The Socio-economic Consequences of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon (November 2016-August 2019), A Cause for an Indispensable Concern

By

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Abstract

The Anglophone problem is not a novelty in Cameroon's political landscape. It is an identity conflict which owes its roots from the colonial era. The nature of the conflict makes it both protracted and intractable due to the inability of its protagonists to reach at a compromise. This is because the measures being put in place to end the conflict at every analytical level does not take into consideration basic ontological human needs, which apart from the basic biological needs for food, shelter, clothing, includes inter alia the need for security, recognition, esteem and self-actualization. These needs are genetically inherent in every human being and are thus imperative for human development. Any society that wants to maintain a healthy life must ensure the gratification of these needs. The crux of the Anglophone crisis rests on unsatisfied genetically endowed human needs. Thus any attempt to address the situation must take these needs into consideration by critically examining the root causes of the problem. This paper therefore revisits John Burton's (1990) approach to conflict resolution which is inextricably linked to the human needs theory, inspired by the works of Abraham Maslow and Paul Sites, to justify the nature of the Anglophone crisis which is characterized by the resistance to obtain a sustainable

solution. The paper further examines the socio-economic consequences of the crisis and proposes recommendations inspired by Burton's Problem-Solving approach to conflict resolution.

Key words: Cameroon, Anglophone Crisis, Socio-economic Consequences, John Burton's Approach to Conflict Resolution, Examination of the root causes of the crisis, Frank and inclusive political dialogue.

Introduction

The two English speaking regions of the Republic of Cameroon (North West & South West) have been at war with the *de jure* government since late 2016. This has "introduced a new element in the understanding of terrorism in Africa, as the local populations of the two English speaking regions flee from military and security operations"[1] . It all started with some professional demands of the Cameroon Common Law lawyers (CCLL) and the Cameroon Teachers Trade Union (CATTU) associations. Later on, the situation became suffused with the burgeoning call by separatists for the total independence of the Anglophones. What is now called the *"Ambazonia War"*[2] or the Anglophones struggle for independence.

The lawyer's trade union was exasperated with the unfair treatment received by the common law lawyers of English expression in Cameroon courts and also because of the violation of some Common law norms in courts, while the teachers trade union wanted a change on how English teachers should be treated *inter alia*; the non-use of teachers of French expression in Anglo-Saxon schools who barely know how to speak English, and the restoration of the Anglo-Saxon system of education. The government responded to the situation in both soft and hard measures. Some of the soft measures include: enacting into law the creation of the Bilingualism and Multiculturalism commission, the Translation of the OHADA[3] Uniform Act on General Commercial Law (UAGCL) from French to English, the appointment of some Anglophones as Ministers to some important Ministries (Ministry of Secondary Education and Territorial

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[1] Okereke, C. (2018). Analyzing Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(3), 8-12. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/26380430

[2] Abah, I. (2018, May 28th). *"Ambazonia War"* drowns SDF 28th Anniversary. *Journal du Cameroun.* Retrieved from https://www.journalducameroun.com

[3] This is known in French as *Organisation pour L'Harmonisation en Afrique du Droit des Affaires*

Administration)[4] that were formerly only headed by Francophones, the creation of a Common Law Department at the National Advanced school of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM), the special recruitment of English speaking courts Magistrates, the recruitment of 1,000 bilingual teachers *et cetera*, while some of the hard measures employed by the government is the used of the Rapid Intervention Battalion (BIR), the army to reinforce the police and gendarmes in order to suppress the situation. Yet, indiscernible successes have been registered.

In spite of the above grievances and attempted solutions made by the government, the situation escalated from a mere teachers and lawyers strike to firstly, peaceful protests across the two English speaking regions of the country advocating for constitutional reforms, and arguing that they have been marginalized by their French counterpart since independence in 1961, and therefore demanded a return to the former two-state Federation prior to 1972. However, these peaceful movements went on a rage as the two English speaking regions substituted the quest for constitutional reforms to return to a Federation, to the complete independence of the Anglophones. This therefore saw the symbolic declaration of the Anglophone's independence on 1st October, 2017[5] under the name "Ambazonia" by hoisting their self-styled flag of blue and white colors throughout the two regions. This day, was bloody as government militias reacted to the situation by firing live bullets on unarmed protesters, killing at least 17 persons and about 50 wounded[6]. This was followed by the declaration of war on none state armed groups in the two English speaking regions by President Paul Biya on the 30th of November 2017, after the assassination of six members of the Cameroon defense forces around Mamfe in the South West Region[7].

