

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

Khalimat Rachida BENAZIR*

Abstract

The picture of the situation in Cameroon is as follows: in the Far-North region, the jihadist Boko Haram sect launches deadly assaults on the population with explosions; the English-speaking regions of the North-West and the South-West are undermined by deadly violence forcing the population of this region to move. Since 2016, troubles in English-Speaking regions have begun. In the form of simple and peaceful demands, the crisis has become an armed conflict that calls for urgent solutions. On October 1, 2017, separatists declared the symbolic independence of the former British Cameroon under the name of Ambazonia. The crisis has already changed dimension. Today, The term “Anglophone Crisis” is a generic appellation given to the series of events taking place within the North-West and South-West regions of Cameroon. In this study, we aim to understand the reasons and challenges of this problem.

Keywords: marginalization, Anglophone, Francophone, Ambazonia, separatists

* Master's Degree at University of Ngaoundéré Department of Law and Political Science, PhD Student, Kocaeli University Department of International Relations benazir903@gmail.com.

Introduction

A country of more than 25 million of population¹, Cameroon was previously known for its stability. Stable for several decades despite the great diversity of its population, Cameroon has recently faced the attacks of the Boko Haram group in the Far-North and a separatist movement in the two Anglophon regions. In fact, there is different groups protesting in the Anglophone regions. The organizations that influence protests are: the Consortium or Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC)², Movement for the Restoration of the Independence of Southern Cameroons (MoRISC), the Ambazonian Group, Southern Cameroons Peoples Organisation (SCAPO), Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL) and, the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC)³. All these organizations are involved in the crisis and there is even more, but, the two last ones have been for long fighting for self-determination and a return to the federal system contesting the 1972 constitution. The problem is defined in terms of

¹ See World Population review, “Cameroon Population 2019”, 12 May 2019, available at <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/cameroon-population/> accessed on June 2019.

²The Consortium was created by December 2016 to act as a voice for the people, and to represent the Anglophone people in the event of dialogue with the government. The government of Cameroon had several times engaged dialogue with some of the leaders of the Consortium. The leaders stood their ground—one of which is the return to a two-state federation. The government was unable to deceive the leaders to call off the strike, so, they ban the consortium and arrested them. On this see International crisis group, “Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads”, 2017, available at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/250-cameroons-anglophone-crisis-crossroads> accessed on March 2019.

³ Emmanuel O. Nuesiri, “Anglophone Problem in Cameroon: How do you solve a conflictual colonial heritage?” 2017, [PowerPoint slides] available at: <https://illinois.academia.edu/EmmanuelNuesiri> accessed on March 2019.

marginalization, assimilation, dictatorship and false democratic practices that have prevented Anglophone Cameroonians from controlling their destiny since the British Southern Cameroons joined the French “République du Cameroun” in 1961 to constitute a nation. From the 90s, many studies have been conducted on the Anglophone problem in Cameroon with some turned especially on the Francophone leadership for the “second-class” status of Anglophones in a bi-cultural Cameroon⁴. Today, secessionist and nationalist movements are today a reality in the international scene. From Scotland in the United Kingdom, Catalonia and the Basque Country in Spain, to Flanders in Belgium, separatist movements are striking. We argue that, being a multicultural country make Cameroon fall on to the same problem. The fact that, two peoples of opposing colonial experiences were brought together to form a nation can be the reason of today conflict in Cameroon. From simple protest in 2016, the crisis change in scale and move towards armed conflict. Given the current situation, solutions to the crisis are sought and more and more voices are heard at the international level.

The Colonial Legacy/ *Sömürge(cilerin) Mirası*

⁴ Nicodemus Awasum, “The Development of Autonomist Tendencies in Anglophone Cameroon” *Journal of Third World Studies*. Vol. Xv, No. 1, 1998, pp. 163-183.; Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh, “The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, No 35, 1997, pp. 208-229.; Bongfen Chem-Langhëë, “The Anglophone – Francophone Divide and Political Disintegration in Cameroon: A Psycho-historical Perspective” In *Regional Balance and National Integration in Cameroon: Lessons Learned and the Uncertain Future*. Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1995, pp. 88-99.; Victor Julius Ngoh, “The Origin of the Marginalization of Former Southern Cameroonians (Anglophones) 1961-1966: An Historical Analysis” *Journal of Third World Studies* Vol. Xc1, 1999, pp. 165-183.

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

Generally in Africa, the legacy of colonialism has either divided or brings together those of different languages and cultures. Colonial boundaries rarely coincided with distribution of the various linguistic, ethnic or religious communities. The colonial experience has repercussions on today's Cameroon.

