

The Rise of Anglophone Nationalism in Cameroon: 1960 to the 1990s

Derick Suh EFUETZI

MSc, Political Science and International Relations Program, Social Sciences Institute, Istanbul Aydin University

Abstract

This paper is focused on the failing nation-building process between the minority Anglophones and majority Francophones in Cameroon as per the aftermath of unification in 1961 which has given birth to the present political, economic and socio-cultural upheavals that characterized the republic. The Anglophones are the people of the northwest and southwest regions of Cameroon who constitute two out of ten regions in Cameroon. The Anglophones are a “People” of the former British Southern Cameroons who entered into a union based on equality with the Cameroun Republic at Fomaban in July 1961 with the aim to form a single state. This paper also tries to answer the following questions: What are the grievances of the Anglophones? Are the Anglophones recognized as part of development of Cameroon? Is the rise of Anglophones Nationalism in Cameroon more of a minority issue or an issue of social cohesion? By social cohesive, I mean both people living together as a unified country with different ideologies and systems of governance. The objective of this article is to portray the unification of the former British Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun in a union of equal states at Fomaban in 1961 as stated in the “Federation Clause” and how the violation of the “Fomaban Clause” has led to the marginalization of the Anglophone in the union. The paper is divided into two main sections. The first section gives a historical analysis of the Cameroons and explains the union between both people at Fomaban. And the second section elucidates the non-respect of the “Fomaban Clause” based on equality leading to Anglophone problem (s), marginalization and the Rise of Nationalism in the 1990s.

Keywords: Anglophones, Francophones, Cameroon, Marginalization, Nationalism.

INTRODUCTION

Scholars and writers over the years have spent time trying to write and give narrative facts about Cameroon history. Before 1960s, those who wrote on Cameroon were merely recounting its history. The union between the two Cameroons in 1961 pushed historians to start elucidating a more comparative and analytic approach as to what the terms of agreement between the two Cameroons holds.

This paper focuses on the rise of Anglophone nationalism in Cameroon and tries to find out what must have been the fundamental issue that has mitigated nationalism to be the main aim in Anglophone Cameroon. Nationalism has been a measure issue in the 18th, 19th and 20th troubling the existence of geopolitics of states as well as the United Nations Organization. Several countries in the world are presently facing secession movements. Examples of these countries are, Biafra from Nigeria, Dafur from Sudan, Somaliland from Somalia, the Republic of Logone from Central Africa Republic, Ambazonia from Cameroon and out of Africa we have Scotland from the United Kingdom, Venice from Italy, Catalonia from Spain, Quebec from Canada, and Transnistria from Moldova.

Echitchi (2014) puts forth an argument that what is today an Anglophone problem in Cameroon can be traced as far back as 1916 when the joint Anglo-French military defeated and ousted Germany from the territory then partitioned the territory between Britain and France. Christopher (2017) says the Fomaban conference of July 1961 ended without producing any signed document to show evidence of union between the British Southern Cameroons¹ and the Republic of Cameroun. This act however gave a lee-way to Anglophone marginalization in Cameroon. Moreover, the United Nations Charter on nations (entities) coming together states that, both parties should negotiate and sign a treaty of union backing the validity of such union in the presence of the UN supervision.

Cameroon’s Political System

Studying the political systems of countries around the globe today, one will agree with the philosophy of separation of power as advocated by John Lock and Montesquieu that separation of power is lacking in our contemporary societies. The concept of separation of power without the legislature, executive and judiciary infringing on the right of the other is today a far fetch dream. According to Fombad (2012), the Cameroon political system though presidential, is a blend of French system of limited separation of power and the American inflexible separation of power. Cameroon spelt out the separation of power of the Executive power in

¹ The name southern Cameroons comes from the fact that Britain as an administering power of the League of Nations’ Mandatory territories had divided her own portion of the territory (German Kamerun) into Southern Cameroons and Northern Cameroons following the British Order in Council of 26th June 1923. Following this British Administrative Authority, Southern Cameroons became a distinct part from the Northern Cameroons within the International law and eligible for self-determination. It therefore means that Southern Cameroons does not refer to the Southern part of Cameroon Republic but rather to the British Southern part of her North territory.

part II of the constitution, Legislative powers in part III and the Executive Powers in part V of the constitution. The Penal Code states under no account should anyone violet the separation of power. It case of the violation of the Penal Code, huge sanctions should be melted on the defaulter.

Fombad (2012) presents further, that although there exists the separation of power, based on collaboration and cooperation, the Legislative and the Judiciary is allowed to be dominated by the Executive power. According to the constitution of Cameroon in article (5), (6), and (10), it states clearly that the president shall define the policy of the nation, shall be elected into 7 years' term of office and shall be re-elected just once, the president shall appoint into office the prime minister and other government offices and may relinquish powers to them within the framework of their duty.

The judiciary system of Cameroon is based on the French system of Civil Law made up of the High Court and the Supreme Court. The judges are appointed by the president while the High Court judges are appointed by the National Assembly. The Judicial power is under the control of the minister of justice who is appointed by the president of the Republic and can be dismissed at any moment whenever he/she goes contrary to the demands of the head of state. This only show the president is everything in Cameroon as he is above the other arms of government and can violate the constitution whenever his interest is trampled upon. The Cameroon system is based on the Executive-Legislative, Executive-Judiciary and at the end, "Paul Biya is Cameroon" and "Cameroon is Paul Biya."

Cameroon before and after Independence

Cameroon as a state was built in the complexity of different colonial powers. To better under the state of Cameroon, the six maps below will best give explanation of Cameroon from the German rule up to independence and unification of Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun.