This *status quo* saw the emergence of warring factions in the two English speaking Regions of the North West and the South West acting under the banner of the "Ambazonia Defense Forces" (ADF). Several groups also emerged advocating for Anglophone's nationalism *inter alia* the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC), Southern Cameroon Peoples Organization (SCAPO), Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC), Movement for the Restoration of Independence in Southern Cameroon (MoRISC), and the Southern Cameroons

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[4] Abdur, R.,A,.S. (2018, March 03rd). "Two Anglophones get top positions in Cameroon cabinet reshuffle". *Africanews*. Retrieved from https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.aficanews.com/amp/2018/03/03/

[5] Azad, E. (2017, October 1st). "Cameroon's English speakers call for independence". Al jazeera News. Retrieved from https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.aljazeera.com/amp/news/2017/10/171001123925310.html

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Mbom, S. (2017, December 4th). "Cameroon government 'declares war' on secessionist rebels". *The New Humanitarian.* Retrieved from http://www.thenewhumanitarian.org

Ambazonia Consortium United Front (SCACUF) which acted as the umbrella organization of the other groups[8].

In this paper, it will be argued that the Anglophone problem is not a novelty in Cameroon's political landscape, and its effective demise needs a clear examination of its root causes. Also, any measure to be taken to completely resolve the crisis must ensure the gratification of basic ontologically human needs which apart from the biological needs for food, shelter and clothing includes; the need for security, preservation of values, recognition, esteem and the need for self-actualization. This is because despite the above measures taken by the *de jure* government of President Paul Biya to solve the problem, peace has not return because the roots causes of the problem have not been tackled and basic ontological human needs have not been properly addressed. It is therefore on this premise that this paper is making use of primary observations, media reports, reports of international organizations and secondary academic literature attempts to draw the attention of the protagonists to the crisis about its luring socio-economic consequences on the country and her neighboring countries and thus proposes some recommendations which draws from John Burton's[9] Problem-Solving approach to intractable conflicts.

Theoretical Framework: John Burton's Approach to Conflict Resolution

Human beings, being psychologically separate, presents them with the possibility of seeing things differently and having different life experiences, thus making conflict a necessary part of life. Theorists such as E.H. Carr[10]opined that an arm conflict is the midwife of change. In the same light, talking about crisis, John F. Kennedy submits that *"The Chinese use two brush strokes to write the word 'crisis'. One brush stroke represents danger while the other represents opportunity. However, in a crisis, we should be aware of the danger but should also recognize the opportunity it presents."*[11] Cited by John Garnett, H. Von Treitscke on his own view argues that arm conflicts are the only remedy for ailing nations and the one condition for progress[12]. Kenneth Waltz[13] using J.J. Rousseau's "stag hunt" analogy argues that warlike behaviors arises

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[8] Okereke, C. (2018). *op. cit.,* p.10

[9] Burton, J., W., (1990). *Conflict: Resolution and Provention*. New York: St. Martin's press

[10] Carr, E. H. (1942)." Conditions of Peace", UK: Macmillan, (1st ed., p. 3)

[11] izQuotes (n.d) "John F. Kennedy Quote", Speech in Indianapolis, 12 April 1959, Retrieved from https://izqutes.com/quote/243197 [accessed July 2020]

[12] Garnett (2013). "Causes of war and conditions for peace". *Strategy in the contemporary world: An introduction to strategic studies*, p. 21 Oxford, UK: Oxford University press.

[13] Waltz, K. (1959). "Man, the State, and War". NY: Columbia University Press, pp. 167-8

not from any defect in human nature or some inherent flaws, but rather, war arises as a results of the different predicaments that human beings are faced with. These predicaments as Burton argued arises from unsatisfied basic human needs which are important to human development. From this premise, the Anglophone activists in Cameroon are not at war with the government because of any defect they have in them, but it is because of the predicaments that they have found themselves in.

Conflicts can be looked upon as a continuum, with two qualities; time and complexity. Looking at the time factor, we have short-lived conflicts and long-term conflicts which can last for many years or decades. The latter type is also referred to as *protracted conflicts*. As concerns the complexity factor, there exist simple resolvable conflicts and complicated conflicts which are difficult to resolve. Complicated conflicts are also labeled as *intractable conflicts* and by nature, they are protracted as well[14]. The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is a protracted conflict because it owes it roots from the colonial era. It was inherited by President Paul Biya from former and first President Ahmadou Ahidjo[15]. The conflict is also intractable in nature and thus resistant to peaceful resolutions because both parties are reluctant to reach at a compromise and thus makes the conflict to last for longer period of time. Examples of such conflicts like the Anglophone crisis which are all centered on grievances of loss of identity and greater autonomy are: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the conflict between the Kurds and Turks, the Chechnya and Russian conflict.

John Burton in his book entitled *"Conflict: Resolution and Provention"*, published in 1990 focuses on finding solutions to protracted and intractable conflicts. Burton's conflict resolution is focus on the Problem-Solving technique which is tied to the theory of human needs, which provides an overall guide in resolving intractable conflicts. Burton argued that *"Intractable conflicts present some concerns that are not easily adjudicated by the courts or repressed through the use of power"*.[16] This is because the use of force to contain such types of conflicts without a former scrutiny of its underlying causes only provokes and promotes further deadly conflicts. The continuous and greater use of military intervention over peaceful negotiations in a bid to resolve the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon will however only exacerbate the situation.