Cameroon, known on this name exist from 1884 as a German protectorate. After the First World War, this colony was divided between Great Britain and France under the 1919 mandate of the League of Nations. Southern Cameroon has become a United Nations-controlled territory governed by England. In 1961, the United Nations organized a plebiscite which enabled the British Southern Cameroons to join the French former colony. In fact, the first consent was to establish a Federal Republic of Cameroon. But in 1972, President Ahmadou Ahidjo, merged the two autonomous states, creating the United Republic of Cameroon. The constitution move from the constitution of Federal Republic of Cameroon of 1961, to the Unitary Constitution of 1972⁵. From then, Anglophone discontent started. Moreover, “Biya’s regime affected Anglophones more seriously when in 1984 he unilaterally decreed a move from the unitary state created by the 20 May 1972 Fouban referendum to “La République du Cameroun”⁶. Therefore, we can say that, the origin of the Anglophone

⁵ As symbol of the federate state, there were two stars on the flag. After the name of the country changed to United Republic of Cameroon, a star were removed from flag living only one in the red part of the flag.

⁶ On February 4, 1984, President Paul Biya signed Decree No 84-01 further changing the official name of the country from United Republic of Cameroon to simply Republic of Cameroon without warning and popular consultation. There were

problem can be traced back to the 1972 referendum, which overturned the federal system in favor of a unitary system, which, in its turn, has been changed to Republic simply and through change brought to the 1972 constitution in 1984.

Anglophones argue that Francophone politicians have betrayed the basis of “reunification” which they initiated, stressing that the former British Cameroons was neither conquered, captured or annexed by La République du Cameroun⁷. At the beginning of the crisis, people thought it was a problem between francophones and anglophones. But the demands for independence and self-determination immediately made it clear that the crisis is part of a problem related to the country's governance. As Verkijika G. Fanson, Professor of History at the University of Yaounde highlighted when he was interviewed, the animosity is between English-speaking Cameroonians and the government led and dominated by French-speaking Cameroonians. He continued by saying that the French-speaking Cameroonians have ruled the country in an authoritarian way since the unification of the two former United Nations trusteeship territories and that, “the dignity and statehood of Anglophones was silently destroyed – not by the French-

vehement protests specifically from the Anglophone section of the country that this was the name of the independent francophone Cameroon prior to reunification. See Venantius Kum Ngwoh, “An Evaluation of Nation Building Policies in Cameroon Since Colonial Times”, *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. VIII, No. II, 2017; See also, John Nkemngong Nkengasong, “Interrogating the union: Anglophone Cameroon poetry in the postcolonial matrix”, *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2012, pp. 51-64.

⁷ See Awasum, Nicodemus. “The Reunification Question in Cameroon History: Was the Bride an Enthusiastic or a Reluctant One?” *Africa Today*, Vol. 47 No.2, 2000, pp. 90–119.

speaking (Francophone) community at large, but by the government led and dominated by Francophones”⁸. Some scholars of the southern Cameroon have argued that, “Cameroon as a nation is a fragile construction of Western interest, with a faulty sense of national unity”⁹, and that solution can only be found in return to federalism. In other words, they advocate for the adoption of federalism policies as solution to the crisis. The rhetoric of Anglophone nationalism is now characterised by a discourse rejecting the Cameroonian nationality and defending Anglophone identity as separate from the Cameroonian identity.

From Protests in 2016 to the Armed Conflict / *Protestolardan Silahlı Çatışmaya*

In the last months of 2016, the crisis started with strikes and protests by lawyers who wanted to show their dissatisfaction and demand their rights. The two Anglophones, were not satisfied with the policies of the state and had been marginalized and assimilated. In fact, the “major grievances of the Anglophone Cameroonians include their perception of oppression, marginalization, and deprivation, which arises in large part from their territory’s resource curse: Western Cameroon is 20

⁸ The Conversation, “History explains why Cameroon is at war with itself over language and culture”, 15 October 2017, available at: <http://theconversation.com/history-explains-why-cameroon-is-at-war-with-itself-over-language-and-culture-85401> accessed on March 2019.

⁹ Ekangaki Tabe et al., “The Federal Solution Versus Nationalist Consciousness: A Neo-Fundamental National Question in Cameroon”, IMPACT: International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature, Vol. 5, Issue 11, Nov 2017, pp. 1-14.

percent of the population but reportedly produces 60 percent of Cameroon's GDP, and has little to show for it. Another major grievance of the Anglophone Cameroonians is what they see as the government's attempts at the Francophonization of their culture, which some perceive to amount to cultural genocide"¹⁰. Therefore, the movement of lawyers were soon supported later by teachers who wanted the government to stop posting Francophone teachers to teach in Anglophone schools. People across professions followed the teachers, and Cameroon's cities became "ghost towns". In the Buea South-West region, at the University of Buea, by the 28th of November 2016, students also protested peacefully within the Campus of the university against unnecessary charges placed on them by the school administration for basic services which normally are to be for free. No early measures have been taken to address the rooted problems. Therefore, the movement has become widespread and the socio-economic rights and federative system demanded in the early days has been abandoned and turned into a struggle for full independence.

