

# **The Impact of Nationalism Cameroon**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon was not immediate when the unitary system was established in 1972 in order to unite the two distinct cultures after the result of the Southern Cameroonians nationalism established a federal system to protect these two cultures. Cameroonians found themselves with a leader who used the French culture to dominate the Anglophone culture in the decision making of Cameroon. The Anglophones felt marginalized by the Francophones in the Unitary Republic. Cameroon in the 1980s saw a new regime that changed the country's name from the United Republic to the Republic of Cameroon. The Anglophones saw these major political changes in Cameroon as internal colonialism.

The new political regime of the 1980s introduced the multiparty system in the 1990s. Cameroon became a democratic nation with freedom of speech, which was not the case during the Unitary Republic. It was during this period that the Anglophone crisis started. The crisis was full of nationalist sentiments with the intentions of separating from Francophones or returning to the federal system that existed after the Southern Cameroonians nationalism.

The Anglophone crisis continued after the 1980s to 2016 with the Anglophone nationalists claiming for the Anglophone culture in Cameroon that has been fading to be effective. The Anglophone crisis in 2017 became a violent conflict between the Anglophone activist and the Cameroon government that has caused humanitarian crisis and political instability in Cameroon and the Anglophone regions in particular. Scholars have explained that multicultural states form from ethnic nationalism might

come to face future political instability. The Southern Cameroonians nationalism is an ethnic nationalism, and the political conflict about identity and culture in Cameroon describes the impact of ethnic nationalism.

**Keywords:** Nationalism, Culture, Identity, Politics, Conflict

## ÖZ

Kamerun'daki Anglofon krizi, Anglofon milliyetçiliğinin bu iki kültürü korumak için federal bir sistem kurmasının ardından iki farklı kültürü birleştirmek için 1972'de üniter sistem kurulduğunda acil değildi. Kamerunlular kendilerini, Kamerun'un karar verme sürecinde Anglofon kültürüne hakim olmak için Fransız kültürünü kullanan bir liderle buldular. Anglofonlar, Üniter Cumhuriyet'te Frankofonlar tarafından dışlanmış hissettiler. 1980'lerde Kamerun, ülkenin adını Birleşik Cumhuriyet'ten Kamerun Cumhuriyeti'ne değiştiren yeni bir rejim gördü. Anglofonlar, Kamerun'daki bu büyük siyasi değişiklikleri iç sömürgecilik olarak gördüler.

1980'lerin yeni siyasi rejimi, 1990'larda çok partili sistemi getirdi. Kamerun, Üniter Cumhuriyet döneminde olmayan, ifade özgürlüğüne sahip demokratik bir ulus haline geldi. Anglofon krizi bu dönemde başladı. Kriz, Frankofonlardan ayrılma veya Anglofon milliyetçiliğinden sonra var olan federal sisteme geri dönme niyetiyle milliyetçi duygularla doluydu.

Anglofon krizi, 1980'lerden 2016'ya kadar, Anglofon milliyetçilerinin Kamerun'daki Anglofon kültürünün etkili olmaya başladığını iddia etmesiyle devam etti. 2017'deki Anglofon krizi, Anglofon aktivist ile Kamerun hükümeti arasında, Kamerun'da ve özellikle Anglofon bölgelerinde insani krize ve siyasi istikrarsızlığa neden olan şiddetli bir çatışmaya dönüştü. Akademisyenler, etnik milliyetçilikten oluşan çok kültürlü devletlerin gelecekte siyasi istikrarsızlıkla karşı karşıya kalabileceğini açıkladılar. Anglofon milliyetçiliği etnik bir milliyetçiliktir ve Kamerun'daki milliyetçiliğin etkisini gösteren Kamerun'daki kimlik ve kültüre ilişkin siyasi

çatışmadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Milliyetçilik, Kultur, Kimlik, Siyaset, Catışma

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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 General view

Generally, nationalism is an ideology that explains how nations are being created and how individuals of particular communities obtained their national identity. Nationalism is seen as a concept that explains how modern nations came to exist, and determines the future political stability of each modern nation. Therefore, the nationalism of each nation can be considered as the history that holds the nation political stability (Gellner, 1983).

The process of nationalism is usually traced from the nationalist movements and nationalists sentiment in the creation of a nation. Nationalist, are generally considered to be a group that identify themselves under a particular nation and strongly supports the interest of that particular nation. Protecting the interest of a nation can lead to crises within the nation, which can later transform into a conflict or a violent conflict showing another characteristic of nationalism which could be irrational. Nation building and achieving national identity is seen differently in the different parts of the world. Nationalism has impacts on the different nations around the world.

### 1.2 Background of the study

This study covers the impact of nationalism that took place in Africa during the decolonization of African nations. The impact of nationalism is been examine in

Africa, particularly that which took place during the decolonization of Cameroon.

### **1.2.1 The decolonization in Africa particularly in Cameroon**

Africa was colonized by different countries of the western world such as The Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Portugal in the late 19th century and in the early 20th century. These western countries actually had control over their various colonies in Africa which was legally recognized by the League of Nations from 1920. These western countries did colonize Africa for their various interests. Some western countries were after slave trade which was later abolished, while others where for the raw materials found in the African territory such as cocoa, coffee, rubber and even gold (exploitation of trade), that is, they were for their economic interest, expansion of military power and the spread of Christianity (Pfaff, 1993).

Britain on her part wanted to benefit a free movement of their ship using the Suez Canal as passage. These western countries known as the colonial masters, ruled Africa using their home cultures. Some used the direct rule as was the case of France in most of her colonies (Cameroon, Mali, Ivory Coast and Niger) and others used in the indirect rule in the case of the British colonial territories (Cameroon, Sudan, Ghana and Nigeria). Some were more dictating in their territory such was the case of the Portuguese in Angola. After the Second World War, was the time most African colonies began to obtain their independence which is also known as the period of decolonization and the nationalism of most African communities.

This period was full of nationalist movement in the Africa territory done by the African nationalists. Although one could find some similarities in the decolonization processes in the African nations as it was in the case of Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau, their nationalist movements were different from

that of Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Ivory Coast, central Africa, Sudan and Cameroon. Some nationalist movements depending on the colonizers who allowed the nationalist the space for national movement to take place as it was the case in the British colony of Cameroon while other nationalists' movements in Africa were violent (Keller, 1995, p. 157). This is because, most colonies like Cameroon, Sudan, Tanzania and Nigeria had independence by referendum while others went through conflicts such was the case with the Algerians nationalism and Belgians Congo in order to achieve independent.

During the post Second World War period, Africans started with nationalist movements seeking for self-government from their colonial masters. The reasons behind these nationalists' movements in Africa were due to the realization made by the Africans during the Second World War and also, the western education that was acquired by the African nationalists. During the World War Two, Africans assisted their colonial masters in fighting and realized that there were not Demi gods like they thought and they too could be defeated. During the war difficulties were phased in the transportation of raw materials from Africa and the importation of finished products from Europe. These therefore let to the creation of some industries in Africa which promoted education. All of these contributed in the development of confidence in Africa to seek for self-governance (Keller, 1995, p. 158-159).

After the Second World War, Africans increasingly made demands for an increase on wages for those working in the industries. Also because of these few industries that were constructed in some areas in Africa brought specialization, it also increased the demand for secondary and university education by the Africans. Moreover, some Africans such as Jumo Kenyata from Kenya and Kwame Kruma from Ghana,

without forgetting Amadou Ahidjo and John Ngu Foncha, from Cameroon who in their different groups travelled out of their communities in order to acquire western education. They returned to their communities after acquiring the western education as nationalists after the war had ended. Africa during this period had increased the number of secondary schools and universities. One among those universities is the famous university of William Pontly that was constructed in Senegal. These schools increased economic and political education which also increased the political reforms in Africa. The political reforms was what the Europeans did not want it to happen in the Africa territory that was why the limited the Africans to basic education which included just the learning of languages and how to read. The Europeans thought in the high schools and universities that were constructed and also, they trained administrators and teachers as it was the case with the British and French colonial masters (Keller, 1995, p. 159-160). All of these increased the demand for self-governance after the Second World War.

The post war period of 1945, congresses were held concerning the decolonization of colonies in the world. Most famous among these congresses organized for the decolonization of Africa colonies, was in England at Manchester in 1945. It was attended by many Africans around the world. The congress was called to look upon the economic and political reforms on the situations of colonies around the world. It also condemned colonialism around the world. During this congress, the African representatives demanded for the full independence of black Africans (Keller, 1995, p. 160-161) in which Cameroon was equally included. Self-determination was used during the period of decolonization in the 1960s. Self-determination was the law used by the UN on colonial communities to speed up the decolonization process in putting an end to colonialism in the world particularly in Africa. Most colonial

territories during this period obtained their national identity and became National states. Self-determination from the 1950s permitted these newly form states to determined their political status with their economic and social development (Kumbaro, 2001, pp. 16, 17).

Some colonies in Africa were not willing to risk their political victory by summiting petitions to gain independence through negotiations while some colonies willingly summitted their declarations to their colonial masters. Cambodia and Guinea, where among the colonies, that willingly submitted their Declaration of Independence. In Cambodia for example, the referendum was held at the level of their colonial master to show that they too wanted to abandon the territory. In Guinea, the referendum held for Guinea to join the “Communauté Française” but they voted against and their independence was granted. Referendum was held in some colonies after a long war as it was the case within the French colony of Algeria before the organization of their referendum. After 1958, most colonies that maintained linked with France in the referendum to create the “Communauté Française” obtained independent two years later as was the case with French Cameroon. In the case of Mongolia, a referendum was organized for geopolitical reasons (Qvortrup, 2015, p. 3-4). In general one can conclude that, the referendum during the period of decolonization in Africa varied depending on the colonial territory. In the case of Cameroon, the French colony had joined the “Communauté Française” and later had her independence like the other French colonies while the British colony had a referendum for geopolitical reasons like the case in Mongolia.

Most nations in Africa after decolonization are states with their national boundaries.

Geographical boundaries (national boundaries) have an important role to play in nations and nation building. It brings out the demarcation of particular societies and limits the authority of a nation and cultural differentiations between nations. In Africa just like every part in the world, nations have their national boundaries and it was demarcated during the period of European colonialism in Africa. The European demarcated African colonies from the moment they became colonial masters in Africa. Before the coming of the Europeans in Africa, they Africans lived as different ethnic groups. During the demarcation of Africa by the different colonial masters it created boundaries between the different colonies. During the process of demarcation of these colonies in Africa most ethnic groups that constitute of the African territories were divided while others were united with other ethnic groups which created ethnic communities together with the Europeans and these ethnic communities were called colonies. These boundaries demarcated during colonialism by the colonial masters were maintained even after the colonies became modern nations (Krakowka & Hummel, 2010, p. 99). This is to say, boundaries shared by African nations, is a continuity of the boundaries that were created by the Europeans before the independence of the African territory. These boundaries also distinguish the different identities in Africa. These boundaries created during the European imperialism in Africa was been recognised by the Berlin conference in the 1880s (Pfaff, 1993). The national boundaries in Cameroon also are those put in place by Britain and France before decolonization.

### **1.2.2 The impact of decolonization in Africa particularly in Cameroon**

Following the case of Cameroon in explaining the effect of decolonization Africa it has caused a violent conflict in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon which everyone may consider to have started in the 2016 Anglophone crisis but the

research traces this conflict origin after the British Cameroon nationalism during decolonization. The political history of the evolution of Cameroon, as will be discuss in chapter 2 of the study, explains the long Anglophone crisis, which has been from the 1980s to 2016 by Anglophones in Cameroon, struggling to separate from the Francophone majority or to return to a federal political system that existed before 1972 (Nfi 2021).

The two identities are differentiated by the two cultures that got united during the decolonization period of Africa following the Southern Cameroonians nationalism. After the decolonization process of the Southern Cameroonians, it ended up with the creation of a new nation “the Federal Republic of Cameroon” (Ngoh, 1979) that constituted two federal states representing the two cultures of the distinct identities in Cameroon. After the decolonization of Southern Cameroon, Cameroon has been phased with political changes due to coming of modernization and has led to the Anglophone crisis from the 1980s. These political changes after the creation of the Federal Republic have led to the domination of one culture which is the reason for the Anglophone crisis.

The Francophone culture dominates over the Anglophone culture from the moment the national party was created 1966 in Cameroon which eased the replacement of the Federal Republic into a Unitary Republic in 1972. The Unitary Republic was more or less like a republic with a dictator leader. The constitution put in place in 1961 towards the end of the Sothern Cameroonian nationalism was replace in 1972 following the establish of a unitary system. Also the change of the nations’ name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic which was the nations name given after the decolonization of the French of Cameroon 1960. All of these changes

including the liberal democratic policy that was established in the Republic of Cameroon in the 1990s gave the opportunity of the Anglophone nationalists to express their sentiments through the creation of civil societies and national movements.

This Anglophone crisis continued from the 1980s to 2016 with the Anglophone lawyers and the Anglophones teachers' trade unions that had several national movements. After 2016 with a non-satisfaction of the Cameroon government response the crisis has become a violent conflict in the Anglophone regions between the Anglophone activist and the Cameroon government. Looking at the southern Cameroonian nationalism in the 1950s during the decolonization period in Africa, one can conclude that it is an ethnic nationalism which ends result was the creation of an ethnic nation with double culture. Scholars of nationalism such as Chatterjee had already in their work explained that nations that has above one culture, could be culturally discriminated in the future by one culture dominating over the other because of modernization. The domination of a culture as will be seen in the case of the Francophone culture in Cameroon can lead to the repetition of nationalism in a nation by nationalist. This attempt of repetition of nationalism is seen in the Anglophone nationalist in Cameroon. This Anglophone crisis has become violent and one can find actions of humanitarian crisis in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon which shows how irrational nationalism could be as explained by Gellner.

### **1.3 Research problem**

It was only at the end of the 1980s that the Anglophone crisis started, which later transformed into a violent conflict after Anglophone crisis of 2016. Before this Anglophone crisis, Cameroon was phased with major political changes that changed

the structure of the Cameroon territory which was put in place during the Southern Cameroonians nationalism in the 1950s. The issue here is to know what provoked uprising of the Anglophone crisis in the late 1980s which later led to a violent conflict in the Anglophone regions in Cameroon. Another issue is to know what kind of nationalism happened in the Cameroon territory during the 1950s which led the two distinct identities that has caused the current political instability in Cameroon.

#### **1.4 Research question**

This research will investigate why did the change of the political system in putting in place a nation state in Cameroon from 1972 caused the uprising of the Anglophone crisis in the 1980s following the modernization of the nation which became a violent conflict after 2016 seen to have originated from the Southern Cameroon nationalism?

#### **1.5 Hypothesis**

H1: The political changes in Cameroon after the Southern Cameroonian nationalism have shown a negative impact of nationalism.

H2: Modernization in Cameroon with the liberal democratic policy introduced eased the creation of civil societies and the nationalist movement made by the common law lawyers and the Anglophone teachers trade unions.

H3: The Cameroon government by not solving the common law lawyers and Anglophones teachers' trade unions problems that they claim in Cameroon is seen as the turning point of the Anglophone crisis to become violent conflict.

#### **1.6 Research methodology**

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of the study I will use a systematic literature approach between the different periods of the major political changes that

took place in Cameroon after the Southern Cameroonian nationalism while bringing out what differentiates the two identities in Cameroon, in order to use the qualitative method of analysis in justifying the reasons for the start of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and why it escalated to become a violent conflict. This same approach will be used to justify how the scholars' explanations on nationalism can be applicable in the case of Cameroon.

### **1.7 Research aims and objectives**

The research has three aims and objectives:

Firstly, it aim at studying the different major political changes that took place in Cameroon from 1961 stating from the creation of the Federal Public, through the Unitary Republic that became the Republic of Cameroon while shaping the identity differentiations in Cameroon.

Secondly, the research aim is to assess the different scholarly approach on nationalism and national identities, in order to see if they are applicable in the case of Cameroon.

Thirdly, the research will also aim at analyzing the escalation of the Anglophone crisis after 2016 which became a violent conflict between the Cameroon government and the extremist of the Anglophone regions of Cameroon. This is to be able to come out with an explanation of the cause of the conflict in the Anglophone regions in Cameroon.

### **1.8 Structure of the study**

This study, as seen above has covered the background information on the research question, which brings out the research problems, aims, objectives of the study, and

the structure which serve as guidelines to the study as this section represent the first chapter.

Chapter two will explain the major political evolutions that took place in Cameroon from the period of the Anglophone nationalism, which started from the Anglophones decolonization. In the same line, I will proceed by comparing the various periods of the different political systems, from the Federal Republic 1961 (Willard, 1970), to the Unitary Republic 1972 (Takougang & Krieger, 1998), bringing out the differences in the two identities and later look at the Republic of Cameroon 1984. These various political changes after the federal system will describe how the Francophones marginalized the Anglophones in Cameroon. Also, I will explain the Anglophone crisis period from the 1980s to 2016 (Nfi, 2022) before it transformation to a violent conflict.

Chapter three will have a general knowledge on nationalism which will be used to analyze the Southern Cameroonian nationalism. The explanations on nationalism will be used to evaluate the political history that will be explained in chapter two. This section will explain nationalism (Yack, 1995) as a theory and ethnic nationalism as the theory which best explains the Southern Cameroonian nationalism 1961. In this chapter, I will discuss nationalism according to Gellner (1983), Anderson (1991), Smith and Chatterjee's explanation which contributes more to the understanding of Cameroon nationalism 1961 and why it lead to the political changes that is seen to have contributed to the cause of the uprising of the Anglophone crisis. Also, on this section one will be able to understand that the nationalism that was in Africa permitted the transfer of Western Cultures into the modern nations of Africa particularly Cameroon which explains that nationalist were more of obtaining liberty

from the colonial masters than building a nation. The cultures borrowed, explains the reasons for the uprising Anglophone crisis in the late 1980s caused by the dominant Francophone community that will come to impose her culture in Cameroon. Anderson's idea of print documents can be consider as the explanation to have eased the uprising of the Anglophone nationalists' sentiment due to print documents and technology that was used for spreading information.

Chapter four will analyze the Anglophone crisis from 2016 and how it transformed into a violent conflict in 2017. This section will examine the Anglophone crisis from 2016 closely between the Anglophone extremists and the Cameroon government from 2016. It will explain how the crises transformed from a peace political conflict to a violent conflict after 2016. These will be by bringing out the actors involve and the strategies used by these actors which show prove of violence in the Anglophone regions. The outcome of this conflict will be explained as the territory will become common with humanitarian crises and below will be the characteristics of nationalism in the conflict from 2016.

The last Part of the study will be the conclusion which I will bring out the overall summary of the study investigated and the answer to the research question which could probably not be due to Anglophone nationalism but because of the non-effectiveness of the Cameroon government in the republic that led to the crisis and the conflict in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon after the Southern Cameroonian nationalism.

## **Chapter 2**

# **THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF IDENTITY IN CAMEROON FROM DECOLONIZATION**

### **2.1 Political instability in Cameroon**

At the tail end of 2016, Cameroon experienced a series of national movements by the Anglophone lawyers and teachers' trade unions claiming the protection of the Anglophone cultures inherited from the British during their colonial era in the Cameroon territory. This culture has been gradually disappearing because of the dominant Francophone culture provoking the Anglophones nationalists to demand from the Cameroon government a return to the federal system that existed after the decolonization of the Southern Cameroonians in October 1961. Delays from the Cameroon government, in responding to the claims of the Anglophone lawyers and the Anglophones teachers' trade unions in 2016, as they represent the Anglophones as intelligentsia in Cameroon made the crisis turned out to be a violent conflict in Anglophone regions (North West and South West) between the Anglophones extremist and the Cameroon government (Okereke, 2018).