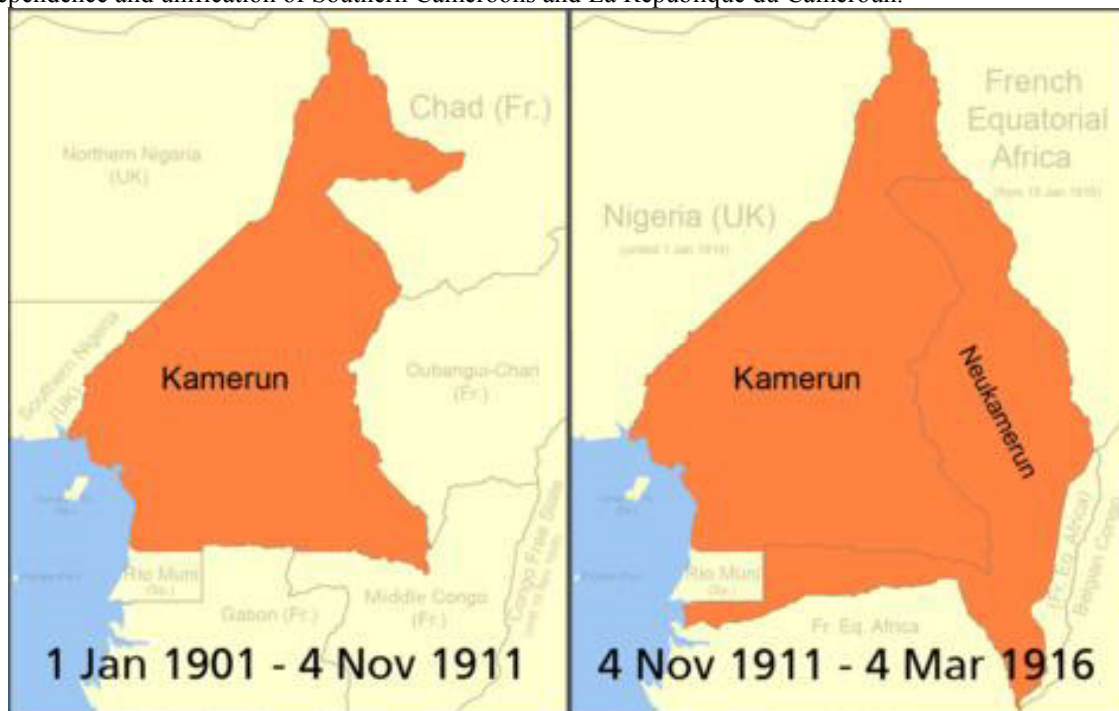


Figure 1: Kamerun under the German Administration before its Partition.

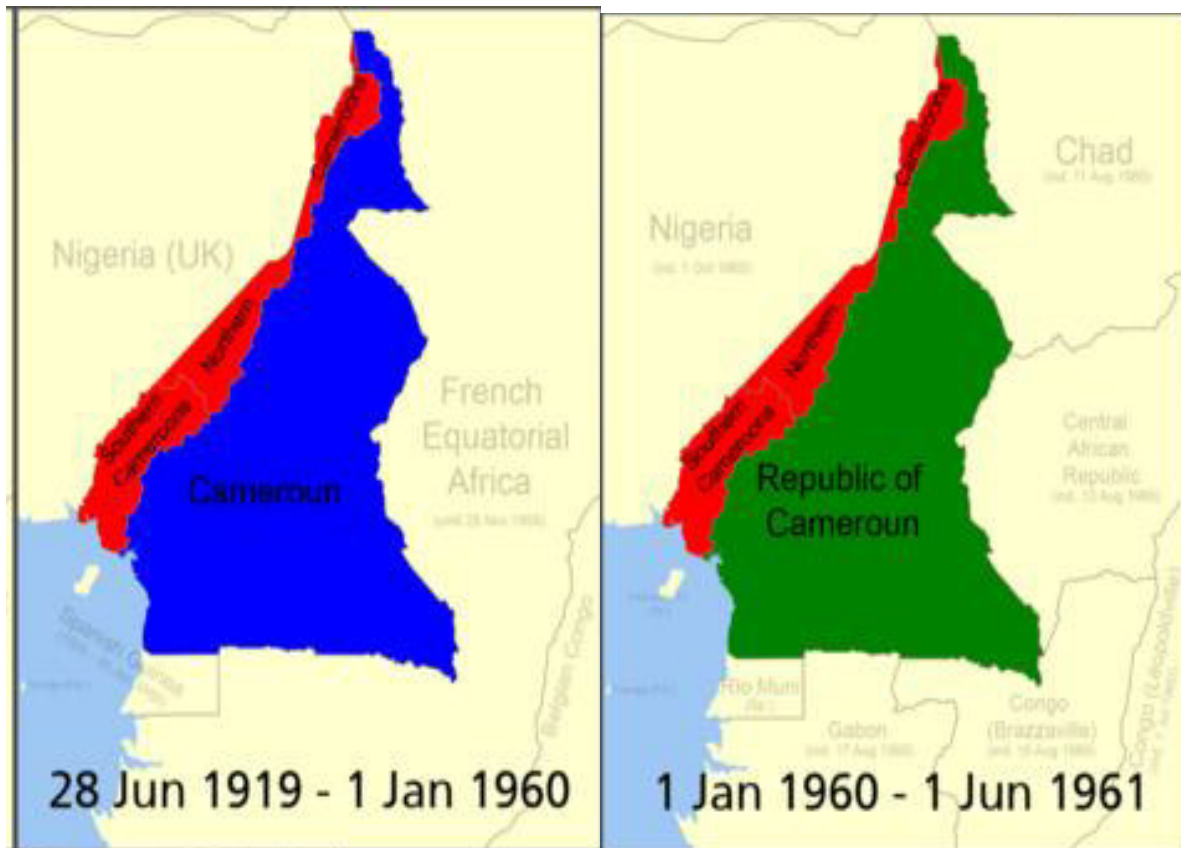


Figure 2: British Southern/Northern Cameroons as the United Nations Trust Territories and an independent la Republique du Cameroun.

