

T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**SECURITY CHALLENGES OF CAMEROON AND THE EFFECTS ON
FRANCE-AFRICAN RELATIONS**

THESIS

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Department of Political Science and International Relations

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Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN

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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original of this thesis. (20/12/2017)



Agberndifor Evaristus Mwenyo EYONG

Signature

I dedicate this project to the following;

To my parents my beautiful mother, Mrs. Elangwe Magdaline and my wonderful father, Late Agberndifor Michael, who have been so instrumental and supportive to my life and to this work.

To my siblings: Mr. Penadez Ndome, Walter Obase, Iya Mboe Paulyne Ruth and to my wonderful uncle, Mr. Elangwe Obase Paul who has dedicated his life to assisting us until now.

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I wish that this thesis will be useful for researchers in further study on fields related to this topic.

FOREWORD

This thesis is written in completion of Master's Program in Political Science and International Relations at Istanbul Aydin University. The research is focused on "Security Challenges of Cameroon and the Effects on France-African Relations". It tries to analyze the various security elements shaping Cameroon as well as other African countries and also looks at France-African relations in the 21st century, judging the economic relations existing between both sides and the fate reserved for them. Looking at the world today, one will notice that lots of foreign and western countries are struggling to create relations with the continent of Africa while at the same time; many African countries are working hard to lift their heads out of the many boisterous waters of the internal security threats that besets their developments. A key example is Cameroon which is fighting seriously to address different security threats as well as contending its internal dissensions between its English and French speaking regions. At the same time it bathes between the tides of the France-Afrique as it struggles to diversity its relations with China, Russia and France, with China gaining the ascendancy daily. To this note, this thesis therefore tells why and how the domestic security threats of Cameroon originated and how they will have a tremendous effect in the Franco-African relations if Cameroon heartily addresses its security Issues. If the researcher stumbled several times without falling, it was because he leaned on a handful of individuals and groups to whom he is deeply indebted. My profound appreciation goes to my supervisor **Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN** whose ideas, criticisms, guidance, encouragement and devotion spurred me, and gave the shape and form of this study. Despite her very charged commitments, she created appropriate time to guide me, read carefully through my manuscript, made necessary corrections and observations, making sure that this research is on the right tract. The researcher will rather say she was more than just a supervisor.

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Agberndifor Evaristus Mwenyo EYONG

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ABBREVIATIONS

BACP	: Business Anti-Corruption Portal
BIR	: <i>Battalion D’InterventionRapid</i> (Rapid Intervention Unit)
C.A.R.	: Central African Republic
C.T.E.	: Cameroon Tea Estate
CEMAC	: Central African Economic and Monetary Community-CEMAC
CIA	: Central Intelligence Agency
CONAC	: National Anti-Corruption Commission
CONAC	: <i>Commission Nationale Anti-Corruption</i> (National Anti-Corruption Commission)
CPDM	: Cameroon People’s Democratic Party
CRTV	: Cameroon Radio and Television
ECOWAS	: Economic Community of West African States
EMIA	: Cameroon’s Inter Military Academy
ENAM	: National School of Administration and Magistracy
ENS	: Higher National Teachers Training Institute
EU	: European Union
FCFA	: Chattered Financial Assistance
FEICOM	: The Special Council Support Fund
FGM	: Female Genital Mutilation
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
IRIC	: Cameroon’s International Relations Institute
MoU	: Memorandum of Understanding
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
SONARA	: National Refining Company LTD
SCNC	: Southern Cameroon National Council
SCYL	: Southern Cameroon Youth League
SDF	: Social Democratic Front
UEMOA	: The West African Economic and Monetary Union
UK	: United Kingdom
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Program
USA	: United States of America
WHO	: World Health Organization
ADF	: Ambazonia Defense Forces

SOCADEF

: Southern Cameroon Defense Forces



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KAMERUN'DAKİ GÜVENLİK SORUNLARI VE FRANSA-AFRİKA İLİŞKİLERİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİLERİ

ÖZET

Bu tez, Kamerun'daki güvenlik zorluklarının ve yönetici seçkinler tarafından yurtsever olarak ele alınması halinde Orta Afrika'daki tüm alt bölgede meydana gelecek doğrudan etkilere genel bir bakış getiriyor. Bu tez çalışmasında Kamerun'da zenginlerin neden gözetimsiz güvenlik zorunluklarının bulunduğuna dair soruya cevap bulmaya çalışılıyor. İkincisi, komşularına ve yabancı Batılı ortaklarına karşı iç ve dış politikasını sorgularına bakıyor. Bir başka deyişle, öncelikle egemen seçkinlerin egosantrik politikaları ve uluslararası sahnede Çin,şimdi Rusya ve çok yakın dönemde Türkiye ile arasındaki ilişkileri besleyen ekonomik etkileşim (diplomasi) araştırılıyor. Türkiye ve benzerlerinin gelişi ve doğrudan Fransa'nın çıkarlarını tehdit ediyor.

Bu tez beş ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde tezin araştırma sorusu, materyalleri ve planına genel bir bakış sunulmaktadır. İkinci bölümde dış politika, güvenlik, Fransa-Afrikalı gibi temel kavramlar tanımlanmakta ve güvenlik çalışmalarının kavramsal çerçevesine genel bakış açısından başlanıp daha sonra araştırmanın merkez üssü olan Kamerun'a kadar daraltılmaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm, Kamerun'un sömürgeleştirmeden bağımsızlığa geçiş tarihini sunmaktadır. Ayrıca bazı açılardan mevcut güvenlik zorlukları vurgulanmaktadır. Dördüncü bölüm, Kamerun'un mevcut güvenlik tehditlerini derinlemesine aydınlatmaktadır. Beşinci bölüm, Kamerun'un jeopolitik konumlandırılmasını tartışır ve Gine Körfezi'ndeki oyuna bakmaktadır. Gine Körfezi kıyısındaki Kamerun'u ve diğer birçok ülkenin ilerleme kaydedilmesini hayal bile edersek ortaya çıkan bir Afrika için politikalarını yeniden düzenlemeye neden gayret göstermeleri gerektiğini de belirtmektedir. Son olarak, karşı güvenlik tedbirleri ve Kamerun'un elde ettiği sonuçlarla ve aksilikler ele alınmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:*Zorluklar, güvenlik, tehditler, Fransa-Afrika ilişkileri.*

SECURITY CHALLENGES OF CAMEROON AND THE EFFECTS ON FRANCE-AFRICAN RELATIONS

ABSTRACT

This thesis is focused on an overview of Cameroon's security challenges and the direct effects they will have in the entire Central African sub-region if patriotically addressed by the ruling elite. This thesis tries to answer the question why Cameroon though rich has many unattended security challenges. Secondly, it questions its domestic and foreign policies vis-à-vis its immediate neighbors as well as its foreign Western partners. In other words, it explores, firstly, the egocentric politics of its ruling elites and on the international scene, the economic interaction (diplomacy) that fosters the relations between China, and now Russia and very recently, Turkey. It's worth noting that the arrival of Turkey and others directly threatens France's interests.

This thesis consists of five main chapters. The first chapter gives a general overview of the research materials and plan of the thesis. The second chapter defines some key concepts like foreign policy, security, France-Afrique and gives an overview of the conceptual framework of security studies beginning first from the general point of view and then narrowing it down to the epicenter of the study, Cameroon. The third chapter presents the history of Cameroon from colonization to independence. It also in some ways highlights its current security challenges. The fourth chapter deeply elucidates the current security threats of Cameroon, the geopolitical positioning of Cameroon and looks at the game in the Gulf of Guinea. It also suggests a largesse why Cameroon and many other countries within the belt of the Gulf of Guinea must endeavor to reformulate their policies for an emerging Africa if they ever dream of advancing. Lastly, the counter security measures come in as the culmination of the study and conclude with what Cameroon has achieved and what the setbacks are.

Keywords: *Challenges, security, threats, France-African relations.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The role of every state and government is the total protection of its citizens from both internal and external threats (Smallman and Brown, 2011, p. 424). Failure to do so leaves the country vulnerable to all kinds of potential predators both domestic and foreign and if it persists like in Afghanistan, Somalia and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, then the government might lose its legitimacy as was the case with the highly intellectual, promising, yet, puppet the governments of Iraq and Libya when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) coalition stepped in 2003 and 2011 respectively.

Main research question is “what the security threats of Cameroon are and how they directly affect France-African relations”. This work is divided into six chapters which will try to show with much emphasis the security deadlock that oversees the threat to Cameroon’s propaganda emergence by 2035 according to the Grand Ambition Goals of the President of the Republic, Paul Biya.

Chapter one is simply the introduction and lays the ground work for what the proceeding chapters shall be all about. It simply introduces the research question, supporting sub-research questions and gives the hypotheses. All of these together give an entry behavior of the subject matter and content to be discussed. Chapter two is the conceptual framework and entails the definition of key terms used in the study. It also covers a detailed literature review on the subject. This chapter seeks to explain important terminologies that define the research question as well as considers the different variables that support it. Chapter three looks at the history of Cameroon beginning from 1884 until independence. Chapter four critically studies the domestic security challenges of Cameroon. Significant points of reflection are the political, economic, social, environmental, human and military threats to Cameroon. Chapter four also discusses the geopolitical positioning of Cameroon in the sub-region and considers the stability of the region and Cameroon’s neighbors, the Gulf of Guinea, the return of Russia to Africa and France-African relations. This is the chapter that deeply brings out the geopolitics of the research as well as establishes the rationale behind the game played by the big players of international politics for Africa

especially in the Gulf of Guinea. The chapter concludes with the counter security measures taking by Cameroon to avert the threats and considers the parts played by other regional partners as well as international organizations. Finally, chapter five concludes with a list of recommendations to appease the disgruntled security needs of Cameroon.