The crisis has gained another dimension with the introduction of weapons in October 2017 and the declaration of independence of the two region. Indeed, formed in 2017, the Southern Cameroon Ambazonia United Front Consortium (SCACUF) brings together former leaders of the SCNC and advocates the peaceful struggle for the secession of Anglophone Cameroon. To respond and protest the

¹⁰ Alvin Cheng-Hin Lim, "Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis Escalates with Call for Independence", 2017, available at: <http://ippreview.com/index.php/Blog/single/id/568.html> accessed on March 2019.

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

declared ghost state, state use force and sent its security forces in that zones. Leaders were arrested and jailed on charges of terrorism and attempts to change the form of the state. So, the government dismissed the armed groups as "terrorists", and state radio reported that Mr Biya "declared war" on them¹¹. The government also shut down internet and other communication services in Anglophone regions¹². Cutting or censoring the Internet is a serious violation of freedom of expression, protected by numerous international texts¹³ signed and ratified by Cameroon. Therefore, clashes started between state army and Ambazonian armed groups¹⁴. A few months later, the leader of the "Ambazonian state", Nigerian refugee Sisiku Ayuk Tabe was captured and brought to Cameroon on January 5 2018 as a result of a joint operation with the intelligence and security forces of Nigeria and Cameroon. 46 other separatists were arrested too¹⁵. These 47 separatists

¹¹ BBC News, "Cameroon's Anglophone crisis: Red Dragons and Tigers - the rebels fighting for independence", 4 October 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45723211> accessed on April 2019.

¹² Government reinstated communication services three months later. In fact, that happen between January and April 2017.

¹³ Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is succinct on the issue of communication on media. It states that, "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". See the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

¹⁴ Like Ambazonia Defence Forces (ADF), there is many different groups. The Red Dragons and Tigers are the armed groups which have sprung up to fight for independence in English-speaking parts of Cameroon when the crisis erupted.

¹⁵ See AFP Paris, "Cameroun: de nombreuses divisions fragmentent les séparatistes en zone anglophone", 19 February 2018 available at: <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/533245/politique/cameroun-de-nombreuses-divisions-fragmentent-les-separatistes-en-zone-anglophone/> accessed on May 2019; and Jeune Afrique Paris, "Le Nigeria extrade au Cameroun un dirigeant séparatiste anglophone", 30 January 2018, available at: <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/524743/politique/le-nigeria-extrade-au-cameroun-un-dirigeant-separatiste-anglophone/> accessed on May 2019.

are held incommunicado until June 2018, when the government allows them to meet lawyers and delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross¹⁶.

The fact that the government has used force and is not willing to reach a consensus has made the population of this region more and more supportive of separatists. As Francophone Africa analyst at the UK-based Chatham House think-tank, Paul Melly, told the BBC, "People in these regions are proud of their Anglophone heritage especially their legal and education institutions. So it was a campaign for greater political and civil rights, and the separatists were seen as very marginal. But the government intervened in a heavy-handed way and that stirred support for the militants"¹⁷. It helped to maintain the crisis that is having serious consequences today. Thus, conflicts have led to the deaths of many people and civilians. Since the crisis has exacerbated, there are losses on both sides. The state's security forces suffered thousands of injuries and lost nearly 200 soldiers and in the regions the lost are up to 400 civilians¹⁸. But, according to an estimate made by Amnesty International in December 2018, more than 300 members of the security forces have lost their lives and 1,000 civilians have died since the end

¹⁶ Human Rights Watch, "Ces meurtres peuvent être stoppés", 19 July 2018, p. 21, available at: <https://www.hrw.org/fr/report/2018/07/19/ces-meurtres-peuvent-etre-stoppes/abus-commis-par-les-forces-gouvernementales-et> accessed on May 2019.

¹⁷ BBC News, "Cameroon's Anglophone crisis: Red Dragons and Tigers-the rebels fighting for independence", op cit.

¹⁸ See La Banque Mondiale, "La Banque Mondiale au Cameroun", March 2019, available at: <https://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/country/cameroon/overview> accessed on March 2019.

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

of October 2017¹⁹. However, because of the brutality of soldiers and accusation made by some human rights organizations that we will mention in the following part, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein urges the government to launch independent investigations into human Rights violations by security forces of state and the abuses perpetrated by the armed elements "²⁰.

In addition, because of the insecurity, many peoples left their home²¹ and took refuge in the Francophone regions and neighboring Nigeria²². In fact, the majority of the displaced are women and children. Food, shelter and civilian protection are the principal humanitarian needs, although across all sectors needs are high²³. Conflict-affected people are growing more vulnerable as the violence persists and humanitarian assistance remains inadequate²⁴. In the rise of the crisis, armed rebels

¹⁹ Note that, to know the exact number of victims remind difficult.