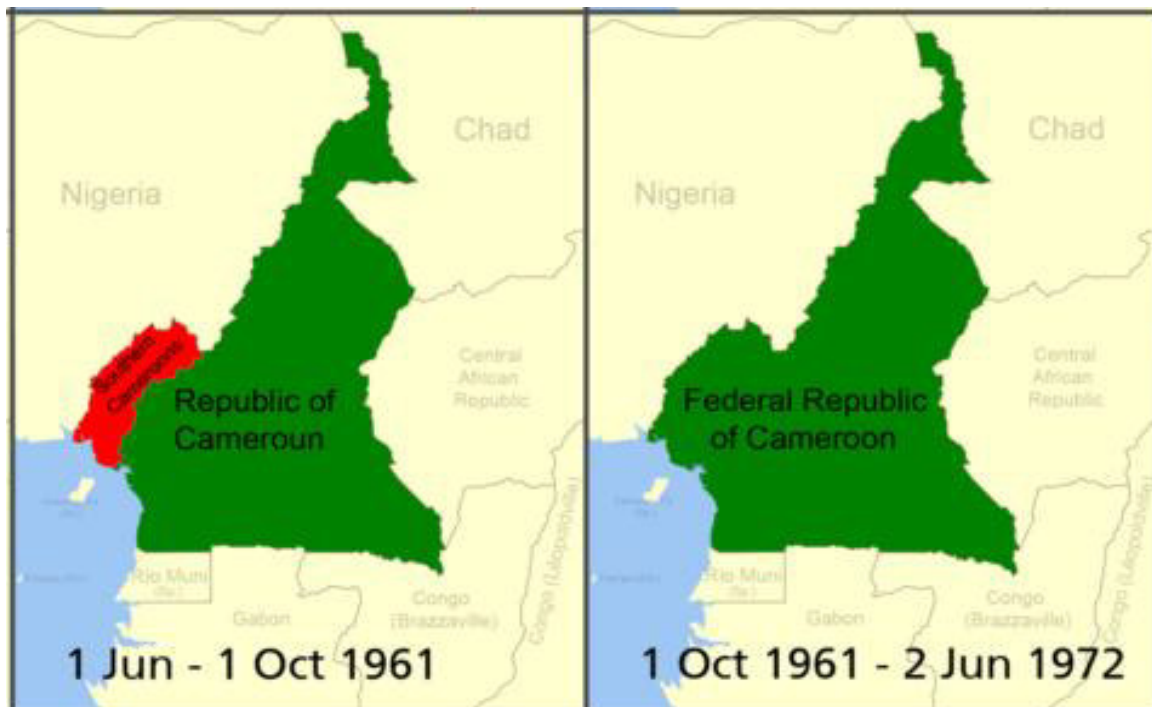


Figure 3: Maps Showing the Union between Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun at Independence.

Source: Eric Elong Ebolo, (2012), Sovereignty in the Making: A case of Anglophone Cameroon, Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

In the figures above, the first map in orange shows Cameroon still under the German administration but it's

even more detailed in the second picture still in orange because it shows territories which though independent today, were once administered by Germany as part of Cameroon. The territories are The Central African Republic, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Congo to the South. These territories all belonged to Germany and were all called 'Kamerun'. But after the First World War as picture 3 in blue shows, Cameroon was partitioned by Britain and France in what was called the Milner-Simon treaty of 1919. France took the Lion share in blue which became what was known under its administration as French Cameroun and Britain attached its small share in red to Nigeria which was known as The British Southern Cameroons. Britain fearing that the territory was destitute of raw materials and lacked the necessary resources to exist as an independent country, decided to administer it under Nigeria. However, two different British territories which are better referred to Southern and Northern Cameroons were administered under two different houses of representatives in the Nigerian Assembly. The Northern Cameroons was a part of the Northern house of Assembly where Northern Cameroonians (then) were given seats in the assembly. Meanwhile, the Southern Cameroons was under the Eastern House of Representatives whose headquarters was in Enugu.

Picture 4 in green still shows the two protectorates; French Cameroun in Green and British Southern and Northern Cameroons in red. This is what the map of Cameroon looked like until the wave of independence claimed its respective spoils in the 1960s. French Cameroon gained its independence on the 1st of January, 1960 while the British Southern and Northern Cameroons continued to struggle for independence. By then the representatives of the British Southern Cameroons had desisted from participating in the Enugu Assembly for ethnocentric reasons. By the force of argument, they left and came back to Cameroon to form a formidable force that would lead them to independence.

In April 1960 through Resolution 1608 of the United Nations General Assembly over 60 countries voted in favor for the independence of the British Southern and Northern Cameroons but France and French Cameroun, already independent, were opposed to it. For reasons still unclear to many political scientists and historians of Cameroon history, many continue to ask why Britain denied its two English speaking territories their independence but presented them an almost impossible condition for independence which was either by joining Nigeria or French Cameroun. In defiance of Resolution 1608 which granted the independence of its two English speaking Cameroonian territories, on February 11th 1961 by a Plebiscite the Northern parts of British Cameroons voted to join Nigeria and Tafawa Balewa, the then Premier of the Nigerian Federation fulfilled his promise by granting them a semi autonomy whereby they administered themselves as a Federal State. The British Southern Cameroons in red as picture 5 reveals was left with the option of joining French Cameroun but they somewhat resisted. The demand for their outright independence was still denied by Britain and they were left with no choice but to vote to join French Cameroun. However, Amadou Ahidjo, president of French Cameroon then in tandem with Tafawa Balewa Premier of Nigeria, had promised to treat the British Southern Cameroons with equal status, respect their political, economic and social institutions which they already had before coming into the federation. It must be known that by this time the British Southern Cameroons had already had about 2 Prime Ministers who were democratically elected while in French Cameroun Amadou Ahidjo had replaced Andre Marie Mbida. It should be noted here that the downfall of Prime Minister Andre Marie Mbida was masterminded by the French High Commissioner Jean Ramadier.

On the 1st of October, 1961 still as picture 5 shows, the British Southern Cameroons gained its independence by joining French Cameroon to form what was known as the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Both territories were ruled differently and had two different forms of political culture, currency, judiciary, language and economy. For example, Dr. John Ngu Foncha was the Prime Minister of the British Southern Cameroons while Amadou Ahidjo was president of French Cameroon. Thus, the February 11th, 1961 Plebiscite which united the two Cameroons marked the unification of Cameroon though the Northern parts had been lost to Nigeria. Therefore, instead of rejoicing on February 11th as the day when the two Cameroons came back as one, it was declared a national day of mourning and remembrance of the two Northern Regions that voted to join the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the unification day 11th of February 1961 was later termed the National Youth's Day.

Picture 6 all in green still shows Cameroon as a unified country but under the Federal system. However, the game plan drastically changed on the 20th of May 1972 when President Amadou Ahidjo staged a constitutional coup by organizing a referendum which called on the citizens of the West and East Cameroon to decide whether to completely unify. The results of the referendum though badly contested till date by many English speaking and some bold French speaking Cameroonian intellectuals claimed the majority voted in favor to officially join French Cameroon. Thus, the name of the country was changed from the Federal Republic of Cameroon to the United Republic of Cameroon. This act which was out rightly qualified a constitutional coup generated steam for what started then as the "Anglophone or Southern Cameroonian Problem". The Anglophone elites led by the late Dr John Ngu Foncha who was one time Prime Minister of the former British Southern Cameroons and Vice President of the Federation led many petitions against the Cameroonian state to the United Nations and the Queen of England accusing French Cameroun of illegal occupation and a systematic plight to eradicate the Southern Cameroons Anglo-saxon culture.