In order to understand these national movements that took place in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon from 2016 by the Anglophone lawyers and the Anglophone teacher trade unions, it requires knowing the political evolution in Cameroon from the period of decolonization which is seen as the years of nationalism in order to understand where the two identities in Cameroon originates from and how they can be

identify. Below I will talk about the evolutionary political history of Cameroon from the moment of the Southern Cameroonians nationalism 1961 in order to distinguish the Anglophones and Francophones identity in Cameroon. I will briefly explain the period of independence, followed by the period of the federal republic and how the federal system ended, which led to creation of a Unitary Republic and finally I will look at the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon after explaining the change of the nation name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon which was also a major political change that matters to the Anglophones identity.

## **2.2 Achieving the distinct identities in Cameroon**

In 1961 British southern Cameroon gained her National identity by integrating with the former French colony of Cameroon that had become an independent state on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1960. These years describe, the years of the nationalisms that took place in Cameroon by them achieving their national identity. It was during those years that Cameroon became an independent nation with a self-governance like most nations in Africa.

The Republic of Cameroon as it is call today, before 1916 was identified as a German colony in 1884 according to Versailles treaty of the 1880s just like other colonies were been identified in Africa (Pfaff, 1993). The defeat of the Germans by the joined forces of Britain and France during the First World War made the Cameroon territory to be identified by the international community as mandate territories under the League of Nations in 1920 (Ngoh, 1979, pp. 28-29). After the defeat of the Germans in Cameroon by the joined forces in 1916, the Cameroon territory was unequally divided. One-fifth of the territory was under the British control and the rest of the territory was controlled by the French, making Britain and

France the new colonial masters of the divided territory that Cameroon came.

The League of Nations gave as duties to the colonial masters to administer their colonies and the two colonial territories of Cameroon became administered by their colonial masters (Britain and France) (Ngoh, 1979, pp. 29). This was the beginning of the creation of separate identities in Cameroon as the two different external cultures were introduced in the territories of British Cameroon and French Cameroon.

After the Second World War, the United Nations (UN) replaced the League of Nations in 1945. The two Cameroon territories became identified by the UN as Trust territories of Britain and France. Within the time interval between 1920, when the two Cameroon were mandate territories of the League of Nations, and the period when they became trust territories, the members of these territories became attached with the cultures introduced to them by their colonial masters.

The British administrators administered British Cameroon by practicing an indirect rule system while in France administered using the direct rule system (Ngoh, 1979). British administrators used the elites to administer their colony in Cameroon from Nigeria while the French had their administrators in the territory. These communities practiced and inherited cultures of various colonial masters during the colonial era, especially in educational, legal systems, and language (Dupraz, 2015).

The creation of the UN in 1945 which replaced the League of Nations, which is consider as a failure to the international peace keeping between states following the incapacity of not being able to stop the Second World War. The UN came alongside

with the wind of independence in the Africa colonies and other colonies of the world. On January 1st, 1960, French Cameroon got her independence while Nigeria got her independence later on October 1st, 1960 (Nghoh, 1979) and they obtained their national identity.

The two borders of British Southern Cameroon had already obtained their national identity during their decolonization process by the end of 1960. This left a question mark on how British colony of Cameroon was to obtain her national identity since Britain had reported to the UN that her colony was not ready to become an independent state (Perceival, 2008, pp. 6) but the colony needed to obtain a national identity. The UN, therefore, responded to the question on British Cameroon's decolonization by organizing and conducting a plebiscite just for the British Southern Cameroonians that included just the people of the British colony of Cameroon. British Cameroon before decolonization was separated into two religious communities, British Northern Cameroon and British Southern Cameroon made of the Muslims and Christians respectively. These two communities had different ideology on how to obtain their national identity.

Before the UN had to organized the plebiscite, British Cameroon had been politically active, with a series of nationalist movement and trying to convince the local on how to achieve their national identity. These nationalist ideas spread around the territories pushed the nationalist come up with political parties in the 1950s in British Cameroon. These political parties later merged to form two major political parties with different ideas on how to achieve their national identity particularly in British Southern Cameroon. The two major political parties were the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP), with her leader Mr. John Ngu Foncha, who was for the

fact that British Cameroon should vote for joining with the former French colony of Cameroon. The other political party was the Cameroon People's National Convention (CPNC), with her leader Dr. Emmanuel Mbela Lafifa Endeley, with his idea that British Cameroon should joined Nigeria (Ngoh, 1979, pp. 93-96) because they had the same colonial master and practiced a similar culture. These two leaders represented British Cameroon's educated men at the time, who forwarded their education in Nigeria to obtain the British, since there were no higher institutes in British Cameroon before decolonization. They obtained the Western education and were used by colonial masters to govern the rest of the indigenes. Foncha and Endeley represented the elites of the British colony in Cameroon before the decolonization of Southern Cameroon.

The UN gave two options for the plebiscite, which was for British Cameroon, to integrate with Nigeria, which to the CPNC was the best option, or they should reunite with French Cameroon, which the KNDP of Mr. Foncha saw it favorable for the British Southern Cameroonians. Nigeria had a similar assimilated culture like British Cameroon while French Cameroon had inherited the French culture after the German era.

Percival, who was a UN representative in British Cameroon during the plebiscite, saw the need for a third option that of British Cameroon obtaining her national identity by becoming an independent state without joining any other independent nation. Because, this third option was not given to the British Southern Cameroonians, the other two options are considered by Percival as regenerating the British Cameroon identity (Percival, 2008, pp. 6-7). This is because the British colony integrating with another nation might change the shape of her identity.

Foncha chose to join the Republic of Cameroon which was the former French colony of Cameroon because there are no developments in Southern Cameroon since the British ruled them from Nigeria but, the former French colony had supported them in their campaigns by building more schools in some areas of the community and roads as well. The French campaign was seen as a means to reunite with their brothers now considered as Anglophones that had been separated from them because of the defeat of the Germans in the First World War.

Endeley was for a common British cultural inheritance to be shared with Nigeria. He was disliked by the indigenous because he did not show respect to their traditions like Foncha did in order to gain his popularity by guaranteeing the people's traditions to be protected after decolonization. The date set for the plebiscite put in place by the UN was on February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961 (Ngho 1979, pp. 95-97).

The day of the plebiscite remains a day which is celebrated every year in Cameroon as Youth Day (Delancey & Mbu, 1992), although it was a plebiscite just for the Southern Cameroonians. The KNDP had gained popularity over the southern Cameroonian territory as he was supported by the traditional rulers. Mr. Foncha saluted the chiefs traditionally and showed respect for traditions. By so doing, he guaranteed their traditions as a means of guaranteeing the indigenous identity. Mr. Foncha's party won against the CPNC of Dr. Endeley who neglected the traditional rulers of the local population.

The people of Northern British Cameroon made up of the Muslims, that is, the Fulani's, voted all for the integration with Nigeria (the Adamawa state of the northeast), and got their decolonization Day scheduled by the UN on July 1st, 1961

(Ngoh, 1979, pp. 95-96). Southern Cameroonians, with the vast majority population characterized by the Christianity, voted for the integration with “La Republique du Cameroun” (the former French Cameroon). After the plebiscite of February 11<sup>th</sup> 1961 UN scheduled the decolonization of British Southern Cameroon for October 1<sup>st</sup>, that same year.

A constitutional conference was held in a town in Cameroon called Foumban between the nationalist of British Cameroon and the administrators of the former French colony of Cameroon to decide on the progress of the nation.

### **2.3 The legal constitutional structure of the Federal Republic**

At the Foumban constitutional conference 1961, the negotiating parties agreed on how the nation will be structured and administered. This was for the parties to negotiate on the constitution of the new nation that Cameroon was to become. The negotiating party agreed on a federal system of a republic (a federal constitution) and the nation was therefore called the “The Federal Republic of Cameroon.” The federal constitution made Cameroon a two states federation of West Cameroon and East Cameroon, one was the former British colony and the other was the former French colony, both with different cultural inheritance from their colonial masters. Several other agreements were made in this negotiation of the constitution. The two states were geographically separated by maintaining the boundaries shaped by their colonial masters and it represented the territorial limitations of the two identities in Cameroon.

The nationalist who represented agreed on the following, that is, the federal nation should have two national languages that are English and French. The nation should

constitute of a president and vice president which either was to represent. It continued with the fact that, if the president is from one of either states mentioned above or from one of the identities, then the Vice president should come from the other state or should be from the other identity. The federal capital of each state was also agreed upon as Buea was for the West State while Yaoundé was for East state (Achankang, 2015, pp. 230).

The decision of the constitution recognizes the two different judicial systems inherited (the common law system for the Anglophones and the French law for the Francophones) from their colonial masters and it was accepted for two judicial systems to be practiced in the Federal Republic accordingly by the Anglophones and Francophones that is, the common law and French law respectively. Also each state had its own prime minister governing so the national territory constituted of two prime ministers one from each of the identity. The conference at Foumban closed with Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo as the first president of Cameroon who was a Francophone and Foncha as the first vice president of Cameroon who was an Anglophone. A tricolor Flag was accepted to be used as the national flag with a green, red, yellow and two yellow stars on the vertical green, representing the two federal states and the two identities in Cameroon. Also, a national anthem was agreed upon which was later translated from French to English by Dr. Bernard Fonlon, it came into the federal constitution of 1968 (Achankang, 2015, pp. 230-231).

It was only after the constitution was agreed upon that the international community declared Southern Cameroon to be decolonized by joining French Cameroon. From the decolonization of British Cameroon, one can conclude that, 1961 also explains

the year of Southern Cameroonians nationalism and how they obtain their national identity because it was only when Southern Cameroon was decolonized that the two communities merged to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon. The Southern Cameroonian nationalism is seen as a second nationalism in Cameroon because the Francophones already had a national identity before the Anglophones merged with them in October 1961. The decolonization of the Southern Cameroonians and obtaining the Federal Republic of Cameroon as result of their nationalism left Cameroon a national state in the 1960s.

## **2.4 Politics in the Federal Republic of Cameroon**

The federal system in Cameroon was put in place as result of the Southern Cameroonians nationalism and this political structure existed until 1972 when the federal Republic came to an end. The system was established to protect the two federal states of East and West Cameroon cultures inherited from their colonial masters before building the Republic of Cameroon. The period of federalism in Cameroon was politically active mainly within the West state of Cameroon, which is the Anglophones community because it had more political parties than the East state that was made up of one political party that is the Union Camerounaise. The political activities of the Federal Republic will be seen below showing how the multi-party political system in the Anglophone state changed to a national party to form unitary republic in Cameroon.

Cameroon after the 1st of October 1961, British Cameroon had her national identity by integration with French Cameroon following a draft constitution that was put in place by the nationalists in 1961. Cameroon became a Federal Republic in 1961 with the responsibility towards of governing of her nation, as it is the case with all other

modern nations that has undergone the process of nationalism, a government was established. At the Fouban constitutional conference 1961, a constitution was drafted as explained above, on how the federal nation will be ruled in respect of the protection of the two identities. President Ahmadou Ahidjo was the leader of the Union Camerounaise (UC), that took part in the conference at Fouban, that is, the UC was the only political party that existed in East Cameroon state whose leader became the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, and Foncha of the KNDP from the West Cameroon state, became the vice president of the Federal Republic and prime minister of West Cameroon.

After 1961, President Ahidjo came in with the proposal of a national party in 1962 (Willard, 1970). In the proposal of president Ahidjo, he was requesting for the national party, he was asking for the political parties of West Cameroon (KNDP and CPNC) to unite with the UC from East Cameroon. President Ahidjo had already put into practiced a single political party system in East Cameroon before the Anglophone decolonization in 1961 (Ngoh, 1979). President Ahidjo accepted integration with British Southern Cameroon because he wanted in a gradual process, to unite the two inherited cultures of Britain and France in Cameroon there by uniting the two communities and consequently the two identities. In order to achieve this unification of these cultures, president Ahidjo proposed the integration of all political parties in order to form a national party. President Ahidjo gave as reason for proposing the creation of a national party that, it is necessary for the development and technological advancement of the nation (Willard, 1970, pp. 262-264).

Although, it was seen later in the unitary republic as a means to increase his authority in order to have direct authority over the West state of Cameroon since he was the

leader of the national party (Joseph & Milton, 1998, 42-43) that is, as a means to have total control over the two identities. Foncha as the vice president of Cameroon and prime minister of the West Federal state accepted the proposal of President Ahidjo, while Endeley of the CPNC was against. The two leaders of the different political parties of the KNDP and the CPNC from the West of Cameroon disagreed on the proposed idea by President Ahidjo for the creation of a national party in the Federal Republic of Cameroon (Willard, 1970, pp. 263). This disagreement explains why the West state of Cameroon became politically more active at the federal level than the East state after the Southern Cameroon nationalism 1961. The political activeness was due to the fact that West Cameroon practiced a multi-party system while the East state practiced single part system.

Endeley believed that, if Cameroon should move to a national party system, West Cameroon state, as the minority, might be dominated by the East majority. He continued by mentioning that some parts of the country will be considered lesser than others when it comes to developing the nation. He ended by arguing that talent will not be exposed freely by individuals considering the growth of their community (Willard, 1970, pp. 264). Endeley explanations on the refusal of the national party, was because he had noticed that, if the Anglophones accepted Ahidjo's proposal, the Anglophones of Cameroon, that consist of the minority territorially and in population, is going to be phase with marginalization from the East Cameroonians in the future so he was trying to protect the Anglophone identity.

In 1962, the UC and the KNDP had an agreement. This agreement between the KNDP and UC was for the two parties to collaborate during decision making at the national assembly. Endeley who already was at a weak posture in the West state

politically with his party, head about the agreement of an alliance between UC and the KNDP at the national assembly in terms of decision concerning the Republic at the parliament. Endeley decided to send a letter to Foncha concerning the national party. The letter had the following message, "it might have been possible to effect an agreement between our parties of the nature as you have done with the UC, and so to prepare the way for the future of all country's union. I am sincerely appealing to you, to reconsider the possibility of initiating a discussion for a common understanding so that we could move forward together from here having our domestic problems settled before we must meet the other party of East Cameroon to complete a national party that will abolish once and for all ban of mushroom parties" (Willard, 1970, pp.264). This written letter by Endeley to Foncha was to make peace between West Cameroonians political parties and for West Cameroonians to be representing as one identity in the national party in order to protect their identity.

A meeting between the political parties of the West Cameroon state was held in June 1962 (Willard, 1970, pp. 264-265). In that meeting, was the following discussion on the creation of a national party, that is, national party should have a single ideology which is the development of the Federal Republic, and that if it is delayed to be established, it will delay President Ambition of developing the nation. After this meeting with the various political parties of West Cameroon, a second was schedule for August that same year, but the KNDP did not show up (Willard, 1970, pp.265). These are signs to show that the KNDP was backing up from what was discussed in the previous Federal meeting in West Cameroon.

A visit of President Ahidjo in West Cameroon presented an opportunity for Endeley to discuss with President Ahidjo in order for him to express his mind by confirming

his support for the National Party and his will to contribute to the development of Cameroon (Willard, 1970, pp. 266). Endeley, at the house of the assembly in 1963, came up with the issue of uniting the political parties of West Cameroon before integrating with the UC before the creation of a national party. The National Party was considered by President Ahidjo as a means to fast develop Cameroon. Concerning the issue on uniting West Cameroon political parties, which is a means of togetherness in forming the national party and also seen as a means to fastening the creation of the national party, President Ahidjo intervened by suggesting for an election to be conducted in the West state of Cameroon. This election was to be in 1964 with a registration amount of \$2000 (Willard, 1970, pp. 267). The CPNC at the last moment before the election succeeded to register.

Also, the Prime Minister's (PM) office had to be separated from that of the Vice President (VP) because it used to be one office since it was one person that had the two responsibilities. The separation of these offices made Foncha to be confused because he was responsible for the two offices and had to choose one of the two offices. As prime minister, he could easily control all members appointed to the federal government as he could easily maintain his relationship with other members of West Cameroon. On the other hand, as vice president, Foncha was just limited nationally and could not easily watch out what could happen at the federation (Willard, 1970, pp.267-268).

This election was postponed to 1965 which gave more time for the West Cameroonians parties to prepare for the elections. This separation of the office of the PM from that of VP also raised the point of who was going to become the new prime minister in West Cameroon since Mr. Foncha decided to maintain the office of the

VP. Also, the KNDP had two individuals who second Mr. Foncha, Solomon Muna and Augustine Njuah. Muna was the favorite because he remained a close friend to Foncha. Mr. Foncha with his popularity and his position in the West Cameroon assisted Muna to run his campaign for the position of PM but Muna was not satisfied with Foncha's assistance during the campaign (Willard, 1970, pp. 268).

Most of the people in West Cameroon saw that Foncha was not competent in campaigning for the national party which made Foncha lose his popularity in the Federal Republic. Foncha was considered to have encouraged tribalism in the West state of Cameroon. At the national assembly during the elections, Ahidjo stood alone for the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon and he had a hundred percent vote. The KNDP won over the CPNC and Foncha was maintained as the VP. Njuah second Foncha at the national assembly votes and Muna considered his friend Foncha not to have been very effective as the leader of the KNDP. President Ahidjo, therefore, appointed Njuah as the Prime Minister of West Cameroon (Willard, 1970, pp. 267-269).

Njuah with his ambition of accelerating the unification of parties in West Cameroon appointed most of the members of the opposition political parties to be leaders of the administrative offices in the government. A new post was created for Endeley as he became the leader of the government business in Cameroon so that he could maintain his prestige as a leader of the CPNC. The KNDP was faced with a crisis during and after the election and got separated from some leaders like Muna who left the KNDP and founded the Cameroon United Congress (CUC). This political party was in support of the federal constitution and also the creation of a national party (Willard, 1970, pp. 270-273).

In 1966, his Excellency Ahidjo called for all the political parties (UC, KNDP, CPNC, and CUC) and with their leaders or representatives, and the prime ministers of the two federal states for a meeting to talk about the national party. At the meeting, the leaders of these parties and the government agreed to merge and form a national party which will govern the Federal Republic. Before 1966 came to an end, president Ahidjo was able to establish the national party that will administer the Federal Republic Cameroon. Therefore in 1966, the Cameroon National Union (CNU) was founded, which was used in governing the Federal Republic (Bongfen, 1995).

Two years after the creation of the CNU, that is 1968, there was another election for both federal and national administrators while Foncha was maintained as the Vice President, President Ahidjo appointed Muna as the prime minister of the West state of Cameroon to replace Juah, who had been PM for three years. Until 1970, Foncha remained the vice president of the federal republic. It was only in 1970 that president Ahidjo decided to replace Foncha from his functions of vice president of the republic by appointing Muna that was the PM of West Cameroon at the same time. This was possible because in 1969, President Ahidjo changed the voting rules regarding the position of VP. It was changed from voting to appointment and this appointment was to be made by the President of the republic at the national party. President Ahidjo was the also the president of the CNU that is why he had the power to appoint Muna, to occupy the two administrative offices of the PM and VP (Joseph & Milton, 1998).