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[14] Steinmeyer, J. K. (2017). "An Examination of John Burton's Method of Conflict Resolution and Its Applicability to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict". *Graduate Theses & Dissertation*. http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/6666, p. 1

[15] Konnings & Nyamnjoh (2004). "President Paul Biya and the Anglophone problem in Cameroon", In J. M. Mbaku & J. Takougang (eds.), *The Leadership Challenge in Africa: Cameroon under Paul Biya*, (pp. 191-234). Trenton: NY, Africa World Press. [p. 191]

[16] Burton (1990), *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14

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Burton developed a generic theory of conflict resolution based on ontologically-derived human needs and argued that, there exist certain needs that are genetically inherent in every human being. According him, the socialization process if not compatible with such human needs will lead to frustrations and anti-social personal and group behaviors and thus, deep-rooted or protracted conflicts at any analytical level must account for basic human needs.[17] Deep-rooted conflicts include cases that arise from demands on individuals to make certain adjustments in behavior that are unacceptable to the individuals and which are beyond human tolerance and capabilities.[18] Burton thus gives examples of deep-rooted conflicts to include: terrorism, hostage taking, gang warfare, public protest movements *et cetera*. He further argued that solving such types of conflict entails the analysis of the whole situation, and also entails employing appropriate measures for a sustainable solution, rather than merely trying to contain dissident behaviors. It may even require the alteration of norms; institution and public policies to bring adjustment at a level where individuals will accept, and which also fall within human capability.[19]The central point of Burton's argument here is that deep-rooted conflicts are fundamentally related to the human needs theory, where emphasis are placed on human behavior and the satisfaction of basic human needs which are not malleable, and thus must be satisfied for harmonious development to exist in the society. Failure to satisfy these needs will lead to grievances, and any attempt to address such grievances on the basis of national and international strategic policies cannot produce satisfactory results.[20]

Burton credited the works of Psychologist Abraham Maslow[21] and Sociologist Paul Sites[22] for their emergence studies of human behavior and used them as a prerequisite in the development of a conflict resolution strategy.[23]Maslow brought out five broad categories of basic human needs and argued that such needs are inherently universal to every human being. The first categories of basic human needs are physiological needs which includes; food, shelter, water, clothing *et cetera*.[24]The second category are the safety needs which includes need for security, stability, protection[25]; the third category are the Social needs for love, acceptance, to belong, and

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 33

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 15

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 33-34

[21] Maslow, A. H. (1987). *Motivation and Personality*, 3rd edition. New York: HarperCollins. (Orig. pub. 1954).

[22] Sites, P. (1973). *Control: The Basis of Social Order*. New York: Dunellen

[23] Burton (1990), *op. cit.*, p. 102

[24] Maslow (1987), *op. cit.*, p. 17

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 18

failure to satisfy this category of needs may lead to ostracism, loneliness and rejection. Any good society must endeavor to satisfy these needs in order to be healthy.[26]After safety needs are met, another level of needs emerges called esteem needs which are expressed in the individual in terms of high evaluation of oneself and respect for others in the society. The thwarting of esteem needs brings about inferiority and weakness. The last category of needs is the self-actualization needs expressed in the individuals by them doing what they were meant to be doing. For example musicians must produce music to be satisfied with themselves, artists should be able to paint to be self-fulfilling and so on. John Burton therefore argued that an environment that does not make itself conducive for the harmonious development of these basic ontological human needs turns to be aggressive because of frustration, which may lead to deep-rooted conflicts. Until such needs are properly addressed, peace will only become an illusion.

In addition to the attainment of such needs in a society, Maslow submits that certain preconditions must prevail which are: freedom of expression, freedom to seek information, freedom to defend oneself and freedom to seek justice. This is what Burton calls "*provention*", which is the creation of a conducive environment for human development and socialization. Failure to create such an enabling environment endangers basic human needs.[27]

Paul Sites on his part postulated eight different set of needs: needs for response, security, recognition, stimulation, distributive justice, meaning, to be rational, and the need to control.[28] Burton found Sites work parallel to that of Maslow as Sites argues that given the opportunity, an individual will attempt at all cost to be in control concerning matters of human importance.[29]He further submitted that the concept of self-power is indispensable and if individuals and groups attempt to control their environment, it must be for a reason which is the gratification of human needs especially the need for survival, recognition, security *et cetera*.[30] The protagonists do not represent the majority of their constituents and thus if any peace agreement is completed to end a conflict without the consideration of human needs, it could benefit only an elite segment of a society. This thus can further cause uprising and perturb peace. In this light, Burton makes a clear distinction between needs, values and interest which he termed are all human motivations

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[26] *Ibid.*, 20

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23

[28] Sites (1973), *op. cit.*, p. 43

[29] Burton (1990), *op. cit.*, p. 92

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 96

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required for human development with some culturally specific while some are just transitory in nature.[31]