Cameroon's Post-Colonial State Projects

Cameroon just like any other colonized territory in the world gained its independence and unification in a much more complicated societal and administrative setting put in place by two different colonial masters with different colonial policies, legacies and customs. According to Konings and Nyamjoh (2003), these legacies were planted on a vaster bi-cultural society that has at least 200 ethnic groups. The United States Department of State Report (2015) indicates main religions as Christianity (69 percent), Islam (21 percent) and Animists (6 percent). The political upheavals that preceded independence and unification by the Union des Population du Cameroun (UPC) showed that France was not ready to grant full independence but continue her patronage in Cameroun. Adding further, the notion of nation building was hampered at independence as the president (Ahidjo) was a puppet for France to indirectly rule Cameroun. The president (Ahidjo) was a Muslim from the north who enjoyed little or no support in the south.

In addition, Konings and Nyamjoh (2003) asserted that the very first blow to post-colonial interesting nation building in Cameroon was the adoption of a highly centralized federal system of governance at Foumban in July, the dissolution of multi-parties in east Cameroon in 1966 forming the grand party called United National Congress (UNC) and the extension of the system to west Cameroon, and finally the abolition of the federal state gave birth to the unitary system of governance. All these were in a way centralizing all state powers on one single individual thus hindering state building. More still Ahidjo's policy of patron-client who in turn owed him allegiance rather than meritocracy to state services were another glaring evidences that hampered democracy and post-independent state building. He appointed into office those who showed total commitment to him and the dismissal of those he called betrayals. Those loyal to the president had access to the economic resources, appointments to lucrative positions and access to free bank loan, corruption and had special impunity when faced with the law (Konings and Nyamjoh, 2003). Ahidjo's subordinates considered the state as a place where capital and wealth could be generated. Three ethnic groups actually enjoyed and benefited from Ahidjo's economic and political policies; the Fulbe (Garoua, those from the president's home town), the Beti (considered the educated class), and the Bamileke of the grassfield (economic class). The peace that reigned in the country was due to suppression of human right as there was no freedom of speech, press or opponents.

The Construction of an Anglophone Identity and Competing Identities

The subject of reconstructing the Anglophone identity in Cameroon owes allegiance to the colonial period which is today the course of the Anglophone problem. It is as a result of this boundary (the Picot line drawn in London by Britain and France separating the elsewhere German Kamerun) that Anglophones have dwelt their argument on. Such boundary has met with its difficulties to solve present ethnic differences thus deterred scholars and political elites from providing everlasting solutions to the problems plaguing the country. Regarding the subject, Konings and Nyamjoh (2003) presented fervently that identity formation can be traced back to unification and post-colonial nation building state and with the introduction of the unitary system of governance causing divide cleavage within the Anglophones on the one hand and Anglophones-Francophones on the other hand only spurt conflict in the country.

Konings and Nyamjoh (2003) added that the construction of the Anglophone identity can be better understood traced back historically from the partition of German-Kamerun between Britain and France after the First World War which imposed on them different colonial legacies and institution. This gave birth to southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroun which unified in the UN plebiscites of 11th February 1961 leading to the federal Republic of Cameroon. The formation of the Anglophone identity can be seen as the result of the union failure at Foumban conference in July 1961. Furthermore, Southern Cameroons delegation at the conference proposed for a loose state federation with both parties having equal rights. While at the conference, a highly centralized federation was instituted on them by the Republic of Cameroon majority who had a higher bargaining power.

The feeling of marginalization and second class position of the Anglophones Cameroon shortly after the unification and nation building in Cameroon (post-colonial nation building) which the Anglophones saw it as the manipulation by the francophone's majority to dominate the Anglophones minority thus taking-off their identity and colonial legacies. Though the government or Francophones can be blamed for the Anglophone problems, a hand full of the blames can equally be attributed to the Anglophone political elites as their love for position during and even after the unitary state following the failure of the federal state cannot be minimized as it only helped to weakened and the neglect of what Konings and Nyamjoh (2003) termed the west Cameroon's autonomy and interest.

Succeeded by Ahidjo, many Cameroonians thought Biya's New Deal¹ philosophy was to put an end to the Anglophone problem which later turned out to become what was called "lip-say" political propaganda thus the

¹ Biya's "New Deal" Philosophy was rooted in a more humane nationalist agenda that respected ethnic and linguistic diversity but frowned on tribalism; encourage state decentralization; and introduce grassroots democracy within the single party. These principles were well-articulated during the first five years of Biya's rule as later published in a 1987 political manifesto titled "Communal Liberalism" (Tande, 2007)

mobilization of associations by Anglophones to take what they felt was theirs.

Anglophones Quest to Restructure State Power

The subject of restructuring state power to accommodate everyone to live in peace and economic prosperity has been a whole tussle between the Anglophone organization leaders who seek for the return to two states federation equal in status and secession if the case may be, the South West political elites mainly of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) extraction who advocate for ten states federation within the regions as a way of avoiding Northwest dominance in case of two states federation, the main opposition political party (SDF) who stands for four states federation and lastly the Anglophone-francophone divide who sees decentralization as the best way leading to economic progress (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003). The federal system which was proposed and instituted in Cameroon in 1961 was highly centralized with powers wielded onto the head of state. This was done with the fear that decentralized federation wields a lot of powers and equality thus secession is inevitable. This view was in relation with the Sudan case which since 1956 after gaining independence has experienced civil peace only for a decade that is from 1972-1983 with the introduction of the semi-federal status (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003). Again to the government, centralized federal system was aimed at fostering economic growth, development and to strengthened national unity and integration.

The Growth of Nationalism, Unification Ideas and the 1961 United Nations Plebiscite in former British Southern Cameroons

The political leaders or Anglophone activists who are fighting for secession as the government termed it and restoration as the Anglophone communities viewed it could only stress their argument to the different days, dates and years the Republic of Cameroon, the federal Republic of Nigeria and the former British southern Cameroons obtained independence. According to Ngoh (1979), the United Nations 1961 plebiscite was organized and conducted on both former British Southern Cameroons and British Northern Cameroons to decide their fates by joining either one of the independent nations.

