EUROPEAN COLONIALISM IN CAMEROON AND ITS AFTERMATH, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SOUTHERN CAMEROON, 1884-2014

BY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, NIGERIA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS (MA) DEGREE IN HISTORY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Dissertation titled: **European Colonialism in Cameroon and its Aftermath, with Special Reference to the Southern Cameroon, 1884-2014,** was written by me. It has not been submitted previously for the award of Higher Degree in any institution of learning. All quotations and sources of information cited in the course of this work have been acknowledged by means of reference.

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CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled: **European Colonialism in Cameroon and its Aftermath, with Special Reference to the Southern Cameroon, 1884-2014**, was read and approved as meeting the requirements of the School of Post-graduate Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for the award of Master of Arts (MA) degree in History.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God Almighty for His love, kindness and goodness to me and to the memory of Reverend Sister Angeline Bongsui who passed away in Brixen, in July, 2012.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My endless gratitude goes to my supervisors, Professor Sule Mohammed and Dr. John Ola Agi who devoted their time to supervise this work. Without their meaningful and constructive criticisms, this work would have been a sham. I sincerely appreciate their efforts in directing me to complete the work. May God grant them more knowledge and wisdom to lead and guide other students under their supervision the same way they led and guided me.

My profound gratitude goes to my benefactors, who were always with me in good and bad times. Without their input which came from the bottom of their hearts, this work would not have been completed. May the Almighty God grant them long life, strengthen their efforts and continue to replenish their pockets, to continue their work of philanthropy for the sake of humanity. I also want to thank Mr. and Mrs. Banye Patrick, Dr. Hanatu Alahira, Professor and Mrs. Enoch Oyedele, Mr. Toure Kazah Toure, Professor Muhammadu Mustapha Gwadabe, for all they have done for me. May God guide and protect them, in all their undertakings. My uncle, Mr. Tobias Ndze Wongbi and wife, are not forgotten. I thank them for who they are to me. My sincere appreciation also goes to Mr. Samuel Alfred who rendered the selfless service in typing the manuscripts, Mr. Mola Njoh Litumbe for his objective and intellectual contributions, Professor Fanso Verkijika Gerald and Dr. Anthony Ndi (Associate Professor) for their meaningful contributions and whose books contributed so much in the writing of this dissertation. I also appreciate the Capuchin Fathers in Buea who hosted me during the research.

My appreciation also goes to the Lecturers of the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria. They all contributed to the knowledge I have today. History is all about change and it is this change that we need in every society for its growth and development.

It is not static. It is this change that I have to carry everywhere I go for progress. I thank them immensely for everything.

I also appreciate the efforts and patience of the staff of the National Archives Buea (NAB) in Cameroon where the research was largely conducted. I thank them all especially Pa Primus and Mrs. Mary Benita Lamnyuy who spent considerable time even after office hours sorting out files for me. My sincere appreciation goes to the staff of Arewa House, Centre for Historical Research and Documentation,Kaduna (AHCHRDK), for their prompt assistance in providing the files I needed. I thank most especially the Director of Arewa House, Professor Abdulkadir Adamu, for the hospitality he showed me in Arewa House. The Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS) provided valuable books that were used in building this work. It was also where the work was compiled. I appreciate the kind gesture of the library staff of NHRS, Mallam Mohammed Muazu, Mrs. Sarah Toyiring and Mallam Salihu Sulaiman Usman. I also appreciate the staff of Undergraduate Library, History Department, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, who were always there to assist me in sorting out books for my use. They include Mallam Haruna Mohammed, Ramatu Mohammed and others. Finally, I appreciate the readiness and collaboration of my research assistants in Bamenda, Bafoussam, Kumbo, Nkambe, Yaounde, Kumba, Bakassi, Tiko, Limbe, Douala and Buea, in the conduct of this research.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABA	Anglophone Bar Association
ABU	Ahmadu Bello University
AAC	All Anglophone Conference
AHCHRDK	Arewa House Centre for Historical Research and Documentation, Kaduna
AM	Ambazonia Movement
BIR	Brigade Intervention Rapide (Rapid Intervention Force)
BMM	Brigade Mixte Mobile (Mobile Mixed Intervention)
CAM	Cameroon Anglophone Movement
CAMTEL	Cameroon Telecommunications
CAT	Cameroon Air Transport
CCC	Cameroon Commoners Congress
CDC	Cameroon Development Corporation
CDMPS	Coordination for Democracy and Multi-party Systems
CEMAC	Centre Economique Monetaire de l'Afrique Centrale (Central African Monetary and Economic Union)
CFA	Communaute Financiere Africaine (African Financial Community)
CNF	Cameroon National Federation
CNU	Cameroon National Union
CPDM	Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement
CRTV	Cameroon Radio and Television Corporation
D.O.	Divisional Officer
DC	Democrate Camerounaise (Cameroon Democrat)

ELECAM	Elections Cameroon
FM	Frequency Modulation
FWCM	Free West Cameroon Movement
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
INEC	Independent National Election Commission
KNC	Kamerun National Congress
KNDP	Kamerun National Democratic Party
KPP	Kamerun Peoples Party
KPP	Kamerun Peoples Party
KUNC	Kamerun United National Congress
KUP	Kamerun United Party
LRC	La Republique du Cameroon
MDR	Mouvement Democratique de la Republiques (Democratic Republican Movement)
MNCA	Ministry for Northern Cameroon Affairs
MSD	Mouvement Social pour la Democratic (Social Democratic Movement)
NAB	National Archives Buea
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (It was later changed to National Council of Nigerian Citizens when Southern Cameroons broke away).
NEO	National Election Observatory

NA	Native Authority
NHRS	Northern History Research Scheme
NKDP	Northern Kamerun Democratic Party
NPF	National Police Force
PAMOL	Perseverance and Management of Life
PSC	Partie Socialiste Camerounais (Cameroon Socialist Party)
PSO	Plebiscite Supervisory Official
PTC	Partie Travailliste Camerounais (Cameroon Workers Party)
RIF	Radio France Internationale
SCAPO	Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization
SCARM	Southern Cameroons Restoration Movement
SCIRC	Southern Cameroons Independence Restoration Movement
SCNC	Southern Cameroons National Council
SCYL	Southern Cameroons Youth League
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SDO	Senior Divisional Officer
SG	Secretary General
SOCALIM	Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement
SONARA	Societe Nationale de Raffinage (National Refining Company)
UDC	Union Democratique Camerounais (Cameroon Democratic Union)
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	Union Nationale Pour la Democratieet le Progress (National Union for Democracy and Progress)

URC	United Republic of Cameroon
USA	United States of America
WADA	Wum Area Development Authority

GLOSSARY

ENGLISH	FRENCH
Africa	Afrique
African	Africain(e)
Community	Communaute
Financial	Financiere
Republic	Republique
Federal Republic	Republique Federal
Subject	Sujet

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NOTES ON SOURCES

The study focused on **European Colonialism in Cameroon and its Aftermath, with Special Reference to the Southern, 1884-2014**. A considerable number of sources in relation to the topic discussed, such as archival records, oral interviews and internet sources were used as well as published works.

ARCHIVAL RECORDS

The research started with the collection of archival records at the National Archives, Buea (NAB) Cameroon and the Arewa House Archives, Centre for Historical Research and Documentation, Kaduna (AHACHRDK). Records derived from these archives were British colonial records dealing with the plebiscites in British Northern and Southern Cameroons and other related issues. In the National Archives in Kaduna, I found a file titled British Archives, in which Lord Milverton of Lagos said the former British (originally German) west Cameroonians opted to join the French (also formerly German Cameroon) rather than Nigeria at the plebiscite on October 1, 1961 because they did not want to be dominated by the Igbo. [1]

BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

The British colonial administrative records deal largely with the period of British colonial rule in British Cameroons. Of crucial importancewerethe report notes I.[2] According to this report, the Northern Cameroons was administered by the Government of Northern Nigeria since the Germans were driven out in 1916. It was first administered by thegovernment of Northern Nigeria, on behalf of the League of Nations.After the collapse of the league,it wasa Trust Territory under the supervision of the United Nations since the formation of that body in 1945. With the advent of self-government in Nigeria and the neighbouring territory of the Republic of

[1] British Archives 43B 5A 368 FCO 65/50 Return by (24/08/2012) 8236144 (Sabine Scheuning) 5 13/07/2012 10:46:44

[2] MNCA/3239 'UN/4 Northern Cameroons Plebiscite 1960, registration Instructions.'

the Cameroons, it was felt that some form of independence was desirable for the Northern Cameroons. A first plebiscite was conducted under United Nations Organization supervision in November, 1959, and the people of the territory were asked to decide whether

i. They wished to join Northern Nigeria or

ii. They wished to make up their minds at a later date. By a very large majority, they decided on the second alternative. The Republic of Cameroon came into being as an independent state on 1st January, 1960. On 1st October, 1960 Nigeria achieved similar status.[3]

For a variety of reasons, non-viability of resources being, perhaps, the most prominent, the United Nations decided in a session of the Trusteeship Council, that the future of the territory must lie with either one or the other of its larger neighbours. Accordingly the council requested a second plebiscite, to be organized by the United Kingdom, to ask the people to decide on the two questions formulated as follows:

i. Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of the Cameroons?

ii. Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria?[4]

It is important to note that the bad faith of both the UN and the UK was seen through the violation of Article 76 (b) of the UN charter. The UN, giving the UK a free hand to conduct a plebiscite was an indication that the UK could do what they wished. Thus, care should be taken in using colonial records. The British colonial records contained information on the activities of the British colonial officials, their views on a wide range of issues and the rationalization for

[3] *Ibid*
[4] *Ibid*

decisions and actions taken by them. While these records tell us what the colonial officials did and what they thought, they do not always tell us what the underlying rationale for their thoughts and actions were. Thus in using these records one has to be aware of the special vested interest involved in the recording and thus be very cautious in using them. That notwithstanding, colonial records were useful in the study.

There was also a report of the full text of an address to the summit conference in Mamfe by the Acting Commissioner of the Cameroons, Mr. M.N.H. Milne on Monday August 10th 1959[5] in which he stated that the Southern Cameroons under the Trusteeship Agreement was administered as part of the Federation of Nigeria and that within the Federation it enjoyeda status closely akin to that of a self-governing region. In his address he said that the time had therefore come to consult the people of the Southern Cameroons as to their future. Before Nigeria became independent the people of the North and South sectors of the Cameroons would have to say freely what their wishes were as to their own future. Among the options opened to them would be to continue under the Trusteeship Administration of the United Kingdom. For these reasons, the General Assembly of the United Nations, at its 13th Session in March, 1959, recommended that the administering authority should take steps, in consultation with the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner, to organize under the supervision of the United Nations, separate plebiscites in the Northern and Southern parts of the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration, in order to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the territory concerning their future. The General Assembly further recommended that the plebiscite in the Southern part of the territory should be conducted during the next dry season between the beginning of December 1959, and the end of April, 1960. Finally, the UN General Assembly expressed the

[5] NAB Press Release No. 421 'Full text of an address to the summit conference by the Acting Commissioner of the Cameroons, Mr. M.N.H. Milne, at Mamfe, on Monday August 10th, 1959'

hope that all concerned in the territory would endeavour to reach a compromise before the opening of the 14th session of the General Assembly on the alternatives to be put in the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons and the qualifications for voting. It should be noted that the Mamfe conference was the origin of the plebiscite for Northern and Southern Cameroons.

Oral Sources

Oral sources are information that are stored in human memory and transmitted verbally. They are derived from stories, poems, songs, proverbs and legends. Oral sources of information provided me with useful information in this study.My prior knowledge is derived largely from related topics gathered from oral and written sources which greatly shaped and prepared me for the kinds of investigation I conducted during the field work.

The oral interviews were conducted through the use of a tape recorder. Information recorded was thereafter translated into notes that were thoroughly and consistently checked with other existing body of knowledge on the subject matter. I collected oral information from people in Nkambe, Kumbo, Bamenda, Bafousam, Buea, Douala, Yaounde, Limbe, Kumba, Tiko and Bakkassi. In some instances, informants gave me more information transcending the questions asked. Some of such informants were Mola Njoh Litumbe 89 years old and the only Cameroon cardinal, Christian Cardinal Tumi, 84 years old.[6]

[6] Litumbe Mola Njoh, witnessed the events in Cameroon history in the period before reunification and after reunification. He gave me authentic information regarding independence and reunification of the Cameroons. In addition he sold a VCD to me at 2000 frs. This was his interview on the issue of reunification at the Cameroon radio and television Buea, on a Sunday Morning programme on CRTV, titled "Morning Safari". Mola contended in the interview that there is no union treaty between Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroon. To him, the issues on the situation in Southern Cameroons that the government did not like people to hear. He contended that Christian Cardinal Tumi, has often been attacked by the Ahidjo and Biya administrations, for criticizing their administrations openly. He contended that Anglophones are marginalized and that reunification has retarded development in Southern Cameroons. According to him,,if he were to write anything about the British, he would do so from a very negative angle, that the British did nothing to develop Southern Cameroons, but the exploitation of its resources

The major problem i encountered during the oral interviews in the course of this study was that some people i contacted were not ready to disseminate information although they knew what to say. Some people wanted money before they could say anything, others were afraid to lose their jobs, and some were members of political parties. The greatest problem was at the National Archives in Yaounde where I was granted access into the archives, but when i requested for files on Southern Cameroon, I was told by one of the archives attendants that "that topic is not discussed here, be careful". It seems that the government was not comfortable with any discourse when it comes tothe Southern Cameroon issue.[7]

Secondary Sources

i. Published Works

Secondary sources are works of synthesis and interpretation based upon primary sources and the works of other authors. Typically, they are produced by authors who have examined a variety of primary sources dating to a previous era or eras while conducting an investigation into an historical topic.[8] This was another source of information that was used in this study. I used published and unpublished worksin the course of conducting the research. *"The 1961 Cameroon Plebiscite, Choice or Betrayal?"* was one among the works written on the Cameroon plebiscite among several others. What was more interesting in this work was that John Percival was a primary source as far as the Cameroon plebiscite was concerned. He was one among the twenty-five plebiscite officers sent to supervise the plebiscite in the Cameroons. It was from what he witnessed that he gave a detailed account of the plebiscite exercise in this book. He pointed out that it seems the people of Southern Cameroons did not want to join Nigeria as well as the

[7] Interview with Philip Blaise Essomba at the Department of History, University of Yaounde I. on Friday 16th May, 2015 at 4pm

[8] "Secondary Sources" http://www.history.ubc.ca/content/working-historical-sources. accessed on Monday 9th November, 2015

Republic of Cameroon. What the people wanted was independence, which he maintained, was refused them by the British and the UN. Thus, he opined that:

> The sheer arrogance of this enterprise still takes my breath away. In no way was I, or anyone else, qualified to impose such a procession on thousands of people, and it was quickly made clear to me that they wanted no part of it and that they saw the whole thing as a sham, a cosmic exercise in democracy. The only decision they were allowed to make was to choose whether to throw in their lot with Nigeria or French Cameroon, and they wanted neither of them. All other decisions had been taken thousands of miles away by officials who thought they knew what they needed better than the people themselves.[9]

Another published work which enriched the study was the work of Ngoh, V.J., titled *The Untold Story of Cameroon Reunification: 1955-1961*. The study contained a lot of issues about the reunification affair from the partition of Cameroon between Britain and France, political parties and the 1959 election, the Foumban conference, Yaounde Tripartite conference and the Reunification proper. My opinion on the book is that the author was objective, considering the fact that he was a Francophone. I found some of the files he used at the National Archives in Buea.

Adolf Mongo Dipoko, in his work titled, *The Anglophone Soul* maintained that reunification and the concept of a Cameroon nation designed by Ahmadou Ahidjo and the French was nothing other than a package of intrigues with the sole mission of assimilating a people considered to have been abandoned to their fate by former trusteeship powers and were seen as people who could not be trusted in any form of alliance other than a total annexation. What exactly formed the basis of distrust for the Anglophones? According to Adolf Mongo

[9] John Percival,. *The 1961 Cameroon Plebiscite: Choice or Betrayal*, Langaa Research publishing CIG Mankon, Bamenda, 2008, p. xiii

Dipoko, the answer was in the nature of the fundamental concept of colonization and the colonial policies of the British and the French, the colonial powers of British Cameroons/French Cameroun. The first guiding principle in the concept of colonialism was the force towards the negative decentralization of the colonized people with the purpose of changing their mentalities away from their civilization so as to totally control them. The two Cameroons, therefore, were stripped of their cultural values and forced to accept colonial thinking and behavior which incapacitated them.[10]

Christian Cardinal Tumi, in his work titled *My Faith: A Cameroon to be Renewed,* maintained that "the rulers of the Cameroon of today and tomorrow should not be despotic but act for the good of all Cameroonians". He stressed the fact that, successful political regimes in Cameroon must be chosen by the people. They must respect the principle of the state of law. The law is sovereign and not the arbitrary will of those who govern the people. He contendedthat corruption was one of the evils that were destroying the very foundations of our nation. Ournation is miserable because of this evil.[11] Corruption destroyed the fabrics of the Cameroonian society. To consolidate his position in power, Paul Biya pretended to imprison certain individuals on grounds of corruption, but it was known that they wanted the Presidency, for instance, Amidou Marafa Yaya, former Minister of Territorial Administration. Cardinal stressed on leadership and corruption but did not indicate that leadership was in the hands of the same people for decades. This dissertation showed that this empire building in Cameroon was responsible for bad leadership and governance, thus corruption.

Another written source used in this study was that of Dr. George Atem, titled: *How Unified is the Republic of Cameroon?The Unification of the Institutions of the Republic of Cameroon since*

10 Adolf Mongo Dipoko, *op.cit,* p.30

11 Christian Cardinal Tumi, *My Faith: A Cameroon to be Renewed,* Copyright Editions, Douala, 2011, p.170

1961, in which he posited that greater unification was achieved in the Biya regime as well as social services and institutions. He further maintained that the 1996 constitution solidified the unification of Cameroon.[12] What is intriguing was that he failed to tell the masses how unification did all these.

A French newspaper, Le Messager of Cameroon pointed out that out of thirty-two government ministries, fourteen were from the centre and South provinces (regions), out of six university rectors, three were from the regions mentioned above, out of fifty-eight Divisional Officers (D.Os), twenty-four were from these same regions, out of thirty-one Ambassadors, eighteen were from these two regions, out of thirty-two secretaries generals, nineteen were from these regions. It should be noted from what le messager posited above in 2003 that, the number of ministries were later increased to thirty-six and the number of Anglophones in them were relatively marginal in the period of study.[13]

ii. Unpublished Works

Wongbi George Agime's B.A. Project on "A Case Study of Conflicts in Bamenda in North-West Cameroon, 1960-2005"contributed significantly to this study especially in the aspect of marginalization and socio-political exclusion of the Anglophones as well as the rise of pressure groups such as the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) and the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC). Itexposed the various ways in which Anglophones were marginalized in Cameroon, from political appointments to administrative appointments and several others. It also exposed the fact that the Paul Biya Regime painted the picture of a democratic state meanwhile it was worse than a military dictatorship. It was authoritarianism that prevailed.

[12]Atem George. *How Unified is the Republic of Cameroon? The Unification of the Institutions of the Republic of Cameroon*, Buea, Cameroon, 2012, pp. 92-98

[13] Le messager No 004, Thursday, 11th September, 2003 p.6

Umar Bappah's M.A. Thesis on **"**The Impact of British Colonial Rule on Agriculture **in** Gombe Division 1900-1945: A Study in Agricultural Underdevelopment" was very important to this study in that it showed how the British underdeveloped Gombe Division in the period 1900-1945 through the exploitation of its agricultural export crops for exportation to Europe. In the same way, the British exploited the agricultural export crops of Southern Cameroonsto Europe, rendering the territory underdeveloped. After these exploitations, the British claimed that the territory was not economically viable to stand on its own as an independent country.

Internet Sources

We made use of internet source material while conducting this study. Various sites and blogs provided us with relevant information. Search sites like Google and Wikipedia provided various kinds of materials that we assembled while conducting the research.

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Abstract

The study focuses on **European Colonialism in Cameroon and its Aftermath, with Special Reference to the Southern Cameroon, 1884-2014**. The rationale for this work is based on a variety of reasons namely: the relative exclusion of Southern Cameroon from socio-economic and political scene and the dominance of the French speaking part of Cameroon in the country. The federal system which was then in existence was abolished and a unitary system was imposed in which the French speaking part of Cameroon, as mentioned above, became the dominant actor in the reunified Cameroon. This study dwelled on the impact of colonialism on the people of Cameroon during the period of European colonial domination\, as well as the consequences of the reunification of the two parts of Cameroon: namely, British and French Cameroon in the post-colonial period.The main objective ofthe study was to examine the aftermath of the reunification on Southern Cameroon. Interms of methodology, primaryand secondary sources were used. Primary sources included archival and oral sources, while secondary sources included textbooks, dissertations, theses, some articles in journals and so on.In this study, a multi-disciplinary approach and the collection, interpretation, evaluation and analysis of data was adopted.The study showed that there was extreme centralization of authority in Cameroon. The study further showed that Southern Cameroon suffered relative marginalization, representation in government, infrastructural development and a host of others. This study came to the conclusion that post-colonial Cameroon was almost the extension of the colonial period. The government was determined to maintain its hegemony in power, the assimilation of Southern Cameroon and the Francophonization of its institutions. This study provided information on which people can make rational decision on the future of Southern Cameroon. A Socio-Economic and political History of Southern Cameroon, 1961-2017, was indicated as area for further research.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Although the history of Cameroon is similar to the history of other African states, its history is unique in the sense that it came under the domination of three imperial European powers: Germany, Britain and France, quite unlike most of the other states which were under the rule of one European power during the colonial period. The post-colonial developments were therefore firmly rooted in the colonial experience it went through. The Berlin West African conference of 1884-85 provided two important results as far as Cameroon was concerned. First and foremost, the conference recognized Germany as the colonial power in Cameroon. Britain and France had to give up their possessions to Germany.

Secondly, German control and domination of the area meant that the colony was surrounded by other colonies dominated by European opponents of Germany, i.e. Britain and France. Consequently, when Germany lost World War I, the British and the French did not hesitate in dividing Cameroon among themselves. These issues will be discussed shortly. However, it may be noted that some of the problems that later arose in Cameroon had their roots in this complex colonial history. It may be noted here that various names were applied by the Europeans to the area of study. The Germans called the area Kamerun, while the British and the French used the term Cameroons and Cameroun respectively in the area. Southern Cameroon on the other hand, was the area previously dominated by the British but was later ceded to the French.

Cameroon has a long history of sporadic encounters that have occurred overtime. The Germans, the British and the French had been major players at the centre stage of affairs in the

Cameroons[14] during the era of European "Scramble for Africa". European powers did not want their isolated individual claims and struggles to bring instability to Europe. Against this background, the great powers formed alliances to checkmate one another.[15] Thus, the Berlin Conference of November 1884 to February 1885 gave a hallmark to European economic expansionism, as European powers shared Africa among themselves. This study therefore seeks an examination of the aftermath of European colonialism in Cameroon in general and the consequences of the reunification of British and French Cameroon on Southern Cameroon in particular.

Many of the issues that confronted post-independence Cameroon were legacies of the colonial period. The onset of independence and the reunification of French/British Cameroon brought some complex issues arising from the nature of the reunification. Consequently post-colonial developments could be linked directly to the nature of colonialism in Cameroon whch was quite complex arising from the domination of the area by three imperial powers, quite unlike other states in Africa which had only one colonial power.

As earlier mentioned, in this Conference, Germany was recognized as the colonial power of Kamerun.[16] The British and the French therefore, had to surrender any territory they had in their possession to Germany. Following the outbreak of World War 1, the combined British, French and Belgian forces defeated Germany in 1916 and this led to German expulsion from Cameroon. Thus, Germany lost all its African colonies at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.[17] The

[14] Cameroons here is Anglicized. It is the way the British referred to the territory they ruled.
[15] Rev. Fr. Francis O.C. Njoku, Development, Conflict and peace in Nigeria, in Miriam Ikejiani-Clark ed, *Peace Studies and Conflict in Nigeria: A Reader*, Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan, Nigeria, 2009, pp. 217-218
[16] Kamerun is the German way of referring to the territory they ruled.
[17] Litumbe Mola Njoh. *Case of the Annexation of UN British Administered Territory of Southern Cameroons*, Paper presented to the International Community, Washington DC/Silver Spring Hilton Hotel United States of America, 20th August, 2010.

British and the French took over control of Cameroun.[18] It is necessary to point out that the various names applied in the study area were used interchangeably as Cameroon, Cameroons and Southern Cameroons or Cameroun.

This former German protectorate subsequently transferred to British and French control, became a mandated territory of the League of Nations. The area administered by France was about 80% and that administered by Britain was about 20%. Thus, these mandated territories were referred to as French Cameroun and British Cameroons. Following the end of World War II, and the defeat of Germany by the Allied forces, the League of Nations was abolished and was replaced by the United Nations Organization (UNO), created in San Francisco, in 1945.[19]

The United Nations, in December 1946, signed trusteeship agreements with France and Britain. Thus, the two Cameroon territories administered by Britain and France became UN Trust Territories, administered through the UN Trusteeship Council.[20] Each of these territories had defined international boundaries from eacth other and were to be prepared toward self-government by Britain and France. It can be said that the problem of Southern Cameroon was caused by European colonialism as manisfested by British role in the study. Garga Hamman, a veteran politician, about eighty years old, from the Adamawa Region of Cameroon supported the idea of federation, but Isa Tchiroma Bakari, Minister of Communication, rejected the idea of federal state, arguing that such a move would mean secession. [21]

[18] Cameroun is the French way or version of calling the territory, for instance, Republique du Cameroun (Republic of Cameroon)
[19] "Southern Cameroons" en.wikipedia.org/southern…Cameroons/html. Accessed on Friday 14th November, 2014
[20] Adolf Mongo Dipoko, *The Anglophone Soul*, Limbe, Cameroon, 2010, p.v
[21] Online news, CRTV

French Cameroon became independent on 1st January, 1960. In this respect, no part of British Cameroon was included since it was still a British UN administered territory.[22] Since Nigeria was to become independent on 1st October 1960, the concept of independence by joining was introduced through a plebiscite.[23] British Northern Cameroon was administered from Kaduna while Southern Cameroon was administered from Enugu.[24] A plebiscite was conducted on 11 February, 1961, in which southern Cameroons voted against their wish to join La Republique du Cameroun which was already an independent nation.

John Percival, one of the plebiscite officers in Southern Cameroons, maintained that;

> The British had rather negligently administered this little patch of Africa ever since the end of the First World War, but since it was a United Nations Trust Territory, there was no profit in it. The result was that the territory was undeveloped.

On June 1, 1961, the Northern area was joined to Nigeria. On October 1, 1961, reunification of East and West Cameroons took place. From 1961 until the spring of 1972, Cameroon was governed as a Federation, with East and West Cameroons having individual governments, each with parliament and ministries, in addition to Federal Government structure.[25]

Ahmadou Ahidjo abolished the Federal structure in 1972, declaring that the cost and inefficiency of the system was slowing the country's progress toward national identity and that in any case the eleven years experience since independence had assured that regional interests were well protected under the national government. It seems that despite the material endowment of

[22]Litumbe Mola Njoh, op.cit p.1

[23] NAB Press Release No. 423 of 13th August 1959. "Memorandum by the K.N.D.P. to the Mamfe plebiscite summit on 10th-11th August, 1959".

[24] Interview with Mola Njoh Litumbe on Thursday 26th March, 2015 at 10:00am at Bokwango Junction, Buea

[25] Gale Research Company, *Countries of the World and their Leaders*, second ed. Detroit, Michigan, USA, 1975, p. 274

Southern Cameroon, the government did not have confidence in it for fear that it will one day break away.[26] Through a referendum on May 20, 1972, the Federation was abolished and became the United Republic of Cameroon. This seems to have laid the foundation for Anglophone marginalization and subordination giving rise to pressure groups such as the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM), Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), and the Anglophone Bar Association (ABA) demanding a return to Federation.[27]

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

This research was an examination of European colonialism in Cameroon and its aftermath, with special reference to the Southern Cameroon, 1884-2014. It dwelled on the impact of colonialism on the people of Cameroon during the period of European colonial domination, as well as the consequences of the reunification of the two parts of Cameroon: namely French and British Cameroon in the post colonial period. The two parts of Cameroon were distinct and separate administrative and political entities until October 1, 1961, when French Cameroon was merged with British Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon with headquarters in Yaounde.

The reunification of British and French Cameroon seems to have produced changes that affected the economic, political and social aspects of the lives of the people of Southern Cameroon. The federal system which was then in existence was abolished and a unitary system was imposed in which the French speaking part of Cameroon became the dominant actor in the reunified Cameroon. As a result of the problems arising from the reunification there were

[26] Interview with Professor Fanso Verkijika Gerald at the University of Yaounde I, Department of History on Tuesday 14th March, 2017, at 12.00pm.

[27] See Resolutions made at the Inaugural All Cameroon Common Law Lawyers Conference Held at Bamenda in the North West Region of Cameroon, on 9th May, 2015.

demands mostly by Southern Cameroon for a return to the federal system.[28] One of the problems of reunification was that Southern Cameroons felt marginalized and uneasy. This is due to the fact that the key institutions were dominated by French Cameroon. See chapter six, pp. 175-180. Another problem confronting reunification was the interpretation of laws in French in Southern Cameroon rather than in both French and English.[29] For example, the interpretation of laws in French in courts in Bamenda, Buea and so on. Again, one of the problems confronting Cameroon was the authoritarian nature of the regime. This was due to the fact that the president who came to power in 1982 had continued in that position until the end of our period of study.[30]

1.3 Research Questions

i. Why were the British not interested in the independence of Southern Camaeroon?

ii. What was the position of the UN?

iii. What were the causes of Anglophone agitation?

iv. What was the reaction of the Cameroon government?

v. Why did Ahmadou Ahidjo abolish the Federal system in favour of a unitary state?

vi. Why did the United Nations decide in a session of the Trusteeship council to request the U.K. Plebiscite Administration to conduct a plebiscite in northern and southern Cameroon?

vii. What was the outcome of the plebiscite and the reunification on Southern Cameroon?

1.4 Literature Review

As far as this study is concerned, a number of published and unpublished works, journals, magazines and newspapers were identified and reviewed. Some of these works were found to be

[28] It should be noted that the problems arising from the reunification are still ongoing.
[29] Interview with Professor Anthony Ndi on Monday, 11th May, at 10:30am in Bamenda.
[30] Interview with Christian Cardinal Tumi in Douala on Monday 12th May, 2015 at 5pm. It may be note that the president is still in power.

either directly or indirectly relevant to the study. The focus was to see how the different works can synthesize the topic of research. Thus, it was to find out and understand, "European Colonialism in Cameroon and its Aftermath, with Special Reference to the Southern Cameroon, 1884-2014".

Published Sources

Adolf Mongo Dipoko, in his work titled, *The Anglophone Soul* maintained that reunification and the concept of a Cameroon nation designed by Ahmadou Ahidjo and the French was nothing other than a package of intrigues with the sole mission of assimilating a people considered to have been abandoned to their fate by former trusteeship powers and were seen as people who could not be trusted in any form of alliance other than a total annexation. What exactly formed the basis of distrust for the Anglophones? According to Adolf Mongo Dipoko, the answer was in the nature of the fundamental concept of colonization and the colonial policies of the British and the French, the colonial powers of British Cameroons/French Cameroun. The first guiding principle in the concept of colonialism was the force towards the negative decentralization of the colonized people with the purpose of changing their mentalities away from their civilization so as to totally control them. The two Cameroons, therefore, were stripped of their cultural values and forced to accept colonial thinking and behavior which incapacitated them.[31] Here, Adolf Mongo spoke of colonialism in general terms and has not shown what brought about the distrust of the Anglophones in the union. This dissertation showed that the lack of trust for the Anglophones was because government feared that the Anglophones may one day break away from the union.

Nfor N. Nfor, in his work titled *The Southern Cameroons: The Truth of the Matter* argued that why should someone from Southern Cameroons at the age of seventy and above

[31]Adolf Mongo Dipoko, *op.cit*, p.30

deny his status as a Southern Cameroonian and preferred to be called an Anglophone? The Southern Cameroons question was not marginalization, deprivation, neglect or lack of people in strategic positions. It was annexation and underdevelopment of the Southern Cameroon territory..[32] Nfor did not show the level of underdevelopment in relative terms. The gap this study has covered is that it has brought out in relative terms the level of underderelopment in Southern Cameroon emanating from the reunification.

Christian Cardinal Tumi, in his work titled *My Faith: A Cameroon to be Renewed*, maintained that "the rulers of the Cameroon of today and tomorrow should not be despotic but act for the good of all Cameroonians". He stressed the fact that, successful political regimes in Cameroon must be chosen by the people. They must respect the principle of the state of law. The law is sovereign and not the arbitrary will of those who govern the people. He contended that corruption was one of the evils that were destroying the very foundations of our nation. Our nation was a miserable state because of this evil.[33] Corruption destroyed the fabrics of the Cameroonian society. To consolidate his position in power, Paul Biya pretended to imprison certain individuals on grounds of corruption, but it was known that they wanted the Presidency,for instance, Amidou Marafa Yaya, former Minister of Territorial Administration. Cardinal stressed on leadership and corruption but did not indicate that leadership has been in the hands of the same people for decades. This dissertation showed that this empire building in Cameroon is responsible for bad leadership and governance, thus corruption.

Victor Julius Ngoh in his study titled, *History of Cameroon since* 1800, showed that at the Foumban conference of 17-21 July, 1961, the Southern Cameroons delegation proposed dual nationality to the Federation. Following this proposition, for instance, a Southern Cameroonian

[32]Nfor Nfor .N, *Op.cit*, p.2
[33] Christian Cardinal Tumi, *My Faith: A Cameroon to be Renewed*, Copyright Editions, Douala, 2011, p.170

would maintain both the Southern Cameroons nationality as well as the Federal nationality. According to proposals by this delegation, English and French were to be the official languages of the Federal Legislature with English as the only official language in Southern Cameroons. Thus, the constitution included some modifications on the proposals made by Southern Cameroons delegation in Foumban.[34] For example, citizens of both Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroon had a single nationality, that of Cameroonians and not a nationality of Southern Cameroons and another nationality of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. English and French were adopted as the official languages in West and East Cameroon and the seat of the Federal Government was Yaounde, instead of Douala. The claim by Ngo in his study that English and French were the official languages seems not to be true. This dissertation showed that French seems to be the official and dominant language in Cameroon. The currency is in French.

Piet Koning's, *The Anglophone-Nigeria Boundary: Opportunities and Conflicts* showed the Igbo high level of education and business prowess, Igbo migrants that soon came to dominate the local public services in Southern Cameroons, as well as Anglophone border issues with struggle against Igbo. This dominance, ignited by Anglophone Cameroonian nationalists was one of the major reasons of the majority vote in the Southern Cameroons reunification with La Republique du Cameroon, rather than integration with Nigeria during the 1961 plebiscite organized by the United Nations.[35] However, recent research showed that the UN Trusteeship council requested the UK Plebiscite Administration to organize the plebiscite. Piet has not

[34] Victor Julius Ngoh, *History of Cameroon Since 1800,* Presbyterian Printing Press, Limbe, Cameroon, 2002, p.231

[35] Piet Konings, *The Anglophone-Nigeria Boundary: Opportunities and Conflicts*, Oxford University Press on behalf of Royal African Society, 2005, p.277

indicated if the Cameroon border issue with Nigeria was still going on. This dissertation showed that there is no border crisis between Cameroon and Nigeria in the period of study.

Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain in their study titled, *A History of the Cameroon,* traced the history of Cameroon up to the period of reunification. The authors maintained that there were pro-reunificationists and anti-reunificationists and that the plebiscite in both the Northern and Southern Cameroons on 11 February, 1961, resulted in a vote for union with Nigeria for the former and union with the Cameroon Republic for the latter. They contended that there should be no surprise that Northern Cameroon joined Nigeria. The people had many things in common with Northern Nigeria, including the Hausa language and the fact that people of Northern Cameroons profess Islam made it easier for them to want to join Nigeria.[36] They have not discussed the impact of the reunification on Southern Cameroon, a gap which this present study has covered.

V.G. Fanso's *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges Vol.2 The Colonial and Post Colonial Periods,*[37] is a study that traced the historical evolution of Cameroon from the colonial to the post colonial periods. Fanso gave a detailed account of Southern Cameroon under the British as well as its reunification with La Republique du Cameroon. He maintained that in 1955 Southern Cameroons political leaders who supported the reunification of the British and French Trust territories urged the UN to go ahead and effect the policy of reunification without consulting the people. In 1956, Kamerun National Congress (KNC) and Kamerun Peoples Party (KPP) refused the issue of reunification while the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) suggested that Southern Cameroonians be consulted through their elected representatives. The

[36] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *op.cit*. pp 57-158
[37] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*

gap this dissertation has filled is that it brought out clearly the consequences of colonialism in Cameroon with special reference to the Southern Cameroon.

Anthony Ndi's *Mill Hill Missionaries in Southern West Cameroon*, is a study which traced the historical evolution of Mill Hill Missionaries in Southern West Cameroon and the Igbo factor in relation to Southern Cameroons.[38]Ndi maintained that by 1960 Nigerians accounted for 30% of the plantation work force and 25% of the Southern Cameroons civil service. In Kumba, Bamenda and Mamfe, the Igbo controlled over 90% of private economic and commercial sectors. This Igbo dominance seemed to be one among the reasons which pushed Southern Cameroons to chose reunification in favour of French Cameroun. Ndi has not indicated whether the Igbo still dominate Southern Cameroon. The gap this dissertation filled indicated that the Igbo still trade in Southern Cameroon, but are not dominating public and private sectors of the economy as was the case before.

Christian Wiyghansai Shaaghan Cardinal Tumi, in his study titled, *The Political Regimes of Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya and Christian Tumi Priest*, traced the attacks upon him in the Ahidjo and Paul Biya governments. He maintained that as a result of his critique of the policies of these governments, he was labeled a supporter of the Social Democratic Front party (SDF). This dissertation showed that there are certain administrative responsibilities that cannot be assigned to an Anglophone, such as the Secretary General at the Presidency of the Republic, Minister of Territorial Administration and Decentralization, Minister of Defense, Minister of Education and Minister of Foreign Relations.[39] This present study showed that the relative marginalization of Southern Cameroon is beyond appointments, contrary to what the Cardinal is

[38] Anthony Ndi, *Mill Hill Missionaries in Southern West Cameroon*, St. Paul Communications/Daughters of St. Paul, Nairobi Kenya, 2005, p.216. See also British Archives 43B 5A 368 FCO 65/50 return by (24/08/2012) 8236144 (Sabine Scheuring) S 13/07/2012 10:46:44

[39] Cardinal Tum,, Christian Wiygaghansai Shaaghan, *The Political Regimes of Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya and Cardinal Tumi, Priest*, Pitambar Publishing House, New Delhi, 2006 p.111

saying. In the National Assembly in Yaounde in December, 2014, the retired Minister of Justice, Ahmadou Ali contended that what is happening in Cameroon is like dropping a cube of sugar in a basin of water. From what he said, the Anglophones may be seen here as the cube of sugar while the Francophones may be seen as the basin of water.

Unpublished Sources

M.A. Dissertations

Nyiwatumi Eric Mbutruh "The Economy and Society of Southern Cameroons under British Colonial Domination, c.1916-1961: A Case Study of the Impact of British Imperialism on Bamenda Division" showed that the development of imperialism and the quest by the European industrialized nations to consolidate the political and socio-economic position of their ruling classes, led to the imposition of colonialism and the entrenchment of externally oriented policies in Cameroon.[40] This present study pointed out that colonial policies had a lasting impact on Cameroon and were linked to the post-colonial period, in the period of study. Eric,s focus was on Bamenda while this dissertation focused on the whole region, thus bringing out the aftermath of colonialism there as well as the impact of the reunification on Southern Cameroon.

B.A Projects

Wongbi George Agime in a B.A. project titled "A Case Study of Conflicts in Bamenda in North-West Cameroon, 1960-2005", showed that manifestations of conflicts in Bamenda came from socio-economic and political exclusion. Agime maintained that since the establishment of

[40] Eric Mbutruh Nyiwatumi, A Study of the Impact of British Imperialism in Bamenda Division, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, p.1, February, 1996.

the refinery at Cape Limbo in Limbe, in Southern Cameroon, no Anglophone has ever held the post of director.[41] In this study, Agime quotes Charles Che Fonchingong, as stating that:

> A pressure group like the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) that was fighting for the liberation of English speaking Cameroonians from the pangs of marginalization was considered a terrorist group by the Cameroon government. Demonstrations that are common place every 1st October in the English speaking North-West and South-West provinces has resulted in arbitrary arrests, detentions and imprisonment of some activists on the grounds of terrorism.

However, the focus of Agime was on Bamenda as far as socio-economic and political exclusion was concerned. This dissertation argued that marginalization was in the whole of Southern Cameroon and not in Bamenda alone.

Magazines/Newspapers

Sans Detour of Cameroon, a French newspaper, argued that 'les Anglophones ne sont pas marginalises au Cameroon',[42] meaning that, Anglophones were not marginalized in Cameroon. According to this newspaper, it was an Anglophone Minister, Atanga Nji Paul who said the issue of Anglophone marginalization in Cameroon was a farce. However, the Prime Minister, Philemon Yang admitted that there was Anglophone problem in Cameroon. This newspaper affirmed there was an Anglophone problem in Cameroon, but did not discuss the extent of marginalization. This present study showed that the marginalization of Anglophones manifest from various angles. For example, the closure of Anglophone financial institutions such as Cameroon Bank, Amity and so on.

