with Francophone Cameroon in 1961 has led to a growing marginalization of the Anglophone minority in the state project controlled by the Francophone elites, endangering its heritage and identity. (Joseph, 2019).

It was not until the political liberalization process in the early 1990's that the Anglophone elites began to mobilize the regional population against the allegedly subordinated position of Anglophones and to demand for self-determination and autonomy, reintroducing federalism and secession to the political agenda. (Joseph, 2019) The reintroduction of Multi-party system in Cameroon gave room for

anglophone elites to attempt to readdress the ethnonational marginalization of their culture and identity. This movement in the 1990's was characterized with some separatist movement and a call to return to a federal system which would ensure and protect the identity of Anglophone Cameroonians and former British southern Cameroon territory. Failure to address the plea of Anglophone community over the years, brought to lights an agenda by the francophone majority government to assimilate the Anglophone Cameroonians. The realization of this believed assimilation efforts yielded anger and prompted desperate measures to readdress the situation.

The present Ambazonian secessionist war commenced with the provoked harassment of Anglophone lawyers engaged in peaceful protest marched in September 2016 to vent their grievances over the perceived marginalization of the Anglophone Common Law practice in the country. The common law is part of a cultural heritage obtain from colonial period and used before reunification. It had been marginalized and ignored by the justice system, which failed to ensure the use of the Common law in the two anglophone regions. Secondly the Lawyers criticized an attempt to corrupt the Common law practice and jurisdiction with the appointment of Francophone magistrates who did not understand English or the common law. In November, the Anglophone Teachers Trade Union went on strike decrying the appointment of francophone teachers to English institution, who did not have a good command of English and failed to respect the Anglo-Saxon system of education available in the Anglophone schools and universities. Several other protests were arranged to express marginalization and assimilation of anglophone cultures and values but where meet by brute force of the government forces.

This resulted in the creation of the Cameroon Anglophone civil Society consortium (CACSC) by activist Lawyer Felix Agbor Balla to initiate a federalist movement in 2016, advocating for the rights of the Anglophone Cameroonians. CACSC consisted of Lawyers association, Teacher association and Trade Unions in the

anglophone regions of Cameroon. CACSC championed the initial demands of the Anglophone community that included:

- a. An end to the marginalization and annexationist disposition of Yaoundé.
- b. A return to the two-state federation in the management of public affairs in Cameroon that was the basis of the union entered in 1961.
- c. Preservation of the cherished legal and education systems of Anglophone Cameroon.
- d. Unconditional release of over 100 bona-fide Cameroonians arrested in connection with the protests in the Northwest and Southwest regions (Anglophone regions) since September 2016, and
- e. Immediate restoration of internet services throughout the Anglophone regions. (Okereke, 2018).

CACSC distrust of the government entail an insistence on a return to federal form of government to ensure anglophones ethnic culture and identity could be preserved. This led to the banning of the Consortium and the Southern Cameroon National Council and arresting consortium leaders with several other activists. On the other hand, the government believed the trade unions had a hidden agenda of secession and demand for federalism was just a steppingstone to their ambitions. But according to a Consortium leader, “repression by the regime had opened a Pandora’s Box and the public has forced us to put the Southern Cameroons issue on the table”. (Group, 2017).

Government response to CACSC demands to address marginalization of Anglophone community radicalized the southern Cameroon population whose demands shifted from one of representation in a Federal Cameroon to an

Independent Ambazonian State. Secessionist armed groups then emerged in January 2017 with objective to protect their homeland and liberating the southern Cameroonians from their Francophone Cameroonian oppressor. This armed militia took advantage of the fact that there was no guarantee for an anglophone Cameroonian staying away from fighting is a safer option, as collateral damage of the violence was greater on the anglophone civilian population. Threats also made to non-cooperating and non-participating anglophone Cameroonian with punishment helped radicalized the anglophone regions. The Anglophone diaspora also played a major role as they helped in spreading propaganda of ethno-national marginalization of anglophones and championing both diplomatic and violent strategy of the struggle. Diaspora magnify ethno-national difference within the crisis by constantly using the us versus them syndrome, offer irredentist support and increase belief of ethnic purity in their online campaigns. With purported aim of liberating the Anglophones communities from marginalization and restore an independent state holds of the region. Hence the Ambazonia independence struggle is caused by ethno-national difference because of the prevailing opinion of anglophone ethnic group beliefs to be distinct both politically and culturally from the Francophone ethnic group.

3.3. Systematic Repression of Anglophone Elites and Southern Cameroon Political Autonomy

As stated by Collier 2001, a potentially important instance is if political repression is based on ethnicity, when one ethnic group has a majority. The incentive to exploit the minority increases the larger is the minority, since there is more to extract. They termed it as ethnic dominance and as occurring if the largest group constitutes 45-90% of the population. Cameroon government from reunification till date has been predominantly made up of Francophone elites at the expense of Anglophone politicians. The liberalization of political rights, freedom, and civil liberties were crucial for democracy to prevail and for secessionist campaign

to ignite. Before the introduction of democratic system in 1990's, Cameroon was an authoritarian one-party state, dominated by francophone elites. As Rhoda Howard argues, 'the centralization of power into the hands of a ruling class cannot be challenged by ordinary peasants, workers, women, or ethnic minorities unless they have the right to freedom of expression and association and can present their views in an organized manner'. (Ebai, 2009).

French colonialism in Cameroon must be held to account for contributing to the political repression which has led to the Ambazonian secession fight. French colonial mission to Africa was believed to be in a quest to civilize the native people. France adopted a system of assimilation which aimed at turning Africans to black French people. Civilization in politico-cultural terms meant adopting the French culture and political system while socio-economic terms, meant resorting to punishment if you failed to adhere to assimilations efforts or disregarded French authority. This doctrine was introduced in French Cameroon by decree of 8 August 1924 known as indigenat. Indigenat had two purpose of force labor, one to achieve certain economic objectives, and the other as a means of political coercion. (Ebai, 2009) Authoritarian colonial policy and authoritarian political culture of French Cameroon was inherited from colonial administration as an effective system of governing society. The continua post-colonial relations between the two states have helped the post-colonial government of Cameroon to centralize and personalize power which could be said to have contributed to the repression of rights in general and anglophone rights in particular.

The Reunification of the British Southern Cameroon with British political colonial heritage and the French Cameroon with French colonial administrative heritage formed the fundamental issue of political repression. The first President of Republic of Cameroon and eventually Federal Republic of Cameroon saw the British southern Cameroon as a colony which had been colonized hence deemed it necessary for them to be assimilated. The president adopted the brutal, authoritarian, and centralized political colonial policies. By 1966, he had ensured

and secured the creation of a single political, 1968 he united the British southern Cameroon and French police force under his command, finally in 1972 federal system was replaced by unitary system abolishing West Cameroon as an equal state in the union and bringing its existence to an end. And making power to be increasingly centralized in the hands of the president. The process of political repression and assimilation of anglophone Cameroonians was continued by new government of President Paul Biya in 1982.

Based on the assimilation policy, anglophones have been disenfranchised, marginalized, and treated with suspicion within the state. They have been reduced to the position of second-class citizens in political field and in the society. It seems to be assumed that an Anglophone performs best only as an assistant to a francophone, hence the reason strategic posts vital to the life of the nation had rarely been granted to anglophones. (Ebai, 2009). In concrete terms it is pointed out that Anglophones are discriminated against and regarded as outsiders. Thus, in the heat of the disputed 1992 presidential election results between the incumbent Paul Biya (Francophone) and Ni John Fru Ndi, (Anglophone) French President Francois Mitterand declared on Radio France on October 11, 1992 that “no English man will ever be president of a French Province.” (Fonchingong, 2011) The alleged manipulation of presidential elections led to political protest and a wave of demonstration challenging the government to return to federal system and also secessionist group fought for separatism.