²⁰ ONU, "Le Chef des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies profondément préoccupé par les rapports de graves violations des droits de l'homme au Cameroun", 25 July 2018, available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/fr/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=23404&LangID=F> accessed on May 2019.

²¹ From the last updates, 1,3 million persons are displaced today in Cameroon and on November 2018, 437,500 are from Anglophone North West and South West regions. See Rfi Afrique, "Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU se penche sur la crise humanitaire au Cameroun", 14 May 2019, available at: <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20190514-cameroun-crise-humanitaire-conseil-securite-onu-tensions> accessed on 7 June 2019. See also Human Rights Watch, "Cameroon events of 2018", available at: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/cameroon> accessed on March 2019.

²² Over 32,000 to seek refuge in neighbouring Nigeria according to a report by a United Nations body, OCHA. See Africanews., "Cameroon Anglophone crisis affects over 4 million – OCHA", 22 January 2019, available at: <https://www.africanews.com/2019/01/22/cameroon-anglophone-crisis-affects-over-4-million-ocha/>

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

have started also to take government workers and foreign workers and tourists hostage²⁵. Even school student are not spared²⁶. Vulnerability has been further compounded by limited access to education for children due to a ban and attacks on schools by the armed groups. We can say that children lost their school years from the beginning of the crisis. The crisis further worsened from mid-2018 due to increased hostilities ahead of the presidential election. Hitherto, hostilities continue, recently, on May 2019, 13 soldiers were killed by separatists²⁷. Today, due to the length of the crisis and its consequences, the international community is looking more and more at the problem.

The Current Situation and the Question of the Crisis at the International Level / *Mevcut Durum ve Uluslararası Düzeyde Kriz Sorunu*

Since the situation has deteriorated, the fighting were almost daily in the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon. From the begining of the crisis, government security forces are accused of abusive military

²⁵ See Journal du Cameroon.com, “12 European hostages briefly held in troubled anglophone Cameroon”, 04 April 2018, available at: <https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/12-european-hostages-briefly-held-in-troubled-anglophone-cameroon/> accessed on March 2019.

²⁶ On a recent kidnaping of students, in which the separatist denied their implication, see BBC News, “Cameroon school kidnap: Final four hostages freed in Bamenda”, 12 November 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-46180091> accessed on March 2019

²⁷Lassaad Ben Ahmed, “Cameroun / crise anglophone: 13 militaires tués par des séparatistes”, 16 April 2019, available at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/fr/afrique/cameroun-crise-anglophone-13-militaires-tués-par-des-séparatistes-/1453735> accessed on May 2019.

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

operations. For agencies like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, human rights are violated in Cameroon. A Human Rights Watch report documented a range of abuses by both sides in the Anglophone regions, including arson attacks on homes and schools. According to the International Crisis Group, government forces and armed separatists killed over 420 civilians in the regions since the crisis escalated in 2017²⁸.

Instability in the Anglophone zone affects Cameroon on different ground. Political, economic, diplomatic and social life of the country are somehow affected. On the political plan, the current crisis has increased support to federalism among the Anglophone population and reinforced support for secessionism²⁹. Political subordination is one of the elements of marginalization that Anglophones in Cameroon have always complained about. One year before the crisis, Clarisse Awamengwi was writing that “following decades of rule under Francophone-dominated regimes, Anglophones have often been economically marginalized within an environment that has continually favored Francophones”³⁰. Concerning the impact of the crisis on the economy of the State, “shutting down the internet paralysed several sectors (of the local economy), notably banking and microfinance. The

²⁸ See Human Rights Watch, “Cameroon events of 2018”, op cit.

²⁹ Crisis Group interviews, “Cameroon’s Worsening Anglophone Crisis Calls for Strong Measures”, 2017, available at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/130-cameroon-worsening-anglophone-crisis-calls-strong-measures> accessed on March 2019.

³⁰ Clarisse Awamengwi, *Understanding the State of Fragmented Nation-building in Cameroon*, Distinguished Major Senior Thesis, Global Development Studies at the University of Virginia, 2015, p. 55.

local economy is based on the oil sector (9 per cent of GDP), timber (4.5 per cent), intensive agriculture, including large plantations owned by the Cameroon Development Corporation and other smaller plantations that supply Douala and the countries of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community, as well as cocoa, rubber, etc”³¹. It is then obvious that “the crisis has hit all sectors of the local economy, except for hydrocarbons and forestry, which has had an impact on some commercial sectors and industries in the Francophone regions. Several estimates put the direct cost of cutting access to internet alone at CFA2 billion (€3 million)”³². Concerning social life, as we said above, the crisis has engendered many displacements. Peoples are fleeing and abandoning the area because of the insecurity that is constant there. WFP, UNICEF, WHO and UNHCR have declared a Level 2 emergency owing to the worsening humanitarian situation in the two regions³³. In fact, it is on 4 December 2018 that UNHCR activated a Level 2 emergency for the Cameroon situation. The scale of internal displacement in Cameroon and the increase of Cameroonian refugee arrivals into Nigeria has caused worrying protection and humanitarian concerns³⁴. Anglophones are also critical of Francophones for their lack of solidarity. While many Francophones say they support the Anglophones’ demands, the latter believe that this support is in word only and that Francophones do not really understand the problems that

³¹ See International crisis group, “Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads”, op cit.