Needs according to Burton are universal motivations for human development and include basic need for food, shelter, security, love, recognition which contains basic elements for human development and unless these needs are satisfied, behaviors which fall outside social norms may emerge.[32] Values are acquired ideas, habits, customs and beliefs that form the characteristics of social communities. The preservation of these values account for defensive and aggressive behaviors; while interests are occupational, social, political and economic aspirations of a group or individuals. Interest is related to material things and changes with circumstances, and can also be negotiated and traded for social gain.[33] Therefore conflicts which arise as a result of unsatisfied basic human needs and tamed values of a group of people cannot be traded for social gain but can only be resolved by examining the underlying causes of the problem. As Burton argued, a group of people cannot be coerced to accept majority rule that tries to deny or makes inferior their cultural identities.[34]

In resolving deep-rooted conflicts using Burton's Problem-Solving Technique, four broad features describe the scope of the process. Firstly, Burton submits that it is an ongoing process and not an end product, for it establishes a new environment where new conflicts can arise and therefore entails that the process can be repeated until satisfactory results are obtained. Secondly, it requires the frequent change in the conceptualization of a problem, new techniques and the use of a new body of knowledge. Thirdly, the process deals with the total environment where the conflict takes place; and lastly but not the least, it is very imperative the process addresses the sources and origin of the conflict.[35] According to Burton, the main subject matter in conflict resolution is relationship and also the fundamentals of human behavior which are embedded in the human needs theory.[36] Burton goes further to opine that a third party is very crucial. These are experts in psychology who help to guide the different parties to the conflict. Third party's main task is to filter out false assumptions brought up by the parties and help them to better negotiate by examining the theoretical and empirical facets of the problem and arrive at a

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 36
[32] *ibid*
[33] *Ibid.,* p. 38
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 39
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 204
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 206

satisfactory end. Thus, their role is very crucial in conflict resolution.[37] The third party Burton argues are not mediating or playing the role of a mediator but just helping the parties to better correlate. Fisher and Keashly on their part describe the role of a third party to be: inducing mutual motivation for solving the problem by improving openness and accuracy of communication, diagnosing the processes and issues of the conflict, and regulating the interactions among participants[38]. Michael Hoffman added that the central concern for the third party is to change the actual meaning, conditions and circumstances surrounding the relationship between conflicting parties and create a conducive an inclusive atmosphere for both parties.[39]

Examining the Underlying Causes of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon

According to John Garnett, "*one of the most useful distinctions to be drawn between the various causes of war is between 'immediate', proximate causes and 'underlying', more fundamental causes.*"[40] Garnett used the example of the First World War whose immediate cause was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife during their visit to Sarajevo. If the Archduke and his wife were not assassinated, the war that broke out in 1914 would not have happen. But there was plenty of evidence to justify that a war would have occurred sooner or later in Europe in 1914 as a result of hostile alliance systems at the time[41]. So the assassination of the Archduke and his wife only helped to set in motion an already anticipated World War in 1914 which had underlying causes. The Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon can be said to have both immediate and underlying causes.

The immediate causes were the professional demands raised by the Cameroon Common Law Lawyers (CCLL) and the Cameroon Teacher's Trade Union (CATTU). The Cameroon common law lawyers were appalled by the gradual phasing out of Common Law principles in Cameroon's legislature especially through the harmonization of the Criminal Procedure Code, the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa (OHADA) Uniform Act, and the Inter-African Conference on Insurance Markets (CIMA) Code. The Lawyers also demanded the Cameroon government should hold an emergency session of the Higher Judicial Council and redeploy all civil law magistrates from the two Anglophone regions, the creation of a Common

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 208

[38] Fisher, R., & Keashly, L., (1991). The potential complementarity of mediation and consultation within a contingency model of third party intervention. *Journal of peace research, 32*

[39] Hoffman, M. (1992). "Third Party Mediation and Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War World," In *Dilemmas of World Politics*. J. Baylis & N. J. Rengger (eds.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 271

[40] Garnett, J. (2013), *op. cit.*, p. 23

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 24

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Law Bench at the Supreme Court, and above all, the Anglophone lawyers argued that in order for their demands to be well addressed, the hitherto two states federation should reconsidered[42]. The teachers on their part demanded for the redeployment of their French-speaking colleagues from the Anglophone regions and also crystallize on the fact that, the appointment and election of authorities in Anglo-Saxon universities of Bamenda and Buea, should be in strict compliance with Anglo-Saxon norms. The teachers also advocated for more chances in terms of professional opportunities to be given to Anglophone students after graduation, as they complaint that "our children graduate every year without jobs"[43].

In spite of the measures taken by the Cameroon's government to address the situation, among which include: the translation of the OHADA Uniform Act into English which formerly existed only in French, the creation of a Common Law Department at the National Advanced school of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM), promised the special recruitment of English speaking court Magistrates, and 1,000 bilingual teachers, proposed a 2 billion CFA franc subvention to Anglophone schools *et cetera,* peace remains an illusion, because the problem has underlying causes which have not been addressed.