To Ndahinda (2016), the Republic of Cameroun gained independence on 1st January 1960 while the federal Republic of Nigeria gained hers in the same year but on 1st October. The failure of the former British Southern Cameroons political leaders to come out with one voice as regarding the fate of their nation culminated to the different UN plebiscite that was organized in 1961. It was no more longer evident that both the former northern and southern Cameroons will continue being the United Nations Trust territory as it was stated that both territories had right to self-determination (Lenschie, 2014).

Moreover, failure to reach concrete view by Foncha and Endeley¹ on the state of southern Cameroons, culminated to the fourth committee meeting by the United Nations plebiscite council which according to Awasom (2000), the United Nations proceeded by imposing it questions on the trust territories to decide their fate. On the day of the plebiscite, two alternatives were given to the people to choose. The much more awaited third option by the British Southern Cameroons and British Northern Cameroon was denied them. To further justify the point on the absence of the third option question, Nsamba (2014) made a strong claim that it was a conspiracy by the British to neglect a third option which many would have chosen and opted for a sovereign and autonomous nation. She added that, the non-respect of cultural and administrative differences inherited from the different colonial masters, imposed a plebiscite on the northern and southern British Cameroons without taken into consideration the above factors amalgamated these United Nations Trust territories to independent nations which today reveals the political upheavals and the dilemma those former territories find themselves in.

According to Awasom (2000), the date for a plebiscite was arranged for 11th February 1961 with the plebiscite questions contained in the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1352 XIV, of October 1959. The various political parties in southern Cameroons amalgamated with one another to challenge their rivalries over the option. The Kamerun Society (KS) merged with Kamerun National Democratic (KNDP) for unification with Cameroun Republic while the Kamerun National Congress (KNC) and Kamerun People's Party (KPP) stood for continues coalition with Nigeria. Konings (1999) clearly stated that on the set day for the plebiscite, the questions went thus:

Do you wish to gain independence by joining the republic of Cameroon? OR

Do you wish to gain independence by joining the federal republic of Nigeria?

It was however stated by the United Nations that only citizen born in Southern Cameroons and whose parents were of southern Cameroons' origin had the right to take part in the plebiscite. Deducing from Awasom (2000), it is however worthy of note that, the United Nations vehemently rejected popular wishes of the people of former British Southern Cameroons whose stand was secession from Nigeria with the option of an autonomous state for Southern Cameroons. Again according to Nkuo et al (2016), in a memorandum to the head of State Paul Biya,

¹ Dr Emmanuel Mbile Lilefe Endeley was a medical doctor by profession. He represented the former British Southern Cameroons at Enugu, Nigeria until 1954 when a crisis broke out at Enugu leading to the formation of the "Benevolent Block" by Endeley and other Southern Cameroonians to withdraw from Nigeria. He negotiated the formation of the autonomous state for the Southern Cameroons in 1954 with the formation of the first political party; the Kamarun National Council (KNC). He became Prime Minister of Southern Cameroons from 1958 till 1959 when he lost the post to Foncha because he (Endeley) championed the idea of Southern Cameroons to turn back to Nigeria having more representatives and a quasi-status.

pointed out that, with the United Nations decision to formulate only two options in the Plebiscite, Southern Cameroonians showed total dissatisfaction and mounted pressure on Prime Minister (Foncha) who led a delegation to London in November 1960 to protest against the Plebiscite choices and to include the option of total independence. Unfortunately, the outcome of the visit went into the deaf ears as according to the United Nations Resolution 1541(XV) Principles VII and VIII, Southern Cameroonians was only qualified to achieve independence either by association with la Republique du Cameroun or integration with the Federal Republic of Nigeria based on total equality and rights between the peoples of Southern Cameroonians and whosoever she wishes to join.

Besides, Konings (2005) said that weighing two options of association with Nigeria and integration with French Cameroun, memory could be thrown to the words of the great Fon of Bafut, Fon Achiribi II in 1959 when he made a powerful and remarkable statement of calling French Cameroon “fire” (police brutality in French Cameroun and the UPC uprising terrorist activities) and Nigeria “water” (Igbo dominating policy of price and pay) and opted for the choice of independence of Southern Cameroonians. According to Ngoh (1979), thinking of more than forty years of intense suffering under Igbo domination in Nigeria, Southern Cameroonians overwhelmingly voted (70.49%) to gain independence by joining la Republic du Cameroun. According to Ayim (2010: 57) the United Nations plebiscite supported by the United Kingdom was in gross violation of Trusteeship Agreement (article 76 B of the UN Charter). In addition, he stated that the United Nations did not even mention which type of union it was bringing Cameroonians into: was it confederation or inter-parliamentary union? Without taken into consideration that two languages were spoken, two different cultures, different political and economic views. What’s more, Ayim (2010: 75) argued that even the “joining” process was illegal as it was abandoned, never resumed and never completed. Again, not forgetting that there was the non-implementation of paragraph 5 of the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1608 (XX) of 21st April 1961.

The 1961 Fouban Constitutional Conference

The Fouban constitution conference was the “legal” framework in which the former German colony of Kamerun after separation for more than 40 years by Britain and France reunited to build a better nation in good faith divided by the colonialists. According to Anyefru (2008:2), former British southern Cameroonians integration with La Republique du Cameroun (French Cameroun) was interpreted by Francophones as assimilation (that is reclaiming part of their lost territory). Also many argued fervently and justifiably that after “reconciliation” by the two people in the UN 11th February 1961 plebiscite and the desire to build a new nation equal in status, instead laid the post-modern political turmoil that the Anglophones in Cameroon today find themselves traced from the constitutional conspiracy that took place at Fouban. In line with this, Achankeng (2014) stated that the desire by the Former British Cameroonians to build a unique federal structure of governance with the Republic of Cameroun to be the best and admired by all African countries turned out to be a nightmare as pointed out at the All Anglophone Conference (AAC1) in Buea in 1993 after 32years of union with the Republic of Cameroun. He further raised the claim that the former British southern Cameroonians went to Fouban to be annexed by the Republic of Cameroun as it is evident today. In addition, the failure of the third option for sovereign state by the United Nations (UN) and United Kingdom (UK) led to the choice with the Republic of Cameroun thus the need for a reconciliatory negotiation backed by the signing of a “union treaty” by both parties under the supervision of the United Nations and the United Kingdom (UK) since the former southern Cameroonians was still a United Nations (UN) trust territory under the British before entering the union with the Republic of Cameroun. The UN resolution on negotiation between two people coming together talks of the signing of a union treaty backed by the United Nations to approve the validity of such union. It was only within the framework of the Fouban conference that the former British southern Cameroonians (today Anglophones) found themselves in the socio-cultural, economic and political embodiment of the Republic of Cameroun today.