By 1972, at the national assembly, President Ahidjo announced his second ambition for the Cameroonian, that of introducing of the unitary system. This was to be decided through a referendum which was to be held on the 20th of May 1972. The

national assembly voted for a unitary republic and a new constitution was drawn (Bongfen, 1995) on May 20, 1972, which marks the end of the Federal Republic in Cameroon. This changed of the political system was not part of the agreements of the constitutional conference of Foumban 1961 (Achankang, 2015). A different constitution was installed to replace the drafted Foumban constitution of 1961. Also, the creation of this unitary republic can be traced from the period of 1962, when president Ahidjo announced his ambition on achieving a national party (Willard, 1970). After the above explanation, one can understand that the idea behind the national party was a means to establish the unitary system in Cameroon. The creation of the single party system in the federal republic dissolves the political parties of the Anglophones and that in which existed in East Cameroon. These political changes were also to unite the two political communities in Cameroon and ethnic identities in Cameroon.

## **2.5 The distinct identities in Cameroon: constitutional, political, economic and social structure in Cameroon**

May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1972, is the day Cameroon was announced a Unitary Republic at the national assembly which is also the date for the end of the Federal Republic. On that day, the two federal states which were also used to identify the different identities in Cameroon were dissolved and Cameroon was structured into provinces. It was from this political change that the Anglophones began to feel Marginalized by the Francophones as their culture began to dominate that of Anglophones in administrating the nation. This unitary system in Cameroon was to unite the Anglophones and the Francophones according to President Ahidjo. It is a day that Cameroonians celebrates as their national day. By uniting the two identities and revising the draft constitution of 1961, to a new constitution, it changed the political

system of the nation making it different from what was obtained as result of the Southern Cameroonian nationalism. This can also be seen as attempt to unite the identities as president Ahidjo wanted to council the idea of Francophones and Anglophones in Cameroon. Below, I will discuss how the unitary system was practiced from 1972 to 1984.

## **2.6 Uniting the two distinct identities in Cameroon**

Cameroon became a unitary republic by May 1972, after the creation of the national party (CNU) in 1966 which eased this political change in the territory. The CNU was created by the unification of all political parties in the Federal Republic in 1966 as seen in the above explanations. President Ahidjo as leader of the CNU could easily have control over the Western federated state of Cameroon as decisions of the Federal Republic were made from the CNU (Willard, 1970). In May 1972, President Ahidjo declared his new ambition of replacing the Federal Republic with a unitary Republic in a meeting of the CNU.

President Ahidjo reason for his proposal of the creation of a unitary system in the Republic was for the fact that the federal system is costly in developing the nation than that of a unitary system, and it delays the development of the nation, especially the economic sector. President Ahidjo then concluded that, this decision will be effective after a referendum at the national assembly on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1972. On May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1972, at the national assembly, the CNU voted for a unitary republic and a new constitution, was also established (Delancey & Mbuh, 1992). This can also be considered as the unification of the two identities that exists in Cameroon especially as the two stars of the flag that existed in the Federal Republic was replace with one star which exist in the present republic signifies unity. Uniting these two cultures and

Cameroon becoming a united republic was to change the nation status from a national state that existed in the 1970s to a nation state in the early 1970s.

### **2.6.1 The legal constitutional and political structure in Cameroon**

In the constitution 1972, although, President Ahidjo's aim of establishing the unitary system was to unite the two identities and their cultures for the development of the nation, certain laws were left unchanged that could still show evident of the different original identities of the Anglophones and Francophone.

The new constitution maintained the national languages of the Republic English and French, judicial systems of common law and French law, and the two educational systems (Anglo Saxon educational system and France educational system) (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, pp. 66). The 1972 Constitution also had some modifications from the 1961 constitutions especially in the political structure of the Republic changed. The new constitution dismissed the office of VP that existed since in the Federal Republic from 1961 to 1972. Also, the two prime minister offices that existed in the federal states dissolved after putting an end to the existence of the two federal states. Just one PM existed in the unitary republic and in the present republic, that is, the PM of the nation and it is appointed by the President of the republic (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, p. 66). Muna 1972 maintained his position as Prime Minister, and in 1973, President Ahidjo appointed Muna as President of the national assembly. President Ahidjo appointed Biya in 1975 (the present president of the republic) as the PM (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 50- 51). The United Republic of Cameroon stayed for fourteen years, and during this period, president Ahidjo had some political, economic, and social achievements as will be seen below.

Takougang and Krieger, in their article, "Cameroon Political Crossroad," explain the

achievements, of President Ahidjo in Cameroon during the existence of the unitary republic before it came to an end (1998). President Ahidjo ambition of creating a national party in the 1960s was to later transformation the federal constitution to a unitary constitution in order to have total control over the Cameroon territory and the distinct identities. This is seen in the period between 1972 and 1982 after which he resigned from his functions as the President of the United Republic of Cameroon giving way for a new regime.

Territorially, President Ahidjo divided the two federal states into seven provinces, and two of the seven provinces were from the former West state of Cameroon highly occupied by the Anglophones, while the others were the former East state of Cameroon occupied by the Francophones (Bongfen, 1995, p. 23). President Ahidjo appointed governors to administer these seven provinces under the control of the minister of territorial administrations that had lesser authority over the governors since the governors themselves could report directly to President Ahidjo. Present Ahidjo further divided these provinces into divisions, subdivisions, and districts (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, p. 51). This is how the United Republic of Cameroon was partitioned and existed for 12 years. According to article 8 of the 1972 constitution, the president of the United Republic had the responsibility to appoint his ministers, which means he could equally replace them from their various offices of responsibilities or inter-changed them (the Cameroon constitution, 1972).

The duty of article 8 of the 1972 constitution gives the President of the United Republic the authority to constantly substitute his ministers as it was a means considered by the President to keep his presidency safe from traitors (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, p. 52-53). President Ahidjo way of managing the united republic

could be seen as a dictator leader as he centralized the government around. As chairman of the CNU, he secured his position by appointing most of the members CNU to the government in order to compensate them.

In order to avoid military coup, President Ahidjo divided the military into different sections. He divided the military forces into land forces, navy forces, air forces, the republican guards, and the gendarmerie. President Ahidjo appointed the different leaders of the various sections of the arm forces that he created for the security of the nation integrity. Most leaders were from the Muslim province that is the grand north province of the Unitary Republic. These leaders of the various forces were coordinated by the ministry of arm forces at the presidency. The leaders of the different military sections were coordinated by Sadou Daoudou, a Muslim just like President Ahidjo was, who came from the Grand North province of the Republic. Appointing the leaders of the different sections of these arm force were closely controlled just as he did with the civilian administrators (Takougan & Krieger, 1998, pp. 53-54). In this line, President Ahidjo could avoid a “coup d’état” in the United Republic.

President Ahidjo in order to protect himself from traitors, he created the Centre National de Documentation (CND) and “Brigard Mixtes Mobile (BMM)”. The CND was a group formed by president Ahidjo that was on a mission to spy and investigate potential opposition who wanted to act against the president authority or go against the unitary system. They were also involved in the control of newspapers nationally and those going internationally to ensure no negative information(s) against the Republic found in the newspapers. Also The BMM was a special force made up of the mixed arm forces in Cameroon. Any one that was arrested by the CND for

betrayal, against the state or against the President to the BMM for tortured (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 54-56). Foncha and Juah in an attempt in the 1970s to form a new political party in the Anglophone province were quickly confronted by the police and it was broken (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 54-55). This made the president to avoid any political conflict from either of the identities in the unitary republic.

Although president Ahidjo ruled like a dictator to protect his political interest, the United Republic managed to maintain political stability in Cameroon so he could be credited for successful political stability during his regime.

### **2.6.2 Economic and social structure**

During the regime of President Ahidjo in the unitary republic, Cameroon also was both economic and socially very active than it was in the Federal Republic. Economically, the United Republic of Cameroon increased its gross national product. It is estimated to have an increase in the gross national product ranging from about CFA 300 billion in 1970 to about CFA 2000 billion in 1980, that showed improvement in the economy (Takougan & Krieger, 1998, pp. 56, 57). The increased of the national income was because of the high sales of crude oil in Cameroon. This crude oil was from the refinery in the Southwest Province (an Anglophone Province). This refinery was put in place in 1973 by the presidential degree and is call SONARA (Societe Nationale Reffinage SA) (Konings & Nyamnjuh, 2003, pp. 67). Sales increased from approximately \$425 million in 1981 to about \$469 million in 1982 (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 57). Although SONARA is in the Anglophone provinces and it contribute to the national income, most of the employees are the Francophones especially those who occupied the administrative

offices.

Cameroon also had the ALLUCAM in the LITORAL (Francophone province), which is an aluminum-producing company. Even though it serves as an income bringer to the Cameroon economy, it is criticized for its consumption of electricity because the industry paid lesser bills compared to household consumption. Takougang (2003) explains that the company paid lesser electricity bills than the citizens of Cameroon, while those working for that company were the French men from France. It is an industry that is in the Francophone territory and it also generates income to the nation. During the years of the unitary republic with president Ahidjo's regime, Cameroon was one of the fast-growing economies in Africa, despite the poor management of ALLUCAM, which consumed more electricity.

The agricultural sector was doing so well, especially in the Southwest Province, which is made up of the volcanic soil because of the mount Cameroon and surrounded by plantations that increased the economics of the United Republic (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, p. 57-58). The Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC) is an agricultural sector which has the highest number of employed citizens in Cameroon after the Cameroon government and it is cooperation in the Anglophone territory (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003). The Francophones in Cameroon, despite their outstanding numbering towards the Anglophones, the occupy offices that makes them economically better than the Anglophones in the plantations.

Socially, Ahidjo developed Cameroon more in the Unitary Republic than Federal Republic. President Ahidjo did increase the infrastructure of the country. At the capital of the Unitary Republic (Yaoundé), President Ahidjo transformed it to his

center of administration as it was the administrative capital of the entire ministries. Although, to President Ahidjo, it was a means to control his subordinates and be aware of what was happening around the Cameroon territory (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 55).

Roads were increased from over 23250 km in 1974 to over 40000km in 1982 throughout the Cameroonian territory. These roads were constructed to link the Anglophone provinces to those of the Francophones like it was the case with the Tiko-Douala (Southwest and Littoral Region) road. This Tiko-Douala road gave easy accessibility in transporting agricultural products (cash crops), from the Southwest province to Douala (Littoral province) that has a Seaport for exportation. A pipeline was set up for the easy transportation of crude oil from the southwest across the country to Chad. Still on transport, during the regime of President Ahidjo in the unitary republic, there was an increase in the number of kilometers of the railway that facilitated the transportation from the interior parts of the Southwest province (Kumba), which passes through Mbanga a town in Littoral province, through Douala, Yaoundé and to the Grand North (Ngaoundere). The railway was extended from 517 km in 1965 to 1172 km in 1977(Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 55-57).

In Cameroon, schools and hospitals were also improved, in President Ahidjo's regime. The secondary schools in Cameroon increased, during President Ahidjo Regime at the United Republic than it was in the Federal Republic. It increased in the number of students from approximately, 44774 in the 1960s to 462225 in the early 1980s most of these schools were increased in the Francophone provinces. Also, university student popularity increased with a population of about 2500 in 1971 to about 6000 by 1973. During the federal republic, Cameroon had one University,

which was the University of Cameroon in Yaoundé, and during, President Ahidjo's regime, in the Unitary Republic; he created some branches in Douala and Dschang (all towns of the Francophones provinces) (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 55-57).

In 1973, other projects were drawn, to build different branches of the Cameroon University at Buea (Anglophone province) and Ngaoundere (Grand North Province). President Ahidjo's era improved the number of hospitals and clinics more than what was in the federal state. Moreover, medical schools were established, to form doctors and nurses around the Cameroon territory (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 55-58). In 1975, the school of national administration and magistracy was created, in Yaoundé, to form administrators and judges in Cameroon (Delancey & Mbuh, 1992). Here one can noticed that the developments when it comes to higher education, there was more privileges given to the Francophone territory. These developments that took place after the unification of the two identities in 1972 was because Cameroon was considered to have become a nation state and the president needed to develop the nation as part of his responsibility.

## **2.7 Weakness of the unitary republic in Cameroon**

President Ahidjo's regime was politically, economically and socially stable, which increased development in Cameroon than it was with the Federal Republic. But one can noticed in Cameroon that despite the economic contribution of the Anglophone territory to the increase in the nations GDP and income most Francophone provinces are developed than those of the Anglophones. Cameroon also, was faced, with some difficulties such as complains from the Christian missions of Cameroon during the unitary system.

For instants the Presbyterian mission in the Anglophone provinces (Northwest and Southwest) were not comfortable with the treatment given to the prisoners in Cameroon, as was the case with the unfair tortured given to the prisoners. Another Christian mission that complained was the Catholics in Cameroon about corruption among the police officers in the territory. President Ahidjo's regime, despite these reports from the Christian missions, Cameroon in Africa was seen as a country that was fast developing in Africa because it was seen as a success in agricultural production especially from the Anglophone provinces (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, p. 56).

President Ahidjo, in 1982, because of unhealthful conditions, decided to resign from his function as president of the United Republic of Cameroon and handed over responsibility of the presidency to Paul Biya Mvondo that was prime minister of the United Republic of Cameroon. President Biya, therefore, is the second president of the United Republic and of Cameroon. President Biya who also is the current president of Cameroon, changed the Republics name for the second time, just like his predecessor had done before. He changed the nations name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. President Biya's regime has been leading the country until the present days even though his regime has faced political crises, especially the Anglophone crises (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, p. 69).

The change from the federal structure in Cameroon, which was obtained as the result of the Southern nationalism, to the unitary structure of a republic in 1972 and it is celebrated as the national day made the Anglophones to be dormant over decisions on the Republic. The effect of this marginalization by the Francophones because of their numerical superiority in population and territory will continue in the Republic

of Cameroon and will be kick against following the Anglophone crisis from the 1980s.

## **2.8 Liberal democracies introduced Cameroon**

President Biya after he became the successor of President Ahidjo, he changed the territory name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon in 1985. The Republic of Cameroon has phased series of changes that was not in the United Republic. The Republic of Cameroon saw a more liberal and democratic world than was the case in the United Republic, and has seen political crises and conflicts than it was in the case of the Unitary Republic and the Federal Republic since the nationalisms in Cameroon.

President Ahidjo resigned as the President of the United Republic of Cameroon in 1982, because of his poor health conditions. Paul Biya, who was the prime minister, became President Ahidjo's successor on the 6th of November 1982 (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, pp. 69), and he appointed his prime minister Maigari Bello Bouba who also is a Francophone.

President Ahidjo maintained his position as the chairperson of the CNU to control the United Republic from that position, since President Biya was also a member of the national party. President Biya, in 1982 seemed to be compliant to his predecessor as he was the chairperson of the CNU and former present of the United Republic of Cameroon. President Biya referred to his predecessor as "the father of the nation" which became a popular name used in Cameroon to identify Ahidjo. President Biya also maintained President Ahidjo government in 1982 and even promoted some as the government members, especially those in charge of defense, and others were

promoted to the secretaries of state who were Muslims from the Grand North and Francophones (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 65-67).

President Biya maintained the official languages used in the territory since the decolonization of Southern Cameroonians but changed the nation name from the United Republic to the Republic of Cameroon in the 1980s. President Biya maintaining Ahidjo's administrators can be considering as a means of studying the intentions of the chairperson of the CNU, who was his predecessor. In 1983, President Mitterrand of France announced his visit to Cameroon in June 1983. President Biya with regards to President Mitterrand's visit, decided to do a cabinet reshuffle before the arrival of the French president in order for him to meet President Biya's own administrators and not those of his predecessor (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, p. 69).

This was the first personal political changes made by President Biya in his office without consultation from the CNU chairman. President Biya, in 1983, made some territorial adjustments by dividing the Grand North province into three provinces, the Far North, North, and Adamawa, and the center province in two, the Center province and South provinces. The Republic of Cameroon composes of ten provinces in total, while the Unitary Republic makes up seven provinces. By 2008, these provinces were called regions. President Biya changed most of the governors of these provinces and the senior prefects of the divisions to appoint his (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 71).

At the ministry of defense, instead of separate leadership of each section of defense, like it was case in President Ahidjo's era, President Biya put all defense forces under

a single leader. This leader was General Piere Semengue, and three generals were appointed, to assist him. President Ahidjo followers, whom President Biya saw as threat in his administration, were all removed from their various offices of responsibilities as it concerned the government. Ahidjo saw these decisions of President Biya as an insult to him and his followers, including the division made in the Grand North which was his province of origin and dominated by Muslims. Ahidjo considered that President Biya is destroying the unity he had created in the territory (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 71-72).

The cabinet reshuffle made by President Biya, grew a conflict between him and the chairperson of the CNU. The President made it clear with evidence of article 5 from the 1972 constitution put in place when the United Republic established, that is, concerning the hierarchy of the Republic the state comes first before the national party. This section of the constitution codes that state political parties and other groups were able to take part in elections in case the chairperson of the CNU rejects the proposition of President. President Biya following the constitution, proposed to Ahidjo, to go in for the post of responsibility of the chairperson of the national party. The Chairman of the CNU flew to France on exile after the French President had returned. Before traveling to France, he asked his followers who were still in the government to resign from their duties with the intention that President Biya's government will crumble. This outstation of Ahidjo facilitated President Biya to take Ahidjo's position as the chairman of the CNU, and put his name on the CNU anthem. President Biya brought the presidential election closer in 1984 instead of the scheduled date of 1985. President Biya was the only candidate for the presidential elections and won the elections in 1984 (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 73).

After the 1984 elections, President Biya passed a presidential decree changing the nation's name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon (Ngho, 1987). This was the name given to French Cameroon after the French Cameroonian nationalism and this raises a question on the Anglophones identity in Cameroon, because of this change of the nation's name. On April 1984, Cameroon saw an attempted coup d'état. The coup d'état included most northerners in Cameroon, that constituted the various members of the different sections of the military, and led by colonel Saleh Ibrahim the commander of the Republican Guards and second him was captain Awal Abbasi both from the Northern provinces. The coup d'état, was considered to be organized by those of the north and Muslims of Cameroon, who wanted to take over the presidency in order to restore Ahidjo back to power but it was a failure. This coup took three days in the administrative city of Yaoundé, and thousands of people were killed while hundreds of others who were considered accomplice were captured by the Cameroonian arm forces in order for peace to be put in place in the capital by the third day (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 73).

In 1985, a new national party replaced the CNU, in which Present Biya was still the chairman. President Biya changed the name of the national party from CNU to the Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement (CPDM). The change of the national party's name to CPDM was the way towards building a multi-party system in the Republic of Cameroon. President Biya who is the ruling president of the Republic of Cameroon today and the longest serving president in Cameroon, came to power in 1982, and he has had some political failures likewise, some political successes in Cameroon.

Among these political success is establishment a liberal democracy in the nation which was not the case in the Unitary Republic. The popularity of liberalist policies in the 1990s around the globe also affected Cameroon. President Biya opened up to freedom of speech, and the free expression on newspapers, radio stations, and Television channels which was not the case with United Republic. President Biya, also introducing a multi-party system in Cameroon politics, the liberalist policy on democratization was applied in Cameroon in order for the multi-party system to be establishes (Takougang & Krieger, 1998, pp. 76-78). After the president had declared a multi-party system in Cameroon, it actually followed with the creation of many political parties. The political party representing the Northwest and Southwest provinces was the Social Democratic Front (SDF) with Chairman Ni John Fru Ndi (Delancey & Mbuh, 1992).