These underlying causes can be traced from the colonial era. British Southern Cameroons[44], a former British Trust Territory under the United Nations Organization (UNO) now known as Anglophone Cameroon came into a federation with "la Republique du Cameroun", a former French Trust Territory under the UNO on 1st October 1961 as the Federal Republic of Cameroon with two equal federated states; East and West Cameroons[45].

A powerful Federal Constitution was then established after the Foumban Constitutional talks between President Ahmadou Ahidjo as President of "La Republique du Cameroun" (East Cameroon) and delegates of British Southern Cameroon (West Cameroon) headed by John Ngu Foncha as Prime Minister[46]. President Ahidjo remained as the President of the Federal Republic while J.N. Foncha doubled as Vice President of the Federal Republic and Prime Minister of West

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[42] Ateki, S. C. (2017). "The Anglophone Dilemma in Cameroon: The Need for Comprehensive Dialogue and Reform". *Conflict Trends-Accord*. Retrieved from https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/anglophone-dilemma-Cameroon/ Accessed August 2019

[43] *Ibid*

[44] Now the North West and South West regions of the Republic of Cameroon

[45] Ngoh, V. J. (1996). "*History of Cameroon since 1800".* Limbe: Press print. See also, T. Eyongetah & R.B. (1974). "*A History of the Cameroon"*. London: Longman

[46] Ngoh, V. J. (1979). "The Political Evolution of Cameroon, 1884-1961". *Dissertations and Theses.* Paper 2929, p. 96. 10.15760/etd.2924

Cameroon until 1979. This powerful two states Federation existed for 11 years until 1972, when a constitutional amendment was pushed through by President Ahidjo changing the name of the Country from the Federal Republic of Cameroon to the United Republic of Cameroon, and was approved following a referendum on 20th May 1972[47]. "This event was officially known as *The Glorious Revolution of May 20*"[48]. Cameroon was therefore at this juncture a centralized unitary state as all powers tend to be centered in Yaounde.

On 6th November 1982, after the unexpected resignation of President Ahidjo on 4th November 1982, Mr. Paul Biya acting as Prime Minister at the time according to the then constitutional provisions became the new President of the United Republic of Cameroon[49]. In 1984, President Paul Biya pushed through another constitutional amendment that further changed the name of the country from the United Republic of Cameroon to the "La Republique du Cameroun"[50] as it still remains till date. This appellation "La Repubique du Cameroun" is the name French Cameroon had on 1st January 1960 after their independence from France before joining the British Southern Cameroons to become the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

The persistent change of the country's name was thus seen as secret plans to completely annex the Anglophones[51] as their identity seems to have been buried in a union which they came into as an independent group of people with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The loss of identity felt by the Anglophones and the "Jacobin" French system of administration heralded feelings of marginalization, frustration and lack of autonomy. As Burton argued, a group of people cannot be forced to accept majority rule that tries to deny their cultural identity and values.[52] Furthermore, Burton in his generic theory of conflict based on the human needs theory argues that certain basic ontological human needs exists which are universal to every human development and therefore, if the socialization process of any society is not compatible with such human needs, frustration, anti-social personal and group behaviors will set in.[53] In the same light, Burton submits that deterrence expressed in the use of national and international strategic

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[47]Stark, F. (1976). "Federalism in Cameroon: The shadow and the Reality." *Canadian journal of African Studies*, *10*(3), pp. 423-442. DOI: 10.2307/483799
[48] *Ibid*., p. 423
[49] Ngoh, V.J. (1996). *Op. cit., supra*
[50] Law No. 84-1 of 4th February 1984
[51] Ebune, J. B. (2016). "The dilemma of the federal system in West Cameroon, 1961 – 1972". *Journal of Scientific Research and Studies Vol. 3*(7), pp. 133-139. ISSN 2375-8791
[52] Burton (1990). *op. cit.* p. 39
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 33

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defense policies cannot deter in such situations which arise as a result of loss of identity and the non-gratification of ontologically derived human needs.[54]

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is seen as one where the identity of the people has been lost and their basic human needs unsatisfied while their values are made inferior to other values. This therefore makes the conflict to be deep-rooted in nature and effective solutions can only be obtained through a clinical examination of its root causes. A return to a Federal system of state as it were in 1961 could have been the best solution to the crisis. This is because as Elaigwu & Olorunsola argued, *"Federalism basically emanates from the desire of people to form a union without necessary losing their various identities"*.[55] The secession option introduced by some activists of the Anglophone crisis is a result of President Biya's persistent refusal to discuss the Federal option.[56] It's therefore imperative that the regime in power be more receptive to the crisis, and take responsibility in looking at positive answers to some important questions such as: Why do we exist as Cameroonians? What are the things that make us proud as Cameroonians? And most importantly, what type of Cameroon, we all want for posterity? Candid and responsible answers to these questions will go a long way to catalyze a path way to peace and why not a complete annihilation of the crisis.

