



## Political Debates on the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon, 1961-2019

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**Abstract:** The Anglophone problem has animated public discussions from independence till date. It obtained roots from the inherent differences appropriated from the colonial period. Public and scholarly discussions have brought to the lime light the various stakes as to the problem. The various opinions have in due course been based on state responds in both national decisions and the conflict to be precise. Based on this background, this chapter probes into the origin, manifestation and the various political debates animated so far from 1961 to 2019 as well as efforts made to end or resolve the ongoing Anglophone crisis. Both primary and secondary sources of data were carefully analysed in arriving at the conclusions of this paper. An analysis of the data reveals that, the Anglophone crisis of 2016 has been the most outstanding challenge and a threat to the foundation of national unity and the territorial integrity of Cameroon. This explains the urgent political joint and individual ventures by Cameroonians of all works of life as well as external bodies at resolving the ongoing Anglophone crisis.

**Keywords:** Anglophone, Francophone, culture, identity, crisis and political debate.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Cameroon is among one of the countries in the central Africa sub region faced with a multitude of challenges ranging from economic social, political as well as diversity conflicts. Some of these challenges include the Boko Haram terrorist activities in the North, refugees' crisis in the East escaping from the conflict in the Central African Republic and most especially the "Anglophone problem". These challenges have so far threatened the national unity and territorial Integrity of Cameroon. The Anglophone problem has been the most protracted and dreadful problem that had threatened the unity of the country putting a strain on human, material and financial resources of the state. The Anglophone problem is an age old problem that stem from the Fouban constitutional conference of 1961 and the Federal Constitution that blended the unification of the Republic of Cameroon and the former British Southern Cameroons. According to V G Ngoh, the crisis came as a result of the failure of the successive regimes of Cameroon government to respect the Federal constitution.<sup>1</sup> Since then, the successive governments had often ignored the problem and claimed that there was no "Anglophone problem" as such no adequate effort has been made to address the problem.

In 2016, when the crisis resurfaced in a very high gear that needed urgent government attention to address it, lukewarm attitude was given toward addressing the problem as some top government officials of Anglophone extraction claimed that there was no Anglophone problem. This statement heightened tensions and led to intense protests in most parts of the Anglophone Cameroon. On 31<sup>st</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Victor, Julius Ngoh. *Cameroon 1884-present (2018): The History of a people*, (Limbe. University of Yaoundé I, March 2019), 385.

December 2018 President Paul Biya in his end of year address to the nation acknowledged that they were an “Anglophone problem” thereafter efforts began towards addressing the problem. He further added that Cameroon is “one and indivisible”. This statement was aimed at preventing attempts made by the two English speaking regions of Cameroon from seceding from the rest of the country in the course of the crisis.

This article therefore seeks to address the following issues: the origin of the Anglophone crisis, manifestations of the crisis, and the various political debates animated so far from 1961 to 2019 in addressing the crisis and then conclusion.

### 2. ORIGIN OF THE ANGLOPHONE CRISIS IN CAMEROON

The Anglophone problem could be traced from the July 1961 Fouban constitutional conference and the August 1961 Yaoundé Tripartite conference. According to V G Ngoh, the Anglophone problem should not be traced from the 1916 Anglo-French partition because they should be no Anglophone problem if British Southern Cameroons gained independence as a separate entity in 1961. They should have been no Anglophone problem if southern Cameroons voted in February 1961 plebiscite to join Nigeria another Anglophone country. Thirdly British Northern Cameroon that voted in the February 1961 plebiscite to achieved independence by joining Nigeria has never complained of an Anglophone problem.<sup>2</sup>

The origin of the problem stem from the failure of the successive governments of Cameroon to respect and implement the decisions taken at the Fouban and the Yaoundé Tripartite conferences.<sup>3</sup> Article 59 of the federal constitution sow seeds to the Anglophone problem as it stated that.

The present provision by which the constitution of the Republic of Cameroon adopted on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1960 by the Cameroonians people (former French Cameroonians) is revised, shall enter into force on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1961. The revised constitution shall be published in French and in English, the French text being authentic”<sup>3</sup>.

The emphasis laid on the French text marked the beginning of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon today as they were and still feel that they are treated as a minority.