[41]Conflicts in Bamenda are multidimensional, ranging from socio-economic and political exclusion among others. The Governor is a Francophone and majority of the Regional Delegates as well as Divisional Delegates of most ministries are Francophones.

[42]"Les anglophones ne sont pas marginalizes au Cameroon :' Sans Detour' of Monday 14th November, 2016, p.4

Le Soir of Cameroon, another French newspaper maintained that, 'L,elite du nord-ouest rejette le retour au federalisme et denonce l,imposture des avocats', meaning that, north west elites rejected a return to federalism and denounced the appointments of lawyers. This newspsper observed that Francophone magistrates were imposed on Anglophone courts who cannot express themselves in English, and they only interpreted laws in French rather than in English and French. Anglophones had requested for a return to the federal system which the government of Cameroon refused. With mounting tensions, it appeared the government wanted to open talks on the federation issue which the elites of north west rejected. This study showed that attempts were made on several occasions by the Biya regime to seek a solution to the problem, but it seemed that these negotiations always relatively appear to favour the government.[43]

Comments on the situation in Cameroon were not confined to newspapers in that country. For example, the Global Times Magazine, is a Nigerian Magazine. According to the Magazine, what could best be described as a political somersault was imminent on the black continent to change the geographical and geopolitical equation of the continent. The magazine maintained that it was the struggle of a long journey and the struggle started in 1946 characterized by manipulations and intrigues. It showed that at the centre of what is the United Nations (UN), the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Republic of Cameroon and groups of agitators of a new nation, was the newest in Africa, was waiting to deliver via the instrumentality of the UNO.[44] With subtlety and calculated subterranean moves, the groups of agitators, while projecting a divided posture, were united in pursuing their cause using law, logic and facts to attract international

[43] L'elite du Nord-Ouest rejette le retour au federalisme et denonce l'imposture des avocats "Le Soir of Mondary 12th December, 2016, p.7

[44] *Global Times Magazine*, vol.4, No.5, Global News Network Link and Communication Limited, 15 December, 2013, p.3

sympathy. [45] The study revealed that Anglopghones were still agitating over a litany of issues, demanding a return to the federal system or the restoration of Southern Cameroon independence.

Among some magazines, *The Guardian Magazine* of Cameroon raised a lot of issues about public life in Cameroon and society in general. It showed that since 1972, when unitary state was instituted, Anglophones were relatively marginalized, and their regions relatively underdeveloped. Road infrastructure in Anglophone Cameroon, the Guardian magazine maintained, was a nightmare. Very poor roads link the Anglophone regions. The only road which was a new development was the Bamenda-Mamfe-Ekok road, linking Nigeria. It was a Trans-African highway, a project of the African Development Bank, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), known as the World Bank. To travel for instance, to Akwaya, people had to pass through Nigeria to get to their part of the country.[46] This study pointed out that the scenario was still the same. Roads were not constructed to link Akwaya and the rest of the country.

New Broom Magazine, in an interview with Dr. Willibroad Dze-Ngwa, contended that Anglophones were discriminated against in respect of political appointments. According to him, the very first government of the Federation, portrayed the class position of Anglophones in the Union. The government was named as follows: Ahmadou Ahidjo, President; John Ngu Foncha, Vice President; Jean Betayeni, Minister of Armed Forces; William Eteki Mbaumoua, Minister Without Portfolio; Arouna Njoya, Minister of State for Justice; Charles Onana Awona, Minister Delegate at the Presidency; and S.T. Muna, Minister of Transport, Mines, Post and Telecommunications. This situation continued for four decades. Thus, after the first cabinet, the ratio of Anglophones to Francophones stood at 5:11. This ratio changed gradually in favour of

[45] Comments on the situation in Cameroon are not confined to paper in that country. For example, the Global Times.

Francophones.[47] This situation continued to be so from 1961 till 2014. This seemed to be partly one of the reasons why Anglophones were agitating for a sovereign state.The government was quiet over the issue, but later the government granted a programme on CRTV known as Press Hour, where issues about Cameroon wre discussed as well as the Anglophone problem. For instance, in this programme, issues on bilingualism, and on Anglophone marginalization were discussed. This study showed that Anglophone marginalization was beyond political appointments. For instance, everything written on the legal tender of Cameroon was in French. English language was excluded. In the Ahidjo era, inscription on the currency was in English and French.

Another newspaper, the Guardian Post of Cameroon, stated that news of the separatist Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) making a leap in the efforts towards securing the independence of the former Southern Cameroons was also a very bad one for President Biya. According to the paper, the issue of Southern Cameroons independence was traumatizing for the Head of State and the barons of his regime. This explained why they do not only want to hear about it, but they also did all they could to prevent it from seeing the light of day.[48] This dissertation showed that leaders of various pressure groups fighting or defending the Anglophone course such as the SCNC etc were often arrested and detained.

Vanigansen Mochiggle, member of the SDF National Executive Committee in The Post of Cameroon, held that the performance of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) can only be evaluated cum appreciated through the prism of Government performance. The Government was an emanation of the party and consequently, implements the party's ideology and/or policies. He contended that President Biya's succession of President Ahmadou

[47] New Broom Magazine, No.002, Nyaa Publishers, Yaounde, November-December, 2013, pp. 26-27
[48]"Mighty Storm Gathering to Sweep Biya" *The Guardian Post of cameroon* No. 0478, Monday, July 30 2012, p.3

Ahidjo in 1982 was greeted with enthusiasm and great hope. Biya's succession was perceived as the need to wipe away dictatorship and benevolent despotism.[49] The study revealed that President Paul Biya continued in the same line of dictatorship as his predecessor.

Another newspaper, Cameroon Times, reported that off-shore oil deposits were found near Bakossi in West Cameroon. This was contained in a communique issued by the mining and geological authorities in Yaounde.[50] In the period of study, oil become an issue of the Presidency. It seemed that Southern Cameroon from where the oil cames was relatively underdeveloped. The availability of oil in the area was contrary to British claims that Southern Cameroons could not attain independence because it was not economically viable. This study further showed that crude oil was exploited from Bakassi in the period of study.

Furthermore, Cameroon Times, showed that 325 tons of rubber were reported to have been shipped to Liverpool from West Cameroon. On the other hand, 25 tons were shipped by PAMOL Cameroon Limited. The paper maintained that 300 tons of coffee were shipped from Bota by "LOUDINA" for Le Havre, Bordeaux and Dunkirk in France.[51] This study revealed that Southern Cameroon is endowed wth natural resources which were still exported to the metropolitan economy in the period of study.

Articles in Journals

Lovett Elango, "The Anglo-French "Condominium" in Cameroon , 1914-1916: The Myth and the Reality", in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, maintained that when the British and the French had defeated the German Protectorate of Kamerun, they set up a condominium. Unfortunately, the adoption and proclamation of the principle of joint administration of the conquered territories by Britain and France was one thing, while its

[49]"CPDM Party, a Story of Dismal Failure" *The Post,* No. 01613, Monday, March 23, 2015, p.9
[50]"Oil Deposits Found Near Bakossi" *Cameroon Times*, vol.7, No.76, Thursday, July 6, 1967, p.1
[51]"West Cameroon Exports" *Cameroon Times*, vol.7, No.73, Saturday July 1, 1967, p.1

application was another.[52] A number of differences arose between the British and the French and the condominium failed. The study showed that Douala which was under British control was later surrendered to the French by the British.

Victor Bong Amaaze,"The Igbo Scare in the British Cameroons, c.1945-61" in *The Journal of African History*, showed that a major factor in the plebiscite of 11 February, 1961, was fear of Igbo domination in trade, education, public and private sector employment, politics and social life. Igbo had started moving into the Cameroons by 1920s and by 1955 there were about 10,000 Nigerians in British Southern Cameroons, most of them Igbo or Ibibio.[53] It seemed that their maltreatment of Southern Cameroonians scared them to vote to join La Republique du Cameroon against their wish in a UN observed plebiscite of 11 February, 1961. The gap this present study filled is that the plebiscite result was to be declared as one and not separately as was the case.

1.5 Justification of the Study

A lot was written on the history of Cameroon in general and Southern Cameroon in particular. This study showed that there were works on European colonialism in Cameroon as well as on the Anglophone problem and marginalization. However, some of these works focused either on British, French and German colonialism in Cameroon without bringing out unified arguments on the three colonial experiences. As a result, there was a gap which still study filled. This study showed that there were a lot of distortions, half truths and fallacies on the history of

[52] Lovett Elango, "The Anglo-FrenchCondominium in Cameroon, 1914-1916: The Myth and the Reality", in The *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, VOl.18, No.4, Boston University African Center, 1985 p.658

[53] Victor Bong Amaaze, "The Igbo Scare in the British Cameroons, c.1945-61", in *The Journal of African History*, vol.31, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.281

Cameroon.[54] The study provided an avenue for further research, thus advancing the frontiers of knowledge. Also, the study provided what transpired before, during and after the reunification of the two Cameroons as well as a historical understanding of the issues involved in this matter. There appeared to artificial integration. It showed that the ruling class was an amalgamation of the elite, chiefs and kings who were united by a common political interest while the mass were alienated.

1.6 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine the effects of European colonialism in Cameroon in the period of study.The specific objectives are as follows:

i. To evaluate the role of colonial powers in Cameroon and the succeeding rulers: Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya.
ii. To examine the over centralization of authority in Cameroon.
iii. To examine the role of UN in the affairs of colonial and neo-colonial states.
iv. To examine the aftermath of the reunification on Southern Cameroon.
v. To evaluate the role of Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya in the reunified Cameroon.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is that it contributed to knowledge on European Colonialism in Cameroon and its Aftermath as well as the reunification quagmire between Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon. The study was helpful in creating more awareness on the situation of Southern Cameroons in the period of study. It brought out emphatically the

[54] George Atem, in his work titled, How unified is the Republic of Cameroon?, claimed that the 1996 constitution solidified the unification of Cameroon p.99 and that effective unification of Cameroon took place under Paul Biya, pp. 92-98. This is a fallacy, because if there was a basis for the reunification of Cameroon, why were people still agitating? Why has the agitation continued even after the 50th anniversary celebration of the reunification particularly in Southern Cameroon?

effort to study the chain of events and changes that occurred overtime and how these changes affect the people of Southern Cameroons socially, economically, politically and otherwise.

It clarified issues surrounding the reunification, such as the role and interference of international agencies in African affairs, for instance, the UN. The study was relevant to researchers, policy makers, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and social institutions interested in issues of justice, regional and international relationships. It brought out the role of international agencies like the UN in the affairs of colonial and neo-colonial states for satisfying their selfish desires.This study provided information on which people can make rational decision on the future of Southern Cameroons.

1.8 Scope of the Study

Analysis was centered on the area known as Southern Cameroons. I attempted to show how reunification affected Southern Cameroons as well as the socio-economic and political lives of the people.

The period 1884-2014 was a landmark in the history of Cameroon in general and Southern Cameroons in particular. French Cameroon attained independence on 1 January, 1960 and on 11 February, 1961, Southern Cameroons voted in a plebiscite through which they seemed to have joined the Republic of Cameroon against their wish. See pp. xviii-xix. In 2014, the 50th anniversary of the reunification of the Cameroons took place in Buea.[55] The study terminated in 2014 because it marked the 50th anniversary of the Cameroons reunification. Since people were still agitating, not expressing satisfaction over a litany of issues, it seemed, therefore, that the 50th anniversary celebrations in Buea was a way the government painted a picture to the international community that all was well in Cameroon and southern Cameroon in

[55] Buea was the seat and capital of Southern Cameroons during the colonial era. In the period of study , it is the capital of the South West Region of Cameroon.

particular.[56] It should be made clear here that the government of Cameroon chose Buea as the place of this celebration for various reasons.[57]

[56] From our knowledge of the history of Cameroon, as well as the present situation in Southern Cameroons, celebrating the 50th Anniversary of Reunification of the two entities would signify greater unity, integration and Sustainable development. Rather, what prevails is relative underdevelopment of the Southern Cameroons regions, and Marginalization of its people. The Biya regime makes the international community to believe that reunification has solidified the relations of the two Cameroons, which is a fallacy. (see evidence and statistics of this in chapter six),

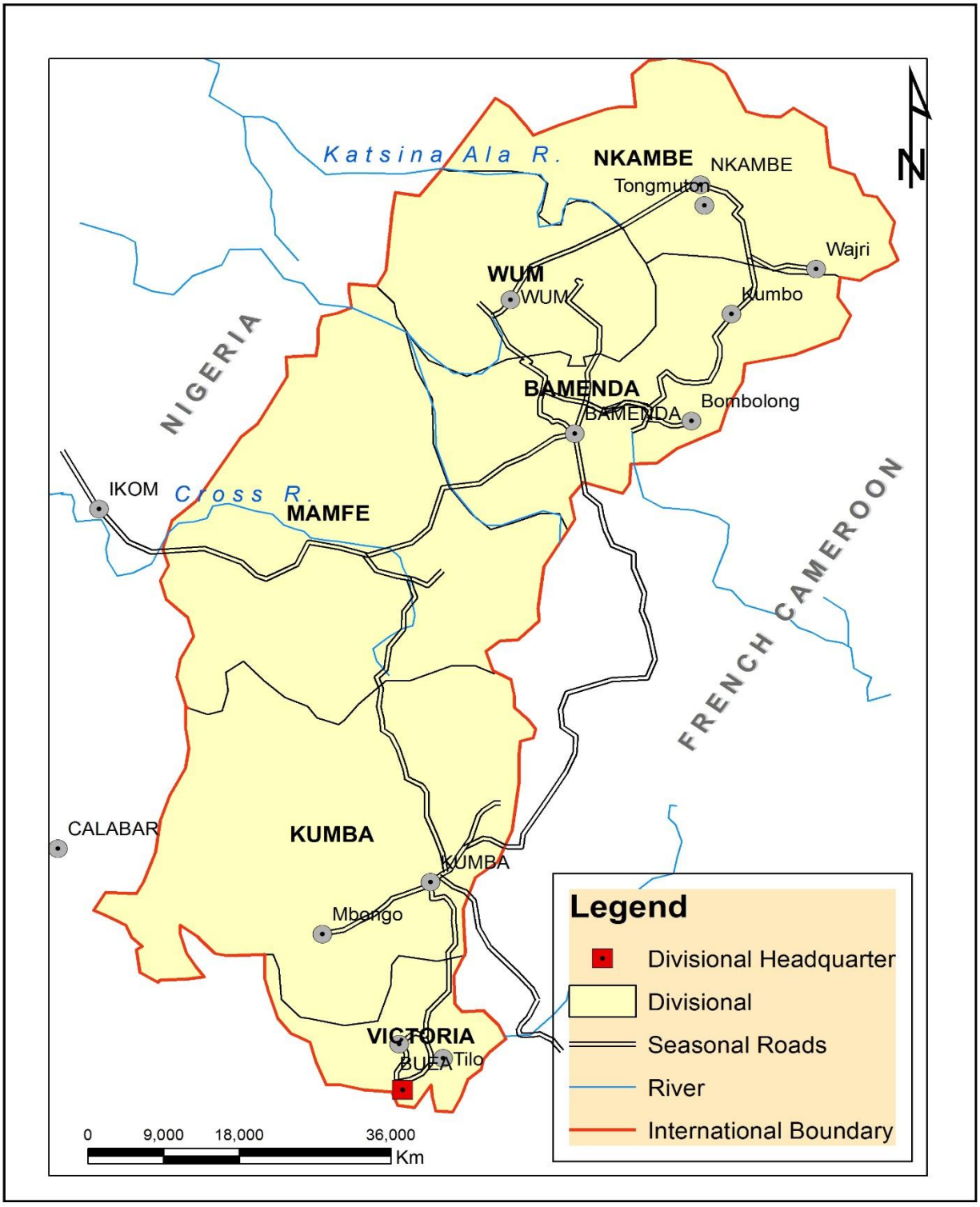
[57] Interview on telephone with Jean-Paul Mbarga, a civil servant in Yaounde, on Tuesday, 14th March, 2017 at 10 am, who said the 50th anniversary celebration took place in Buea partly because it was the seat or capital of the British colonial government in Southern Cameroon and because the government wanted to enhance unity among Anglophones and Francophones. Prof. Fanso Verkijika Gerald, a lecturer at the Department of History, University of Yaounde I, on telephone on Tuesday 14th March, 2017, at 4 pm, affirmed that this celebration took place in Buea for historical reasons, since Buea was the capital of the British colonial government in Southern Cameroon, and to remember the merging of French Cameroon with southern Cameroon in October 1961.

Map 1: Map of Cameroon showing Southern Cameroons



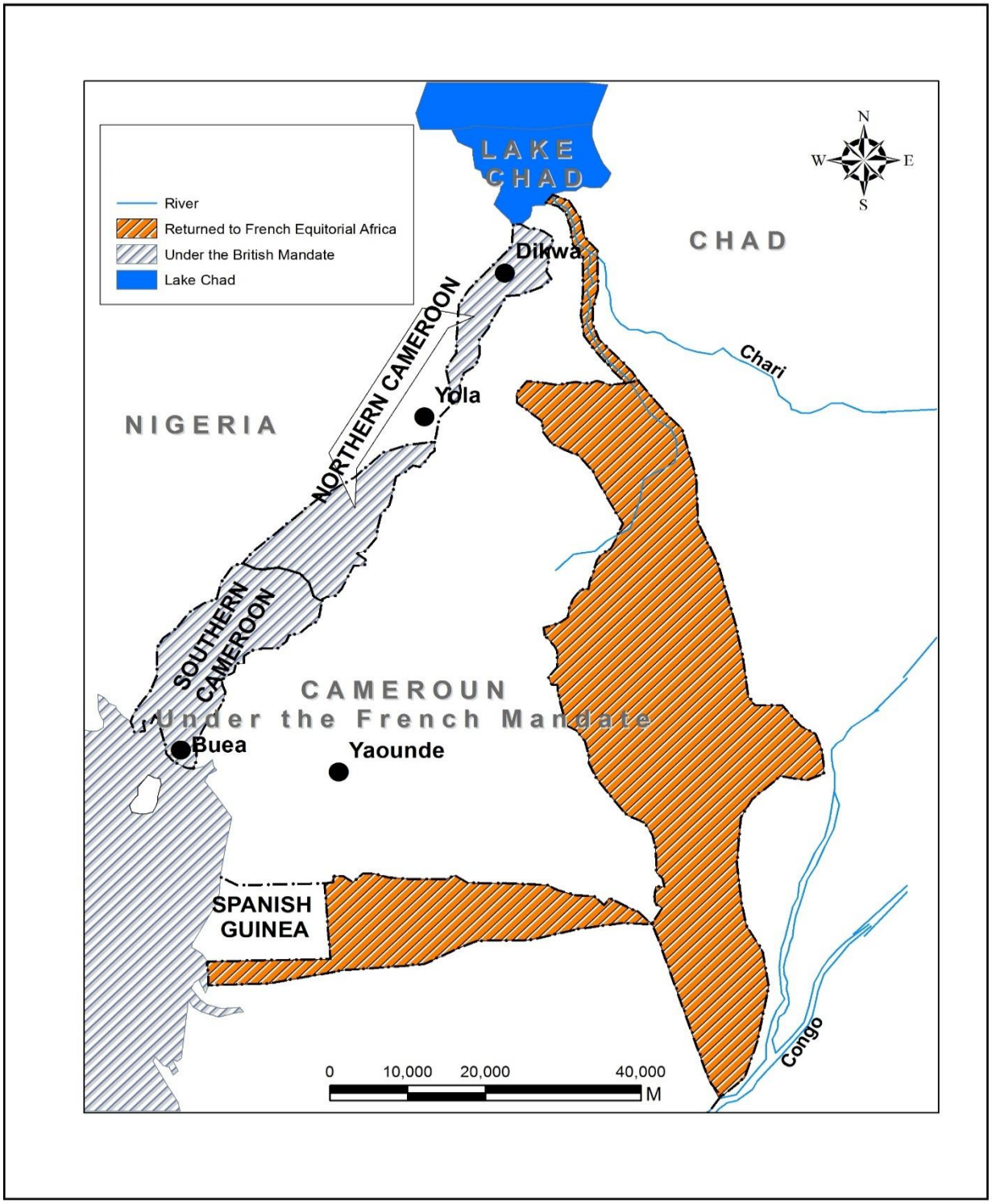
Source: F,Z Nji,. (ed), Macmillan *School Atlas of Cameroon*,Macmillan Cameroon, Limbe, Cameroon, 2005, p.9

Map II: The Southern Cameroons 1961



Source: Adapted from *Introducing theSouthern Cameroons*, Federal Information Service, Lagos, 1959, p.1

Map III: German Cameroon 1914



Source: Adapted from Nfor N. Nfor, *The Southern Cameroons: The Truth of the Matter*, Quality Printers Bamenda, Cameroon, 2002, p.49

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The study encountered many problems especially during the field work. Some people were not prepared to disseminate information for security reasons and for fear of losing their jobs, while the majority especially in Yaounde and Douala did not want this topic to be mentioned. An example is the case at Buea Council where the researcher was asked to present identification details and a letter of introduction from the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. This was done and he was again asked to write an application requesting to interview the Lord Mayor, Mr. Ekema Humphrey. After all was said and done, the interview was not granted. According to the Third Deputy Mayor:

> I will forward the file to the Secretary General of the Council (SG) who will determine how the interview will hold. You can come on Monday.[58]

This appointment was kept to the latter. But it should be noted that all these involved money for transportation, moving up and down which was not easy. In Nkambe, the Second Deputy Mayor cautioned that i should be careful about what i say because the "walls have ears".[59] There were many more challenges.[60] It took almost the whole day before room was given for the interview.

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[58] Experience from fieldwork which sometimes was subject to attacks and intimidation especiallyby those in the rank and file of government circles and pay roll. We reported at the Buea council, travelling from Victoria,(Limbe) on Monday 6th April, 2015. At exactly 11:30am that day, we met the Secretary General of Buea Council who claimed that it was not possible for us to see the Lord Mayor or any of his deputies. At this juncture, the SG of Buea council, Mr. Ewome Joseph Njie preferred or decided that iinterview him instead of the Mayor.

[59] While at the Nkambe Council in Donga/Mantung Division, the Secretary General of the council, a lady who refused to disclose her identity, asked that we should see the Deputy Major who warned that we should be careful about what we say because the "walls have ears".

[60] Challenges on the field were enormous. Some people, especially Francophones saw us as SCNC members who want to break Southern Camerrons away from La Republique du Cameroun. It was not easy getting information as some people would ask us to go and come again. Others needed to be paid some money before they could talk. In the National Archives in Buea (NAB), one of the workers warned that our questions were dangerous because we interviewed a journalist who claimed that Cameroon has the best democracy in Africa, and we challenged the status quo by asking that "when Paul Biya had been

Another problem was at the National Archives in Yaounde where I was not given the files on Southern Cameroon on grounds that such issues were not discussed here. When I complained to Professor Philip Blaise Essomba a Francophone, he said matters concerning Southern Cameroon were very sensitive and that, that was why the government did everything to suppress any uprising from there.[61]

1.10 Theoretical Framework

A theory is a set of ideas that explain a given phenomenon. Different theories are used by different scholars in different disciplines to explain different phenomena as the case may be. In this study, i shall consider the Underdevelopment Dependency Theory (UDT) and Conflict Theory (CT).

Underdevelopment Dependency Theory

The contemporary theory of underdevelopment and dependency has its origins in the period after World War II. This was sequel to the crisis generated by the general system of imperialism in the 1930s and 1940s.[62] The proponents of this theory were A. Gunder Frank, Dan Nabudere, Walter Rodney, Samir Amin, Claude Ake among others[63]. This theory examined the nature of economic interaction between developing and developed countries and held that many of the obstacles to development of the Third World did not originate in the developing countries, but were imposed on them by external forces in the developed world whose main interest lay in

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in Power for 33 years and you talk of democracy"? The journalist, Chantal Nti was interviewed in Buea on Wednesday 25/03/15

[61] Interview with Philip Blaise Esomba on telephone, a lecturer at the Department of History, University of Yaounde I. on Thursday 16th March, 2017 at 5:30 pm.

[62] Umar Bappah, "The Impact of British Colonial Rule on Agriculture in Gombe Division, 1900-1945 A Study in Agricultural Underdevelopment", M.A. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, August, 1988 p.10

[63] Izuduemo Kayode Yamah. *Theories of Development*, Esonaj Ent, Zaria, Nigeria, 2009. P.73

protecting their dominant position and exploitation. According to the dependency school, colonialism did not inject or bring any form of technological industrialization.[64]

Rodney maintained that a basic prop of colonialism in Africa and elsewhere was the "gun boat" diplomacy, which was resorted to every time that the local police and armed forces seemed incapable of maintaining the metropolitan law and colonial order of affairs.[65] In Cameroon, it seemed too that forces of intimidation and suppression were used to deal with Southern Cameroons each time they protested against the marginalization and exploitation of their economy. This has ensured that the people remain more and more impoverished and dependent on the regime. Crude oil was extracted from Ndian Division as well as timber among other resources, yet no one can tell where the oil money went to. The roads were in a state of despair coupled with massive unemployment. Thus, the socio-economic and political exclusion brought Anglophones under a very high level of dependency in addition to the regime's politics of divide and rule in the north and south west regions, respectively.

Conflict Theory

Conflict refers to serious disagreement and argument about something important,such as, serious disagreement or argument between two people or groups or between countries. Conflict theory was propounded by Karl Marx. According to him society was in a state of perpetual conflict due to competition for limited resources. Conflict theory holds that social order was maintained by domination and power, rather than consensus and conformity. According to conflict theory, those with wealth and power try to hold on to them by all means possible, mainly

[64] Stanley C. Igwe. *How Africa Underdeveloped Africa*, Professional Printers and Publishers, Port Harcourt, Nigeria, 2000. Pp.50-51

65 Walter Rodney. *op.cit*, p.216

by depressing the poor and powerless.[66] This ascribed most of the fundamental developments in human history, such as democracy and civil rights, to capitalistic attempts to control the masses rather than desire for social justice. To understand the sources of conflict within a society one must examine both psychologically and sociologically how human beings continue to cope with the potential instabilities of social stratification either internal psychological resolution related to group identity or by social movements resolving group overt conflict situations between groups.[67]

Here, the government of Cameroon used the Brigade Intervention Rapide (BIR) **Rapid Intervention Force (RIF)**, to beat, arrest and detain Southern Cameroonians, especially when they were in opposition to the policies of the government, thus, conflicts. Here, conflicts were multidimensional due to the autocratic nature of the government in power. According to the general provisions of decentralization in Cameroon, part 1, section 2, the decentralization shall consist of devolution by the state of special powers and appropriate resources to regional and local authorities. This was all in theory as it appeared that there was no practical implementation. It was argued that the Government appointed special mayors to local councils in the name of "Government Delegates" who performed the same duties as the mayors. However, some Francophones argued that it was the decision of the Anglophones to join them, while others shared the view that good leadership and governance will lead to unity in diversity. Francophones further argued that not only Anglophones suffer marginalization, that marginalization was on both sides, and some of them affirmed that Anglophone representation in the government was marginal. (see chapter six).

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[66] "Conflict Theory" www.investopedia.comtrs/c/conflict-theory.asp Accessed on Thursday 27th November, 2014

[67] George De Vos,. Human Systems of Segregation in Anthony de Reuck and Julie Knight ed. *Conflict in Society* J. and A. Churchill, London, 1965, pp.328-329

1.11 Definition of Terms

Colonialism

Colonialism refers to one country's domination of another country or people - usually achieved through aggressive, often military, actions – and the territory acquired in this manner.[68] Usually, a colonizing country also quickly establishes political control over the other society. Colonialism is generally associated with the European overseas expansion that began about 1500. But it has occurred in most parts of the world and in most historical eras, even the most ancient.[69]

Through the centuries, nations established colonies primarily for economic reasons. For example, nations have set up colonies to gain priviledged access to prized manufactured items, to obtain opportunities for profitable investments, to secure access to raw materials, or to provide markets for their goods. They also sent out colonists to search for precious metals or to trade for scarce and valuable spices and specialized crops. In some cases, religious organizations strongly supported colonization efforts as a way of gaining converts among nonbelievers. However, religious conversion of native people rarely ranked as the primary reason for colonization.[70] Colonizing powers often possessed superior technologies or at least had advanced military weapons or tactics. For example, the Germans, later the British and the French expeditions against Cameroon during the 19th century succeeded in part because the Germans, the British and the French had superior weapons.

[68] John W. Cell. "Colonialism and Colonies" Microsoft Encarta ® 2009 (DVD) Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.
[69] *The World Book Encyclopedia,* Volume 4, World Book Inc. 233 North Michigan Chicago, IL 60601, 2002, p.813
[70] *Ibid*

Reunification

Reunification refers to the process of joining together parts of a country that were divided so that they form one country again.[71] The reunification of a country or city that has been divided into two or more parts for sometime is the joining of it together again. For instance, the reunification of East and West Germany on 3 October, 1990, as well as the reunification of East and West Beirut in 1991.This term signified the occasion on 1st October, 1961, when British Southern Cameroons and La Republic du Cameroon (French Cameroun) joined again to form one nation.[72] The name given to this new nation was the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

1.12 Methodology of the Study

The research was informed by the nature of historical developments of the subject matter under consideration. Thus, the study used the following research methodology.

The Historical Research Method

In this study, i adopted a multi-disciplinary approach and the collection, interpretation, evaluation and analysis of data. The nature of data analysis for the study was analytical , especially through corroboration of sources so as to establish internal consistency of analysis. The following sources were used in the study:

Primary Sources

Primary sources are materials directly related to a topic by time or participation.[73] These materials include letters, speeches, diaries, newspaper articles from the time, oral history interviews, artifacts, or anything else that provided first hand accounts about a person or event. Apart from individual interviews, group interviews were conducted in order to provide an avenue

[71]Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners. Macmillan Education Ltd, London, 2007, p. 1274

[72] Susungi Nfor N, "What is the meaning of Reunification?" https//scylingo.files.wordpress.com/what-is-the-meaning-of-reunification……..Accessed on Wednesday 20th May, 2015

[73] "Primary Sources" www.library.ithaca.edu/sp/subjects/primary, Accessed on Tuesday,7th March, 2017.

for the sharing of ideas, opinions and experiences. Primary sources are a historian windows on the past, which enable them to discover what people were doing, planning, or discussing at a particular time. When such sources are examined in a larger context, such as an historical investigation into a particular event or societal trend, they can provide valuable clues.[74]

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources are works of synthesis and interpretation based upon primary sources and the work of other authors.[75] They are produced by authors who have examined a variety of primary sources, dating to a previous era or eras while conducting an investigation into a historical topic.[76] Secondary sources were used to supplement primary sources. These Secondary sources were published works which include textbooks, journals, monographs (books written by an author or authors on a particular subject), articles and so on. I visited the National Archives, in Buea, Cameroon, Kashim Ibrahim Library, Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS), Arewa House Archives, National Archives Kaduna, Buea Council Library, Limbe 1 Council Library and so on. The sources i got were valuable and were used judiciously for a proper analysis of the topic under study.

1.13 Conclusion

Some schools of thought argued inter alia that the people of Southern Cameroon were agitating because the agreement they had during the reunification of October 1, 1961, was suddenly cancelled by Ahmadou Ahidjo, the then president of the then Federal Republic of Cameroon in favour of a unitary state. Another school of thought argued further that the 50th anniversary celebration of Cameroon reunification was not necessary since some people were for

[74] *'Primary Sources'* http://www.history.ubc.ca/content/working-historical-sources, Accessed on Saturday, 22nd August, 2015.
[75] www.teachinghistory.org>home>bestpractices>using primary sources. Retrieved on Saturday 22nd August, 2015
[76] *Ibid*.

it, while others were against it.The celebration of this anniversary seemed to have been an indication that reunification seemed to have solidified national integrration, national development as well as freedom of expression.

CHAPTER TWO

ENVIRONMENT, PEOPLE AND ECONOMY OF CAMEROON ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL DOMINATION

2.0 Introduction

Every society in the world has its origins and Cameroon is not an exception. Located in the geographical and racial crossroads of Africa, Cameroon has a complex of about two hundred language groupings, speaking twenty-four African languages. It is the only African country where English and French were given official status.[77] The principal ethnic groups of Cameroon were predominantly the Bantu and the semi-Bantu. Thus, in the villages that make up southern Cameroons, there was a *fon*[78] as well as a chief.[79] A *fon* is in common use in the North West Region (grassfields) and chief in the South West Region (forest area). Other ethnic groups were located in Northern Cameroon. Agriculture was the heart beat of Cameroon's economy. Hunting, fishing, blacksmithing and weaving were among other economic activities that provided livelihood for the people. Pre-colonial Cameroon was well organized and farming was the predominant economic activity of the people. Local tools were used in agricultural practice, such as cutlasses, hand hoes, knives, axes and so on. The level of technology during this period was low and agricultural knowledge was rudimentary.

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[77] Gale Research Company,.*Countries of the World and their Leaders*, Second Ed., Detroit, Michigan, United States of America, 1975, P.272

[78] In Grassfields chiefdoms (Fondoms), the *Fon* is a king. He is the father of the people he rules and is seen as a symbol of unity, progress and success. He is the centre of a complex political system. He possess sacred attributes, performs traditional rites being the link or mediator between his people (the living) and the ancestors (the dead).

[79] Chief here, as used in the South West Region (forest area) is the leader, of a community or polity. He too performs traditional rites and has sacred attributes necessary for this office. The chief/fon has a local council (court) within the palace where elders and sub-chiefs gather to settle local disputes. These institutions have an announcer who announces or gives out information to the community about an event about to take place. The town-cryer often carries a local trumpet which he blows and a gong which he beats with a small stick, while giving an announcement.

2.1 Location

Cameron is bordered in the Northeast by Chad, in the north by a narrow portion of Lake Chad, the Central African Republic in the east, the Republic of Congo in the Southeast, Equatorial Guinea (Rio Muni) and Gabon in the South and the Atlantic Ocean in the Southwest.[80] Southern Cameroon is bordered in the West and Northwest by Nigeria, in the east by the Republic of Cameroon and in the South by the Atlantic Ocean.[81] Cameroon has the shape of a triangle. It has a base of about 700km and a height of 1,200km. The entire country covers an area of 475,000km2,[82] with a population of 21,698,000[83] inhabitants, following the 2014 population census. Cameroon is situated at the extreme Northeastern end of the Gulf of Guinea. It lies between longitudes 80 and 160 east of the Greenwich Meridian and between latitudes 20 and 130 north of the equator.

2.1.1 Relief

Cameroon is a country of varied relief landscape with many plains, plateaus and highlands. Some of them include the coastal lowlands, the central highlands, among others.[84] This equatorial forest spread out in a fan as tributaries of the Congo in the south east. In Western Cameroon, this forest zone stops in the vicinity of Kumba and Tombel. In the east the coastal plains continues as far as the Douala basin. As a result of heavy rainfall there are coastal mangrove swamps.The western mangroves are cut up in form of a delta with several tributaries of the Ndian and Lekele rivers which rise from the Oban-Rumpi range. The central region

[80] Mark W. Delancey . "*Land*" www.britannica.com/place/cameroon/ Accessed on Thursday 6th August, 2015
[81] "Southern Cameroons National Council" www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/ne. Accessed on Thursday 18th June, 2015
[82] Aaron, S. Neba, *Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon*, Second Ed, Neba publishers, Bamenda, Cameroon, 1987, p.1
[83]Mark W. Delancey. *op.cit*
[84] Aaron S. Neba. *op.cit*, p.14

extends east from the western highlands and from the Sanaga River north to the Benue River. The land rises to the north and includes the Adamawa Plateau, with elevations between 750 metres and 1,350 metres.[85] The Southern region extends from the Sanaga River to the Southern border and from the coast eastward to the central Africa Republic and the Republic of Congo. It consists of coastal plains that are about forty kilometers wide and a densely forested plateau with an average elevation of a little more than 600 metres.

In the coast, Fako Division, is dominated by the volcanic Cameroon mountain, about 40,95 metres with high rainfall and fertile soils. It is separated from the coastal neighbouring regions of Calabar as well as Douala by Rio del Rey and Wouri estuaries and mangrove swamps. Here, there are large banana and cocoa plantations which were established by the Germans, during the era of European Colonial domination.[86]

2.1.2 Climate

In its most general sense, climate is the average weather of a region. Cameroon is located in the inter-tropical zone. The climate is not uniform. It extends from latitude 20 and 130North of the Equator. Thus, this location is responsible for all the characteristics of the inter-tropical climates which include generally, hot, moist and dry conditions.[87] The annual average temperature runs from 200 to 280C. The incidence of precipitation depends largely on the seasonal movements of two contrasting air masses. The first is a dry continental tropical air mass, which originates from the Sahara and is associated with hot dusty weather. The second is a warm and humid maritime tropical air mass that originates from the Atlantic ocean and brings rain-bearing winds. Precipitation decreases from South to North. There are four distinct seasons

[85]Mark, W. Delancey, . *op.cit*
[86]Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain. *A History of the Cameroon*, Longman Group Limited, London, 1974, pp.4-5
[87] Aaron, .S. Neba, *op.cit*, p.24

in the Southern and Central regions namely: the long dry season at the beginning of the year, the long wet season from September to December, the short dry season in August and the short wet season between the months of March and June. The north, which begins from Adamawa to Lake Chad, has two distinct seasons: a dry season from November to April and a wet season from May to October.[88]

There is the influence of the south west monsoon winds which are moist in nature, running from six to nine months of the year. There is also the influence of the harmattan winds which are the northeast trade winds with their drying impact from the Sahara Desert.[89] These winds are hot and dry because of their journey over the hot and dry Sahara Desert. They begin to blow across the territory from October till June. It should be noted that temperature and precipitation strongly influence the natural vegetation of a region.For example, forests occur generally in most regions and grasslands in dry regions. The natural vegetation cover is often a distinctive feature of a climatic region and typically influence the human use of the area. Temperatures and precipitation are also important factors in the cultivation of crop plants, necessary condition for human survival.[90]

2.1.3 Vegetation

The vegetation is rich in flora and fauna. Cameroon is forested with a variety of very rich forest species like sapele, obunchi, mahogany, iroko, mbete, among others, as well as animals of rare species, such as elephants, gorillas, chimpanzees and some birds. The vegetation includes the dense equatorial forest and the tropical grassland. The dense equatorial forest covers the coastal lowlands and the southern part of the southern plateau. It can be subdivided into the

[88] *Op.cit*. p.24
[89] *Op.cit* p.26
[90] Alan Strahler and Arthur Strahler, *Introducing Physical Geography*, Fourth Edition, Heritage publishing Services, united States of America, 2006, p.214

mangrove forest which occupies the two swampy regions at the coast. The region around Rio-del-Rey stretches from the Akwa Yafe River in the west to the foot of Cameroon mountain, east of Bamusso and inland as far as Isangele, stretching down to the coast.[91] This region has swamps, creeks and estuaries. In the most swampy zones raffia palms can be found. The second zone starts from Bimbia through Tiko to Modeka and down to the whole of Douala basin. It is highly infested with mosquitoes. The most important constituent of the mangrove forest are the Rhizophoria and Avincernnia.

2.1.4 The Rain Forest

It is variously known as the Equatorial Rain Forest, Tropical Rain Forest, or West Evergreen Forest. This evergreen forest lies inland just after the mangrove forest. It is situated between altitudes 200m and 800m and covers a very large part of the southern plateau. This forest has been subjected to human attack for lumbering, farming and urban expansion.[92] This evergreen nature is almost fading away because of constant felling of trees for timber exploitation and human activities such as farming, building, grazing and so on.

2.1.5 The Tropical Grassland

This is characterized by fewer trees and short grasses. The main cattle belt of Cameroon lies in this zone. Indeed the bush fires which sweep across vast areas of the tropical grassland towards the end of the dry season are usually caused by cattle rearers, whose aim is to hasten the sprouting of fresh grass for feeding their animals.[93] The general term of savanna is given to this grassland vegetation which covers the northern part of Cameroon. The appearance of savanna changes as the annual precipitation diminishes northwards. The vegetation of many areas has

[91] A.S. Neba *op.cit*, p.30
[92] *Op.cit, p.30*
[93] Reuben K.. Udo, *The Human Geography of Tropical Africa*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1982, p.28

been modified by human activities and bush fires for years and it is believed that some of these areas in the south supported much dense woodland in the past than today. Thus, the former vegetation has been replaced by some type of derived savanna.[94]

2.1.6 Soils

Soil is the loose material which forms the upper layer of the earth's mantle. Soil is a combination of material and organic matter such as air and water. It is that portion of the regolith that supports the growth of plants. It is the uppermost layer of the land surface which the plants use and depend on for nutrients, water and physical support. Soils can vary greatly from continent to continent, region to region and even field to field. This is because they are influenced by factors and processes that can vary widely from place to place. For example, a field near a large river that floods regularly may acquire a layer of nutrient-rich silt, making its soil very productive. A nearby field at a higher elevation, without the benefit of silt enrichment, may be sandy or stony and require the addition of fertilizers to grow crops productively.[95]

The soils of Cameroon may be classified into zonal soils, which are of two types: (i) the soils of the equatorial forest area and, (ii) the soils of the tropical area. There are also azonal soils, which include alluvial and volcanic soil types.

Zonal soils (ferrallitic soils) cover most of the dense forest regions.[96] The ferrallitic soils are red or brown in colour.[97] They are ten metres deep and are not very suitable for farming. This is because the nutrients have been washed away. Mixed farming, shifting cultivation as well as bush fallowing are practiced in these areas.