To assure the anglophone community they were represented in the government and convince international community, for the first time an Anglophone Cameroonian was appointed Prime minister of Cameroon. This position has ever since been reserved for anglophones although the powers attributed to this position was seriously curtailed. This assertion is supported by the fact that the prime ministers’ orders are often disrespected by the francophone ministers who regard him as an errand boy of the president. And regarding ministerial appointments, it is hard to believe after 60 years of independence certain high-profile position

are considered restricted from Anglophone Cameroonians to occupy, such as minister of Finance, Minister of Interior, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Defense, Education, or the secretariat of the Presidency. Of the 700 ministers appointed since Biya took office in 1982, only 77 (10.8%) have been Anglophones. (Agbaw-Ebai, 2016) Out of the 67 members of government, only 6 are Anglophones. This political under representation extends even to appointments into public and para-statal corporations in the banking, insurance, investment, or transport sectors. Thus, para-statals such as the National Bank for Credit and Savings (BICEC), the National Electricity Corporation (SONEL), the National Water Corporation (SNEC), the National Refining Corporation (SONARA), Cameroon Shipping Lines, Cameroon Airlines, National Radio and Television, Produce Marketing Board (PMO), Cameroon Bank, etc. are apparently prohibited areas for anglophones. (Ebai, 2009).

To contest the heavy political repression by Cameroon Democratic Peoples Movement Government (CPDM), a decision was reached in 2004 by opposition parties to form a coalition against the leading party. The natural candidate was to be Ni John Fru Ndi as the most popular opposition figure in Cameroon. But Fru Ndi being an anglophone and a second-class citizen was rejected to represent the coalition and Adamu Ndam Njoya a francophone was chosen. This led to a breakdown of the coalition with opposition parties going into election on separate pools. The popularity of the anglophone politician was reflected in the polls as he came second with 17.40% to incumbent president Paul Biya while Adama Ndam Njoya received 4.47%. The run-up to the 2004 presidential elections, was characterized with governmental violence to disrupt peaceful opposition meetings, and opposition political leaders were detained to prevent public meetings and demonstrations (AmnestyInternational, 2005).

The Cameroon Democratic Peoples Movement Government of President Paul Biya often arrested, tortured, and detained political activists, and made mass arrests of opponents, especially supporters of the Social Democratic Front. (SDF- Anglophone

opposition party) (Dicklitch, 2011) As a result of criticism both national and international of electoral malpractice and irregularities of Cameroon presidential elections, the CPDM government created Elections Cameroon (ELECAM) in 2008. Hopes of free elections were short life as this body created to organized, manage, and supervise elections and referendum was made up of 12 members who were appointed by the president and consisted of 10 CPDM party members. The impact of continuous political repression in Cameroon has made the Freedom house to rate political freedom in Cameroon as “not free”, since 2000 with a continuous downward trend in it rating.

Hence political repression which has led to anglophone crisis in Cameroon and Ambazonia arm separatist struggle could be summarized to include Criticisms of the centralized state, transfer of decision-making centers to Yaoundé, far from the Anglophone population and their problems, failure to respect commitments to equitability taking into account the different institutional, legal, administrative cultures and traditions inherited from the former administering powers, Non-compliance to the solemn political promises made during the referendum campaigns (referring to 1961 plebiscite and 1972 referendum), the unconstitutional change of the name and form of the state , from the “United Republic of Cameroon” to the “Republic of Cameroon” and finally disrespect of bilingualism in the public sector, although the Constitution makes French and English two official languages of equal status. (Okereke, 2018).

3.4. Grievance and Economic opportunities in Anglophone Regions.

Intimately related are the issues of power and wealth distribution in society, inequality plays a central role in classical theories of conflict. A high degree of economic inequality is usually a reflection of political marginalization. In an influential article, Davies (1962) argued that revolutions were motivated by frustration resulting from an evolving gap between individual aspirations and actual economic status. Although many scholars have cited cultural heterogeneity

as the most common cause for civil conflict and secessionist struggle, economic and other material values play an influential part. The 'rage of the poor' at high inequality is indeed probably the single most popular explanation for conflict after that of inter-ethnic hatred and may be exemplified by the Castro rebellion in Cuba. (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004) Secessions seem to arise from a perception of economic injustice, which leads a region to reassess the relative cost or benefits of belonging to a national union. (Englebert & Hummel, 2005) Some scholars have stipulated that the availability of natural resources especially oil, appears to be an important factor in separatist struggle.

The Ambazonian economic grievance could be traced to, when the Franc CFA was introduced in West Cameroon and the squeezing out of the West African sterling in 1962. It had the effect of crippling the Anglophones economy at independence in a bit to obscure the federal system. Large rubber, banana, palm oil and tea plantations owned by international firms (such as Unilever) or the state, generated a substantial portion of export earnings at independence. But soon and related to the introduction of the CFA Franc as common currency in the federation, West Cameroonian banana exports lost preferential treatment within the Commonwealth. (Mehler, 2014). The most pronounced economic grievance by anglophones is the national refinery being controlled and populated by francophones although it is located in an anglophone region. Anglophones have often complained about the low proportion of Anglophones in the workforce and in decision-making posts in state oil companies, such as the National Refining Company (Société nationale de raffinage, Sonara), based in the Anglophone region. (Group, 2017). History has it that when the French explorers indicated in 1964 that the petroleum indicators in West Cameroon were positive, Ahidjo immediately conceived but kept secret his plans for the unitary state. His French advisers and neo-colonialists insisted on the unitary state to ensure that the oil in West Cameroon was directly under Ahidjo and at the service of France. (Lon, 2017). Beside president Ahidjo knew the West Cameroonians officials were loyal to the federal constitution and his personality because of financial constraints.

Hence, if the news of oil boom became pronounced and indicating financial dependence of southern Cameroon this could reduce the loyalty of west Cameroonians to the central administration. Moreover, events in neighboring Congo and Nigeria also convinced Ahidjo that the West Cameroon petroleum may divide the federation along the existing boundaries. The civil war and secession crisis in the Congo in the 1960s was caused by the mineral wealth of Katanga and the determination of the Katangese to separate from the Congo Federation and monopolize their wealth. In Nigeria, it was the oil-rich Igbo land that declared its independence as the Republic of Biafra because the Igbo wanted to exclude the rest of Nigeria from the exploitation of petroleum in their region. (Lon, 2017).

Anglophone Cameroonians have often lamented of the fact that, despite all Cameroon's raw oil resources are located in the anglophone region, no oil storage facility has been constructed in the territory, refined petroleum is taken from the refinery in Anglophone region by tankers to francophone regions for reservation with little brought back to the Anglophone regions, and even then, at prices exorbitant compared to those in the francophone regions. The management of the refinery has always remained in the hands of Francophones from the former East Cameroon as Ahidjo probably feared that an Anglophone manager of the National Oil Refinery (SONARA) could use the resources to sponsor secession. His successor President Biya continued with this practice and all the General Managers of SONARA have come from Francophone Cameroon. (Lon, 2017).