The SDF was in the northwest province capital (Bamenda) one of the Anglophone provinces and created with hopes that, the interest of the political party is to protect the Anglophone identity (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, p. 77). It is generally known as the Anglophones political party even though there some Francophones who are also members now are days. The CPDM and SDF have been the major political parties in Cameroon since the introduction of multi-party system in Cameroon in the 1990s. Another Presidential election took place in Cameroon in 1992. The result of this election showed the impact of the multi-party system established by 39% of CPDM in 1992 against the 99% in 1984 won by President Biya. In 1996, the 1972 constitution was amended, by the harmonization of some sections, such as, if the president is from any of the Francophone provinces or the Anglophone provinces, the prime minister appointed by the president of the republic should be from the opposite identity (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003).

In 1996 was a conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over the Bakassi peninsula territory, in which both countries found interest in the natural oil resources of that area. Cameroon won against Nigeria with the help of the international community intervention at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2002, and this part became a rich oil zone in the Southwest province of Cameroon (Delancey & Mbuh, 1992) which is another Anglophone province. President Biya protected that Anglophone piece of land that wanted to be seized by the Nigerians.

President Biya formed a branch in the Cameroon military called “The Rapid Intervention Battalion” (BIR). This force terminated the “coupeur de route” in the northern (Adamawa, North, and Far North provinces) part of the Cameroon highways. The "coupeur de route" was a group of people were killing and capturing travelers, especially those involved in the Cameroon Chad lines for commercial activities on the highways of the national routes (Roitman, 2006). Also, the BIR was very helpful in containing the terrorist group Boko Haram again in the Far Northern provinces with the joined forces agreement of Nigeria and Chad, signed by the various states presidents in 2014. And now the BIR is involved in the ongoing conflict of the Anglophone regions for the national security.

Economically, President Biya’s regime is considered as a failure compare to that of President Ahidjo’s regime of the Unitary Republic. Production might have improved due to the technological improvement in Biya’s regime but the importation of products has dominated exportation with an increase in the population which has reduced the national income compared to the national income of the Unitary Republic (Takougang & Krieger, 1998).

Cameroon is phased with an ongoing political conflict that started in 2016 and has caused political instability in Cameroon which a solution is yet to found (Pommerolle & Heungoup, 2017). Politically, the conflict has nationalist activities that can be explain as an attempt towards nationalism in the Cameroonians territory again. This conflict explains the political failure of President Biya in the republic of Cameroon. The conflict is between the Anglophone separatists representing one of the ethnic communities in Cameroon and the Cameroon government. Details of this conflict will be in chapter 4, but it is necessary to look at the long term Anglophone crisis below before analyzing the transformation of the crisis to a violent conflict after 2016 in chapter 4.

## **2.9 The beginning of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon and the creation of civil societies**

### **2.9.1 The beginning of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon**

The Anglophone crisis stated when the Anglophone community in Cameroon begins struggling for a return to the two-state federation nation that Cameroon was after the Southern Cameroonian nationalism by the Anglophone nationalist while other nationalists are for a separate Anglophone nation. This period of the crisis began from the late 1980s to 2016, after which it became a violent political conflict. The Anglophone crisis is phased with a series of nationalist actions such as nationalist movements and nationalist sentiments showing the determination of separating from the Francophones that the southern Cameroonian nationalism united in 1961.

The Anglophone crises following the above history, has traced back it cause from the time when the Federal Republic of Cameroon was created, from the moment President Ahidjo came up with the idea to form the national party to govern the

federal republic and made himself chairman of that party. Following the creation of the national party, it gave more power to Ahidjo to be able to put in place a unitary system in Cameroon. Endeley showed reluctant at the beginning when Ahidjo proposed idea of a national party. He already saw it to cause the domination of one of the identity over the other (Takougan & Kriegar, 1998, pp. 53-54). Endeley was powerless to avoid the creation of the national party, which led to the change of the political system from the federal system to a unitary system. Ahidjo showed actions of a dictator leader in the United Republic, and because of his spies, and tortured which was given to those complaining against his policy, the Anglophones kept watching over this suppression.

In 1983, with a new regime in Cameroon that took over Ahidjo's regime, the Anglophone students in university and those of the secondary schools protested by walking on the public streets of Yaoundé and other provinces in Cameroon without considering the tortured that could be given to them. This protest was because the Cameroon government wanted to change the Anglophone educational system to be a join education with that of the Francophones. In 1983, the Cameroon government wanted to change the General Certificate of Education (GCE), which was an entrance examination to the high school, and the university, to become a joined group examination with the Francophones (Nfi, 2021, pp. 35-36). This was an attempt to cancel the GCE examination by uniting the two educational systems.

In 1984, President Biya changed the name of the nation, which was first done by his predecessor, from the United Republic of Cameroon to simply the Republic of Cameroon. The change of the Republic name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon, the Anglophones considered it as means of a second

colonization by the Francophones. This idea of internal colonialism came up because "The Republic of Cameroon," was the name used by the former French colony after gaining their independent and national identity in January 1st, 1960. It was also seen by Ahidjo as destroying the unity in identity which he had put in place (Joseph & Milton, 1998, pp. 73). Because of this 1884 political change, led to the creation of the first civil society as will be seen below.

### **2.9.2 Civil societies and political party during the Anglophone crisis**

The Anglophone community at the tail end of the 1980s, created civil societies to struggle to fight the dominant activities of the ethnic Francophones community and struggle against internal colonialism, by carrying out nationalist actions. This struggle is seen as the period of the Anglophone crisis from the 1980s to 2016. It began with petitions creating the sense of separation from the Francophones. The petition was encouraged by an Anglophone traditional ruler, and lawyer, Fon Gorji Dinka, who started distributing pamphlets in the Anglophone provinces encouraging actions which needed to be taken for former Southern Cameroonians in order to secede from the Francophones but he was arrested, by the Cameroonian government (Nfi, 2021, pp. 36). The beginning of the creation of these civil societies and the nationalist movement by the Anglophones from the 1980s can be considered as the period when the Anglophones discovered their right to self-determination. It is a condition which guarantees and observes an individual's human rights to protect and strengthen that right. According to the UN charter, all people have the right to self-determination; this self-determination imposes particular obligations not just to state parties of particular nations but also to those who have been deprived from achieving this right of self-determination (Kumbaro, 2001).

In 1985, President Biya replaced the CNU with the CPDM and maintained the

chairperson position of the party. It happened without the concern of the Anglophones, who were also members of the national party, and they got informed by a message sent to them in the Anglophone provinces. To the Anglophones, it was not a proper means of presenting such important information since they were also members of CNU and this action of the president made them bordered about the Anglophones their identity.

The above shows how the Anglophones were neglected in the Republic, and to struggle for the recognition of the Anglophone identity in Cameroon, the Anglophones created civil societies because it was only after the 1990s, that political parties became introduced in order for them to create a political party. The First civil society was created in 1984 and was called the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM). In order for the CAM to be recognized it succeeded in having 5000 legislative signatures by 1989 (Nfi, 2021, pp. 36) and it was to protest against the Cameroon government for the Anglophone identity to be recognized in the territory. In 1990, the multi-party system was introduced by President Biya in Cameroon, and the Social Democratic Front (SDF) was born in the Anglophone region with Ni John Fru Ndi as leader of the party. The SDF was to represent the Anglophones provinces during elections and Anglophone interest which was not actually the case later as will be discussed below. The SDF just like the CPDM exist even now our days and both are made up of the two identities in Cameroon and are the major political parties in Cameroon. Nationally and internationally, the Anglophones struggled to satisfy their claims put in place for their identity to be acknowledged in Cameroon (Nfi, 2021).

In 1992, the presidential election was conducted, and President Biya won the election

with the CPDM. In the Anglophone provinces, after the results of the election, there was a scandal because the Anglophones believed that the election was unfairly conducted, and the SDF votes were considered stolen. While the president had to call for an emergency in the province for three months, Fru Ndi was put under house surveillance in his resident in Bamenda in the Northwest province for three months as well (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 2003, pp. 79). This was a means to stop the scandal that was taking place in the Anglophone provinces.

Furthermore, Foncha and Muna, early in the 1990s, left the CPDM since it was no longer the lone party as it was before. President Biya had instituted the multi-party system in Cameroon, Foncha and Muna left the CPDM because the Anglophone members were insulted by the Francophone as “Les Biafrais, les enemies Dans la Maison.” That was the way Francophones identified the Anglophones in the CPDM when it comes to conferences or meetings of CPDM and consider them to be the enemies of the CPDM house (Nfi, 2021, pp. 38).

In the 1990s, Cameroon became more of a democratic nation in President Biya's Regime than in President Ahidjo regime. This led to an increase in education, with improvement in the printing of textbooks for studies, especially literature books such as Victor Epie's book of 1992 title, “What God has put, Asunder.” This literature text book explains the incompatibility between the French Cameroon and English Cameroon that has been living together since independence (Nfi, 2020, pp. 126). Another textbooks were "Beast of no Nation," and "Requiem of the Last Kaiser," published in the early 1990s by Bate Besong, a university lecturer at the Anglophone university of Buea. This books, called on the liberation of the Anglophones under the dictatorship of the dominant identity (Ekpebison & Kashim, 2017, pp. 146).

After the establishment of the liberal democracy in Cameroon from the beginning of the 1990s, both private and public television and radio stations became popular technology, which also embraces freedom of speech throughout the Cameroon nation. Journalists had various television channel and radio programs through which the Anglophones used for their national protest. Some of these television and radio programs were famous and followed by the Anglophones. “Cameroon Calling” was a radio program held on the national radio station and “Minutes by Minutes” a television program that talks about the liberations of the Anglophones and always explained most the Anglophones history. Later on, some of these journalists who held the various programs were arrested (Nfi, 2020, pp. 127). All of these communication facilities help in spreading the history of the Anglophones and the idea of a possible recognition of their identity as it promoted the creation of civil societies.

In 1993, Foncha joined the pressure groups to attain the All Anglophone League conference (AAL), held at Buea, the capital of the Southwest province, and former capital of former West Cameroon state. After this conference in 1994, Foncha and Muna made a return to the UN seeking for a returned to the federal Republic of Cameroon but before Muna and Foncha left for the UN, Fon. Gorji Dinka, had applied for an Ambazonia state membership to the UN earlier before Foncha and Muna arrived the UN (Nfi, 2021, pp. 38). Fon Gorji, already introduced the idea of the Ambazonia nation, which has not existed before but claimed it is the nation through which the Anglophones identify themselves. This is an imagine nation which Fon Gorji spread in the Anglophone community and today in the Anglophone conflict one can find the activists identifying themselves as the Ambazonians, and their territory as Amber land.

In 1995, a new civil society was formed by the Anglophones, which was called the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC). This existed from 1995 until 2017 when it merge with other civil societies to form the SCACUF (Okereke, 2018). Following the unsuccessful trip made by Foncha and Muna to the UN, The SCNC also, called on to the UN in 1995 to intervene between the Cameroon government and the Anglophones in Cameroon, considering their culture dominated by the Francophones majority. Yet the UN did not give any response which favored the petition made by the SCNC (Nfi, 2021, pp. 38).

Also in 1995, the Secretary-General of the Common Wealth came to Cameroon. His coming was an opportunity for the SCNC to convince him on the situation of the Anglophones, so that he could see what was happening with the Anglophones in Cameroon, but the SCNC did not do so. After the Secretary-General of the Common Wealth had left Cameroon, the SCNC applied to join the Common Wealth representing the Anglophones as a nation but again, it was rejected (Nfi, 2021, pp. 38). After the entire rejections from the international institutions to satisfy the Anglophone demands for a national identity, the Anglophones nationalist in 1997 felt frustrated, and the SCNC lounded some direct attacks on some government officials in Bamenda. Over 200 members of the SCNC were arrested, while others fled out of Cameroon (Ayim, 2010, pp. 642-643).

The Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL), with Foncha and Muna as members, added to them was, Chief Ayamba, Federick Allobwede, and James Sabum. On December 31<sup>st</sup> 1999 together succeeded in seizing the national Radio, at the Southwest Province capital, and declared the independent of Southern Cameroon (Ayim, 2010, pp. 643). It is a nationalist action, which defies the territorial integrity

of a nation. SCNC then, in the early 2000s, many of her members had to disperse, and most members exiled to different countries since they became unable to have a positive response from the international institutions on the Anglophone identity in Cameroon. The Cameroon government arrested some members of the SCNC, for their attacks on the government members, which they had lounged against government members in the Anglophone provinces.

In the year 2000, the SCNC held it's first-ever secessionist constitutional congress in Bamenda, that was an electoral year in Cameroon, and members of the SCNC boycotted the presidential elections. In 2003 the SCNC formed a defense force for the former Anglophones , which they called the Southern Cameroon Defense (SOCADEF), that had her base in the neighboring territory of Nigeria, and this base was maintained, in Nigeria since it was created (Nfi, 2021, pp. 39). Still in Nigeria, the SCNC during the 2000s sued the Cameroon government in the International Court of Justice, the court session was held at the high court of Nigeria, and the result was still not promising to the Anglophones.

Some members of the SCNC, who exile themselves from Cameroon, opened a Southern Cameroon embassy at Frankfurt Germany, through which they had different conferences and were able to circulate information concerning the Anglophones struggle in Cameroon. These conferences were not just held only in the city of Frankfurt but also in other places in the world, such as was the case in Minnesota and Dallas in the United States declaring the independent of Southern Cameroonians in Minnesota. The SCNC members showed actions of anti-republican Cameroonians. They burned the flag of the Republic of Cameroon in some places abroad which called for the attention of some international institutions such as the

UN, the African Union (AU), European Union (EU) and the Commonwealth that had previously rejected their claims of the SCNC. Also, the SCNC had sent a petition to the British government claiming that the independence of Southern Cameroon during the decolonization process was incomplete and that they should complete it by helping them achieving their own independent state. Again, in 2009, the SCNC tried to join the AU 2009, but it failed, followed by the institution of the human and people rights commission in charge of the African Union (Nfi, 2021, pp. 38). It was difficult for the SCNC to succeed in joining this international institutions because they were not recognize as a state neither were they recognized as a colony.

Despite all the activities of the SCNC, the Cameroon government, also reacted to the actions of the SCNC through a series of harassments during meetings or conferences in the Anglophone provinces by arresting their members and detaining them, as was with the case of Chief Ayamba and other members of the SCNC, who were arrested in 2011 but released few days later without charges on them by the Cameroon government (Nfi, 2021, pp. 38).

The international communities bordered by the nationalists' activities in Cameroon, and abroad thought about these actions of the nationalists, then questioned the Cameroonian government on the claims presented to them by the SCNC and why they harassed the SCNC members. The Cameroon government gave the following responses to the international institutions; The Cameroon government claimed not to have recognized the SCNC as a legal organization in the state and that the SCNC had never applied for the fulfillment of becoming a political party or a legal organization. This was the government's answer to the international communities in 2012. In 2009, the government claimed that, they had recommended the SCNC to apply in order to

become a political party in Cameroon, but they did not. The Cameroon government stopped the SCNC from holding rallies and meetings both in public and private properties because they were not recognized as a political party or a legal entity. The SCNC members were stop through harassment, and members of SCNC, were arrested because of meetings held for secessionists acts following the Cameroon law is prohibited. So they were found illegal in such meets (Canada immigration and Refugee board, 2014).

These were the responds giving by the government to the international community on the Anglophones and the SCNC. From the above one can see that the SDF that was the only political party that was to protect the Anglophones interest was not active in the Anglophones nationalists' activists considering the fact that the Anglophones believed the creation of the SDF was for the interest the Anglophones.

Few years after the Cameroon government had responded to the international community, in 2016, the last quarter of the year were a continuation of the Anglophone nationalists' movement. This time around it was with the Anglophone lawyers together with teacher's trade unions of the Anglophone regions that continued with the crisis. They protested in 2016, claiming from the Cameroon government effectiveness of the Anglophone judicial system in Cameroon and the effectiveness of the Anglophone educational system, which later was followed by claims regarding low development in the territory (Nfi, 2021). This 2016 crisis in the Anglophone regions continued to 2017, which it later transformed into a violent conflict (civil war) between the Cameroon government and the Anglophone extremist that same year, which is still ongoing and has led to humanitarian crises in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon (Pommerolle & Heungoup, 2017).

Before looking at the violent conflict after the 2016 Anglophone crisis, which resulted from the long Anglophone crisis, the following chapter will look at nationalism as seen by some scholars and how possible their ideas can justify the Anglophone crisis as cause of the Anglophone nationalism of 1961.

## Chapter 3

# THEORIZING NATIONALISM IN CAMEROON FROM 1961

### 3.1 General overview of nationalism

Nationalism came to be made known from the time modern nations are said to have come into existence, which has been considered as the period of industrial evolution that started in Europe in the 1700s when the first nations were created. Beginning from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, many groups of people who considered themselves as a nation within a state or in a non-state community claimed for self-determination. This idea of self-determination increased the national movement that took place non nation states. This was form of nationalism mostly based on nationalist movement whose ideas are based on ethnicity, linguistic, geographical borders across political unifications, culture and literature education (Husbbawn, 1990). Gellner in his book, “Nations and Nationalism,” acknowledges that it is only in modern nations, that is, a nation in which one can see state policies that one can actually find out that nationalism had taken place. Gellner considers a modern nation to be culturally congruent to the state (Gellner, 1983, pp.4-5), which signifies, that, there should have a cultural agreement accepted in governing the state for it to sustain its political stability.

Nationalism is a state of mind in which the supreme loyalty of an individual is felt to be, due to the nation-state (Beiner, 1999).” Renan refers to nationalism as a daily

plebiscite (1996, pp. 53). Individuals that are identified with a particular nation have a deep affection for that nation because of a common history of the defined territory with a shared common culture and authorities, who are now citizens of a particular state who keeps reminding themselves of that national past (Renan, 1996, pp. 52-54). These ideas of the nation and identity exist in the minds of the individuals naturally within a particular nation and because of that reason they consider themselves to be members of that particular nation. A modern nation as seen by Renan is “a soul and a spiritual principle.” The “soul” represents memories of the past shared together while the “spiritual principle” represents the present day through which individuals of the various communities are willing together to inherit that past and the desire of living together. For that reason, Renan comes out with the definition of a modern nation as “a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future (Renan, 1996, pp. 52).”

This explanation of a modern nation according to Anderson (1991) who is a prominent scholar of nationalism, takes into consideration that cultures and shared history of members who identify themselves by a particular community, imagine this community. According to him, modern nations are imagined political communities. Just as Fon Gorji in the 1980s called the Anglophone community in Cameroon as Ambazonia which is a nation that is imagined. Smith (1991) on his part is of the opinion that the modern nations, considering Gellner, Renan, and Anderson’s explanations, modern nations existed as ethnic communities in the past. So from the above definition of nationalism by Beiner, nationalism explains most of the nationalist movements in a nation-state. Nationalism has been considered by

different scholars, who have different descriptions of the way modern nations or states came into existence and how national identity is being gotten in a nation.

I will proceed by testing the theory of nationalism to that of Cameroon from the explanation of the two types of nationalism before looking at the various scholars' explanation on nationalism in order to understand the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon.

### **3.2 The different forms of nationalism**

There are two forms of nationalism that explains how nationalism leads to the creation of modern nation and how national identity is being achieved. The forms of nationalism are civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism (Beiner, 1999).

#### **3.2.1 Civic nationalism**

This kind of nationalism does not base on ethnicity, culture and language in order for a state to be created but rather agree to live following the creation of particular laws which the citizens accept to be governed by.