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[94] Aaron .S. Neba, *Op.cit*, p.34
[95] Alan Strahler and Arthur Strahler. *op.cit*, p.364
[96] F.Z. Nji, ed, *Macmillan School Atlas of Cameroon*, Limbe, Cameroon 2005, p.10
[97] Aaron .S. Neba, *op.cit*, pp.34-35

Ferruginous or laterite soils form along gentle slopes or plateau surfaces stripped of tree cover. A marked dry season alternating with a wet season is a necessary condition for formation. During the wet or rainy season, mineral salts, mainly compounds of iron and aluminium, are carried down into the ground by leaching. At the same time the rise in water table during this season help to cause an upward migration of iron and aluminium salts. The result is the concentration of these salts in a restricted zone. In the dry season the salt waters are brought to the surface by evaporation, leaving behind insoluble compounds of iron and aluminium in slag-like concentrations. This is laterite. However, ferruginous or laterite soils are of little value for agriculture since root growth and development in these soils is very limited.[98]

Azonal soils are young soils which have not been adequately subjected to the impact of the soil-formation processes, agencies and influences to develop mature characteristics. These are immature and do not have distinct horizontal layers.[99] There are two major types of azonal soils in Cameroon. They are volcanic and alluvial soils.

Volcanic Soils-They are black or brown in nature. These soils are found in the regions extending from Cameroon Mountain to the western highlands. Volcanic soils are very fertile and have made the development of several plantations in these regions possible.

Alluvial Soils- These soils are found in some isolated zones such as plains, particularly, in the coastal plains. Alluvial soils are found in major valleys, like the wouri valley, logone and Benue valleys, the Mbo and Ndop plains among others.[100]

2.1.7 Drainage

The rivers of Cameroon form four large drainage systems. In the South, the Sanaga, Wouri, Nyong and Ntem Rivers drain into the Atlantic ocean. The Benue River and its tributary,

[98] Reuben K. Udo, . *op.cit*, p.31
[99] Aaron S.. Neba, *op.cit*, p.36
[100] Aaron .S .Neba, *op.cit*, p.37

the Kebi, flow into the Niger River basin of Nigeria. The Logone and Chari rivers, which form part of the eastern border with Chad, drain into Lake Chad, whereas the River Benue joins the Sangha River and flows into the Congo River basin.[101]

2.2 The People of Cameroon

Evidence of stone tools discovered in Bamilekeland, Yaounde, Ebobego, Maroua and Nsam showed that most parts of Cameroon were occupied many years ago.[102] Stone implements or tools were collected and were classified into either the Old Stone Age or new Stone Age. These stone tools were found throughout the region both at high and low levels. There were some concentrations in Bamenda. It seems that on the basis of the form of these stone tools those who fabricated them made their way down the Cross River valley. From archaeological evidence, it is known that humans have inhabited Cameroon for at least 50,000 years. There is strong evidence of the existence of important kingdoms. The most widely known is Sao, which arose in the vicinity of Lake Chad about the 5th century C.E. This Kingdom reached its apex from the 9th to the 15th century. It was later conquered and destroyed by the Kotoko State which extended over large portions of northern Cameroon and Nigeria. Kotoko war extended into the Borno empire during the reign of Rabih bin Fadlalah (Rabah) in the late 19th century.[103]

In Cameroon, there are about 70 "languages", which can all be classified in two, using Joseph Greenberg's classification. They are, the Niger-Congo and Afro-Asiatic groups of languages. In northern Cameroon, for example, the only languages which do not belong to Bantu section of the Niger-Congo, are those languages related to Hausa. Groups such as the Margi and

[101] Mark W. Delancey, *op.cit*
[102] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert, Brain. *Op.cit*, pp.19-26
[103] Mark W, Delancey. "People, Ethnic and Linguistic Composition". www.britannica.com/place/cameroon/people... Accessed on Friday 2nd October, 2015.

Kapsiki, speak these languages. Thus, the existence of these languages is the result of culture contact between this savannah region and distant north-east Africa.[104]

All other known forms of speech in Cameroon belong to the Bantu group of languages. According to Eyongetah and Brain, the peoples of Cameroon and Southeastern Nigeria were the northernmost speakers of these languages. The Bantu language group in Cameroon is divided into two sub-groups, such as the Bantu proper, which is spoken in the southern and southeastern forest plains. Examples include Douala, Bakweri and Fang. There were also the semi-Bantu languages in the western regions bordering Nigeria and the central highlands, such as Bayang and Bamileke.[105] Eyongetah and Brain maintain that the Fulani of Northern Cameroon speak a West Africa language of the same Niger-Congo group as Bantu. This was closely related to languages of Senegal from where they spread hundreds of years ago. It seems that a few thousand pygmies are left in Cameroon, on the Cameroon and Congo borders, close to the coast, and a single group in the Savannah near Yoko. It appeared to be true that the pygmies who once spoke a non-Bantu language are the oldest occupants of Cameroon.[106] Recently, the pygmies no longer occupy different tracts of land, they are attached to particular "Negro" groups and speak the Bantu languages of these groups.[107]

Where did the Bantu speaking peoples come from? The Congo forests and the vast regions of central and southern Africa were once occupied purely by scattered hunting groups like the pygmies and San, Hotentots and so on. A time came when Bantu speakers came into these empty lands and displaced these groups of hunters. Thus, the distribution of Bantu-speaking peoples from Cameroon to Southern Africa was so complete that it now seemed to be

[104]*Op.cit*, pp. 19-26
[105]*Op.cit*, pp. 19-26
[106]*Op.cit*, pp.19-26
[107]*Op.cit*, pp.21-22

the result of expansion and repopulation. It may be that this expansion was got through the combination of iron implements and new food crops from Southeast Asia such as bananas, cocoyams and yams which paved the way for Bantu-speakers to make a livelihood from the forest lands.[108]

Gutherie, maintained that the expansion and dispersal of Bantu farmers originated in nuclear area south of the Congo forest.[109] From his study of Bantu languages and relationships, Gurtherie arrived at the conclusion that the original Bantu speakers lived in the equatorial forests midway between the east and west coasts of Africa. However, a recent theory showed that the first Bantu came from Cameroon. Eyongetah and Brain in their study, quoted the proponents of this theory, Greenberg and Murdock, as stating that:

> Bantu-speakers of the Cameroon acquired the new South-east Asian food crops from East Africa along with iron farming tools. With these, they entered the forest regions of the Cameroon, Gabon and Congo, increasing rapidly in numbers and displacing the hunting and gathering pygmy peoples, of whom a few scattered remnants survive today. This movement extended from the central tropical forests into East Africa, penetrating Bushmen country to the South and displacing them as it had earlier displaced the pygmies. Cameroon therefore, can be considered as the main cradle area of this explosion of Bantu-speakers from Nigeria to the cape of Good Hope. The date suggested for this migration is about two thousand years ago.[110]

Glottochronology, a linguistic method that uses the rate of vocabulary replacement to estimate the date of convergence for distinct but genetically related languages,[111] showed that Tiv and South African Bantu were distant by 200 years. It is said that the Bantu migrations began a century or two before the birth of Christ. The Ekoi of Cameroon, who were neighbours of the

[108] *Op.cit*, p.22
[109] *Op.cit*, pp.22
[110] *Op.cit*, p.23
[111] "Glottochronology" www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/.... Accessed on Wednesday June 10th, 2015.

Tiv, showed a time gap of 3,000 years from Tiv. It is worth noting that these hypotheses should be compared with the time gaps established between Frisian and English and American-English. Geographically, English and Frisian as close as Ekoi and Tiv, have been separated for 1,500 years. On the other hand, American-English and English were separated for only a few hundred years.[112]

According to the results of these linguistic studies there is little doubt that the Bantu of central and southern Africa came from any region other than the Cameroon central highlands or a lowland region near the Cameroon-Nigeria area and the Benue-Cross-River districts.[113]

It should be noted however that the present inhabitants of Cameroon are not necessarily "direct descendants" of these original immigrants. Bantu immigration here was in waves, as they have come and gone. The Tiv migrated from their original homeland on the Cameroon border into north-eastern Nigeria and the Bayang, of the Ekoi group, continued migrating eastward over the past century or two. It appeared that the Fang movements in east Cameroon coincided with those of the Beti. These peoples were forced to the South by the northern Wute. This Fang group were the Ewondo, the Eton and the Bulu. In the period of study, there are a million Fang-Beti people distributed from the Sanaga to northern Gabon. Other Bantu speakers who have recent traditions are the Bamburko in Fako division, the Bakundu, Balong, Bakossi, the Bafo, Balundu, Basossi, Mbonge in Meme division, and Ndian and the Assumbo, Basossi and Mbo in Manyu division. A language known as Kingwa was spoken in the Bamileke, Mbo borderlands and provides a remarkable example of the fusion of Bantu-Mbo and a Semi-Bantu (Bangwa, Bamileke language).[114]

[112] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Robert. *op.cit*, p.24
[113] *Op.cit*
[114] *Op.cit*

Most central Cameroon languages were known and labelled as Semi-Bantu. This was a designation which came as a result of the difficulty of connecting them or separating them from the major Bantu groups. In the period of study, the traditional label was an easy means of separating them off as Bantu languages which had a certain degree of Sudanic influence. In the Semi-Bantu group, the Cross River languages of the Ekoi, Banyang, Anyang, Keyaka, and the Grassland languages of the Tikar, Mungaka, Bamileke and Bamum could be found. It should be noted however that the original language of the Bali, Mubako which was spoken in Balikumbat, Bali Bagham and Baligasso was an Adama-Chamba language. This betrayed the Northern Cameroon origin of the intrusive 19th century invaders.[115]

2.2.1 Northern Cameroon

In British Northern Cameroon there lived various peoples in large and small groups, speaking different languages. In Fombina for example, the two dominant language families were the Bata-Margi of the Afro-Asiatic group and the Adamawa eastern dialect of the Niger-Congo.[116] It is not possible to discuss all the ethnic groups in Northern Cameroon, but we shall attempt to discuss some of them such as the Mbum, the Tikar, the Chamba, and the Bata. It should be noted however that the Fulani (Fulbe) of Northern Cameroon speak a West Africa language of the same Niger-Congo group as Bantu. This was related to languages of Senegal from where they dispersed hundreds of years ago.[117] The north consists predominantly of Sudanic speaking peoples. But it was not clear to the researcher whether the non-Bantu integrated with the Bantu to produce a semi-Bantu culture.

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[115] *Op.cit* p.25
[116] Sa'ad Abubakar, *The Lamibe of Fombina, A Political History of Adamawa*: 1809-1901, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1973, p.12
[117] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *Op.cit*, p.21

The Mbum

Before the 19th century, the Mbum inhabited the Southern part of Fombina. This area extended from the headwaters of Logone right to the environs of Tibati in the West. It is believed that the Mbum were at one time in Borno. It seemed that they had settled at Maifoni, a village near present-day Maiduguri as subjects to the So people of central Borno. They later migrated South to Ulgwe as a way of escaping So's control. Consequently, they came into contact with the Margi. While at Ulgwe, the Mbum were not free as they were subjugated by the Gadima kindred. Other groups migrated southwards to the lands of the Rai on the headwater of the Benue River. For the fact that the Mbum were one time in Borno, the justification can only follow the argument that the Niger peoples were at one time located further north where they live presently.[118]

The socio-political institution of the Mbum, showed that, they were more similar to that of the jukun, who as their tradition indicate, had settled in the past, in the region of the mandara highlands. The incursions by the Afro-Asiatic speaking peoples might have resulted to the southward movement of the jukun and other related groups. The Mbum might also have been forced to move due to the infiltrations and invasions of the superior Nilo-Saharan language speaking group who were represented by the Kanuri. Consequently, by the 19th century, the Mbum were settled on the watershed which separate the headwaters of rivers Logone, Benue and Faro from the flowing tributaries of the south of Sanaga river. The Mbum-Mbare occupied the headwater of the Logone while the Mbum Ganha were found along the rivers Mbere and Vina. The Mbum-njwi, the third group, were found to the northeast of Ngaundere as well as on the river Djerem near Tibati.[119]

[118] Sa'ad Abubakar. *Op.cit*, p.13
[119] *Op.cit*, p.14

The Tikar

The Tikar do not claim origin beyond Tibati, Ndobo and Kimi, the region to the north and northeast where they presently live. The raids by the Chamba may have forced them to move to the south and southwest of Tibati. The Fulani raids of the 19th century were also particularly responsible for this movement. It is said that the Tikar came to the edge of Lake Chad from the east, while the jukun entered Borno proper, the Tikar turned to the South. The immediate neighbours of the Tikar were the Mbum. These two groups were derived from the same stock, but they had been separated between Ngaundere and Tibati many generations ago.[120]It was after then that the Tikar settled on the vast plains of the Mbam River and its affluent.It is claimed that only Tikar chiefs traced their origin from the Mbum. Therefore, the contention that the Tikar were derived from the Mbum was a confusion between the origin of the ruling group and that of their subjects. It is now known that the Tikar language had some affinities to the languages of the Mayo Kebbi-Logone region. Thus Tikar migration came due to the invasion of their land by the Fulbe who had established Tibati in the 1840s.[121]

The Chamba

Chamba, situated immediately south of the confluence of the Benue and its tributaries eastward to Garua and Rai with major settlements around Zummo, Malabu, Song and Kilba, southwards along the Rivers Deo and Faro to the foot of the Mambila mountains, with the heaviest concentrations at Gurin, Chebowa, Turua, Chambowa, Turua, Chamba and Budang.[122] By the beginning of the 19th century, the Chamba had spread westwards to the Shebshi highlands and Southwards to the Bamenda Plateau. Sa,ad Abubakar maintained that the Chamba of Donga, had migrated from Donga chieftaincy to the east of Yola. The cause of this migration

[120] *Op.cit,* p.16
[121] *Op.cit,* p.17
[122] M. Z. Njeuma, *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa) 1809-1902*, Buea, 1978, p.6

was due to hunger.[123] Carbosa maintained that the Chamba were invaded by the alien elements: the Bata and then the Fulbe. Thus, the chamba were robbed of their lands and hunger set in. As a result, the Chamba had no choice than to migrate to new lands in the south. The Bata entered the Benue valley in the 18th century while the Fulbe came at the beginning of the 19th century. One account hold that the chamba started migrating when the Bata began encroaching settlements, in Mapeo, Sapeo and Zolba in the Faro valley. When the Fulbe entered the Benue valley, they met the Beta in predominant position and not the Chamba.[124] Thus, there is no doubt that the activities of the Fulbe in the 19th century encouraged further Chamba migrations like those of Bali in the Republic of Cameroon. Bali is about 3.5 kilometers from Bamenda in the North West Region. Their language is mungaka.

The Chamba of Daka, who in the period of study were in the region to the South of Shabahi highlands and to the north of the river Kam, claim that they migrated at the same time as the Donga group. They were led by their leader Ganyana who took them to the environs of koncha in the South. After wandering about, they moved to the north up to Mayo Donaba.
They later moved eastwards where they settled in Daka. Thus, the main group or body of the Chamba is still located in the region to the west of the Faro river and to the South of the Atlantika Mountains. The Chamba groups of the north have different traditions of origin, for instance, the Chamba of Segu claim that they migrated from Kona, a Jukun settlement in the west. They moved from Kona eastwards to Mayo Loru and Yeli to the north where they joined the main body of the Chamba.[125]

[123] Sa'ad Abubakar. *Op.cit*, p.19
[124] *Op.cit*, p.20
[125] *Op.cit*, p.21

The Bata

Prior the 19th century, among the indigenous peoples with whom the Fulani came into contact, the Bata were the most important on the Benue. This was as a result of the extent of their settlement, as well as their large numbers and because of sustained contact with the Fulani over a long period of time.[126] There were two types of Bata as follows: a riverain Bata and an inland Bata. Both banks of the river Benue from Garua (Garoua) to the Numan border were occupied by the riverain Bata, a distance of about 200 miles. The inland Bata or Njirai are settled on the Zummo-Malabu hills. They absorbed the Fali who occupy the water shed of the Benue and Chad Basin. Today, there are many groups who speak languages that are apparently related to Bata. Such groups have some Bata elements in the ruling clan but use their own local names such as the Marghi, Burra, Uba and Kilba.

In the period of study, the Bata were not a language people. They belonged to ethnic groups such as the Bachama, Giniga, Gudu, Malabu, Njai, Durmo and Holma. It should be noted that they all spoke the Bata dialect. It was a fact that the Bata had entered the Benue region from the Chad Basin. Their peopling of the Benue took the form of an invasion which was made up of two waves. The first wave took place in the 17th century through the Mandara region to Baza in the upper Yedseram valley. It was from Yedseram that they spread to different parts in a southward direction.[127] In the second wave, while coming from the north, they followed the eastern piedmont of the Mandara hills and then down to the Benue valley through the valleys of Tiel and the Mayo kebbi. Consequently, they spread along the Benue valley westwards to the Bagale hill. It is said that the Bata language has close resemblance to Margi and that two

[126] M.Z.Njeuma, *op.cit*, p.9
[127] *Op.cit*, p.10

languages form a sub-group of Greenberg's Afro-Asiatic family of languages. In his study Njeuma maintained that:

> As they moved south, in some places, they disrupted peoples whose identities are no longer preserved, imposing upon them their own language and culture. Other peoples like the Mbum, Chamba and Verre withdrew out of the reach of the Bata to the south of Benue. Their individual traditions refer to a time when they lived north of the Benue, but they had taken refuge across the Benue due to pressure from successive Bata and, later on, Fulani groups.[128]

It can therefore be concluded that the Bata were either proto-margi or an off-shoot. It can further be said that the two waves of migrants represent the migration of the two distinct language speaking groups of which the modern Bata emerged.

2.2.2 Southern Cameroon

The present ethnic pattern of Southern Cameroons seems to have been largely set up in the last 300 years. During this period the most significant population movements occurred in the grasslands of Bamenda, Wum and Nkambe, where under Chamba and Fulani pressure succeeding waves of Tikar from the east occupied much of the area assimilating various people who came earlier.[129] From this, it can be said that it was about 300 years ago that continuous pressure from the north in addition to problems within, coupled with the desire to have new lands caused the splitting of Tikar groups into small bands, and when they left kimi, they migrated further to the west and southwest. Some of these groups moved under the leadership of the sons of a Tikar ruler. These leaders referred to themselves as *Fons*, the way the Tikar people of the North West Region refer to chiefs, whether they have a paramount status or not.

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[128] *Op.cit*, p.10

[129] *Introducing the Southern Cameroons*, A symposium of the southern portion of the Mandated Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration, compiled by the Government of Southern Cameroons, Federal Information Service, Lagos, 1959, p.17

It is important to note that Tikar migrations intensified due to slaves raids by invading Fulani from Northern Nigeria in the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus, there is reason to believe that before the Fulbe invasion, such migrations had been taking place for centuries. However, the pressure of invasion by Fulbe, ignited the movements that drove the Tikar to their present location in the Western plateau (Bamenda Grassfields), and Eastern Grassfields (Foumban), and the Tikar plain of Bankim in the upper Mbam area. Before the arrival of Tikar in the Grassfields, they found other populations that may have migrated from elsewhere or had been in the region for centuries.[130] Thus the arrival of the Tikar ignited population movements, in the same way as the arrival of people after them.

In the nineteenth century, the Chamba invaded the area from the north and set up the Bali Kingdom. During this period, there were population movements in the forest, and one group, the Widikum, contested for the occupation of the western grassfields with the Tikar and Chamba.[131] Further South, Bantu-speaking people came in small numbers from the direction of French Cameroons. In about 1750-1800, the sparse Bantu population of Kumba Division seems to a large extent been confined to blocks of high ground, but after that there was a movement to occupy the river valleys. The trend of these migrations was towards the main-trade routes. This was not completed when the German protectorate was set up. A similar movement occurred at the east coast where the Mboko people of the eastern side of the Cameroons Mountain occupied the western slopes and at the end reached the sea, forming the Bakweri and Isubu peoples. The original occupation of the Mountain by Bantu-speaking people may have occurred before the occupation of the hinterland forest.[132] Thus, the general movement of population into the

[130] Wongbi George Agime, "A Case Study of Conflicts in Bamenda in North-West Cameroon, 1960-2005", B.A. Project, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, July 2011, p.3
[131] *Introducing the Southern Cameroons, Op.cit* p.17
[132] *Op.cit,* p.17

Southern Cameroons has been from east to west, while movements from the Cross River area in the west, have also occurred. The last fifty years have seen an extension of migration from these directions with the growth in population of the Efik, Igbo and Fulani.[133]

Generally, the Southern Cameroons contained over sixty recognized ethnic groups. Many of the ethnic groups had no ancient unity, and the number of independent political units was great. In the Southern Cameroons, several dialects (vernacular) were spoken by various communities and polities in the grasslands as well as the forest areas. Almost all the indigenous languages were connected to some extent or other with the Bantu linguistic family of central East, and South Africa. Bantu languages proper were spoken in most of Kumba and Victoria (Limbe).[134]

In Mamfe, Bamenda, Wum and part of Nkambe, there was an exceptional degree of linguistic fragmentation. Some Bantu elements were present in most of the speeches, but usually under much phonetic disguise. These languages were sometimes known as Bantu or Bantoid and their number was much greater than the number of recognized ethnic groups in the area. Non-Bantu languages related to those of Nigeria are numerically important indigenously. However, migrants from Nigeria now form important linguistic units in Southern Cameroons such as the Igbo, Ibibio, Fulani among others. There was no local language which could be understood over the territory as a whole. Bali a "Bantoid" language, Douala, a Bantu language of French Cameroons have been written down and understood in parts of Southern Cameroons. The main method of communication between members of different communities is through the use of pidgin. English, which was so well developed in southern Cameroons. [135] Therefore, it can be said that the entire history of Africa saw population movements which were either voluntary or involuntary. This trend has continued to be so till this day.

[133] *Op.cit* p.17
[134] *Op.cit* p.18
[135] *Op.cit*, p.18

2.3 The Economy

The pre-colonial economy of Cameroon was essentially agrarian and responded to the needs of the people in their historic relationship with their environment. It was the interaction of this process that determined the kind of economic activities the people engaged in before the advent of colonialism. This economy was largely subsistence. The inhabitants at the coast were involved in direct competition in the exchange of goods with European traders, while the inhabitants of the interior worked to produce goods and services needed for their livelihood. In pre-colonial times the economy of Cameroon hinged primarily on agriculture. Hunting, trade and a variety of local crafts supplemented this. Agriculture was the most advanced since it remained the matrix in which the other economic activities were set. This meant that throughout Cameroon, farming was (and still is) the most important means of earning a livelihood.[136] Generally, the unity of activities occurred at specific seasons. For example, people did the clearing of farmlands cultivation. Division of labour was gender based depending whether the workers were male or female.[137] But division of labour also depended on the size of the household. Each man relied primarily on the labour of his household in both tilling and weeding the farms and cultivating the crops when due. This was why polygamous marriages were very common among the people, because at this level of social reproduction, the size of the labour force and the amount of farmland under cultivation were the function of the size of the household unit.[138] Agriculture was important because its provision of food supply was certain.

The practice of animal husbandry was carried out in large areas of the north. The people kept livestock not only for exchange and prestige, but also for their meat, milk, cheese, butter,

[136] Yakubu A. Ochefu, and O.O. Okpeh, *Idoma Pre-colonial Economy* in Ochefu, Y.A. et al, *A History of the Peoples of Benue State*, Aboki Publishers, Makurdi, Benue state, Nigeria, 2007, P. 103
[137] V.G. Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges Vol. 2 The Colonial and Post Colonial Periods*, Macmillan Cameroon Ltd, 1989, P. 4-5
[138] Yakubu A. Ochefu, et al *op.cit* P. 114

hides and manure.Sheep were also kept for wool. Cattle, horses, sheep, goats and donkeys were animals that brought economic prestige while chickens were raised for food. In the forest region, pigs were bred on a large scale. Hunting and fishing were also important economic activities in the forest and coastlands. All these activities, plus agriculture, manufacturing and mining, kept Cameroonians economically busy and self-sufficient.[139] It should be noted that in the present-day, communities that have virtually closed economies are very rare.The subsistence elements still dominate the economy of Cameroon.[140]

i. Trade

Trade in pre-colonial Cameroon was largely based on the exchange of local products mainly food crops and a considerable amount of metal and wood works. There were several markets where exchange of natural resources, crops and manufactures took place. These markets were distributed throughout the Cameroon territory. Markets were of different types such as local markets, ethnic markets and international markets in every district or region. Each market took place on fixed days at intervals of between three and eight days. The network of local, ethnic and distant trade routes which converged on different market-places linking and partially integrating different villages, ethnic communities, districts and geographical zones gave Cameroon a tenuous economic unity.[141] The market-place served as an economic centre and a social centre for those who attended it. Apart from the buying and selling of goods and services, the market-place was a meeting point for relatives, friends and traditional authorities.

[139] V.G. Fanso, op.cit P. 5
[140] Darrel Forde, *Importance of Subsistence Production in Margery Perham ed. The Native Economies of Nigeria,* Faber and Faber Ltd, London, 1945, p.54
[141] V.G. Fanso

ii. Hunting

In pre-colonial Cameroon hunting was done on part time basis. This activity was engaged full time in the dry season. In the past, elephants, Leopards, lions, buffalos, monkeys and a host of other animals were among the many animals that roamed round Cameroon. For instance, elephants were very common in parts of Cameroon and until comparatively recent times when they were either hunted down or driven by Hausa ivory hunters.[142] All these animals provided abundant game for the Cameroonians during the dry season, and hunting was organized by individuals who went into the bush in groups to hunt game. In the period of study, the ministry of forestry prohibits hunting and those caught executing this activity were arrested.[143]

iii. Fishing

Fishing was another economic activity the people engaged in, in pre-colonial Cameroon. Streams and rivers criss cross the whole of Cameroon and with the availability of the Atlantic Ocean, provided the natural impetus for this economic activity. The fish was consumed by families or the community as a whole and the surplus was sold.

Handicraft Industries

iv. Blacksmithing

Blacksmithing was a very important industry in Cameroon during the pre-colonial period. Blacksmiths were found all over the Cameroon territory. Iron smelting was quite skilled and the

[142] Yakubu A. Ochefu, et al. *op. cit*. P. 111

[143] The Cameroon government, through the ministry of forestry and wildlife, arrests and imprison hunters or anybody involved in the hunting game. The rationale behind this is that the Ministry is protecting nature, the destruction of the forest from being burnt for hunting to take place, as well as protecting animals of rare species. For this reason, the government created national parks such the Waza park, an animal reserve along the koussesi highway where these animals are nurtured and protected. The reserve too serves as a touristic attraction for tourists visiting the country. The kurop national part in the South West Region and others serve the same purpose. Bush meat as it is often called is not sold openly since the sellers are afraid to be arrested. The sellers move with it in bags and have a way of signaling or making people to know what they are carrying.

smithers used the ancient Cire Perdue method.[144]Hoes, cutlasses, knives, axes, traps, anklets as well as wrist bands and weapons of war like spear point and arrows and household items were produced.[145]

v. Dyeing and Cloth-Weaving

Cloth-making was an important economic activity in Cameroon during the pre-colonial period. Dyeing played a very crucial role in this activity. A plant known as indigo was used in the dyeing process. It was the main raw material used in the industry. Evidences have shown that red dye was obtained from pounding wood, probably specie of Tesphesia camwood. Dyers in pre-colonial Cameroon used locally made dyes from various roots, leaves and wood. According to some informants, one of the difficult activities in the industry was the construction of dyeing pits.[146] There was an improvement with dyeing activities following the immigration of the Hausa people from neighbouring Nigeria. Pestles were used for stretching the cloth and large wood to place the cloth in the process. The dyeing in pre-colonial Cameroon expanded to the contemporary.

2.4 Conclusion

The different ethnic groups discussed in this chapter make up the diverse people of Cameroon. Along the Cameroon-Nigeria border, people who speak the same language were separated by colonial as well as natural boundaries such as rivers and mountains. For instance the Ejagham peoples of Manyu Division in Cameroon were separated from those of the Cross River State in Nigeria. In general terms, pre-colonial Cameroon was very organized. From the discourse in this chapter, it can be said that farming was the predominant economic activity of

[144] *Introducing the Southern Cameroons,* compiled by the Government of Southern Cameroon, Federal Information Service, Lagos, 1959, P. 24
[145] *Op.cit* p.11
[146] Interview with Ousman Salifou, and Jean-Pierre Djimo in Bafoussam on Sunday ,10th May, 2015, at 9.00am

the people. All other economic activities were equally important for the sustenance and survival of the people. But as a result of the low level of technology, agricultural knowledge was rudimentary and simple implements were used during this period. Cutlasses, axes, knives and hand hoes were the principal man-made tools used at that time. However, agriculture and other economic activities practiced during this period have extended to the present-day.

CHAPTER THREE

GERMAN INVASION, SUBJUGATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF CAMEROON, 1884-1918

3.0 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on European subjugation and domination of Cameroon during the period 1884-1918. It was often contended by historians that African states and societies were subjugated and dominated by European states largely as a result of military superiority of the latter over the former. Specifically Michael Corwder, J.B. Webster and A.A. Boahen attributed the ease with which Europe conquered African states and societies to the poor military tactics of the African states. The easy conquest of these states was seen as the result of military weaknesses of the African societies, like Asante. In the context of Cameroon the collapse of Bangwa, Nso, Mankon, Bafut, Douala, Bayang and several others was due to the factors attributed by Crowder, Webster and Boahen.[147]

The development of imperialism and the quest by the European industrialized nations to consolidate the political and socio-economic position of their ruling classes, led to the imposition of colonialism and the entrenchment of externally oriented policies in Cameroon.[148]

3.1 The Germans in Cameroon before, 1884

For a proper understanding of the discussion that follows, it was necessary to examine German activities in Cameroon in the period before the annexation of the territory. Dutch and Portuguese influence in the 19th century gave way to the competition on the coast by the British

[147] See Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd London, 1976, pp. 3-4 and J.B Webster. and A.A. Boahen, The Revolutionary years, West Africa since 1800, Longman Group Ltd, London, 1967, pp. 241-245

[148] Eric Mbutruh Nyiwatumi, "The Economy and Society of Southern Cameroon under British Colonial Domination C. 1916-1961: A Study of the Impact of British Imperialism in Bamenda Division", M.A Dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, P.1 October, 1995.

and the Germans. Local chiefs of the Douala and Bimbia wanted protection from the European powers. The Cameroon sea coast extends from Rio del Rey in the west to the Campo River in the South. Here, were the peoples with whom European traders, missionaries, established close contacts in the 19th century among other officials. There was serious competition in trade between the British and the Germans, but at the same time, the Germans cooperated with the British. Thus German cooperation with the British made the (latter) not to suspect German colonial inteest in the area. V.G. Fanso maintained that cooperation and friendly relations with the British allowed the Germans to turn their attention in improving as well as increasing their trading ventures on the Cameroon coast and that such cooperation also made the British to be less suspicious of German colonial ambitions in the region. The natives along the coast, and the inhabitants in the coast played a middleman monopoly in the European trade with Cameroonians in the 19th century. British traders had built their trade in the Bight of Biafra towards the end of the 18th century. This made them the leading European country in the Cameroon coast. The slave trade had been abolished and the so-called "legitimate trade" was established. [149]

Alfred Saker, a British missionary founded the Baptist Mission (BM) in Douala in 1845. He founded another Baptist Mission in Victoria in 1858. The British Consul for the Bight of Biafra set up a Court of Equity in Douala and in the Island of Fernando Po in 1856, for the purpose of regulating trade relations between the British and the Cameroonians. Note that the missions were on their own, but worked hand in hand with their governments. They also set up a Court of Justice in Victoria.[150] The aim was to maintain order and justice and to impose fines. As a result of these Courts Britain became involved in the internal politics of the Cameroon coast. The British and the Cameroon chiefs signed a litany of treaties abolishing the slave trade during

[149] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit,* p.12

[150] Victoria was the name of the town that Alfred Saker founded in 1858. The Ahidjo regime changed the name to Limbe as the town is known in this period of study.

the 1840s and established friendship and legitimate commerce.[151] These treaties gave the British the upper hand and supremacy of dominating trade on the Cameroon coast.

There were in all five British firms that were permanently established at the Bight of Biafra, handling British trade. John Holt and Company and the Ambas Bay Trading Company were dominating trade in the 1870s, in the Cameroon coast. However, British dominance began to diminish when some traders from other European countries and Germany in particular, began to occupy the area. The Douala kings had written to Queen Victoria requesting British annexation of their territory. In a letter from the Douala kings led by king Akwa, the Douala chiefs wanted Britain to annex their territory because they needed British laws in their towns and because they hoped that Britain would bring an end to the many wars in their country, many murders and idol worship.[152] But it seems that Britain was reluctant to annex Cameroon because Prime Minister Gladstone did not have the interest in occupying West Africa.[153] German traders started coming to the Cameroon coast in their numbers. This was from 1849 when the Carl Woermann Firm of Hamburg started operating on the West African coast. In 1868, the Carl Woermann firm was established on the Cameroon coast. It had factories, warehouses in Douala and Victoria.[154]

In 1875, the second German trading firm was set up on the Cameroon coast. It was set up by Johann Thormahlen and J. Jantzen. Since this firm was set up by two people, the firm was named Jantzen and Thormahlen. The establishment of German firms in the Cameroon coast, brought German traders as well as businessmen in increasing numbers there. The Germans started occupying large portions in the Cameroon trade and seemingly, the British leadership or

[151] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.11
[152] Victor Julius Ngoh, *op.cit*, p.51
[153] *Op.cit*, p.55
[154] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.11

dominance in trade was challenged by the Germans.[155] In the 1880s, German trade began to expand faster than that of the British because the Germans sold goods on credit to the natives. It seems that British trade was now growing at a rate of geometric regression. It was said in spite of the German challenge to British dominance in trade that British and German nationals doing business on the Cameroon coast were cooperating with one another, and consequently, controlled the trade of the region from Douala, westward to Calabar and beyond. As mentioned earlier on, this relationship of cooperating together, subjected the British not to suspect German colonial ambitions in the area.[156] In the 1870s, French firms started establishing trading stations in the Cameroon coast. They carried out their trading activities in Malimba, Big Batanga and Campo. These were villages south of Douala.

The French authorities did not relent their efforts to their sphere of influence such as any area on the West African coast. Such areas were to be secured for French trade alone. In such areas, the French introduced very high discriminatory tariffs. This resulted in the exclusion of all non-French goods. English missionaries and local chiefs raised an alarm in 1883 that the French were about to annex Big Batanga. They further claimed that the chiefs of the area were signing away their sovereignty to the French officials.[157] Thus, French presence on the Cameroon coast was protested against by English missionaries, German and British traders, local chiefs and kings of the Douala ethnic group. According to these kings, they wanted British annexation. This would cement the continuation of the various traditional relations among the related ethnic groups of the area. It seems that the treaties the French had signed with the chiefs south of Douala made them to establish their stronghold on the Cameroon coast.[158]

[155] *Op.cit*, p.12
[156] *Op.cit*, p.12
[157] *Op.cit*, p.12
[158] *Op.cit*, p.12

3.1.1 German Annexation of Cameroon, 1884

The British, the Germans and the French had been major contestants in the colonial race in Cameroon. In 1833, colonel Edward Nicholls of the Royal Navy arranged with King William of Bimbia for the British to annex part of the Cameroon coast stretching westward from Rio del Rey, but the British government objected to this. Again in 1857, Captain Close of the anti-slavery squadron informed the British consul at Fernando po that local authorities in Douala have shown interest that they wanted their country to be annexed by Britain, but the consul was reluctant about it. When Alfred Saker founded Victoria in 1858, the English Baptist Missionaries (EBM) requested the British Government to declare the settlement a colony and take control, but the Foreign Office was reluctant about it. The English Baptist Missionaries in Victoria and Douala contended that, every dispute, especially between chiefs or local traders in Douala, Bimbia and Tiko led to war and to great loss of life.[159] In 1877; some chiefs of Douala wrote a personal letter addressed to Queen Victoria requesting the establishment of an English Government in their country. However, these chiefs regretted that their earlier request through British officials in Cameroon did not receive any attention. King Bell and King Akwa again, in 1881 sent a petition to William Gladstone requesting English annexation of their territory.

In their study, Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain quoted Victor Le vine in one of the petitions the chiefs of Doula sent to Queen Victoria as stating that:

> Dear Madam,
> We your servants have joined together and thoughts it better to write you a nice sweet loving letter which will tell you all about our wishes. We wish to have your laws in our towns. We want to have every fashion altered, also we will do according to your consul's word. Plenty wars here in our country. Plenty murder and idol worshippers, perhaps these lines of our writing will look to you as an idle tale. We

[159] *Op.cit*, p.13

> have spoken to the English consul plenty times about an English Government here. We never have answer from you, so we wish to write you ourselves. When we heard about Calabar River that they have all English laws in their towns, and how they put away all their superstitions, oh, we shall be very glad to be like Calabar, now.[160]

Many historians question the petitions by king Akwa and Bell of Douala requesting the British annexation of their territory seeking British protection. K.O. Dike, in his *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885* had a contrary view to these letters written to the Queen of England by kings Akwa and Bell. According to him, letters of this type, given the nature of the period, were inspired and influenced by British traders. The rationale behind this was designed to make the Foreign Office accept the request of the merchants.[161] As the writing of letters requesting British annexation went on, trade and commerce on the Cameroon coast with British, German, French, and Cameroon traders, became more and more competitive. Though Britain was dominating the trade, the Germans were fast merging the trade gap between themselves and the British. In the 1880s, British trade on the Cameroon coast drastically reduced, and German trade flourished .As mentioned earlier, the Germans gave goods on credit to the natives and this explained why their trade flourished. By 1884, German trade had become superior to that of the British. It appeared to be that the German trade was more organized than that of the British. The German traders gave credit to natives traders and this attracted them to their side. Since most of the British traders did not allow credit or "trust" system of trade, the Germans took that advantage to compete against British firms in the Cameroon coast.[162]

However, the collapse of the British trade plus the threat by the French in the South of Douala territory, convinced certain British officials to believe that the economic as well as

[160] T. Eyongetah and R. Brain, *Op.cit*, p.59
[161] K.O. Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885*, London, 1956, p.216
[162] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.14

political situation of the British would improve if the British formerly annex Cameroon. German traders who had formerly supported British annexation of Cameroon were now thinking about the need for German annexation of Cameroon. This was in 1883. German reasons for annexation were that, annexation would provide them better and permanent protection than British annexation, German annexation would frustrate French plans in the region, German traders were urged by the patriotic feeling of Germans everywhere that Germany must join the colonial race, and their traders were convinced that annexation was the only means to be certain of a permanent market for the sale of German products in Cameroon.[163] Prince Otto von Bismarck, the German Chancellor was opposed to the idea of acquiring colonies in 1871. He eventually changed his mind in favour of it. In 1883, he ordered the establishment of a coaling station in Fernando po, a consular service and a warship patrol on the Bight of Biafra, and trade treaties with Cameroon chiefs. German traders saw German annexation of Cameroon as the only way to recover the huge debts owed them by the coastal middlemen and chiefs.

The Germans and the chiefs signed a document in which the wishes of the local chiefs were made clear, that the Europeans agreed to stay out of the markets in the interior. They were to continue providing credit facilities for that trade. The chiefs also stated that no land should be taken from them. In the second document, the treaty between the Germans and the kings was agreed. Sovereignty over the land was given to German traders under stipulated conditions; right of third parties to be respected, treaties of commerce and friendship and others were to remain in force, and kumi[164] was to be paid as in the past, native customs to be respected and cultivated land was to remain the property of the present owners. The growth of German interest in colonies and the entry of Belgium on to the African scene created a situation which led to the

[163] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.15
[164] Kumi was a gift which the Germans gave to the natives for the right of trade.

actual colonization of Africa by European powers.[165] Dr. Gustav Nachtigal was appointed by the German Government in February 1884 to lead a mission to Cameroon and Fernando Po. He was accompanied by Dr. Max Buchner and Moebius. On reaching Lisbon on their way to West Africa, they were instructed by the German Government to annex Cameroon and hoist the German flag. Nachtigal and his team were to be joined in Cameroon by Emil Schultze, Edward Schmidt, and Eduard Woermann who were in the Bight of Biafra. Nachtigal and his team arrived the Cameroon coast on 11 July, 1884. On 12 July, 1884, the kings and chiefs of Douala summoned a meeting in which the Germans were invited. In this meeting annexation was discussed. The discussion contained very important clauses. These clauses concerned the economic and social rights of the third party and the full power of treaties which were already signed with other governments; rights to continue to own their lands, towns and domestic animals like dogs; rights to respect their traditional system of marriage; rights to freedom from arbitrary arrest, beating and detention; and rights to middleman monopoly of trade.[166] These clauses were endorsed by Emil Schultze as acceptable to the Germans.