As for what concerns the methodology, this study strictly limits itself to qualitative research. An extensive study of this work is done which greatly review the thoughts of previous works done on the subject. It is important to note that the previous works must necessarily not be about Cameroon. However, other information sources are considered as well as some secondary research materials are taken into account and this is on the account of studying the security threats of Cameroon as well as the threats on France-African Relations. To substantiate on this study, members of the diplomatic community, academic community both in Turkey, Cameroon and Africa in general, are contacted to ground the study with the facts it deserves. Moreover, a series of tables, maps and other illustrations shall be added in order to elucidate more on the subject. In the thesis, official reports and other supporting documents of Cameroon's domestic and foreign policy, as well as France-African relations, articles, books, journals/newspapers, published thesis and news broadcasts announced both in Africa and in other parts of the world but related to the subject are all used.

2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SECURITY

In this chapter, definitions of some basic terms such as security, threats, France-Afriqewill be discussed. It will also discuss theoretical and conceptual analysis of the study in detail.

2.1 Definitions

The conceptual approach to this work is not meant to establish the logical rationale behind the research but rather, to lay the foundation of the contemporary and fundamental meanings of some key words to be used. It shall underscore the etymological meanings of the key concepts as well as the ability to either accept or refute the definitions proposed.

The origin of the words such as security, national security, France-Africa (France-Afrique) and threat will be analyzed as it happens to be the core of the research. The various definitions of this word shall also throw more light and pave way for the building of a mental image of the whole work.

2.1.1 Security

Lipschutz (1995, pp. 46-87; Waeber, 1995, p. 46) defines security in historical terms, as that act where states threaten each other, challenge each other's sovereignty, try to impose their will on each other, defend their independence, and so on. Mutimer and David (2007, pp. 53-74) explains that the word 'security' was introduced in the 1530s and it originates from the Greek work '*securus*' which means "free from care, quiet, easy," from the 1600s it continues that the word was used from the adjective 'secure' which meant "to make safe".

Sachs (2003, pp. 38-41) defined the term as "the state of being free from danger or threat," or "the state of feeling safe, stable, and free from fear or anxiety". Tickner (1997, p. 194) looks at security as "freedom from financial cares or from want". The above definitions go along to summarily imply that security which most dictionaries qualify to be a noun is simply the ability to live from the cares of want or from the circumstances of despair. It comes with the feeling of satisfaction in whatever

domain the subjects applying it find themselves and the word can be applied to any context of human endeavor ranging from human security, food security, national security, international security, airport security, maritime security, etc. The word is very flexible and will fit into any scope of usage to explain the complex, yet, inter-related chemistry of human interaction.

Mill (1994, pp. 285-306) and Rogers (2005, pp. 89-114) cited Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651) retrospect the savagery of life before the formation of society and resented the feeling of a brutal murder likewise the lawlessness that might have characterized human interactions. In the plight to dodge this, humans came together under the banner of one leadership usually emerging from the most illustrious leader who in some way could assure the security of their territory. Furthermore, the need to provide oneself with security pushed many groups of individuals to find refuge in different geographical locations which will over the centuries if not millennia, become their strong hold and the highly dependent variable of their homeland security. Once this need was met humans were once again confronted with another, which was the need to keep the social forces of the pre-society stable as well as ensure the collective survival and prosperity of all in a coherent motion and for the general good. Human security then became another marrow to suck from the calciferous bone. In addition, the need to disband lawlessness and the disrespect for the then 'socially uncodified' norms became an absolute imperative paving way for philosophical and theoretical proposals. These norms entailed the responsibilities of the ruling minority and aristocrats, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as well as the lower libbers made up of the poorer majority. To that degree, a social agreement codified with the consent of the general public was needful if the early society-state had to survive. It is on these philosophical Westphalia (1648) bases that The Cambridge Companion (2007, pp.7-11) citing Locke (1689) forwarded his treaties on "property rights" and emphasized the need for the state to preserve the property rights of the citizens whether foreign or indigenous. Roskin (2012, pp. 21-49) holds that Locke's (1689), ideas founded the free country of America as its founding fathers pregnant with his ideas sought to practice them on the 'New World'. In addition, Rousseau (1800s), thought as much that it was needless for the state to preserve or protect the property rights of its citizens if they did not join to a mutual and dependable social security, bound by an equitable law which in its kind guaranteed some level of assurance, freedom and liberty. In conformity and much

earlier before then, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), while discussing his statecraft, suggested that on such grounds it was needful for legislators and other experts to debate on some simple but pragmatic aspects of their society whose resolutions would eventually become law. In addition, the partnership between the government and the citizens would be sealed in what Rousseau (1800), called the “Social Contract”. Engraved in the social contract were values and norms to be respected by all and for all by which everyone could find themselves in an equitable feeling of security and safety. UN Chronicle (2017) defined national security as “National security has been described as the ability of a state to cater for the protection and defense of its citizenry”.

Walt (1991, pp. 211-239) cited Nye and Lynn-Jones (1988, pp. 3-4) defines security studies as the study of the threat, use, and control of military force. This definition is appealing and will be used while discussing the foreign politics of Cameroon and the correlations that exist between France African Relations and Cameroon’s security threats. However it is not the case for the definition of the national security.

Brown(1984, pp. 620-622)defined national security as “the ability to preserve the nation’s physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institutions, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders”.

This definition in one paragraph touches most of what shall discussed in this research paper because it cross-examines the domestic and foreign threats to Cameroon’s National Security. Moreover, it lays the ideological framework to uphold and the promise of an excellent practice of domestic politics. Wolin (2000, pp. 3-15) puts it as an approach to a political ideology that should be the kind which promises the creation of a good society according to the mental and verbal images built of what that society is supposed to look like. Moreover, it covers largely the practice of the kind of foreign politics a country should push for while fighting hard to have its realist most out of the influence of globalization and post modernity.

Bartolotto (2004, pp. 2-12) claims that the word national security derived its origin in the 1940s and since then it has come to mean anything that encompasses the survival of the state. As a matter of fact, as the forces of modernization and globalization continue to push countries to make at times unprecedented adjustments to their policies, the term has gotten to mean everything the nation adheres to for its survival. Most of these find themselves wrapped up the state’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

from which related dichotomies of politics, economy, defense, environment, social integration and religion, and other aspects find their support. As complex and demanding as it may sound, the very essence of the state since its creation in the Westphalia Treaty (1648) remains the same and any failure to it will definitely lead the state to the sinister future of illegitimate institutions, ineffective government and inefficient policies. If the appropriate counter dissolution measures are not quickly adopted, properly and quickly handled even its sovereignty will be greatly affected and maybe threatened. Such are the cases with Libya, Iraq, Somalia and now the Democratic Republic of Congo. Related images of these have recurrently been seen with the Central African Republic which is the most politically persecuted and martyred nation in the Central African Economic Community and if not the entire African continent.

Ntamu and Ekpenyong (2014,pp. 244-253) critically studying the nature of terrorism in light of the bloody massacres of the far left Muslim fundamentalist group, Boko Haram, forwarded that the prime role of the state is to protect the life, property rights and ensure the security of its citizens. On this light, the wake of terrorism in the 20th century and the successful tactical approaches implored by them have pushed governments in this 21st century to adopt breathtaking counter terrorist measures that shield them from such exposures as well as any attacks on their soil. Nevertheless, the success and counter terrorist measures of states was put to the real test and their flaws greatly exposed when the United States of America (USA) fell prey to terrorist attacks on home soil in September 11, 2001. These were followed by the London bombings of 2005 and the Manchester bombings of May 2017; Paris 2015 and 2016, and recurrent bombings in Turkey between 2015 and 2016. These attacks laid the framework and clarity to security experts and propaganda fundamentalists that no country is devoid of attack. Moreover, many states are faced today with secessionist threats that greatly threaten their national security. Some of the reasons arise from discrepancies in thoughts, impersonal feelings, and biased political and social approaches of the leadership, ethnocentrism and the tribal constructivism in the sharing of the national cake. Secondly, as it is the case in Cameroon and Nigeria at this time, the in-egalitarian politics whereby the proposal of policies for nation growth are wrongly and selfishly interpreted by the state as a threat to national security radicalizes the impoverished minority who tired of crying, have decided to face the merely selfish and ethnocentric bull. Therefore, many groups especially the

minorities have been badly radicalized and this may have patronized the breakaway of Kosovo and its independence in 2009 which was immediately followed by the independence of the world's youngest nation, South Sudan, in 2011 after more than 10 years of a bloody war with Sudan. If things remain the way they are, then, there could be another declaration of independence in the Central African region and specifically in Cameroon where the English speaking minority has been on a secessionist strike since November 2016. The big picture is apparent, independence.

2.1.2 France-Afrique

Bourgi (2016), the French middle man just like his predecessor, Jacques Foccart (31 August 1913–19 March 1997) and close attendant to most African palaces puts it that the France-Afrique refers to the occult practices of both African and French politicians which involved the looting of African economies and the benefits transported to France in brief cases. The intentions were simple, firstly, to maintain the imperialist interests of France on its former colonies and secondly, the chance of African presidents to buy their way to power or to stay in power. The term simply refers to the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial relations that exist between France and its 14 former African colonies.