The 1972 Referendum

According to Konings (1999: 301), it is worthy of note that the final version of the Fouban constitutional conference spelt out clearly that there was no room at any time for any party to secede from the union even when the southern Cameroonians wanted a clause of secession to be included but unfortunately, that clause was turned down. The question now is: is there still a federation in Cameroon? The political crisis in West Cameroon within the KNDP made Ahidjo to come out with the idea of a single party called the Cameroon National Union (CNU) in 1996 based on greater integration and unity.

Moreover, this made Ahidjo become so influential that according to Konings (1999:303), he had the powers to sack West Cameroon Prime Minister, Augustine Ngom Jua, a “Federalist” and appointed to power S. T. Muna, a “Unionist” who was loyal to Ahidjo. However, Ayim, (2010) opines that on the 6th of May 1972, Ahidjo made his intention known while addressing the National Assembly to change the form of government from a federal into a unitary system in a referendum thus violating the Fouban constitution.

According to Konings (1999), the referendum was chosen by Ahidjo to avoid debate in parliament and

massive vote against such constitutional proposal. This proposal was however in violation of Clause 1 Article 47 of the federal constitution which stated that under no reason was the federal structure going to be dissolved at any moment. Ahidjo had become too powerful that no one could even challenge his opinion and decision. That is why he had to abolish the post of vice-president, dissolve the west Cameroon Assembly and House of Chiefs. On 20th of May 1972, federalism was dissolved in favor of the unitary system “glorious revolution” with the reasons advanced as: federation was costly to run for a developing country like Cameroon and it equally favored regionalism and retarded development (Konings 1999: 304). To make matter worst, President Ahmadou Ahidjo divided West Cameroon (Anglophone) into two provinces knowing full well the political squabbles that existed between the people of the coastal low lands and the grass field of the north, as the coastal people has always accused the grass field people of domination. One can only say that this was a calculating attempt to further disunite and weakened the elsewhere people of West Cameroon.

Petroleum in West Cameroon and the dissolution of the federal structure

According to Nfi (2017), the primary reason for Ahidjo’s dissolution of Federalism was largely as the secret discovery of petrol in West Cameroon, precisely in Ndiain, discovered in 1972. Britain had earlier insisted that Southern Cameroons wasn’t economic viable and that she could suffer if autonomous independence was granted to her. Does it mean if the British had discovered the economic potentials of Southern Cameroons, they would have had a different story other than the one stated? Nfi (2017) echoed the work of Anyangwe (2009) that it was rather unfortunate that the British weren’t aware of Southern Cameroons economic sustainability. But it was however surprising that the British were exploiting huge amounts of hydrocarbon reserves in the “Bight of Biafra”. A part of Nigeria that geographically includes some stretches of Southern Cameroons and the British couldn’t even notice that large economic wealth was lying on Southern Cameroons (Bakassi Peninsula), adjacent to neighboring “Biafra”. However, the British went as far as sponsoring a report called the “Phillipson’s Report” to give report on economic situation of Southern Cameroons as the territory lack of natural endowment with its people leaving the life of hand-to-mouth. Furthermore, the British misinformation and propaganda of the non-economic viability of Southern Cameroons weakened any meaningful negotiation at Fomuban as Southern Cameroonians were reminded of the fact that they didn’t have economic potentials to show off. As Nfi (2017) puts it, the British misinformation about the southern Cameroons was propaganda to link the territory to her giant oil-producing country, Nigeria.

Nfi (2017) argues that the British propaganda and disinformation of the economic non-viability of Southern Cameroons however worked in favor of President Ahidjo when in 1964, the French explorers made discovery of the positive signals of petroleum in West Cameroon. Ahidjo therefore conceived the idea and kept as a secret and pushed forward to dissolve the Federal Structure so as to have total control of the economic resources in West Cameroon. In addition, Ahidjo’s French adviser (a neocolonialist) mounted pressure on him (Ahidjo) to quickly take off the boundary lines between West and East Cameroon so as to bring the newly discovered oil in Ndiain area (West Cameroon) under the control of Ahidjo and the easy access for French exploitation. Still with West Cameroonians unaware of the secret discovery of the oil under their control, Ahidjo had to dissolve Federation before the news exploded and in May 1972, he however succeeded to achieve his aim.

Nfi (2017) adds that Ahidjo was aware that West Cameroon’s royalty to the federation was as a result of its lack of finance. The Prime Minister of West Cameroon, Augustine Ngum Jua, held strongly and stood for an autonomous federation went to Ahidjo in 1967 to plead for financial assistance to carry out some socio-economic projects in West Cameroon. Ahidjo knew such individuals (Prime Minister Jua) if aware of the economic potentials of West Cameroon and considering their strong stand for autonomous federation stand, it would make matters worse for Ahidjo as West Cameroon loyalty to the central administration would have disappeared. He therefore did everything necessary to keep West Cameroon under his control. Similar situations of economic wealth in neighboring countries pushed Ahidjo to dissolve the Federation. In 1960s, there was the discovery of huge amount of wealth such as ore, cobalt rush, lead, zinc, nickel and manganese in the Congolese province of Katanga. With these economic resources, Katangese opted to separate from Congo and to enjoy full monopoly over these resources which led to a bloody civil war of secession. Similarly, in Nigeria still in the 1960s, with the availability of the rich-oil in Igbo land, the Biafra’s opted to secede from Nigeria. This again led to a bloody civil war that saw the death of thousands of people and the destruction of properties. Ahidjo feared a similar situation in West Cameroon if they had a monopoly over the wealth in Ndiain area.

Political Liberalization and the Mobilization of Anglophone Identity in Cameroon

Anyefru (2008: 34) asserts the fact that political liberalization and the mobilization of the Anglophone identity only became popular as from the mid 1980s and came into full force in the 1990s. This was however a course championed by the southern Cameroonians at home and external factors that pushed the Cameroon government to introduce a certain degree of freedom and expression. The poor mechanisms or policies put in place by the previous and existing government to which is a more or less a total neglect to solve the Anglophone problems.