The powers given to the president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon Ahmadou Ahidjo by the Federal constitution to appoint Federal inspectors like Jean Claude Ngoh in the state of West Cameroon who became more powerful than the prime minister equally orchestrated the Anglophone problem. The Anglophone problem was also compounded with the unequal distribution of members of the Federal National Assembly. Out of the 50 deputies in the Federal National Assembly, Anglophone had just 10 deputies.<sup>4</sup>

In 1972 Ahidjo through a referendum changed the name of the Country from federation agreed upon in Fouban to the United Republic. This change brought in new structures that further compounded the Anglophone problem. The position of vice president which was previously occupied by Anglophone was abolished. This was interpreted by Anglophones as a deliberate attempt to distance the Anglophones from the presidency. In 1975, the post of Prime minister long abolished was reintroduced with Paul Biya as Prime Minister and S T Muna as President of the National Assembly who was the constitutional successor to the president in case of death or incapacitation.<sup>5</sup>

In 1979, Ahidjo modified the constitution with clause indicating that the constitutional successor to the president was now the Prime Minister who was then Paul Biya (francophone) and no longer the speaker of the National Assembly that then was S T who incidentally was an Anglophone.

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<sup>2</sup>Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-Present* (March 2019)

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 385.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 385.

<sup>4</sup>Victor, Julius Ngoh. *History of Cameroon since 1800*. (Limbe: Press book, 1996),

<sup>5</sup>Ebune, T. *The making of the federal system. In Cameroon from a Federal to Unitary State, 1961-1972: A critical study*. Edited by Julius Victor Ngoh (Limbe: Design House 2004).

Anglophones saw this as a complete deviation from the Foumban constitution. This further exacerbated the Anglophone problem.

In February, 1984 president Biya signed law No 84-001 of 4<sup>th</sup> February 1984 which abolishing the name of Cameroon from the “United Republic of Cameroon” to the “Republic of Cameroon”. Anglophones described it as annexation or assimilation.<sup>6</sup>

In December 1990 a law was propagated on freedom of Association that led to formation of

Anglophone political pressure groups such as Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) 1995, the Ambazonia Liberation Movement (ALIM), South West Elite association (SWELA), the North West Elite Association (NOWELA). These pressure groups mounted pressure on the government to improve on the status of Anglophone within the Republic of Cameroon.<sup>7</sup>

### 3. MANIFESTATION OF ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM 1961-2019.

The Anglophone problem in Cameroon has manifested itself internally and internationally.

#### 3.1. Internal Manifestation

In the late 1980s and 1990s several political pressure groups were formed in the two English speaking regions of Cameroon with the aim of bringing pressure to bear on the government to resolve the Anglophone problem. Some of these pressure groups includes the SCNC, the Ambazonia Liberation Movement (ALIM), SWELA, NOWELA and NOWEFU. The SWELA andSWECC called for a ten states federal system and sometimes called for decentralization as stipulated in the 1996 constitution. The NOWELA and NOWEFU called for a highly decentralized unitary state. Other movements such as SCNC and ALIM called for the secession and independence of the North West and South West Regions.

In 1993 and 1994 the Anglophone conference took place in the towns of Buea and Bamenda respectively aimed to address the Anglophone problem.

On 1<sup>st</sup> November 2012, a secret agreement was signed between a Canadian private company called Kilimanjaro Capital Ltd and extremist Southern Cameroon clandestine government over oil deal. In return the company promised to “recognize and support the aspirations of Southern Cameroonian people in their quest for self-determination...”<sup>8</sup>This agreement ended in a fiasco since it was not signed by the legitimate Cameroon government.<sup>9</sup>

On 9<sup>th</sup> May 2015, some 700 common law lawyers from the North West and South West Regions and other Regions met in Bamenda and amongst others accused the government of a deliberate and well-planned programme of replacing the common law of English extraction with the civil law, a system and culture of French extraction which they strongly condemned.<sup>1011</sup>

In February 2016, the Cameroon Education Forum (CEF) wrote a complaint through a memorandum to the Prime Minister about the plight of the English sub system of education. In this memorandum, they decried of a Violation of the ordinance relating to education.

The Education Forum also decried of the non-appointment of an Anglophone as minister of Education and demanded that the ministries of Education should be reorganized to reflect the bi-cultural nature of the country. With all these the government was seen to be doing so little to address.