The document was handed to Dr. Gustav Nachtigal for signing. The treaty was signed on 12 July, 1884, on behalf of Cameroon by kings Bell and Akwa and a number of Douala subjects. On the side of Germany, it was signed by the traders, Eduard Schmidt who was agent of Carl Woermann firm, Johannes who was agent of Jantzen and Thormahlen firm, Eduard Woermann and Herr Busch. Nachtigal, Buchner, and Moebius did not sign the treaty. On Monday, 14 July, 1884, Johannes Voss officially handed the treaties to Nachtigal who proclaimed the annexation of Cameroon and hoisted the German flags in Akwa, Dido and Bell Towns.[167]

[165] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *Op.cit*, p.61
[166] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.16
[167] *Op.cit*

The following day, Dr. Gustav Nachtigal officially informed all the British officials, missionaries and traders about the German annexation of Cameroon. Nachtigal abolished the court of Equity in Douala which had been established by the British, and established Cameroon Council under the Chairmanship of Max Buchner. Edward H. Hewett was the British consul in 1879-1885. He had again and again advocated the formal annexation of the coastal region of Cameroon as far as the Benin River. This demand was prompted by considerations of interior trade and by fears of the French.[168] While at Bonny Hewett heard of the arrival of a German ship, the Mowe, on 14 July, 1884. He took off for the annexation on behalf of the British, but arrived too late, when king Bell and Akwa had already concluded their treaty with Dr. Gustav Nachtigal who had come with instructions from Bismark to establish German rule in Cameroon. "Too late Hewett" Nachtigal had by German gun-boat arrived and had hoisted the German flag on 14 July, 1884. Hewett arrived on the 19 July 1884, five days late, after the German annexation of Cameroon had taken place.

3.1.2 The Berlin West Africa Conference 1884-1885

On 13 November, 1884 to 26 February, 1885, European powers converged on Berlin. This conference was a way by which European leaders wanted to add some kind of international European agreement to the carving up of Africa which had already begun.[169] The conference recognized king Leopold of Belgium's International Association as the legitimate authority in the Congo-basin. In view of this, the king of Belgium accepted to allow European traders and missionaries to have free access to the area. Following this recognition by the Berlin conference Leopold II of Belgium proclaimed the "Congo free state" as his personal property in 1885.[170] In this conference, it was agreed that a European claim to any part of Africa would only be

[168] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *Op.cit,* p.60
[169] Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa*, Macmillan Education, Second Ed, New York, 2005, p.304
[170] *Ibid*

recognized by other European governments if it was 'effectively occupied' by that particular European power. It appeared to have been a deliberate tactic by Prince Otto Von Bismarck to undermine British claims to vague informal "spheres of influence". Before the conference came to an end on 26 February, 1885, Bismarck implemented this principle. He proclaimed a German protectorate in the heart of Britain's east African "sphere of influence". With the principle of "sphere of influence" in practice, German got Tanganyika, South-West Africa, Togoland and Cameroon.

3.1.3 Invasion and Occupation of Cameroon, 1884-1912

The German invasion and occupation of Cameroon was met with a lot of resistance from the natives who fought against the Germans. In 1884, before the annexation, the Germans had agreed with the chiefs to keep out of the markets in the interior, no land was to be taken from the chiefs, and cultivated land was to remain the property of the present owners. As soon as annexation had taken place, the Germans disrespected their agreement with the chiefs and started penetrating into the hinterlands invading and occupying places, but not without casualties. The Europeans were always victorious in fighting with Cameroonians. The Europeans had superior weapons such as the maxim guns, gunboat diplomacy and so on. The natives fought with inferior weapons like spears, poisoned arrows, knives and so on. The Germans inflicted harsh terms on defeated ethnic groups who were forced to provide labourers for the construction of roads and railways to provide protection for missionaries and traders, to pay large indemnities in ivory as well as other goods and succumbed to German authority.[171]

In Mamfe in 1904 a rising occurred in the north and west. These wars were locally referred to as "the Mpawmanku wars". This rising or insurrection was among a group of Keyaka, Anyang, Basho and Mante villages, which led to the destruction of the German station. Graf Von

[171] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *op.cit*, p.63

Puckler Limburg, who was the German official in charge was killed, and the station was looted by local peoples who did not like the Germans. As seen from the above, the penetration of the hinterland and conquest of Cameroon was bitterly protested and opposed in different areas all over the territory. Some Douala chiefdoms which were against the annexation of Cameroon took up arms against the Germans when they hoisted their flag. In Douala, the Germans expropriated the land and resold at higher prices. In 1912, they conquered Douala and moved the natives to a new location separate from the Europeans, one kilometer away. Buea, Bangwa, Bafut, mankon and elsewhere, were all conquered and occupied despite strong resistance from the natives. The Europeans emerged victorious in these battles since they had the tactics, superior military artillery, and the natives were left at their mercy. Elsewhere in Africa European invasion, subjugation and domination manifested during this period.

3.1.4 The Administrative Structure of German Cameroon, 1885-1916

The Governor was at the head of German administration in Cameroon. His authority as head of administration was conferred on him by the German Government. His powers were derived from those delegated to him by the Kaiser or Emperor and the Chancellor in Berlin.[172] The governor issued decrees. These decrees touched every phase of colonial activity from general administration to taxes, tariffs, appointments, labour and several others. He was the highest court of appeal in Cameroon, headed the military forces and controlled state property. Since it was not easy for him to exercise his authority in person in all corners of the territory, he conferred part of his powers on local administrators, heads of expeditions, heads of stations or of large administrative districts.[173] The Germans ruled Cameroon for thirty years and during this period there were six governors as follows: Julius Baron Von Soden, 1885-1891, who hoisted the

[172] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*. p.37
[173] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *op.cit* p.90

German flag in Buea on the slopes of the Cameroon mountain as well as stations in Bali, Barombi and Yaounde. The second German governor in Cameroon was Eugen Von Zimmerer, 1891-1895, in his reign stations were established and the hinterland of Cameroon was explored. The third was Jesko Von Puttkamer, 1895-1906. During his time all the inland parts of Cameroon were conquered one by one, by a military unit referred to as the "productive force", this force was made up of African mercenaries who were recruited outside Cameroon. The fourth governor was Theodore Seitz, 1907-1910. He favoured or supported the participation of Cameroonians in the administration. The fifth governor was Otto Gleim, 1910-1912. It was in his reign that the Douala land problem arose, which resulted in the removal of the Douala from the town to a new location, one kilometer away from Europeans. The sixth German governor in Cameroon was Karl Ebermaier, 1912-1916. It was during his reign that king Manga Bell was executed in 1914, as well as his secretary, Ngoso Din. This made the Douala to rebel against German colonial domination.

It was in Eugen Von Zimmerer's rule that a serious scandal of the Colony's history occurred, when his Chancellor Leist's immorality and cruelty brought about violent discontent among the Dahomean soldiery.[174] Formerly, administration was limited to the coast, but when the interior was opened explorers signed treaties with natives and gave the chiefs flag or some symbol of German authority. The Germans provided harbor facilities in Douala, Kribi, Campo, Tiko and Victoria. These helped for the exportation of raw materials from Cameroon to other countries. Large administrative districts were established in the South, and although stations with garrisons of troops were maintained at critical points, military rule slowly gave way to civil rule and the police replaced the soldiers of the garrisons. An advisory council was set up to assist the governor, with trading firms and missionaries represented. Courts for the Europeans and courts

[174]*Op.cit*, p.90

for the Africans were set up. In the African court whipping and not imprisonment was the most common penalty. A degree of indirect rule was allowed. They used chiefs to run the two lower courts of Appeal to the European administration only coming in the third court. Chieftains also collected taxes. Cameroonians were only in minor capacities such as couriers, police, soldiers, interpreters, mail carriers, secretaries, river pilots and so on.[175]

Taxation

A head tax was proposed for Douala alone in 1902. As far as this tax was concerned payments had to be made by those with many wives. This resulted to violent opposition from the Douala peoples. A general tax decree was introduced in 1908. This tax was inevitable for every grown up male capable of labour. Such grown up males paid six marks a year, failing which the male in question performed tax work of thirty days on public works. In 1914, this sum was raised to ten marks. In this domain, chiefs helped the government and could get 10 percent gain of the tax revenue. Those who did not pay the tax were handed to private employers who would pay for them. Taxes were paid to be granted the permission to move from one place to another for trade purposes. Direct tax on natives was not in force. The local princes paid tribute to the Cameroon treasury, as they had formerly paid to their overlord in Yola. In 1903, this tribute which amounted to 30,000 marks was 3,000,000 marks in 1914.[176] The dog tax was imposed in Douala for natives who owned dogs.

One of the main sources of income in the British Cameroons was through direct taxation. In 1919, direct taxes brought an estimated income of £36,000. The Native Resource Ordinance sanctioned the collection of direct taxes from the natives. The Non-Natives Income Tax Ordinance provided for the collection of direct taxes from the non-natives. Direct taxes were

[175]*Op.cit*. p.91
[176]*Op.cit*. p.92

paid by all male adults. Cattle rearers did not pay this tax, they paid the Jangali tax. Village heads collected flat rate taxes with little difficulty. In Victoria Division, taxes were collected from plantation labourers through the managers of plantations. Difficulties arose in the collection of taxes due to shortage of staff. Income tax rates was paid by all Africans depending on their incomes. Apart from this, other sources of income were shares of plantation revenue, Native Court fines, postal revenue, forestry licences, and trader's licence which was paid by anybody who wanted to trade in any article. When the taxes were collected, the British colonial administration paid a certain amount of it to district and village heads.[177]

In French Cameroon, people were taxed indiscriminately. The French imposed the capitation tax (head tax) on all adults. Children above twelve years paid the tax. People protested this tax payment because the taxes were too high and also because women were included in the tax system.[178]

Forced Labour

When plantations were opened, the Germans came as managers and technicians. Most of them were traders. They relied for labour on Africans. The supply of labour was inadequate. The supply of labour from the Bakweri and other ethnic groups was not sufficient for the heads of the plantations and a large number of workers from the hinterland were imported. However, to get people to work for them, traders, planters and government used crude means or ways to have labour. The government got workers from the interior and made them sign contracts for a period of three to five years. Several tactics were used to get labourers. Work came to be a penalty imposed on those serving jail sentences, work was the punishment for Cameroonians who made

[177] Victor Julius Ngoh, *History of Cameroon Since 1800*, Presbyterian Printing Press, Limbe, Cameroon, p.179

[178] John Tazifor and David Kingah, *Introducing Cameroon History*, Education Book Centre, Buea, Cameroon, 1988, p.133

war against the Germans in the interior.[179] Several peace treaties signed with defeated peoples required a pledge from the defeated chiefs to provide workers who were sometimes in hundreds. As the need may be, an ethnic group was required to do specific work. For instance, building a road. The institution of taxation was the most successful means of forcing men to go out of their villages to work. This was the only means for most of them to find the money to pay the tax by selling their labour. Those who could not afford to pay the tax were given to private employers as labourers in return for paying the delinquent's taxes. In the interior, Bali, Foumban and Yaounde became centres for the supply of labour to the plantations. Plantation representatives and explorers signed contracts with the chiefs for the supply of workers in specific numbers and at specific periods for the supply of labour. In most cases, the chiefs signed some of the contracts not knowing its full implications. This resulted to many abuses.[180]

The British also introduced forced labour through road maintenance. The French also used forced labour since their funds were insufficient to develop the territory. They introduced a labour tax called prestation. Under prestation, Cameroonians of "sujet status", supplied ten days of unpaid labour to the administration. Local chiefs who were sometimes very corrupt did the recruitment and supervision of labour. Many French Cameroonians fled to British Cameroons. Gabon and so on as a result of forced labour. It is important to note however that when the institution of forced labour came to an end, paid labour came into existence.

The Judicial System

In the judiciary, there were separate courts for Europeans and for Africans. There were also separate fines for Europeans as well as for Africans. For instance, in a situation where an African woman was raped by a German, such a German could be given ten years imprisonment,

[179] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *op.cit*. p.87
[180] *Op.cit*. p.88

while a Cameroonian offender could be sentenced to death for committing the same crime with a German. The supreme court was in Buea, and three other major ones were in Douala, Kribi, and Lomie. Chiefs started presiding over civil cases from 1891. The most common form of punishment was the whip. The death sentence was passed on the following situations: all cases punishable in Germany with ten years; endangering a railway train, rape of a European, armed resistance to a German official during work and several others.[181]

In British Cameroons, the indirect rule was first tested in the judicial system as Native Court Ordinances. It created four grades of courts: ABCD. Grade A Courts had full jurisdiction in dealing with civil and criminal matters except death sentences that were only authorized by the governor. Grade B courts handled civil matters that did not exceed £50 and criminal matters or punishment not more than seven years imprisonment and fines not more than £50 and twenty-four lashes. Grade C courts had civil jurisdiction with fines not more than £10 and claims of the same amount. This court had criminal jurisdiction with imprisonment of less than six months. Grade D courts could impose fines of between £5 to £10 and could imprison for up to three months or give twelve lashes. The British also created Native Authorities (NA), local governments under the indirect rule system. The N.A. consisted of prominent chiefs and an advisory council that had a native police force for this purpose. The Native Authorities exercised justice, collected taxes, carried out labour recruitment and were responsible for the elementary education and health of the peoples.[182] Between 1920 and 1930 the British had established three Native Authorities in Victoria, nineteen in Kumba, eight in Mamfe and five in Bamenda.Eric Mbutruh Nyiwatumi posited that the N.A Ordinance was accompanied by the native court ordinance which was enacted in Nigeria in 1914 and extended to Brirish Cameroon in 1916.

[181] John Tazifor and David Kingah, *Op.cit*. p.99
[182]*Op.cit*. p.121

Generally, the courts imposed fines on criminals as the commonest form of punishment. The state got revenue through this method. The D.O always intervene in cases so that the state authority remained supreme. The French colonial system of justice had a distinction between persons subject to native laws and customs, les sujets, and those assimilated to European law, les citoyens (citizens);

The "citizen" had civil, political and judicial rights the same with persons of French origin, the "subjects" had only their local traditional rights. There were two systems of justice, the French and the native systems. French justice consisted of a hierarchy of courts as follows: courts of first instance, assize courts, and courts of appeal. French magistrates presided over these courts and passed judgements following French law, were used in all cases involving a French citizen. Indigenous justice, applied in all other cases, and was based on the "native penal code". The judicial powers belonging to the chiefs and leaders of traditional communities were in a gradual way taken from them. Native court of first instance which was also referred to as "tribunal of races" presided over by the administrative head of the district. He was assisted by two "notables" appointed by the High Commissioner.[183] In 1924 the chairmanship of the native court of first instance was entrusted to the administrative head of sub-district or some other European appointed by the High Commissioner. At the level of both the sub-district and the district, the head of the administration held plurality of powers. He had prerogatives in matters of the indigenat. The indigenat was the name given to the group of provisions in the criminal code which allowed French administrators to impose punishments on African subjects without reference to a court of law. It was a system of summary disciplinary punishment applied to Africans who did not have French citizenship.[184]

[183] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*. p.67
[184] *Op.cit*. p.68

3.1.5 Educational Development, 1888-1916

German progress in Cameroon cannot be overemphasized. They did so much in the development of Cameroon. In the domain of education, the Germans opened schools all over the country. They took over the schools that had been established by the English Baptist Missionaries. English language was suppressed as well as English culture, and German language was encouraged. Christaller was the first teacher to be sent from Germany. In 1888, she opened a school in Douala.[185] Arithmetic, reading and writing were taught. Instructions were also given in moral and religious education. Christaller soon learned the Douala language and produced a book of stories which was used in teaching the Douala their own dialect. In 1890, the Germans opened another school in Deido, Douala. Some years later, they opened a third school in Victoria. The Germans realized or noticed that the teaching of Douala language in schools would spread the influence of their enemies. The German system of education laid emphasis for the knowledge of German language. The German government gave funds to the missions for the opening of schools. In 1913, the missions had 631 schools and a school population of 40,000 pupils. In 1910, an agricultural school was opened in Victoria, while other schools were opened in Yaounde and Dschang. In the station and in the interior, the natives were taught how to process palm products and how to prepare rubber for the market. In Buea, schools were opened for cabinet-making and upholstering. There was furniture manufacture, canes, ornamental boxes inlaid with ivory and other objects.[186] In 1906, the first German school was opened in Garoua and Adamawa respectively. In statistical terms, enrolment in both government and mission schools was high. In 1911, apart from the many government schools, there were 413 protestant

[185] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *Op.cit*, p.92
[186] *Op.cit*, p.93

schools, with 22,000 pupils, and 112 Catholic schools with 10,000 pupils. In the study by Fanso, by 1913, the number of all the mission schools was 624, as shown in table 1 below.[187]

Table 1: Number of enrolment in German Mission Schools, 1913.

Denomination	Number of Schools	Number of pupils
Baptist Mission	57	3151
American		
Presbyterians	97	6545
Catholic Mission	151	12,537
Basler Mission	319	17,833

Source: V.G. Fanso,Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges: Vol 2 The Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods, Macmillan Cameroon Ltd, 1989,p.93.

Though German rule did not last for long in Cameroon, they made tremendous achievements which have a lasting ramification on the people. For instance, the plantations were still available and provide employment for the people, the present governor's office in Bamenda was a German building, among other German infrastructure available in Cameroon during this period. Their developments were generally halted by their defeat in 1916, in World War I.

3.1.6 Economic Development, 1895-1916

In the area of economic development, the Germans handled plantations and agriculture as well as transportation, communication networks, and trade. The first plantation was opened in 1895 by the newly-founded Victoria plantations company. This company had a capital of 2.5 million marks. By 1902, twelve additional plantation companies were established. By 1913, the number of German plantations in Cameroon were 58. The plantations employed 195 Europeans and 17,827 African employees. It appeared that the longest lasting legacy left behind by the Germans were the plantations, which were still providing income for the peoples in West Cameroon. Instead of indigenizing these plantations, the government of Cameroon was fast to privatize them. The majority of German plantations were situated in present-day Fako and Meme

[187] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, pp. 43-44

Divisions, and the region of Mungo. Some of the plantations were located South of Douala at Ngulemekong east of Kribi and at Sangmelima.[188] The Germans introduced the cultivation of Cocoa in Cameroon in 1905, which began in Ebolowa, Yaounde and extended to other areas in the country. These plantations produced oil palm products, cocoa and banana. These were introduced in 1907, and in 1912, the banana plantation in Tiko covered 2000 hectares. Cameroonians also cultivated their own farms and produced the cash crops in the European owned plantations.

When the production of cocoa began in 1905, by 1912, the production was 715 metric tons compared with 3,796 metric tons produced by the plantation companies. The Germans made the effort of improving agriculture and farming in the territory. African soldiers were required to have gardens at their garrisons to produce their own food. This method served the variety of purposes of economy, botanical experimentation, using different soils. Local inhabitants of the district were trained in agriculture. European crops and vegetables were grown in government farms in Buea. Cattle was reared for milk, meat, butter and cheese. In both mission and government schools, Cameroonians were trained in agriculture. There were higher schools of agriculture at Victoria, Yaounde, Dschang and Garoua. Here, graduates from elementary schools received advanced training in agriculture.[189] Other efforts made in the development of agriculture and forest was the establishment of the botanical garden in Victoria, which is still used as a touristic attraction. During this period, the graves of some German and British nationals were visible in this garden. The garden was opened to carry out experimentation with hundreds of various tropical plants in an effort to discover the ones that had values to allow

[188] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.46
[189] *Op.cit*, p.47

for exploitation. It is worthy of note that the British maintained agriculture as the largest economic activity. They favoured peasant agriculture like the Germans did.

In the domain of transport and communication, roads were of paramount importance from the very beginning of German occupation of Cameroon. The defeated groups were used in the construction and maintenance of roads. This was done by the German colonial administration. Roads of a permanent nature or character were constructed after 1900 from the coast to the hinterland. The terrain was a difficult one, and this necessitated the construction of many bridges on the different stretches of roads. It was known that the first motor car in Cameroon was used in 1905. In 1913, the first long journey by automobile was undertaken. It covered a distance of 280km from Kribi to Yaounde, in 11 hours. Considerable attention was also given to water transport. Some rivers became navigable as dead trees were cleared away as well as sand bars, and at some points, river routes were connected to roads.[190] The Germans also introduced rail transport. In 1901, a railroad was built by the Victoria plantation company. In 1904, a railway was constructed from Bonaberi to Nkongsamba, and the construction of a 160km rail line started in 1911. The Germans constructed another rail line from Douala to Widimenge towards Yaounde. Hospitals were opened in the colony to take care of health problems as well as those of the workers in the plantations. These hospitals were to fight diseases such as malaria, leprosy, sleeping sickness, smallpox, dysentery, worms, venereal diseases and so on. However, in 1916, the Germans were defeated by the British and French forces in World War I.

3.2 The First World War, 1914-1918

The First World War broke out in Europe in August 1914, to November, 1918. The campaign against the Germans in Cameroon lasted from August 1914 until 18 February 1916. The war lasted for 18 months in Cameroon. The combined British, Belgian and French forces

[190] *Op.cit*

with a superior number, as well as an allied naval blockade along the Cameroon coast[191] fought against the Germans. The Allied forces comprised about 7000 men, 4,000 British forces and 3,000 French forces.[192] The German forces numbered about three to six thousand. It can be said that the British and the French were not happy with the German annexation of Cameroon in July, 1884, and with the Berlin conference recognition of Germany as the colonial power in Cameroon. The First World War, therefore, provided an opportunity for the British and the French to fight against Germany and regain back the territory or area which they had surrendered to Germany when she annexed Cameroon. Thus, colonial interest subjected southern Cameroon to its present state. The British and the French now set up a condominium[193] over Cameroon which resulted to a failure. The failure of the Condominium led to the partitioning of Cameroon by the British and the French. The partition of Cameroon by both powers began the controversy in the territory during the colonial era. This controversy in the period of study was in total manifestation especially when it comes to the southern Cameroon question. Though the Germans were defeated in 1914, the war ended in 1918.

3.3 Conclusion

The Germans were the earliest to institute the process of transformation which impacted negatively on the people following German invasion and occupation of Cameroon. After the German interlude, the British and the French continued the colonial process of transformation in which they faced stiff resistance from the people. The people were subjected to forced labour, imposition of taxes, the production of agricultural cash crops for exports of the colonial

[191] Michael Crowder,"The 1914-1918 European War and West Africa" in J.F.A. Ajayi ed, *History of West Africa Volume Two*, Longman Group Ltd, London, 1974, p.490
[192] John Tazifor and David Kingah, *op.cit* p.105
[193] Condominium refers to joint sovereignty over a territory by several states. Thus, when Britain and France defeated Germany in Cameroon during the First World War, both powers established a condominium or joint administration to administer the conquered territory. This joint administration failed leading to the partition of the territory by the victorious powers. It was a joint concurrent dominion.

economy. The colonialists practiced severe dictatorship through which the people were suppressed. Whatever policy the colonialists instituted was for their benefit and interest. In Post-colonial Cameroon, the scenario seems to be the same. The revision of the constitution seems to always favour the presidential mandate. This explained why President Paul Biya has been in power for a period of thirty-four years.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PARTITION OF CAMEROON, 1914-1961

4.0 Introduction

War began in Europe at the end of July, 1914. After four years of severe fighting, Germany and its allies were defeated by Britain and her allies. A condominium which failed was set up by Britain and France and eventually, the British and the French Partitioned Cameroon.

4.1 The Condominium, 1914-1916

Douala fell into the hands of the Allied Forces on 27 September, 1914. However, when the Germans were defeated in the First World War as mentioned earlier on, the Allied Forces, Britain and France who occupied the newly conquered territory were faced with the problem of administering the newly conquered areas. Tazifor and Kingah maintained that Britain and France were supposed to contribute troops for a joint administration and letters were exchanged between British and French colonial officials relating to a joint administration.[194] This joint administration was known as the condominium. Since the idea of a joint administration came from the French who had hastily brought in their personnel from Congo and Gabon, made the British to become suspicious. Both powers soon laid the conditions below to be accepted for the condominium.

I. The first condition was that the commander of the Allied forces in Cameroon, General Charles Dobell was to be head of the condominium.
II. General Charles Dobell was to have the powers to dismiss both British and French officials under his command.
III. He was to have full military powers
IV. That in the case of death or transfer of General Charles Dobell, his successor was to be a senior British official as a French official could mean a change of staff and confusion.

[194] Tazifor and Kingah, *op.cit.* p111

V. That Britain and France were to share the general expenses of the administration equally.

VI. That the areas bordering Nigeria, occupied by British troops were not to be included in the joint administration agreement.

Thus, the French vehemently criticized the British terms of the condominium as unacceptable. As a result, the bad faith of the British led to the failure of the condominium. The French questioned why the British wanted a monopoly of Cameroon when it was the French, who had even suffered more casualties in the war than the British. The French were annoyed that the British reports to the Imperial Government were more on the advantage of the British than the French. Consequently, the condominium failed and this led to the partition of Cameroon by Britain and France in April 1916.[195]

4.2.1 Educational Development in British Southern Cameroons, 1916-1945

When the British took over the Southern Cameroons in 1916, they took over German schools and turned them to English schools. Cameroonians who could read and write had been taught in German, and it was a problem for them to learn English as a foreign language since it was formerly German Education. There were no teachers, and the people were eager to learn. Apart from that there were no resident teachers of different denominations and for that reason, mission schools could not open until the 1920s.[196]

In the Cameroons province, schools started operating with the coming of the mandate system. Also, missionaries of different denominations started returning to the territory. Plans were made by the administration to open government schools well staffed with qualified teachers in each of the four divisions of the territory. Teachers were also recruited from Nigeria. Cameroon students were sent to Nigeria to be trained as teachers. In 1924, there were 6

[195] *Op.cit.* p.113
[196] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.88

Government schools, 5 Roman Catholic schools, 33 protestant schools, and some Native Administration schools. By 1926, there was a total of 120 Mission schools. The teaching of vernacular was introduced in schools. Due to language difficulties, the only lingua franca in Government schools was pidgin English. In 1925, a Normal class for the training of teachers was opened in the Victoria Governmen school. In the Normal class, the course lasted two years for qualified candidates, with an additional year of intensive practical training for unqualified candidates.[197] The Normal class was transferred to Buea in 1926. It went to a new site at Kake in 1932 as an Elementary Teacher Training college. The Normal class became a full three-year course at Kake. In 1927, the Normal class graduated its first graduates as the first locally-trained teachers. Fanso maintained that the Normal class was opened for the training of Government, Native Administration and Mission teachers. Scholarships were offered to other graduates of Government and Native Administration schools to study in higher institutions in Nigeria. Before Cameroonian graduates of the Normal class and Nigerian institutions started being available, Government schools were staffed with teachers who were brought from Britain, the West indies and Nigeria.

In 1939, the Catholic Mission opened the first secondary school in the Cameroons province, and before this time, Cameroonian parents sent their children to study in Secondary Schools in Nigeria. The secondary school at Sasse was meant for boys and even in our period of study, only boys were admitted there. After the opening of a secondary school at Sasse, many children trekked to enroll in secondary schools in Nigeria. These children had to write an entrance examination. Passing this examination was not a guarantee. Those who were lucky to be selected will then go back to enroll in the schools. Very limited chances were open to Cameroon

[197] *Op.cit* p.89

pupils in Nigerian secondary schools and colleges.[198] In 1944, the Catholic and Basel Missions opened their own teacher training colleges in Njinikom and Nyassoso respectively. In 1945, the government opened another teacher training college for the training of senior elementary teachers in Kumba. Note that from 1945, apart from the educational development, other developments took place such as the coming of the UN visiting missions in 1949, 1955, 1958 and 1961.

4.2.2 Economic Development in British Southern Cameroons, 1916-1958

As earlier mentioned on p. 60, the decline of British trade in addition to the threat by the French who were in the South of Douala made certain British nationals to believe that the economic and political situation would improve if Britain annexed Cameroon formally Among some of the advantages they say informal annexation of Cameroon was the cultivation of coffee, cocoa, cotton, tobacco and other tropical agricultural plants on the fertile soil of Cameroon.[199] But when Cameroon was partitioned between Britain and France, the plantations in Southern Cameroons that Britain inherited from the Germans were neglected, and in 1923, in London, the estates were put for sale. The second auction for the sale of the plantations was organized in London. The Germans purchased almost all the plantations. The buyers were original owners of the plantations. The Nigerian government that was totally aware or had full knowledge of the economic potential of the territory was afraid to invest in it because the political future of the territory was uncertain as a result of the mandate system. Roads were also neglected. In Southern Cameroons, the ambition of most people was to acquire land on which to earn a living by farming. It was in this field of agriculture that the cooperative movement, with the aim of assisting farmers in the marketing, processing, and cultivation of their crops, built itself up and

[198] *Op.cit.* p. 89
[199] *Op.cit* p.14

became a leading influence in the economic development of Southern Cameroons. In 1952, there were 38 societies with 2,200 members handling £77,500 worth of produce. In 1958 there were 150 societies operating with a membership of about 12,000 with a turn-over of some £2,000,000.[200]

Table 2: Banana Exports from the Southern Cameroons, 1961

	Stems	**Counts**	**Export duty**
During May 1961	472,264	428,182	£ 32,113:13:-
During June 1961	310, 392	278, 246	£ 20, 863:9: -
Period January to June 1961	2,708,143	2,419,510	£178, 540:9:-

The U.K. boat price for banana which was increased to £ 72:10/-on 16th April, 1961, remained unchanged during May and June, 1961.
Source; NAB, Press release No. 1433 "Banana exports from the Southern Cameroons, 1961".

A lot of archival materials proved the economic viability of Southern Cameroons, whereas the British exploited its resources and neglected its economic development. However, it is worthy of note that while British colonial records tell us what the colonial officials did and what they thought, they do not always tell us what the underlying rational for their thoughts and actions were. (see pp. xvi-xvii).

Table 3: Estimated Coffee Out-put from Bamenda, 1947-1962

Season	**Co-operative Marketing (tons)**	**Out-put (tons)**
1947-1948	N.D	14
1950-1951	18	N.D
1954-1955	100	100 +
1956-1957	275	463
1957-1958	134	1,062
1958-1959	516	1,265
1959-1960	N.D	1,689
1961-1962	N.D	3,500

Key

N.D = no data

[200]*Introducing the Southern Cameroons*, compiled by the Government of Southern Cameroon, Federal Information Service, Lagos, 1959, p.70

From 1957 as it could be observed on the table, there was a drastic rise in the 'indigenes' output of coffee. Hitherto, palm trade dominated the region.[201]

Table 4: Breakdown of species of timber exported during the month of May, 1961, from Victoria and Kumba.

Species	**Volume of cu.ft**	**Tonnage**	**Revenue**
Obeche	110,823	2,216.46	2,357:6:9
Llomba	105,943	3,417.52	904:1:10
Sapelewood	45,245	1,413.91	1,132:3:3
Iroko	36,960	1,540.00	934:10:6
Limba	33,504	1,080.77	295:8:11
Khaya	15,665	391.63	399:1:6
Idigbo	13,290	379.71	166.2:6
Ceiba	13,245	264:9	81:5:7
Utile	11,843	338.37	296:1:6
Gedunoher	9,301	273.56	232:10:6
Mansonia	7,225	233.06	130:8:7
Apa	2,443	101.79	36:1:8
Ayan	1,920	64.00	20:-:-
Baniella	1,204	36.48	10:-:8
Pterygota	942	18.84	7:17:-
Camwood	917	38.21	7:12:8
Erimado	436	12.46	1:16:4
Guarea	380	12.67	5:10:10
Bubinga	296	8.30	2:9:-4
Moabi	258	10.75	2:3:-
Antiaris	236	6.75	1:19:4
Total	**412,076**	**11.621.72**	£ **7.024:12:3**

Source: NAB, Press Release No. 1429, Timber export from Kumba/Victoria Charge: May, 1961

Contrary to British claims that Southern Cameroons could not stand on its own because it was not economically viable, the tables above showed that it was a gimmick. These were just exports from bananas and timber. Cocoa and coffee were still standing. Again, the British purchased nearly £3,500,000 of agricultural produce from the then Northern and Southern Cameroon in 1961. This figure together with £32,252,130 worth of produce bought from the Federation of Nigeria up to the end of May 1961, compared with a total figure of £37,806,491

[201] Eric Mbutruh Nyiwatumi, *op.cit*

for the whole of Nigeria and the Cameroons Trust Territory during January to May in 1960.[202] Even a British Parliamentary Report of 1922 showed that the German plantations were as a whole wonderful examples on industry, based on solid scientific knowledge. The report maintained that the natives had been taught discipline and had realized what can be achieved through industry. Multitudes who return to their villages take up cocoa or other cultivation on their own account as such increasing the general prosperity of the country.[203] Among some controversial setbacks by the British, the territory was lagging behind in terms of economic development and above all the culture of graciously letting go of southern Cameroon with the approach of independence.[204]

Germany was again defeated in the Second World War and despite the problems encountered by the League of Nations in arbitrating conflict and securing world peace and security prior to the Second World War, the major Allied powers agreed during the war to establish a new global organization to help manage international affairs.[205] This new organization came to be known as the United Nations Organization (UNO), formed on 25 April 1945 in San Francisco, U.S.A., and the League was dissolved. The Territories under Britain and France became UN Trust Territories following trusteeship agreements in December, 1946, between the UN on the one hand and Britain and France on the other. (see chapter one, p.1).

In general terms, the British neglected the economic development of Southern Cameroons as well as road infrastructure during the mandate period. Very insignificant revenue was used for development, every significant means was used to exploit the resources of Southern

[202] NAB Press Release No. 1435 "Cameroon sells to Britain nearly 3½ million worth of produce this year"
[203] *British Parliamentary Publication,* Report on the British Sphere of the Cameroons, May 1922, pp.62-68
[204] *A.* Ndi, *Southern Cameroons Revisited North-South West Nexus 1858-1972, Vol. one*, Paul's Press, Bamenda, 2013, p.3
[205] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Volume 29, Fifteenth Edition, 2007, p.138

Cameroon, thus its relative underdevelopment in the period of study. During the mandate period, there was no separate budget for Southern Cameroon.

4.2.3 Educational Development in French Cameroon, 1916-1960

When the French took over from the Germans in 1916, they took education seriously. In French Cameroon, the people made flamboyant progress in the domain of education. The reason for this was that the Germans had laid a wonderful educational foundation, and the French continued from where the Germans had stopped. The French gave subsidies in 1929. The aim of this was to raise the salaries of the staff in private mission schools by two-thirds. The condition for the subsidies was that the private mission schools should allow the medium of education in French. Again, the French allowed non-French schools to operate in the territory such as American Presbyterian and the American Adventist Mission schools. These schools taught in vernacular and not in French. Some Cameroonians who had been educated earlier were anxious to assist in the education of their people. The French emulated the German policy in which they relied for early primary schooling. They gave subsidies to schools which taught the approved curriculum.[206] The educational activities in French Cameroon were supervised by the mandates commission of the League of Nations and encouraged the French to do more in educational development. In schools that were staffed only by European teachers, the standard of education was high. The French opened primary, secondary and technical schools. In technical schools artisans for posts and telegraphs, survey, public works, railways, ports and commercial houses were trained.[207] The French were against the idea of producing a class of educated people who were unemployed. However, the number of Cameroonians who profited the upper-level was not as impressive as the general record of French education in the territory. For instance, out of a

[206] *Op.cit* p.70
[207] *Op.cit* p.71

total of 680 students attending the Yaounde higher primary school from 1927-1937, just 48 were beyond the third year of education. The motive of their educational investment was to make Cameroonians Frenchmen by all means possible.[208] At independence in January 1960, French Cameroon had higher education levels, better health care, and better infrastructure than British Cameroons.

4.2.4 Economic Development in French Cameroon, 1916-1960

During the era of German rule in Cameroon, they established plantations, constructed roads, railways and set up public works all over the territory. But when the French took over, by 1925, they liquidated these assets through auction sale or expropriation by the French government. However, the French improved road and railway infrastructure as well as air services. They also enlarged the Douala seaport and encouraged the production of cocoa, coffee, bananas, rubber, palm produce and the exploitation of timber. Between 1922-1939, trade increase was about 500 percent. The French used forced labour in the development of some roads, railway, and other public works. The French used forced labour because they saw how effective it was during the German era. They also used forced labour because they did not have the funds to develop the territory. Consequently, many French Cameroonians fled from the territory to British Cameroons, Gabon, Spanish, Rio muni and Fernando po due to forced labour, poor housing, poor feeding and general maltreatment by the French. The use of forced labour which diminished in 1933 and was abolished in 1952.[209] At independence in 1960, French Cameroon had a much higher gross national product per capita than the British.

[208] John Tazifor and David Kingah, *op.cit* p.132
[209] *Op.cit* p.13

4.2.5 The Administrative Structure of French Cameroon, 1920-1960

As already mentioned, Cameroon fell from the Germans following their defeat in the First World War by Britain, France and Belgium.Following the provisions of Article 22 of the covenant of the League of Nations, the conquered territory was entrusted to Britain and France as mandated territory. On 20 July, 1920, the period of the French mandate began officially. The system of administration that the French applied in Cameroon from 1922 was the same with the system they applied in their colonies of French Equatorial Africa. French colonial policies in Cameroon during the mandate period were assimilation, paternalism, association and differentiation.[210]

The structure of the French administration reflected the hierarchy of officials appointed to it. The only superior to the High Commissioner in Cameroon was the French Minister of colonies in Paris to whom he was directly responsible. In the administration, the High Commissioners control was direct and unitary, with a direct progression to the top. He chose and dismissed all employees and every official, military or civil, was responsible to him. He took the decision to assign officials placed at his disposal by the Government of France, and could freely return them without giving reasons to justify his actions. During the mandate period, there were six High Commissioners of the French Republic in Cameroon as follows: Jules Gaston Henri Carde (1919-1923), Theodore Paul Marchand (1923-1932), Auguste Francois Bonnecarrete (1932-1934), Jules Repiguet (1934-1936), Pierre Boisson (1936-1938), and Richard Brunot (1938-1940).Under the High Commissioner was secretary general of the Administrative Council and heads of administrative services, who were resident in Yaounde. He coordinated the work of the administrative heads such as health, education, agriculture, and the judiciary, public works, postal services and so on.

[210] John Tazifor and David Kingah, *op.cit*, p.129

In 1923, there were thirteen administrative districts and heads of administrative districts were incharge of administrative units, which later came to be known as regions in 1935. The head of an administrative unit was responsible for local administration of the area under his jurisdiction. The chieftaincy system was also applied in the French administration. Indigenous chiefs were persuaded to run the French system during the mandate period. The chiefs were responsible for carrying out French government policy. They recruited labour for colonial development projects. They also maintained peace and order in their area of jurisdiction.[211] One of the important institutions which the French introduced in Cameroon in anticipation of the confirmation of the mandate was the Administrative Council (Conseil Administratif). This Administrative Council was made up of important administrative personnel and European notables in the territory. These personnel were appointed by the High Commissioner and could be removed by him. He consulted them in matters as the budget, land questions, taxes, expenditure, and creation of new administrative units and public works. They gave their opinion on all these matters. Cameroonians were appointed in 1927 and four after 1945.

Another administrative institution which the French created in Cameroon was the Council of Notables (Conseil des Notables). These were introduced in French Tropical Africa in 1919. It was only established in Cameroon in 1923. The motive behind this was to reduce the authority of traditional rulers. This was the case with the Sultan of Ngaoundere. For his unwillingness to co-operate with the French authorities, they deposed him and someone who was willing to co-operate and maintain loyalty with the French was appointed. Fearing that the person appointed would weild power like his predecessor, a council was appointed to work in conjunction with him. These people had no traditional power.

[211] John Tazifor and Kingah David. *op.cit*. pp.127-128

French colonial policies listed above are discussed below as follows:

i. **Assimilation**-This was a French colonial policy by which the French wanted to make others part of their social group or state. The aim of this policy was to assimilate French colonial territories as well as their subjects, thus transforming them to Frenchmen linguistically, culturally, politically and legally and so on. This policy was based on the principles that France and her colonies were indivisible. According to this policy French culture was superior to African culture which must be suppressed. Again that the doctrine of the equality of man did not leave any doubt about the fact that the African had an equal capacity to learn and to progress.[212]

ii. **Paternalism**- This was a policy advocated by those who criticized the policy of assimilation, and wanted France to relate as a 'father' to her colonies in Africa. The `advocates of this policy, in criticizing assimilation believed that Africans did not have or possess the equality with the European to learn and to progress.

iii. **Association**- This was a French colonial policy brought about by the critics of assimilation and paternalisms. This policy sought gradual collaboration between French rulers and indigenous elites. This was the official French policy in Black Africa from 1922. According to this policy, it was assumed or claimed that majority of indigenous Africans develop slowly toward gradual assimilation to French culture.[213]

iv. **Differentiation**- This was a policy in which individual Africans that had acquired French citizenship or good education were identified as 'assimilated' or as 'evolues' or the evolved. On the other hand, Africans who were still subject to native law and

[212] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit* p.65
[213] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit* p.66

customs were called subjects. In other words, differentiation was a policy of discrimination in which a group referred to as elite were assimilated and differentiated from the masses. The assimilated or the evolved had the civil, political and legal rights of citizens of French origin. The subjects did not have 'civilized rights' at all and were subject to native treatment and compulsory labour. These administrative policies were maintained till 1960 when French Cameroon became independent.