This research will critically examine the etymology of some key words in the research question and explain their relevance to laying the ground work in defending the research question. Nevertheless, the research focus shall be on “Cameroon’s Security Challenges and their Effects on France-African Relations”. The working theory shall be “the political quest for the institutionalization of democracy at this time is very dispensable to counter Cameroon’s imminent security threats. A more rational approach would be taking the path of industrialization which could pave the way for a democracy in the future as well as the development of practical contingency measures for better security policies. Consequently, the war between collective and personal gains meets the resurging question of an emergency politics by the Biya Regime. Therefore, the de-securitization of this problem would either mean a counter political action of the elite or a total insurgency if not democratic overhaul of the regime”, although other established theories on the subject matter shall be considered.

The research solemnly urges the jury therefore, to suffer an unmeticulous eye on the conceptual analysis as well as the general methodology with particular attention on the keen theoretical framework of the research work. Nonetheless, the research shall

cover some already established theories of national security beginning from Buzan to Ole Weaver, Jaap de Wilde, Kenneth N. Waltz, and citing Taureck's Securitization Theory (2006). Other important citations such as Hobbes (1658), theoretical approach on the founding of the state shall not be missed out. The researcher shall equally mention Acemoglu and Robinson's (2000, pp.683-693) work titled "Why Did the West Extend the Franchise? Democracy, Inequality, and Growth in Historical Perspective", these and many others shall help to solidify arguments.

2.1.3 Security theories and social constructivism

Vadepeer (2011, pp. 16-78) cited Singer (1958, p. 94) who simply defined threats as "the capability coupled with intent". For over sixty years, patriotic African presidents have been killed, maimed, sent on exile to Hague, or imprisoned by the oligarchy of the international community in partnership with some apathetic and religiously wicked Africans. The feeling of being in a meshwork of dense hopelessness provokes many Africans who continue to get enlightened that the use of the term, France-Afrique, by which the usage, threat, is mostly directed to, must end. The wave of radicalism that this bequeaths and coupled with the despotic cultural power brokers who inhabit the top administrative leaders of African states, leaves many especially those from the minority to nurse this unflinching remorse for a place up the heavens or leadership. How much time it requires for them to get their fair share of the national cake is a function of try and fail, but the magnitude of resentment that characterizes many communities who feel left behind, reflects the right usage of violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, South Sudan, etc. Therefore, for as long as feudalism continues to work for the interests of a select few and the mass advancements of the Western godfathers, most if not all African political regimes will remain threatened.

Barry Buzan is no doubt the celebrated insider who has expounded more and brought out satisfactory truths to the study of security. It is believed that before him security studies had not been so deeply expounded upon. Although security studies had already taken a serious attention by the 1960s, much was not being said and much in depth analysis had not been made. It is important to begin by stating that before, there was a gap in the literature concerning the concept of security (Stone, 2009, pp. 2-11). However, it remained for him to use the already known levels of analysis to propose his three pertinent security domains which actually revolutionized the entire study. In his book *People, States, and Fear*, Buzan (1983, pp.756-758) considers that

security issues can be addressed from almost the same plan as the realist level of analysis classification which is individuals, states and the international system. Similarly, he goes ahead to divide these into five different security challenges faced by the aforementioned levels of analysis. They include political, military, economic, societal, and environmental challenges. Although one could say that the issues listed above somewhat promise a holistic scholarship into the problem, Stone (2009, pp. 2-11) laments that these concepts cannot adequately address the issue of security separately because each one is linked to the other, forming a web of information that a security analyst or expert on international relations must detangle to understand each concept individually in order to be able to see how they affect each other on the whole (Stone, 2009, pp. 2-11). Despite the flaws recurred, Buzan's state centric analogy clearly promises a general knowledge of the most pertinent security threats a state could possibly face. He also examines the nature of the state and seeks to elucidate how its various components are linked and what effect they could exert on national security. Though his approach is more state centric, he quickly makes it clear in his article "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century" (1991), that the "five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other (Stone and Goodyear, 1995, pp. 939-947 cited Buzan, 1983, pp. 289-290). They work in synergy but then he isolates military threats which he believes to be the most daring in destabilizing a country. Secondly, political threats as always have an incentive to be both internally and externally motivated. Furthermore, he adds that economic threats are difficult to determine due to the nature of economics itself although he further examines the link between economic and military security, the latter he believes depends on the viability of the economic security due to budget and limit constraints (Stone, 2009, pp. 2-11 cited Buzan, 1983, pp.756-758). Common sense should make it clear to all that without money no state can afford a war be it domestic or external. As clear proof to this idea, the government of Congo Republic cancelled its 2016 presidential elections because it complained it did not have the money to organize one. Therefore, the economic security of a state is highly detrimental to the stability of the other security aspects which might become a threat no matter where they come from and how daring they might be. Lastly, Buzan believes that societal threats are difficult to comment about and are mostly about identity and the balance that can be found within each state (Stone, 2009, pp. 2-11 cited Buzan, 1983, pp.756-758).

Heterogeneous states without a well-organized decentralized system of administration which seeks to largely address the huge ethnic and cultural differences might always end up in a civil war. Moreover, the misappropriation of state funds most times leaves a minority crying foul. The result is usually obvious, cultural fascism and interpersonal repulsion. Such is the case with Cameroon at this time where the English speaking minority has decried its marginalization for the last fifty-six years and this time asking for nothing but outright secession. Moreover, weak states are often ill-equipped to deal with the differences in identity and culture. He further adds that considering the interconnected nature of the world today most countries find themselves in quasi-dependence. Therefore, one cannot fully understand the national security of a country if he biasedly refuses to recognize the community into which this country belongs. The importance of regional security in his analysis favors the thought that it could possibly be a breeding ground for both amity and enmity. Some possible reasons for these could be ideology, ethnic lines, historical precedent and territory (Stone, 2009, pp. 2-11 cited Buzan, 1983, pp.756-758). Nevertheless, the close collaboration between states forms what he calls a “security complex” where states mutually share most of their resources in tandem while voluntarily letting go some of their national security rights to the general organizational leadership which would have otherwise been under their control. A typical example to this could be the Central African Economic and Monetary Community–CEMAC and the tax free zone in some Turkish Sea Ports as part of the European Customs Community to which it belongs. The CEMAC countries share the same currency, the Franc CFA, custom charges and rights, etc. However, the domestic politics of either of them has a direct effect on the entire community which is made up of six countries namely Cameroon, Gabon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, and Equatorial Guinea. Most times, to maintain the unity of this union though they might not really feel comfortable to do so, they must implore some level of compromise in their domestic policies.

In the same spirit Waever (1989, pp. 5-23), who also considers a state centric approach starts by defining security, which in historical terms is that act where states threaten each other, challenge each other’s sovereignty, try to impose their will on each other, defend their independence, and so on. Epic to his study, he says that a thing only becomes securitized when it becomes a threat. More so, only the elites of every state have the capacity to declare a thing as a security threat but they need the

people's support for it to stand (Lipschutz, 1998 cited Waever, 1995, pp. 46-87). He divides his levels of securitization into two, namely the macro and micro securitization. Moreover, securitizing something takes a deeper stance when it is accepted by the general population as a threat. Otherwise, government's policy on the issue will be nullified. So, the government (macro) decides on something as a threat but needs the people (micro) to agree with them in order to push through with it. To achieve this aim, the government may try to use the media in order to shape a public opinion (Fruhling, 2014, pp. 531-847 cited Epstein, 1977, pp. 38-40). This model according to Waever (1995, pp.46-87), works best with most countries but it should be known that it is equally two sided because the micro level at times may securitize an issue and have the government accept it which may eventually become a national security problem. Though it may sound very easy to the ears, most times it is not as easy as it appears because some governments may have to drag with their subjects for long at times even at daggers edge and pressure from the international community before finally accepting the view point of the people. At some point in his study and analysis of Buzan's security model, Waever (1995, pp.46-87) though walking in the footsteps of Buzan, seems to shift a little. First, by denying the dominance of military threats and secondly, he elevates individual security threats and connects them to national security threats. Furthermore, he identifies some individual security threats to be economic welfare, environmental concerns, cultural identity, and political rights (Lipschutz, 1998 cited Waever, 1995, pp. 46-87). These are some of the micro security issues which can be rationally and at times radically securitized from the micro levels and have the state to forcefully see with the people's point of view.

Like Weaver (1995, pp. 46-87), Boer and Wilde (2008, pp. 169-190) takes another route and sees the need to address nothing more important but human security which he believes is only achieved if a state is stable. He also thinks this is very possible with big states that have a well decentralized organogram. Most important to human security is the issue of crime which happens to be one of the fundamental security prerequisites of the Shanghai Cooperation. Boer and Wilde (2008, pp. 169-190) believes that globalization has brought a new wave of crimes which makes it difficult to keep track as well as assure a best possible security for humans. Secondly, he thinks fear is one of the threats of human security as declared by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) 1994 (Boer and Wilde, 2008, pp. 169-190). Buzan in

his book *People, States and Fear* (1983) highlights fear to be one of the principled mechanisms that could trigger a security alert to the levels of analysis that is individuals, states and the international system. Moreover, imperialist states like France, United Kingdom (UK), USA, and Russia use this item to trigger a security reaction to other states in order to achieve their aims. One of the foremost threats used is the threat of using their nuclear weapons against an insubordinate state. When India developed its nuclear bomb in the 1960s it triggered a serious security threat to Pakistan which went to work until it was able to have its own bomb in 1979. The fear of being subjected to an undesirable position by India or of being defenseless in the face of an attack gave Pakistan the madness that made them develop theirs. Equally, the threat of the USA to China forced the latter to develop its nuclear arsenal in 1964. Dealing with these elements of fear could be easier if they come from without because somehow, it is expected that the international community will react to the favor of the oppressed. But then what can be said if the fear generating factor which most times results to violence is from within? Just like Browning (2013,p. 193 cited Galtung 1990, p.102), Boer and Wilde (2008, pp. 169-190) recognizes that human security most times faces three sets of violence which he describes as structural violence (which entails discrimination in societies, especially in terms of denying people access to vital sources of existence and development), cultural violence and direct violence (arbitrary arrests and imprisoning people to wounding or killing them). In a country like Cameroon where a dictator has been in power for over thirty-four years, Cameroonians have forcefully had to enjoy the whims of all types of violence. This depleting fact has become their everyday life and is now considered very normal.