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<sup>6</sup>Ngoh, *Cameroon, 1884-present*, 388.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony, Ndi. *National Integration and nation building in Cameroon, The Golden Age of southern (West) Cameroon, 1946-1972* (Bamenda: Maple fair services 2005).

<sup>8</sup>*Kilimanjaro capital ltd a) Kilimanjaro capital*

<sup>9</sup>Paul AtangaNjiwas promoted to the post of minister of territorial Administration in a cabinet reshuffle on 2 March 2018 by president Biya.

<sup>10</sup>The post, No. 01849, Monday, September 04, 2017, 3.

In 11<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> October 2016, the common law lawyers of English extraction called for a four(4) day strike action because of governments reluctance to yield to their demands of May 2015 which was followed by SYNES of the Buea and later by Anglophone Teachers Trade Unions from 21 November 2016.<sup>11</sup>In 2016, ManchoBibixy, a radio animator in Bamenda, seized the opportunity and launched his “coffin revolution” at the City Chemist Roundabout. The popularity of his action began a trend of protests that gradually turned violent as the separatist took advantage of it to sale their separatist agenda. Government reaction to the crisis fanned more anger as some government official even from the Anglophone extraction insisted that, “.....there was no Anglophone problem”.<sup>12 13</sup> In reaction, leaders of the teachers and lawyers trade unions came together and created a consortium on the 6<sup>th</sup> December 2016 to coordinate their protests against the state manifested through ghost town operation and calls for school boycott.

On December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2016 Hon. Joseph Wirbaa parliamentarian for the Social Democratic Front SDF party and representing the Jakiri constituency took the National Assembly by surprise in a speech fuelled the crisis as he said “When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes a duty”.<sup>13</sup>In April 2017, the Bishops of the Bamenda Ecclesiastical province, the moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon (PCC) and the executive president of the Cameroon Baptist Convention(CBC) were taken to court by a groups of parents for refusing to re-open their schools.<sup>14</sup>Attempts at celebrating 1<sup>st</sup> October in the North West and South West Region were made in the midst of the crisis as independence day for Southern Cameroon. This was commemorated clandestinely in some areas of the two regions every year since 2016 though with dwindling attendance due to the increased presence of the security forces.

Since mid-2018, the conflict in the Anglophone regions has spread to Cameroon’s Francophone regions, increasing the risk of intercommunal conflict. About twenty attacks, including arson, have taken place in the Francophone zone. These took place in such areas as in the West Region as Menoua, Bamboutos and Noun and in the Littoral Region such as Mbanga, Njombe, Penja and MpendaMboko killing about fifteen people and causing considerable material damage. Separatist militia attacks in December 2018 against Bangourain, a village in the Francophone West Region, close to the border with North West region, were followed by reprisals against Anglophone communities

### **3.2. International Manifestation**

The Anglophone problem as a result of the escalation of violence gradually became an international problem that required concerted efforts of both the state and the international community for it to be resolved. The Anglophones in the Diaspora demonstrated at the peripheries of the United Nations during regular General Assemble meetings every September since the crisis turned violent and in Cameroon Embassies abroad. Based on these demonstrations, the crisis attracted the attention of the United Nations Organisation(UNO), the African Union (AU), the European Union(EU) and other international organizations including countries such as United States of America, France, Russia and Canada among others. These countries and international bodies have each made efforts towards the resolution of the problem. Heated debates have been carried out about the crisis at various national and international for it can be resolved.<sup>15</sup>

## **4. THE POLITICAL DEBATES ON THE ANGLOPHONES CRISIS IN CAMEROON.**

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<sup>11</sup>*Eden, No. 988, Monday 17 October 2016, 3.*

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2018/11/28717htm#w-1zfmzltc-facebook> concerned over violence uptick in Cameroon (accessed 7 January 2020).

<sup>13</sup>*The post, No 01849, Monday, September 04, 2017.*

<sup>14</sup> Joseph L. Nfi. “The Anglophone cultural identity in Cameroon 50years After Reunification”.*In international Journal of Advanced research. Vol. 2, (2014), 121-129.*

<sup>15</sup>*The Guardian post, No. 1540, Wednesday, 21 November 2018, 3.*

Three available options have been so far animated for the resolution of the Anglophone crisis. The three available options are: Secession and Independence, Federalism, and Decentralization.