This continuous economic marginalization of Anglophones in Cameroon has played a major role in provoking discontent among Anglophones. Even though the two Anglophone regions are suffering no more than some Francophone regions from the prolonged economic crisis, Anglophones feel their potential is not being realized (or is being deliberately wasted) and feel abandoned. Anglophones have often accused the Francophone dominated government of destroying their enterprises and belief the systematic shutdown of well-established institutions in

Anglophone Cameroon regions after reunification was with the intention to bring the Anglophone Cameroonians under bondage of the French majority government. Valuable financial and lucrative establishments which were set up by the government of Southern Cameroons as well as private business owned by the southern Cameroonians had been purposefully and systematically snuffed out by cutthroat competition or moved to francophone regions. For instance, the Yoke electricity plant, which supplied power to southern Cameroon was closed, its assets confiscated and the hydroelectricity installations in the territory demolished despite the fact it was better managed than its counterpart, SONEL, in Francophone Cameroon, the Cameroon Bank (CAMBANK) was moved to francophone region, looted, and then closed for no reason. The marketing Board, with financial reserve of over 78 billion CFA francs (approximately USD160 million) was misappropriated with impunity, looted, and closed. Also maliciously closed were the Cameroons Air Transport (CAT), the Tiko international Airport, the Besongabang Airport, the Bali Airport, the Weh Airstrip, the Victoria deep seaport, the Tiko seaport, the Ndian seaport and the Mamfe inland port on the cross River and many other companies in other sectors of the Anglophone regions where either shutdown or transferred to the francophone regions and closed eventually. (Keke, 2020) Although this setback the National Refining Company (Sonara) is the highest contributor to the state GDP while Cameroon Development cooperation (CDC) also located in anglophone regions is the second highest employer after the state, but both pay taxes to the Douala municipality council (francophone region) for the development of Douala instead of the municipalities where they are situated. Anglophones Cameroonians often complain of the fact that, although anglophone Cameroon region generates a sizeable portion of the nation's resources, there is nothing of value to the nation which has been constructed there; there is no governmental referral hospital, no international airport, highway, seaport, etc. (Ebai, 2009).

According to Cameroon's 2017 public investment budget, one of the French-speaking region (South region) was allocated far more resources (over 570

projects with over \$225 million) than the two English-speaking North West region (more than 500 projects with over \$76 million) and South West region (over 500 projects with over \$77 million). (Gebremichael & Cynthia, 2020) Anglophone elites believe the idea is to generate a dependency mentality in the anglophone community and ensure, if the union was to end, anglophones would be economically weak and leave empty handed.

Table 2: A comparison of Anglophone Region’s Budget with Area of Origin of the President

Project Region	No of Projects	Value of projects	Population of region
Paul Biya’s French home, South-region	570	US\$ 225 million	760,000
Anglophone Northwest	500	US\$ 76 million	1,400,000
Anglophone Southwest	500	US\$ 77 million	1,700,000

Source: Extract from Cameroon’s National Budget for 2017

The effect of closing and looting these companies in anglophone regions has led to untold hardship, unemployment, orchestrated proliferation of underdevelopment, lack of basic infrastructure in Anglophone communities and reliance on the government for employment which usually discriminates against Anglophones, generating a resentment and distrust in the administration. Hence the people of southern Cameroon (Ambazonians) felt they had been pushed by the high employment rate to the wall, to the extent they decided to fight back vehemently with tears in their eyes and with their blood rather than melt into the wall.

3.4.1. Greed

As observed from the economical grievances, Anglophone regions of Cameroon remain strategic to both the state of Cameroon and to the separatist. Northwest and Southwest region of Cameroon is endowed with natural resources, fertile soils and climate that encourage agricultural activities such as banana, rubber, tea, and palm oil. Sovereignty generally guarantees the right to extract and use resources in the territory to boost the development of the economy. Based on history most secessionist struggles around African continent have been linked to the presences of natural resources. It can be argued that presence of the natural resources remains a major driving force of those fighting for an independent Ambazonia. This is beautifully expressed in the “Ambazonian Anthem” in the following words: “... *Here in our nation flowing with milk and honey...*”. (Ekah, 2019) The availability of these natural resources, strategic location with forest, fertile soil and access to sea has been the main motivation to the Interim government (IG) of Ambazonia financial abilities.

The interim Government official site for Federal Republic of Ambazonia declares their vision is to restore the independence of the Southern Cameroons/ Ambazonia and subsequently ensure inclusive economic growth and positioning the Federal Republic of Ambazonia as a business hub for Central and West African sub regions. With a target to emerge as a developing economy by 2030. (Interim government of Ambazonia, 2019) By virtue of this objective the interim government for Ambazonia in its Economic and Finance department in 2019 initiated the Ambazonia Freedom Bonds with a term of 10 years. This project was initiated because of the inability of the Interim government to extort natural resources, so decided promote investors to buy coupons from a minimum of \$1000 with no maximum amount and get a 15% interest rates per year on the bonds purchased. Per the interim government the funds raised were geared towards the de-annexation and economic recovery of Ambazonia. Investors of the Ambazonia Freedom Bond are to receive interest upon emergence of Ambazonia independence. (IG, 2019).

Table 3: Interest rates of the Ambazonia Freedom Bonds

Annual interest rate on 2019 bonds		15%	15%	15%
Fixed Annual Investment (years 1 – 10)		\$1,000	\$5,000	\$10,000
Time (yrs)		Investment	Investment	Investment
1		\$1,150	\$5,750	\$11,500
2		\$1,322	\$6,612	\$13,225
3		\$1,520	\$7,604	\$15,208
4		\$1,749	\$8,745	\$17,490
5		\$2,011	\$10,056	\$20,113
6		\$2,313	\$11,565	\$23,130
7		\$2,660	\$13,300	\$26,600
8		\$3,059	\$15,295	\$30,590
9		\$3,517	\$17,589	\$35,178
10		\$4,045	\$20,227	\$40,455
Total Income in year 10 payout*		\$23,346	\$116,743	\$233,489

*Assume fixed yearly investment of amount stated, for example \$1,000 invested in Freedom Bonds every year over 10yrs amounts to \$10,000 principal. The corresponding yield is \$13,346. Total payout is \$23,346 at maturity.

Source: (Interim government of Ambazonia, 2019)

Also, other financial websites have been created by the interim government calling for compulsory independence dues (CID) by the Anglophone Cameroonians/ Ambazonians in the mission to restore statehood. (IG. n.d) The Interim government believes the rich natural resources which would be under their control at independence would suffice to pay the interest of investor and build the economy. So, turns to analysis their different county and the potential resources which would be under the Ambazonian IG control upon independence.