³² Ibid.

³³ Africanews, “Cameroon Anglophone crisis affects over 4 million – OCHA”, op cit.

³⁴ UNHCR, “Cameroon Situation: Responding to the Needs of Idps and Cameroonian Refugees in Nigeria”, 2019, p. 6.

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

stem from being a minority³⁵. Thus, although not visible in the foreground, all sectors are involved and suffer from the consequences of the crisis.

Nevertheless, Biya government argued that the unitary state is a more suitable form of state in the Cameroonian multi-ethnic context. The chairman reject demand for federalism. Indeed, “in reply to the anglophone demand for a return to the federal state, Biya has claimed... that this tends to be costly, weakening to state power, and divisive... declining to discuss the federal or so-called "two-state option," he was eventually willing to concede a certain degree of decentralization within the unitary state... the so-called "ten state/region option." Biya's preferential option of a "decentralized unitary state" was eventually reflected in the 1996 constitution”³⁶. But, the government which were not ready to talk and find consensus with anglophone show lastly the desire to change the situation. Among what the government has done, we can mention the translation of the Organisation for the Harmonisation of Business Law in Africa (OHADA) Text from French to English. In fact, The lawyers demanded the translation into English of the Code of OHADA and other legal texts. They criticised the “francophonisation” of Common Law jurisdictions, with the appointment to the Anglophone zone of Francophone magistrates who

³⁵ See International crisis group, “Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads”, op cit.

³⁶ Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh, President Paul Biya and the "Anglophone Problem" in Cameroon, in *The leadership Challenge in Africa: Cameroon under Paul Biya*, (Eds: John Mukum Mbaku and Joseph Takougang), Trenton NY: Africa World Press, 2004, p. 217.

did not understand English or the Common Law, and the appointment of notaries, to do work done by lawyers under the Common Law system³⁷. The government also created a common law department at the National School for Administrators and Magistrates (ENAM) for people with an English academic background³⁸. The government created the National Commission for Bilingualism and Multiculturalism too, which the mandate to promote bilingualism and the respect of the English and French Cultures respectively³⁹. The government has also relocated its judges and magistrates to their respective regions of origin; judges and magistrates with a French background have been sent to French speaking regions and same with English-speaking magistrates and judges⁴⁰. However, these realizations have been criticized for not being effective. With the extension of damages both materials and humans, the government recently created the National Commission for Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration, to facilitate the restoration of peace in the Anglophone regions⁴¹. Parallely to the Emergency Response Plan (ERP) developed

³⁷ See International crisis group, “Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads”, op cit.

³⁸ Malletbesong resource center, “Paul Biya orders the Creation of Common Law Section in the Supreme Court and ENAM”, available at: <https://malletbesong.wordpress.com/2017/03/31/paul-biya-orders-the-creation-of-common-law-section-in-the-supreme-court-and-enam/> accessed on April 2019

³⁹ See National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism “The Missions of the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism”, 2019, available at: <https://www.ncpbm.cm/en/commission/missions-national-commission-promotion-bilingualism-and-multiculturalism> accessed on March 2019

⁴⁰ Some of this realizations were the main claims of the Anglophone lawyers at the eve of the crisis.

⁴¹ See Business in Cameroon, “Cameroon’s Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission achieved “encouraging” results, only a few months after its creation”, 09 May 2019, available at:

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

by the international community⁴², the government also came up a National Humanitarian Response Plan to assist IDPs in the North-West and South-West regions.⁴³ However, the answer was not a success. Beneficiaries, especially those in the bushes, can not access this help, those who end up receiving help are not the ones who are targeted for the response.

Moreover, given the duration and scale of the crisis, with serious humanitarian consequences, the international community is increasingly pronouncing on the crisis. In 2017, The UK Minister for Africa, Rory Stewart said in a statement that both parties should restrain from actions that can deepen the crisis⁴⁴. In September 2017, UN

<https://www.businessincameroon.com/security/0905-9111-cameroon-s-disarmament-demobilization-and-reintegration-commission-achieved-encouraging-results-only-a-few-months-after-its-creation> accessed on June 2019.