### 4.1. Secession and Independence as an Option

This school of thought holds that only secession and independence of the people of North West and South West Regions could end the Anglophone crisis. They took the extremist position that “enough is enough”.<sup>16</sup> They argued that secession and independence would enable the two English speaking regions to run and manage their own affairs based on the Anglo-Saxon ideals and culture. Hence their decision to resort to armed insurrection. Proponents among them includes Julius Ayuk Tabe who was made the interim president of the self-proclaimed ‘Ambazonian Republic’. After his arrest alongside other separatists in Abuja, Nigeria in January 2018, they were remanded in custody in Yaounde. Sako Ikome who is based in the United States of America, replaced him as President. These ‘Ambazonian’ separatists’ different factions that operated and some still operate in various enclaves in English speaking Cameroon. Some of these includes the Red Dragons of Lebialem that was headed by the late Oliver Lekeake the self-appointed ‘Field Marshall’. Before his demise as well as the Ambazonia Defense Force,

Based on this school of thought, secession and independence is the only way to get out of the crisis and this view is strongly held by mainly some Cameroonians in the diaspora who use social media platforms to market their secessionist agenda. This position is justified on the grounds that most of the leadership of the movement is out of Cameroon including its President. Prominent among these diaspora secessionists that give instructions and broad based support to the armed groups include Sako Ikome, Christopher Anu, Mark Barah, Tapang Ivo, Booh Herbert, Eric Tataw, Joseph Wirba, Ngong Emmanuel among others

The manner in which this option has been pursued have made it to become unpopular because of the following reasons.

Division among the separatists groups. The interim government of the Federal Republic of Ambazonia (IG) headed by Ikome Sako and the Ambazonia Governing council (AGC) headed by Ayaba Cho Lucas. These two groups that are supposed to be fighting a common course is instead fighting each other for power and authority. As such, they at times give conflicting instructions to their supporters and fighters in the country. This confusion has made the option of secession to be declining in popularity

The IG AND AGC are rivals in decision making. While the AGC of Ayaba Cho preferred hard-line measures aim to make the Anglophone regions ungovernable until the government realizes the cost of fighting the armed militias is greater than the benefits accruing from exploitation of the regions natural resources, the IG prefer softer measures and are in favour of a confederation or Autonomy of the Anglophone regions similar to that of Northern Ireland’s within the UK or Federation like in the Germany, Canada and neighbouring Nigeria. The AGC sees the IG as compromising.<sup>17</sup> In 2018, there was disagreement between the IG and the AGC, that resulted in clashes that left dozens dead.

In addition to the militias that depend on political movements based abroad, the some criminals, as well as armed groups on the field pose a supplementary problem in the struggle towards the resolution of the crisis and informs government position in as much as there is a need for dialogue they have a difficulty as to whom to dialogue with. This is because there exist rival factions abroad as well as many rival armed separatists and armed bandits operating in the conflict area. Faced with the inability of the Diaspora to provide sufficient financial support and in the context of an increase in the recruitment of combatants, these militias partly fund themselves through kidnap for ransom,

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<sup>16</sup>Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-present*, 388.

<sup>17</sup>*The post weekender*, No. 01814, Friday, 21 April 2017, 8. *The post weekender*, No 01850, Friday, September 08, 2017, 2.



imposition of all sorts of taxes on the people as well as forceful confiscation of money and property from armed less civilians that bear the brunt of the crisis.

This extortion, kidnappings and taxation serve as incentives to the various militias groups this has made efforts at resolving the conflict elusive as they reject any proposal for a peaceful resolution short of secession.<sup>19</sup> This has informed the view that with the benefits the militia and their leaders are making from this crisis, they might not even readily accept the option of secession if it is brought on the table. This is because the end of the crisis will deprive them of their new found status and authority in society. The government of on its part however vehemently rejected the secession option as it constitutes an affront to the unity and territorial integrity of Cameroon.