It is more of a Jus Soli means an individual chooses to belong to a particular nation and the constitution has an important role to play in the explanation of the community, as such, a nation form by civic nationalism becomes politically stable than those of ethnic nationalism. This is because civic nationalism is considered to have created the most successful nations and the first nations. Civic nationalism produces a civic nation with a national identity (Yack, 1996, pp. 104-105). This kind of nation is that which Renan had defined above.

Civic nationalism is not the kind of nationalism that took place in Cameroon. This is because Cameroon after it became a modern nation had a national identity and a

cultural identity that is used to differentiate the Cameroonians as seen in the Cameroon constitution created in 1961 that took into consideration the two cultures by agreeing upon a federal public for the protection of the cultures.

### **3.2.2 Ethnic nationalism**

This kind of nationalism takes in to consideration the cultures, languages and religions of the individuals in a particular territory in order to have citizenship.

It is more of a Jus Sanguinis which means an extension in blood lineage as premodialist explains. Ethnic nationalism is when the nation comes before its members because the nation is considered to have chosen its members. Nations form from ethnic nationalism usually with time becomes culturally discriminative since usually, they are made up of collective cultures and in the future one of these cultures will probably dominate the rest of the cultures (Yack, 1996, pp. 104-105).

Ethnic nationalism is that which can be considered compared to civic nationalism, as applicable to the case of the nationalisms that took place in the Cameroon territory following the political evolution from the period of the Southern Cameroonians nationalism that also explains the process of decolonization in Cameroon. It is so because the nationalism in the territory became successful with the creation of a nation state with two ethnic communities of different cultures that is, the Anglophones that were members of the Southern Cameroon the British colony and the Francophones that had already achieved independent from their colonial master (France) before accepting to merged.

From Yack explanation on ethnic nationalism, one can understand why the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon came about as an attempt to a second Anglophone nationalism after the crisis that started in the 1980s which has developed into a

violent conflict after 2016 and has led to political instability in Cameroon in the Anglophone regions in particular because of cultural discrimination. Nationalism is being explained below by scholars of modernist, ethno-symbolist and Marxist that looks at nationalism from different societies on how it leads to a nation formation and national identity comparatively with the case of Cameroon.

### **3.3 Nationalism in the different societies following different scholars' explanations**

This section of the study will present the different discussions on the process of nationalism and to see how possible it can be applicable to the Southern Cameroonians nationalism in order to understand the origin of the Anglophone crisis. I will explain the cause of nationalism which leads to the creation of modern nation and national identity according to these scholars; Gellner, Anderson, Smith, and Chatterjee. After each of these explanations, I will see how applicable it can be with the case of Cameroon in her political evolution.

#### **3.3.1 Nationalism in an industrial society**

Ernest Gellner explains nationalism in the European societies where the first modern nations were created. He based his arguments on the fact that the coming of modernization due to the new age of industrialization developed the ideas of creating modern nations and achieving national identity. Nationalism is seen as an ideology which explains how modern nations or states are being created. Nationalism therefore, according to Gellner, is a political principle, which holds the political unit of a nation. He further explains that the culture of that nation should be congruent to the national unit of that state (Gellner, 1986, pp. 1). For nationalism to have occurred, therefore, nationalist principles has been violated which can create a national sentiment that leads to national movements in a community. At times these

nationalist movements can actually be violently claiming to join or to separate from a territory through which that national claim can be a success or a failure (Gellner, 1986, pp. 1-2).

Nationalism, if successful in the process of creating a nation and a national identity, it means that it holds the responsibility of the political stability of that nation. According to Gellner, a state "is an agency, through which, the society is found in a possession of a legalized violent (Gellner, 1983, pp.3)." Nationalism is usually practice by the nationalist movement in the society. These nationalists more often develops anger which could lead to the violation of a nations' principles in order for them to fulfill their satisfactions. Generally, Gellner sees this group of nationalist, as a group of individuals who are not even aware of the nation's boundaries as they are pushed by those members of the Diasporas (Gellner, 1983, pp. 1).

According to Gellner, one can trace nationalism from the coming of industrialization in Europe, which also is the introduction of modernization to the world. Industrialization started in Europe in the 1700s which marks the periods when the first modern nations were formed. The creation of modern nations in Europe, which is seen as the period of enlightenment later spread throughout the world. Before this period in Europe, that nationalism seems to have begun, Europe had seen a shift from the pre - agrarian societies to the agrarian society and to the post agrarian society. Europe had to pass through these stages in order for nationalism to occur which Gellner sees these different ages as the transition to the age of nationalism. He also says mankind is committed to modernity which is brought by science and technology, which cannot be easily reversible. Modern nations were seen during the period of the post agrarian societies (Gellner, 1986, pp. 39). He proceeds to say that

that industrialization encouraged standardized education improved the education to be of standard because division of labour in the industries demanded for specialization.

This major development in Europe, which led to industrialization and development of education, gave a certain degree of liberty in Europe which gave access to nationalists to go in for national movement (Gellner, 1983, pp. 40). This liberty brought by industrialization alongside standardized education in Europe created a sense of nation building in order to obtain a modern nation with a national identity.

According to Gellner on how nationalism leads to creation of modern nations in Europe, it is not similar with the case of the nationalism that took place in Africa particularly in Cameroon. Firstly, the Africa continent was a colonial world with most of her cultures, religions and languages copied from their colonial masters. Also these African states, including Cameroon were not industrialized society and were less modern than the European nations during the nationalism process of the different continents. The decolonization process in Africa was alongside the nationalism that took place in African states which also differentiates the nationalism in Europe from that of Africa and Cameroon in particular.

Gellner further mention that nationalism holds the state future political stability. After the Southern Cameroonian nationalism, which product was the Federal Republic Cameroon, there have been political evolutions in Cameroon which gave priority to the Francophone culture over that of the Anglophones in Cameroon. This has made Cameroon not to be culturally congruent to the nation which is contrary to what Gellner had explained in order to maintain the nation's political stability. Following the Anglophone crisis which has become violent as will be explain in

chapter 4, it shows violent nationalist movement and sentiment, proving how irrational nationalism could be as Gellner did explain. Also most of these nationalist activities are sponsored by those abroad while those in the territory could be ignorant of what they are doing. This sponsorship that come from the nationalist abroad explained why the campaigned of the Anglophone nationalist in Cameroon has a government which they call an interim government.

Even though one can consider the Anglophone crisis to be an attempt towards the Anglophone nationalism, neither the Anglophone territory in Cameroon nor Cameroon before and after colonization is an industrial society which means industrialization is not factor of the cause of the Southern Cameroonians nationalism in the late 1950s and the Anglophone crisis from the 1980s.

### **3.3.2 Nationalism and print capitalism**

On like Gellner's explanation above, Anderson explains that modernity in Europe came alongside nationalism which has led to the creation of modern nations and subsequently achieving national identity. Anderson defines a nation as "an imagined political community (Anderson, 1991, pp. 6)."

Anderson brings out four elements after his definition of a modern nation in order to explain what the nation really is. The four elements are; the nation is imagined, the nation is imagined as limited, the nation is imagined as sovereignty and the nation imagined as a community. After listing these four elements which form a modern nation he explained the why these element need each order for the existence of a modern nation. The first element is the nation is imagined. He says that all the citizens in a nation do not know each other but they live in the territory with the idea of belonging to that particular nation. Secondly, the nation is imagined as limited.

Here the limitation is not just the physical boundaries such as rivers, and mountains, but the language, culture, religious and history of a nation also limits the citizens. Thirdly, the nation imagined as sovereignty.

. Here Anderson brings out the separate institutes of the nation, beginning from that which governs the nation emphasizing that it is separated from the other social structures of the nation and lastly, the nation is imagined as a community. Anderson explains that there is a togetherness which is considered to be unequal due to the fact that some members of that nation are being exploited by others. Some members have more authority over the others which explain the different rights of the citizens (Anderson, 1991, pp. 6-7). These elements have shown how modern nations are being established after nationalism had occurred successfully. According to Anderson these four elements mentioned, together form the structure of a modern nation which explains the definition a nation by Renan as the Soul and the Spirit. In other words, looking at the explanation of what a nation is according to Renan and Anderson's definition of a nation, the nation is something which exists within the minds of citizens in different nations.

Anderson explains the creation of imagine political communities, from the rise of nationalism due to the consciousness of nationalists. Anderson looks at nationalism to have got it origin from the historical transformation in Europe which led to modernity in Europe. He sees this period as the origin of nationalist consciousness. In chapter three of Anderson book, "The Imagine Community," he brings out what could have led to the origin of consciousness and consequently nationalism in a giving society. That explains why the nationalist movement in most societies, is to achieve a national identity or for these societies to become modern nations. Print

capitalism and the spread of particular vernacular which became standard languages, led to the rise of nationalism in European nations (Anderson, 1991, pp. 39).

Capitalism in Europe increased the accessibility of machines by industries in Europe. This was the case with printing machines in Europe during the period of enlightenment. Accessibility of these printing machines because of capitalism increased the production of print documents. The introduction of printing press led to the creation of print documents such as, text books and newspapers that were written in particular vernaculars through which messages were being communicated to the people of a particular community. These print copies or documents were easily sold because it was highly demanded in the market. Print document and the language of communication used on them is considered by Anderson as the principal factor that led to the idea of nation building and national identity in Europe. This is because documents were printed in particular languages that brought together large separate geographical units to unite around the shared language(s) (Anderson, 1991, pp. 38-40).

Languages here also played an important role in the rise of nationalist movements and sentiments as Anderson explains. Particular languages, such as the French, English and Spanish, were not universal languages as it was the case with Latin but the languages were used in the printing of documents. These non-universal languages were used because they were resemblance or vernacular of some communities, and these languages could actually be easily assimilated. Communities that spoke vernaculars which were not among or close to the languages that were used in the print documents had to learned how to read and understand this documents because of the continues repetition of print documents.

Some of these languages were vernaculars that were used before the coming of print documents by administrators of some communities which serve just as a continuation in the printing documents. The messages that were passed in these print documents using those vernaculars was done for a long run period in order to build an image of antiquity that was centered on the subject of a nation building and obtaining a national identity (Anderson 1991, pp.41-42). These languages that were used in the print documents, was not in an intension of rising national movement in the community, but rather, these fixed languages use for printing documents came about, to link between technology, capitalism and language diversity, but consequently it led to the rise of nationalism (Anderson, 1991, 44-46).

One can therefore understand from Anderson's explanation that the invention of printing machines facilitated communication through print document in particular languages that were spread around in a large which led to the idea of an imagined community consequently the rise of nationalist movements and sentiments. The newspapers that were printed were at the same time consumed by the large population of particular community. These print documents were made up of particular dates at the top of the newspapers which marks particular periods and emblems (particular symbols in distinguishing a particular) on the newspapers, talking on particular events. All of these created a sense of an imagined community that led to the rise of national movement after a while (Anderson, 1991, pp. 40-46). To Anderson, print documents leading to language diversity in Europe is the major factors that contributed for the rise of nationalists' movement and as consequent modern nations were created and national identity acquired.

Anderson's explanation on the rise of nationalism cannot be applied to the nationalism that took place in the Cameroon colonial territory and in Africa as a whole in the 1950s. This is due to the fact that Cameroon as a colony in the 1950s before becoming a state was in the early 1960s was not a capitalist society. Cameroon as a colony just like all other colonies in Africa was not technologically advanced. The lack of technology and education in the colonial territories in Africa made it impossible for communication to be done to the indigenous population through print documents. Although the European languages were used in the colonies, it was because of the teachings obtained by the elites from the colonial masters and not because of print documents. Just few Africans could read and understand during the period of nationalism in most colonies in Africa.

The nationalist of the African territories were the elites and they did not use print documents to develop the idea of the indigenous to become an independent nation and achieving national identity to the members of their communities but they communicated verbally to the indigenous in the languages they could understand. This was seen in the Southern Cameroonians nationalism in the 1950s as campaigns for obtaining their national identity by Foncha and Endeley that the British used in ruling colony and also were also the nationalist because they were few educated men of the locals. They communicated with the indigenous of the territory in languages that they could understand and not through print document in order for them to have an idea of becoming independent. Southern Cameroonians therefore achieved their national identity without the print documents and language being the principal factor. The result of the Southern Cameroonian nationalism was the Federal Republic of Cameroon that was created in 1961.

Many political evolutions had occurred in Cameroon after the 1961 draft constitution with the aim of developing the nation such as the change of the federal system to the unitary system of governance and the changed of the constitution put in place during the Southern Cameroonians nationalism that has generated an Anglophone crisis in Cameroon from the 1980s which is on-going. This Anglophone crisis from the 1980s can be considered to be an attempt towards nationalism in the Cameroon territory by the Anglophones. This is because they are demanding for a separate nation. In this Anglophone crisis, there are issues of cultures, languages, history and identity that shape the crisis.

One can admit from the Anglophone crisis that, to an extent Anderson explanation on language diversity and print documents can be applicable for the attempt of nationalism in Cameroon. After the Southern Cameroonian nationalism, Cameroon as a state adopted the two colonial masters' cultures and languages. The languages and culture has giving the descriptions of these two identities in Cameroon known as the Anglophones and Francophones. Because of the dominant culture of the Francophones and the accessibility of the print documents and the improved technology in the Cameroon territories such as televisions, radio stations and social media, including language diversity and education, has facilitated communication and eased the path for the Anglophones nationalist continuously attempting of achieving an independent nation without the Francophones. Anderson expansions therefore can be applicable more to the Anglophone crisis from the 1980s when Cameroon was technologically advanced than in the colonial era.

### **3.3.3 Nationalism and ethnicity**

Smith explains nationalism as a political ideology that leads to the creation of a nation and achieving national identity. Contrary to Gellner and Anderson, on the rise

of nationalism that explains the creation of a modern nation and obtaining national identity, Smith explains that this nation and identity as ethnic groups to ethnic communities before transforming into a nation. The process of transformation of an ethnic community to a nation and achieving a national identity explain the nationalism of that modern nation.

In his book "National Identity," he explains how the different types of nations and national identities got their origins. Smith differentiates nations into two types that are civic nations and ethnic nations.

Civic nations are those nations with a well-defined territory whose boundaries constitute of the seas and the mountains. It has a common land that shares a particular history. They have laws that constitute one political will that contains legal equality among these members of the territory and a common culture. Members of civic nations recognize each other as a member of the nation that is, the people choose how their nation should be created. The common identity is that which unites their citizens under a common culture from their history, myths, and traditions (Smith, 1991, pp. 9-11).

Ethnic nations are those nations which Smith insists on the historical descent rather than the present territory in the creation of such nations. This kind of nation, has a genealogy (a descent line trace down to the ancestors) to have evidence of an ancestral origin. Languages, myth, religious, history and cultures are highly considered in the creation of ethnic nations. An ethnic nation is that type through which the nations choose who to belong, and it is most common in the non-Western nations. These type nations usually are made up of collective cultures and ethnic

identities (Smith, 1991, pp. 12-13).

Smith, therefore, defines a nation as "a human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1991, pp. 14). Smith explains how these modern nations came to exist. Smith sees the origin of these nations to have begun from an ethnic group to an ethnic community before becoming a nation. He equally says there are two ways to describe how modern nations emerged. It could be through the lateral ethnic formation or the vertical ethnic formation. Before looking at how nations emerged, it is necessary to know their origin and why nations do emerge.

Nations originate from ethnicity, which determines the pre-existence of nations and national identities. Ethnicity, therefore, determines a person who belongs to an ethnic group. An ethnic group, therefore, is a group of persons who share sentiments, perceptions, and attitudes that last for long and are liable to change in particular situations (Smith, 1991, pp. 20). The coming together of two or more ethnic groups gives rise to an ethnic community. An ethnic community is made up of a collective ethnic groups and a myth of common ancestry, shares memory between members associated with a particular homeland, a population that has gotten a significant level of solidarity. An ethnic community is form by amalgamating or assimilating. By amalgamation, two or more ethnic groups get united to form the ethnic community, while through assimilation; an ethnic group gets assimilated by another to become an ethnic community (Smith, 1991, pp. 20-22).

Some elements such as religious reform, cultural borrowing from foreign cultures,

particular participation of some social class and the myth of the ethnic communities helps in to sustain the ethnic community. Added to these elements, autonomy, and languages, that might therefore complete the ethnic community to become a nation despite the changes that could take place in the ethnic communities as it survives over a long period (*la Longue Duree*). These ethnic communities go further to shape her boundaries in order to become a nation (Smith, 1991, pp. 35-40). This transformation of ethnic communities into nations has two ways through which they become nations.

Beginning with the lateral ethnic formation of a nation, it is a process were an ethnic community that composes of the aristocrats and the clergy from the upper class, then the military officers and the rich merchants. The upper class here decides on how the nation should be form and decide on a common culture of the nation. Upper echelons more often assimilate their neighboring ethnic communities and impose a sense of common culture (Smith, 1991, pp. 54-57). These nations can be considered as the civic type of nations and can be seen in nations form in Western European.

As for the vertical ethnic community, it was more populated than those of the lateral ethnic communities. The culture of such a society is diffuse throughout the ethnic community, which has not allow a solid separation between the different classes as it is with the lateral ethnic communities, but rather the culture helps to unite the different classes as everyone is culturally active. The ethnic and cultural bond was more exclusive in the vertical ethnic communities than in the lateral ethnic communities and such ethnic nations can be seen in Eastern Europe and the rest of the world. Therefore nationalism often takes placed by unity of the different ethnic communities or separation of the ethnic communities in order to obtain a modern

nation and a national identity (Smith, 1991, pp. 61-62). The vertical ethnic nation formation also shows an active role played by the nationalist and the other members to structure the modern nation.

Nationalists here, especially in the vertical ethnic community have got an important role in order to obtain a nation or a national identity. Nationalist bring the people of the ethnic community to have a notion of putting in place a political community in which the citizens will have equal rights. Nationalists therefore, will make the following movement to put in place a nation with political assurance in their homeland to secure and make the territory acknowledged by the international institutions. The nationalist sentiments and movement is to achieve a nation with economic unity, for the nation to progress and put the mass population as the center of concern in re-educating them of the national values, myths, and common historical memories. Movement made by nationalist is for the ethnic members to become identified as citizens by enabling them have social, civil, and political rights (Smith, 1991, pp. 64-65). It is when the nationalists claims are satisfied that the vertical ethnic community transforms to a nation and the individuals achieve their national identity.

From Smith's arguments, one can see that it is not similar to the view of Gellner and Anderson, who are considered to be the modernist of nationalism in the creation of a nation and obtaining of national identity. This is because Smith makes enfances on the fact that modern nations and national identity are not created but they already existed before the coming of nationalism as ethnic communities.

Following Smith's explanations above, it can be more applicable to the Cameroon nationalism in the 1950s compared to the explanations of Gellner and Anderson. At the end of the southern Cameroonian nationalism, they joined the former French colony of Cameroon that had already her national identity in order for them to obtain their national identity. According to Smith, nations existed already as ethnic communities. Cameroon also can be considered as an ethnic community during her colonial era. Before the Germans colonized Cameroon it was a territory made up of ethnic groups. The Germans amalgamate these ethnic groups to become an ethnic community which became their colony and the Germans represented the bourgeois class together with some European missionaries such as the Baptist, Presbyterian and Catholic missionaries (Nghoh, 1979). As a German colony Cameroon can be seen as an ethnic community ruled by the upper classes which were the Germans following the class differentiation of an ethnic community by Smith.