4.2.6 British Cameroons, 1916-1961

At the end of July 1914, war broke out in Europe in which most of the countries in Europe were involved, as well as their allies in other parts of the world.[214] In this war, Germany and her allies were defeated by the Allied forces. As a result of this defeat, all German African territories became mandated territories of the League of Nations[215] which formally came into existence on 10 January, 1920, the same day that the Treaty of Versailles came into operation.[216] Eventually, the former German protectorate of Cameroon became mandated territories under British and French control supervised by the League of Nations. After Germany's defeat in the war, Britain and France partitioned Cameroon in April 1916, followed by boundary adjustments signed by Lord Milner on behalf of the British and Monsieur Simon, for the French, on 10 July, 1919. In 1916, the British relinquished Douala which they administered to the French. It should be remembered that the league of Nations was formed to maintain or enhance future world peace and security. Again, the British gave up Dschang to the French after giving up Douala. It is said that the reason British gave these areas to France, was the desire not to block the natural

[214] F.K. Buah, *The World since 1750*, Macmillan Education Ltd, London, 1978, p.268
[215] R.D. Cornwell, *World History in the Twentieth century*, London, 1967, p.25
[216] Norman Lowe, *Mastering Modern World History*, Palgrave, New York, 1997, p.47

hinterland of the northern railway which had gone to France, and in a way breaking the unity of the grasslands.[217]

The division of Cameroon between Britain and France was very uneven. It seems that Britain allowed a greater share of the territory to France because she would in return ask for the whole of Togoland and Dahomey (Benin) so that Britain's possessions would stretch without any hindrance from Ghana (Gold Coast) to Nigeria. Thus five-sixths of the territory went to France and the rest to Britain. It is important to note that the division of the country between Britain and France in which Cameroonians were not consulted, created problems whose manifestations have remained the focal point in Cameroon politics in the period of study. For the purpose of administrative convenience, the area under British rule, (British Cameroons) was broken or divided into two parts, British Northern Cameroon and British Southern Cameroons. British Northern Cameroons had an area of 44,928 sq miles was administered as an integral part of three provinces in Northern Nigeria. Thus part consisted of Tigon-Ndoro-Kentu area, administered as part of the Benue province. The Southern Adamawa districts were administered as part of Adamawa province, the Northern Adamawa districts were administered as part of Adamawa province, and Dikwa division was administered as part of Bornu province. The capital of Benue was Makurdi, while that of Adamawa was Yola and that of Bornu was Maiduguri. The southern part of British Cameroon (Southern Cameroon) joined Nigeria and was administered as a province in the Southern provinces of Nigeria and later became a province in Eastern Nigeria.[218] The share of Cameroon given to France was 431,845 sq.km and Britain's share was 88,036 sq.km.

[217] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *Op.cit,* p.95
[218] *Op.cit* p.97

From 1922, the indirect rule that the British applied in Cameroon was based on the Nigerian Native Courts ordinance of 1914 and the Nigerian Native Authorities ordinance of 1916. Following the provisions of the Native Authorities ordinance, a 'Native Authority' (NA) was defined as a chief or other 'native' formally recognized by the government.[219] A recognized Native Authority was given executive powers to maintain law and order. He also appointed native police to assist him in maintaining law and order. He was given the power to prevent crimes from being committed and to bring the culprits before the law. Native Authorities made sure that taxes were collected, carried out labour recruitment and maintained sanitation as well as community development. In the 1920s and 1930s three Native Authorities were established in Victoria, nineteen in Kumba, eight in Mamfe and fifteen in Bamenda.[220] The British administration in Northern Nigeria was based on indirect rule. The British saw that the peoples of Northern Cameroons were more suitable for indirect rule than their Southern counterparts. This was because the Northern Cameroons had groups with centralized traditional administration under the emirate systems of Bornu, Mandara, Dikwa and Yola. The people of the South had weaker traditions of centralized rule, and avoided Fulbe overlordship.[221] The British continued with their colonial policies till October 1961 when British Southern Cameroons reunified with the Republic of Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

4.2.7 The Administrative Structure of British Cameroons, 1916-1961

British Indirect Rule and the French policies of assimilation and paternalism became the doctrines of practice of administration in the two areas of Cameroon under mandate. For

[219] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit* p.84
[220] *Op.cit* p.85
[221] *Op.cit* pp.93-94

administrative convenience the Cameroons was divided into North and South.[222] The northern section of British Cameroons included the Dikwa emirate which was administered as a district of the historically related province of Bornu. The two areas of Adamawa that is the areas South and north of the Benue were administered as districts of the emirate of Yola, further to the South were to be found the districts of Grumpao and Yebbi which were administered as part of the Numan division of Yola province. Gashaka to the extreme South was administered under the general supervision of the resident of Muri province.[223] Thus, the Northern Cameroons was placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria, and Residents administered those parts of the territory which were given to the emirates of Bornu, Dikwa and Yola. District heads maintained peace, enforced laws and collected taxes. Here, indirect rule was successfully applied, though Adamawa was less receptive to the policy than the Bornu areas, since it had a heterogeneous population, two-thirds of whom were non muslims. Administrative officers were few and economic changes were almost nil.[224]

Southern Cameroons was administered by the Lieutenant Governor of the Southern provinces (later the Eastern provinces of Nigeria), and a senior Resident ran the affairs of Cameroon province from Buea. Between 1949 and 1954 Bamenda Division was made a province. Kumba, Mamfe and Victoria (Limbe) were administered together as Cameroon province. The principles of indirect rule that were meant to work in hierarchical societies, like those of the Fulani emirates, were applied in Southern Cameroons, occupied by a variety of ethnic groups, only some of which had any degree of centralized authority. Funds and personnel were not available to apply indirect rule. A number of different local authorities were

[222] Jide Osuntokun, "French and British Administration in the Cameroons under the League of Nations Mandate System 1923-1939- A Study in Comparative Administration", March 28-30, ND
[223] *Ibid*
[224] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *op.cit*. p.109

established, some based on traditional chiefs and others on councils, composed of village headmen and councils.[225] Thus, in this system, these local authorities were responsible for various aspects of local government, under the control of district officers; they looked after police, operated courts, collected taxes, and handled matters on roads, sanitation and health. The native authorities kept a proportion of the income from taxes and court fines.

The *fons* of Kom, Bali, Bum, and Nsaw in Bamenda as well as the fon of Bangwa in Mamfe became Native Authorities, complete with courts and councils. In 1950s Southern Cameroons was administered by a Commissioner and two Residents for the two provinces, Cameroons and Bamenda, and twenty-two district or assistant district officers. During the period of the British mandate up to the outbreak of the Second World War, seven Residents served in the Cameroons province. They were: Major F.H. Ruxton (1921-1925), Mr. E.J. Arnett (1925-1928), Mr. H.G. Aveling (1928-1929), Mr. E.J. Arnett (1929-1932), Mr. J.W.C. Rutherford (1933-1934), Mr. O.W. Firth (1935-1938), and Mr. A.E.F. Murray (1939-1942). It should be noted that under the Resident were the district officers who represented the British administration to the people. The divisional officers led the administrative districts or division into which the provinces were divided. The district officers advised and exercised general supervision over the Native Authorities and the proceedings of customary or Native courts under them. The district officers sat as magistrate to hear criminal and civil cases, endorsed the execution of murderers condemned to death, directed and controlled the work of local prisons, and settled boundary and other disputes between neighbouring clans. In matters that concerned the mandated territory, as distinct from local policy, the Native Authorities received direct instructions from the British administrative authorities.[226] In general terms, indirect rule was

[225] *Op.cit*
[226] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*. pp.84-86

applied with success in the Cameroons province. It worked well in all areas where explicit authority structures existed, although there was a puzzling display of clan groupings, chiefdoms, ethnic units and other traditional political arrangements in the province. All the groupings maintained their forms of political organization under the system of indirect rule. Thus, in 1961, the plebiscites administration of British and French Cameroon took place respectively.

4.2.8 The Controversy during the Colonial Period, 1916-1961

A lot of controversies manifested during the colonial period. Generally, the British admired the fertile soils of Cameroon stating that if they annexed the territory, the cultivation of tropical agricultural crops such as cocoa, coffee, cotton tobacco will be necessary. But when the Germans had been defeated in the First World War and Britain and France partitioned the country, Britain deliberately neglected its own sphere of the colony and economic development was abandoned. Cocoa, banana, coffee, and timber were exported to Britain from Southern Cameroons, but the same British claimed that the territory could not stand on its own because it did not have the resources. This was very controversial because some countries for instance, Burkina Faso has no resources, and it seems that their resource is manpower. The Gambia produces groundnuts, even Senegal, but they achieved independence. Switzerland, Belgium and Finland relatively have no resources but they were granted independence. Thus, this controversial claim by the British about the economy of Southern Cameroons was a fairy tale.

The separatiom of Northern Cameroons from Southern Cameroon, under the claims of administrative convenience by the British was a gimmick. Thus, it appeared that there was no UN Resolution splitting the country into two.[227] From this, we can posit that the U.K had overwhelming influence over the U.N since the U.N endorsed every decision of the British. This

[227] Litumbe Mola Njoh, Case of the Annexation of the UN British Administered Territory of Southern Cameroons, paper presented to the International Community, Washington DC/Silver Spring Hilton Hotel, United States of America, 20th August 2010, p.7

same scenario of British influence over the UN was the same influence that America wielded in the UN, in the period of study.

When the British and the French had defeated the Germans during the First World War they established condominium. This joint administration by the two Allied powers was one thing, and its application another. One of the controversial issues in the condominium was whether it should be extended to the regions that were conquered together by Britain and France as well as the regions separately conquered by these powers. The British wanted the extension of the arrangement to the regions conquered as the campaign progressed. The French wanted extension to areas which their forces conquered without help, including South eastern Cameroon out of the question. As far as France was concerned, these were territories of which they were unjustly deprived by the Franco-German agreement in 1911, which they had reclaimed without help from anywhere. The French thus wanted the extension of the administration and partition to be limited especially to the heart of the areas around Douala conquered and occupied together by British and French troops.[228]

However, where the British imagined the eventual transfer of the condominium government of the territories bordering British and French colonies, territories which were being administered respectively by the British and French colonial authorities, the French had a different view of the matter.[229] These differences between Britain and France made condominium to fail. The Principle of the UN was that a trust territory should gain independence before it could decide on its future political relations with other countries. The controversial question is, how justified was the February, 1961, Southern Cameroons plebiscite when the territory was still a colonial dependency? The answer to this question lies with Britain who was

[228] Lovert Elango, "The Anglo-French Condominium" in Cameroon, 1914-1916: The Myth and the Reality in *The International Journal of African Affairs*, vol. 18, No.4 1985, pp. 656-673
[229] *Op.cit*

the governing authority, and the UN who requested Britain to conduct the plebiscite. It seems from this that the British and the UN wanted British Northern Cameroon to go to Nigeria and Southern Cameroons to the Republic of Cameroon. It is a fact that Article 75 of the UN Charter gave the UN the power to administer and supervise trust territories. However, there is nowhere in the Charter where the UN was empowered to abolish a state or transfer its sovereignty and nationhood to another. Southern Cameroons was a victim of this. What happened to Article 76(b) of the same Charter which provided for self-government or independence as well as the promotion of the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territory? It can be said from this that the British did not want the independence of Southern Cameroons since they intentionally violated Article 76(b) of the UN charter which provided for self government or independence. There were many controversies of this nature in 1961 which were still persisting in the period of study.

4.3 Conclusion

German development in Cameroon cannot be overemphasized. They opened a Botanical garden in Victoria which is still in use in the period of study. They carried out substantial development in agriculture by establishing plantations such as the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) which employed thousands of people and still provide a bulk of the income of the people of Cameroon in this period of study. These plantations were recently privatized by the Cameroon government. The houses that the Germans built in administrative centres were still in use in the period of study, such as the Governor's office in Bamenda, houses of the CDC workers and so on.

The British on their part neglected the territory during the mandate period. There was no road to Northern Cameroons.Expenditure was allocated not on the basis of its overall needs, but

on the basis of the needs of the various Nigerian regions to which it was administratively integrated. The division of the country between Britain and France was uneven and British imperial interest and other intrigues resulted to the pain borne by Southern Cameroonians in the period of study in their controversial union with La Republique du Cameroon.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE PLEBISCITE QUESTION, 1948-1961

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter was will be made to discuss the origin and nature of the plebiscite question during the period 1959-1961. The first part of the discussion provided the background for an understanding of the nature of the plebiscite conducted on 11th February, 1961. A critical question that ran through the discussion was what led to the plebiscite and how it was conducted. Chapter three provided an outline of what was being discussed in this chapter and in subsequent chapters. Consequently, the present chapter discussed critical issues relating to the plebiscite.

5.1 Pro-reunificationists and Anti-reunificationists, 1948-1961

The Kamerun National Congress (KNC) and the Kamerun Peoples Party (KPP) alliance did not want reunification with the Republic of Cameroon. They preferred integration with the Federation of Nigeria. On the other hand the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) suggested that the Southern Cameroons should be consulted about the reunification via their elected representatives. The political leaders of Southern Cameroons, supported the reunification of the British and French Trust Territories, encouraged the UN to effect the policy of reunification without consulting the people.[230] On 10 April, 1948 in Douala, the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC) was created by Felix Moumie, Um Nyobe, Ernest Ouandie and Abel Kingue. The motto of the UPC was unification et independence immediate (unification and immediate independence). With their political ideology of unification and immediate independence, the UPC found favour with the KNDP which wanted reunification and pro-reunification groups in French Cameroon. At the UN, Um Nyobe, one of the founders of the

[230] V.G Fanso, *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges Vol. 2 The Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods*, Macmillan Cameroon Ltd, 1989, p.152

UPC opined that the division of Cameroon was an artificial and arbitrary one, benefiting only the British and French Governments.[231]

It is apt to posit from the above that this division of Cameroon, and later reunification, helped in bringing about the problems between the Anglophones and Francophones in the period of study, since it appeared Anglophones were like conquered people. The UPC was soon banned for acts of violence as well as operating on communist ideology. Due to its widespread demonstrations and violence in the territory especially in Douala, the UPC was banned in 1955 by French authorities while some of its supporters were arrested, Felix Moumie, Um Nyobe, Abel Kingue, and Ernest Ouandie fled to the Southern Cameroons. In the 1957 elections in which four political parties participated namely, the KNC, the KPP, the KNDP and the KPC, the KNC won a majority. The UPC encouraged the KNDP leadership and this led to the formation of a coordination committee between them. It was this that gave John Ngu Foncha the enthusiastic prowess to advocate for Cameroon unification. However, some differences existed between the UPC and the KNDP over the pace at which independence and unification were to be conducted.[232]

The UPC had campaigned against Foncha in the 1957 elections, and their quest for immediate unification and independence failed to gain support in Southern Cameroons. It seems that Southern Cameroons was not ripe in pressing the unification struggle. All UPC candidates were defeated in this election. It was feared too that since the UPC had failed to achieve its aim in the 1957 elections, they might again start violence like was the case in French Cameroon. Members of the UPC were deported, declaring its affiliated groups unlawful societies in the Southern Cameroons. The UPC had participated in Southern Cameroons politics, until 1957

[231] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *A History of the Cameroon*, Longman Group Ltd, London, 1974, p. 147
[232] *Ibid*, p.143

when it was banned. After the banning of the UPC, the One Kamerun (OK) party was formed. Shades of opinion hold that OK was formed by the defunct UPC, led by Ndeh Ntumazah. Thus in the 1957 elections all four candidates that UPC presented were defeated. They also lost their deposits. It appears that the British did not support the UPC's idea of reunification as evidenced from their drastic defeat in the 1957 elections.[233]

As we mentioned earlier in this discourse, the KNC/KPP favoured integration with Nigeria. The reasons they advanced for this were greater financial and economic benefits available to Southern Cameroons as a region in the Nigerian Federation. They also wanted to avoid being contaminated with the political crisis of French Cameroon. It should be noted that Foncha created a branch of KNDP in French Cameroon in 1958, and the party associated itself with the committee of the Reunification of the Cameroons. This was a pro-reunification group in Douala. The reunification dream was gaining grounds in French Cameroon despite the killings of UPC militants in the territory by French colonial troops. In fact Reuben Um Nyobe the leader of the UPC was assassinated in September, 1958. During this period Ahmadou Ahidjo had succeeded Andre-Marie Mbida as prime minister of French Cameroon. Mbida did not support the idea of immediate independence and unification. Ahidjo wanted the separation of Northern Cameroons from Nigeria.

He was not interested in reunification and this view is supported by the fact that when Ahidjo became president of French Cameroon, in his opening speech as president, he did not mention anything in relation or connection to reunification. Instead, it was Foncha who mentioned the issue in his speech on the occasion of independence of French Cameroon.[234] Other parties that supported reunification were the Cameroon Federal Union (CFU) which presented

[233] Victor Julius Ngoh, *op.cit*, p.16
[234] NAB Press Release No. 620 "*A Speech by Hon. J.N. Foncha, Premier of Southern Cameroons on the occasion of the independence celebration of the Cameroun Republic",* 6th January, 1960

their memorandum to the UN visiting mission in 1949, demanding reunification. Demands for reunification also came from the Balong Native Authority and the Bamenda Improvement Association.[235] Another party in favour of reunification was the KUNC (Kamerun United National Congress) which came into existence in August, 1951. During the early years of its formation, this party established close contact with UPC. English and French were taught in schools in the two trust territories. Both parties sent a petition to the UN General Assembly in July, 1952. In this petition, they wanted that all existing obstacles hindering the movement of persons and goods across the border dividing the two Cameroons which had existed between 1916 and 1922 to be removed. They also demanded the creation of a customs union like the one which had existed between 1916 and 1922. Robert J.K. Dibonge established the French Cameroon welfare union, demanding unification. In the Kumba conference, Cameroon National Federation (CNF) which also had members from French Cameroon put forward a plan for unification. In 1957, the UN visiting mission learned of the KUNC's demands for unification, but the CNF did not mention anything about unification.

They only insisted on the need to revisit frontier difficulties and establish a separate regional status for the Trust Territory.[236] Since the separation of Southern Cameroons from the Eastern Region of Nigeria in 1954, it has had its own legislature and had moved closer to self government. In 1957 at the conference in London, it was agreed to introduce the ministerial system on the executive, to enlarge the legislature and make it more representative. The House of Chiefs was to be established with advisory functions. At this juncture, the question of implementing these changes became complicated due to fundamental differences between the KNDP of Foncha and KNC of Dr. E.M.L. Endeley. The KNDP and OK stood for secession from

[235] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain. *op.cit*, p.151
[236] *Op.cit*, p.152

Nigeria while the KNC/KPP stood for a self-governing region within the Federation of Nigeria in 1959, and to gain its independence with Nigeria in 1960.[237] Before the General Elections of 24 January, 1959, Solomon Tadeng Muna, who was a member of the KNC crossed over to the KNDP in September, 1957. This was because Endeley was against unification which was contrary to the wishes of Muna, since he Muna was in favour of unification. Fon Galega II of Bali also crossed from the KUNC to the KNDP.[238] Ngoh, V.J. maintained that S.T. Muna wanted to create his own party but was advised by Fon Galega II to join the KNDP. Elections were held on 24 January, 1959. These were the first election on the basis of universal adult suffrage. In this election the KNDP got a narrow majority over the KNC/KPP alliance by 14-12 seats.

Table 5: January 1959 General Election Results

Political Party	**Contested Seats**	**Seats Won**	**Polled Votes**
KNDP	25	14	73, 304
KNC	21	8	35,327
KPP	6	4	16,027
NCNC	1	Nil	71
OK	2	Nil	2,021
Independent	11	Nil	10,424

Source: Victor Julius Ngoh, The Untold story of Cameroon Reunification: 1955-1961, Press Print Plc, Limbe, 2011, p.16

The KNDP campaigned in favour of reunification and it was rumoured that the KNC was selling land to the Igbo and that the influx of the Fulbe cattle on women's farms increased anti-KNC discontent. Foncha and the KNDP capitalized on the Igbo domination of Southern Cameroons. The Igbo of Eastern Nigeria had occupied high and low level positions in both public and parastatals, the private sector including institutions that were run by the missions as clerks, policemen, nurses, teachers and overseers. The economy was in their total control as

[237] See the Report of the UN Visiting Mission to the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, 1958, T/1426 and Add. 1 Paragraphs 50-74, for a full description of the constitutional changes up to the end of 1958.
[238] Victor Julius Ngoh, *op.cit*, p.15

traders and artisans at all levels.[239] Using this as a campaign strategy the KNDP slightly won the 1959 elections with majority of the votes from the Grassfields. Dr. Emmanuel L. Endeley in their campaign emphasized the level of unrest in La Republique du Cameroun. With the crisis in La Republique, Endeley saw his party winning the election since it was logical that people could not vote to go to where there was unrest. He gained support on the "devil you know" principle. He wanted integration with Nigeria since Southern Cameroons was administered as part of that beautiful country with diverse peoples, languages, cultures and traditions. The KNDP wanted that Southern Cameroons remained as an integral part of Nigeria or separate from it and work out its own independence after a further period of trusteeship. The CPNC (Cameroon Peoples National Congress) which was now the opposition party did not want reunification. According to CPNC it was best for Cameroon to maintain its territorial identity with Nigeria.

Thus the CPNC, the KNC and the KPP were the parties that opposed reunification. As a result of their defeat in the 1959 election they came up with a common ideology about the Southern Cameroons integrating with Nigeria.[240] The Mamfe conference of 1959 achieved very little as difference between the KNDP and CPNC arose. This was before talks which were to be held at the UN about the decision to remain with Nigeria or French Cameroon. It seems that the differences in this conference could not be reconciled. Other political parties were formed such as the Northern Kamerun Democratic Party (NKDP) in Northern Cameroon. This party did not want integration with Nigeria. It wanted the union of Northern Cameroon with Southern Cameroons and with the Republic of Cameroon. There was the Cameroon Commoners Congress (CCC) formed by chief Nyenti, and the Kamerun United Party (KUP) formed by P.M. Kale. The CCC did not want the Southern Cameroons to integrate with Nigeria, but it advocated for the

[239] Anthony Ndi, *Mill Hill Missionaries in Southern West Cameroon*, St. Paul Communications/daughters of St. paul, Narobi, Kenya, 2005, p.215
[240] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain,. *op.cit*, p.156

independence of Southern Cameroons as a separate entity. Kale who had contested in the 1959 election and was defeated withdrew from the KPP and formed the KUP. His objective was to promote secession of the Southern Cameroons and its attainment of independence as a separate political entity.[241]

The question concerning the future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons administered by the United Kingdom and the Cameroons administered by the French was taken up by the UN General Assembly at its thirteenth session, following the report of the 1958 UN Visiting Mission. The UN General Assembly adopted resolution 1350 (XIII) which, inter alia, recommended that the Administering Authority take steps, in consultation with a UN Plebiscite Commissioner, to organize under the supervision of the UN, separate plebiscites in the Northern and Southern parts of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, so as to find out the wishes of the inhabitants about their future. The General Assembly decided that the plebiscites in the Southern Cameroons should be conducted during the next dry season by the end of April, 1960.[242] The Southern Cameroons delegation went to the UN General Assembly in New York in 1959, where statements were made by Foncha for the KNDP, Endeley for the KNC, Mbile for the KPP, and Nitumazah for the OK to defend the options they had chosen to be presented to the people of Southern Cameroons during the forthcoming plebiscite. Foncha considered that the alternatives should be regional status within an independent Nigeria or separation from Nigeria and continuation of trusteeship for a limited period after which a decision could be made. It turned out that France was soon to grant independence to French Cameroon in January, 1960 and Nigeria had promised Southern Cameroons the status of a full autonomous Region in the

[241] Victor Julius Ngoh, *op.cit*, p.18

[242] General Assembly Resolutions 13th Session the United Nations:" www.un.org/documents/ga/res/13/ares13/htm, Accessed on Tuesday 29th September, 2015

Federation of Nigeria, if it opted for integration with Nigeria at the plebiscite.[243] This was a flamboyant choice in accordance with the wishes of Endeley who was in favour of integration with Nigeria. On the contrary at the UN Foncha fought against this when he declared that:

> I wish to say that I am mandated by the house of assembly and the majority of the people of Southern Cameroons to place the following before, the UN General Assembly as what they want:
>
> i. That we want the separation of Southern Cameroons from the federation of Nigeria before the latter attains independence in 1960.
>
> ii. That Southern Cameroons be constituted into a separate entity and continue for a short time under the United Kingdom trusteeship. The trusteeship agreement should be modified to allow the southern Cameroons to be administered separately from Nigeria. During this period, the Southern Cameroons will work towards complete independence.
>
> iii. That during the period of continued trusteeship the Southern Cameroons government will explore the possibility and suitable terms of unification with an independent French Cameroon and that the form of such a union should be federation.

This go a long way to debunk the claims by Professor Victor Julius Ngoh that Foncha's level of education and character disqualified him as a good negotiator with Ahmadou Ahidjo and that the outcome of the plebiscite was what Anglophones had already bargained for. Consequently, Anglophones carry the overwhelming blame for the outcome of plebiscite and have no legitimate right to complain.[244] It appears that, at the time Victor Julius Ngoh made this statement, he had not laid hands on the present British declassified documents about the Southern Cameroons. This statement further support claims by him in the summit Magazine No. 16 of April-June 2011 that Foncha was not in favour of independence for Southern Cameroons. The UN General Assembly during its fourteenth session recommended the two

[243] Anthony Ndi, *Southern West Cameroon Revisited 1950-1972*, Unveiling inescapable Traps, Volume one Paul's Press, Bamenda, Cameroon, 2013, p.263

[244] John Percival, *The 1961 Cameroon Plebiscite: Choice or Betrayal*; Langaa Research & Publishing CIG Mankon, Bamenda, 2008, p.6

questions to be put at the plebiscite. (see p. xvi). Despite the pressure by those who were against reunification, it took place in October, 1961.

5.2 The Alleged Economic Inviability of Southern Cameroons, 1953-1961

The British seems to have begun their politics of alleged economic inviability of Southern Cameroon in 1953. Thus, the claims advanced by Britain that Southern Cameroons was not economically viable seems not to be true. This appears to be based on false allegations as i have shown in chapter three. During the period of German rule, roads, schools, railways, health facilities were well developed, and agriculture was advanced. But during the period of British Trusteeship, the territory was completely neglected, rather, the British exploited the resources of this territory. There seems to be ample evidence to show that Southern Cameroons was economically viable as seen from the various exports to Britain in particular and Europe in general. For instance, 325 tons of rubber was shipped to Liverpool from West Cameroon, and 25 tons were also shipped by PAMOL Cameroon Limited. This report maintained that 300 tons of coffee were shipped from Bota by "LOUNDA" for Le Havre, Bordeaux and Dunkirk in France.[245] In another report, off-shore oil deposits were found near Bakossi in West Cameroon. This was contained in a communiqué issued by the mining and geological authorities in Yaounde.[246] In the period of study oil became an issue of the presidency. Southern Cameroons from where the oil was coming had been neglected and underdeveloped by the Ahidjo and Biya regimes, in the same way as the British did during the trusteeship system. The regime in power now sucks everything and the people are impoverished. In general terms, the masses were alienated. In fact, any ideas of Southern Cameroons becoming an independent state was swept or washed away by Sir Sydney Phillipson's report to the colonial government that the trust territory

[245] "*West Cameroon Experts"* Cameroon Times, vol. 7, No. 73, Saturday July 1, 1967, p.1
[246] "*Oil Deposits Found Near Bakossi*" Cameroon Times, Vol. 7, No.76, Thursday, July 6, 1967, p.

cannot stand on its own because of its non-economic viability. In 1953, the Fiscal Commissioner under the auspices of Sir Louis Chick came to the conclusion that:

> The territory would not in the years immediately ahead be financially stable without external assistance. In good years it might pay its way with a slender margin, but in lean years it would have a deficit and it would have no reserves to fall on if, over a period, the deficits exceed the surplus.[247]

It is very surprising that the claims they gave for Togoland that, it was not economically and financially viable, it was too small, were the same claims they gave for Southern Cameroons. This may drive us to think that any colony under British trusteeship where a plebiscite was to be conducted, these same lies were told. They further claimed that Southern Cameroons was not financially viable. The Secretary of State for the colonies Alan Lennox-Boyd, in a London constitutional conference stated that the territory "would not be given the golden key to the Bank of England". This confirmed the ploy by the British to achieve their selfish desires. The British were completely against a separate Southern Cameroons state as Sir Andrew Cohen stated clearly:

> Our policy remains strongly against a separate Southern Cameroons state…. If Cameroons political parties combine to take action to establish an independent state, this would place us in a very embarrassing position. With support of moderate Afro-Asians and others, we have always argued that separate independence would produce an entirely inviable state.[248]

It can be argued here that if states were to become independent as a result of their economic and financial viability, many states would have been integrated with one another. But to prove the British wrong, states that were not economically viable or that lack adequate resources were still standing on their own. The resources of a country ensures the economic

[247] Victor Julius Ngoh, *op.cit*, p.5
[248] Anthony Ndi, *op.cit*, p.343

stand and financial viability of that country. The British maintained this claim of the alleged economic inviability of Southern Cameroons up to 1961 when the plebiscite took place as well as the reunification of the Cameroons.

5.3 Origins of the Plebiscite August, 1959-1961

The origins of the plebiscite can be traced to the Mamfe Conference of 10th – 11th August, 1959. During this conference, the Acting Commissioner of the Cameroons Mr. M.N.H. Milne in his opening address said, "you are all aware that under the Trusteeship Agreement this territory is administered as part of the Federation of Nigeria and that within the Federation it enjoyed a status closely akin to that of a self-governing region."[249] The Mamfe plebiscite conference was attended by political parties such as KNDP, KNC, KPP, OK, KUP, chiefs, Native Authorities and political pressure groups. In his speech, the Acting Commissioner went on to say that assurances had been given by the secretary of state at the 1957 constitutional conference and repeated during the 1958 conference that when the Federation became independent administration of the territory under the present Trusteeship Agreement as an integral part of Nigeria must cease. Thus the people of Southern Cameroons will, therefore, say freely what their wishes were for their own future. The Secretary of State maintained that before Nigeria became independent the people of the Northern and Southern sections of the Cameroons would have to say freely what their wishes were as to their future. In his address in the Mamfe plebiscite conference the Acting Commissioner said the time has, therefore, come to consult the people of the Southern Cameroons as to their future.[250] It was for these reasons that the UN General Assembly during its 13th session in March, 1959, recommended that the administering authority should take steps in consultation with the UN plebiscite commissioner, to organize

[249] NAB Press Release No. 421 "Full Text of an address to the summit conference by the Acting Commissioner of the Cameroons at Mamfe on Monday, August 10th, 1959".
[250] *Ibid*

under the supervision of UN, separate plebiscites in the Northern and Southern parts of the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration, so as to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the territory concerning their future. The UN General Assembly expressed the hope that all concerned in the territory will endeavour to come to a compromise before the opening of the 14th session of the General Assembly on the alternatives to be put in the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons and the qualification for voting in it. This was the origin of the plebiscite.

The chairman of the conference Sir Sydney Phillipson said that two questions were involved in the plebiscite issue, who should vote in the plebiscite and what question should be asked to the voters.[251] The leader of the KNDP, John Ngu Foncha was in agreement with what the chairman of the conference said as he posited that:

> We are out to reach agreement on points which political parties have disagreed. My delegation is therefore all out to be guided by those who have no party affiliation as such, but who nevertheless have kept the wellbeing of the Cameroons as a nation uppermost in their minds… here we have some of our aged rulers rubbing shoulders with the students not up to the age of their grandsons. These are men who have a high record as devoted rulers of their people. Humble in front of you, Mr. Chairman they are ready to pass on to the youths their loving experience and wisdom in the service of their territory.[252]

The political parties, chiefs and pressure groups at the conference debated on the future of Southern Cameroons with different opinions. The KNDP wanted separation from Nigeria and continued trusteeship until Southern Cameroonians were in a better position to decide their future, Dr. Endeley integration with Nigeria, KUP wanted secession and independence, the

[251] NAB Press Release No. 422 "Full text of an address by the chairman of the summit conference, Sir Sydney Phillipson, at Mamfe on Monday August 10th 1959"
[252] NAB Press Release No. 423 "A memorandum by the K.N.D.P. to the Mamfe plebiscite summit conference on 10th and 11th August 1959", presented by the Hon. J.N. Foncha premier of the Southern Cameroons.

National Union of Cameroon Students (NUCS) wanted Secession with ultimate reunification[253] and the fons wanted a "Third option" which to them was independence of Southern Cameroons which the British did not want. These differences in opinion made Foncha and Endeley to disagree at the UN in New York on the choice of the alternatives.

The British did all they could to block the independence of Southern Cameroons. The people were only asked if they would determine their future by joining the Federation of Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroon. They deliberately refused the third option which would have been complete independence, the choice the fons wanted. The UK thus manipulated the UN to accept whatever they proposed. And in doing so they had to convince the UN that any proposals made should be in accordance with the "freely expressed wishes of the people concerned". Thus, for Britain to achieve this, they had to set the rules for the UN. They reasoned that:

> "No Trust Territory has yet evolved from the Trusteeship system and no procedure has been laid for this purpose. It is tactically important to try to convince the UNO in a manner that suits us best and to oppose firmly any aggression which may emerge from UNO of procedure and criteria not acceptable to us."[254]

5.4 The Plebiscite in British Northern Cameroons and British Southern Cameroons, 11th February, 1961

Like the case of British Togoland where a plebiscite was conducted on 9th May, 1956, for Togoland to opt for the Union of their territory with an independent Gold Coast (Ghana) or the separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political future, [255] in the same way a

[253] NAB Press Release No. 431 "Memorandum submitted to the plebiscite conference at Mamfe by the National Union of Kamerun students, (Nigeria)": 10th to 11th August 1959".
[254] Kosi Kedem, *How Britain Subverted and Betrayed British Togoland,* Governance and Electoral Systems (GESA), Ghana, 2007, p.72
[255] Kosi Kedem, *British Togoland*: *An Orphan or the Death of a Nation, Stailof services*, Accra, Ghana, 2005, p.15

plebiscite was conducted in British Northern Cameroons in 1959 where the people were asked if they would join Northern Nigeria, when the Federation of Nigeria became independent in 1960 or whether they would be in favour of deciding their future at a later date.[256] In February 1961, a second plebiscite was conducted in British Northern Cameroons and British Southern Cameroons. The British had claimed that Togoland was not economically viable and that it was too small to stand on its own. The British brought those same claims to Southern Cameroons, adding that Southern Cameroons was not financially viable. Before i delve into these issues it is pertinent to say that some literature maintained that the plebiscite in the Cameroons was conducted by the United Nations. Recent research showed that a first plebiscite was held in Northern Cameroons Trust Territory on Saturday, 7th November, 1959,[257] under United Nations Organization supervision. Thus, for a variety of reasons, non-viability of resources being, perhaps the most prominent the UN decided at a session of the Trusteeship Council, that the future of the Trust Territory must lie with either one or the other of its larger neighbours (Nigeria or La Republique du Cameroun). Accordingly, the UN Trusteeship Council requested a second plebiscite, to be organized by the United Kingdom.[258] In fact, another source drove home the point in very clear terms that, the plebiscite was conducted by the U.K. plebiscite Administration, and the United Nations sent observers under a plebiscite commissioner.[259] The thirteenth session of the UN General Assembly took the decision to appoint a United Nations plebiscite commissioner to exercise on behalf of the General Assembly all the necessary powers and functions of supervision assisted by observers and staff to be appointed by the Secretary

[256] MNCA/3239 *"UN/4 Northern Cameroon Plebiscite 1960"*
[257] MNCA/3238 "*UN/3 Northern Cameroons Plebiscite Instructions"*
[258] "*Northern Cameroon Plebiscite 1960*" *op.cit*
[259] *West African Review,* Volume XXXII, January to December, 1961, p.29

General in consultation with him.[260] In the plebiscite of Togoland and Southern Cameroons the British had overwhelming influence over the UN. Who is to blame? The fact that two different trust territories under the same colonial power ended up in a plebiscite rather than achieving full independence as stipulated by Article (76) b of the UN Charter was not a mere coincidence.. The evidence for this is the fact the fate of Biritish Togoland was decided through a plebiscite. What therefore is a plebiscite?

A plebiscite is a vote by the electorate of a nation, region or locality on specific questions. In modern times, plebiscites have been held to determine the wishes of the inhabitants of a country or areas as to their choice of sovereignty and have constituted an important political means of self-determination for a number of peoples and nations. The use of plebiscites in this sense originated at the time of the French Revolutions, supposedly as an alternative to forcible annexation and wars of conquest. The plebiscites held after 1793, however, in areas including Belgium and the Rhineland, were accompanied by the intimidation of votersin order to assure decisions desired by the French government. As democratic instruments, plebiscites were used after the resurgence of nationalistic sentiments in Europe after 1848. They played a prominent role, for example, in the long struggle for the independence and unification of Italy. In 1852 a notable plebiscite was held in France by Napoleon III to give the appearance of popular approval to the coup d'etat by which he had overthrown the republic and established the second empire. In the 20th century, important plebiscites brought about the separation of Norway from Sweden in 1905 and in the reacquisition of the Saarland by Germany in 1935.

Recently, plebiscites were used in Africa to learn the preferences of newly independent peoples for their national sovereignty.[261] Plebiscites, for instance, in the case of Togoland,

[260] "*Chapter: XII, International Trusteeship System*" *op.cit*
[261] "*Plebiscite*" Microsoft ® Encarta ® 2009 (DVD), Redimond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

Northern Cameroons, and Southern Cameroons were uncalled for because these were UN Trust Territories under the international trusteeship agreements guided by Article 76 (b) of the UN Charter that they were to be prepared for self-government or independence by Britain, under whose administration these territories were. Rather, she violated this article and imposed a plebiscite on these territories. Article 4 of the same charter obliged Britain to defend the trust territory", and instead of doing just that Britain conspired with the UN and tactically conducted a plebiscite. British Cameroon was one territory, but the British separated the Northern Cameroons and integrated it with the administration of Northern Nigeria, claiming that they did so for administrative convenience. In the same way Southern Cameroons was integrated to be administered from Eastern Nigeria. But there seems to be no UN resolution that empowered Britain to break the same territory under their administration into two. As earlier mentioned, Article 76(b) had been seriously violated by Britain, the administering authority. Article 76(b) stated that territories that were under trusteeship, were to be guided toward self-government or independence.

The first plebiscite as earlier mentioned took place in Northern Cameroons in November, 1959. Sir John Dring was the plebiscite commissioner for Northern Cameroons. In the era of trusteeship Northern Cameroons was administered separately from Southern Cameroons. Different sections of the territory continued to be tied to the Northern Nigeria provinces of Bornu, Adamawa, and Benue. Consequently, the political developments of Northern Cameroons were as a whole separate or completely separate from the Southern Cameroons.[262] Dring was assisted by three plebiscite administrators who were to be Federal officers from Lagos, who had previous knowledge of Northern Cameroons. Of the 330 polling stations in the Northern Cameroons one hundred and twenty-five were to be in the Dikwa Division of Bornu province,

[262] V.G Fanso,. *op.cit*, p.154

one hundred and sixty-five in the Adamawa part of the Trust Territory, and nineteen in that part of the Wukari Division which lies in Trust Territory. The polling stations were to be staffed each by a presiding officer, a polling officer and two polling marshals, who were to be recruited locally. Furthermore, one hundred and ten counting officers recruited from among missionaries, business-men and wives of senior officials and so on, were responsible for counting the votes at the plebiscite Circle Headquarters under the supervision of the returning officer.[263] The economy of Northern Cameroons was mainly agricultural and pastoral. Throughout the trusteeship period no separate budget was prepared for Northern Cameroons since it has been administered as part of the Northern Region of Nigeria. Apart from expenditure by the Native Authorities, all public expenditure in the territory was borne either by the Northern Regional Government or by the Federal Government of Nigeria.[264]

Thus, during the thirteenth session of the UN General Assembly, the Assembly adopted resolution 1350 (XIII) which inter alia recommended that a separate plebiscite be held in the Northern Cameroons about the middle of November 1959. (see p. xvi for the plebiscite questions in Northern Cameroons).

The total number of votes casts were 113,859. Out of these, 70,546 voted in favour of deciding their future at a later date and 42,788 voted in favour of the first alternative, (deciding their future to be part of the Northern Region of Nigeria when the Federation of Nigeria became independent). The result of the 1959 plebiscite was a surprise to the Northern Regional Government in Kaduna. As a result, arrangements began to separate Northern Cameroons from the Northern Region in particular and from Nigeria in general before the latter achieved independence in 1960. Northern Cameroons was in theory on October, 1, 1960, separated from

[263] "*UN/3 Northern Cameroons plebiscite*" *op.cit*
[264] "*General Assembly Resolutions*" *op.cit*

Nigeria. It was restructured as a Trust Territory province, independent of Bornu, Adamawa, and Benue provinces.[265] However, under a special arrangement with Nigeria its administration was headed by a senior British administrator 'within the body politic of an independent Nigeria. The Northern Cameroons district and provincial officials, plus the DOs and the Resident, continued to be responsible to the Northern Nigerian Government. The second plebiscite conducted by the U.K. plebiscite Administration was organized for the Trust Territory province on 11 February, 1961. This plebiscite was to be done separately from that of Southern Cameroons on Saturday 11 February 1961. The questions asked in this plebiscite were the same as those in the Southern Cameroons plebiscite whether: they wished to achieve independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria or by joining the independent Republic of Cameroon. During this plebiscite, Northern Cameroons voted to join the independent Federation of Nigeria. Votes cast in favour of joining Nigeria were 146,296 as against 97,659 in favour of joining the independent Republic of Cameroon.[266] Thus, Kirk Greene in the introduction of his *Adamawa Past and Present* maintained that: a plebiscite was held on November 7,1959 in Northern Cameroons and voters were asked whether they wanted Northern Cameroons to be part of independent Nigeria or whether they preferred to defer the determination of their future at a later date. They voted 62% against inclusion in Northern Nigeria but on 11 and 12 February, 1961 the voters came in favour of Nigeria by 60%.[267]

In the north the results of the plebiscite came as a shock to many leaders in the Republic of Cameroon. They envisaged an overwhelming victory in favour of reunification, given the fact that Northern Cameroon voted against becoming part of Nigeria in the 1959 plebiscite, which they interpreted for continued trusteeship as an indication of strong support for reunification.