Consequences of the Crisis

Since the peak of the crisis in late November 2016, the social and economic consequences of the crisis have enormous negative effects on the population. A succinct description of the social and economic consequences of the crisis is discussed below to draw the attention of the protagonists to be more receptive and resort to peaceful negotiations, with insights drawn from Burton's conflict resolution approach and save the country from disintegration and possible future penury.

Social Consequences

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon has been fraught with devastating social consequences. Since the peak of the crisis in late 2016 to August 2019, about 6,000 schools have been shut down, while many of them have been set ablaze especially by separatist fighters who use schools boycott as a tool to coerce the government to resort to quick and lasting measures to the conflict. This has caused about 42 schools to be burnt down between February 2017 and May 2018 and

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[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34

[55] Elaigwu, J. I. & Olorunsola, V., A. (1983). "Federalism & Politics of Compromise", In Rothchild, D. & Olorunsola, V., A. (eds.), *State Versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*, Westview Press: Boulder, Co. p. 282

[56] Konnings, P. J. & Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2004), *op. cit., supra*

about 600,000 children out of school.[57] According to reports from the United Nation Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), 4 million people have been affected as a result of the crisis, 1.3 million people are in dire need of humanitarian aids, 160,000 people are targeted, 437,500 people internally displaced, 500, 000 people in need in host communities, while 330,000 others are in urgent need of humanitarian aid.[58] These are therefore clear indications that the people in the two conflict regions are living in precarious conditions and ad hoc measures need to be taken to address the situation.

Extrajudicial killings, man slaughter, arson attacks, abductions for ransom have also been common phenomena plaguing the crisis regions. A careful examination of the callous situation of what is happening in the restive English speaking regions will warrant one to conclude that the inhabitants live in a Hobbesian state of nature[59] where life for man is very brutish and people live in constant fear of the unknown. The Cameroon's Government militia has been accused many times for killing innocent unarmed civilians. An example is the case of the October 1st 2017 scenario where over a dozen of innocent civilians were shot dead by the military and many arrested.[60] A spectrum of non-governmental organizations in and out of the country has decried such gross violations of fundamental human rights and highlights the need for the government to initiate frank political dialogue to end the conflict.[61] A report published by "Journal du Cameroun" on December 29th, 2018, reveals the beheading of a soldier in Bamenda-the chief town of the North West region by suspected separatist fighters after heavy gunshots.[62] This is feared that the situation might escalate if effective remedies are not pursued to end the conflict.

In an interview conducted by the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) in 2018 with one of Cameroon's Infantry Battalion army General; General Agah Robinson who was stationed in Bamenda, averred that about 1,200 lives including; civilians, military and police officers and separatists fighters have been lost at the time[63]. The numbers have increase to about 1,850 lives lost so far made up of 235 military and police officers, 650 civilians and about a thousand

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[57] BBC, Africa (June 2018). "Burning Cameroon: images you are not meant to see".

[58] UNOCHA 2018 report on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon

[59] Hobbes, T. (1990). "Of the Natural Condition of Mankind, as Concerning their Felicity, and Misery," *Classics of International Relation,* 2nd ed. John Vasques (ed.). englewood, NJ: Prentice- Hall. Pp. 213- 15

[60] Azad (2017), *op. cit. supra*

[61] International Crisis Group (ICG), African Report No. 272

[62] Cameroon: "Soldier beheaded as gunshots rock Bamenda". *Journal du Cameroon,* 29 December, 2018

[63] Forbe, N., Vaukengkeng, A., Adamu, P. (2019). Analysis of the Socio-Economic Consequences of the Crisis in the North West and South West Regions of Cameroon on the Economy of the two Regions (2016-208). *International Journal of economics, commerce and management, vol.7* (2). Pp. 371-388. ISBN 23480386

separatist fighters, while government's report submitting somewhat different figures claims that 1,600 lives have been lost.[64] However, these figures only show casualties in areas which have been easily accessible and documented. Foreign missionaries have also been killed amidst the crisis. These are the cases of the two foreign missionaries murdered in Bamenda, one being an American missionary by name Charles Wesco Trumann[65] and the other a Ghanaian pastor named Isaac Atoh who worked with Destiny Impact Ministries.[66]

Arson attacks have also been rampant. Sources claim that Government militias have been responsible for most of the arson attacks as a result of retaliations when a military agent is killed by separatist fighters. This is the case where satellite images shows the military setting ablaze Kwakwa village on December, 2017.[67] The Center for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa (CHRDA) in August 2018 published a list of 106 villages which have been raided by the military since 2017 with 71 villages completely destroyed and depopulated and 35 partially deserted.[68] Kumbo, the chief town of Bui Division in the North West region has suffered most of the arson attacks with over 750 houses burnt to ashes.[69]

Separatist fighters (Amba boys) have been strongly accused of abductions for ransom. This is seen in cases where some students who try not to boycott school are most often than not kidnapped and ransoms paid before being released. The strategy has been used to raise funds by separatist fighters as most often persons are kidnapped and ransoms demanded before being released[70].