Alas, the failure of the international community to ensure a proper human security safety lies within the bed rock of its shameless ability to side with dictators who adeptly abuse not only their power but also defy international laws and human rights. The reason is simple; as the dictator is kept in power, interests are protected, even if at the detriment of the people and the masses. On this note, many who believe the United Nations (UN) will follow the same end like its predecessor, the League of Nations question very sharply its credibility in addressing the world's most pertinent issues on human security. The security bias which favors most European countries raises another concern which reverberates loudly like cymbals. Terrorist attacks in Europe like the last 2016 France attacks attracted a lot of international attention and

the whole world might have even come to a halt because of that. But almost every day, there are innocent children and families that are destroyed by American and NATO drones in Pakistan, Syria and Afghanistan but most mainstream media keep quiet or will thwart the news before broadcast. Boer and Wilde (2008, pp. 169-190) summarizes it that it is wrong to advocate for peace in a region and not care in others. Since such is the case, then the pursuit for peace is biased and unreliable.

Moreover, the many regional problems faced by most regional organizations today as well their member states are eloquent reasons why there exist a security dilemma in the Middle East which in association with the belt of terrorist cells, puts the lives of its citizens in great depression. The unbiased ability of the terrorists to kill both Muslims and Christians as it has been in Syria, in Iraq, is another reason to decry the slow response of the international community which has the right as stated in the lines of international law to provide adequate protection. But very shameful to these inhuman actions is the fact that most of the countries in the international community which make hypocritical speeches on TV are themselves the patrons of the instability in the region. Chulov (2012), reports that France has emerged as the most prominent backer of Syria's armed opposition and is now directly funding rebel groups around Aleppo as part of a new push to oust the embattled Assad regime. In the same vein Ramani (2015), reported that on November 14, Syrian President Bashar al-Assad declared that French support for opposition forces in the Syrian civil war triggered the Islamic State's terror attacks, which killed 129 people in Paris the previous night. On this note, the fate of the occupants of the above mentioned region remains very problematic as western hands continue to interfere with their domestic politics in opposition to Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the UN Charter which warns member states to refrain from interfering with the domestic politics of other states. Whether that is only applicable on paper is a matter of observation. The truth is not far from the eyes. Walt (1991, pp. 221-239) defers a little from the above mentioned scholars in that he sees the subject of security from a traditional perspective as opposed to his counterparts who are modern. According to him, security threats lie basically within the circumference of military and political threats. These two have the capacity to pilot most if not all the security threats a state could possibly face. He thinks that security studies remains an interdisciplinary enterprise, but its earlier preoccupation with nuclear issues has broadened to include topics such as grand strategy, conventional warfare, and the domestic sources of international conflict, among

others (Walt,1991). He starts by examining the origin of security studies but pays attention to war and writes elaborately about it. According to him, military threats have a direct connotation with war except otherwise addressed. Just like Buzan, he agrees that security is a realist phenomenon but denies like Waever, that military threats are the epicenter of threats faced by states. He lists other threats like AIDS, poverty, environmental hazards, drug abuse, and the like (Walt, 1991, pp.211-239; Buzan, 1983, pp. 23-89, Brown, 1989, pp.32-42). Military force and wars go hand in hand and could summarily explain the influence that its corresponding domestic politics has on many states as well as how this influence transcends into the international community.

In a nutshell, big and grand sized states have resolved to use military force as an incentive of political tool. The use of force has been practiced by France in some parts of Asia, in most French colonized African countries and in some South American countries. Until most countries are demilitarized as the League of Nations sought to do, it is unthinkable how much force will continue to be used as political machinery in this 21st century. Talking about military force, Walt (1991, pp. 221-239) strongly considers the unshared place nuclear weapons have earned since the beginning as well as the end of the Cold War. He believes that the politics behind the possession of nuclear weapons is even more threatening than are some of the above listed threats to both human and state security. The dichotomous growth of intellectual interdependence which has led to such great advancements in technology and military science is attributed to the fact that most states do not only rely on their veterans for ground knowledge and projections. Initially, he notes that military strategies were reserved only for the military who were believed to be masters of the art of war. Nonetheless, the table has turned because nowadays, non-military personnel and other civilians endowed with the knowledge of military studies and warfare are pioneers in both security studies and policy making. This shift is very important because it links the human and state security aspects directly and defines how much states must invest to make sure that all sectors of the economy are viably identical.

The debate about the veracity of security has grown so big and plenty that different schools of thought attempt an explanation of any kind that might in any way bring substance to the vast scholarship of materials available.

Adding to the building blocks of Buzan's security analysis has not been an easy one but scholars have nonetheless, not stopped to take sides as they see fit. Huysmans (2002, pp. 41-62), approaching the subject from a society centric perspective, thinks that Europe can do better if it ameliorates its security dilemma and corrects its security gap. Firstly, it is a common mind that brought together the creation of the European Union as well as through the many treaties that followed, one of them being the Maastricht Treaty of 1992. By approaching the subject from the society point of view which is the bottom of all security threats as proposed by Buzan, Huysmans (2002, pp. 41-62) agrees that the European Union presently exists as a people and not as a continent. They actually constitute a group of people who believe to have similar cultures, identities, norms and goals. By this, they formed the union which over them oversees their activities and business. Social constructivism therefore, seeks to understand how these forces of societal building or structuring beyond well-defined national boundaries, come to be and how much influence they have over the interpersonal interactions of humans. Moreover, though language barriers may exist, the founders of the union found a way to go about it. Szczelkun (1999, pp. 2-14 cited Habermas, 1984, pp. 21-58), in his concept and theory of communicative reason states that "all speech acts have an inherent *telos* (the Greek word for "purpose")—the goal of mutual understanding, and that human beings possess the communicative competence to bring about such understanding".

Furthermore, from another pressing perspective some social constructivists go ahead to define security in terms of immigration policies. Using the European Union (EU) as a reference object, many scholars and social constructivists believe that for the EU in order to survive and maintain its status quo, it has to be more intolerant towards immigration. The height of all this discussion faces its actual test following the Syrian refugee crisis. Many Europeans fear they might be out of security if they allow more and more refugees into their country. In Denmark, the situation is lamentable as more and more Muslim neighborhoods are being created and the heterogeneous mix of culture this is bequeathing draws plenty of hatred from extremists who think that in a few years the inherent Danish society and identity will be gone to foreigners, most of whom they tag to be religious outright fundamentalist, if not "terrorists". The societal alert the refugee crisis has caused is possibly one of the reasons why Hungary responded very quickly with the wall it builds in its border

with Serbia. Secondly, the call of the EU to pay Turkey the sum of 3 billion Euros in order for Turkey to keep the refugees within its borders reveals the significance of this phenomenon. If speculations remain what they are then just may be this might be one of the fundamental reasons why the UK decided to leave the EU. Although Wilde (2008, pp. 595-596) agrees with Hobbes (1651) that states must do much to make sure that humans or their subjects are free from fear, most states refuse to give it away because they fear that immigration may bring in an unequal and unwanted sequence of happenings that may disrupt the inherent flow of power and energy within their different communities. As such, they are reserved with the choice of taking the most drastic position whatsoever in order to maintain “the responsibility to protect” their citizens (Kim, 2013, pp. 68-101 cited Schafer, 2013, pp. 41-62). The power backing immigration and their corresponding European policies to this effect levels on the threats they carry to the wellbeing of the EU which could possibly break if their collective efforts fail to protect their common interests. The last resort may be to return back to their formal statehoods and self-coordinated domestic politics. Furthermore, many social constructivists agree that writing about security is integrating because it permits the connection of certain isolated subjects like migration, terrorism, Islamic extremism, drugs, imperialism, regional markets and their place in world politics holistically (Huysmans, 2002, pp. 41-62). Depending on which of the above mentioned dimensions is accentuated, the main threats to the EU and many other regional organizations not mentioned as of now range from economic to societal threats (Schafer, 2013, pp. 68-101) and how well these can be handled will determine the future of the union.

While the EU and other regional organizations like the African Union fight hard to maintain their *status quo* in world politics by ensuring the respect for human rights and maintaining the standard rule of law, Brexit might just be a serious blow to the fight to maintain a homogenous society and collective EU state. Moreover, as UK parliamentarians tear each other at the House of Lords on when and how to trigger article 50, they might like to consider Huysmans’s (2002, pp. 41-62), dislike of migration and its security concerns as their rationale for leaving the EU despite 70% votes of the youths to stay.

An old African adage says one hand cannot tie a bundle. Similarly, security is achieved through the collective and community work rather than through power (Karacasulu and Uzgoren, 2007, pp. 1-22). They cite Katzenstein (1996, pp. 1-27),

who focuses more on identity, culture, and norms in explaining national security issues. Talking about identity a ridiculous example could be how friendly the USA is to the UK which has over five hundred nuclear bombs but detests North Korea which is still trying to develop its nuclear arsenal. The answer to this is simple. Both the USA and the UK think they have something in common and their cultural pasts ties them together irrespective of their distant geographic locations. On this note Katzenstein (1996, pp. 1-27) adopts a state centric approach and uses his social constructivist ideas to explain security threats at this level. Buzan (1983, pp.756-758) had earlier warned that it is impossible to explain the national security of a state if one does not consider the regional envelope in which it is found. This is because the dynamics and politics played within that regional envelope are highly consequential to both the domestic as well as foreign politics of the country.