[265] V.G.Fanso, *op.cit*, p.152
[266] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain. *op.cit*, p.157
[267] A.H.M. Kirk Greene, *Adamawa Past and Present*, Davidsons of Pall Pall, London, 1969, P.XII

Charles Okala, who was Foreign Minister at the time argued that the results of the plebiscite were falsified and that the people in the north had been prevented from expressing their wishes. Ahidjo's Government was in doubt about the accuracy of the plebiscite and brought a case against the U.K. government at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at the Hague in Switzerland. At this point, the court ruled in favour of the British, declaring that the case was out of order. As a result Ahidjo declared June, 1, 1961, as a day of national mourning.[268] This national mourning on June 1, was observed for some years. When relations with Nigeria improved, the National mourning was brushed away. It should be observed that a serious campaign by the Kaduna Government, with all sorts of intimidations and unequivocal warnings, to those who voted against Nigeria, was the product of a vote in favour of integration with Nigeria.[269] This fact is further buttressed by the Northern Kameroon Democratic party (NKDP) in a letter to the Administrator Northern Cameroons, Mubi, as shown below:

> The Administrator,
> Northern Cameroons
> Mubi
> Sir,
> As a representative of Her Majesty's Government, we welcome you in Northern Cameroons under the United Kingdom Administration. We hope you will do your possible best to see that justice prevails during the campaign for the forthcoming plebiscite and to reduce interference from outsiders who are not Cameroonians. We have to tell you the general administration of this territory is not satisfactory at all, in fact it is worse than that of before the last plebiscite, the administrative reforms are not satisfactory, there are victimization, oppression and threats from all corners which will not allow people to choose what they like.
> We do not hesitate to write this petition before it is too late. As the people of Northern Cameroons are asked by the United Nations to choose freely, either to join the Republic of Cameroon or the Federation of Nigeria, our party the Northern Kamerun Democratic party will campaign for reunification of the Cameroons. We believe it is not a crime to say that we want to vote for the

[268] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *op.cit*, p.158
[269] V.G. Fanso, p.155

> Cameroons Republic since we are asked to choose between Nigeria and Cameroons. But the districts heads here have been trying to imprison all those who support the Cameroons, as a result of this our supporters have been sent to prison for no reason at all but because they support unification. If we are not allow to show our wishes then fundamental human rights have been destroyed in the Northern Cameroons……[270]

It seems therefore, that this animosity prompted the people of Northern Cameroons to vote for integration with Nigeria since they were threatened and imprisoned as evidence from the petition above. It is important to remark too that during the 1961 February elections, women outnumbered men, in a number of areas in Northern Cameroons, in registering as voters for the plebiscite. In some areas, over 35 percent of those who registered were women. Dr. Djalal Abdoh, an (Iranian), the U.N. plebiscite commissioner, witnessed registration at several places in the North when he saw muslim and "pagan" women waiting their turn. Thus, the degree of interest shown by women in the North was a surprise, as women in the North have never taken part in elections and a feeling of antipathy was known to exist there against female franchise.[271] In the South, women participated in previous local elections.

[270] MNCA/3204 "*Correspondence with Political Parties."*For the final part of this letter see appendix VII
[271] *West African Review*, *op.cit*, p.31

Table 6: The Plebiscite Results in Northern Cameroons 1959 and 1961

	1959 Plebiscite				1961 Plebiscite			
Plebiscite area	**Total vote**	**Vote for Nigeria**	**Vote against Nigeria**	**Percentage result for Nigeria**	**Total vote**	**Vote for Nigeria**	**Vote for Cameroon**	**Percentage for Nigeria**
Dikwa	14671	7575	7197	52.48	33.327	22765	10562	68.32
Dikwa central	19879	8891	11988	43.57	52900	28697	24203	54.46
Gwoza	10129	3356	6773	33.67	20669	18115	2554	88.12
Madugal								
Cubunawa	14065	4247	9818	30.70	30.266	16904	13299	56.44
Mubi	19654	6120	13578	30.70	34930	23798	11132	68.32
Chamba	16191	4539	11651	28.72	34881	9704	25177	28.72
Toungo								
Gashaka	4351	2252	2099	52.48	8161	4999	3108	62.38
Mambila	10118	2747	7353	27.,73	20990	13523	7467	65.35
United hills	3152	3063	89	97.3	7984	7791	157	98.2
Total	113859	42788	70546	38.62	244072	146296	97659	60.40

Source: A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, Adamawa Past and Present, London, 1969, p.xii

The fact that the two plebiscites were conducted in Northern Cameroons in 1959 and 1961 respectively, was a clear indication that the British were bent to integrate one part of British Cameroons to Nigeria and the Southern part to the Republic of Cameroon.[272]

During the fourteenth session of the UN General Assembly, Britain as the Administrating Authority notified the Assembly about what has been done so far to promote a compromise on the alternatives to be put, and on the qualifications for voting in the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons. Foncha of the KNDP wanted that the alternatives should be regional status within an independent Nigeria or separation from Nigeria and continuation of trusteeship for a limited period after which a decision could be made. The KNC/KPP alliance favoured unification with an independent French Cameroons.[273] The KNC, in November, 1955, put before the UN visiting mission a memorandum in favour of reunification. But Endeley stance for reunification with the

[272] MNCA/3239 "UN/4 Northern Cameroons Plebiscite 1960, registration Instructions."
[273] Resolution 1350 (XIII) on the plebiscite issue of Southern Cameroons, paragraph 9

Republic of Cameroon later changed in favour of integration with the Federation of Nigeria. Thus, at the UN in 1959, the alternative questions suggested by the different political parties were integration with Nigeria versus separation from Nigeria and the determination of the future of the territory at a later date, self-government within Nigeria versus independence through reunification, and association with Nigeria versus joining the Cameroon under the French administration.[274]

At the end of the day an agreement was reached by Foncha and Endeley at the UN in New York at the General Assembly in the presence of the British representative and the representatives of the African states at the UN. They agreed that in case the political parties fail to come to a compromise, it would be good to defer consultation with the people for the time being. They also agreed that the Administrative Authority should take steps to separate the Administration of Southern Cameroons from that of the Federation of Nigeria, and that this should be done not later than 1 October. 1960. It was also agreed that while the settlement of the future of Southern Cameroons was pending, it should continue to be administered under the existing Trusteeship Agreement, separately from Nigeria. The arrangements for the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons were to begin on 30 September, 1960, and that the plebiscite should be concluded not later than March 1961. Only persons born in the Southern Cameroons or one of whose parents was born in the Southern Cameroons were to vote in the plebiscite.[275] Thus, the UN General Assembly recommended that the two questions to be put at the plebiscite. (see p. xvi for the plebiscite questions in Southern Cameroon).

[274] V.G Fanso, *op.cit* pp. 152-153
[275] UN Resolution 1352 (XIV) on plebiscite of Southern Cameroon, Paragraph 12

At this juncture, there was serious competition among the political parties, those campaigning for integration with Nigeria and those campaigning for reunification with the Republic of Cameroon.

As already noted, the KNDP campaigned against the Igbo domination in Southern Cameroon who had occupied everywhere in the public and private sectors.As Willard R. Johnson put it, there was a deep seated antipathy toward Nigerians and particularly the Igbo ethnic group by most Southern Cameroonians.[276] The CPNC campaigned emphatically on 'British ways. According to the CPNC, the KNDP which was in support of reunification with the Cameroon Republic had drawn up proposals with a partner having no experience of federation, with quite a different political and administrative history.[277] The CPNC also campaigned that there was unrest in the Republic of Cameroon. The total number of people who registered to vote in the plebiscite were 349 650, and out of these, the number of people who cast valid votes were 331312. In all 233 571 voted for reunification with the Cameroon Republic and 97741 voted for integration with Nigeria. It is important to note that some people from the ethnic groups along the Southern Cameroons borders voted for the one or the other proposition, on the grounds of cultural and ethnic affinities and the communities with groups in either Nigeria or of the Cameroon Republic. Seemingly, there were groups with many affinities in the Cameroon Republic than in Nigeria. Many people who voted against reunification argued that they feared the thought of uniting with a people whose customs, education, language, system of government and way of life differed from what they had known and lived.

Below is a detailed analysis of the complete results for the twenty-six plebiscite areas in Southern Cameroons:

[276] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *op.cit*, p.156
[277] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.153

Table 7: Plebiscite Results for Southern Cameroons, 1961

Plebiscite District	Votes Cast for FIRST ALTERNATIVE		Votes cast for SECOND ALTERNATIVE
Victoria:	South-West	2,552	3,756
	South-East	1,329	4,870
	North-West	4,744	4,205
	North-East	3,291	9,251
	Total	**11,916**	**22,082**
Kumba:	North-East	9,466	11,991
	North-West	14,738	555
	South-East	6,105	12,827
	South-West	2,424	2,227
	Total	**32,733**	**27,600**
Mamfe:	West	2,039	8,505
	North	5,432	6,410
	South	685	8,175
	East	1,894	10,177
	Total	**10,050**	**33,267**
Bamenda:	North	8,073	18,839
	East	1,822	17,858
	Central West	1,230	18,027
	Central East	529	18,193
	West	467	16,142
	South	220	19,426
	Total	**12,341**	**108,485**
Wum:	North	1,485	7,322
	Central	3,644	3,211
	East	1,518	13,133
	West	2,137	3,449
	Total	**8,784**	**27,115**
Nkambe:	North	5,962	1,917
	East	3,845	5,896
	Central	5,059	4,288
	South	7,051	2,921
	Total	**21,917**	**15,022**
	Grand Total:	**97,741**	**233,571**

Source: NAB, Press Release No. 1217 "Southern Cameroons Plebiscite," 17th February, 1961

The table of the plebiscite results above showd that only kumba and Nkambe Divisions voted in favour of integration with Nigeria while the entire region voted for reunification with the Cameroon Republic. However, it seems that the plebiscite was not necessary since it was not

a country to achieve independence by joining an independent one. It is argued that the concept of possible for independence by joining was a power sharing arrangement.[278] But it is not possible at the same time to get married by marrying an already married couple. In my view, Southern Cameroons has never achieved independence. If this was the case why therefore, was it that when Southern Cameroonians came out to March every 1st October, in celebration of their independence day they were arrested, tortured, suppressed, killed, and were thrown behind bars? British Northern and Southern Cameroons was one territory that was separated into two for the claims of the so-called administrative convenience, why then were the plebiscites result declared differently?

Why could they not tally the votes of the plebiscites of Northern Cameroons and Southern Cameroons and proclaim them as one? Cameroon contended that total vote of the British Cameroons should decide the issue, rather than the separate vote of the northern and southern parts, but this position was rejected.[279] The February, 1961 plebiscites in British Southern Cameroons and Northern Cameroons were not necessary and uncalled for. For instance, the people of Southern Cameroons should not have been asked to decide whether they wanted to enter a union with Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroon. This scenario could be termed an original sin committed by the British in conspiracy with the UN who endorsed every decision the British brought up about the plebiscite in Southern Cameroons. Article 76(b) of the United Nations Charter was intended to prepare southern Cameroons for total self-government or independence. This article did not empower the UN to transfer the sovereignty of Southern Cameroons to another country. If the plebiscite was of basic necessity, the question of basic

[278] Interview with Mola Njoh Litumbe on Monday, 30th March, 2015, at 12.00pm, at Bokwango Junction, Buea

[279] Gale Research Company, *Countries of the World and their Leaders*, Second ed. Detroit, Michigan, USA, p.274

necessity should have been whether Southern Cameroons wanted self government or independence. Anything out of this, was therefore logical that the British should have allowed Southern Cameroons under direct UN administration until the time was ripe for independence. From the above i can posit that the plebiscite questions were wrong, and only wrong answers could be given.

It is worthy of note that the plebiscite questions for the Cameroons were printed in a booklet entitled *The Two Alternatives.*[280] This booklet was to be used in enlightening the population before the plebiscite. It contained what Nigeria and the Republic of Cameroon had to offer the electorate. This booklet did not favour the reunificationists because the terms of union with La Republique du Cameroun were not clearly stated. According to John Percival who was one of the twenty-five plebiscite supervisory officials (PSO), the conditions on which the Cameroons were to join Nigeria were clear but the "implications of joining La Republique du Cameroon were not at all clear, either in the preamble, or in the text that followed". According to the pamphlet the Foncha and Ahidjo camps have had several meetings to decide the terms on which union between the two countries might take place. Both leaders preferred a federal union, but the document was mute on the clear division of power between the federal and state government. It placed emphasis on the overwhelming powers of the central Government. But on the contrary, following the arrangements of La Republique du Cameroun, the terms for union with Nigeria shown in *The Two Alternatives* were clearly stated. Nigeria provided the Southern Cameroons with regional status within the federation, with its own parliament equal in status with other Nigeria regions and power to decide on its own affairs,[281] apart from certain federal government matters such as fiscal and defence that were mentioned one by one. There was

[280] John Percival, *op.cit*, pp.7-8
[281] John Percival, *op.cit*, pp.7-8

provision for two Houses of Parliament at federal level and regional level, one for elected representatives, and the other for a House of Chiefs. This document made provision for a separate regional civil service, made up only of Southern Cameroonians and a separate legal system, plus a High Court in Anglophone Cameroons with full jurisdiction in civil criminal matters. The plebiscite supervisory officials had as their duty to enlighten the people in the plebiscite campaign using *The Two Alternatives* as their bible. So, these officers faced a lot of difficulties explaining to the voters the exact terms of union with La Republique du Cameroun. They found it easy to explain the terms of the union with Nigeria because the terms were clearly spelt out. As a result John Percival and Nigel Wenban-Smith including other plebiscite officers were branded as pro-reunificationist campaigning for Nigeria which was not the case.[282]

The British worked extremely hard to see into it that British Cameroons was completely Balkanized. Britain split Cameroons into two, Northern Cameroons and Southern Cameroons making sure that the Northern part went to Nigeria and the Southern part to La Republique du Cameroun. The aim of the League of Nations and later United Nations as stated in the UN charter was:

> To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressivedevelopment towards self-government or independence…

Article 76(b) presupposed that the trust territories should be administered independently. Thus, the former German territories such as South West Africa, Tanganyika, French Cameroon and Togo were independently administered. Because of its small size French Togo could have been administered with Dahomey (Benin) but the French did not follow the British gimmick of coming up with plebiscites. In fact, France implemented Article 76(b) to the latter by making

[282]*Op.cit*

sure that French Togo achieved independence in 1960.[283] But Britain disrespected the article which was the reason why Southern Cameroons found itself where it is in the period of study with far reaching ramification. Southern Cameroonians did not want integration with Nigeria nor with the Cameroon Republic. They pleaded for the period of UN Trusteeship to be prolonged but the British did not listen to their plea. Percival noted that:

> Quite apart from the problems of relaying The Two Alternatives I felt increasingly disenchanted with the whole process, because I still felt that the British government had abnegated its responsibilities, forcing the people to make a difficult decision with far reaching consequences, without adequate preparation. Many Southern Cameroonians continue to plead for the colonial administration to be prolonged for a little longer, to give them a chance to make informed decisions about the future, but both the UN and colonial authorities had refused to countenance this option. On the contrary, with Ian Macleod as colonial secretary, I knew the British Government of the day was only too eager to wash its hands of the Cameroons and every other colonial territory it could plausibly consider "ready" for independence as quickly and painlessly as possible.[284]

With this Percival's revelation, one may ask what was the crime of Southern Cameroons that Britain wanted to wash its hands of it as quickly and as painlessly as possible? Why could they not put Southern Cameroons under direct UN administration rather than doing everything possible as they did to manipulate its independence? Percival maintained that he saw the whole plebiscite as cynical public relations exercise, designed to demonstrate to the world at large that the people of the Southern Cameroons were being given freedom of choice, whereas in fact the only choice they really wanted was denied them. It is apt to contend that the plebiscite was founded on a faulty foundation with intentions that were not favourable to the people. This to an extent explained why in Northern Cameroons the people were intimidated and even imprisoned to vote to integrate with Nigeria. In fact, the UN Trusteeship Council had decided that the future

[283] Kosi Kedem, British Togoland, *op.cit* p.4
[284] John Percival, *op.cit*, pp. 77-78

of the Trust territory must be with either one or the other of its larger neighbours. Thus it was a trap set in such a way that the people could not escape falling into it. The game was well planned and played. The impact of it was the annexation of Southern Cameroons and its subsequent re-colonisation by La Republique du Cameroun. Percival further observed that:

> The sheer arrogance of this enterprise still takes my breath away. In no way was I, or anyone else, qualified to impose such a process on thousands of people, and it was quickly made clear to me that they wanted no part of it and that they saw the whole thing as a sham, a cosmetic exercise in democracy. The only decision they were allowed to make was to choose whether to throw in their lot with Nigeria or French Cameroon and they wanted neither of them. All the other decisions had been taken thousands of miles away by colonial officials who thought they knew what they needed than the people themselves.[285]

From the above statement by Percival, i can posit that British colonial interest brought nothing but pain, sadness, conflict and misery on the colonized. This description was a replica of the situation in Southern Cameroons in our period of study. The people lived in balance with their environment. They had built for themselves a complex social structure which provided a framework for their lives. There was an elaborate kinship which brought everyone together, each for all, and all for each. But with the coming of colonialism the scenario was never to be the same. The sophistication of British colonial hegemony in collaboration with the UN completely shattered the dream of self-government or independence for Southern Cameroons. It is important to note too that when the political parties in Southern Cameroons opposing each other came to a compromise to annul the plebiscite issue and went to London to get the approval of the British Government, they were asked to go back to UN as the ultimate authority. Meanwhile instructions were sent to the British representatives in the UN to ensure that any request from Southern

[285]*Op.cit*, p.XIII

Cameroons for the cancellation of the plebiscite be rejected out of hand sticking to the UN resolution which sanctioned the plebiscite.[286]

The manner of treachery brought a lot of distrust to the British. No one can explain the rationale behind their non-chalent attitude and way of behaving except themselves. This same inside information was used to block the "third choice" or question :

> Sir James Robertson, (Governor General of Nigeria) and his close advisers in Lagos feared propaganda based on such conceptions might produce if unchecked, a plebiscite result that would prove unwelcome or dangerous to Nigeria since many Cameroonians in favour of a third choice might vote for unification with the Republic of Cameroon…. Or Foncha might seek assistance which, in the event of Britain being unwilling to provide it, might well be from a country inimical to Nigeria such as China.[287]

In view of this, Anthony Ndi maintained that this was one of the most awful revelations which affirmed the declarations in the declassified British papers, indicating how the British blocked the choice of Southern Cameroons standing alone: the most popular option for the plebiscite of 11th February, 1961, by which they would have achieved independence. The UNO principle was that a trust territory should become fully independent before it could decide on its future political relations with other countries.[288] The 1961 plebiscite in Southern Cameroons had no basis for justification since Southern Cameroons was still a colonial dependency. This principle is clearly stated by UN resolution 1514(XV): Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples which stated that:

> All people have an inalienable right to complete freedom (not integration or union or occupation), the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory.

[286] Anthony Ndi, *Southern West Cameroon Revisited*, *op.cit*, p.311
[287] *Op.cit*, p.312
[288] Kosi Kedem, *op.cit*, pp.70-72

Furthermore, this principle is confirmed by Article 15 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights to the effect that:

> Everyone has the right to a nationality" Art 15(1) "No one shall be deprived of his nationality… Arts 15(2)

It appeared that with the knowledge of all these the UN still endorsed the wishes of the British.

5.5 The British Factor, 1961

Kosi Kedem maintained that the British fought two World Wars because they wanted to preserve their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and that after the Second World War Britain spear-headed the group of nations that created the state of Israel. Kosi was driving home the point that the creation of Israel was executed at a very expensive cost which included the loss of human lives and property, to the Palestinians who own the land. From the time that the state of Israel was created, the Middle East has never known peace. The conflict between Israel and Palestine rendered many Palestinians homeless who were refugees in other countries. Thus the British sacrificed the Palestinians so as to create a sovereign and independent state for the Jews, the state of Israel.[289] In fact, the point I am trying to make or point out here is that statehood was a necessity of such flamboyant importance such that lives and properties had to be lost and people displaced to create one.

Another thing to point out is that to enter into a political union was not a light affair. It was not a child's play, it was a very serious matter. Such a union should have a document which should be carefully indexed and properly documented backing the union, stating clearly the position of the parties that entered into such a union so as to avoid varied or different interpretations as well as conflict in the future. In this situation, there seems to be no union treaty

[289] Kosi Kedem, *op.cit*, p.96

that binds Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun. This may be proven by beginning with an extract from UN General Assembly Resolution 1608 (XV) of 21st April 1961 which stated as follows:

> Invites the Administering Authority, the government of Southern Cameroons and Republic of Cameroun to initiate urgent discussions with a view to finalizing, before 1 October 1961, the arrangement by which the agreed and declared policies of the parties concerned will be implemented.

Even though resolution 1608(XV) was adopted by the UN General Assembly, this was over the stiff opposition of La Republique du Cameroun which, with some other French speaking African states under French influence, voted against the granting of independence to Southern Cameroons. Thus, this now explains the reason for the refusal of La Republique du Cameroun to abide by the mandatory provisions of the UN charter Article 102(1), as to how a member state of the UN could validly join another territory.[290] The tripartite conference envisaged and recommended by the UN did not take place, thus no union treaty was signed by the parties as it is inevitably required by the UN Charter Article 102, and so there appears to have been no agreement filed at the Secretariat of the UN. La Republique du Cameroun and Southern Cameroons may not be cited before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which is an organ of the UN.[291] Mola Njoh Litumbe thus maintained that:

> Independence by joining was a power-sharing arrangement between two territories which otherwise were entitled to independence in their own right, and the fundamental right of the two parties that agree to join, to sovereign independence was as it were, lying fallow, but not extinguished in the process of joining. In the particular case of La Republique du Cameroun and Southern Cameroons, one of the parties had attained independence without the other, and in the absence of a Union Treaty executed by both

[290] Litumbe Mola Njoh, Case of the Annexation of the UN British Administered Territory of Southern Cameroons, paper presented to the International community, Washington DC/Silver Spring Hilton Hotel, USA, 20th August, 2010, pp.7-8

[291] See United Nations Charter Article 102 (2)

> parties and filed at the Secretariat of the United Nations, the parties have legally never joined. The people of Southern Cameroons are therefore entitled to invoke and assert their inalienable and unquestionable right of self-determination guaranteed under the UN Charter. This would not prejudice in any way the territorial rights of the sovereign state of La Republique du Cameroun over its borders inherited on the date of its independence.[292]

Though Mola Njoh Litumbe has elaborated on the issue of independence by joining, such a union was like a polygamous home where the children of different mothers or their mothers cause problems to step brothers/sisters as well as step-mothers. La Republique du Cameroon tactically annexed Southern Cameroons and with all the intrigues and manipulations involved this union may be sitting on a time bomb. The UN may not claim to be free or ignorant of this since it was guided by its charter, and yet still allowed itself to be pressurized and manoeuvred by Britain. The British did all in their power to ensure the reunification of Southern Cameroons with the Republic of Cameroon on 1st October, 1961.

5.6 The Foumban Conference, July 1961

The constitutional conference of Foumban started on Monday 17th July, till Friday, 21st July, 1961.[293] Before the Foumban conference, Southern Cameroons delegates held a conference in Bamenda in June 1961. In this conference they drafted proposals which they were to present at the Foumban conference. One among such proposals was the demand for a free federation and the safeguarding of the powers of the states which were irreconcilable with the plans being formulated in Yaounde. Thus in July, 1961 political party leaders in Southern Cameroons and the Cameroon Republic met in Foumban to draw up a constitution for the federation.[294] Foncha advocated a loose federation in which Southern Cameroons would continue to control internal

[292] Litumbe M.N. *Ibid*. p.10
[293] NAB press Release No.1468 "*Foumban conference ends in complete agreement on major issues"* 24th July, 1961
[294] Federal Republic of Cameroon Constitution, Appendix 1.

affairs. On the other hand Ahmadou Ahidjo was bent to establish strong central institutions. Generally, the main proposals which reflected Southern Cameroons desires to retain certain political prerogatives were ignored or were not considered. For instance, Ahidjo contended that the "bi-cameral system in a federation was classic, but that it is necessary to deal with our parliamentary apparatus in relation to the resources at our disposal."

However, some of the proposals of Southern Cameroons were included in the final draft of the constitution such as the election of the president and vice-president by universal adult suffrage, the House of Chiefs, customary courts, and the selection of the president and vice-president from different states.[295] Southern Cameroons reunified with French Cameroon an already independent state with a highly centralized presidential constitution. John Ngu Foncha had made it very clear that the Southern Cameroons be constituted into a separate entity and continue for a short tiyume under United Kingdom Trusteeship. The Trusteeship Agreement should be modified to allow the Southern Cameroons to be administered separately from Nigeria. During this interim period the Southern Cameroons will work towards complete independence.

In other words, Foncha had declared his desire for a maximal situation in which Southern Cameroons was allowed an extended period of trusteeship by Britain and reunification achieved sovereignty so that it could negotiate reunification with the Republic of Cameroon at par but Endeley backed by Britain kicked against it.[296] Endeley later was pushing for reunification and independence, in line with what the KNDP finally delivered, but the good intentions of Endeley for Southern Cameroons were thwarted by "bad faith" and lack of political will by Ahidjo.

Ahidjo did not want the authority and power enjoyed by his party, Union Camerounaise (UC) to diminish. In order to retain this hegemony there were proposals for provisions for a wide

[295] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *op.cit*, pp. 159-160
[296] Anthony Ndi, *op.cit.* p.167

range of issues which were to come within the federal arena of competence under the new regime. As a result, reunification did not surface in a wide degree of decentralization that the KNDP had envisaged. What seems to have contributed to this weakness was the fact that the government of Southern Cameroons had not achieved independence before negotiation with the Ahidjo regime and therefore, was not in a position to demand retention of powers by the state. The Foumban conference was followed by another meeting, the Yaounde Tripartite conference of August 1961, whose outcome was a draft constitution, which was later approved by the legislature in both territories.

The creation of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon in 1961, established by Law No. 24/61 of 1st September, 1961, was in fact, an amendment of the constitution of La Republique du Cameroun (LRC), adopted on 21st February, 1960. Law No. 24/61 which purported to establish a federation was merely a change of name of the same state of La Republique du Cameroun.

Formation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon

Ahmadou Ahidjo promulgated the constitution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon into law, which was to come into existence on October 1, 1961, on September, 1, 1966 with members of the Republic of Cameroon. No one from Southern Cameroon was present at the signing.[297]

Title 1. The Federal Republic of Cameroon
Article 1: The Federal Republic of Cameroon is formed as from 1st October 1961, of the Territory of the Republic of Cameroon, henceforth called East Cameroon, and the Territory of the Southern Cameroons formerly under United Kingdom Administration henceforth called West Cameroon.
Title iv: The Federal legislature
Article 18: Before a Law is promulgated, the president of the Federal Republic may request a second reading thereof, either of his own motion or at the request of either of the prime ministers of Federated states…. The law shall be adopted only if the majority specified in the preceding article comprises a majority of the votes of the deputies of each of the Federated states.

[297] Mola, *op.cit*

Revision

Article 47(1): Any proposal for the revision of the present constitution which impairs in the unity and integrity of the Federation shall be inadmissible.

Yaounde 1st September 1961 Signed Ahmadou Ahidjo

The conspiracy by the Ahidjo government that led to the annexation, colonization, and assimilation of the Southern Cameroons people had a systematic beginning. The amended constitution of La Republique du Cameroun was manipulated to seem as if it was the working of both governments. Thus the above law was promulgated by Ahmadou Ahidjo, president of La Republique du Cameroun when Southern Cameroons was a separate UN trust territory under the administration of Britain. It is important to note that on 1 October, 1960, when Britain granted independence to Nigeria and could no longer administer Southern Cameroons from Nigeria, an order-in-council by Her Majesty the Queen of England transferred the powers to Southern Cameroons, hitherto vested in the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, to a commissioner for Southern Cameroons, Johnson O. Field with residence at Buea, the capital of Southern Cameroons during British colonial rule/domination. By that Order-in-council, the commissioner as well as the ministers of government in the Southern Cameroons cabinet held office at the pleasure of the Queen of England who exercised ultimate authority over the Southern Cameroons Trust Territory. The British left the trust territory without first yielding the instruments to the democratically functional government of Southern Cameroons.[298] It is also important to note that the constitution which the British prepared for Southern Cameroons was put before the British parliament in Whitehall in London on 16th of September, 1960 and it became law on 1st October, 1960, the day Nigeria was granted independence. The constitution provided for two houses of parliament, the House of Chiefs and the House of Assembly, an independent Judiciary and so on.

[298] Litumbe Mola Njoh, *op.cit*, p.14

But it reserved certain powers to the colonial office in London. Those powers were Foreign Affairs, defence and to an extent taxation.[299] Thus until the end of the trusteeship period over Southern Cameroons, the government of John Ngu Foncha had no constitutional authority to discuss the foreign affairs of Southern Cameroons. Thus the British made Foncha who was acting in good faith to believe that he had certain powers which he didn't have.[300] To further, prove the conspiracy of Britain, no British official attended the Foumban conference, but the French were there to guide and direct Ahidjo and his people. As already mentioned Law No.24/61 forming the Federal Republic of Cameroon was a mere amendment of the first constitution of La Republique du Cameroun which was adopted after its independence on 1 January, 1960 and was approved by its parliament on 21 February, 1960. There is no doubt that the law of 1st September, 1961 merely changed the name of the state from La Republique du Cameroun to La Republique Federal du Cameroun.

Since the 1961 constitution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon was claimed to be the instrument purporting to have joined Southern Cameroons to La Republique du Cameroun as from 1st October 1961, it is of basic necessity to debunk this baseless claim by noting that the 1961 Federal constitution was promulgated into law on 1st September 1961 by president Ahmadou Ahidjo, in his capacity as Head of State of La Republique du Cameroun. That constitution legislated exclusively for the sovereign state of La Republique du Cameroun that achieved independence on 1 January, 1960, from the former French administered territory of East Cameroun and therefore, could not have any legislative authority over Southern Cameroons territory, which at that particular time was still a UN trust territory under British rule. To further debunk this claim, though Article 2 of the 1961 Federal constitution stipulated that national

[299] Interview with Mola Njoh Litumbe on Thursday 26th March, 2015, at 10.00 am, at Bonkwango Junction, Buea.
[300] Interview with Christian Cardinal Tumi in Douala on Monday, 12th May, at 5pm.

sovereignty shall be vested in the Cameroonian people, the people concerned or referred to could be none other than the people of La Republique du Cameroun as at the date of passing the law of 1st September, 1961. The people therefore, could not include persons outside the territorial boundaries of French Cameroun that became La Republique du Cameroun at independence on 1st January 1960. Thus the inclusion of Southern Cameroons as constituting part of La Republique du Cameroun as from 1st October, 1961, without the execution and filing of a Union Treaty as mandatorily by the UN Charter Article 102 is nothing but an act of imperialism and annexation of one country by another.[301]

5.7 The Reunification of Cameroon, October, 1961

John Ngu Foncha had accepted in 1959 that the sovereignty of Southern Cameroons should be transferred to Nigeria or French Cameroon as the UN had endorsed following the outcome of the plebiscite of 11th February, 1961. However, he later changed his mind on this and desired that sovereignty be transferred to an independent Southern Cameroons, and from there, the territory would negotiate its reunification. Contrary to this, Ahidjo emphasized in May 1961, that the Sovereignty of Southern Cameroons should be transferred to the Republic of Cameroon on 1st October 1961. Pending the formation of the federal system, Ahmadou Ahidjo wanted that the sovereignty should be exercised by him and a representative of the Southern Cameroons.[302] In June 1961 when Foncha asked the Attorney-General of the Southern Cameroons to produce a legal brief on the transfer of the Sovereignty of the territory, the Attorney-General argued that the sovereignty of the territory should be transferred to an appropriate body representing the future of the federation and not to the Republic of Cameroon, but Ahidjo rejected it. It seems that the KNDP's refusal to form a coalition government with the

[301] Litumbe Mola Njoh, *op.cit*. p.15
[302] Victor Julius Ngoh, *op.cit* p.81

CPNC thereby forming a common united front weakened Foncha's position and empowered Ahidjo to reject it. Neither Ahidjo's proposal nor that of Foncha was accepted, and in the Yaounde Tripatitie conference of August, 1961, an Exchange of Notes between London and Yaounde, occurred.

Accordingly, this exchange of notes as it is claimed was drafted to the effect that suitable arrangements had been made between Yaounde and Buea. Note that this Exchange of Notes was between Her Majesty's Ambassador accredited to La Republique du Cameroun in Yaounde, Mr. C.E. King, with the president of La Republique du Cameroun, Alhaji Ahmadou Ahidjo. Below, is the Exchange of Notes in full details

i.

The British Ambassador accredited to La Republique du Cameroun to the president of La Republique du Cameroun
27th September, 1961

Mr President
I am directed by my Government, in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 1608(XV) of 21st April, 1961 which stipulates that the trusteeship exercised by the United Kingdom in Southern Cameroons by virtue of the Trusteeship Agreement of 13th December, 1946 shall come to an end next October 1st "When the Trust Territory joins La Republique du Cameroun and to inform you that the trusteeship shall cease to be exercised in Southern Cameroons on 30th September 1961 at midnight, since the Territory will join the Republic of Cameroon on 1st October, 1961 at Zero hour.
Yours….

C.E. King
British Ambassador

ii.

The President of La Republque du Cameroun to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Yaounde
27th September, 1961

Your Excellency
I hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter dated this day in which your Excellency has informed me as follows:
I observe that in line with the above cited Resolution, Southern Cameroons will join La Republique du Cameroun next October 1st and that consequently, the British Trusteeship on that territory shall cease to be exercised with effect from midnight 30th September, 1961.
Yours ……

A. Ahidjo

President, La Republique du Cameroun

Thus, on October 1, 1961 the reunification of the Cameroons took place, and the Federal Republic of Cameroon came into existence. The former Southern Cameroons became the state of West Cameroon and the former Cameroon Republic became the state of East Cameroon. Ahmadou Ahidjo became the president of the Federal Republic, J.N. Foncha while remaining Prime Minister of West Cameroon, became the Vice-president of the Federal Republic.[303] However, on the day of these exchange of notes, the Administering Authority in the UN trust territory of Southern Cameroons was Britain. That trust obligation of Britain to the UN, as prescribed by Article 76(b) of UN charter was to lead the trust territory to self-government or independence. The Exchange of Notes portrays a betrayal of trust responsibility to Southern Cameroons, in that power should have been given to the fully functional Government of Southern Cameroons, consistent with UN General Assembly Resolution 1514(XV) of 14th December, 1960, and not stealthily, without saying so, to La Republique, a third party. It appears that the British Ambassador in Yaounde accredited to La Republique du Cameroon had no powers or jurisdiction over Southern Cameroons which was until 1st October, 1960 administered as part of Nigeria. In addition, the legal representative of Her Majesty's Government in Southern Cameroons until the termination of British Trust mandate at midnight on 30th September 1961, was Johnson O. Field, the British commissioner for Southern Cameroons who was resident at Buea, and not the British Ambassador in Yaounde accredited to La Republique du Cameroun.

The British seems to have made it clear that they had rather negligently administered, this little patch of Africa ever since the First World War, but since it was a United Nations Trust Territory there was no profit in it.[304] They advanced the same claim for British Togoland that the

[303] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*, p.157
[304] John Percival, *op.cit*. p.xiii

"Trust Territory lagged behind the Gold Coast in terms of development since the British Government did not wish to spend money on a territory it was holding in trust for the United Nations".[305]

It appears that the foundation of the 50th anniversary celebration of Cameroon reunification was not properly laid, since there was discontent with the status quo, as the international community was made to believe that this celebration had cemented, solidified, and integrated the two Cameroons. Carrying out such a celebration would mean reunification brought development, democracy, greater freedom of expression, better standards of living to Cameroonians in general and Southern Cameroons in particular. But a few years after reunification, the state of West Cameroon was cancelled in a referendum, in which Ahidjo violated Article 47(1) of the 1961 Federal Constitution which was intended to protect and guarantee the separate personalities of the two states that casually intended to unite in a federation. That is the reason why this article provided that any proposal for the revision of the constitution which impaired the unity and integrity of the federation shall be inadmissible. Through the violation of this article, Ahidjo abolished the federation for a unitary state. Given the fact that people have always agitated before, during and after the reunification celebration, was a clear indication that there was no basis for the reunification. According to popular opinion, reunification retarded development in Southern Cameroons.[306] The reunification monument in Buea weights 162 tons, is 17.2 metres in diameter, and 10 metres high. It is made up of 10 pillars around a two ton reunification logo made of glass fiber.[307] On a wall behind the reunification monument, these words are written: "Cameroon is one and indivisible". New Broom Magazine

[305] Kosi Kedem, *Petition Against The May 1956 Togoland Plebiscite* (UN. Res. 94(X)) And UN Res. 1044(XI) Expressing Approval for a Ghana-British-Togoland Union, p.4
[306] Interview with Mr. Eboko Abel in Kumba on Tuesday 14th April, 2015 at 5.00pm,
[307] *New Broom Magazine*, April-Mary 2014, p.34

contended that this reads more like a veiled threat to the English-speaking town of Buea than a cri de ralliement to all Cameroons including those who have their doubts about this union. The union indeed was very doubtful. The terms of joining have been aborted by the Ahidjo and Biya regimes through the authoritarian action of their governments. The claim that "Cameroon is one and indivisible" is falsehood. It is only a gimmick. If Cameroon was really one and indivisible why the continuous agitations in the country, particularly by the Anglophones. What is happening to Southern Cameroonians in the period of study go to confirm what Foley Newns rightly noted that:

> ….. Britain as administering authority has responsibility not to allow these nice little people (i.e. Southern Cameroons) to commit suicide. This they will do if they join the Republic of Cameroon. The people on that side (i.e. the French Cameroonians) are more sophisticated and will swallow these people up.[308]

Like a prophecy, the words of Foley Newns described the exact situation in Cameroon, in this period. The people of Southern Cameroons completely swallowed and with the realization that they are marginalized, agitations manifest in multidimensional forms. There is a school of thought which hold the view that effective unification of Cameroon was seen under President Paul Biya,[309] and that unification was also seen in social services and institutions. This school of thought failed to show how unification was effective under Paul Biya as well as social services and institutions.[310]

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[308] Victor Julius Ngoh, *op.cit*. p.25

[309] Atem George, *How Unified is the Republic of Cameroon?The Unification of the Institutions of the Republic of Cameroon,* Buea Cameroon, 2012, pp. 92-98

[310] We know from our period of study that in Cameroon, President Paul Biya is worshiped and glorified. Many hungry politicians have said all sort of things to glorify him. For instance, Mr. Ngolle Ngolle Elvis, former minister of Forestry and Wild Life claims that calling the name of the president is like saying the Lord's Prayer. This go a long way to support the claims that unification is effective under Paul Biya as well as social institutions and services. Some boot lickers of the regime say the "CPDM" (the ruling party is the way and truth..

The difficulties of unification arose from several angles and dimensions. Thus,the different traditions of the Republic and Southern Cameroons. The two territories were until 1914, parts of the original German colony of Kamerun. But these trust territories had adopted different traditions and ways of life. Southern Cameroons adopted English as the official language, and language of higher education and French Cameroon adopted French as the official language, French Cameroon was in the Franc Zone and Southern Cameroons in the sterling Area. Southern Cameroons followed a system of justice based on English and the other a system of justice based on the French. One of the major problems was that Southern Cameroons did not have its own defence forces, but only a small police force and had depended since its separation from Nigeria as from 1st October, 1960, on a British Batallion for its security.[311] Security is a very important issue. Malcom Milne, the Deputy Commissioner for Southern Cameroon narrated how the British Government issued an ultimatum to Foncha and Ahidjo.

> On 23rd June 1961, the U.K. Foreign Office sent a joint telegram to Foncha and Ahidjo conveying His Majesty. Government's (HMG) final views to both gentlemen regarding the matters raised between 15th and 17th May, HMG considered that the UNO resolution requested the termination of UK trusteeship on 1st October 1961 and consequently after that date HMG would cease to have any responsibility for the affairs of the Southern Cameroons.[312]

In fact the way the British neglected Southern Cameroons during their trusteeship, no one could doubt the way they dropped the trust territory like garbage in a dustbin. Carelessly handing the territory to the government of La Republic du Cameroun, had culminated in the way it was governed and problems it was facing in the period of study. when S.T. Muna was discussing unification issues with ministers of Cameroon Republic, it was pointed out that, one side had been brought up in the British tradition and the other side in the French tradition. It was

[311] *West African Review, op.cit*, p.20
[312] Anthony Ndi, *op.cit.* p.306

therefore, considered that it would be wrong to try to impose a way of life on a territory to which it was not accustomed.[313]

Thus the French way of life in our period of study was imposed on Anglophones by the Paul Biya regime, thus causing agitations and conflict.

5.8 Euphoria of the Reunification, 1961

In 1961, the Euphoria of the reunification was very high in Southern Cameroon. The reason was because they preferred the devil they did not know i.e. French Cameroon rather than the devil they knew i.e. the Igbo of Eastern Nigeria. The Igbo domination of southern Cameroon pushed them to join the Republic of Cameroon.[314] No sooner than this Euphoria evaporated the expectation of Southern Cameroonians from the reunification began to die down because in 1972 president Ahmadou Ahidjo abolished the Federal State in favour of a unitary one. This in fact begun the marginalization of the Anglophones in Cameroon as well as increasing the gap between the Francophones and Anglophones. The euphoria seems to have completely died in 1961 as many people were still questioning the basis of the reunification. This was discussed in the next chapter.