Ambazonian leadership valorizes the presence of forest in the Anglophone region. According to their official web page Kupe Muanenguba county is predominantly occupied by a dense equatorial forest and contains a large portion of Virgin forest. Most of the Forest are protected as reserves, such as the Mount Kupe, Etam and Ekanjo Banjo-Epen and the Mbayand Mbo forest reserve. Per the Interim government although they have been extensive exploitation of timber from these forest by logging companies of French dominated government, the Kupe Muanenguba county is still valuable as it has huge timber exploitation potentials. Furthermore, the IG estimate that forest reserves found in all 3 Local

Governmental areas of Ambazonia, forms the largest cloud of forest in central West Africa. Additionally, IG's records holds that the Korup Park in Ndiabou covering an area of 1.260km² is made up of mostly pristine forest is one of African oldest and richest rainforest in terms of flora and fauna diversity and attract over 100.000 tourist to Ndiabou division annually. (Interim government of Ambazonia, 2019)

The oil factor which is probably the clearest effect on conflict proneness around the world plays an immense role in the Ambazonian independence struggle. The contested region has one of the largest oils and gas companies in Africa and known by its French acronym SONARA. Created in 1973 and inaugurated in 1981, SONARA places at the disposal of the market the following petroleum products: butane, gasoline, jet fuel, kerosene, fuel oil, distillate, fuel oil. The Limbe refinery has a theoretical capacity of 2,100,000 tons/year. Per Trading Economics, petroleum accounts for more than 50 percent of the country's total exports in 2019. The presence of oil and other natural minerals have often been used by Ambazonian leadership as bargaining chip for foreign support via funding in exchange for exploration rights and business deals in an Independent Ambazonian land. In this light an agreement had been reached by a Canadian Private company, Kilimanjaro Capital Ltd and a clandestine separatist group in a secret meeting on November 1, 2012. According to a statement by Kilimanjaro Capital Ltd, "Kilimanjaro Capital Ltd... is pleased to announce that on 1 November 2012, it signed a formal Oil and Mineral Right Assignment with the Government of Southern Cameroons. Their region contains known petroleum reserves... The Assignment Agreement grants exclusive rights to cover an area of approximately 43,000 square kilometers..." (Ngoh, 2019) In 2013, the CEO of Kilimanjaro Capital Ltd, Rashid Zulfikar appointed Ebenezer Akwanga (an Anglophone Cameroonian) as a member of the Advisory Board of the company. (Ekah, 2019) Ebenezer Akwanga who happens to be the chair of the African People's Liberation Movement (APLM) which is an Ambazonian independence

movement, and he also commands the arm wing of the southern Cameroons Forces (SOCADEF), a militia group operating in the southwest Region.

The Interim government of Ambazonia remains optimistic in its quest for independence as they project availability of gold in Misaje and Mamfe, iron ore, diamond, gold, and gemstones located in Mayo Binka, and uranium in some localities and other natural resources including the agro-industrial potentials of Ambazonia remains imminent in achieving their goal of controlling these resources and for the survival of the nation after independence. (Interim government of Ambazonia, 2019)

For the Interim government of Ambazonia to achieve its financial objectives and get hold of the rich natural resources existing in the Anglophone regions, it has established an Ambazonia War Draft (AWARD). AWARD is an initiative launched for all 13 counties of the interim Government of the Federal Republic of Ambazonia, to adequately fund all legitimate community groups fighting to end the ongoing genocide in Ambazonia. The initiative is aimed at engaging Ambazonian indigenes home and abroad to make financial donations or commitments to upgrade self-defenses weapons. (Interim government of Ambazonia, 2019) A report from International Crisis Group estimates that there are somewhere between 2,000 and 4,000 fighters attempting to take Ambazonia from concept to reality. However, separatist leaders themselves claim there are far more people who have taken up the fight and an even greater number willing to do so.

On the other hand, separatist fighters on Ground Zero (GZ) are motivated from financial gain provided by the interim government and influence they obtain from their attacks. Another major back bone in financing Separatist's activities is derived from support of Cameroonian diaspora. On social media, diaspora activists have been promoting fundraising campaigns for Kalashnikovs and other firearms, and there is an increasing effort to get guns to those willing to fight the Cameroonian government. These resources are already reshaping the realities of

the Anglophone separatist movement on the ground. (Browne, 2019)Diaspora presently head all the major secessionist organizations providing funds, communications tactics, propaganda measures and lobbying international organizations to seek support for the mission. Diaspora are continuously providing financial aids to separatist fighters and seeking assistant from sympathetic states to bridge the imbalance that has allowed the government to largely contain the insurgency to rural areas. The availability of financial resources to militia who are willing to join the struggle for independence has greatly assisted in recruiting new separatist fighters. Also, separatist generate finance from the kidnap of citizens and government officials. They target civilians from well to do families and government official which are influential in their communities and demand ransoms for their release. The availability of finance and the opportunity to generate finance from extortion has made the insurgence war desirable for most Ambazonian separatist as they see it as their source of income which they never had during time of peace.

CHAPTER 4

4. Countering Separatist Movements in Ambazonia

4.1. Introduction

A major source of legitimacy to democracy is the majority rule, which provides every adult citizen with the one vote to change governing laws or elect their representative. Hence citizens are compelled to use political means and not resort to violence in achieving political ambitions but at the same time democracies approves the use of a militant stand to protect the core values of democracy from internal threat. Democracies learned that, when every citizen and party may run for office, democratic processes might ultimately enable those who seek to destroy a government's democratic character to win office. Joseph Goebbels, the Reich Minister of propaganda in Nazi Germany, famously said, "this will always remain one of the best jokes of democracy, that it gave its deadly enemies the means by which it was destroyed." (Weill, 2018) The introduction of Militant democracy to combat extremist political agenda that threaten peace, security, and democratic order, has typically interfered with the exercise of individual human rights, such as freedom of expression, opinion, religion, and association, or right to counsel or a fair trial, in the name of democratic self-preservation. (Macklem, 2005) Democracies selectively target and ban political parties because of their secessionist agendas, under the pretext of preventing the promotion of undemocratic values such as racism, violence, and terrorism. (Weill, 2018).

4.2. Cameroonian Government Response to Secessionist Movement

Secession remains part of the "internal affairs" of the state so long as the state does not abrogate its duties under international law to properly treat the minority wishing to secede. But, if the state mishandles the affair, the situation might deteriorate into a conflict that places it in the province of international law. (Weill, 2018) The Cameroon government has deliberately and effortlessly worked hard in ensuring foreign organizations and states do not interfere with the internal

affair. To ensure control of the situation they have adopted a militant democratic strategy in handling the internal conflict which commenced with a request to change the form of the state but degenerated to a secessionist quest. The introduction of militant democracy is in response to the destabilizing potential of new form of terrorism. Response from the Cameroonian government have been characterized by hate speech legislation, the banning of secessionist political parties and association, restriction on mass demonstrations, and the criminalization of certain political organization.

Like most Civil War, the Ambazonian secessionist campaign commenced with protest movements proceeded by rebellion. The protest was championed by lawyers in the anglophone region of Cameroon who organized a sit-down strike in all court rooms in the English-speaking region, to protect the common law practices and Anglo-Saxon culture. From a sit-down strike to peaceful demonstration by marching in major towns of the Anglophone regions including Buea, Bamenda and Limbe. The Cameroon government responded to such sensitization efforts of the lawyers, by sending security forces to disperse the march by firing tear gas on protestor and lawyers. Same action was meted out against anglophone teachers and university lecturer who carried out peaceful protest. During the uprisings of protest, students at Buea University organized a peaceful march on the campus to call for the payment to students of the president's achievement bonus, denounce the banning of the University of Buea Student Union (UBSU) in 2012 and protest at the introduction of a penalty for late payment of education fees and the additional fee charged for accessing examination results. The university rector's response was to call the police onto the campus. They brutally repressed the students and arrested some of them in their homes. Female students were beaten, undressed, rolled in the mud and one was allegedly raped. (Group, 2017) Given the similarities of the issues affecting the anglophone region, the Cameroon Anglophone Civil society Consortium (CACSC) created to represent these issues. Its operation "Ghost town" made anglophone regions ungovernable by the government on days prescribed as ghost

towns. All schools were subsequently shut down in the Anglophone regions, only two months and three weeks after the start of the 2016/2017 academic year. (Gebremichael & Cynthia, 2020).