Moreover, states do interact on the identities they place on each other. China is a super-rich and powerful country but does not see the USA as a reliable ally and likewise. Both countries, having imperialist and capitalist interests in the world do not see themselves as capable of working together for the welfare of humanity. In the same stance, Russia would rather settle some deals with China than with the USA. Despite the end of the cold war both countries are still involved in the “Tom and Jerry” that is cat and dog war. If one must consider the democratic peace theory which asserts that two democracies cannot go to war, then, it may still suffice to say that there is another common assertion that two super powers will eventually become friends. The tension between China and the USA in the South China Seas and now in Djibouti, denies this claim which flies away in the face of logic. The national interests of both countries always serve as the war of trust and partnership which further repels them from the other.

In the quest to explain and find the most convincing answer to security questions comes another troubling question ‘what is constructivism in international relations? There is no direct answer to this question because the controversies are many. Seeing that constructivism is itself not a theory but an approach that seeks to explain how relations are managed and sustained in international politics, one might seek to know the place of constructivism to security studies.

It is supposed that one of the best examples to this is the recent travel ban imposed by Donald Trump, the President of the United States of America (USA), on Muslims which falls rightly within the domestic norm category of national security which has

triggered a violent international response. Secondly, the latter's disregard of the refugee deal his predecessor, and the Paris climate change agreement among others which Former President of the USA, Barack Obama had signed, has triggered another international discomfort not only from Australia a longtime ally of the USA but also from other ally states who constantly ask if the USA especially under the Trump Administration is a reliable partner to trust. The tendency for identities to shift especially on ideological issues could well leave social constructivists with the identity dilemma, a phenomenon which is capable of igniting a flame in any level of its application if misappropriated. As if all was not enough constructivism finally shows its weakness in addressing not only international relations related problems but security issues as well by the disagreement between its scholars on the levels of analysis (Karacasolu and Uzgoren, 2007, pp. 1-22)

To solve this problem, Hopf (1998, pp. 176-180) a leading figure in constructivism identified and differentiated between two levels of constructivism which could possibly explain their approaches to security. Firstly, critical constructivism mostly practiced in Europe and conventional constructivism which is mostly practiced in the USA. Conventional constructivism is about norms and identity while critical constructivism is about power and discourse. He further verifies how conventional constructivism shapes international politics. Furthermore, critical constructivism focuses on how threat perceptions, the object of security are socially constructed. They have the 'how' question and verify the use of language in building world politics. Though it may hurt to say it most colonial powers follow Hopf's rule because they all have a norm very well established which they follow in order to keep their former colonies under their rule. France has the France-Afrique and Francophony, while Britain has its own organization which is not as pronounced as that of France. The norm, nevertheless, remains the same, continue to usurp authority over its former colonies while draining dry their resources in order to keep its place in the 21st century. From the norm comes the identity which binds them all together and their meeting place is of course the Security Council where most diabolic plans are decided upon. As for their former colonies they must continue to follow Thucydides' rule of international relations which states that "the strong must do as they wish and the weak must do what they must" (Enouri, 2013, pp. 288-293 cited Morris, 2005, pp. 6-100). In this way they are condemned with the identity of being the oppressed or former slaves who must continue to serve their masters. This

identity persists not only at the political and higher state levels but diffuses right down to the common man who learnt it either in oral or written history. Such is the identity that is being built and propagated about a people from generation to generation making it hard to abide by the flimsy concept of “all men are created equal” (Dykes, 2008, pp. 4-11). How can there be peace and equality when some people are programmed to think that besides them is no other equal race or persons with whom they can sit and dine (Thomas, 1991, pp.1-4) or that they are more superior to others and must be served and worshipped at all times. Racial fundamentalist and extremists like the Ku Klux Klan in the USA stand firm on this norm which has become their tradition and the identity they have of themselves and others remains indefatigable.

With these identities and their corresponding discrepancies the individuals, states and the international community will continue to know the same security challenges they have fought with over the centuries. More deleterious to this fight is the thought of how fast and far the forces of globalization drag humanity. It is even not sure where it is leading humanity to. But one thing is sure; if social constructivists are not able to find a common compromise to the issue then humanity should be sure to go on again for some more centuries in this insecure post-Cold War period.

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: COLONIZATION TO INDEPENDENCE

This chapter will discuss the history of Cameroon as well as its path to independence. The major topics to be discussed here are the history of Cameroon, colonization history, The 1884 German annexation, First World War and the 1919 partition of Cameroon, Resistance groups and demand for independence, 1960 independence of French Cameroon, independence of English Cameroon or West Cameroon and the 1961 Plebiscite.

3.1 History of Cameroon

Archeological evidence claims that the geographical entity, Cameroon, has existed for over 5.000 years existing before as small kingdoms which covered large territories of land. Beginning from the Adamawa Highlands Kingdom up in the North and cutting through some parts of Nigeria down to some parts of the Central African Republic, some kingdoms were very big and powerful until the separation of Africa. The locals of Cameroon most of whom were nomads, hunters, and some of whom fled from the Jihadists on Holy War who entered Africa through Sudan and North Africa sought to extend their influence down to other parts of Africa. Being under the general Bantu clan which cuts across more than eight countries in Africa, Cameroon remains nonetheless, highly multicultural with over two hundred and eighty ethnic groups. Interestingly, the many cultures do not defer from each other that much and until now, there has been a very little or no tribal wars. Instead, they unanimously unite all Cameroonians under the same atmosphere of nationhood (Nyamnjoh, 1989, pp. 5-18).

Anchimbe (2005, pp. 33-48) identified that today; Cameroon has over two hundred and seventy eighty identified tribes and ethnic groups all speaking different languages and having different cultures. It is this heterogeneous society of Cameroon among others that has earned Cameroon its name, Africa in miniature. The Republic of Cameroon as it is called is an African country found in West Africa or in Central Africa depending on who one is talking to. However, it is a member of ECOWAS

which is the Economic Community of West African States which on the 16th of March 1994 oversaw the creation of the Economic Community of Central African States-CEMAC.

The earliest Europeans to arrive the coasts of Cameroon were the Portuguese but could not settle due to the harsh health conditions that reigned, to be precise Malaria. Nevertheless, the Carthaginian navigator Hanno had been there earlier and their Portuguese counterparts would name the River Wouri '*Rio dos Cameroes*' meaning 'River of prawns'. That is where Cameroon got its name especially after some intense intercourse between the European powers that fought hard to control its vast territory. Cameroon remains the only country in the world that was colonized thrice and by three different world powers, namely the Germans, British and French. The Portuguese, who were one of the first to visit its shores in the 16th century, might have well been the first to colonize the country and establish one of their very first Portuguese colonies but the Malaria mentioned above was a strong reprimand.

3.2 Cameroon's colonization history

The conquest for Africa and other territories around the world had begun. The rush for colonies at that time might well be considered a strong tenet of the enlightenment which pushed its victims to directions some might not have thought to go. However, the need for more and more energy was eloquent testimony for colonies where one could be sure to find cheap labor, raw materials and the need to satisfy the unrepentant urge to control the world. Once again, the realist thought of anarchy affecting both the internal and external policies of states found a clear disambiguation and approval. However, this mad rush coupled with the arms race that followed, was the impassable cause of the First World War.

The British were the first to establish in Cameroon but they did this through their missionaries who were mostly concerned about religion and abolishing slave trade. As Mokake (2011, pp. 61-88) explains the British were mostly concerned with stopping the Trans-Atlantic slave trade rather than building colonial relations with the locals of now Cameroon. Though they had a Consul in Cameroon, he was more involved in fighting the Trans-Atlantic slave trade routes than securing Cameroon for Britain as a territory. No serious steps were ever taken to colonize or annex the territory until after the Germans came and shook everything up for the worse. Alfred

Saker, the British missionary was one of the first to arrive the shores of Cameroon with the Gospel of Jesus Christ in 1837. He was later followed by the Reverend Joseph Merrick who was also a missionary and together, they set forth to introduce the British culture in the region through religion. Ali (1988, pp. 8-61) explains that religion is one of the powerful relics used by imperialist powers to establish themselves in Africa and the Middle East as well as to wash away the indigenous cultures of people while replacing it with theirs. In that way, controlling them is much easier. The British went ahead to establish schools and other missionary stations in Akwa, Douala in 1845 and in Bimbia in 1848. It should be known that despite the heavy influence that the British had in the region at that time, they failed to respond timely to the request of the Chiefs and Kings to annex the region. In contrast, the Germans were the quickest to strike a deal with the locals of Cameroon thus, annexing them but when they failed to respect their part of the engagements, they were kicked out by a coalition of the French, the British and the Belgians who alongside, enjoyed the support of the locals. Mill (2011, pp. 7-63) forwards that Germany lost the confidence of its colonies due to its direct rule and ruthless treatment of the citizens in the territories. Consequently, Germany was forced to abandon all of its territories to the victors of World War I. Britain and France become the new custodians of the territory and decided in 1919 to partition it into two. That is how they got Cameroonians of the English and French expressions today.