Economic Consequences

The crisis has also registered some major economic concerns which need to be quickly addressed in order to save the economy from collapsing. The Cameroon's economy is the largest in the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) and it needs to maintain its

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[64] Andzongo, S. (May 2019). "20 months of riots in Anglophone regions kill 1,850". *International Crisis Group*. Retrieved from https://www.*Businessincameroon.com*

[65] "Journal du Cameroun" (October 2018). "American missionary killed in Bambui-Bamenda of the North West Region of the Cameroon"

[66] Cameroon Concord News (July 2018). "Ghanaian pastor brutally murdered in Southern Cameroons"

[67] Amnesty International (June 2018). "Cameroon: Anglophone regions gripped by deadly violence"

[68] CHRDA (August 2018). "Shocking list of military atrocities in Cameroon's NW & SW regions. *Journal du Cameroon". Retrieved online at https:// www.journalducameroun.com*

[69] Mimi Mefo (March 2019). "Anglophone Crisis: Over 358 civilians killed, at least 750 houses burnt in Kumbo". Retrieved from, https://mimimefoinfos.com/anglophone-crisis-over-358-civilians-killed-at-least-750-houses-burnt-in-kumbo/

[70] DW News (Africa) (05th November 2018). Cameroon stunned by mass kidnap of children. Retrieved from https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.dw.com/en/cameroon-stunned-by-mass-kidnap-of-children/

stability in order to promote regional growth and balance. Billions of FCFA have been lost[71] since the start of the Anglophone crisis which has adverse effects on the country's economy. The crisis regions (North West & South West) local economies are characterized by oil and gas, intensive large and small scales agricultural corporations supplying foreign markets, banking and finance which contributes to about 20% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Unfortunately, these corporations have been partially or completely grounded by belligerent's action, while some have been ravaged by fire. This is the case of the May 31st 2019 fire outbreak at the lone National Oil Refinery (SONARA) in the South West Region where about 10million liters of crude oil was consumed by fire and loss in real property amounted to billions of FCFA.[72]

The operations of the Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC) as the second largest employer after the government have been greatly perturbed by the crisis. The CDC cultivates agricultural raw products like banana, rubber, cocoa and finish products like palm oil. Productivity has fallen so greatly and according to reports published by Business in Cameroon in July 2018, the government had spent huge amount of money to import 97,000 tons of palm oil in order to prevent shortages. While in another report by the same source, the corporation witnessed a drastic fall in the export of banana by 15,209 tons as compared to previous years export, and 2.2 billion FCFA[73] is loss monthly in terms of salaries.[74]

The National Inter-employers Group (GICAM) on its part submitted that so far, some 2,153 billion FCFA has been lost in real property as a result of the crisis, while out of 86% of companies surveyed by the organization, 36% of them have incurred significant loss and 50% have incurred serious damages and losses. GICAM went further to report that there are shortages in turnover of about 269,056 billion FCFA, with about 5.9 billion FCFA lost in government's tax revenues while 6,344 jobs have been lost.

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[71] Forbe, N., Vaukengkeng, A., Adamu, P. (2019), *Op. cit.*, p. 381

[72] Cameroon's oil refinery burnt down, government says it is "an accident". *Business in Cameroon.com*, June 2019

[73] Yonathan, Morse (2017). "Cameroon has been in crisis for six months. Here is what you need to know". *The Washington Post*

[74] Cameroon's banana exports declines. Journal du Cameroun. May 07th 2018. Retrieved at https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/

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A study conducted by Ngang Eric[75] on the assessment of the economic consequences of internet shutdown in the two regions from January to April 2017 and October 2017, shows very negative economic impacts. Using the Framework for calculating the Economic Impact of Internet Disruption in Sub-Sahara Africa (CIPESA), he submitted that internet black out and applications disruption in the restive NW and SW regions of Cameroon went on for about 246 days implying total economic loss of **498,958,721,320 FCFA** (four hundred and ninety eight billions, nine hundred and fifty eight millions, seven hundred and twenty one thousands, three hundred and twenty francs).

The socio-economic consequences of the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon are major causes for concern. This is very pathetic to a country which is faced with low levels of development and high rate of unemployment. The amount of money lost so far as the result of the crisis is enough money to invest in the country's economy and create more jobs for its fast growing population. The socio-economic situation described here is just a pilot analysis of the situation. A comprehensive analysis of the socio-economic consequences will reveal greater negative effects. It is therefore important at this juncture for the government to embark on concrete measures to resolve the conflict and save the country from collapsing. The conflict is an identity conflict where the Anglophones are exasperated with the regime in power and the system due to the "Jacobin" French system of governance which concentrates power at the center and harbors the marginalization of the Anglophones. Therefore, a sustainable solution entails a critical evaluation of the root causes and put in place measures to properly address them.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Anglophone crisis in Cameroon is an identity conflict which owes its origin from the colonial era. The conflict can also be seen as a protracted and intractable conflict and its effective demise can only be successful with conditions which favor the satisfaction of basic ontological human needs and greater autonomy to be given to the people. Sites argued that if given the opportunity man will attempt at all odds to control his environment and it is for no other reason, but to secure his basic needs and values. Grievances will arise as a result of the non-gratification of basic ontological human needs and values or where Identity is loss. In such situations, deterrence theories in terms of strategic defense policies cannot resolve the problem.