Cameroon government efforts to repress protester with the use of security forces against the lawyers, teachers and the anglophone population in anglophone regions had failed to heal the desired result and government had been forced by this predicament to negotiate with CACSC to prevent the situation from escalating. Cameroon government where coerce to negotiate with CACSC members as they had lost a firm grip on the anglophone region. An Ad hoc inter-ministerial committee which consisted of four Francophone ministers and place under the supervision of the Prime ministry's cabinet director was created to lead negotiations with CACSC.

From December 2016 to January 2017, the ad hoc committee conducted several missions to Bamenda. CACSC list of demands had increased from 11 to 25 between November and January with negotiation almost reaching an agreement; the government was willing to meet 21 of the 25 demands. CACSC presented, among others, a draft for federalism but their demands were met with unyielding opposition from the government which banned the organization on January 17, 2017. Negotiations fell apart because of the deep distrust between the government and representatives of the Anglophone community. The ad hoc committee did not inspire much confidence, because most of its members were Francophone. Consortium members did not believe that the government would keep its promise to meet 21 of its demands. So, they proposed federalism to guarantee implementation of reforms and achieve a more general solution. Meanwhile, the government upheld the view that the trade unions had a hidden agenda involving secession and that this was why they continually added to their list of demands. (Group, 2017) Cameroon Anglophone Civil society consortium was branded by the Cameroonian government as an illegal organization which is aimed at causing insecurity in the state and promotes disunity of Cameroon. Prominent anglophone

leaders of CACSC were arrested and trial with the Cameroon anti-terrorism laws. To prevent the spread of secessionist ideas and propaganda by diaspora in the anglophone communities and prevent awareness of atrocities committed by security forces to be known by the international community the internet was also shut down for 93 days in the anglophone regions of Cameroon.

The government proceeded by banning all secessionist organizations and pressure groups, refusing to recognize and acknowledge their existence and legitimacy of their course.

The most popular secession political party is the Southern Cameroons National council (SCNC) created in 1993. Which aims at promoting greater autonomy and self-determination for Ambazonia is described by Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), as ‘...a political organization fighting for the statehood and sovereign independence of Southern Cameroons’. (Dicklitch, 2011) UNPO accepted Southern Cameroon as a member in 2005 and has actively campaigned for SCNC members who have been arrested and intimidated. The government has often attributed a wave of violent acts against the state and symbols as to have been perpetuated by SCNC in the anglophone regions, many accused of such crimes carried out in anglophone regions were thrown in prisons in Douala and Yaoundé (Francophone regions) and tried in French province prohibiting their civil rights. Activities of SCNC had previously been banned in 2002, with claims that it was a terrorist organization. On 17 January 2017 with emergence of the new anglophone protest, the SCNC was banned again alongside the CACSC by the Minister of Territorial Administration.

The arrest of the leader’s spear heading the Anglophone crisis, created a power vacuum which was felt by extremist leaders who radicalized the anglophone population and created arm separatist groups with aim to protect their territory from occupation. The result was the declaration of independence of the Federal Republic of Ambazonia on the 1st October 2017 with Sisiku Julius Ayuk Tabe

as the first president. Cameroon government initial response was to arrest secessionist leaders at home and in the diaspora. This strategy deployed illegal arrest and extradition of 47 anglophone Cameroonians from Nigeria. Ten secessionist leaders were among the victims, including the President of Federal Republic of Ambazonia. All ten leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment under the terrorism law of the Republic of Cameroon. Then in 2018, the president of the Republic of Cameroon vowed in his New Year speech to crush the pro-separatist agitators whom he labelled as terrorists. (Chukwudi & Chukwuma, 2019) The US Department of State's (USSD) annual terrorism report covering 2019 noted that "Cameroon continued to use the anti-terrorism law enacted in 2014 to suppress criticism and freedom of expression by arresting journalists and activists in connection with the ongoing crisis in the Anglophone regions. The government continued to characterize people espousing separatism for the Northwest and Southwest Regions as terrorists." (IAGCI, 2020).

Furthermore, most countries have developed unconstitutional constitutional amendment principle to eternal status of territorial sovereignty. This doctrine entails if eternal status clause is violated by either a constitutional amendment, such amendment can be ruled by court to be invalid and unconstitutional. Cameroon Government has always used the constitution to secure territorial sovereignty of its nation against secession. The Federal constitution of 1961 centralized power at the expense of the autonomy of the two states. Article 47 stated in part that: "Any proposal for the revision of the present constitution which impairs the unity and integrity of the Federation shall be inadmissible." The other section of the said article 47 also stipulated that the president of the federal republic could revise the constitution after consultation with the deputies of the Federal Assembly. (Ebolo, 2012) This constitution was eventually amended in the constitution of the Republic of Cameroon which promulgated in article 1 sub section 2, "The Republic of Cameroon shall be a decentralized unitary State. It shall be one and indivisible, secular, democratic and dedicated to social service." Throughout the secessionist struggle for independence, the government has always reiterated the

provision of the constitution, which prohibits the indivisibility of the state. This clause is meant to maintain and protect the unitary status of the state from secessionist agenda and was made irreversible by the 1972 constitution of the republic of Cameroon.

However, the President and his Government have decided to implement the decentralization process and its desired local development impact as enshrined in Law No.96-6 of 18 January 1996 to amend the Constitution of 2 June 1972. Section 1 (2) of the Constitution states that, "The Republic of Cameroon shall be a decentralized unitary State." Decentralization would make provision for territorial communities to have separate administrative structures of the administration of the state, which must support the interests of the population of a specific territory. (Yombi, Chouaïbou, & Agoume, 2019) This measure is to help promote economic development and ensure the transfer of certain skills from the state to decentralized territory to address the worries of the population of those communities. Plans to actualize the decentralization law passed 25 years ago are visible as the Minister of Finance Louis Paul Motaze and his counterpart of Decentralization and Local Development, Georges Elanga Obam signed the joint circular letter "No.004211/LC/MINFI/MINDDEVEL of 07 October 2021 relating to the preparation of the budgets of Regional and Local Authorities for the 2022 fiscal year." The circular letter contains all the required details for Regions and Councils as local authorities to draw up their budgets for proper functioning in the 2022 financial year. (Emmanuel, 2021) This is to ensure autonomy of the anglophone regions and to ensure the population influence decision making of their region hence bringing the state closer to its masses.

Also, the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism (NCPBM) has been created to ensure marginalization is prevented in all works and sector of the society and to reinforce the equal status of French and English as official language with equal status in Cameroon. The National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism aims

to strengthen the unity of the state. According to Article 3(1) of the Presidential Decree NO. 2017/013 of January 23, the Commission will be responsible for the promotion of multiculturalism and bilingualism in Cameroon. This must be done with the view of consolidating the country's national integration, maintain peace and strengthening its people's willingness to live together. (Kingsley-Arthur, 2018).