According to Nghoh (1979), the First World War separated the German colony into two different ethnic communities, British and French Cameroon. These two communities existed as recognized communities under the colonial rules by the League of Nations and the United Nations for over forty years before achieving a national identity and becoming a nation just like other African nations. During this period that Cameroonians lived in the ethnic community, they had their own cultures from their different ethnic groups but that of the Europeans who were their colonial masters imposed their cultures, and languages. This was because of the class difference that existed that made the colonial masters to be able to impose their system of ruling. This class difference is seen from the explanation Smith on how an ethnic community is shaped. This period of colonialism therefore can be seen as the time when the two ethnic communities (British and French colonies of

Cameroon) that existed in the Cameroon territory made their history before achieving their national identity in the 1960s during the decolonization of Africa.

In the early 1960s at the end of the Southern Cameroonian nationalism, the Federal Republic of Cameroon was put in place with two national cultures and languages which already existed in the ethnic communities before it became a nation. Smith to an extent is right to say that ethnic communities are transformed in to nation. But in the in the case of African nations, Smith explanations can be challenge because African nations carried over the foreign culture that was impose on them during their colonial era to form their nations as will be seen below following Chatterjee's explanation of nationalism and nationalism in the colonial world.

#### **3.3.4 Nationalism in the colonial world**

The above scholars focused on looking at nationalism during nation building in Europe which can be consider different in one way or the other in the nationalisms that took place in the colonial world because their nationalism was not original in terms of culture like was the case in Europe. Chatterjee also explain nationalism in the creation of a modern nation like the other authors above, but the focus of his discussion was in the colonies before the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Chatterjee agrees, just as Yack on the civic and ethnic explanations of nationalism in Europe, and classifies it as the nationalism that took place West and East Europe (Chatterjee, 1986, pp.1) which represents the civic and ethnic ideology of nationalism respectively.

Most scholars of nationalism just as Chatterjee and the above mentioned see nationalism to have started in Europe with Britain and France as the first nations. Britain and France and other European nations are considered advantageous over the

other nations in the world because they were culturally furnished before the coming of modernization that led to the rise of nationalism in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, since they were all Europeans by origin.

The nationalism that took place in the West of Europe as explained by Chatterjee is the civic form of nationalism. Citizens in nations form from the civic nationalism were concerned with man's morals in the society because of their intellectual ability that was needed during the period of enlightenment in Europe (Chatterjee. 1986, p.1). Nations form by the nationalism that took place in Western Europe are civic nations as mention by Smith. The nationalism that Chatterjee explain to have taken place in Eastern Europe and the rest of the world is the ethnic nationalism following Yacks' explanation. This form of nationalism welcomes the past history and cultures of the citizens in the creation of the nation and in achieving their national identity. Generally, the nationalisms that occurred in the East as Chatterjee mention, formed ethnic nations, and multicultural nations. The Southern Cameroonian nationalism in the 1950s resulted to the Federal Republic Cameroon in 1961 which is an ethnic nation with two cultures and within 30 years, one of the cultures dominated the other. The domination of the Francophone culture in Cameroon is seen from the moment president Ahidjo change the political system to a unitary system and the change of the constitution.

If these ethnic nations modernize their cultures by copying a foreign culture, it differentiates the nature of that nation from others which will lose her original nature. This becomes contradicting because the dominant culture, in most cases, suppress the other cultures. This dominant culture will be rejected in the nation if considered to be a barrier, to the progress of that nation, which might lead to modernization even

though this culture is a mark to the national identity (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 2).

One can see that Chatterjee, when explaining these different theories of nationalism, put emphases on the changing possibility aspect of cultures related to the nation and man's morals, related to the society to come out with the possible political changes in a nation caused by nationalism. Western nationalism during the creation of modern nations imposes the state culture, and these nations form by the nationalism of West are the most successful. The nationalism of the East on the other hand, might be faced with cultural changes in order for the state to progress.

Chatterjee's main discussion in his book on nationalist thoughts is focus on the nationalist of the colonial world particularly in the case of India. Nationalism originated from Europe as earlier discussed before spreading to the rest of the world. Nationalisms in colonies was not similar with the early nationalisms that was in Europe because the Europeans had their original cultures while most colonies especially those of Africa had copied the European cultures. The principal interest of Chatterjee is to know how nationalist achieved a nation and a national identity in the colonial world.

Before looking at nationalists' thoughts in the creation of a nations and national identity in the colonial world, it is necessary to look at the three types of nationalism that Chatterjee had described. He calls the first type creole nationalism and, describes it as that form of nationalism that carries a liberal national movement and the enlightenment form of ideas that nationalists use to criticize the ancient regimes that existed. This type of nationalism comes out with the class differentiation of those in metropolitan societies, where the nationalists decide by determining what kind of

national identity should be obtain. The second is linguistic nationalism; it is practice by independent states that are more often than not faced with the repetition of nationalism. Lastly is what he calls the official nationalism which nationalist imposes cultural homogeneity of the state as national culture on the citizens (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 20). Chatterjee says the first and last models of nationalism are examples of the nationalism that the United States and Russian nationalist phased while the second was phased by the Belgians nationalist.

Chatterjee uses Herder and Fichte definition to define a nation, as a "nation is a natural community and is consider to be something secret, eternal organic, carrying deeper justifications than the work of man" (Chatterjee, 1986, pp.18). This definition by Herder and Fichte confirms Renan understanding of a nation as seen earlier in this chapter, a nation being "a soul and the spirit." Chatterjee's aim to know how the nation is defined above is to come out with the contribution of nationalist thoughts in the colonial world. To archive this aim, he came up with the question, how can one look at nationalism in the non-European world (Chatterjee, 1986, pp.18)?

Chatterjee answers this question in his work, beginning from the point where he mentions that nationalism in the third-world countries is not authentic like those in Europe (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 7). African nations were faced with colonialism just like the other non-European nations. The period of colonialism, is considered as the moment when most colonies inherited the cultures from their colonial masters as they were all under colonial imperialism. So from Chatterjee explanations, one can discover why he says the nationalism in the colonial world is not authentic because there was a transmission of culture from European nations to the colonial world. Contrary to the nationalisms that took place in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century because

modernization was introduced, the colonial world and most colonial nationalists were interested of gaining liberty from the European imperialism. Nationalists of the colonial world were chasing liberty from the dominant role of the colonial masters. Nationalism in the colonial world in the 20th century was based more on nationalist thoughts than on the invention of the printing press, radios, and television or industrialization like it was in the case of Europe.

The nationalists' thoughts in the colonial territories showed more interest on achieving liberty from their colonial masters rather than thinking on how to construct their nations. He continued to explain that in the colonial territories, instead of industrial and military strength, like was the case in European nationalism, nationalism in the colonial world was based on the nationalists thought (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 9-10). Chatterjee explains how nationalists in the colonial world when through three stages in order to achieve a modern nations and national identity. These different stages were the moment of departure, the moment of manoeuver, and the moment of arrival (Chatterjee, 1986). He looks at orientation to differentiate the nationalism of the Westerners and Easterners because they had different nationalist ideologies. But in the colonial world, Chatterjee explains that, this European Orientals are been challenged by the nationalists discourse (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 36-42).

The above explains how these Western Orientals who were the colonial masters were opposed, by the nationalist in the colonial world in the 20<sup>th</sup> century through the struggle to acquire a national identity or modern nation. Firstly among those three stages, Chatterjee uses the discussion of Backimchandra in the case of the Indians in section three of his book to explain the moment of departure. In his explanation of

the first stage, he exposes the different class that existed in the colony. The upper classes who are the bourgeois that constitute of the colonial masters (the Europeans). The the middle class, which he also called the modest class, were the colonized. The modest classes had the privilege of acquiring education and were known as the intelligentsia of the colonized. The lower class was the last group and made up of the mass majority in the colonies that were considered as peasantry by the colonial masters (Chatterjee, 1986).

These different classes in the colonies were similar to that of Smith description of classes in an ethnic community when describing an ethnic civic nationalism. The middle class here are those who played the principal role in this stage departure among the colonized. They use nationalist thoughts based on their internal culture to convince the peasantry to raise the sense of obtaining a national identity, and obtain a modern nation. Since the colonized were not military or industrially powerful, to withstand the colonialist to obtain their national identity. The modest class uses nationalist discourse to the peasantry to show how important their culture could lead them to achieve an independent nation that will differentiate them from the European nations and they will have their own national identity (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 54, 55).

The colonial masters used modest class to administer the colony and spread the colonial rule to structure the various colonies. With the education received by this modest class from the Europeans, they got knowledge of the enlightenment on nationalism that took place in Europe. The European education that modest class had obtained concerning the enlightenment in Europe marks the beginning of the ideas of discourse of nation construct to the mass indigenous by the modest class because the bourgeois did not want to be in contact with peasantry. The bourgeois considered

them to be close to the spirits. This idea that the bourgeois had on the peasantry class allowed the modest class to be able to spread the discourse of obtaining a national identity. These discourse made by the modest class to the lower class was to remind them that they had an internal culture that the Europeans had not yet exploited and so they could use that culture as means to claim their national identity. This stage took a longer time because the peasantry find difficulties to agree with the modest class since the modest words were against the words of the colonialists, and they needed to be convinced by the modest class. After the peasantry class, that is, the labor force of the colony got convinced, it generated a sense toward the thoughts of an imagine community (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 55, and 79-81).

This first stage is to put a sense of a nationhood and national identity to the peasantry by the modest class. The intelligentsia of the colonized, who obtained the European education later, became nationalists in the colonies. The sense of the imagine community spread by the modest class generated a character of patriotic consciousness within the colonized (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 79). One can therefore understand that if the colonialist did not make known their presence in the colonial world, the colonized would have had no interest in obtaining a national identity and would not have been aware of national identity. After the sense of an imagine community was made known to the peasantry by the modest class, the modest class became the nationalists in the colonies.

Chatterjee, in this section uses Gandhi's to explain the development made by nationalists that took place in the colonial societies. After the sense of an imagine community was spread to the peasantry class, different political thoughts were developed in the colony by the different nationalists who were members of the

modest class. The sense of an imagine community, the nationalists developed different ideology towards the achievement of this imagine community which marks the beginning of the second stage. These political thoughts of the nationalist ideology led to the creation of civil societies with different ideas in the colonized societies. Some civil society or political parties, as was the case of some colonial territories, were anti-colonialist, whereas others were nationalists who wanted to obtain an independent state. These civil societies created by nationalists, did go in for various national movements and showed national sentiments. The nationalists aimed toward national movements were to prioritize the indigenous culture over the established bourgeois culture to achieve their nation and national identity. The nationalist were campaigning to obtain self-government from that which is established by colonial domination (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 93-95). These civil societies or political parties that had undergone nationalist movement believed within themselves that if they obtained a national identity, they will be free from the colonial imperialism.

The third stage is the concluding point to the nationalist activities on how their nation will be achieve. At this point, Chatterjee using Nehru's explanation in the case of the nationalism before India nation was created to explain how the nationalist movements that took place in the colonial world at the second stage had arrived at the point of maturity which is the third stage (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 131).

At this point of maturity of the nationalist ideas, it has gotten a final thought that is one ideology, which is seen as the reconstruction of nationalism as they now have one ideology that of establishing the modern nation and to obtain their national identity. Generally, this final ideology is that part of putting in place the structure of the state that is, determining the self-autonomy of the nation by the nationalist. This

putting in place of self-autonomy, usually, is done in such a way that the state will progress in terms of development and get equal rights for the citizens. They choose the national language and decide on social structure of the nation (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 132). For this to happen, there is a role played by the peasantry in this stage of arrival. They are all out to obtain a national identity by watching the nationalists assembled these projects of development and equal right for the citizens that they will become. Here the peasantry role is considered passive with that of the colonial masters who looked at the nationalist decide on the faith of the new nations (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 146-147).

After the third stage, in the process of obtaining independent or colonial masters transfer their authority to the nationalists as sign of decolonization. It was through achieving independence and decolonization that the colonial territories became modern nations. Therefore, in order to understand the nationalism in the colonial world it is necessary to understand the nationalists' thoughts in the colonial world from the European imperialism. From this explanation of Chatterjee, one can assume that, the nationalism that took place in the colonial world in the 1950s was more of achieving liberation than constructing a nation (Acton, 1996, pp. 26).

Nationalism therefore in the colonial world is not same like that of Europe because the authority of the colonial masters and their cultures were transferred directly to elites as they maintained the same colonial culture of administration even though they had obtained a national identity. These nation-states created in the colonial world are multicultural nations since the nationalists struggle was to liberate them from the colonial imperialism and not to build a nation. These multi-culture nations later are phased with cultural dominance that might lead to a possible ethnic conflict

(Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 168).

This is what Yack had earlier mentioned when he explained ethnic nationalism, that ethnic nations could be face by future political instability. Chatterjee arguments on the colonial nationalist thoughts that succeeded in dominating the colonial rule led to the achievement of modern nations and national identity in the colonial world during the 20th century. These arguments put in place by Chatterjee can be used to explain the nationalism that took place in Cameroon territory during the colonial and also to understand the Anglophone crisis from the 1980s.

Cameroon colonial territory had the three different classes of people that Chatterjee distinguishes above, and faced with the three stages that linked through the explanations of nationalist thoughts that explain nationalism in the colonial world. Beginning from the first stage, that is, the moment of departure Cameroon middle-class, especially those of Southern Cameroon, wanted to obtain their national identity by liberating themselves from the colonial rule because they were ruled indirectly by the British administrators (the upper class) from Nigeria (Ngoh 1979).

The modest classes in Southern Cameroon were the elites who became nationalists such as Foncha and Endeley. It is seen in Southern Cameroon colony when Endeley was the Premiere of British Cameroon who represented the British administrators in front of the peasant class he was an educated person and became a nationalist with his ideology of prioritizing the integration of Southern Cameroonians with Nigerians. Foncha was also from the modest class and later replaced Endeley as the premier of the Southern Cameroon community, he had was educated and became a nationalist with his ideology of integrating with French Cameroon. Both of these nationalist

elites had acquired western education after the arrival of the Europeans who were the colonial masters. Closely to the modest class is the peasantry, the third class that the bourgeois avoided because they were uneducated and represented the labor force but were considered close to the spirits. Because the colonial masters avoided them, they gave the opportunity for Endeley and Foncha to spread the sense of obtaining a national identity (Ngoh, 1979).

The nationalist of Southern Cameroon, having spread the sense of obtaining a nation to the peasantry, created their political parties with different ideologies, among which Fonchas' party of southern Cameroon campaigned to join the former French colony of Cameroon, while, Endeley party made the national movement of obtaining national identity by joining Nigeria. The period through which nationalists developed ideas to achieve their national identity by creating political parties is the period of manoeuvre that Chatterjee had described. After the stage of manoeuvre, it was the third stage. A plebiscite was organized for the Southern Cameroonians, and was conducted by the UN in February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1961, resulting to one ideology of the nationalist. After the plebiscite, the nationalists became faced with one ideology that to obtain a national identity by integrating with the former French colony of Cameroon (Ngoh, 1979).

Furthermore a draft constitution was agreed to structure the Federal republic in 1961 before obtaining a national identity. The constitution of a state is the supreme law, which brings out the laws on how the nation should be governed. The constitution in multicultural nation implements laws of the state on how to live with a collective identity peacefully within the nation-state. The constitution is established to protect the culture(s) and the different traditions to put equality among the citizens of a

particular nation (Habermas, 2010, pp. 82-83). After this draft constitution in 1961 at Foumban, Southern Cameroonians achieved their national identity in October, 1st, 1961. This date of 1st October also is seen as the day decolonization of the former British colony Cameroon.

Cameroon had two federated states, and the constitution of 1961 was put in place to protect the cultures of this federal state. Cameroon therefore became the bicultural nation and also it was an Ethnic nation according to Smith explanation above on the types of nations which can be understood that the territory was no longer a community but it was a national state. Yack, Smith and Chatterjee see future political instability in such nations. But as Chatterjee had explained, modern nations need to be developed.

According to Willard (1970), President Ahidjo puts blames on the slow development of Cameroon because of the federal system that he claimed it was so costly. So he successfully established a national party in 1966 that made decisions concerning the state and made himself chairman of the party. As president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon and chairman of the national party, President Ahidjo made some political changes. With these political powers that he had, he influenced the change of the Cameroon political system from a federal system to a unitary system and changed the constitution of 1961 (Takougang and Krieger, 1998). This attempt to unite the two cultures by changing the political system that was put in place by the 1961 draft constitution led to the end of the federal state in 1972 that led to the domination of Francophone culture which Chatterjee, Smith and Yack had discussed earlier that multicultural nations are close to phase future political instability because of one of the cultural dominating the rest.

Another political change made was the nations name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon in 1985. This could be seen as attempt for the Francophones to incorporate the Anglophones and their culture. All these political changes developed the feeling of marginalization of the Francophone culture over the Anglophone culture therefore developed into the Anglophone crises from the late 1980s, when Cameroon became a liberal democratic nation (Nfi, 2021). This Anglophone crisis is full of nationalist activities, and it is seen again as the period of a second manoeuver stage because of the dominance of one culture (Chatterjee, 1986, pp. 168-170) which is the Francophone culture in Cameroon. The rise of the Anglophone crisis from the 1980s, is full with nationalist activities in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon, and is seen to be an attempt of the repetition of nationalism in the territory. One can therefore, see into the fact that the present violent Anglophone conflict after 2016, is because of the long term Anglophone crisis in struggle for a separate identity that existed before the Cameroon territory became a nation and during the Federal Republic. Here comes the question of the way identity in Cameroon is obtained.

Among the different explanations of the scholars above, one can realize that following Gellner ideas on nationalism with his ideas of industrialization facilitated the cause of the rise of nationalism in Europe is no doubt the lease to evaluate nationalism in Cameroon. Anderson, on the other hand, with the coming of capitalist the Europe brought modern instruments that were able to print documents that led to the rising language diversity and nationalism in Europe. His Idea can be applied to the attempt Anglophone nationalists' movement in Cameroon as access to these print documents following the liberal democracy state that Cameroon was becoming in the late 1980s. Smith ideas of ethnicity contribute to the understanding of Cameroon

nationalism and why the Cameroon citizens after Cameroon after becoming a nation, had a double identity which is the national identity and the ethnic identity. Lastly is Chatterjee who enables the understanding of the nationalist thoughts of the colonial world that covered their intention of obtaining liberty from their colonial master by claiming that they wanted a national identity. From Chatterjee work and that of Smith, one can understand the cultural differentiation and identity in Cameroon, which is the center of attention of the Anglophone crises that turned into violent conflict.

### **3.4 National identity in Cameroon**

In the world of modern nations, which came into existence in the 18th century, identity has become something that citizens of particular nations use to distinguish themselves according to their different nations. National identity makes people to belong in a nation or wants to belong to a particular state. One can noticed public reactions occurring in some countries because of the struggle to achieve a national identity, as seen in the case of the Anglophones in Cameroon. National identity could be a piece of material that people carry along as citizens of particular nations that psychologically could represent nationhood (Billig, 1995, pp. 7-8).

Some scholars believe that national identity existed before modern nations, while others believe that national identity did exist before the coming modern nations (Billig, 1995, pp. 25-26). In order to come out with the identities in Cameroon and how it came about according to the discussions of the above scholars of nationalism, it is necessary to look into their explanations on how national identity is achieved. Smith has explained that there exist different types of identity such are religious identity, ethnic identity, and national identity (Smith, 1991), but in this section I will

talk about ethnic and national identity in Cameroon.