Anyefru (2008:18) says that the government's neglect to pay attention to and solve the Anglophone problem has given rise to movements, pressure groups with one objective, which is total restoration of statehood. In this light, cyberspace cannot be undermined. It is one of tools which have been used to circulate information across the globe thereby awakening national consciousness and instilling in Anglophone Cameroonians and a sense of belonging.

Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003) present the view that Anglophone mobilization was actually the failure of the elites of the different colonial off-springs to come out with a consensus constitution to govern both people amicably. They further argued that the union between former British southern Cameroons and the independent Republic of Cameroon which was so rooted in the French language and tradition with two-state federations to form the federal republic of Cameroon was in real sense pure centralization for unitary system of governance. Moreover, the formation of the unitary system came with the slogans: national unity, and later national integration, orchestrated the return of the country's name from the Federal Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. This was just in essence wiping an Anglophones identity off leading to colonization. Still on this, Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003), added further that the outcome of this has been the Anglophones living in perpetual fear and suspicion as they think of nothing more than national-split as those who supports the government in power enjoys the necessary facilities and those against the government are totally neglected.

Anglophones campaign for sovereignty, autonomy, restoration and separation comes with a feeling that their community has been subjected to total slavery and their identity taken away from them by the government in power. Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003), added that what triggers some of the Anglophone elites is the fact that their Francophone counterpart are not aware of such thus denying the Anglophones identity as they view it as one of the problems plaguing the regions of the country. This misconception only encourages the Anglophones to seek for political liberalization and the mobilization of the Anglophone identity in Cameroon.

The Anglophone Call for a Return to Federalism

Just few years after the union between Southern Cameroons and La Republic du Cameroun at Foumban, the Southern Cameroons' leaders started expressing their grievances as most of the decisions taken at Foumban were did not reflect what they (Southern Cameroons delegations) desired during the Bamenda preparatory meeting. With this, one did not need any additional lenses to envisage the future state reconstruction, nation building and "democracy" of the state of Cameroon to be endangered. According to Anyefru (2008), the dissatisfactions of the Anglophones which was at it low level due to Ahidjo's tyranny and no freedom of expression, only gained national and international grounds when Biya came to power introducing more freedom of expression and demonstration. The struggle was largely for the return to the two-state federation initiated at Foumban by the two people. The Cameroon government's "aching" answer of silence for any negotiation championed by the Anglophone Cameroons (SCNC) has shifted the demands of the Anglophones leading to the escalation and political turmoil that the state Cameroon finds itself in today.

Anyefru (2008) added further that the course has highly endangered the economic, political and socio-cultural spheres of the country. It is however worthy of not that the struggle for the return of federalism and later restoration of independence as advocated by Anglophones following the outcome of the Bamenda Proclamation at the end of the All Anglophone Conference (AACII) in 1994 has brought suspicion, fear and distrust between the government and the Anglophone communities. The movement which started as a call for the return of the two-state federation by peaceful means of dialogue and negotiation has seen the emergence of enormous pressures groups with some based on the motto of the "Force of Argument and not the Argument of Force" by Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) while other groups believe in arm struggle (the Southern Cameroon Youth League) to restore the independence of Southern Cameroons. These groups have stemmed from the Social Democratic Front (SDF), All Anglophones Conference (AAC1 and 2) the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), and the Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL). According to Anyefru (2008:28), the pressure groups advocating for the independence of the state of Southern Cameroons can be equated to other groups fighting for a similar course elsewhere such as the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance and the Basque Party in Senegal and Spain who have been fighting for territorial independence respectively.

The Anglophone Problem

According to Nfi (2014:122) just as Cameroonian writers find it difficult to come out with a definition of the concept of Anglophone, so too has there been contrasting opinions about what the Anglophone problem is all about. As mentioned earlier, according to Jua and Konings (2004) the Francophone political elites viewed the Anglophone problem as one of the problems affecting any other region in the country and as a result do not see any reason why the Anglophone problem should be treated as a special case and matter of urgency. More so, the Francophones envisage Anglophone nationalism as unexpected with the strong conviction that the imposition of the post-nation building or project, ethnic and national identities has clearly cleaned up the notion and ideology of "Anglophoneness" in the people who so much demand the former British way of administration in their

territory. According to Nkuo et al (2016), one of the worst things that any Cameroonian can do is to deny the existence of the Anglophone problems. They added that if external parties such as the former French President (Jacques Chirac), the Commonwealth of Nations “gentleman’s club”, and the European Union have all accepted that there is the Anglophone problem in Cameroon and it will be rather ridiculous for Cameroon government and its officials to deny such claims.

Again Nfi (2014) holds that different writers have made misconception views and misinterpretation of the Anglophone problem as some waters it down to a linguistic problem, others hold the view of non-political participation and socio-cultural while others think that the underdevelopment of the region is the cause of the said problem. However, some Anglophone writers have attributed the Anglophone problem in Cameroon to the British/United Nations; others rather envisage the violation of the 1961 Federal Constitution as the cause of the problem and finally another group that sees Anglophone problems from the political, economic and socio-cultural perspective.

The Violation of the Federal Constitution

According to Ngwene (2017), there is a difference between an Anglophone problem and the problems of Anglophones. To him, the Anglophone problem has escalated to the problems of Anglophones. He stated that “Anglophone problem lies from 1961 to 1972 with the violation of article (47) of the Federal Constitution of 1961 by Ahidjo. The Federal Constitution of 1961 had earlier stipulated that the federal state of West and East Cameroon will remain as there will be no attempt at any point to dismantle the federal constitution. Ahidjo decided to challenge article (47) by using article (2) that gave him the latitude to call for a referendum. Again using article (2) to supersede the authority of article (47), Ahidjo had the authority to challenge the authority of West Cameroon Prime Minister and Secretaries of State of West Cameroon. This has therefore given way to the Anglophone problems. Ahidjo’s action changed West Cameroon structure from statehood to a minority wood, later to provinces and are today called regions. The Anglophone problem has degenerated to the problems of Anglophones in the economic, judicial, socio-cultural and political spheres.