Lastly, the South West region and North West region divide is also constituting an obstacle towards the resolution of the crisis. The South Westerners held a xenophobic attitude towards North Westerners. The people of the South West region at times accuses the settlers from the North West region as those that have imported the violence that is characteristic of the crisis to their region. They in addition oppose the possibility of living in one state as an independent country with North Westerners.<sup>20</sup> They recall of the ill-treatment they received from North Westerners during the period of Southern Cameroon and the State of West Cameroon from 1959 to 1972. These divisions and the statements that are often made by many South West elites the crisis is actually a North West issue have made it difficult for the two regions to come together and to convincingly present and rationalise their claim to nationhood out of the Republic of Cameroon thereby making secession unattainable by end of 2019.

#### **4.2. Federalism as an Option**

Federalism was another political debate aimed at seeking a resolution to the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. Proponents of this school of thought include the Social Democratic Front (SDF) headed by Ni John Fru Ndi and now Joshua Osih, Felix Agbor Balla, some members of the ruling party Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement (CPDM), members of the Bilingualism commission and some traditional rulers, religious leaders and economic operators. In the diaspora, groups supporting federalism include the English Cameroon for a United Cameroon (ECUC) led by Ben Akih.

The federalists argued that federalism would not impinge on the territorial integrity of the country and that it was not “a cover” for secession.<sup>21</sup> They argued that in a federal system, each state or region would be able to run and manage its own affairs with minimum intervention from the central government. They equally argue that the destiny of each state would rest in the hands of its regional administrators and politicians and not those in the centre.<sup>22</sup>

The Social Democratic Front, which has long advocated for federalism since the 1990s, unsuccessfully tried to put the Anglophone problem on the parliament’s agenda in 2017. It also tried in vain to obtain the annulment of the Presidential election results of October 2018 in the Anglophone Regions.

The Bilingualism commission compiled the grievances of the Anglophone community in June 2018 and in their findings they concluded that the return to federalism was the population’s main demand. In reaction to these suggestions, the government decided to grant a Special Status to the two English speaking regions. Also to devolve authority to the local authorities, Regional Assemblies were created and made operational in all the ten regions of Cameroon. These creations leading to greater decentralization and devolution of competencies were attempts by the government to handle the concerns of the federalists. In July, 2018 Cardinal Christian Tumi, former Archbishop of Douala, three Protestant Pastors and some Muslim religious leaders convened an Anglophone General conference as a forum to prepare for the national dialogue convened by the state for various leaders and opinion holders to present their grievances and proffer solutions to the grievances as a way of resolving the crisis. The aim was to create space for the various Anglophone Actors to try and reach a consensus on the issues that should go on the agenda of such the national dialogue and on who would represent the Anglophone Regions. A good proportion of Anglophones, including some federalists in the Diaspora supported the move and partly sponsored the conference. According to the Cardinal, separatists might consent to the conference on condition that it leads to a referendum on federalism or independence.

On the other hand, some political parties and civil society organizations operating in French speaking Cameroon expressed their solidarity with the Anglophone’s concerning the crisis and also advocated for genuine decentralization that is seen as a panacea to the grievance of marginalization.

The Cameroon Renaissance Movement of Maurice Kamto, the *Now Movement* and the Cameroon People's Party, called for Regionalism except of the *Now Movement* which called for a "Ten states federation" to resolve the Anglophone crisis.

International partners like France, the Canadian and British parliaments have also debated on the Anglophone crisis in Cameroon. France for example encouraged the government to seek a political solution to the crisis and at the same time supports decentralization as a way out rather than outright federalism.

This option enjoyed the support a vast majority of people in the entire nation that decried the negative effects of centralization. The Federalist inability to push their federalist's agenda was partly because their proponents were not in government and also because the government's decision to fast track the decentralization process bought over some federalist as some competencies were ascribed to the regional assemblies thereby weakening the centralized system to the benefit of the people. Federalism was also not supported by the government as it was seen as the lee-way to secession and independence<sup>18, 23</sup>.