4.3. Maintaining control over contested Region

Cameroonian government efforts have largely been successful in preventing the recognition of declared independence of Ambazonia. Government efforts to prevent secessionist have reduce Ambazonia nationalism to Cyber nationalism. Since the Biya regime pronounced secessionist political parties and associations as terrorist organizations, very view anglophones have been able to oppose the regime from within. The SCNC and diaspora lobbying both national and internationally has failed to ensure the recognition of Ambazonian independence, as neither the United nations nor any individual state has recognized the sovereignty of southern Cameroon people. However, the most spectacular success, occurred in 2009 when the African Commission on Human and People's Rights condemned discrimination against the Anglophone community in Cameroon after a six-year-long case brought to it by the SCNC. It also acknowledged the SCNC's claim that the Southern Cameroons constitutes a people. The resulting recommendation was that the government and the SCNC should hold constructive talks. The Biya regime did not react to those suggestions and sporadic international pressure did not bring the Anglophone case to the bargaining table. (Mehler, 2014) The first step utilized by the Cameroonian government, is the continuous process of asserting sovereignty over the contested region. The Government has continuous denounce secession and Independence of Ambazonia, cause it constitution does not accept and give provision for the divisibility of sovereignty. To obscure the recognition of the Ambazonian independence it has maintained it administrative office in NOSO and continue to provide service to the population. This single act has legitimized the authority of the Republic of Cameroon over the contested territory. Military

personnel have also been station to prevent any hostilities to derail smooth functioning of administrative duties in Anglophone regions. As James Ker-Lindsay states, “It is vital to make it absolutely evident that the act of secession is contested from the moment a declaration of independence is made, if not before, as silence about an act of secession may possibly be read as de facto acceptance of the loss”. (Ker-Lindsay, 2012).

To maintain political authority over the contested region, Cameroon government ensure presidential election on 7 October 2018 held in NOSO despite call for boycott by the separatist groups which consider the election as a foreign affair. Violence had increased in the week of 1st October, which mark the celebration of Ambazonia Independence Day. Around 20 people were killed during celebration, and separatist hoped this would disrupt elections in NOSO, hence deepening the sense of exclusion and non-participation of anglophones in the political live of Cameroon. The violence at this stage had accounted for the death of at least 420 civilians, 175 army and police officers and hundreds of separatist fighters. (Group I. C., 2018) Although elections turn out in NOSO was poor with about 10% of the registered voter able to make the polls because of the tense atmosphere surrounding the environment and internal displacement of some of the voters which could not vote in different districts. This still goes as far to show the effective presence of Cameroon government governance in the warring regions.

Attempt by separatist to sabotage municipal and parliamentary elections witnessed threats and attacks on candidates and their properties. Separatist fighters in Anglophone regions laid claim to abduction of at least 40 candidates for parliamentary and local council’s elections who defied their request to resign. Their intentions to derail elections made severally dozen English-speaking candidates in the February 9, 2020 local and parliamentary election to withdraw their candidacy because of the insecurity, threat, and destruction of their houses by secessionist. (Kindzeka, 2019) Separatist fighters also took to social media to

denounce elections to take place in NOSO and imposed a 6-day lockdown (7-12 February 2020) in Anglophone regions under the watch of the Ambazonia Defense Forces. (Iremos, 2020) But despite secessionist attempt to prevent representation of anglophone in the Cameroon parliament and governing council, the government of Cameroon response through its Minister of Territorial Administration ensured the elections took place in NOSO and portrayed they control those regions. Minister of Territorial Administration, Paul Atanga Nji reinstated, elections must hold in the anglophone regions, as he said, "The security services must protect the electorate, protect those who are going to vote, protect the system and protect all the structures put in place to conduct free and fair elections.". Low turnout were registered in the English-speaking regions, but it was attributed to internal displacement of anglophones from their region of origin because of the civil unrest.

4.4. Preventing acts which legitimize Ambazonia

The Cameroon government has been tactful in handling crucial elements that would legitimize secessionist campaign. Even though they have successfully prevented recognition by international organization and foreign states, Cameroon government attempts to ensure even the illusion of legitimacy of Ambazonia sovereignty in the territory is not created. Acts to legitimize Ambazonia presence in the territory are continuously prevented. Since the Anglophone crises resurfaced in 2016, every 1st of October is marked by Ambazonian supporters and loyalist attempting to celebrate their independence on streets and radio stations. These celebrations are usually characterized with pronouncing independence from the Republic of Cameroon and hoisting of the Ambazonian flag in the historically important town of Buea. Which served as the capital of German Kamerun and British Southern Cameroon, but these efforts are been stopped by the security forces and perpetrators are arrested and tried for treason. This was evident during the Major National Dialogue (September 30 to October 4, 2019) between the government of Cameroon and the various opposition party, aimed at finding

solutions to the Anglophone crisis. While dialogue was going on in the nation capital, separatist militia and supporters took to the street to celebrate independence of Ambazonia, discrediting the national dialogue because it neglected the option to include Ambazonian independence. Security forces cracked down heavily on the demonstrators.

Also attempts to discuss the agenda of Ambazonian independence during the national dialogue was dismissed as state official stated secession was not within the context of the constitution. Initially the government of Cameroon rejected they existed any problem peculiar to the anglophone community and have abstain from using the appellation of Ambazonia in all of it communiques and speeches but would rather refer to the territory as northwest and southwest region of Cameroon and refer to secessionist as “some enemies of the state”, which aim at distorting the unity of Cameroon or simply “terrorist”. Moreover, Ambazonian flag and logo if found with individuals would be considered as an act of treason. Moreover, Amba money and international passport has been prevented to circulate in the anglophone regions although it possesses no value.

4.5. Non-recognition by Superpowers and Neighboring State

Efforts to prevent individual acts of recognition lie at the very heart of any successful counter-recognition strategy. As even individual acts of recognition may contribute towards consolidating secessionist territory status. (Ker-Linday, 2012) Although final decision on recognizing and acknowledging secessionist state depends on the parent state it secedes from, the reality is that great power of the world shape international attitudes to recognition of the seceding state.

There most influential country in international politics is the United States without doubt. It influences and prominence on the international stage helps in shaping decision of other states to accept or reject recognition of newly form states or right to secede. The State Department describes U.S.-Cameroon relations as “positive” but “adversely affected by concerns over human rights abuses, in

particular in the Anglophone Northwest and Southwest Regions, and the pace of political and economic liberalization.” (Husted, 2021) Before the expansion of Boko Haram activities to the Lake Chad basin area in 2014, US-Cameroon policy focused more on influencing Cameroon government to carry out political reforms. But after 2014 the bilateral relationship shifted to focus on counterterrorism cooperation. Cameroon’s role in counterterrorism efforts and in the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) in central Africa is very important and the US recognizes its value. This importance could be seen with a support package provided by US of \$45 million to train the Rapid Intervention Battalion (BIR) and 300 US troops to provide airborne intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance operations in the region. (Gebremichael & Cynthia, 2020) The existence of this bilateral relationship has made the US State Department reluctant to intervene in the Anglophone Cameroon crisis but had published a communiqué on 28 November 2016, calling on the government of Cameroon to respect fundamental freedoms and dialogue with Anglophone regions. (Group I. C., 2017) Failure on the Cameroon government to respect human rights saw the termination of the trade benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) and reduction of military aid but no official statement in that effect to recognize the Anglophone minority as a people under oppression.

France diplomacy in Africa, to a greater extent is aimed at maintaining relationship with its former colonies with whom they have economic interest and investments. French diplomats have often emphasized that their influence in Cameroon is maintained by the direct and private relationship they have with President Biya and any public move or condemnation of the regime’s activities might undermine that relation. Cameroon diplomatic relationship with France on this basis has helped prevent the recognition of Ambazonia by France and limited its comments to private discussion on the Anglophone crisis.