3.2.1 The 1884 German annexation

As early as the 1880s, German explorers and business men of the Woermann Brothers of Hamburg had been visiting the shores of Cameroon but were limited only to the coasts where they could anchor their ships. They were able to establish their first firm in Douala in 1860 and thanks to the Douala middle men relationship; their influence was shortly felt across the entire territory. Having made some good contacts with the locals they urged Bismarck the German Chancellor to formerly recognize the colony as theirs seeing that the British Consul in the region at the time was very reluctant to press on his government to do so. The annexation took some time because Bismarck was still very skeptical and reluctant to annex the territory though Germany badly needed some. WorldHistory (2015) continued that the competition between German firms and British Traders and the resentment of the

area by the British paved way for his change of mind. He finally gave in and in 1884 through the Germano-Douala Treaty by his representative, Dr. Nashtigal, Cameroon was annexed by Germany. Funnily, a few days after Cameroon was officially annexed by Germany and became a German colony, the British envoy H.E. Hewett arrived to claim the territory for Britain. He had arrived just too late and though he was able to sign a few treaties with a remnant of the chiefs who did not follow the path of German annexation, the Westphalia Treaty (1684) gave reason to Germany. Shortly, after the treaty was signed and Dr. Nashtigal was sent over to lay the ground work for other administrative officers to arrive, some chiefs and traditional rulers in the (now) Littoral region saw cracks in the agreements and immediately stood up against it. Unfortunately, they were met by a strong repressive arm of the Germans and seeing that there were puppet rulers amongst them it was almost impossible to oust the Germans. It should be made clear as Awasom (2000,pp. 91-119) stated clearly that the Germans through that famous 1884 Germano-Douala treaty, had tricked the locals and the Chiefs of Douala to relinquish their power of sovereignty, legislation, administration and all their lands to them. Through this treaty, it was almost impossible for the leaders and the people to fight back and take what was theirs when their eyes finally got opened. The presence of cosmetic freedom fighters within them killed every aspirations and openings for freedom.

Germany at the time practiced forced labor and direct rule which greatly abused human rights and completely undermined traditional and ancestral leadership. The rights and customs of the people were sarcastically suppressed and under looked. The harsh labor imposed on them in the plantations was another reason why great names like Martin Paul Samba, King Rudolf Douala Manga Bell, King Akwa, and Ngosso Din among others decided to take up a serious revolt against the administration of the Germans. The revolts did not only end up in the Littoral region but spread like wild fire into the Southwest, Center and North West Regions of Cameroon (Kamerun in German spelling). Gerring et.al. (2011,pp. 377-433), discussing the positives and negatives of direct and indirect rule thinks that despite delegating some cosmetic powers to traditional leaders, sentiments towards Germany were bitter and black. Thus, the need to oust them from Cameroon was nonnegotiable.

The atmosphere of welcome for German expansion far into the hinterlands was very different when the Germans tried to step foot in the South West Region where His Royal Majesty, Kuve Likenye the founder and paramount king of the Bakweri people

led his warriors to a terrible bloody war against Gravenreuth (1891-1894) the German commander. This is the war which probably led to the death of the German Chancellor, Otto Von Bismarck, whose grave monument is in the Legion, Buea Town neighborhood, close to the regional presidency of the republic. The latter was beheaded by the aforementioned paramount leader in Buea. In the first attack the Germans were brutally defeated by the Bakweri warriors but they went back and rearmed for a greater and more ferocious victory in their second attack. Trudell (2004, pp. 86-100) corroborates that the defeat of the Germans faced to the Bakweri was their first in Africa and it largely affected the military policy of Germany towards its citizens. He continued that this war led the Germans to seek for the complete annihilation of the Bakweri's but somehow, they survived to tell the story.

Back in the littoral regions of Cameroon, the resistance was gaining grounds and though the Germans were on most occasions able to thwart the attacks through their puppet and allied Chiefs, it did not stop many young nationalists from ever strongly resisting. At the height of their resistance the Douala Chiefs among other elites some of whom included Rudolf Douala Manga Bell, Ngosso Din, Martin Paul Samba in 1913, sent letters to their fellow compatriots in the entire national territory asking them to support the resistance massively and drive out the invaders. Nyada (2014, pp.50-70) believes that the fact that the Germans did not quite understand the native languages of the locals was a great asset of espionage and communication. But to say that this was an easy venture would be a daring mistake because the risks involved were very high and considering the many black legs that surrounded the people, one could always expect the worst. Nevertheless, the replies from the other regions of the country were positive but the answer from the Bamoums in the West Region is one of the fundamental reasons why the aforementioned became one of the first martyrs of Cameroon. Thus, laying down their lives for the welfare of the country and setting forth the stage for even bigger resistance, hatred and disrespect for the Germans. One of the striking factors that fueled this resistance was the inhuman treatments that the Germans imposed on the locals both administratively and otherwise. Hence, there was a need to not only revisit the 1884 Germano-Douala Treaty but to also kick them out of Cameroon once and for all. As mentioned above, the ruler of the Bamoums who at the time was Sultan Ibrahim Njoya (the same person who played an important part in the unification of Cameroon in 1961) deliberately leaked out the plot to the

Germans. The result that followed was one of the serious blows that the resistance ever received, nevertheless, the struggle continued.

3.2.2 First World War and the 1919 partition of Cameroon

Nyada, (2014, pp. 50-70), puts it that the struggle or resistance between the people of Duala against the Germans ranks amongst one of the better known political dramas of African colonial history. Unable to defeat the Germans with their traditional weapons and know how, the indigenes turned out to the British and French for help. Letters were sent by traditional kings and chiefs to Queen Victoria of England to come and annex Cameroon but to make sure that the Germans were out and gone. At the epicenter of their cry was the expropriation of their lands and their exploitation for the better of the Germans only. Secondly, the trial and execution of the top Duala King, Rudolf Douala Manga Bell in 1913, who was accused of treason and hanged Nyada, (2014, pp. 50-70) right in front of his own house and in front of his own subjects, sparked a mad hatred and resistance against the Germans. At this point, the people had had enough and nothing was ever going to make them change their minds about the fate of the Germans.

The First World War was not only fought in Europe where it started but touched all parts of the world where the European powers had colonies. One of the things to note about how the war was fought in Cameroon was the number of European powers that formed the coalition in order to deliver the assault. In 1914 when the war started, the Germans were very quick to set up garrisons at strategic corners of the nation beginning from Douala the capital right up to the north which bordered Chad, a French territory, Nigeria in the west which was under Britain, and the Central African Republic in the East which was under France. Though Belgium had a small territory in the South but not a direct neighbor it decided to support the allied powers in ousting Germany from Cameroon. The joint and collective attacks that were delivered on Germany were fully potent to shake its heavy military artillery and command formation. At the end, the Germans at the very fright of receiving first class attack on their capital which was on the maritime area of Douala, decided to shift the capital to Buea in 1915 (the birthplace and dream of the Anglophone minority and bedrock of their nationalism). Unable to maintain a strong command of their garrisons in the entire national territory, as each garrison fell one after the other to the allied powers, they later on moved the capital to Yaoundé in 1916. By this

time their fate had already been sealed, they had lost so much of their territory to the allied powers and coupled with the fact that re-enforcement from other German colonies could not come on time; they eventually lost the entire national territory to the allied powers who were principally, France and Britain. The winners decided in 1916 to share the territory with the Lion share going to France and only 20% of the territory which was made up of the Southern and Northern Cameroons going to Britain.

The Holocaust (2017) reports that when “Germany lost World War I, in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, the victorious powers (the United States, Great Britain, France, and other allied states) imposed punitive territorial, military, and economic provisions on defeated Germany”. More so, in 1919, the Treaty of Versailles officially handed over Cameroon to both France and Britain and at the same time, Germany lost all of its colonies in Africa. This was immediately followed by the Milner – Simon Treaty in the same year, 1919, which officially set forth the boundaries between the French administered part of Cameroon and the English administered part of Cameroon. Hopkins (2000, pp. 311-320) corroborated that the partition of Africa was done in such a brutal and inhuman way that destabilized societies and tore down indigenous cultures. More so, the will, thoughts and consents of the locals were never consulted. Instead, they were doomed to live forever after, the very scares of this racist and imperialist partition. In 1922, the League of Nations handed over the territory under the French and English Mandate. France went on to administer its territory as it did in other parts of Africa and the world but its British counterpart really had no good intentions about its newly acquired territory. It disregarded it and thought of it as very poor and having nothing (a reverse of the reality today). Instead of administering it differently, it placed it under the Nigerian administration where it was regarded as a province or state. But the failures to administer the regions under the same laws due to a difference in culture and the hegemony of the Igbo’s, flamed up tempers again in the Southern and Northern Cameroons which led to another strong fight for independence and self-determination.

3.2.3 Resistance groups and demand for independence

When Britain officially became the administrative custodian of its part of English speaking Southern and Northern Cameroons, the first thing it did was to abolish

forced labor which was heavily practiced by the Germans. Before then, the Germans had heavily invested in the region by constructing railway lines for the transportation of tobacco, bananas, and tea. They had also built schools and other economically productive infrastructures. It was expected that the British would simply continue in them and upgrade the infrastructures so that by the time of independence, the region will be very much strong and capable to take care of its self and destiny. This was not the case and as Ncube et al. (2017, pp. 583-614) puts it as “the infrastructural deficit and financial needs” that horned around Southern Cameroons at the time were very reasonable to lead for the call to independence. Unfortunately, that was not the case. Britain did almost none of that but instead, it continued to expropriate the territory and though it did this through its indirect rule policy, it did not miss the rise of nationalist tempers who asked for its unbiased departure. Another circle of resistance had just started.