⁴² By January 2019, donors had provided 35 per cent of the US\$15.2 million required as per the emergency response plan, according to the Financial Tracking Service (FTS). This amount constitutes the \$5.1 million CERF allocation under the rapid response window. Additional contributions were received by other donors but not yet reported on FTS. On this see OCHA, "Cameroon: North-West and South-West: Report no 2", 31 December 2018, available at: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA-Cameroon_Situation_Report_no2_Final.pdf accessed on March 2019; and OCHA, "Cameroon: North-West and South-West Report no 3", 31 January 2019, available at: https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/ocha_cameroon_situation_report_no3_final.pdf accessed on March 2019.

⁴³ See the page of the Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon, "12.7 billion CFAF Emergency Humanitarian Assistance Plan for the North-West and South-West regions", available at: <https://www.prc.cm/en/news/2914-12-7-billion-cfaf-emergency-humanitarian-assistance-plan-for-the-north-west-and-south-west-regions> accessed on March 2019.

⁴⁴ Africanews, "Cameroon Anglophone crisis: UK calls on 'all sides' to restore confidence", 05 October 2017, available at: <https://www.africanews.com/2017/10/05/cameroon-anglophone-crisis-uk-calls-on-all-sides-to-restore-confidence/> accessed on March 2019.

Secretary-General António Guterres urged Cameroonian authorities to “promote measures of national reconciliation aimed at finding a durable solution to the crisis, including by addressing its root causes”⁴⁵. But the European Parliament through a motion for a resolution condemned the government's response to the crisis and urged the Government of Cameroon to build a genuine, representative and vibrant democracy⁴⁶. However, the government did not appreciate these statements and hit back at the European Union Parliament resolutions on the socio political situation in Cameroon⁴⁷. Recently, on 13 May 2019, at the request of the United States⁴⁸, the separatist conflict in the two western regions of the country was discussed at the United Nations. The government has implied that it is a desire for interventionism by some. We know that in international law interference is permitted in some specific cases. The violation of fundamental rights of citizens and the humanitarian emergency are part of it. Nonetheless, do Cameroon is at this stage? Guinea shares the government position, and China and Russia have also warned of the risk of interference if too much attention

⁴⁵ Africa Renewal, “Crisis worsens in Cameroon”, available at: <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/december-2018-march-2019/crisis-worsens-cameroon> accessed on April 2019.

⁴⁶ European Parliament, “Motion for a Resolution”, 16 April 2019, available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/B-8-2019-0249_EN.html accessed on May 2019.

⁴⁷ Journal du Cameroon.com, “Cameroon :Gov’t hits back at EU Parliament resolutions on Anglophone crisis”, 23 April 2019, available at: <https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/cameroon-govt-hits-back-at-eu-parliament-resolutions-on-anglophone-crisis/> accessed on May 2019.

⁴⁸ The international response has been led by the U.S., multilateral organizations and international civil society. From 28 November 2016, the U.S. pointed out its position. The U.S. called for dialogue in the Anglophone regions and called on the government of Cameroon to respect fundamental freedoms. See International crisis group, “Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads”, op cit.

is paid to Cameroon's political problems. However, if the English-speaking regions of the country suffer the most serious crisis, it is because of the violent conflict between the government and the separatists⁴⁹ and today humanitarian operations are conducted in Cameroon, proof of the government's failure to manage this crisis.

Conclusion

The Anglophone problem in Cameroon call for both exogenes and endogenes solutions. Not only international mediation and incentives are requires to help cameroon to find solutions to the ongoing Anglophone crisis originated from history. The government must urgently find solutions to this crisis that became also an humanitarian crisis. Also, as Henry Kam Kah said it, “Although it is generally held within the Anglophone community that the Francophone leadership is responsible for the predicament of Anglophones, Anglophones are also the architect of their own marginalization”⁵⁰. But not to criticize this opinion means that each minority is responsible for its fate.

At the beegining, we can say that the crisis were neglected not only by the government with state men who did not wanted to recognized the problem, but also by the international society. Today, voices are rising concerning anglophone issue and on May 28 2019, the government Throught it Minister of external relations tried to reaffirm

⁴⁹ Rfi Afrique, “Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU se penche sur la crise humanitaire au Cameroun”, op cit.

⁵⁰ Henry Kam Kah, “The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon: the North West/South West Dichotomy from 1961 – 1996”, Cameroon Journal on Democracy and Human Rights, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2012, p.103.

the government willingness to put an end to the socio-political crisis in the English-Speaking zone, while rejecting any external intervention⁵¹. However, recently, and as it did several times before, Human Rights Commission are willing to solve Anglophone crisis and wrote an open letter to the president Biya seeking for his Approval⁵². Also, a German lawmaker Christoph Hoffmann has written a letter to Chancellor Angela Merkel, asking her to weigh in on Cameroon's political crisis⁵³. Nonetheless, any intervention from outside could be condemn by the government. At the time we write this paper the crisis still ongoing⁵⁴. What is important to avoid the worsening of the situation is to find solution when it still possible but no solution is possible without a concrete dialogue between Anglophone activist and the state government.