Gellner makes known from his explanations that national identity origin is traced from the moment when modern nations are formed, and these nations establish a general culture that will keep the nation politically stable and secures the citizen's national identity (1986).

Anderson sees a nation as an imagined community. To Anderson a national identity is imagined because citizens of that imagined community identify themselves as members of the same nation even if they do not know each other. These ideas, that connect the citizens of a particular nations without knowing each other, but believe of being under a state is what makes the national identity imagine. The members of this imagined community believes in the sovereignty of that community which is not visible, and other social boundaries such as languages. There is also a territorial demarcation, that is, physical boundaries such as seas and mountains, which Anderson talks about as it represents the limit of this identity imagined (Anderson, 1991, 172-178).

Chatterjee, who questioned nationalism in the colonial world, also talks about how their national identity is acquired. To acquire a nation-state in the colonial world, as was the case in the Cameroonian territory, the elites who were the nationalist did inherit the European culture from their colonial masters to administer the nation. National identity in Cameroon and other former colonies that are now nations could have been traced from the struggle of nationalists' movement over colonial exploitation to achieve their national identity after obtaining an independent nation (Chatterjee, 1986, pp.18-19). Before the decolonization of colonies, they were

identified as ethnic communities. The ethnic identity did exist and because of nationalism the members of those communities known to colonies got their national identity.

Smith therefore, explains national identity as having existed before modern nations. It is because, before modern nations came to existence, ethnic groups or ethnic communities that existed later transformed into these modern nations. Before the coming of modern nations, ethnic communities were identified. Smith reveals that members of these ethnic communities are identified by their different ethnic communities, and these ethnic identifications were a continuation into the modern nation that became the national identity (Smith, 1991, pp. 143-153). Smith, therefore, brings out some elements that constitute national identity, a historical territory occupied by the citizens with a common myth and memories, a common culture and a mass culture in that territory, and an equal right for all (Smith, 1991, 7-10). In this line, Smith and Chatterjee agree that identity existed already before the coming of modern nations, while the Gellner and Anderson are for the fact that national identity existence is due to the creation of modern nations.

In the case of the Anglophones in Cameroon, because Cameroon became a bicultural nation in 1961 and with the help of the constitution, these ethnic identifications continued from the colonial period into the nation that she became, the roles of the constitutional agreement of 1961 was to protect the two cultures that decided to integrate to form a nation-state, which psychologically, citizens could be identified nationally as Cameroonians and federally as Anglophones or Francophones depending on their various cultural background from their colonial masters. As Chatterjee has explained above, the Anglophones and Francophones are borrowed

languages and also identify identities inherited from the colonial masters in Cameroon which can be considered as two ethnic communities that existed before. The Anglophones and Francophones were ethnic communities identified as Britain and France colonies that jointly formed one nation in 1961 in order to have an identity.

The political changes from the federal political system to a unitary system in Cameroon, which is seen as a means of uniting the two cultures, explain the marginalization of the dominating Francophone cultures which later pushes the Anglophone wanting to separate from the Francophones that led to the Anglophone crisis from the 1980s. Just as Yack differentiates civic nationalism from ethnic nationalism, the ethnic nationalism form an ethnic nation, like Smith explains, which usually becomes a multicultural nation and as seen in Chatterjee's explanations in most former colonial territories could lead to future political instability. These multicultural nations might not be culturally congruent to the state because of the collective identity that exists, and as Gellner puts it, for nationalism to maintain the nation's political stability it should establish a nation that is culturally congruent to the state. These collective cultures, because of different ethnic communities' identity, leads to the cause of future political instability in nation-states, like in the case of the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon.

The violent political conflict in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon is traced from the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon from the 1980s because of the change of the 1961 political system in 1972. These Anglophones trace their origins from the Southern Cameroon nationalism and the decolonization of Southern Cameroon. Because the two ethnic identities of Anglophones and Francophones communities

unite to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon, the domination of the Francophone identity after the creation of the unitary republic in 1972 has caused the Anglophone crisis after the 1980s. This crisis later transformed into a violent conflict between, the Cameroon government and separatist in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon. The conflict is phased with numerous humanitarian crises which shows how irrational nationalism can be too humans as explain by Gellner. Details of this conflict will be explains in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 4**

### **ANALYZING THE ANGLOPHONE CONFLICT 2016**

#### **4.1 The general view of the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon**

The political conflict in Cameroon is between the activists of the Anglophone regions in Cameroon and the Cameroonian government, which started from the 1980s following the liberal democratic policy that was introduced in Cameroon as seen in the last section of chapter 2 and the right to self-determination. According to the Vienna convention of 1993 the people right to determine their political structure, economic and social development should not be an encouraging right to go against the right of territorial integrity or to destroy the unity of a sovereign state (Libarona, 2012).

The conflict started as a crisis in the 1980s which led to the creation of the civil societies in the Anglophone regions and in 2016 it continued with the lawyers and teacher trade unions of the Anglophone regions before becoming a violent conflict in 2017. This chapter will study the Anglophone crisis from 2016 to explain how it escalated to a violent conflict by 2017.

The Anglophone conflict started in 2016 with a series of peaceful national movements by the activists of the Anglophone regions in Cameroon, claiming from the Cameroon government to put into effectiveness the ineffective Anglophone cultures, which had gradually been fading several years after the creation of the

Unitary Republic which was a nation state in 1972. The origin of this 2016 conflict in Cameroon is the continuity of the Anglophone crisis that started several years back since the 1980s. It traces its cause, from the Southern Cameroonian Nationalism, after which an agreed constitution of 1961 was changed in 1972 following the political change of uniting the two cultures of the Federal Republic, in order to develop the Cameroon nation.

The different political changes created a dominant culture of the Francophones culture that marginalized the Anglophones culture in the republic. Several political changes took place after the Cameroon nationalism in 1961, as seen in chapter 2. These political changes are seen to favor the Francophone culture. Political changes introduced the unitary system that favored the Francophone majority concerning major political decisions over the Republic which explains the Francophone domination in Cameroon over the Anglophones. Also, the changes made by President Biya to replace the United Republic of Cameroon with the Republic of Cameroon in the 1980s are seen as intentions toward internal colonialism (Takougang & Krieger, 1998).

This idea of marginalization known to others as internal colonization by the Francophones superiority culture in Cameroon can be seen beginning from the 1983 experience, during the students' movement for the refusal of joined examination of the Anglophones and the Francophones in Cameroon. In 1983, the Anglophone students went on strike, movements were made around the provinces of Cameroon for the protection of the Anglo-Saxon education in Cameroon, which is followed by a series of nationalist sentiments and movements by civil societies that could therefore be considered a struggle for the Anglophone identity from the early 1990s

that continued to 2016 that marks the beginning of the period of the transformation of the Anglophone peace conflict.

After the 2016 Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, was the start of an internal war or a civil war in Cameroon (Musah, 2022). In the later months of 2016, the nationalist movement continued in the Anglophone regions with the Anglophone lawyers and the Anglophone teachers' trade union, that are considered to be the literates of the Anglophones in Cameroon. The Anglophone lawyers and the Anglophone teacher's trade unions in Cameroon did the same as the previous civil societies that had a series of nationalist activities, through which both claimed for the fading cultural identity of the Anglophones in Cameroon, which they considered had been coming to an end since the creation of the Unitary system. The Cameroon government's Responds to the Anglophone lawyers and the teacher's trade union claims could be seen as the transition period of the Anglophone crisis in the early months of 2017 when it was about to become a violent conflict. The Anglophone conflict in Cameroon changed from a peaceful Anglophone crisis that existed since the early 1980s to a violent Anglophone conflict in 2017 after the 2016 crisis (Okereke, 2018). This conflict became a violent one and has not yet come to an end.

In this chapter, I will analyze this conflict in the Anglophone regions in Cameroon by answering the following questions. Firstly, what is the immediate cause of the Anglophone conflict? Why did this conflict turn violent? And lastly, how related is this conflict to nationalism? The answers to these questions will be in the following paragraphs beginning with the identification of various actors, which will explain the answer to the first question. Then, I will proceed with the strategists and outcome used by these actors, which explains the answer to the second question, and the third

question will examine the activities of the actors and their strategists following nationalist sentiments and nationalist movements.

## **4.2 Actors in the conflict**

Below, I will talk about the actors of the political conflict in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon, beginning from 2016. The actors were made up of the separatist of the Anglophones, which began with the lawyers and teachers' trade unions, the Southern Cameroon Ambazonia consortium United Front and the Diaspora, and lastly the Cameroon government. Each of these actors had various roles to play in the conflict beginning from 2016, as will be explained below.

### **4.2.1 The common law lawyers and the Anglophone teacher trade unions in Cameroon**

The Anglophone lawyers in Cameroon practice the British judicial system following the Cameroon constitution. The judicial system was inherited from Britain during their colonial period in Cameroon before the Cameroon nationalism in 1961. The common law is a jurisprudence form of law, a form of judge-made law practiced by the British. This form of jurisdiction was practiced in former Southern Cameroon during the colonial era, which continued to be practiced in the West state Cameroon during the Federal Republic recognized two judicial systems, both the French and English system, from the 1961 constitutional agreements during the Cameroon nationalism 1961 (Koning & Nyamnjoh, 2003, pp. 46). The Anglophone lawyers, in 2016, made several claims from the Cameroon government because they felt the absence of their judiciary system, which is constitutionally supposed to be practice in Cameroon just like that of the Francophone judicial system. The Anglophone lawyers in Cameroon made the following demands to the government, following changes made after the Unitary Republic was established, for the Cameroon

government to harmonized the criminal code and CIMA code (insurance law) without the Anglophones concern (Caxton, 2017, pp. 21).

The Anglophone lawyers got worried that a similar situation might happen with the civil law. The Anglophone lawyers asked for a translation of the OHADA uniform act and also demanded a separate Cameroon Bar Council so that Anglophones lawyers should have their Bar Council for their interests separately from the Bar council of the Francophones. The Bar council in Cameroon is an organization make up of lawyers. The Anglophone lawyers also asked for a bench of the Anglophone judges in the Supreme Court, which has not been in existence. Lastly the Anglophone lawyers demanded that French Judges in Cameroon should stop passing judgment on common law cases because they use the public law jurisdiction (French law) on common law cases. The Anglophone lawyers are considered as actors to have continued the Anglophone crisis from 2016 by the series of national movements demanding the above mention from the government in nationalist movement (Caxton, 2017, pp. 21, 22).

The teacher trade unions of the Anglophone regions of Cameroon with the Anglophone lawyers were the first actors to make national movements in the Anglophone regions in 2016 to continue the Anglophone crisis. The teacher trade unions of the Anglophone regions comprised of those in private schools, mission schools (Catholic, Presbyterian, and Baptist), and public schools were all involved in the national strike that was taking place in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon.

The teachers' trade unions also had their claims to the government in the 2016 national strike in the Anglophone regions. Pommerolle & Heungoup (2017) which

explained that the Anglo-Saxon education is a system of education practiced by the Anglophones and is a British system of education inherited during the colonial era before the Cameroon nationalism 1961 but it has not been effective in the nation leading to the national strike of these teaches trade unions. The teachers' trade unions made the following claims to the government; firstly, the higher institutes of the Anglophone regions that had Francophones as lecturers, who had no qualifications in teaching in English, or were unable to speak the English language, asked the Cameroon government to redeployed them from these institutions. They also requested for the Cameroon government to build professional educational higher institutes for the Anglophones, since they considered that the Anglophone students are barely employed because of a lack of professionalism. The teacher's trade Unions complained about the government not subsidizing private professional schools created in Cameroon to encourage professionalism and contributing in maintaining their Anglo-Saxon education (Caxton, 2017, p. 22).

Due to the following claims made by these Anglophones' lawyers and the teachers' trade unions of the Anglophone regions, they went on strike because of the above claims, to protect to their cultural inheritance from the British and for the government to intervene so as they should not have the feelings of been marginalized by the Francophones majority. These various national demands in 2016 made by the lawyers and teachers enabled them to be actors who continued the Anglophone crisis to 2016.

#### **4.2.2 Southern Cameroon Ambazonia Consortium United Front (SCACUF) and Diaspora**

All the claims put together by the Anglophone lawyers and the teacher trade unions to the Cameroon government, the government had to respond to these claims by

calling for a meeting in the capital of the Northwest Region Bamenda an Anglophone region. The Anglophone lawyers together with the teachers' trade unions merged to form a civil society. They went in for the meeting as one group and this group was known as the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC), with her leader and founder Barrister Felix Agbor Balla. The CACSC was created for the Anglophones to be represented as one Anglophone united in their claims. This civil society was considered to be illegal like all the others created during the Anglophone crisis before 2016 (Arthur, 2018, pp. 114). This civil society had the following objectives, which were presented to the government as the Anglophone claims; the release of the Anglophone activists, who had been arrested, and the return to the federal system that existed after the 1961 Cameroon nationalism before the coming of the Unitary Republic. After the decolonization of Southern Cameroon 1961, the Anglophones and Francophones preserved their cultures, in order to escape from the marginalization of one of the identity.

The meeting in Bamenda ended without the CACSC obtaining their request from the Cameroon government, so the leaders of the group continued, with the strike by introducing a "ghost town" operation in the Anglophone region on some specific days chosen by the CACSC members, by closing all economic and political activities (Okereke, 2018, p. 9). Barrister Felix Agbor Balla was been captured with other leaders of the consortium, such as Aforneka Fortem Neba, who was a university lecturer of Buea, Mancho Bibixy, who was a journalist, and Paul Ayah Abine, who was a judge in the supreme court, got themselves arrested by the Cameroon government, while other fled out of the country as was the case with Barrister Bobga Harmony (Arthur, 2018, pp. 115). The arrest of these members of CACSC left the group without a leader so the Diaspora community of the Anglophones

Cameroonians became the new administrators of this consortium.

The Diaspora changed the objectives of the CACSC, that of returning to the federal system to that of obtaining an independent state of Ambazonia. This declaration of obtaining an independent state captured the interest of several different groups within and out of Cameroon such as the Southern Cameroons South Africa Forum, Southern Cameroon People Organization, Southern Cameroonians in Nigeria, and the Movement for the Restoration of Independence of Southern Cameroon, which was all abroad without keeping away active groups in Europe and America. Others were national groups such as the Ambazonia Governing Council (AGC), Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) which existed since the 1990s, the Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL), and the Republic of Ambazonia (RoA), including the CACSC. These various groups merged to form the Southern Cameroons Ambazonia Consortium United Front (SCACUF) in 2017, under the leadership of Sisiku Julius Ayuk Tabe (Okereke, 2018, p. 10). These civil societies were able to exist following the right of self-determination by the UN.

The SCACUF had the following structure, the Southern Cameroon Broadcasting Corporation which the SCACUF used in passing out information about the imagined community. Also, the ruling council of the SCACUF at a meeting in Nigeria was seen to be a temporal one, as the name given SCACUF government is the Ambazonia Interim Government (AIG). The SCACUF also created a military made up of youths, around the various territories of the Anglophone regions, with the notion of protecting their territory. Also, a name was given to the SCACUF force which was the Ambazonia Defense Force (ADF), with a leader Cho Ayaba (Musah, 2022, p. 28). Although the ADF is considered as the SCACUF force, the link

between the political leadership of the SCACUF and the ADF of the SCACUF seems to be slime, as they are not considered subordinates of the SCACUF because they have no direct orders from the SCACUF (Okereke, 2018, p. 10). Those ruling the SCACUF are from the Diaspora and are actors of the conflict as well (Arthur, 2018, pp. 16).

### **4.2.3 The Cameroon Government**

The Cameroon government is also an actor of the Anglophone conflict because the Cameroon government plays a direct role that led to the transformation of the crisis in 2017. The conflict in the Anglophone region is said to be between the activist of the Anglophone regions and the Cameroon government. Before the conflict transformed, the Cameroon government called for a meeting to decide on the claims of the CACSC put in place during the 2016 Anglophone crisis as seen above. The Cameroon government did not accept to sort out all of the claims set down by the CACSC. The government said they are not in any hearing of any claims concerning the separation of the state unity. According to the CACSC, the Cameroon government response was not sufficient in order for the CACSC to stop the strike. The decisions made by the government during the meeting at Bamenda played a relevant point in the conflict transformation, and the government intervened with the military to the activists. From this military intervention by the Cameroon government it determined the shape of the Anglophone conflict (Musah, 2022, pp. 27). From this military intervention, one can see the transformation of this peace conflict.

### **4.3 Strategies used in the conflict**

The various actors above were involved in the conflict transformation in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon from a nonviolent by 2016 to a violent conflict in 2017. The actors' different activities of the actors both nationally and internationally,

reveal the reason for the transformation of the Anglophone conflict. The actors' strategies in achieving their objectives explain the answer to the second question above of knowing why the conflict transformed after 2016. Therefore I will explain the strategies used by the activists in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon and the response to the activists' actions by the Cameroon government.

#### **4.3.1 Strategies used by the activist that led conflict transformation**

In the late months of 2016, the crisis which had been ongoing since the early 1980s (Nfi, 2012), in the Anglophone regions continued, with the Anglophone lawyers in Cameroon and the Anglophone teachers trade unions in Cameroon 2016 (Musah, 2022). The reasons that led to the various national movements in 2016 in the Anglophone regions were for the protection of the Anglophone cultures (judicial and educational) and to be applicable like it was after the Cameroon nationalism, before the Unitary Republic (Pommerolle & Heungoup, 2017, p. 530-531).

To achieve these claims made by the actors, the intellectuals of the Anglophone regions of Cameroon merged in order to present their claims to the Cameroon government in a meeting held in Bamenda organized by the Cameroon government, in the capital region of the Northwest (one of the Anglophone regions). The Anglophones intellectual together form the CACSC for the meeting held in Bamenda between the CACSC and the Cameroon government. During the meeting in Bamenda, the CACSC was not satisfied because the government did not agree to talk on any aspect concerning the division of the national unity and territorial division either as federal state as before or total independence of the Anglophones (Arthur, 2018, p. 117). Most leaders of the CACSC were arrested as the strike continued after the meeting with the government. These arrests of the CACSC leaders gave birth to the SCACUF as seen above (Okereke, 2018). The SCACUF became more active in

the conflict than the CACSC was because SCACUF showed more nationalist sentiment towards building the Anglophone state and the Anglophone identity.

The SCACUF has an administration that have shown proof of division of labor, as seen above, like every other government and with a defense force, which is consider to be the protection of the Anglophone territory in Cameroon (Musah, 2022, pp. 27). There is a broadcasting radio of the SCACUF, as seen above, which is use communicate information's to the Anglophones. Another means of communication was through social media such as YouTube and Facebook. For instance, it can be seen on YouTube when the leader of the SCACUF addressed the Anglophones in Cameroon as "dear Ambazonians" in 2017 (Arthur, 2018, p. 117).

The SCACUF government became an interim government after the Nigeria convention in 2017. The SCACUF was divided, into executive, legislative, and judiciary just like it is done in every nation. The executive is in charge for the reinstallation of the former southern Cameroon independent state and the executive group in charge of this reinstallation is the Southern Cameroon Restoration Movement (SCRM) (Musah, 2022, pp. 28). Politically, the SCRM organized a separatist march in cooperation with the Diaspora for a mass protest demanding the independent state of the Anglophones in Cameroon. This protest of the Anglophones community in Cameroon was done internal and externally in the form of marching in high commissions and embassies throughout the world in countries such as South Africa, South Korea, Brazil, Canada, and the United States, not forgetting most European nations of the West with the exceptions of France (Arthur, 2018, pp. 117).