Furthermore, although Ambazonian separatists pledge to their identity and unique cultural heritage to the British colonial period in the territory, Britain has done

little to acknowledge the existence of Ambazonia as a people. Despite the history of British southern Cameroon being a former colonial territory of Britain, British has no strong ties and presence in Cameroon apart from it being involved in Commonwealth Organization. Germany, Russia, and China on their part, have played silent rule and prefer not to make a public statement regarding Ambazonian independence declaration and ambitions to secede. European countries prefer to side tacitly with the Cameroon government in order to protect their economic interest in Cameroon against the Chinese. Some European countries wanted the European Union to issue a joint statement on the Anglophone question, but the initiative was blocked by other member states anxious to avoid criticizing Cameroon too openly because of its role in the fight against Boko Haram. (Group I. C., 2017).

Finally, Cameroon's most influential neighbor in countering-separatist is Nigeria. Nigeria is the only country which shares a common boundary with the English-speaking region. The Nigeria government expressly does not recognize Ambazonia independence as it is worried secession in Cameroon would promote the already existing secessionist movements for an Independent Republic of Biafra. Moreover, the joint military effort in the fight against Boko haram in the North of Cameroon and Nigeria has help maintain international relationship between the two states. These friendly ties between the two nations were responsible for the arrest of The President of Federal Republic of Ambazonia and extraditing him alongside 46 members of the Ambazonia separatist movement to Cameroon. Although the Federal court in Abuja ruled the arrest and extradition was unconstitutional, no efforts by the Nigeria government was made to return secessionist to Nigeria.

CHAPTER 5

5. Consequences of Ambazonia Quest for Secession

The desire to secede from the Republic of Cameroon is already shaping the political and socio-economic realities of Anglophone regions of Cameroon. Even though secession and recognition of Ambazonian Independence has not been attained, the struggle between the opposing parties is shaping Anglophone regions.

5.1. The impact of the Anglophone crisis on the political system

The Anglophone crisis has revealed a big gap between the anglophone communities and anglophone elites in the government. Attempts by both francophone and anglophone elites to mediate with secessionist and their sympathizers have been unsuccessful. On numerous occasions anglophone masses have jeered at the Prime minister and Anglophone elites for collaborate with the enemy and not speaking the truth. The lack of legitimatization of anglophone elites was not limited to administrators within the government. Members of leading Anglophone party, Social Democratic Front who had moderate view in affairs related to anglophone regions where booed when addressing the population and branded as blacklegs (collaborators of the central government). This caused crisis within the Anglophone opposition party between the radical wing calling for return to federal system with two states or secession and the more moderate wing advocating for the party's traditional position of 4 states federation or decentralization.

Also, the creation of radical secessionist militia groups in the anglophone region of Cameroon, has legitimize the use of force to combat anglophone separatist (terrorist). Official reaction of the Cameroon government is that, the anglophone minority group has created terrorist group with aim to establish a new state are being manipulated by external actors to destabilize the peace and unity of Cameroon. Consequently, the state justifies it use of violence to secure territorial integrity.

5.2. Consequence of Anglophone crisis on the economic Sector

The secessionist struggle has had a major impact on Cameroon Development Corporation which is the second highest employer after the states. And employed tens of thousands of Anglophones Cameroonians. There is no thorough assessment of the conflict's economic impact, but in July 2018 the Cameroon Employers' Association (GICAM) estimated the value of losses at FCFA 269 billion (€410 million). It also calculated that 6,434 jobs had been lost in the formal economy and a further 8,000 jobs were under threat. (IAGCI, Cameroon: North-West/South-West crisis, 2020).

According to the Cameroon Development Corporation company's top management, the company would need at least FCFA 29 billion to bounce back after violence has subsided. Similarly, the General manager for the Upper Nun Valley Development Authority (UNDVA) which is responsible for the production of rice lamented of the drop of output from 2000 tones to less than 5 tones because farms are not accessible due to the insecurities. These deteriorating situation of the anglophone region has affected local farmers of cash crops such as cocoa, coffee and palm oil. This is because the cultivating and grazing areas have been reduced by secessionist militia whose camps are mostly located in the bushes. Generally, the conflict has reduced confidence of stability of Cameroon to investor and this has limited new investment into its economy.

On the other hand the crisis has as well created new sources of income in the anglophone regions. The smuggling of ammunition between the Cameroon and Nigeria borders has created revenue to those who deal in illegal arms and ammunitions. At the same time the anglophone crises creates some political jobs to address the crises, such as the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Committee and the Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism

and Multiculturalism. Other Non-Governmental organization assisted to set up business for internally displaced personnel in the anglophone regions.

5.3. Social effect of the Anglophone Crisis

The ghost town operation, which was an initial means to peaceful protest, and sit-down strike which entail closure of courts, school, and business center, is at the heart of social perils in the anglophone regions. The school boycott led to permanent school dropouts of some student and the radicalization of young boys to join secessionist armed groups. These lack of education is already defining the future generations of children to be raised in a radical style, learning to hate their nation and fight for Ambazonia. (Mateş, 2019) In a recent study, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) found that the number of schools that closed in the four countries affected by Boko Haram terrorist crises in the Lake Chad basin (Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria) increased slightly from 981 to 1,054 between the end of 2017 and June 2019. For Cameroon alone, the growing crisis in the northwest and the southwest has forced more than 4,400 schools to close. (Amnesty International, 2005).

This quest for secession has revealed among other components, a division which exist between the anglophones and francophones Cameroonians. Some francophones are general unaware of the anglophone marginalization or ponder with suspicion, why anglophones should request for federalism or secession. Some Francophones highlights the fact that, the identity the Anglophones are fighting to preserve is colonial heritage and opt to be erased. Hence preaching the application of partial historical amnesia to promote formation of a Unified Cameroon has made Anglophone population critical of francophone solidarity. In this regard, when the anglophone lawyers went on peaceful protest and were arrested and molested by the arm forces. Their francophone colleagues in the Bar association did not sympathize or make official statement condemning the administration action. Same was the case with the teachers strike. Secondly, the targeting of individuals by

the Cameroonian arm force based on cultural identity of anglophone or francophone complicates the dynamic of the social atmosphere.

5.4. Humanitarian Need and Aid

The United nation Office for the coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has emphasis the humanitarian consequence of the secessionist struggle in Cameroon. The crisis which became violent in November 2017 has led to displacement of citizens both internally and externally to neighboring Nigeria. The situation in the North West and South West regions which started as a political crisis has led to a complex humanitarian emergency with 3 million people in need. (OCHA, 2020).

Table 4: UN OCHA Humanitarian needs overview for people in NOSO

Humanitarian consequence	People in need	Most vulnerable groups	Associated factors
Critical problems of the population affected related to physical and mental wellbeing	3 million	Children, Adolescents, Women, esp. pregnant and lactating women and women and children headed households	Insecurity, displacement, limited or no access to drinking water, basic services and land
Critical problems related to living standards	2.6 million	Women and girls, People with disabilities, IDPs, Returnees, Host families	Insecurity, displacement, limited access to basic services
Critical problems related to resilience and recovery	2.6 million	IDPs, Host Population, Women, adolescents	Limited access to employment and loss of livelihoods due to insecurity and displacement

Source: UNOCHA, Cameroon Humanitarian Needs Overview 2020.