⁵¹ RFI, "Cameroun: le gouvernement se veut rassurant sur la crise anglophone", 05 June 2019, available at: <http://amp-rfi-fr.cdn.ampprojet.org> accessed on 8 June 2019.

⁵² See Mimi mefo info, "Human Rights Commission Says They Can Solve Anglophone Crisis If Biya Approves", 25 March 2019, available at: <http://mimimefoinfos.com/2019/03/25/human-rights-commission-saysthey-can-solve-anglophone-crisis-if-biya-approves/> accessed on June 2019.

⁵³ DW, "German lawmaker urges Merkel to pay more attention to Cameroon crisis", 05 June 2019, available at <https://m.dw.com> accessed 8 June 2019.

⁵⁴ DW, "Cameroun: violences en zone anglophone et négociation au point mort", 03 June 2019, available at: <https://m.dw.com> accessed 8 June 2019.

References

Thesis:

Clarisse Awamengwi, Understanding the State of Fragmented Nation-building in Cameroon, Distinguished Major Senior Thesis, Global Development Studies at the University of Virginia, 2015.

Articles:

Awasum, Nicodemus. "The Reunification Question in Cameroon History: Was the Bride an Enthusiastic or a Reluctant One?" *Africa Today*, Vol. 47 No.2, 2000, pp. 90–119.

Bongfen Chem-Langhëë, "The Anglophone – Francophone Divide and Political Disintegration in Cameroon: A Psycho-historical Perspective" In *Regional Balance and National Integration in Cameroon: Lessons Learned and the Uncertain Future*. Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1995, pp. 88-99.

Eakangaki Tabe et al., "The Federal Solution Versus Nationalist Consciousness: A Neo-Fundamental National Question in Cameroon", *IMPACT: International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature*, Vol. 5, Issue 11, Nov 2017, pp. 1-14.

Henry Kam Kah, "The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon: the North West/South West Dichotomy from 1961 – 1996", *Cameroon Journal on Democracy and Human Rights*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2012.

John Nkemngong Nkengasong, "Interrogating the union: Anglophone Cameroon poetry in the postcolonial matrix", *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2012, pp. 51-64.

Nicodemus Awasum, “The Development of Autonomist Tendencies in Anglophone Cameroon” *Journal of Third World Studies*. Vol. Xv, No. 1, 1998, pp. 163-183.

Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh, President Paul Biya and the “Anglophone Problem” in Cameroon, in *The leadership Challenge in Africa: Cameroon under Paul Biya*, (Eds: John Mukum Mbaku and Joseph Takougang), Trenton NY: Africa World Press, 2004.

Piet Konings and Francis B. Nyamnjoh, “The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, No 35, 1997, pp. 208-229.

Venantius Kum Ngwoh, “An Evaluation of Nation Building Policies in Cameroon Since Colonial Times”, *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. VIII, No. II, 2017.

Victor Julius Ngoh, “The Origin of the Marginalization of Former Southern Cameroonians (Anglophones) 1961-1966: An Historical Analysis” *Journal of Third World Studies* Vol. Xc1, 1999, pp. 165-183.

Webpages:

AFP Paris, “Cameroun: de nombreuses divisions fragmentent les séparatistes en zone anglophone”, 19 February 2018 available at: <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/533245/politique/cameroun-de-nombreuses-divisions-fragmentent-les-separatistes-en-zone-anglophone/>

Alvin Cheng-Hin Lim, “Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis Escalates with Call for Independence”, 2017, available at: <http://ippreview.com/index.php/Blog/single/id/568.html>

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

Africanews., “Cameroon Anglophone crisis affects over 4 million – OCHA”, 22 January 2019, available at: <https://www.africanews.com/2019/01/22/cameroon-anglophone-crisis-affects-over-4-million-ocha//>

Africanews, “Cameroon Anglophone crisis: UK calls on ‘all sides’ to restore confidence”, 05 October 2017, available at: <https://www.africanews.com/2017/10/05/cameroon-anglophone-crisis-uk-calls-on-all-sides-to-restore-confidence//>

Africa Renewal, “Crisis worsens in Cameroon”, available at: <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/december-2018-march-2019/crisis-worsens-cameroon>

BBC News, “Cameroon's Anglophone crisis: Red Dragons and Tigers - the rebels fighting for independence”, 4 October 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45723211>

BBC News, “Cameroon school kidnap: Final four hostages freed in Bamenda”, 12 November 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-46180091>

Business in Cameroon, “Cameroon’s Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission achieved “encouraging” results, only a few months after its creation”, 09 May 2019, available at: <https://www.businessincameroon.com/security/0905-9111-cameroon-s-disarmament-demobilization-and-reintegration-commission-achieved-encouraging-results-only-a-few-months-after-its-creation>