France on their part practiced ‘direct rule’ whereby the people were subject to the direct representation of their masses by only French men who were considered superior to all African civilization (United Nations, 1948, p. 42). Their African colonies were subjected to receive only what the French decided was good for them. This and many other factors of subjugation which also include racism, brought many French speaking Cameroonians to terms with their destiny and as one man, they decided to start the circle of resistance again. As of this time it was not going to be a common resistance fueled by ignorance and illiteracy as it was in the German era, but a resistance from enlightened men and women who had themselves studied the very culture, norms, language, and attitudes of their colonial masters. In 1948, when the UN was created as a successor of the League of Nations, both the English and French Cameroons were given to it as Trusteeship territories (United Nations, 1948, p. 42). The territories were thereby given back to the colonial powers and were charged to administer them and as well prepare them for independence. But the French system of assimilation which still works until today was in no way directed at helping these states to be fully independent. Somewhere, somehow, there was a clause of continuous attachment and dependence by which they retained control and dominion over their territories. This is one of the fundamental complaints of the Anglophones Cameroonians who strongly desire to break away from all French ties. The two World Wars had dealt a serious blow to most Western powers leaving them economically weak and at that time they had no other choice but to highly depend

largely on their colonies for revitalization. The African soldiers who were fortunate to return from those wars having seen the weakness of the Whiteman who was considered superior to other races, out rightly dismissed the myth that the Whiteman had the capacity to not fear or feel pain. These and many others were the reasons the founding fathers of African nationalism sacrificed their lives to give their countries the independence they deserved. The enlightenment which had started in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries had not only reached the shores of Africa but the sons of the soil who returned from the wars brought back fresh knowledge of the '*etat d'être*', 'state of being' of the Whiteman's country. Furthermore, Atangana (1997, pp. 83-111) noted that a serious consideration of the way things were handled back in the colonies and comparing the standards of living that the colonial masters had in their countries as compared to those in their colonies, was every reason for a stronger resentment to claim the spoil over the hearts of Africans; much more Cameroonians who believed they deserved if not the same but better.

This attitude coupled with the advanced force of post modernity and globalization which was having its most glorious start in that era, paved the way for strong civic awareness across plantations, settlements, villages, towns and cities in Cameroon i.e. both English and French Cameroon. Finally, the matured mind to stand up and say no regardless of the consequences was forged and one after the other, many renounced the inhuman treatments they received. In the religious sectors, there were sharp protests against the interferences of the European cultures which hid behind the bible in an attempt to undermine the indigenous African traditions and cultures. One of such examples was the breakaway of Lotin Same, who founded the Native Baptist Church and who contrary to Alfred Saker, accepts polygamy and members who belong to some secret African traditional organizations (United Nations, 1948, p. 42). Secondly, both small and great businesses faced protests on working conditions, salaries and lodgments for employees who claimed their rights for the better. The rise of trade unions was inescapable and before long, though nourished in blood and a massive loss of lives, the locals were looking at their colonial masters' eye balls to eye balls. It did not end there and as though following a sequence, the civic awareness begat political goals and ambitions, and of course, though the thought of self-determination had been always suppressed or brutally crushed by the colonial powers, tempers had reached boiling point whereby they exploded with the formation of a huge number of political parties. Ngwane (2014, pp.103-116) noted

that the undeniable expectation of these parties was independence and at this time, there was no turning back.

In French speaking Cameroon, some of the Political parties included Union des populations du Cameroon (UPC), Parti Democrat (PD), Paysans Independants (PI), Union Camerounaise (UC), all of French Cameroon (The United Nations Publications, 1948, p. 42).

In British Cameroon, the political parties were Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC), Cameroon National Federation (CNF), French Cameroon Welfare Union (FCWU), Kamerun National Congress (KCC), Kamerun United Party (KUP) and the One Kamerun (OK) which replaced the UPC when the latter was banned (Nzembayie and Kisito, 2008).

As earlier mentioned though the political parties might have had divergent goals and objectives or sought to follow very antagonistic paths in order to achieve their political aims, the big picture was unanimously the same, secession and independence from colonial rule.

There exists a strong point to note about the political attitudes of the two Cameroons which still thrives until now. In French Cameroon, the UPC (Union des Parties Camerounais) party was very radical in its approach and was very determined to end up with the French and their stay once and for all. Founded by Felix Roland Moumie on the 10th of April, 1947 and assisted by Um Nyobe and Ernest Wandji the last ferocious leader, this party fought the French on all grounds. That is both in the political, economic and military grounds. And speaking about the military grounds, they preferred not to face the conventional army of France and its Cameroonians affiliates but resorted to kidnappings, and the beheadings of their victims. This created a wild atmosphere of panic in French speaking Cameroon which ended up labeling the party as a terrorist organization. That was one of the very first African organizations to be tagged not only an extremist group but a terrorist organization at a time when the word, terrorism, was not even popular or generally known to signify anything very threatening.

Meanwhile, their British Cameroon counterparts who were massively repressed by Igbo Nigerians who had infiltrated their territory found a reason to press for independence. The British had shared the Northern and Southern parts of Cameroon into two different administrations. The Northern part was administered by the Northern House of Representatives of Nigeria while the Southern part was

administered by the Eastern House of Assembly in Enugu. The English speaking Cameroonian elites on their part chose to gain their independence through the ‘force of argument’. Until today, that has remained the fundamental political approach and propaganda of all Southern Cameroonian politicians who distance themselves from the use of arms and force to achieve their goals. With the force of argument the English speaking Southern Cameroonians were able to negotiate their independence beginning from Lagos to Enugu to London and back to Buea its designated capital as an independent state (Martin and Njeuma, 2009, pp. 141-150). The British Northern Cameroonians used the same strategy to join Nigeria in a 1961 Plebiscite. The current Cameroon crisis between the Anglophones and the Francophone Biya regime, suggests that the differences in their culture, language, educational and judicial systems prevents them from sharing the same territorial niche. Hence, this favors the thesis of either a federation as it was before the reunification in 1961 or outright independence of the British Southern Cameroonians.

3.2.41960 Independence of French Cameroon

The fearless but rather bloody approach of the UPC might have distanced it from the central government in Yaoundé as well as from their French sympathizers but as its said, ‘One man’s poison is another man’s medicine’, gave some smaller parties which were not as radical and strong as the UPC party the advantage to play the under tunnel politics in order to achieve their goals. Achieving their goals for the total liberation of the masses was an imperative at the time and was a good idea and an initiative worth saluting. Nonetheless, the point of particular interest was the route taken to acquire this independence and until now that is what pains every student and observer of Cameroon politics and history. It is as a result of these smaller parties that sabotaged the war of independence that the UPC party championed and pioneered, that the famous ‘France-Afrique’ or ‘France-African’ relations was formed (O’Sullivan, 1972, pp. 53-69).

Andre Marie Mbida a very educated man from French Cameroon was able to lead his party *Democrates Cameroonias Partie* (DCP), Cameroon Democratic Party (CDP) to victory in 1958 becoming the First Prime Minister of French speaking Cameroon. He soon fell out of grace and France immediately replaced him with *Amadou Ahidjo of the Union Camerounaise* (UC), Cameroon Union (CU) (Awason, 2002, pp. 3-30) that led the country to its independence on the 1st of January, 1960. The latter

ruled Cameroon for twenty-two years until his resignation from power in November 4th, 1982.

3.2.5 The Independence of English Cameroon or West Cameroon and the 1961 Plebiscite

The English speaking part of Cameroon had been a British mandated territory since 1919 and after it was officially handed to Britain in 1922 by the League of Nations. However, in 1960 Britain imposed a strong demand on this territory which it promised independence either by joining Nigeria or French speaking Cameroon. Ebi (2008, pp. 1-108) argues that this demand more of a scandalous one, made by Britain in complicity with some powers at the Security Council that overran the vote for the Southern and Northern Cameroon independence was very consequential to the young energetic state. Secondly, the demand was tough because it was the bedrock for the separation of the two administrative parts of the British mandated territory, i.e. the Southern and Northern Cameroons respectively that were joined to two different Nigerian houses of parliament. Though Britain granted a cosmetic independence to Southern Cameroon on October 1st, 1961, Plebiscite on 11th of February, 1961 was still detrimental to the union and stability of the mandated territory because the Northern part decided to gain independence by joining Nigeria while the Southern part decided to gain independence by joining French speaking Cameroon. Eventually, following the agreements that had been made and the constitution that followed after the 1961 Foumban Conference, Cameroon became the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Njeuma (1995, pp. 27-37) noted that only a few years after 1961 reunification, many cracks were noticed in the union and pressure groups asking for secession and the full restoration of the Republic of Southern Cameroon emerged. The pressure gained heights when in 1994 the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) was created. The organization was immediately banned in the Republic of Cameroon and most of its members were either jailed arbitrarily or disappeared forever.

3.2.6 1972 Unification

After the 1961 Plebiscite which reunified the two Cameroons under one national territory though with separate judicial, cultural, and language cultures and administrations, there was according to some politicians a need to dissolve a wall

that it had come with. The constitution that was adopted after the 1961 Founban Conference which stated the nature of the modern Federal Cameroon State, stated clearly that the nation was going to function or run in a Federal System whereby the Anglophones will be in control of their own section, and will be responsible to manage their resources. However, the presidency will rotate between the Cameroonians of the French and English expressions. More so, both federations will have equal status and will be equally represented under the law. Unfortunately, the constitution was not respected as the Late Alhadji Amadou Ahidjo who was the First President of the French speaking Cameroon and eventually the first president of the Federal and later the United Republic of Cameroon was able to assimilate the English speaking minority and hence dissolve their economic generating factors through a well-planned referendum which blackmailed the Anglophones to accept the terms without their fair knowledge. The reason for this was simple, Ahidjo having sponsored geological research which found oil in the English speaking part of Cameroon, had proven the British wrong who thought that the English speaking Cameroons were poor in everything and thus, lacked the capacity to self-determination. Very quick the Anglophones were assimilated and not very long they had been relegated to second class citizens. Thus, shaming what is written in the 1961 constitution. This was one of the origins of the Anglophone problem which is erupting today.