5.9 Conclusion

The situation in Southern Cameroons during this period showed that everything about the plebiscite and reunification was built on a weak foundation. The development of Southern Cameroons was relatively lagging behind since reunification caused them to lose the capacity to tame and harness their physical environment. The sophistication of British colonial hegemony in conspiracy with the United Nations completely shattered the dream of Southern Cameroon to

[313] NAB Press Release No. 618, "*Mr. Muna Explores Unification Issues with Ministers of Cameroon Republic*." 4th January, 1960

[314] British Achives 43B 5A 368 FCO 65/50 Return by (24/08/2012) 8236144 (Sabine Scheuring) S 13/07/2012 10:16:44.

achieve self-government or independence. Thus the plebiscite held in two separate territories under the trusteeship agreement, administered by the same colonial power, was not a mere coincidence. It was carefully planned and masterfully executed. The United Nations in this period of study may therefore not claim that it was misled by Britain. It can be generally contended that the UN and Britain were partners in a political display who delayed the independence of Southern Cameroons because independence by joining was questionable. The school of thought blaming Foncha as a poor negotiator failed to see the politics played by the British and UN during this period. Even if the opposition in Southern Cameroons were in agreement with KNDP, the ruling party, the U.K had devised every means to delay the independence of Southern Cameroons as shown in this chapter. Ahidjo wanted reunification but with Northern Cameroons, Southern Cameroon was his last choice. In the same way that the British violated Article 76(b) of the United Nations Charter, so too did Ahidjo, when he violated Article 47(i) and abolished the Federal Constitution. The annexation of Southern Cameroon seems to have resulted to its dependency on La Republic du Cameroun, thus its relative underdevelopment.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF THE REUNIFICATION ON SOUTHERN CAMEROON, 1960-2014

6.0 Introduction

The impact of the reunification of British Cameroon and French Cameroon on Southern Cameroon could be traced to the colonial period. As mentioned in chapter one, p.2, post-colonial developments could be linked directly to the nature of colonialism in Cameroon which was quite complex arising from the domination of the area by three imperial powers, which was not the case with other states in Africa which had only one colonial power. Theory, as the new-nation states took shape, hold that government was to be democratic in that the people meet, dicuss, decide, and government would reflect over the issues discussed. It is said however, that for as long as these countries were colonies, government was always by regid dictatorship.[315] Colonial powers ruled by decree, which was ministered by an authoritarian bureaucracy to which any thought of people's participation was considered as subversion. In the same way in Cameroon, what people complained to the government was considered to be subversion. This may be seen from the problems in Southern Cameroon in the period of study. It seems therefore, that the systems that were 'taken over' may vary in culture, but all of them, from the British and the French and so on, supposed that all government work, as well as all the important decisions that depend on it and from it, was to be exercised by a bureaucracy trained and tested in authoritarian habits and practices.[316] This seems relatively to be a replica of the Cameroon government. Thus this impact can be seen clearly in the area of political, economic and social marginalization of the Anglophones. It is important to note here that Post-Colonial Cameroon is almost the extension of the Colonial period. This was so because during the colonial period the

[315] Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden*, Spectrum Books Ltd, Nigeria, 2012, p. 208
[316] Ibid

Britistish instituted indirect rule through the chiefs, but in the real sense of it, the Brirish were actually the ones in command and the chiefs were just figure heads. The French with their policy of assimilation preached equality and the assimilation of Africans to French language and culture, assimilation was never widely applied, nor was it a practical possibility. Africans were subject to a separate legal system from that of the French, known as the indigenat. In Cameroon in the period of study, there was over centralization of authority as was the case during the colonial period. The point i am driving home is that the rule of the colonial powers was dictatorship, a situation which seems to be the case in Cameroon in the period of study.

Authoritarianism was used during the colonial period by the colonialists to maintain their hegemony over the colonized peoples all over the world. In the Post-Colonial period the leaders who became heads of states in their various countries inherited this authoritarian spirit from the colonial powers and ruled in a manner of subjecting their people to succumb to their wishes. For instance, authoritarian rule during the Ahidjo era, and later Paul Biya in the period of study. Authoritarianism during this period manifested in many African States such as Uganda under Idi Amin, Nigeria under Sani Abacha, Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) under Mobutu Sese Seko, Libya under Muamar Ghadaffi, Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah, Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe, Cameroon under Ahmadou Ahidjo, later Paul Biya and a host of others. Authoritarian leaders did everything possible to remain in power like Ahidjo who opened torture centres such as the Brigade Mixte Mobile (BMM) where people were tortured and imprisoned. He even carried out public executions, unlike his successor Paul Biya who has never executed anyone, but no one knows what he does in private.[317] Ahidjo resigned in 1982 and Biya took over till this period of study. Authoritarianism refers to the principle of blind submission to authority, as opposed to indidividual freedom of thought and action. In government, authoritarianism denotes

[317] Interview Christian Cardinal Tumi in Douala on Monday. 12th May, 2015, at 5pm

any political system that concentrates power in the hands of a leader or a small group that is not constitutionally responsible to the body of the people. Authoritarian leaders often exercise power arbitrarily and without regard to existing bodies of law, and they usually cannot be replaced by citizens choosing freely among various competitors in elections. [318]

The political regime of Ahidjo was based on authoritarianism, and that of Biya was not different from the former, perhaps even worse. The problems of the Anglophone minority started with the British organized plebiscites and reunification. The trend of events proceeded to the Ahidjo regime who started the gradual and systematic assimilation of the Anglophones, the process which has continued in this period by the Biya regime. In fact, what France wanted to see happen in Cameroon was not the integration of the two cultures, which Cameroonians inherited from their colonial history, but rather the assimilation of Anglophones by Francophones.[319] Consequently the Biya regime further ensured the discrimination, marginalization, and Francophonisation of Anglophones through various means, thus the emergence of pressure groups such as the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) and so on, fighting Anglophone Marginalization, demanding autonomy and secession due to bad administration, and relative underdevelopment of the Anglophone region, as well as authoritarianism.

6.1 The Ahmadou Ahidjo Administration, 1960-1982

When French Cameroon achieved independence on 1 January, 1960, Ahmadou Ahidjo became president. On 1 October, 1961, when Southern Cameroons reunified with French Cameroon, Ahidjo became president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. He ruled as mentioned above, from 1960-1982 when he resigned and Paul Biya took over as president.

[318] The New Encycloopaedia Britanica, Volume I, London, 2007, p.722.
[304] Chritian Cardinal Tumi, *My Faith*: *A Cameroon to be renewed*, Editions Veritas, Douala, Cameroon, 2011, p.35

Ahidjo dominated all public and political institutions. Having been forced initially to adopt a federal constitution so as to facilitate reunification with Southern Cameroons, Ahidjo was to gear his politics towards increased centralization. The aim of this was to assimilate Anglophone Cameroonians and weakened all opposition, as well as the authority of the traditional elite.[320] As far as assimilation was concerned in this area of study, there was no relative equality, but rather the relative segregation of the Anglophones. The authoritarian nature of his regime in addition to public executions made him to be feared by many.[321] He was Head of State and Head of Government and the Supreme Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. The institutions were highly centralized and he wielded centralized political power, controlling legislative power, and subdued the judiciary through direct appointment. He was the Chairman of the only political party, the Cameroon National Union (CNU). Ahidjo was power hungry and his authoritarian practices manifested in the one party administration. He was unopposed in any election to the presidency since he was the only candidate, and was responsible for all political appointments.

More than some fifty years ago in Foumban, Anglophones and Francophones agreed to officially come together and build a strong and united nation. But it was a Francophone president Ahmadou Ahidjo who in 1972 violated the Foumban accord which provided for a bilingual and bi-cultural federation in which Anglophones and Francophones would develop and prosper in harmony and mutual trust.[322] Ahidjo was dreaded and adored but hardly admired and loved by the masses he ruled with an iron hand.[323] Anthony Ndi quotes J.F. Bayart as stating that:

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[320] John Percival, *The 1961 Cameroon Plebiscite: Choice or Betrayal ?* Langea Research and Publishing CIG Mankon, Bamenda, 2008, p.4

[321] Interview with Professor Fanso Verkijika Gerald in Messa, Yaounde on Tuesday , 8th September, 2015, at 11:00am

[322] *The Guardian Magazine*, August-November, 2011 p.37

[323] Anthony Ndi, *Southern West Cameroon Revisited*, North-South West Nexus 1858-1972, Paul's press Bamenda, 2013, p.125

> It can be categorically asserted that there are no political or economic authorities in Cameroon which do not derive their authority, directly or indirectly, from the president of the Republic: Ahmadou Ahidjo was the source of all power in the state and governed in an active and personal manner.[324]

He was everything in the state. No one dared opposed him. His political opponents were dealt with and sent to the dreaded BMM at the Bamenda station. It was said that some people, because of severe torture died at the BMM.[325] There was no freedom of speech and the press was strictly censored. In East Cameroon, the political situation was less complex than in West Cameroon. Between 1961 and 1962, some parties were convinced of the Union Camerounaise's (UC) leadership towards creating a unified party.[326] However, some parties were opposed to Ahidjo's concept of a unified party and rejected the idea. Dr. Beybey Eyidi, of partie Travailliste Camerounais (PTC), Mayi Matip of the Union des populations du Cameroun (UPC) among others who rejected Ahidjo's idea of a unified party were arrested, tried and convicted on charges of inciting hatred against the government as well as spreading harmful information to public authorities. They were imprisoned. On 11 June, 1966, the leaders of three west Cameroon parties, including the prime ministers of the two Federated States were summoned by Ahidjo to the presidential palace in Younde and persuaded them to make a decision on the issue of a national party immediately. The four political leaders whom Ahidjo invited to Yaounde after discussing the matter for two days resolved to dissolve their parties to create a new national party. Thus, the political parties in East and West Cameroon amalgamated to form a new party to be known as the Cameroon National Union (CNU). Ahidjo became the leader of the party. J.N. Foncha and Andre Tchoungi, prime minister of East Cameroon became First and Second Vice-

[324] *Ibid*. p.127
[325] Interview with Mr. Ndze Maurice in Kumbo on Monday, 7th September, 2015, at 2.00pm
[326] For details of political parties, see Fanso V.G. C*ameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges Vol.2. The Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods* Macmillan Cameroon Ltd. 1989, pp. 143-166

Presidents respectively, Samuel Kame became Secretary General of the party, Moussa Yaya, Ekah Nghaky and Tabi Egbe became Assistant General Secretaries. Prime Minister Jua of West Cameroon, Dr. E.M.L. Endeley, Dr. Bernard N. Fonlon and Henry Elangwe were included as general members. On 1 September, 1966, the CNU came into being.[327] Some parties that were still in opposition later joined the new party. They included Patrick Okala's Partie Socialiste Camerounais (PSC), the Democrate Camerounais (DC) of Andre Marie Mbida, who dissolved and amalgamated with the new party. Later in 1968, the legal UPC under Mayi-Matip dissolved and joined the CNU.

It should be noted that as of 1966, there was no formal opposition to the one-party, the CNU, in both the Federal and State Legislatures. Thus, the CNU held its first congress in Maroua in 1969. In this congress a new political bureau of 35 was elected. This was done to replace the provisional executive that was named in 1966.[328] From every indication, Ahidjo cherished power so much. Power seems to him an ultimate desire to achieve. It can therefore be posited that his using every tactic, and even imprisoning political leaders who were opposed to his idea of a unified party was a clear indication that he needed this unified party at all cost. He had announced publicly on 11 November, 1962, the formation of a great unified party, which he used every means to create. Those in opposition were intimidated and were prevented from holding party conferences. We can categorically state therefore, that the CNU was Ahidjo's Union Camerounaise (UC) in disguise, absorbing all political parties in both Federated States in the name of a national unified party. He wielded considerable authority over the people he ruled.

Having succeeded in dissolving all political parties in East and West Cameroon, Ahidjo's next move was to abolish the Federal State in favour of a unitary system, thus violating article

[327]*Ibid*
[328]*Ibid*

47(1) of the Federal Constitution which clearly stated that any proposal for the revision of the present constitution which impaired the unity and integrity of the Federation shall be inadmissible. As a result of quest for power Ahidjo organized an unconstitutional referendum on 20 May, 1972, abolishing the federal state. The Ahidjo administration was seriously opposed and challenged against this by Albert Mukong and others. Mukong was arrested and imprisoned. When he was released from prison, he published a book titled *"Prisoner without a Crime*". Ahidjo had openly declared at the United Nations in New York in 1960 when the UN summoned him and Tafawa Balewa that:

> I would not like firmness and clarity of our stand to be interpreted as a desire for integration on my part which would sound the death knell to the hopes of our brothers of the British administration. In other words, if our brothers of the British zone wish to unite with an independent Cameroon, we are ready to discuss the matter with them, but we will discuss it on the footing of equality.[329]

This was the basis on which Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun joined each other. Thus Ahidjo did not want any diminishment of the authority and power which the Union Camerounaise (UC) his party, enjoyed, and in order to retain that kind of control there were proposals for provisions for a wide range of issues which were to come within the federal sphere of competence under the new regime.[330] It seems very clear from this that Ahidjo was a secretive person who thought only of himself and what he would achieve or gain. Thus, he stretched the tentacles of the authority he enjoyed as leader of the UC and as president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon to violate whatever agreement that had been made between the two states, abolishing the federation and consolidating power to himself. It was said that he was the Machiavellian of his time.[331] Thus, in 1972, when Ahidjo cancelled or abolished the

[329] Anthony Ndi, *op.cit*. p. 143
[330] Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *A History of the Cameroon*, Longman, London, 1974, p.160
[331] Interview with (Shufai) Barrister Blaise Berinuy in Buea on 23rd March, 2015 at 10:30am.

federation, the country became the United Republic of Cameroon (URC), thereby giving the impression to the rest of the world, via the referendum, the impression of a democratic transition to the very name proposed by the U.K. and the UN minus the word Federal.[332] When the federation had been abolished and a unitary state put in its place, Ahidjo proclaimed it to be a national day. The unitary state was created on 20th May, 1972, since then till this period of study 1884-2014, 20th May was celebrated in Cameroon as "national day". However, it should be noted that Ahidjo was strongly opposed by Victor Kanga and many others. Kanga was a Minister in Ahidjo,s government, and was dismissed for opposing the policies of the Ahidjo regime.[333] Bishop Albert Ndongmo and Ernest Ouadie were also arrested and imprisoned for opposing the policies of Ahidjo administration, and Ouandie was later executed.[334]

Ahidjo and his administration divided West Cameroon into North-West and South-West provinces. East Cameroon was divided into five provinces namely: Littoral, Central-South, North, East and West. In all, the administration created seven administrative provinces (regions) in the United Republic of Cameroon. According to sources, Ahidjo decided to choose the birthday of his wife Germaine, May 20, as the National Day. It seems therefore that, since 1972, Cameroonians celebrated Germaine Ahidjo's birthday every 20th May.[335] Since 1972 that the Unitary State was instituted, Anglophones relatively marginalized, their cultural identity erased, and their regions relatively underdeveloped.

Christian cardinal Tumi opined that:

> The formal agreement of 1961 in Foumban foresaw neither the assimilation, nor dilution, nor the complete disappearance of the personality of the English-speaking part of the country. It is

[332] "The Cameroon Federation as approved by UN in 1961*" Le Messager* vol. II No. 31 Monday August 24, 1992
[333]*Op.cit*. p.169
[334] *Op.cit.* p.169
[335]*The Guardian Magazine*, August-November, 2011. *Op.cit*. p.17

> obvious that Ahmadou Ahidjo, making use of the absolute and exceptional powers the president had, did away with his Anglophone partners in Foumban by imposing on them a gradual and political change and development which was completely different and opposed to their own political ambitions.[336]

Seemingly, whatever was agreed in Foumban, Ahidjo seems to have capitalized on his powers as the president and imposed policies on the Anglophones which were completely different from their own. As earlier stated, Ahidjo was dreaded. Those who went the other way round were slammed behind prison bars.It can be said that in any soaciety with relative democracy, there were checks and balances to checkmate the organs of government. This was not the case in the Ahidjo government as every opposition was sent to prison or executed.Coming back to the referendum which was organized by Ahidjo, logically, Francophones would not have been allowed to vote. It seems that since Southern Cameroons voted to join La Republique du Cameroun in this union, the fate of the referendum would have been allowed to them to make a decision like was the case during the plebiscite. In the referendum the overwhelming Francophone majority overshadowed the Anglophone minority. It is important to note that the concept of "Anglophone" came into popular usage in Cameroon after the annexation of Southern Cameroons in 1972 following an unconstitutional referendum schemed up by Ahidjo [337].

Mola, Njoh Litumbe maintained that:

> It was that constitution which president Ahidjo swore before parliament and the nation of La Republique du Cameroun to uphold and defend. Therefore, for him to have initiated an amendment eleven years later to abolish the Federation by what

[336] Christian Cardinal Tumi, *op.cit* p.38
[337] Nfor N. Nfor, *The Southern Cameroons; The Truth of the Matter*, Bamenda, Cameroon, p.31

> was termed "the peaceful revolution" was a treasonable offence for which he should have been impeached.[338]

Mola further noted that, besides the change of name from La Republique du Cameroun to La Republique Federal du Cameroun on 1 October, 1961, would appear not to have been notified to the United Nations. On 4 January, 1974, the United Nations was notified of a name changed to United Republic of Cameroon, following the transformation of the Federal State to a unitary state on 20 May, 1972.[339] However, contrary to declarations and expectations the federation was not one of equality between the Anglophones and the Francophones. It did not provide for equal partnership and for the equitable preservation of the cultural heritage of each territory. Instead, it was a veiled preparatory stage for the assimilation of Anglophones and their territory into a highly centralized Francophone unitary state.[340]

Consequently, the federal constitution that followed reunification provided merely for a "sham federation which "safe for appearances and for the annexation of Southern Cameroons". Thus, under the unitary constitution, Southern Cameroons lost the autonomy it had prior to 1961. The assimilation process accompanied by processes of marginalizing Anglophones gave rise to Anglophone problem for which Anglophones were seeking a redress in the form of re-establishing a genuine two-state federation or, failing which, the autonomy of the Southern Cameroons.[341]

The assimilation of the Southern Cameroons by French Cameroon started with reunification in 1961 and was effected in several ways. Some few months after reunification,

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338 Litumbe Mola Njoh, *Case of Annexation of the UN British Administered Territory of Southern Cameroons*, paper presented to the International Community, Washington DC/Silver Spring Hilton Hotel, USA, 20th August, 2010, p.14

339 *Ibid*. p.16

340 Tangie Fonchingong, *The Quest for Autonomy*: *The Case of Anglophone Cameroonin the African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, vol.7(5) August 2013, p.225

341 *Ibid*.

Ahmadou Ahidjo created a system of regional administration. Through this system of regional administration Southern Cameroons was designated as one of six regions, thus clearly ignoring the federal character of the country. In April, 1962, the currency was changed from the pound sterling which was used in Southern Cameroons to French Franc CFA. In the traffic system, the left-hand drive was replaced with the right-hand drive that was used in French Cameroon. The second stage, which i already mentioned in this discourse was the extension of the one-party system in 1966 to Southern Cameroons which was in existence in French Cameroon at the time of reunification in 1961. Thus, all existing political parties in Southern Cameroons were dissolved and absorbed by Ahidjo's Single Union Camerounaise (UC) that existed in East Cameroon. Eventually, the disappearance of all Anglophone parties heralded the drowning of the Anglophone voice.[342] The 1972 controversial "referendum" by which Ahidjo transformed the federation into a unitary state, the United Republic of Cameroon, was the third stage of the assimilation process. The fourth and final stage of the assimilation process was effected by Paul Biya who succeeded Ahidjo in 1982 as we shall see under his administration.

This assimilation process led to a systematic policy of Francophonising the Anglophones and obliterating anything Anglophone, and manipulating the cultural and institutional foundations of Anglophone identity. There was ample evidence of this as seen from the imposition of the French language on Anglophones by the use of the public broadcast media where seven-eighths of broadcast time was reserved for French language programmes.[343] It seems that the rule of law did not matter. What was most important was what Ahidjo had decreed or said. Thus democracy, which was founded on the primacy of the law and the exercise of human rights was only in theory. It was said that in a democratic state, no one was above the law

[342]*Ibid*
[343]*Ibid*

and all were equal before the law.[344] He appeared to be above the law and his regime seems to be worse than a military dictatorship. Basil Davidson maintained that:

> The new nation-states inherited the dictatorship and not the democracy, and that anyone who thought it wasn't so had better have his head examined. The systems that were "taken over" might vary in detail and culture, but all of them-from the British and French through to the Belgian and Portuguese and Spanish supposed that the actual work of government, and all the crucial decisions depending on it and from it, would be exercised by a bureaucracy trained and tested in authoritarian habits and practices. And this acute rigidity was made all the more immovable by another fact, that no colonial government had ever, anywhere, devolved any noticeable quantity of power to democratic forms of local government.[345]

I cannot from the above doubt Ahidjo's authoritarian principles. He was a product of the colonial government and would therefore not act to the contrary. The so-called indirect rule was a subtle way by the colonial government to make chiefs believe that they had been given the power to rule, whereas in the real sense, the colonialists were the people in control of power. The appointments Ahidjo carried out may have made those he had appointed to think they were in control of power in their sphere of work whereas Ahidjo was the one in control. Thus democracy which was based on the existence of well structured and well-functioning institutions as well as on a body of standards and rules on the will of the society as a whole, fully conversant with its insights and responsibilities[346] was thwarted or dealt away with, for authoritarianism to prevail.

6.2 The Paul Biya Administration, 1982-2014

The announcement by Ahmadou Ahidjo on National Radio on 4th November, 1982, about his resignation took Cameroonians by surprise [347]. People were shocked as they listened with disbelief to this announcement. Ahidjo had been in power for more than twenty years and had

[344] Cherif Bassioni, et al. *The Interparliamentary Union*, Geneva, Switzerland, 1998, p.8
[345] *Ibid*
[346] Cherif Bassioni, *op.cit*. p.9
[347] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*. p. 177

consolidated power to himself and people expressed surprise over his sudden resignation which he did without giving reasons. Ahidjo called on all Cameroonians to give support to his constitutional heir Paul Biya. On Saturday 6 November, 1982, at 10.00am Paul Biya, then Prime Minister was sworn in as the new president of the Republic by the speaker of the National Assembly, in the absence of members of parliament and of the Supreme Court.[348] He succeeded Ahidjo as the second Cameroon head of state since reunification in 1961. Ahidjo later explained that his resignation was due to the fact that he was tired and needed rest, and because his medical doctors advised him to do so. When Ahidjo resigned as Head of State, he did not resign his position as chairman of the CNU Party, but he named Paul as the Vice chairman of the central committee of the party. He held party meetings frequently as well as making important political pronouncements. It seems that the powers of the chairman of the party would clash with that of the president of the republic.[349]

At the end of January 1983, Ahidjo announced that it was the role of the CNU to define the policy of the nation while the government carried out the implementation. Logically, this meant that the party was stronger than state and the government. Paul Biya disagreed to this, and later said in an interview that it was the president of the Republic who defined the policy of the nation. Biya announced in a radio broadcast that plans to distabilise the government and physically eliminate the president had been uncovered and arrests had been made. Biya was voted chairman of the CNU on 14 September, 1983. On 6 April, 1984, there was an attempted coup d'etat by Rebel Forces, made up mainly of officers of the Republican Guard, some officials of the National Police Force (NPF) and few civilians to overthrow the government.[350] Ahidjo went on self-exile to France and later died in Senegal in 1993. He was said to have had a hand in

[348] V.G. Fanso, *op.cit*. p. 178
[349] *Op. cit*. p. 179
[350] *Op. cit*. p. 180

the coup attempt, and was sentenced to prison in absentia. In March, 1985, there was a party congress in Bamenda known as the "New Deal Congress".It was an extraordinary congress of the CNU. But the name of the party was changed from CNU to CPDM (Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement).

President Paul Biya started on very good democratic terms. The government of the "New Deal" soon became very popular as people saw Ahidjo as the devil incarnate because of his staunch authoritarian tendencies. Sooner than later, Biya became like his predecessor, Ahmadou Ahidjo. In fact, he became worse than Ahidjo. It was said that he was very quiet but anything that threatens his security was immediately brought to order.[351] Popular opinion hold that he was a staunch dictator.[352] He had been in power from 1982-2014 and he was not yet ready to leave power. Some schools of thought asserted that any democratic leader who stayed in power for more than two terms was a dictator.[353] According to newspaper report, Biya hinted on staying beyond 2015.[354]

The Biya regime was highly centralized. He was the head of state and head of government, chairman of the CPDM, and supreme commander of the armed forces. He was responsible for all political appointments. He appointed ministers, DOs and SDOs, Governors and so on. Parliament was a rubber stamp type and whatever was discussed there in the name of

[351] Interview with Professor Fanso Verkijika Gerald in Messa, Yaounde on Tuesday 8,th September, 2015, at 10:00am.
[352] Interview with Nicoline Fonyuy on Sunday 19th March, 2015, at Tiko at 5:00pm. She contended that, apart from the fact Paul Biya is a dictator, the so-called democracy is only in theory and not in practice. Due to lack of relative democracy development is retarded.
[353] Interview with Kiwo Faith and a host of students at the university of Yaounde II soa on Wednesday 9th September, 2015, at 40:00pm. These students shared in the discourse but only Kiwo Faith was courageous to give her names. The rest were afraid and claimed they did not know the outcome of taking down their names, despite the fact we showed them a letter of introduction from the Department of history Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, as well as my school identification card.
[354] "Biya hints on staying beyond 2018" the post of Cameroon, No. 01640 Monday, July 06 2015.

making laws was a formality. Biya had the final say.[355] He also appointed thirty senators. The issue of appointments resulted in total loyalty to the one who appointed as mentioned previously under the discourse on Ahidjo. The fourth and final stage of the assimilation process was effected by President Paul Biya who succeeded Ahidjo. In 1984, he issued decree No. 84-001 of 4/2/84 changing the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to the pre-reunification appellation of East Cameroon, La Republique du Cameroun, thus removing the last visible symbol of the 1961 union.[356] Generally, people questioned whether it was democracy or authoritarianism. Many of Paul Biya's ministers were put behind prison bars for charges of corruption, the most prominent being Amidou Mara Yaya, former minister of territorial administration and decentralization.[357] The former prime minister Ephraim Inoni was also put behind bars, and the former director general of the Cameroon Radio and Television Corporation (CRTV), Gervais Mendoze. The minister of secondary education, Louis Bapes Bapes was also locked up in prison, but was later released. The astonishing part of it was that he held office after this humiliation. It seemsto be only in Cameroon where a minister was thrown in jail for charges of corruption, suddenly released without any explanation and still continued to work instead of tendering his resignation. It was also disturbing that Madam Hamman Adama, former Minister

[355] This is based on popular opinion. We also know this from our knowledge of Cameroon and the so-called democratic process there. In a democracy where the head of state decrees everything, parliament becomes a name and weak.

[356] Tangie Fonchingong, *op.cit*. p. 226

[357] Amidou Marafa Yaya was Biya's close ally. He wanted to become the next president. It was rumoured that he had told Biya not to contest the 2012 presidential election. Cameroonians of this period are aware that though Marafa has been sent to prison under claims of embezzlement, the rationale behind his tragedy is that he was contesting for a position that Paul Biya does not want to see another person occupy. Many of those ministers who are behind bars are not there because they embezzled state funds, but because they are eyeing the presidency. Marafa had written letters from his prison cell exposing how he rigged the 1992 presidential election to keep Biya in power. Social Democratic Front Cardinal Tumi maintains that according to security report Ni John Fru Ndi, chairman of the social democratic front (SDF) won the 1992 presidential election.

of Basic Education was sent to prison on corruption charges and was released based on claims that she returned the money.[358]

President Paul Biya had become too authoritative such that his autocracy had been a source of discontent and conflict in Cameroon. Nicoccolo Michiavelli's, *ThePrince* was a classic analysis of statesmanship and power, well known as a guide for acquiring and maintaining political power. But at the same time, Machiavelli showed very clearly that the accumulation and judicious use of power were necessary for political survival and for attaining social and political goals. However, issues of justice, right and wrong neglible to *The Prince* (ruler) and to the survival of the state, since *The Prince* may be willing to use dictatorship to maintain power.[359] Thus, i am not far from the point that Biya used the Machiavellian ideology in ruling Cameroon. In 1990, during the rebirth of multi-party politics at the launching of the SDF party, some people were shot dead by government forces. The Biya regime decried democracy. The one-party system had been in control since the creation of the unitary state till 1990 when the one party monopoly was broken into. Even though the multi-party politics came again into being, the opposition was weak. In essence, the one-party system was still in operation in Cameroon since the CPDM was everything. This party had been in power for thirty years till this period of study. The regime created a force of intimidation and suppression referred to as (BIR), Brigade

[358] People were equally shocked when Madam Hamman Adama was released from prison. She had embezzled money sent by the World Bank to pay salaries of primary school teachers which she swindled for her personal aggrandizement. It was interpreted that her release came because the 2012 election was approaching and president Paul Biya was afraid that if during the election campaign she was still in prison, his CPDM party might not Win in the north from where she comes. It was a political strategy that worked to Biya's benefit.

[359] Kelly-Kate S. Pease, *International Organization*, Pearson Education, Longman, New York, 2013, P. 46

Intervention Rapide (*Rapid Intervention Force*).[360] This BIR was not meant to protect the interest of the people, but the regime in power.

On the 19th of February 1990 Barrister Yondo Black was arrested because he joined the activities of a discussion group known as, coordination for democracy and a multi-party system (CDMPS). He was charged with subversion under the 1962 decrees, with nine other people. These decrees were put forth by Ahmadou Ahidjo. When they were brought before a military tribunal on 30th March, 1990, some of the accused were acquitted but Yondo Black was sentenced to three years imprisonment. The imprisonment of these people aroused protests and encouraged the movement for a multi-party system.[361] Thus, the constitution did not establish the one-party system by the use of law, rather it used autocratic means. This unveiled the undemocratic plight of a regime which claimed to be democratic. It was said that Barrister Yondo Black was sentenced to prison because he was an advocate of a new party, but the government denied this claim. Albert Mukong author of *Prisoner Without a Crime* was rearrested about this time, and the government's attitude was illustrated by a big officially-organised demonstration by about 20,000 people in support of the one-party system.[362]On the 30th of March, 1990, in Yaounde, to demonstrate his undemocratic principles in favour of authoritarianism and Machiavellianism, president Paul Biya made a broadcast on 9th April, 1990, in which he said that calls for a multi-party system were "manoeuvres for diversion, intoxication and destabilization" Despite these threats, the SDF was launched in 1990 led by Ni John Fru Ndi. This event led to a bloody crisis in which six people lost their lives as mentioned

[360] Interview with Vallery Epinge in Kumba on Tuesday 14th April, 2015, at 2:00pm. She drives home the point that the BIR are all over the whole place. She maintains that they are trained to protect the interest of the regime in power, not the citizens. According to her there is no development as well as democracy. The system is too centralized. The regime in itself is a problem. It makes democracy hateful and unrealistic. Everything is politicized.
[361] Ralph ed. *Africa Today*, Africa Books Ltd, London, 1996, P. 512.
[362] *Ibid*

previously in the study. Thus, in regard to Anglophone problem, the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) addressed a memorandum to the Head of State, Paul Biya, on constitutional reform with reference to the political unrest that gripped the nation in the early 1990s. They stated that:

> The frustration borne by oppression, subjugation, marginalization and neglect finally led some Anglophones in desperation to organize political dissent in May 1990, to which the Cameroon government responded by shooting dead six persons in Banenda and telling the Anglophones to go elsewhere. But the Anglophones do not want to go anywhere else, their demand is for a return to the legality of the 1961 constitution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. [363]

The undemocratic practices of the Biya regime were appalling. This situation made John Ngu Foncha on 9th June,1990, to resign his position as First Vice-president of the CPDM because of the Bamenda shooting. In addition to this, Foncha said Cameroon should return to the federal system, a common demand in north-west and south-west provinces[364] (regions). Foncha, in resigning from the CPDM, wrote a resignation letter stating that:

> The Anglophone Cameroonians whom I brought into the union have been ridiculed and referred to as "Les Biafrais", les enemies dans la maison", Les traitres, and the constitutional provisions which protected this Anglophone minority have been suppressed, their votes drowned, while the rule of the gun has replaced the dialogue which the Anglophones cherished very much… the national media has been used by the government through people who never voted for reunification to misinform the citizens about Bamenda.[365]

Foncha was disappointed to see that the reunification he fought for, did not at all exist in practical terms. There was divide and rule tactics by the regime to make the people of north-west and south-west regions to hate each other through enforced uniformity. This was relatively going

[363] Anthony Ndi, *op.cit* P. 7
[364] Ralph Uwechue, *Op.cit* P. 512
[365] Antony Ndi, *op.cit* p. 8

to wipe out Anglophone identity, and secure a long-term control of their natural resources for the benefit of France.[366] No doubt, the reserves of Cameroon were found in the French treasury. Thus no financial and economic independence.

The Biya regime was rigid. I have shown this above where Biya decried democracy saying that calls for a multi-party system were "manoeuvres for diversion, intoxication and destabilization; when people openly campaigned against the one-party system. The rigidity in his administration was further seen in the shooting and killing of students of the university of Buea on two different occasions. The killers of La Republique du Cameroun branded them as the youth of Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC).

The soldiers of the Biya regime on several occasions have been killing unarmed citizens of southern Cameroons, shooting them at times from the back, arresting, charging and convicting defenseless citizens times without number just for wanting to celebrate their independence day on 1 October; etc.[367]*(seeappendix III).* With these serious abuse of human rights, some schools of thought like Professor Elvis Ngole Ngole, former Minister of Forestry, qualify Biya, giving him the credit for being the creator of democracy in Cameroon,[368] while some people see him as regid dictator who retarded development through authorian tendencies. Anglophones burn with anger over marginalization, and anxious to make things right, but each time they tried to protest they were beaten, and even shot dead by government forces.The situation is a lingering one and may escalate in the post-Biya regime.

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[366] Adolph Mongo Dipoko, *The Anglophone soul*, Limbe, Cameroon, 2010, p. 81

[367] New Broom Magazine, April-May 2014, p. 26

[368] Anonymous: Interview with an elderly state man who refused to disclose his identity on the grounds that his identity was not important, but the information we wanted. To him, there is "grands ambitions", in other words, "greater achievements" in the Biya administration. But he failed to mention any of these achievements in the Biya administration, and said there is "freedom of expression". It is worthy of note that when Biya came to power, he baptized his government with the name: "new deal". He also brought some political slogans in the name of "Rigour and moralization". When they were fading away, he brought "grands ambitions".

Toure Kazah Toure posited that:

> There are regimes on the continent that have negatively gone beyond the usual limits and operate in a way that put mechanisms which ignite more divisive identity based conflicts. These type of governments become more and more authoritarian, and exclude or prevent parts of the population from taking part in the affairs of the state and thus refusing them equality in the sharing of resources and provisioning.[369]

The above description fits the cap that was worn in the Ahidjo administration in terms of dictatorship and was worn by the Biya administration in the period of study. This may be apt in analyzing the situation in southern Cameroons where the normal curve was shifted with mechanisms put in place to ignite more identity based conflicts, denying southern Cameroonians key positions or the control of some parastatals in government, meant excluding them from participation in the affairs of the state. That notwithstanding, they were further denied the equality in the sharing of the resources and provisioning. Thus, he who pays the piper dictates the dictum to the throne. From this perspective, it can be argued that what prevailed in Cameroon was authoritarianism, since there was no relative democracy. Like any human construction, democracy was never perfect. It was a continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental human rights and civil liberties. What this meant was, the fundamental rights of the human person, life and security, freedom of religion, assembly; expression, press; association, economic, social and cultural rights. The point being made here was that democracy was meaningless when the basic needs of the population were not satisfied and the rights of peoples, including the inalienable right to self-determination.[370] It was further argued that authoritarianism was not just confined to military regimes but to some that lay claim to being

[369] Toure Kazah-Toure, *Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State*, *Human Rights Monitor*, Kaduna, 2003, p. 3

[370] George Nzongala-Ntalaja and Margaret C. Lee, *The State and Democracy in Africa*, African Association of Political Science (AAPS), Eastlea, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1997, p. 12

civilian and therefore, assumed to be democratic, whereas they were often far from it.[371] This was a replica of the Biya regime. It appeared to be civilian in nature, whereas it was worse than a military one. Thus one of the major contributory factors to conflicts and agitations in southern Cameroons was the undemocratic nature of governance.[372]

6.3 Persistence of the Controversy: Francophone control of Cameroon, 1982-2014

Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun formed a union on the basis of equality, two states equal in status. This was the pronouncement from the lips of former president Ahidjo at the United Nations in New York. But as soon as reunification had taken place, the time, rhythm and dance of the music changed. The foundation of Francophone dominance in Cameroon had been laid from 1961-2014. This fact was observed carefully from the appointments which Ahidjo carried out, and had continued to be so in the period of study.[373] The regime in power painted the picture that Cameroon was doing great, as they make the international community to believe. But anyone who visited Cameroon and spent some time there, attested to this. It was said that job opportunities and preferences were given to Francophones and English language was suppressed.[374] For instance, out of one thousand five hundred police constables trained at the police college in Mutengence in the south-west region in 2011/2012, only one hundred Anglophones were included.

Anglophone agitations and pressure groups were borne out of issues like these. Consequently ethnic politics manifested, where the Beti, the home town of Paul Biya held a disproportionate high number of government posts. The Beti dominance of ministries, secretary general at the presidency of the republic, finance and so on had continued to be so in our area of

[371] Toure Kaza-Toure *op.cit* p. 2
[372] Wongbi George Agime, *op. cit*. p. 53
[373] Francophone control and domination of Cameroon is visible like the pregnancy of a woman carrying her unborn child.
[374] Interview with Nicoline Fonyuy. *Op. cit*.

study. It can therefore be said that whenever there was selection, there was also deselection. Thus, when you choose less able men on the grounds of ethnicity, you were simultaneously barring or deselecting able and qualified persons. When a government, for the sake of making short-sighted strategic alliances in order to stay in power, chooses unqualified, loyal but ignorant people over its dictated and qualified citizens, the temporary stability gained was soon eroded by the ever more powerful and consequent dissent of those denied the opportunity.[375] In Cameroon, Anglophones were denied the opportunity to show their worth as the Beti ethnic group was given the preference by the regime in power. Generally speaking, people controlling government offices in Cameroon were Francophones and the Beti in particular. They were all over the national territory. There was no perfect democracy anywhere in the world let alone Cameroon. But Cameroon was far off the real principles of democracy, rather ethnic politics versus dictatorship prevailed. It was said that Biya had messed up in situations that forced him to seek to retain power at all means for fear of being persued.[376]

Okwudiba Nnoli posited that the various activities which marked Igbo day celebrations outside Igboland reflect such integrative endeavours. By combining the loyalty of its members with ungroup cohesion the ethnic group mustered enough power to successfully challenge super ethnic institution.[377] He maintained that:

> This growing power of the ethnic groups and its negative consequences for the development of a common national consciousness was recognized by a few nationalist leaders and organizations of the time.

The Francophone domination and control of Cameroon coupled with ethnicity resulted to hatred between Anglophones and Francophones. As seen from the above, the growing power of

[375] Abdullahi Dool, *Failed States*, Horn Heritage Publications, London, 1998, p. 63
[376] Interview with Dr. Joseph Banadzem in Kumbo on Monday 4th May, 2015 at 5:00pm
[377] Okwudiba Nnoli, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*, Fourth Dimension Publishing co. Ltd, Enugu, Nigeria, 1978, p. 141

ethnic groups such as the Beti resulted in the negative consequences for the development of a common national consciousness. This Beti hegemony and ethnicity was seen and complained by Anglophones and even some Francophones. In Nigeria in 1945, Eyo Ita, the NCNC nationalist leader sensed the negative trend that was emerging as a result of ethnicity and warned that "the greatest need for Nigerians was to become a community…. evolve a national selfhood".[378] In the same way, southern Cameroons nationalists demanded for a return to the federation that was, for Cameroon to become a community and to evolve a national selfhood but this fell on deaf ears. What the regime endorsed was the growing power of parochial associations in the name of ethnic groups. Thus, Francophone ethnic groups controlled Cameroon, This issue of dominance and control led to retrogressive development in southern Cameroons in relative terms. Francophones referred to Anglophones generally as "Les Anghos", meaning English-speaking people.[379] It was a derogatory way of looking down on the Anglophones, debasing their language and the Anglophones as a people. All of these among other things was the cause of conflicts and agitations by the Anglophones. The regime brandished the image of Cameroon to the international community as a Francophone country. It seems that the regime was doing all it can to erase traces of anything Anglophone including their language. The result was the francophonization of the Anglophones. Thus sending Francophone teachers who cannot speak English to teach in Anglophone schools in the period of study.