Crisis Group interviews, “Cameroon’s Worsening Anglophone Crisis Calls for Strong Measures”, 2017, available at:

<https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/130-cameroon-worsening-anglophone-crisis-calls-strong-measures>

DW, “German lawmaker urges Merkel to pay more attention to Cameroon crisis”, 05 June 2019, available at <https://m.dw.com>

DW, “Cameroun: violences en zone anglophone et négociation au point mort”, 03 June 2019, available at: <https://m.dw.com>

Emmanuel O. Nuesiri, “Anglophone Problem in Cameroon: How do you solve a conflictual colonial heritage?” 2017, [PowerPoint slides] available at: <https://illinois.academia.edu/EmmanuelNuesiri>

European Parliament, “Motion for a Resolution”, 16 April 2019, available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/B-8-2019-0249_EN.html

Human Rights Watch, “Cameroon events of 2018”, available at: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/cameroon>

Human Rights Watch, “Ces meurtres peuvent être stoppés“, 19 July 2018, p. 21, available at: <https://www.hrw.org/fr/report/2018/07/19/ces-meurtres-peuvent-etre-stoppes/abus-commis-par-les-forces-gouvernementales-et>

International crisis group, “Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads”, 2017, available at: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/250-camerouns-anglophone-crisis-crossroads>

Jeune Afrique Paris, “Le Nigeria extrade au Cameroun un dirigeant séparatiste anglophone”, 30 January 2018, available at: <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/524743/politique/le-nigeria-extrade-au-cameroun-un-dirigeant-separatiste-anglophone/>

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

Journal du Cameroon.com, “12 European hostages briefly held in troubled anglophone Cameroon”, 04 April 2018, available at: <https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/12-european-hostages-briefly-held-in-troubled-anglophone-cameroon/>

Journal du Cameroon.com, “Cameroon :Gov’t hits back at EU Parliament resolutions on Anglophone crisis”, 23 April 2019, available at: <https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/cameroon-govt-hits-back-at-eu-parliament-resolutions-on-anglophone-crisis/>

La Banque Mondiale, “La Banque Mondiale au Cameroun”, March 2019, available at: <https://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/country/cameroon/overview>

Lassaad Ben Ahmed, “Cameroun / crise anglophone: 13 militaires tués par des séparatistes”, 16 April 2019, available at: <https://www.aa.com.tr/fr/afrique/cameroun-crise-anglophone-13-militaires-tues-par-des-separatistes-/1453735>

Malletbesong resource center, “Paul Biya orders the Creation of Common Law Section in the Supreme Court and ENAM”, available at: <https://malletbesong.wordpress.com/2017/03/31/paul-biya-orders-the-creation-of-common-law-section-in-the-supreme-court-and-enam/>

Mimi mefo info, “Human Rights Commission SaysThey Can Solve Anglophone Crisis If Biya Approves”, 25 March 2019, available at: <http://mimimefoinfos.com/2019/03/25/human-rights-commission-saysthey-can-solve-anglophone-crisis-if-biya-approves/>

National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism “The Missions of the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism”, 2019, available at:

<https://www.ncpbm.cm/en/commission/missions-national-commission-promotion-bilingualism-and-multiculturalism>

OCHA, “Cameroon: North-West and South-West: Report no 2”, 31 December 2018, available at: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA-Cameroon_Situation_Report_no2_Final.pdf

OCHA, “Cameroon: North-West and South-West Report no 3”, 31 January 2019, available at: https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/ocha_cameroon_situation_report_no3_final.pdf

ONU, “Le Chef des droits de l'homme des Nations Unies profondément préoccupé par les rapports de graves violations des droits de l'homme au Cameroun”, 25 July 2018, available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/fr/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=23404&LangID=F>

Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon, “12.7 billion CFAF Emergency Humanitarian Assistance Plan for the North-West and South-West regions”, available at: <https://www.prc.cm/en/news/2914-12-7-billion-cfaf-emergency-humanitarian-assistance-plan-for-the-north-west-and-south-west-regions>

Rfi Afrique, “Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU se penche sur la crise humanitaire au Cameroun”, 14 May 2019, available at: <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20190514-cameroun-crise-humanitaire-conseil-securite-onu-tensions>

The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon: Reasons And Issues

Rfi, “Cameroun: le gouvernement se veut rassurant sur la crise anglophone”, 05 June 2019, available at: <http://amp-rfi-fr.cdn.ampprojet.org>

The Conversation, “History explains why Cameroon is at war with itself over language and culture”, 15 October 2017, available at: <http://theconversation.com/history-explains-why-cameroon-is-at-war-with-itself-over-language-and-culture-85401>

UNHCR, “Cameroon Situation: Responding to the Needs of Idps and Cameroonian Refugees in Nigeria”, 2019.

World Population review, “Cameroon Population 2019”, 12 May 2019, available at <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/cameroon-population/>