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[75] Ngang, E., (2018). Assessing The Socio-economic Impact of Internet Shutdown In The English Speaking Regions Of Cameroon From a Multistakeholder and Multisector Perspective. AfroLesdership 2018.

Any attempt to contain the situation will only evolve into more quagmires. This explains why the strategic defense option employed by the Cameroon's government to solve the Anglophone crisis, which comes as a result of grievances of loss of identity, marginalization, and unsatisfied ontological human needs, has failed. As Burton noted, conflict resolution was designed for conflicts where it seems difficult to obtain satisfactory solutions. Burton's approach centers on uncovering the root causes of the problem and putting in place measures where the socialization process encourages human development and the gratification of basic human needs.

The proper implementation of the following recommendations drawn from evidences learned from John Burton's Approach to Conflict Resolution will go a long way to resolve the Anglophone crisis and many other identity conflicts around the World today.

1. The President of the Republic should peacefully address the Anglophones, including the acknowledgement of all those who are in the bushes, and all who have been seriously affected by the crisis. In his address, he should make an official recognition of the Anglophone problem and accentuate the will of the government to engage in a meaningful and frank political dialogue to end the crisis. By doing this, the government will be creating a conducive environment for both parties and all those involve in the crisis to be able to take part in the dialogue. What John Burton terms "*provention*".

2. The government should ensure the immediate and unconditional release of Sisiku Ayuk Tabe and Co. Sisku Ayuk Tabe, as one of the Anglophone leaders in the crisis, is held at high esteemed by separatist fighters, as can be observed in the constant call for ghost town by separatists in the Anglophone regions whenever he and his Co. are being taken to court. Thus, releasing Sisiku Ayuk Tabe and Co. will help calm emotions and also indicates government's willingness to engage in a meaningful and inclusive dialogue.

3. Pre-talks should be held between the government and the Anglophone leaders released from prison in the presence of a credible third party. The pre-talks should focus on warranting both parties to sign an accord to lay-down their arms, and most importantly, de-militarize the two Anglophone regions. As Burton noted, intractable conflicts like the Anglophone crisis, which is characterized by issues of loss of identity and marginalization heralding from the non-gratification of basic ontological human needs, submits that, the use of strategic defense policies cannot bring about any satisfactory solution. Furthermore, if we are to go with the 1996 Constitution which advocates for the right of citizens to peaceful protest, and which is also accentuated in the 1990 laws on the freedom of

association and assembly, one will be attempted to pose the question: Why the continuous use of military might or hard power, in the Anglophone regions to crackdown or solve a problem which emanates from the right to peaceful protest and self-determination of a group of people with cultural and linguistic specificities? Thus, it is therefore testament that, the two regions be de-militarized, so that a conducive environment is put in place for a frank and inclusive political dialogue to be held.

4. A neutral peace keeping police force possibly from the United Nations or African Union should be charged with the responsibility to protect human life and property within the two regions while ground work for dialogue continues.

5. General amnesty and Presidential clemency should be given to all persons incarcerated as a result of the crisis and to all persons who are in exile as a result of the crisis. This is to enable all stakeholders involve in the whole scenario to be able to partake in the inclusive and frank dialogue.

6. Based on the two main parties involve, that is the Anglophones represented by their leaders and the government, they should choose a suitable environment and hold an inclusive and frank political dialogue, with no pre-conditions and no subject matter to be treated as a taboo. The genesis of the Anglophone problem should also be clinically examined. All proposals should be welcomed on the dialogue table and honestly discussed. This should be done in the presence of a credible third party, whose main role as Burton argued, is to guide the parties involve and also help filter out all force assumptions brought up by any party.

7. On the dialogue table, it will be very important for both parties to take responsibility, brainstorm and look for positive answers to questions like: Why do we exist as Cameroonians? What are the things that make us proud as Cameroonians? And most importantly, what type of Cameroon, do we all want for posterity? Candid and responsible answers to these questions will go a long way to catalyze a path way to peace and why not a complete annihilation of the crisis.

Acknowledgements

Kingdom for making lofty comments on the initial draft of this paper. I also express my profound gratitude to Dr. Blaise Nkwenti-Azeh, a Learning Technologist in the Faculty of Humanities of The University of Manchester-UK, for his encouragement towards the completion of this paper.

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