6.4 The Structure and Process of Central Administration and Politics, 1982-2014

For a proper understanding of the discourse below, it would be necessary to delve into the antecedent. The constitution of Cameroon has undergone several changes or amendments since independence. The 1961 constitution brought the states of west Cameroon and east Cameroon

[378] *Ibid*
[379] Wongbi George Agime, *op.cit* p. 50

together as a federation, (Federal Republic of Cameroon). This constitution was amended in 1961, abolishing the federation in 1972 through a controversial referendum in favour of a unitary state. Consequently, a unitary constitution was adopted. The 1972 constitution therefore, replaced the federation with a centralized government. This constitution was again amended in 1996. The 1996 constitution provided for the establishment of a bicameral legislature. Since the amendment of the 1996 constitution, the senate only existed in theory. The senate of Cameroon was a creation by President Paul Biya with thirty of its members appointed by him. Executive powers were conferred on the president as Head of State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. He was also the chairman of the Cameroon People's D emocratic Movement, (CPDM). He was responsible for appointing the prime minister as well as the cabinet. The president was elected for a period of seven years by direct universal suffrage. In the Ahidjo regime the president was elected for a five year term. But when Paul Biya came to power in 1982 and started his political machinations and manipulations he changed the presidential mandate to seven years. During this period, the presidential mandate in France was seven years before the French government later brought it to five years. It seems that French colonial policies were still used in Cameroon in the period of study. It is worthy of note that parliament did not vote for this transition to occur. It was a presidential decree, just like the one that reverted the name of the country from the federal republic of Cameroon, to the United Republic of Cameroon and later to the Republic of Cameroon.

There was a controversial constitutional amendment which was promulgated into law in 2008, which eliminated presidential term limits and granted immunity to the country's president for any acts committed in an official capacity during the president's term or period in office. Legislative power was vested in the bicameral National Assembly, which can force the

resignation of the prime minister through passage of a vote of no confidence. Members of the National Assembly were elected for a period of five years, although the president can alter the length of that term.

In local government politics, Cameroon was divided into seven provinces (regions). Each region was administered by a governor appointed by the president. In Cameroon governors were not elected. For instance, Francophones were appointed as governors and sent to Anglophone regions while some Anglophones were appointed as governors in Francophone regions. For instance Fai Yengwo Francis was appointed as Governor of Littoral Region. They did not speak English, nor did they understood the problems of the people, as they would understand the problems of the people from their regions of origin. Each region was further divided into divisions. Each division was headed by a senior divisional officer (SDO), and the divisions were further divided into sub-divisions, headed by divisional officers (DO). With popular demand for decentralization, the 1996 constitution replaced provinces with regions which were to be administered by councils composed of indirectedly elected members and representatives of traditional leaders. The new administrative structure was yet to be implemented. In fact, there was no decentralization in Cameroon. It was in theory. Everything emanated from Yaounde. It was a system of extreme centralism and conservative policies. Good laws were written down but there was no practical implementation. Instead when a law was promulgated, a text was awaited that would authorize its implementation. That had been the case for decades. For instance, section 2 (1) of the book titled *Decentralization in Cameroon*, showed that decentralization shall constitute the basic driving force for promotion of development,

democracy and good governance at the local level.[380] All of this was in theory as a text was still being awaited for its implementation.

In the domain of justice, the constitution maintained that an independent court system shall be applied, but in practical terms the president of the Republic had a powerful role in judicial appointments. In Cameroon there was no separation of powers between the organs of government in order to maintain checks and balances. The executive, the judiciary and the legislature were not separated from each other.

The president was the overall boss in these domains. There is no doubt that the president was responsible for all judicial appointments. The legal system of Cameroon was made up of the Supreme Court, a Court of Appeal, a High Court and Circuit courts. The Supreme Court decided whether a bill was receivable by the National Assembly in the event of a dispute between the president and the legislature. The Supreme Court also passed judgment on appeals concerning administrative actions of the government decisions of the court of Appeal. The court of Impeachment passed judgment on the president in case of high reason and also on government ministers in the event of a plot against the government.[381] However, I know from the situation in Cameroon that the president was the be all and the end all, in this period of study. It can be posited that the laws stated in the constitution were a formality since the president was unchallenged. He ruled by issueing decrees. He could therefore change any law to suit him. He passed decrees that favoured and protected his interest in power. The parliament therefore was helpless. The parliamentarians performed according to the dictates of the president. In this parliament no private member's bill as mentioned earlier had ever passed through. In 1994 for

[380]*Decentralization in Cameroon*, deliberated and adopted by the National Assembly, enacted by the president of the Republic, compiled by MUNDEC GROUP, Buea, Cameroon, 2004, p. 2

[381] W.M. Delancey, "Government and Society" www.britannica.com/place/Cameroon/government.... Accessed on Wednesday 14th October, 2015.

instance, president Paul Biya pretended to have died, and suddenly resurfaced. The impact of this was a disaster. [382] It is worthy of note that a Government bill was never rejected in Cameroon parliament.

6.5 Political Impact, 1982-2014

In an exclusive interview with Christian Cardinal Tumi, he was asked: do you think the Anglophone problem in Cameroon is real? Without hesitation, the Cardinal responded, "yes of course, I believe in it. I am sure that if the English speaking part of Cameroon were independent, the area would have been far more developed than what we have today. Take a simple example like Kumba-Mamfe road, it was terrible, what impression does it leave on the people? Of course, that you were marginalized.[383] Cardinal Tumi was the only Cameroonian Cardinal. It seems that if his appointment by the Holy See as Cardinal were to be a presidential appointment, he could not have been appointed to such a position of universal significance since he was an Anglophone. Cardinal Tumi was very objective in his way of criticizing both the Ahidjo and Biya regimes. He had no political ambitions, and said from birth he had never been a member of any political party, never took part in any political meeting, and stressed that no one can deny him the inalienable political right to express his opinion on the political significant happenings in Cameroon. "I am a citizen. Nobody can prevent me from being that! Nobody! Not even the

[382] In 1994, it was rumoured that president Paul Biya had died in Switzerland. The whole country was in total jubilation over the issue. Even in Biya's home village, people popped champagne celebrating the president's death. The minister of communication over the National Television CRTV, warned people to stop spreading the news about what was not certain. Biya suddenly resurfaced. It came to be known that the president himself was behind the false rumours of his death. The strategy was to see if people still wanted his stay in power or not. In his authoritarian style, Biya sacked all government officials who were part of the celebration of his death. In Cameroon, Biya is the law himself. He is worshipped and Mvo Meka glorified.

[383] "Exclusive Interview with His Emminence Cardinal Christian Tumi" *Cameroon Journal*, Douala, June 29, 2015.

president of the Republic! No authority has the competence to prevent me from saying what I think as a pastor".[384] Cardinal Tumi maintained that:

> ……But when I observe the whole political set up, I get the impression that certain ministerial posts like finance, military, education, secretary general and so on were reserved exclusively for Francophones. And directors of certain parastatals like SONARA, CAMTEL are Francophones and Anglophones were always sub-directors. I think this is a serious problem because qualified Anglophones also have the right to have political ambition. It was said that Fru Ndi won the election in 1992 and that if he were Francophone he would have been president of Cameroon. But France said that an Anglophone can never be president in Cameroon. If a referendum was organized for Anglophones today the results will be quite different.[385]

From the above, the cardinal further contended that, many Anglophones if not all will not vote to continue with La Republique du Cameroun. This had been the case in Cameroon since reunification in October, 1961. The Biya regime widened the gap of discrimination and marginalization of Anglophones in Cameroon. In general and in statistical terms, as far as appointments to high level posts were concerned, no Anglophone had ever been appointed to head important ministries. These ministries include the Armed Forces, Territorial Administration, Finance, Education and Foreign Affairs. Out of the 58 administrative divisions in Cameroon, only two of them were headed by Anglophones, even though 13 of these divisions were in the Anglophone region. Out of fifteen military generals only two were Anglophones, and none of the eigrht military regions in Cameroon was led or headed by an Anglophone.[386] Out of the sixty state corporations located in Yaounde and Douala, less than ten Anglophones were general managers. AS earlier mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, apart from the Cameroon Development Corporation, no Anglophone led any state corporation of substance. No

[384] L'Effort Camerounais, January, 2010, p.13
[385] *Cameroon Journal*, *op.cit*
[386] Tangie Fonchingong, *op.cit*, p.227

Anglophone had been appointed Secretary General at the presidency of the Republic, which was considered the most important position after the president of the Republic. The public service in Cameroon seems to be a death trap for Anglophones who try to rise. In every ministry, Anglophones were discriminated against.[387] Out of the seven ministers of state, none was Anglophone, out of the thirty-six secretaries of state, only two were Anglophones. In the ministry, the most important person with the rank of director was the director of general administration known by its French acronym as DAG (Directeur de l'Administration Generale). There were only two Anglophone DAGs in the thirty-six ministries. In the administration, Anglophones were almost totally absent, out of two hundred and sixty-eight Divisional Officers (DOs) only nine of them were Anglophones, and there were only six Senior Divisional Officers (SDOs) who were Anglophones out of fifty-eight.[388]

The military was completely dominated by Francophones. Out of fifteen generals only two were Anglophones. French language was the de facto official language in the military as well as the police force. Anglophones were conditioned not to dream of heading the national security and defense forces. In the police training college in Mutengene 90 percent of the students were Francophones even though the School was located in an Anglophone region. In the National Oil Refinery corporation known by its French acronym as SONARA (Societe Nationale de Raffinage), which accounted for 70 percent of Cameroon's GDP in 2005, and located at Cape Limbo, in Limbe in the Anglophone region was predominantly staffed by Francophones. In fact 90 percent of senior staff and the overwhelming majority of junior staff were Francophones. Since the inception of the refinery in 1979, no Anglophone has ever been appointed to the position of general manager or even deputy general manager. In our period of study, the refinery

[387] *The Guardian Magazine*, *op.cit*, p.37
[388]*Op.cit*, p.38

corporation had four deputy managers but none was Anglophone. At the Bank of Central African States, the central bank of countries in the CEMAC (Centre Economique Monetaire de l'Afrique Centrale), there was no single senior Anglophone official. This may certainly be the reason why there was no word in English on denominations of Franc CFA notes.[389] The legal tender of Cameroon had words only written in French, no English word on the currency, though the country seems to be bilingual. There were more than thirty heads of diplomatic missions and only four were Anglophones. In the U.S.A., U.K. and South Africa, ambassadors were all Francophones.

In CRTV, if an Anglophone was director, the general manager relied more on the deputy who was a Francophone. So many renowed Anglophone journalists ran away from CRTV in protest of this open discrimination, marginalization and injustice. They were: Charly Ndi Chia, Ntemfac Ofege, Eric Chinje, Patrick Sianne, Adamu Musa, Sam Nuvala Fohkem, Boh Herbert Visimbom, Victor Epie Ngome and several others. Some Anglophone journalists who lost their lives apparently because of the injustices done against them were, Ebssy Ngum, Luke Ananga, Ben Berka Njovens, Atem Ebang Ashu, Akwanka Joe Ndifor and so on. The Cameroon presidency was almost entirely for Francophones. Anglophones working there were few in number. Anglophones were appointed mainly into subordinate positions to assist Francophones even where the latter were less qualified or less competent.[390] Delegates attending the All Anglophone Conference (AAC) in Buea in 1993 stated inter alia that:

> We have been disenfranchised, marginalized and treated with suspicion, our interests have been disregarded. Our participation in national life has been limited to non-essential functions. Our natural resources have been ruthlessly exploited without any benefit accruing to our territory or to its people. The development of our territory has been negligible and confined to areas that

[389] *Op.cit*, p.38
[390] This was stated during the first All Anglophone Conference (AACI) in 1993 in Buea

> directly or indirectly benefit Francophones. Through Manoeuvres and manipulations, we have been reduced from partners of equal status in the union to status of a subjugated people.[391]

In the highly contested presidential election of October, 1992, former French President, Francois Mitterand, made a declaration on Radio France Intrnationale (RFI) that no Englishman will ever be president of a French province.[392] It seems that what France wanted to see happen in Cameroon as stated earlier was not the integration of Anglophones and Francophones, but the total assimilation of the Anglophones by the Francophones.

Road infrastructure in Anglophone Cameroon was a nightmare. Travelling from Bamenda to Buea, or Limbe, people had to pass through Francophone regions of the western and Littoral Regions. Kumba-Mamfe road was in a mess as well as the Bamenda ring road. In Cameroon, bilingualism took the form of the imposition of French on the English speaking peoples of Southern Cameroons.[393] In the universities of Yaounde I and II, and other universities in the Francophone region, 90 percent of the lectures were delivered in French. Some Anglophone students spent four to five years in 100 level, in these universities. This explained why many Anglophones go to neighbouring Nigeria and elsewhere, where they could find solace in Anglo-Saxon education. Some lecturers prepared notes and imposed them on students on the condition that when they buy, it was a visa to passing the continuous assessment and the examination. Those who failed to buy the notes failed the examination.[394]

Open agitation by Anglophones started in the early 1980s when Paul Biya succeeded Ahmadou Ahidjo in 1982 as president and introduced a limited degree of political liberalization. In 1983,

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[391] All Anglophone Conference (AAC) 1993

[392] Declaration of Francois Mitterand on Radio France International on 11th October, 1992

[393] "*Bilingualism: Friend or Enemy to National Unity"*, The Guardian Post of Cameroon No. 0606, Wednesday, May 21, 2014, p.5

[394] Interview with Seka Liberata, Seka Solange and Chin Alice in Bamenda on Sunday, 10th May, 2015, at 4:11 pm

Anglophones students boycotted classes. They demonstrated against the decision of the Government to modify the General certificate of Education (GCE), an Anglophone examination, to make it like the French Baccalaureat. Police intervened in the demonstrations and order was restored. Following the change of the country's name in 1984 from the United Republic of Cameroon to Republic of Cameroon (La Republique du Cameroon), the pre-reunification appellation of East Cameroon, Fon Gorji Dinka of the Cameroon Bar Association distributed a memo, describing the change of the country's name as withdrawal by the Francophone region from the union and calling on Anglophones to declare their independence and rebaptised the Southern Cameroons as the Republic of Ambazonia. A memoranda by Northwest and Southwest elites resident in Douala to the Bamenda congress of the ruling CNU was delivered highlighting the plight of the Anglophone minority that was sidelined from political power.[395] It should be noted that this situation began in 1972 when Ahidjo abolished the federal state for a unitary one.

6.6 Economic Impact, 1982-2014

The successive Francophone regimes destroyed and closed up Anglophone institutions which existed in Southern Cameroons. These institutions were destroyed in favour of those in the Francophone region. These institutions include the Yoke power station which supplied electricity at a cheaper rate. Anglophones in the period 1960-2014 were compelled to make use of electricity from Francophone Cameroon paying high bills. The Santa Coffe Estate, the Cameroon Bank, the Tiko and Victoria (Limbe) seaports, the Mamfe and Ndian river ports,[396] the West Cameroon Marketing Board was closed up and its financial reserves of over 78 billion francs were misappropriated.[397] Thus the embezzlement of colossal sums of money from the marketing

[395] Tangie Fonchingong *Op.cit*, p.228
[396] Tangie Fonchingong, *op.cit*, p.227
[397] Wongbi George Agime, *op.cit*, pp.83-84

board led to its liquidation. Anglophones argued that it seems the unitary state was imposed with the sole aim of dismantling Anglophone institutions.

The government closed the Wum Area Development Authority (WADA), the Obang Farms settlement, the Bamenda Airport, abandoned and turned to a military base, the Tiko International airport, the Bali Airport, and the Besongbang Airport all shut down. The Weh Airstrip and the Southern Cameroons indigenous airline, the Cameroon Air Transport (CAT) were also closed down. The law-abiding victims of all these acts were powerless because there was no legal framework within which they could seek and obtain redress. La Republique du Cameroun seems to have destroyed the system of local government and of community development instituted in Southern Cameroons. They also destroyed the effective systems of financing small-scale industries and enterprises through the creation of institutions such as the West Cameroon Development Agency.[398] Amity Bank, the only Anglophone Bank remaining was illegally sold by the Biya regime to Francophones. The Anglophones wrote a memo in protest, describing the act as the most spectacular economic robbery, a grave abuse of human and people's rights of the Anglophone community.[399] It is important to point out that the celebration of 50 years of independence by the Biya regime was an issue among other things that made Anglophones angry. Anglophones protested this celebration which according to them was a rape on English-speaking Cameroonians because Cameroon in our period which was made up of Anglophones and Francophones did not achieve independence on January 1, 1960. It was French Cameroon that achieved independence on that day, while the independence for Anglophone Cameroon was on 1 October, 1961, the day of the reunification. Thus celebrating fifty years of reunification in January, 2010, in Yaounde gave the impression that the country as a whole

[398] Adolph Mongo Dipoko, *op.cit* pp. 75-77
[399] Tangie Fonchingong, *op.cit*

became independent on 1 January, 1960. It was the Republic of Cameroon celebrating its independence and not Southern Cameroons. This act alone was a distortion of history as a process, and at the same time, relatively trying to wipe out Anglophone identity and its history. Walter Rodney argued that African economic activity was affected both directly and indirectly by population loss. In effect, enslavement caused these people to lose their battle to tame and harness nature, a battle which was at the basis of development.[400] In the same way, the closure of Anglophone institutions as discussed affected them in every way, causing them to lose their battle to tame and harness nature, a battle which was at the basis of development. The Biya regime seems to treat Anglophones like a captive people. Crude oil and timber were exploited from the Anglophone section of the country, leaving the region relatively underdeveloped. Thus from 1972 till this period of study, Anglophone economic institutions were closed up such that the last of them, Amity Bank, renamed Banque Atlantique, was also closed up as mentioned earlier in the discourse.

6.7 Social Impact, 1982-2014

The fact that Anglophones were marginalized and discriminated in Cameroon cannot be over emphasized. Many of these issues abound on discrimination and marginalization have been brought out in the political and economic impact of reunification. Thus this social impact was seen in the area of marginalization and language. As already shown in the previous discourse, certain administrative posts were only in the hands of Francophones. This caused members of parliament to fight for Anglophone rights as they petitioned Biya to halt the dangerous glide.[401] The monopolization of power by Francophones in social, economic and political spheres, the

[400] Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Panaf Publishing, Abuja, 1972, p.112
[401] "MPs join fight for Anglophone Rights: Petition Biya to halt the dangerous glide" The Post of Cameroon, No. 01640 Monday, July 06, 2015, pp. 1-2

deplorable road infrastructure in the Anglophone region was a major problem that often caused Anglophone agitation.[402]

French language seems to be dominating in offices in the Anglophone region. It appears to be a deliberate attempt by the regime in power to undermine English language.

In an interview on CRTV in May, 2014, Roger Mila, the Cameroonian veteran footballer was unable to express himself in English and said:

> "I prefer to speak in French because it is the "first" language".

This gave the impression that Cameroon was a Francophone country whereas it was not. Thus the relative bilingualism in Cameroon seems to be an Anglophone affair and concern. Even in the universities, especially the universities of Yaounde I and II, Douala and several others, lectures were delivered in French. The time covered for English lectures may only be about five percent. This was the same scenario in the radio and television stations where the time for English programmes was limited. In the Anglophone region sign posts were written in French using letters about 25 font size, and writing in English was about 8 font size.[403] Even advertisement posts were put up in French in the Anglophone region.An example of what obtained in a country with similar characteristics may be given here. In this case, the example was from Canada, a country with both French and English speaking groups. In Ottawa the Canadian capital, to be very precise, sign posts were written in both French and English.[404] In Cameroon, about 90 percent of documents appear in French. This had a serious impact on the Anglophones whose culture and background was different from that of the Francophones.

[402] Interview with Mr. Ngene Emmanuel, Divisional Officer of Kombo Abedimo, Akwa, Bakassasi, 09/04/2015 at 2:38 pm

[403] See the sign post of the School of Penitentiary Administration in Buea on p.183

[404] Press Hour, on CRTV.

6.8 Political Parties and Anglophone Pressure Groups, 1990-2014

As earlier mentioned, Ahidjo amalgamated all political parties in west Cameroon, and east Cameroon which resulted in the formation of the Cameroon National Union (CNU) in September, 1966. Thus the country became a de facto one-party system of government. This trend of one-party system gathered momentum up to 1990 when people were fed up with the system, calling for a multi-party democracy. Pressure came to bear on the government. Following this pressure, the SDF was formed. The leader of this party was John Fru Ndi; who later claimed that he had given the authorities details of the party on 16th March, 1990.[405] At the launching of the SDF on May 26th, 1990, as already stated, in Ntarikon, Bamenda, the police opened fire, killing six people. On the same day, police broke up violently a demonstration by students supporting the SDF in Yaounde. On June 23rd, 1990, President Paul Biya, while addressing a new congress of the CPDM in Yaounde, gave what was taken as acceptance of multi-party politics. Biya contended that the CPDM must be ready to face competition, and told the congress: "consider also that other schools of thought exist which must be taken into account, fought against or integrated". Biya also promised to relax authoritarian laws. In defending the CPDM's interest in the congress he called for "rapid implementation" of measures to allow formation of new parties. After his release, Yondo Black visited Paris and announced a new party known as Mouvement Social Pour la Democratie (MSD), which he called on president Biya to call a national conference as had been the case in Benin Republic. Thus, on December 5th 1990, the National Assembly passed a new law formally introducing a multi-party system. According to this law, new parties must apply for official recognition and a reply must be given three months, with reasons given in case of refusal. The new law and several others were promulgated by president Paul Biya on 19th December, 1990. As a result many political parties

[405] Ralph Uwechue, *op.cit*. p. 512

were formed, the major ones being the Social Democratic Front (SDF), Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), Union Nationale Pour la Democratie et le Progres (UNDP), and Union Democratique Camerounaise (UDC).[406]

In 1991, the opposition parties published their programmes, calling for social justice, cleaning up of public life, and measures to restore the economic situation. They soon won support over much of Cameroon, and demonstrations and other opposition activities spread, starting with Douala the largest city and several other cities by April, 1991. The immediate demand of the opposition was a sovereign national conference. Biya rejected the idea of a sovereign national conference. After a demonstration calling for a sovereign national conferece in Bamenda on May 11th, 1991, the opposition organized mass demonstrations from 13th May, 1991, and on June 24th 1991, this was extended to include a total stoppage of work, trade and transport in the cities. In 1992, the first ever multi-party elections took place in Cameroon, the parliamentary and presidential elections respectively. The parliamentary election took place in March 1992. The SDF did not participate. The ruling party the CPDM won 88 seats, the UNDP 68 seats, the UPC 18 seats and the Mouvement Democratique de la Republique (MDR) won six seats. The presidential election held on 11th October 1992. The SDF was the main opposition party. The result was announced on 23rd October, 1992, proclaiming Paul Biya as the winner, with 39.9 percent, while John Fru Ndi obtained 35.9 percent. The election according to security report was won by John Fru Ndi of the SDF.[407]

In the first ever multi-party elections in Cameroon both legislative and presidential, the SDF as mentioned above, boycotted the legislative election. The 1992 presidential election was massively rigged in favour of the CPDM. This explained why there were riots and

[406] *Op.cit* p. 513
[407] Interview with Christian Cardinal Tumi, *op.cit*.

demonstrations in Bamenda, Limbe, Buea and Douala when results were announced in Biya's favour.[408] A three month state of emergency was declared in Bamenda and the north-west at large. On 27th October, 1992, many people were arrested. John Fru Ndi was for a time put under house arrest. This was criticized by the international community. There was no credible body that organized elections in Cameroon. It was the Supreme Court that declared election result instead of an independent electoral body. The National Election Observatory (NEO) whose members were appointed by the government conducted the election but the Supreme Court announced the result. They again named another election body, Elections Cameroon (ELECAM), whose members were from the CPDM. They were teleguided on what to do. It was still the Supreme Court that declared election results. Elections in Cameroon were based on massive Fraud, irregularities and illegalities.[409] It was proven since 1992 that elections cannot change Cameroon. The SDF was advocating for an independent electoral commission to no avail.

All these undemocratic practices, begun Anglophone pressure groups, and generally, there were no free and fair elections in Cameroon since independence. Since the 1990s, due to marginalization and subjugation of the Anglophones, pressure groups and associations such as the Free West Cameroon Movement (FWCM), the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM),[410] the Ambazonia Movement (AM), the Southern Cameroon Restoration Movement (SCARM), the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL), the Southern Cameroons Independence Restoration Council (SCIRC), the Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization (SCAPO), the Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement (SOCALIM), and the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), emerged fighting for the liberation of Southern Cameroons. Tangie Fonchingong

[408] Wongbi George Agime, *op.cit*. p. 77
[409] *Op.cit*. p. 77
[410] *Op.cit*, p.50

maintained that following the political liberalization occasioned in part by the forceful launching of the SDF in 1990, several associations and pressure groups were created by Anglophone activists to defend their interests.[411] These pressure groups were mentioned above. The SCNC had a credible leadership which was short-lived. It was not able to set up structures that would promote the mobilization of its followers. CAM/SCARM, the only Anglophone associations operating legally in the country did not have structures that were conducive to mobilize its followers. But the Anglophone struggle for liberation continued.

Since Paul Biya came to power in 1982, he used every means to maintain his stronghold in power despite serious opposition to the policies of his government. During elections campaign members of government ensured that the ruling party won in their constituencies. In the 1997 elections in one of the polling stations in Kumbo, in the North-West Region, a Senior member of government whispered, "everything possible should be done to ensure that the CPDM wins here this time".[412] In this particular polling station the CPDM has never won there. However, the people rejected his plea, recalling the bloody incidents in Kumbo in the 1990s and in Ndu and elsewhere in Southern Cameroons when soldiers had people beaten in Kumbo, looted property, shot at armless civilians and raped women and girls at Ndu inserting heads of bottles in their genitals. The 1997 elections were again massively rigged. In some places ballot boxes had been filled with ballot papers of the CPDM in advance making sure that the ruling party won. No doubt, a staunch supporter of the ruling party attested that, "I cannot be jittery, because when our Head of State gave birth to democracy, he said the competition will begin with the CPDM".[413]

[411] Tangie Fonchingong *op.cit,* p.228

[412] We were present at this polling station when this statement was made. Everyone was surprised and staunch supporters of the SDF, the party in opposition said it will not happen. But at the end of the day, the SDF emerged victorious at that polling station.

[413] *Time Scape Magazine,* Feb/Mar, 2011 p.37

In his study, Christian Cardinal Tumi quoted a neutral observer who had this to say about the 1997 legislative, elections:

> Vote count from available election records (many had been removed from indiscreet eyes) showed that the opposition, notably Fru Ndi's SDF, held a clear lead. But government authorities felt confident because of the non-transparent nature of the centralization of the results: even before the vote count was over, it was already being announced that the ruling CPDM had won 100 of the 180 seats. According to Rene-Jacques Lique, ballots were loaded with CPDM ballot papers before the voting exercise had begun. In fact, the territorial administration failed to release voters cards in hundreds. Voters lists could not be found and militants of the ruling party set up barriers to intimidate the people. Due to this intimidation, people were killed before the voting exercise had begun and after the election.
> Elections constituencies were carved out to fit prior to the elections. Electoral constituencies were carefully "shaped" by a presidential decree at the eve of the elections in order to create two new electoral districts in the Far North. The election results were already being trumpeted about by militants of the party in power a few hours after the voting closed.[414]

As a result of the fraud and irregularities that marred the 1997 legislative election, the SDF actively boycotted the presidential election of the same year. This resulted in 60 percent abstention. Under normal circumstances, the 1997 presidential election should have been declared null and void due to low voter turn-out and electoral fraud. It appeared that only 12 percent of the electorate turned out to vote. The 2002 twin elections, that is, legislative and presidential elections were not different from others, characterized by massive Fraud. It was surprising that the supreme court entertained more than 500 petitions for an election with only one hundred and eighty electoral constituencies, the 2004 election was still marred with massive fraud. For instance, in Douala 3 and 5 Sub-Divisions alone, 11,000 fake votes resulting from the fraudulent fabrication of polling stations. Results had to be deducted from the votes of president

[414] Christian Cardinal Tumi Wighansai Shaghan *The Political Regimes of Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya, and Christian Tumi, Priest*, Pitarmbar Publishing House, New Delhi, 2006, pp.62-63

Paul Biya. Again in the 2007 twin elections, the Supreme Court entertained more than four hundred and fifty petitions for an election with only one hundred and eighty constituencies.[415] The 2012 election was in the hands of ELECAM.

The unfortunate thing was that ELECAM was an electoral body which was not independent of the government. Everything of it was under the auspices and influence of the government. It was not like the case in Nigeria where INEC (Independent National Elections Commission), register voters, conduct the election and declare results independent of the government. For the first time in Cameroon, the bio-metric system of registration was used, but with many flaws and irregularities. It is worthy of note that ELECAM at the Divisional and Regional levels ceased to be the elections organizer because according to the law, both the Divisional and vote counting commissions were not chaired by ELECAM Officials, but by judges chosen in an uncertain manner. At the National level, ELECAM had no other role to play than for the Director General to appoint 50 percent of the total members making up the National Commission for the final counting of the votes, the other 50 percent was appointed by the Minister of Territorial Administration. In essence, ELECAM, the Electoral Commission with jurisdiction over election from registration to result declaration had no right even to a copy of the report of final vote counting commission.[416]

It should be recalled that when Southern Cameroons withdrew from the Eastern Region of Nigeria in 1954, its status was closer to that of self-government. Southern Cameroons had its

[415] This is from our knowledge of Cameroon and reports from private televisions such as Equinox Television which was recently banned from broadcasting by the Biya regime on claims that it was exposing the government of president Paul Biya. Biya is still running the one-party system begun by Ahidjoi in Pseudo multi-party system.

[416] Report from SDF Secretariat in Bamenda, written on a small two page leaflet, titled "Salient points on the Cameroon Electoral Process".

own parliament with two houses of assembly: the House of Chiefs and the National Assembly. It had attained a high level of political Maturity.

This was manifested in the 1959 election when the KNDP of John Ngu Foncha defeated the KNC of Dr. E.M.L. Endeley. Endeley and his wife went and congratulated Foncha, face to face, shaking hands with each other. This in itself showed political maturity and a high level of understanding.[417] Nigeria repeated this same scenario fifty years later, when president Buhari defeated President Goodluck Jonathan in Nigeria's highly contested election, the incumbent Jonathan called and congratulated his successor, president Buhari. This showed political maturity. Writing about the Victoria centenary celebrations which held from 6th-14th December, 1958, a correspondent of "West Africa of December, 1958, claimed: "Everyone must surely have left Victoria with the impression that the Southern Cameroons was one of the most hospital countries in West Africa".[418] It seems that the political process in Southern Cameroons had evolved up to a certain level, and reunification appeared to have shattered this dream relatively.

6.9 Government Response on the Matter, 1990-2014

The government of Cameroon used various means and tactics such as divide and rule, the police, the military and the Rapid Interventon Force, arbitrary arrests and imprisonment to suppress the people. Government reactions on the matter may be traced back to the 1990s when Anglophone pressure goups began to emerge. These reactions from the government continued until the end of period of study.[419] Reactions from the domestic audience which affected the metropolitan interest were quickly suppressed by the government because the metropolitan state protected the interest of the government.Most of the people that were fighting for Southern

[417] See Anthony Ndi, *Southern West Cameroon Revisited1950-1972*, p.77
[418] NAB Press Release No. 238 "The Southern Cameroons is one of the most hospital countries of West Africa" 5th January, 1959
[419] Government reactions on the matter are still continuing

Cameroon to emerge as an independent state were arrested and imprisoned. However, President Paul Biya said Cameroon is one and indivisible.[420] He maintained that the happenings in the country were caused by a group of terrorists and extremists. He sent the Prime Minrister, Philemon Yang and a number of ministers to Bamenda for dialogue with the people on issues plaguing the country, which eventually failed. Former Minister of Justice, Ahmadou Ali, said what was happening in Cameroon was like dropping a cube of sugar in a basin of water.[421] It seems from this that the cube of sugar is the Southern Cameroon minority and the basin of water may be the East Cameroon majority. Laurent Esso, Minister of Justice maintained that there is no Anglophone problem in Cameroon. The regime seems to down play the Anglophone/Francophone divde in a number of ways.For instance, the government spoke of the existence of a common identity under German domination which was said to be recognized along with the multicultural nature of the country in all institutions of the post-colonial state.[422] On 13th December, 1991, in Bamenda, President Paul Biya stressed in a speech as follows:

> Let us not oppose Anglophone and Franchophone… The language should not be a political problem in our country. Mind you, at the start of this century Cameroonians were neither Anglophones nor Francophones. Why should the wars of others divide Cameroonians at the dawn of the third millennium?[423]

In the above speech, it was indirectly indicated that the whole of Cameroon was in the first instance, a German colony. Apart from a few buildings that stand as relics of German colonial rule, there was nothing as German colonial identity in Cameroon in the period of study, this meant that there were no Cameroonians bearing German identity at home. The regime did everything to suppress pressure groups such as the SCNC, CAM and so on. In 2014, it seems that

[420] Online News, CRTV
[421] Online News, CRTV *op.cit*
422 Tangie Fonchingong, *op.cit* p.233
423 Tangie Fonchingong, p.233

government was bent in suppressing any opposition to this matter underground. Thus, the arrest and detention of people fighting for the restoration of southern Cameroons state continued in 2014 in our period of study.

6.10 Conclusion

The reunified Cameroon was intended to become a federal and democratic state where all opinion would be accommodated. But contrary to that expectation, the presidency of Ahmadou Ahidjo was characterized by arbitrariness and unitary government. The Biya regime continued in the same way with authoritarian practices as the former.

General Conclusion

The study focused on European colonialism in Cameroon and its aftermath. The main objective of the study was to analyse and discuss the consequences of European colonialism in Cameroon during the period, 1884-2014.

The first chapter of the study discussed among others, the statement of the problem, aim and objectives of the study, methodology, theoretical framework, as well as the review of related literature. This chapter revealed that although the history of Cameroon was similar to the history of other African states, its history was unique in the sense that it came under the domination of three imperial European powers namely: Germany, Britain and France, quite unlike most of the states which were under the rule of one European power during the colonial period.

Chapter two discussed environment, people and economy of Cameroon on the eve of colonial domination. It showed that the principal ethnic groups of Cameroon were predominantly the Bantu and semi-Bantu. It showed that agriculture was the heart beat of cameroon's economy, and also that pre-colonial Cameroon was well organized and farming was the predominant economic activity of the people.

Chapter three discussed European invasion and subjugation of Cameroon. In this chapter, the study revealed the signing of treaties between the European powers and the chiefs, German economic, political and educational developments as well as the judicial systems of the British, French and the Germans.

In Chapter four, the study discussed the partition of Cameroon, the First World War, British Cameroons,the administrative structure of British Cameroons, economic development in British Southern Cameroons, controversy during the colonial period as well as the administrative

structure of French Cameroon, French colonial policies, educational development in French Cameroon and so on. It demonstrated that the condominium was a failure.

In chapter five, the study discussed the origin and nature of the plebiscite question. It demonstrated that some people were in favour of the reunification while others were in disfavor of it. The chapter further discussed the reunification proper as well as the euphoria of the reunification.

Chapter six discussed the impact of the reunification of British Cameroon and French Cameroon on Southern Cameroon. It further discussed the president Ahmadou Ahidjo regime as well as the president Paul Biya regime. It showed the structure of central administration and politics. The study further demonstrated that Ahidjo amalgamated all political parties in west and east Cameroon to form a single party, the Cameroon National Union (CNU). It showed the political, economic and social impact of the reunification as well as government response on the matter.

The study revealed that the European intervention greatly changed the existing system. It showed that the existing polities lost their independence and were organized in the way most suitable to the colonialists. However, it is observed that colonialism brought relative peace to the area. It is further observed that the colonialists constructed roads and railways as well as bridges, schools and hospitals and developed agriculture especially in the production of export crops. They also developed plantations. Relics of colonial structures were still available.

Colonialism refers to one country's domination of another country or people, usually achieved through aggressive, often military, actions---and the territory acquired through this manner.[424] Usually, a colonizing country also quickly establishes political control over the other society. Colonialism is generally associated with the European overseas expansion that began

[424] Ibid

about 1500. However, it occurred in most parts of the world and in most historical eras, even the most ancient. Through the centuries, nations established colonies primarily for economic reasons. They sent out colonists to search for precious metals or to trade for scarce and valuable spices and specialized crops.

The study revealed that Cameroon was unique because it came under the rule of three different European powers. However, its experiences were similar to those of other ex-colonial African states. The study also showed that Southern Cameroon was an independent entity under UN Trusteeship before October 1, 1961. But the reunification of October 1, 1961, reversed the federalist and independent state in favour of a unitary state, to the disadvantage of Anglophone Cameroon under President Ahmadou Ahidjo. The study showed that the country began to be authoritarian, corrupt and intolerant of opposition.

Under President Paul Biya, similar developments took place. These trends, the study revealed, were connected with the arbitrary way, the reunification was carried out. It revealed that the reunification had problems from inception since French Cameroon was the dominant actor in the reunified Cameroon. The study showed that being in power for thirty-two years, President Paul Biya has continued in the line of authoritarian tendencies as the former. It demonstrated that those who rise up to protest against his policies were arrested and imprisoned.

Bibliography

A. Primary Sources

I. List of Oral Informants

NAME	AGE	PLACE	DATE	TIME	PROFESSION
Barrister Blaise Berinyuy	50 years	Buea	Monday 23rd March, 2015	10:30 am	Lawyer
Chin Alice	23 years	Bamenda	Sunday 10th May, 2015	4:11 pm	Student
Christian Cardinal Tumi	84 years	Douala	Monday 12th May, 2015	5:00 pm	Priest
Dr. Anthony Ndi	72 Years	Bamenda	Thursday 11th May, 2015	10:30 am	Historian
Dr. Atem George	72 Years	Buea	Thursday 16th April 2015	1:00 PM	Historian
Dr. Joseph Banadzem	63 years	Kumbo	Monday 4th May, 2015	5:00 pm	Politician
Jean-Paul Mbarga	60years	Yaounde	Tuesday 14th March, 2017	10:00 am	Civil servant
Jean-Pierre Djimo	40 years	Bafoussan	Sunday 10th May, 2015	9:00 am	Dyer
Miss Awah Delphine Bih	28 years	Kumbo	Saturday 25th April, 2015	7:50 pm	Nursing
Miss Celia Vouban	29 years	Buea	Wednesday 1st April, 2015	5:25 pm	Administrative Assistant
Miss Constance Alieh	25 years	Buea	April 6th, 2015	12:27 pm	Hawker
Miss Julie Nange	40 years	Limbe	Monday 13th April, 2015	11:10 am	Teaching
Miss Kameni Immaculate	29 years	Buea	Monday, 6th April 2015	12:27 pm	Credit transfer personnel
Miss Kiwo Faith	23 years	Soa, Yaounde	Wednesday 9th September, 2015	4:00 pm	Student
Miss Philisity Yewong	30 years	Nkambe	Monday 13th April 2015	12:00 pm	Delegate
Miss Vallery Epinge	26 years	Kumba	Tuesday 14th April, 2015	2:00 pm	Accountant
Mr. Benard Nji	33 years	Buea	Wednesday 1st April, 2015	6:00 pm	Businessman
Mr. Blessed Efilo Ngoe	25 years	Buea	Friday 27th March, 2015	4:19 pm	Student
Mr. Eboko Albert	41 years	Kumba	Tuesday 14th April 2015	5:00 pm	Politician
Mr. Jean Betrand	35 years	Douala	Friday 17th April 2015	8:30 am	Labourer

Mr. Mola Njoh Litumbe	89 years	Buea	Thursday 26th March, 2015	10:00 am	Politician
Mr. Ndze Maurice	57 years	Kumbo	Monday 7th September, 2015	2:00 pm	Teaching
Mr. Nfortaw Michael	41 years	Kombo, Abedimo, Bakassi	Wednesday, 8th April, 2015	9:00 pm	Development consultant
Mr. Ngene Emmanuel	55 years	Akwa, Bakkassi	Thursday, 9th April, 2015	12:38 pm	Politician/Administrator
Mr. Nicoline Fonyuy	35 years	Tiko	Sunday 19th March, 2015	5:00 pm	Teaching
Mr. Njong Fonyuy Donatus	56 years	Kumbo	Friday 20th March, 2015	10:30 am	Politician
Mr. Nsotan Richard	47 years	Douala	Monday 20th April, 2015	2:47 pm	Teaching
Mr. Vera-Nso Michael Kppumbu	73 years	Kumbo	Monday 4th May, 2015	4:00 pm	Teaching
Mrs. Ekuri, Dorothy Ekuri	52 years	Buea	Monday, 6th April 2015	5:00 pm	Teaching
Ousman Salifou	50 years	Bafoussan	Sunday 10th May, 2015	9:00 am	Dyer
Prof. Fanso, V.G.	69 years	Messa, Yaounde	Tuesday 8th September, 2015	11:00 am	Historian
Prof. Philip Blaise Essomba	60 years	Yaounde	Friday 16th May, 2015	5:30pm	Historian
Seka Liberata	22 years	Bamenda	Sunday 10th May, 2015	4:11 pm	Student
Seka Solange	27 years	Bamenda	Sunday 10th May, 2015	4:11 pm	Student
Sr. Ilyn Wiysanyuy	36 years	Kumbo	Monday 4th May, 2015	10:30 am	Midwife
Sr. Noreen Macdonald	81 years	Kumbo	Saturday 9th May, 2015	9:18 am	Teaching

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NAK, File No. 43b, British Archvies 43B 5A 368 FCO 65/50 Return by (24/08/2012) 8236 (Sabine Schenng) 5 13/07/2012 10:46:44

Arewa House Archives

Centre for Historical Research and Document, Kaduna

MNCA/3205,(Ministry for Northern Cameroon Affairs) Correspondence with political parties

MNCA/3238, UN/3 Northern Cameroons Plebiscite instructions

MNCA/3239, Northern Cameroons Plebiscite 1960

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NAB, Press Release No. 1217, Southern Cameroons plebiscite, 17th February, 1961.

NAB, Press Release No. 1429, Timber exports From Kumba/Victoria charge: May 1961.

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