In line with the above statement, Nkuo et al (2016) address to the Head of State in relation to the genesis of the Anglophone problems in Cameroon, they stated that, President Ahidjo unconstitutional change of the Federal structure in 1972, vested so much powers on him that he amended constitution at will to the expense of West Cameroonians. In 1975, the constitution was amended to included the post of prime minister, in 1979, another amendment was done stating that the president would be succeeded by the Prime Minister and finally in 1984 there was an amendment of the constitution changing the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon through a presidential decree Law No 84-1 of 4th February 1984. This was only evident that the two people who came together on a treaty of equality, faces strong violation of such treaty of union as East Cameroon manipulated the federal constitution with unconstitutional amendments and finally ended incorporating West Cameroon and thus the name the Republic of Cameroon. It should be noted that before the union between Southern Cameroons and la Republique du Cameroun, the latter was called the Republic of Cameroon and if a presidential decree took the country back to it name at independence, it means one part succeeded in assimilation the other partner.

Political grievances

Following the Federal Constitution of 1961, the Vice-President was second in command to the president and both president and vice-president were not to come from the same federal state. Years gone by as the post of the vice-president was dissolved and replaced with the post of the prime minister and by 1975, both President Ahidjo and Prime Minister Paul Biya (he was the Cameroon prime minister in 1975) came from former East Cameroon and powers were relegated to the president who took (and still takes) upon himself to appoint prime minister. Anglophone occupying the second most important political post has shifted as the prime minister position is meant for Anglophones coming fourth in the country’s power ranking (the President of the Republic, the President of Senate, the President of the National Assembly and the Prime Minister fourth and meant for Anglophones). In addition, the prime minister doesn’t have any power as compared to the period of federalism when Foncha even had some political powers. Today’s prime minister only acts when the president instructs him to do so. He doesn’t have any power in solving the Anglophone problem.

According to Nkuo et al (2016), the Anglophones have been limited to hold certain top government positions which are only reserved for Francophones. Anglophones have never occupied the position of Secretary of State, minister of Defense, minister of Economy, minister of Planning and minister of Territorial Administration and Decentralization. It should however be noted that it was only until 2018 that an Anglophone was appointed Minister of Territorial Administration and while appointing an Anglophone, the ministry was splinted into two (ministry of Territorial Administration different from Ministry of Decentralization).

According to the Guardian Post Newspaper (2004) two Anglophones out of thirty-two Ministers with Portfolio, only three Anglophones as Secretary Generals in Ministries out of thirty-two, six Anglophones as

General Managers of Public Corporation out of sixty, two Anglophones as Army Generals out of twenty-five, four Ambassadors out of thirty-five, six Anglophones as Senior Divisional Officers out of fifty-eight, and nine Anglophones as Divisional Officers out of two hundred and sixty-eight.

Deadlock to the Anglophone Problem

Lazowska (2012) holds it that something is considered deadlock only when it's waiting for an event that will never occur. It's a situation concerning two or more parties at a difficult situation which no progress can be made thereof. Anglophone question (problem) in Cameroon has gotten to a point where both government and Anglophone movement leaders hold strings at both side with no one ready to give in. Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003:194-197) present that Anglophones disgruntled leaders have succeeded in the last quarter to inform the national and international organizations of their plight. Again, the Anglophones argue that the idea of either integrating with Nigeria or reunification with French Cameroon was never their choice. What they so much wanted was the third option of complete independence which was manipulated and turned down by the United Kingdom and the United Nations. In addition, the "sham federation" they got into as described by the last French high commissioner and adviser to Ahidjo in the person of Pierre Messmer, and General Charles de Gaulle statement of "became a small gift of the Queen of England to France needed much to be desired. Finally the eradication of the last patches of the Southern Cameroons identity following a presidential of 1985 changing the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. These acts of domination, assimilation and annexation have caused the different Southern Cameroons (Anglophone) movements to go to any length just to have what they termed "restore the statehood of Southern Cameroons".

Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003) state that the government on her part finds the Anglophones claim unfounded and not true. She rather sees it as an organization by some few Anglophones to destabilize nation-building state projects in Cameroon. To the government, the period for federalism has long passed when the entire nation overwhelmingly voted in the 1972 referendum to change the form of government to the unitary state. Moreover, the claims of federalism cannot be discussed talk less of separation. The government holds that Cameroon is "one and indivisible" with national integration and is not ready at any moment to give in to secessionist groups. However, as of 1993 and 1994 during the All Anglophone Conference I & II, the government accepted to dialogue but only the type of dialogue that no one can explain. Dialogue that she role out secession, federalism and decentralization on the agenda. Both parties holds firm to their own edges of the string as no one is ready to listen and negotiate with the other. It has however cause suspicion, unrest and economic stagnation.

CONCLUSION

The study of marginalization in the 20th and 21st Century has revealed that most secessionist tendencies across the globe today are as the result of marginalization. The aforementioned categorically shows that the minorities feel marginalized in a forceful union imposed on them by the colonialist. The effects of colonization were the creation of border problems which numerous countries of the world are confronted with thus giving rise to secessionist conflicts in most parts of the world.

This paper focuses on the Rise of Anglophone Nationalism in Cameroon: 1960 to 1990s. It tries to caution the treatment of minority Anglophones in an entirely Francophone dominating country. As research has proven that the Anglophones came into a union with Francophones as equal partners, they have however been subjected to mere two out of ten regions of the country with the linguistic term "Anglophone" to wipe off any traces of them as "people" with an identity. It is an undoubted fact that there is Anglophone marginalization in every sector of the economy of Cameroon. The fact which the Francophones however denies it existence and rather sees it as the Anglophone asking for too much. Just as the Francophones are united in a single voice denying the Anglophone problem and feel comfortable with the unitary state, the Anglophone population is however divided on the form of government. The researcher's intention is not to dictate to the Cameroonian government (policy makers) or to the Anglophone movement leaders on what form or government they should they implement. The researcher strongly respects the democratic order of Nations as well as liberation movements of states.

The Southern Cameroons National Council came up with an approach to solve the problem based on the motto "force of argument and not the argument of force". Looking at the analysis, it shows therefore that there is an Anglophone problem Cameroon. This work is important as it lays and explains the foundation of the different legacies that has today given birth to the present crisis (Anglophone conflict) for future researchers to understand the basics of the conflict ongoing in Cameroon. It however gives a detailed historical analysis of Cameroon and it makes it easier for researcher on this topic as a thorough analysis has been laid here.

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