The SCACUF organized a series of ghost town operations in the Anglophone regions

of Cameroon. These ghost towns' declarations were to slow all economic activities from the Anglophone regions of Cameroon. Schools in the Anglophone regions stopped. This is because the teachers stop from going to schools because of the strike and also because of arson in different areas of the Anglophone regions, which constantly took place not just in royal areas but also in the urban areas. Security men from the government were attacked that same year due to the increased protest in these regions. Added to the above, are some of the weapons seized, during an attacks on the government security men by the activists of the Anglophone regions such as the bipods, tripods, laser range finders, and night vision types of equipment. The Anglophone regions have become full of kidnapping of government prefects (Arthur, 2018, pp. 119-120).

The protest that occurred, in order parts of the world was to coincide upcoming address to the 72<sup>nd</sup> summit of the world leaders at the United Nations headquarter in New York 2017. On October 1<sup>st</sup>, Sisiko Ayuk Tabe, the leader of the AIG declared the independent Federal State of Ambazonia (Okereke, 2018, pp. 10) following the day of the UN submits. This was exercise by the removal of the wave national flag of the Republic of Cameroon from public buildings and replacing it with the Ambazonia flags in the Anglophone regions (Arthur, 2018, pp. 120). Some of these strategies used by the Anglophone activists went against the rule of territorial integrity which is not encouraged by the UN policy following the right of self-determination.

#### **4.3.2 Strategies used by the government as response to the activist**

The Cameroon government is one of the actors as seen above, who had to decide on the situation following the claims of the activists. The Cameroon government was said to have no interest in the Anglophone crisis in Anglophone regions when it

started 2016 (Musah, 2022, pp. 31). Also, in 2017 in an attempt to make mention of the Anglophone problem at the house of the national assembly by the SDF, it was voted not to be spoken about. This could be because the national assembly is dominated, by members of the CPDM, who are the dominant party and members' of the government (Francophones) (Musah, 2022, pp. 31). The Cameroon government did not accept the existence of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon on several occasions on television. The minister of justice in responding to the claims put in place by the Anglophone lawyers said the problem faced by the Anglophone lawyers is the same problem that all the other lawyers of Cameroon are facing and sees no problem on the part of the Anglophone lawyers (Caxton, 2017, pp. 21).

At the beginning of the year 2017, a delegation of the Cameroon government travelled to Bamenda for a meeting with the CACSC to discuss the claims put in place by the Anglophone lawyers and teachers of the Anglophone region of Cameroon. The government delegation included some government administrators, with the lead of the Prime Minister. According to Okereke (2018), the response of the Cameroon government given to the nationalist claims was both soft and hard during the meeting.

The soft response of the government towards the Anglophone nationalist was that the agreed to put in place what the Anglophone lawyers and teacher trade unions demanded to be established, while the hard response was the refusal of the government on any discussion concerning the division of the national unity that was put in place in 1972 by the Unitary Republic. After the meeting in Bamenda, concerning the soft response, some institutions were put in place to promote bilingualism and multiculturalism in Cameroon. Also, one thousand bilingual

teachers were employed in the field of technology and other scientific subjects to promote specialization in Anglophone education for the Anglophones to get employment after completing school (Okereke, 2018, pp. 11).

These were the responds put into practiced by the government to the teachers' trade unions of the Anglophones. The Cameroon government created an institution to form common law magistrates in Cameroon that did not exist before and translated the OHADA uniform act from French to English for the English jurisdiction (Caxton, 2017, pp. 21-22). These were the response of the Cameroon government to the Anglophone lawyers.

The Cameroon government made it clear to the CACSC members that she will do her best to look into the solutions to the various demands made by the Anglophones, which does not affect the unity of the nation and the territorial integrity of Cameroon (Musah, 2022, pp. 27). This was the hard response giving by the government to the Anglophones in the meeting, which means the government had no interest in going back to federal system or accepting the separation of the Anglophones from the Francophones. The government, after this meeting, arrested the leaders of the CACSC and jailed them at the central prison in Yaoundé (capital of Cameroon) but later during that same year, in 2017, some were released under no charges by the military tribunal as they were earlier charged with terrorism-related actions (Okereke, 2018, pp. 11).

The President of the Republic requested diplomatic support from neighboring Nigeria, the UN, and the Common Wealth on the question of the Anglophone crises but had no responds of a solution. The Cameroon government then proceeded to

seize internet access in the Anglophone regions in 2017 which was a means for the SCACUF to stop communication with the rest of the world (Caxton, 2017, pp. 23). After the meeting in Bamenda between the government and CACSC, the President of the Republic deployed more forces in the Anglophone regions as the tike continued with the SCACUF. On October 1st, 2017 which is the day considered to be the decolonization day of the Anglophones, with the declaration made by the SCACUF leader on the independent state of Ambazonia, the President of the Republic of Cameroon increased the military force in the Anglophone regions in other to suppress these separatists but the ADF used guerilla warfare strategies to attacks on the Cameroon arm force (Okereke, 2018, pp. 11-12).

Since the declaration of the Ambazonia state on October 1<sup>st</sup> 2017 b the SCACUF, the Cameroon military had been struggling to suppress the ADF but unsuccessfully, and on November 30th, 2017, the president of the republic declared war in the Anglophone Regions, considering the ADF to be terrorist (Musah, 2022, pp. 35). There has been a continuous violent reaction in the Anglophone regions since 2017, and only until 2019 that President Paul Biya of the Republic of Cameroon decided to call for a dialogue between the government officials, and separatists of the Anglophone regions, to come out with a solution in order to end the violent conflict. This dialogue was partially attended by a few activists, and those who did not attend gave reason that they should be an option for the Anglophone separation, which is what the Cameroon government does not consider to be an option yet (Willis, McAulay, Ndeunyema, & Angove, 2019, pp. 20).

The Cameroon government with respect to the claims put in place by the CACSC before the creation of SCACUF answered to the claims put in place but with

disrespect to the territorial integrity the government reacted in accordingly which let to present violent conflict in the Anglophone regions.

#### **4.4 Outcomes of the conflict**

The transformation of the Anglophone conflict into a violent conflict in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon has caused effects in Cameroon and with countries sharing borders with Cameroon. The outcomes of the conflict have produced political, economic, and social effects in the Anglophone regions and Cameroon as a whole. But for this research, I will limit myself to the political and social outcomes of the crises, as I begin below with the explanations of the political effect.

The transformation of the conflict into a violent conflict has led to fear in the Anglophone regions in Cameroon that has led to the disruption of activities in these Anglophone regions of Cameroon. Political activities such as the presidential election, parliamentary election, and municipal elections have not been conducted normally in those regions like it used to be in the previous years before the conflict transformation because of fear that has been established in those Anglophone regions (Arthur, 2018, pp. 118). The Anglophone regions because of fear of violence have restricted themselves from political activities, as was the case of the 2018 presidential election and the municipal election, which took place in 2020 (Bang & Balgah, 2022, pp. 10).

The conflict has led to an increase in the illegal importation of arms. The conflict has made the government to concentrate on the activists and has lesser control over the order parts of the territory, especially in the boundaries where those arms are infiltrated. These arms infiltration in Cameroon can also be seen from the fact that

the country has been faced with terrorists' attacks such as the case with Boko Haram, which also could lead to the infiltration of arms used by the ADF (Nwati, 2021, pp. 6-8). This infiltration of arms has led to the cause of the humanitarian crisis in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon following the conflict transformation.

In 2017, the seizure of the internet network in the Anglophone regions for about 93 days is something that the international community does not agree upon. The inability of accessing the internet network was considered a humanitarian act in the Anglophone regions (Bang & Balgah, 2022, pp. 9). The torture that the Cameroon government is accused of giving the CACSC leaders after the arrest of some members is considered a human right violation by those tortured. The citizens in the Anglophone regions, who are trapped between the ADF and the Cameroon arm forces, are faced with a humanitarian crisis because their security is not guaranteed, and their houses, most often are burnt (Bang & Balgah, 2022, p. 9). Also, some of the villages through which there have been active fighting, such as Batibo and Kwakwa, have been left without inhabitants (Pommerolle & Heungoup, 2017, pp. 543).

In the Anglophone regions of Cameroon since 2016, the transformation of the crisis into a violent conflict has led to the disruption of education following the various ghost towns, which were put in place by the activists, and the stop going to schools in the Anglophone regions, is also seen as limiting the right of education to the Anglophones. This transformation of the conflict has encouraged so many school dropouts in these Anglophone regions of Cameroon (Bang & Balgah, 2022, pp. 12).

There have been mass killings in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon, which

include not just those involved in the war, but also the civilians that leave in those regions. Also, cases in the Anglophone regions with regards to the war have reported on the kidnapping of students, who go to schools, teachers, and administrators of the regions. This has stop school activities in the Anglophone regions, as most schools were transformed into bases (Fox & Gittleman, 2020, pp. 3). Because of insecurity in the Anglophone regions, and the stop of education, in 2017 in the Anglophone regions, caused people in those regions to relocate to other areas.

The conflict has increase migration in the Anglophone regions, and the increase of the Cameroonians as refugees in neighboring countries such as Nigeria, and with the increased of populations in the other eight regions of Cameroon because those citizens of the Anglophone regions, are seeking for security (Bang & Balgah, 2022, pp. 10).

The Cameroon government soft way to responding to the crisis, during the 2017 meeting at Bamenda, led to some positive changes. Some of these changes were the translations of the laws which were claimed by the Anglophone lawyers of Cameroon. The Cameroon government also made recruitments for the training of professional bilingual teachers, which was something new in Cameroon, and also the creation of a school of magistracy for the formation of common law magistrates for the Anglophones to have a seat at the Supreme Court, as it was claimed by the Anglophone lawyers (Musah, 2022). The above-mentioned can be seen as positive effects to the Anglophone following this amelioration made by the government to balance. The disrespect of the territorial integrity caused this outcome in the Anglophone conflict.

#### **4.5 Characteristics of nationalism in the conflict**

Following this conflict in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon, one can identify traces of nationalist activities and consequently attempt towards the Anglophone nationalism. These therefore explain the answer to the third question on the relationship between the conflict in the Anglophone region of Cameroon and nationalism.

In 2016 the claims from the Anglophone lawyers and teachers trade unions that are considered as the literates of the Anglophone regions of Cameroon were more of cultural inheritance claims which back to the history of the Southern Cameroonian nationalism and the Anglophone decolonization in 1961. Most of their claims were in order to protect the cultural identity which was the judicial system and Anglo-Saxon educational inheritance (Okereke, 2018). From the various definitions of nationalism as I have explained in chapter 3, nationalism represent the past history of the nation formation politically (Smith, 1991, and Yack, 1995) which the lawyers and teachers of the Anglophone regions are claiming from the Cameroon government and a return to the two state federations to protect their inherited culture. Just like Beiner (1999) and Billig (1995), ethno nationalism and multicultural nations are exposed to political instability in the future. This conflict transformation could be seen as a reference to this future instability.

Also, there was mass support of the Anglophone problem in the Anglophone regions and this information could easily be obtained by the improvement of information technology especially by the use of newspapers just like Professor Anderson (1991) have explained that print documents could be the cause to the rise of nationalism.

Also the lawyers and teachers trade unions were all Anglophones as they use newspaper like I have mention and they wrote in English naturally to those in the Anglophone regions, in order to captured the attention of the Anglophones by explaining their history (Musah, 2022).

People who use the same language are considered to be naturally attracted to each other (Billig, 1995, pp. 13). This is the reason why Cameroon could be considered as a fragile nation because it is made up of more than one language and the languages are also considered as the center of identity in bilingual nations (Billig, 1995, pp. 15). This is seen with the way the Anglophones in Cameroon addresses the others in the eight regions of Cameroon as “the Francophone” (Arthur, 2018). Just like Professor Gellner explains (1983), nationalism holds the nations after which the nation has been formed. But from 2016, it marks the beginning of the transformation of a long existing conflict which has led to a civil war in Cameroon. This war in the Anglophone regions shows an attempt in the reproduction of nationalism. This conflict include actors as mention above with various separatists who are more or less by violent and psychologically seeking for the reproduction of a nation just as it is the case with the nationalist in the Anglophone regions Cameroon who are demanding for separation.

There have been series of repetition of nationalist movements which is a means to arrive a particular ideology since in the 1980s which can be considered as the period consciousness and the period of manoeuver as Chatterjee have explained which therefore brings in the imagination of a home land (Anderson, 1991 & Chatterjee 1986). The Anglophone nationalists in Cameroon are demanding for a separate identity in the Ambazonia state which was declared on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2017 by the

SCACUF leader and he hosted the flag which indicate the imagination of the nation. The SCACUF also has its government which is imagined and considered as interim because they are controlled by the diaspora as Gellner (1983) had explained. Nationalism could occur in the day to day activities which mean that even if there is banal nationalism in a nation it is no guaranteeing that there will be no repetition of nationalism (Billig, 1995, pp. 44).

These interruptions of day to day activities can be seen on the ghost town days that were created by the separatist to interrupt regular routine in the nation (Arthur, 2018). Modern nationalism has called for passionate actors than nationalism that that took place in the past and it calls for the use arms which was a rare case in the past (Billig, 1995, pp. 46). This can be seen in the case of the Anglophone conflict from 2017 in Cameroon which shows how passionate the nationalist are as they have made a series of nationalist movement announcing their claims on the newspapers, social media and radio stations. These emotions turn out to the rise of arms as seen above, where the ADF use weapons with the guerilla warfare tactics in attacking the Cameroon arm forces. This has led to a civil war and the killing of many people those directly involved in the conflict and those who were not. It also explains what Gellner said on the fact that nationalism can be irrational at times.

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION

After having been through the above chapters to explain the political changes that took place in Cameroon and evaluating these political changes from the different explanations of the various scholars of nationalism, in order to understand the transformation Anglophone conflict after 2016 to a violent conflict which is seen as an effect of the Southern Cameroonians nationalism, I come to the last part of the research, which is answering the research question of the study. This is the last section of the study, and it brings out the answer to the research question after above discussions in the chapters put in place. Here, there will be the presentation of the above chapters' summarily and then the answer to the research question.

In this research, from the political evolution of Cameroon, one can noticed the Anglophone crisis was delayed because of President Ahidjo's policies in the unitary republic. The Southern Cameroonian nationalism established a Federal Republic, which was a national state and Ahidjo decided later to unite these two cultures to form the Unitary Republic in 1972 by establishing a new political structure (Takougang and Krieger, 1998) which could be seen as an intension to change the national state to a nation state. The Anglophones saw the dominant culture of the Francophones after the creation of the unitary system. The dictatorship practiced by President Ahidjo in the unitary system, could be pointed out from the fact that Foncha and Juah, were stopped by security men in an attempt to react to the new

political establishment of 1970s (Takougang and Krieger, 1998).

It was only after the introduction of the multiparty system in the Republic of Cameroon following the new regime of the 1980s. Before he had introduced the multiparty system in Cameroon and changed the nations' name from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. This changed of the nations' name is considered as a second colonialism to the Anglophones after the British colonialism. The Anglophones were able to protest against the dominant culture of the Francophones through nationalist actions demanding for a separate nation or for a return to the federal system of governance. The Anglophone crisis began in the 1980s, with the creation of civil societies making claims to the international communities for a separate national identity with the Francophone.

This crisis of the Anglophones continued to 2016 with the lawyers and teachers' trade unions which became a war in 2017 between the Cameroon government and the Anglophone extremists. The conflict in the Anglophone regions is the struggle for separate identity in Cameroon. This struggle was able to take place also because of the right to self-determination put in place by the UN even though it could already be seen in the nationalisms that took place in the late 19th century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite of all the political evolution that has taking place in Cameroon, it has shaped the Anglophone identities that exist in Cameroon after the Southern Cameroonians nationalism which can be consider their identity as Cameroonians to have been impose on them without the option of been of have a total Southern Cameroonian independent state . The unitary system limited the Anglophones participation to the political decisions in Cameroon and the Anglophones benefited from the unequal right both economic and social development Cameroon as seen in

chapter 2.

From Smith and Chatterjee's discussions one can situate the identities in Cameroon to have existed before the Southern Cameroon nationalism 1961 and before the coming of a Unitary Republic which is considered to be the periods of the separate identities. These identities made Cameroon a national state with collective cultures as it could be trace from the Cameroon constitution following the languages, judicial and educational systems. This type of nation awaits future political instability, as seen in the case of Cameroon with the Anglophone crisis that has caused a violent conflict from 2017. This is because there was the need for political changes to occur in the nation for the nation to be developed which is what President Ahidjo was doing in the unitary republic. Actually the unitary system, led to the development of Cameroon, placing Cameroon in the position of the most growing Economic in Africa in the 1970s and 80s. Despite of this development in Cameroon, the Anglophones felt marginalized by the Francophones. This is because all decisions concerning the nation were from the President of Republic. He was able to take the decisions, because he occupied the offices of the chairperson of the national party that decided for the republic, and that of the president. The change from a single party to a multiparty system is the moment the Anglophones nationalist could manifest their ambitions.

Anderson's ideology to the rise of nationalism can be explained from the uprising of the Anglophone crisis in the later years of 1980s. This is because information concerning the Anglophone community could be spread, through print documents, and technologically Cameroon had improved. The information concerning the Anglophone identity was spread through print documents, television channels, and

radio programs. The crisis intensified in 2016 by the lawyers and teachers trade union and transformed into a violent conflict by 2017. Following the different forms of nationalism, as explained in chapter 3, ethnic nationalism was that which took place in Cameroon in the 1950s.

Though it was not similar with the European nationalism as explained by Chatterjee it is similar with that which took place in most colonial communities particularly in the African continent. Following the national identity of the people of Cameroon, they are Cameroonian and this identity and national boundaries were those used during the colonial era before becoming a national state. The scholars on nationalism in their explanations still in chapter 3 explained while an ethnic nationalism can lead to future political instability which can be justified as the impact of the ethnic nationalism that took place in Cameroon. Following the research question of the study of Why did the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon begin in the 1980s instead of the 1970s following the modification of the political system that changed the nation status from a national state to a nation state that the southern Cameroonian nationalism established in the early 1960s?

This is because President Ahidjo ruled the country as a dictator during the unitary republic from 1972 to 1982. With the change of the regime in 1982, President Biya introduced a more liberal world and it eased the attempt of the Anglophone nationalism because nationalist gained freedom during the crisis that later became irrational in 2017. The transformation of this crisis has caused political instability in Cameroon, particularly in the Anglophone Regions. This conflict has been same even after the attempt negotiation in 2019 by the Cameroon government and until date the situation of the conflict has not change as seen in chapter 4. Self-

determination in the demand for an independent state can be possibly obtained by a group people colonized or decolonized found within a state can be granted as it was with the case of Kosovo since colonization has been abolished. Looking at the conflict in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon, despite the right to self-determination that protects the right of every individual according to international law, the Anglophones have the right to make claims to the Cameroon. Following the law of territorial integrity put in place by the international community, each government has the right toward the protection of the boundaries and unity of her territory. The Cameroon government in the Anglophone conflict can be seen as playing her original role of protecting the unity of her territory that want to be separated by the Anglophone activist fighting for an independent state that they did not achieve during their nationalism.

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