### 4.3. Decentralization as an Option

The debate on decentralization started in the 1990s and by the government of Cameroon as an attempt to resolve the Anglophone discontent and demands for a return to Federalism or secession and independence. As a means to resolve the Anglophone problem, the January 1996 constitution clearly provided for decentralization but it took a long time for it to be made practical the ground.<sup>24</sup>

According to the proponents of decentralization, it would preserve the unity and territorial integrity of the country as opposed to secession and federalism. They equally argue that, the

centre would be able to ensure equitable distribution of resources and balanced development. Those who advocated for decentralization aimed to retain considerable power at the centre and some limited powers would be given to the regions. Proponents of decentralization also argued that the problem of inadequate financial viability by "poor" regions or states would easily be regulated. Based on the above premise pointed out by the proponents of decentralization within the midst of the Anglophone crisis that erupted again in 2016, the government backed by France has opposed federalism and secession in favour of fully implementing decentralization enshrined in the 1996 constitution.<sup>19</sup>

In March 2018, the President of the Republic created a Ministry of Decentralization and Local Development and appointed and also appointed an Anglophone into the key ministry of Territorial Administration a function that no Anglophone previously posts occupied. In President Biya's end of year speech in 2018, he announced that elections for regional councils would be held in 2019. By the end of 2019, the decentralization bill was voted by parliament and Senate passed it into law with a "Special status" granted to the two English speaking Region as a sustainable solution to resolve the ongoing Anglophone crisis.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Cameroon is one of the countries in the world born from a union of two colonial constructs the Republic of Cameroon (formally French administered) and the British Southern Cameroons (formally British administered). This union was concretized at the Founban constitutional Conference of July 1961 and the Yaounde Tripartite Conference of August 1961 respectively in what became known as the Federal Republic of Cameroon. By the terms of union, both French and British Cameroonian cultures, legal and educational systems were to be respected. The Anglophone problem emerged with the policies of the successive regimes from Ahmadou Ahidjo to Paul Biya that at various times began to violate the Federal Constitution of 1961. The effects were enormous. English began to complain of Assimilation of Anglophone values replacing it with Francophone values.

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<sup>18</sup>Kah, H.R, . "The Anglophone problem in Cameroon: The North West- south West Dichotomy 1961-1996" in *Cameroon Journal on democracy and Human Rights*, vol. 6, NO 1, (2012), 71-103 <sup>24</sup>Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-present*, 434.

<sup>19</sup>Abwa, D. "Le problem Anglophone et le renouveau de Paul Biya" In *annals of the Faculty of Arts Letters and social sciences*, Vol. 1, no 12, (2011), 191-219.

In 1990s, following the liberalization laws on democratic principles and freedom of speech and association, political pressure groups emerged such as SCNC, ALIM, SCYL aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the government to rescind on the marginalization of the Anglophones.

Government reaction in addressing the problem was slow and piecemeal. On October and November 2016, the Anglophone problem resurfaced again in a very high gear with the striking lawyers and teachers protesting on the adulteration of the English legal and educational systems with Francophone values. Government reaction to the striking lawyers and teacher was not convincing. By 2017 and 2018, the Anglophone problem soon became a crisis and an armed conflict between the government troops on one hand and the Rebel Militia (Ambazonian separatist fighters) on the other hand. These separatist fighters sponsored mainly by Cameroonians abroad and some within the territory wanted to separate the North West and South West Regions from the country and to form the independent Republic of Ambazonia. So far in the course of the struggle many lives have been lost, and property destroyed. Also there have been disruptions in the educational and social life in the two Anglophone regions based on the separatist's continuous calls for lockdowns and ghost towns. The activities of these separatists have also slowed down infrastructural development in the Anglophone sections as workers on such projects are scared of being kidnapped, extorted or even being killed as is the case much too often. Most importantly, the crisis has shaken the foundations of national unity and the territorial integrity of Cameroon. The crisis equally drained a lot of material and financial resources of the state as the state spends so much in maintaining soldiers that are sent into different areas to defend the population from the separatists and also to reconstruct the destroyed infrastructure. It is within this context that urgent attention has been given by Cameroonians within and in the diaspora and of all walks of life to bring a lasting solution and peace in Cameroon by resolving the Anglophone crisis. Three political shades of opinions so far has been animated to resolve the crisis namely; Secession and Independence, Federalism and Decentralization. Decentralization seems to be the best option that have been adopted and is being implemented by the state as a way of solving the issues that contributed to the Anglophone crisis. This is evidenced in the granting of a special status to the two English speaking regions and the creation of regional assemblies with some competencies that used to be centrally controlled, devolved to the regional assemblies.

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