These humanitarian needs are attributed to the ungovernable nature of the anglophone region because of increase insecurity. The result is 80% of the health and educational services are not functional in the region. Also, the insecurity has stopped some economic activities, hence generating hardship, malnutrition and making anglophones to move to other regions as refugees.

CHAPTER 6

6. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1. Summary

The study sought to investigate the cause of the secessionist movement in Cameroon and counter separatist measure implemented by the Cameroonian authority to prevent unilateral declaration of independence by the Federal Republic of Ambazonia and its right to pursue self-determination. The study was motivated by the need to apprehend the main cause of the anglophone secessionist movement and policy implemented to deter this aspiration.

The study adopts greed and grievance theory to explain the causes of the civil war. It assesses the motive for rebellion and insurrection among an ethnic group. Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler adopt an atypical grievance and atypical opportunities approach in explaining different motivation for rebellion leading to civil wars. The studies finds that subjection of anglophone Cameroonians as second-class citizens has generated grievances leading to rebellion and formation of secessionist groups which have legitimize their existence on these grievances to achieve their personal gains.

Per collier and Hoeffler they observed political and social variable which are most obviously associated with grievance have little explanation to rebellion. In contradiction to Collier and Hoeffler findings, the secessionist movement in Cameroon point to the fact that political and social variables which are most related to grievance have also played a massive role in explaining the rebellion for secession. The historical evolution of the form of the state and reunification politics of Cameroon politics is at the heart of the Anglophone crisis and Ambazonian secessionist campaign. Political discrimination of appointing mostly Francophones to important political position, administration of francophones governors in anglophone regions, imposing French judges and teachers in anglophone region all contribute to the socio-political grievances. Rebellion itself

commence with a request, for a return to the federal system of governance implemented during reunification of English and French Cameroon but has deteriorated to secession request.

Although the study might have a contradicting view on the impact of the socio-political rule in the Ambazonian secession, the studies agree with Collier and Hoeffler that socio-political and economic grievances if acute could lead to a protest and give opportunity for greed rebellion to exist. The Interim Government in Diaspora heads almost all secessionist groups and militia and applies policies which might not be beneficial to the masses but based on the I.G convictions.

The second section looks at government measures to repress recognition of Ambazonian independence and secessionist movement. Democracies have learnt that, when every citizen and party may run for office, democratic processes might ultimately enable those who seek to destroy a government's democratic character to win office. (Weill, 2018) The introduction of Militant democracy to combat extremist political agenda that threaten peace, security, and democratic order, has typically interfered with the exercise of individual human rights, such as freedom of expression, opinion, religion, and association, or right to counsel or a fair trial, in the name of democratic self-preservation. (Macklem, 2005) The government of Cameroon has employed militant democratic policies to Ambazonian separatist by banning secessionist political parties, association and arbitrary arrest of such leaders. Secessionist and federalist have often been branded as terrorist who intend to destabilize the internal security of the state and anglophone diaspora seen as external parties fueling the separatist arm struggle by providing funds and attracting foreign attention to domestic issues.

The studies also find that, the Cameroonian government has as well implemented counter recognition strategies of the Ambazonian declaration of Independence. Principle of counter secession and preventing recognition of contested states by James Ker-Lindsay are applied in the Cameroonian contest. Hence, the studies

observe Cameroon government have successfully maintained claim of sovereignty over the contested region. Per the Head of state of Cameroon, “Cameroon is one and indivisible.” Government officials have adopted same slogan in addressing the situation of separatism in the Ambazonian regions while reiterating the form of the state is not up for discussion. To ensure this sovereignty, Cameroon government has actively claimed and ensure political authority in all region contested by separatist. Also, efforts have been made to prevent certain acts which could legitimize the Ambazonian declaration of independence. As of 2021, government efforts to counter-separatist have been successful, as no country has acknowledged the existence of the Federal Republic of Ambazonia.

6.2. Conclusion

The Ambazonian secessionist quest which has rifled the Anglophone regions of Cameroon since 2016 till now doesn't shows any glimpse of eclipsing soon. This study has identified the important events in the history of Cameroon which played a relevant part in the Anglophone problem. It has identified the different timeline in Cameroon history characterized by the transformation of the form of states in an effort to pinpoint where anglophone secessionist agenda arise.

The study also identified the different contributing independent factors and ascertain the rational of the feelings of marginalized and determination to secede. The research explains the ethno-national distinction between Anglophones and Francophones communities, as the basis for adoption of federal system during reunification. To ensure cultural, judiciary and educational system of each ethnic group was preserved. But unfortunately, assimilation policy was introduced to obscure the anglophone identity. Furthermore, the study noted the political repression of the anglophone elites in administrative position has caused economic deterioration in the anglophone regions, with the effect of magnifying marginalization.

These Grievances, lack of adequate and transparent political channels to seek reforms because of the government repression of trade union, political parties, and civil society, radicalized the population. The Biya regime literally fabricated the crisis in Anglophone Cameroon that erupted in 2016 by using extreme force against peaceful protesters and students. Hence, causing the Anglophone community to welcome secessionist ideas, since legal channels for requesting change were not fruitful.

The government response has been successful at containing separatist manifestation and recognition by putting in place counterterrorist and recognitions measures. The Militant democratic stance and policy exercised by banning secessionist organization and parties in Cameroon have been very efficient in curtailing secessionist movement. Also, arrest of suspected secessionist elite and militia has contributed to keeping southern Cameroonian independence movement under check. Although the government efforts of containing separatism have seen great success the rise of human rights violation is bringing the Cameroon governments effort under criticism. Nevertheless, the involvement of Cameroon in counterterrorism efforts in the central African region against Boko Haram sect, has reduced the magnitude of emphasis on the human right abuses in the Anglophone crisis

6.3. Recommendations

An effort to confront the challenges faced by the Cameroonian government by the secessionist movements would require measures to first calm the arm struggle and rebuild trust between the government and anglophone actors. The following recommendations are worth considering:

6.3.1. For the Cameroon Government

Just like the United Nation informal meeting has advised negotiated settlement to resolve the crisis, with Swiss government opting to mediate. The government should give a chance to dialogue which would involve a credible mediator. An address by the head of states acknowledging the anglophone problem would go a far way to build confidence in the dialogue process. No topic should be a taboo during the dialogue, armed and unarmed secessionist groups home and abroad, civil society, anglophone political parties, Head of churches and affected anglophones community representative should be part of the dialogue. Also, the government should lunch independent institution to investigate human rights abuses committed by both government forces and secessionist militia. This investigative institution can be supervised by United Nations or African Union. Finally, a cease fire should be implemented, and complete access should be granted to humanitarian organizations to assist anglophone communities affected.

6.3.2. Ambazonian Secessionist

They should respect the government call for cease fire and stop targeting civilians. Even if the Ambazonian quest to self-determination is valid, international law requires them to pursue this right without violating core human rights. On this basis they should officially announce an end to the continuous school lock down policy which has been implemented in the anglophone regions in the last five years. Participate in mediation as a means to express their political ambitions accordingly.

6.3.3. International Organization and Foreign Governments

International organization and states should ensure no other states are aiding the warring parties of the anglophone crises by providing weapons or finance. This should be done to encourage both secessionist and the government of Cameroon to carry out an inclusive dialogue. International community may offer their

expertise and military might to ensure agreements should be taken without duress and parties would be obliged by such agreements. Finally, they should oversee the investigations of atrocities carried out during the anglophone crisis committed by government forces, government official, and secessionist both home and abroad by aiding or abetting attacks on civilians to trial.

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