The 20th May, 1972 Referendum was organized by the government of Cameroon but was monitored by both the African Union and the UN. The idea was to overcome the federal nature of the country which according to the politicians of that time prevented national growth, development and integration. The rise of the extremist groups in East Cameroon or French speaking Cameroon which sought for the total independence of Cameroon from both the French and British, somewhat patronized the fright of the politicians in that region. This is because at the time they could not pursue the extremists to the English speaking part because though in a federal system, West or English speaking Cameroon controlled its territory and its Common law judiciary system did and still does not permit arbitrary arrests of any kind.

The results of the referendum were in favor of Unification and as from that day the name of Cameroon changed again from the Federal Republic of Cameroon which it adopted after the 11th of February, 1961 Plebiscite to the United Republic of Cameroon. To say that the problems which the top ranking diplomats and politicians

foresaw to overcome were overcome after this exercise will be likened to throw gold in the hands of Swine. The two Cameroons never remained equal in any way. Instead, the English speaking Cameroonians moved into a well nurtured plan of oppression, marginalization, subjugation, etc. The recent uprisings from the Anglophone minority after President Biya in his 2016 end of year speech just like his minister of communication and spokesperson of the government, Issa Tchiroma Bakari, called them an insignificant minority and terrorists, has paved way for secessionist demands.

3.2.7 Power transition and the 1984 Failed Coup

His Excellency the late Alhadji Amadou Ahidjo was the first president of the Federal and later United Republic of Cameroon serving the country for over twenty-two years with an iron fist under a one party system, the Cameroon Union or Union Camerounaise (CU). Ahidjo had ruled the country since its independence but was very careful to modify the constitution which earlier stated that the Speaker of the National Assembly was the constitutional replacement of the president in case of any eventuality. At that time Solomon Tande Muna, one of the few Anglophone elites was the speaker of the national Assembly and the constitutional replacement of the president of the Republic. Very quickly, the new 1975 and 1979 constitutions stated that the Prime Minister and Head of Government was the *defacto* replacement of the president of the Republic in case of any mishap. This change of the constitution was a deliberate attempt to deny the full actualization of the stipulated power transition enshrined in the 1961 constitution when the two Cameroons became one stating that power had to rotate between the elites of the two Cameroons. By making the Prime Minister the *defacto* President, Paul Biya, who at the time was Prime Minister of the Republic and Secretary General at the Presidency of the Republic had just been declared the next successor of Amadou Ahidjo. Gwaibi (2015, pp. 52-73) writes that the constitutional amendment of 1975 which created the position of a Prime Minister as opposed to the 1961 federal constitution which had in it the position of a vice president was a great master mind of evil against the Anglophone minority by whom powers could alternate in due time. In addition, there was another constitutional amendment in 1979 which gave the Prime Minister power to succeed the president in case of a coup, death or resignation. By this act, the deal was sealed meaning for a long time; an Anglophone could never become president of the Republic of

Cameroon. Nyamjoh (1997, pp. 207-229) witnessed that these constitutional disrespects were just paving way for an eruption due to come from the Anglophone minority and it was only a matter of time for it to take over the entire country by storm. Today, that has become reality and a real security threat of not only Cameroon but of the entire region. The stakes are very high. International Crisis Group (2017) explains that the poor management of resources and the very incompetent crisis management attendants of the state have arrogantly watched the situation degenerate to what it is today. And despite the government's efforts to propose a cosmetic and hypocritical solution to the Anglophone problem the disgruntled citizens remain resolute to their agenda.

Despite the Anglophones crying foul and calling for a return to the 1961 state of Cameroon, the strong francophone elites in government had by this time maimed the constitution and were ready at anything to maintain their privileged position. After all, as they always say "we are the majority".

It was at 10 am on Thursday, 6th November, 1982 that President Ahidjo who had just completed Africa's best presidential palace, the Unity Palace of Etoudi, (ranked best two conservative times) and who did not spend a night in it, resigned from power after his doctors alleged he was terminally ill and could die in power. Fearing the nation could be torn apart upon his departure, he fell prey to the trick and French cooked advices of his advisors who asked him to hand over power to a young, youthful, handsome and very educated elite of the South Region of the country, Paul Barthélemy Biya Mvondo, the incumbent president of the Republic of Cameroon. The arrival of Paul Biya to power in 1982 promised many things to distressed youths who under Ahidjo, lived in a living hell. However, many hope were to be shattered in the coming months after his becoming president when Cameroon was ranked the most corrupt country on earth in 1984 (Martin, 2012, pp. 133-136).

However, Ahidjo upon handing over power to Paul Biya did not climb down from the executive ranks of the party. He retained his position as the National Chairman of the Cameroon Union which meant he still had the same powers as Head of State and could eventually fire the incumbent Head of State from power in case of any misconduct.

Both men initially agreed to always consult each other on matters concerning the nation and for some time it went on like that until the nation became too small for two presidents. The eruption between the two men did not only end between them

but became a tribal and regional war. Ahidjo was a man from the North and Biya a man from the South. The Betis who had always envied the Muslim North for the hegemony they enjoyed when their son, President Amadou Ahidjo, was president were not ready at this time to let go of this power. The likes of this led to the attempted coup allegedly organized by President Ahidjo in 1984 who aimed to seize power from President Biya. Takougan (2003, pp. 421-435) is of the opinion that some historians hold that in 1983 a Cameroon that was doing so fine economically when Ahidjo resigned from power had suddenly been ranked amongst the heavily indebted poor countries under Paul Biya. President Ahidjo among other things could not take this mighty blow and tried his way back to the palace with the few supporters he had left. Alas, his attempts were all fruitless and the end result is that he was exiled to France and latter to Senegal where he later died of a heart attack in 1989. President Biya and no Cameroonian diplomat attended the funeral and burial. He was buried in Senegal by the Senegalese authorities and until date, his remains are still to be repatriated back home.

3.2.81990 uprising and the birth of multiparty

Before President Paul Biya took power his predecessor, Amadou Ahidjo ruled the country for over twenty-two years with his one party system. Paul Biya who inherited the seat in 1982 thought to continue with the same plan though he quickly changed the name of the party from the Cameroon Union to the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) which was founded in 1985 in Bamenda, the North West Region and one of the two English speaking regions of Cameroon. It could be said that the failed coup of 1984 prompted him to come up with another political party and ideology in that way cutting off all ties with his predecessor who still roared like a roaring Lion looking for the slightest opening to penetrate. Jua (2001, pp.37-42) questioned the veracity of the new party created in 1985 in Bamenda. Though many blinded by the game thought it to be a show of good regionalism, the experts in the circle knew the game plan. The Beti and Biya clan was just playing its tricks on the masses and whoever did not like it could as well go to hell.

Despite the change of the name of the political party, slogan, and collaborators, the political nature of the country did not change for the better. Things continued in the same way as President Ahidjo had left. The one party system, that Biya met and embraced continued to do more harm than good to nation building and integration.

Corruption loomed high and freedom of speech fled in the face of the 1982 oath swearing sermon at the National Assembly.

Ngwane (2014, pp. 103-116), one of the remnants Pan-Africanist classified Cameroon's political history thus: The first period was total dependence on the colonial powers which lasted from 1884 to 1945. At this time, Cameroonians had no representative institutions. As such they received everything they were given by their colonial masters. The second period was from 1945 to 1960-61 during which Cameroonians passed their apprenticeship to democracy. The third period started in 1960 beginning with the proclamation of independence of French speaking Cameroon gained its independence in 1960 and English speaking Cameroon in 1961. These events were also marked by the reunification of the two Cameroons in 1961 and the fourth period was in 1972 when by a referendum the Federal Republic of Cameroon became a United Republic and Amadou Ahidjo the president then, qualified it as a 'peaceful revolution' (Ngwane, 2014, pp. 103-116 cited Sobseh, 2012, p.88). The current political drama in Cameroon is a begotten seed of these four periods and unfortunately, the head of state and his cabinet have been unable to handle this cautiously.

Ngwane (2014, pp. 103-116) examining the adventures of opposition parties in Cameroon, recounts the history of its origin which debuted in 1989 in the North West Region. A devote and very fearless man from the North West Region of Cameroon called John Fru Ndi founded Cameroon's first opposition party called the Social Democratic Front (SDF) which sought to stabilize the unequal political deadlock that had held Cameroon for decades. The circumstances that surrounded the exchanges that the members of this party or even their sympathizers suffered the government remain unforgotten in the hearts of many Cameroonians. Many lost their lives either directly or indirectly. As always many arbitrary arrests and extrajudicial killings were done as the papers reported. By 1990, things had worsened in the country especially with the broadcast of the program called Cameroon Calling, which is a one hour thirty minute program that addresses a wide range of very critical issues such as political, social, cultural and in fact daily life in Cameroon (CRTV, 2017). As the nation moved towards the 1992 presidential elections, things got even tighter because the regime in power was not ready to accept any multiparty. But the resilience of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) party is the reason why many other parties cropped up and in no time there were already more than three hundred

political parties in the country though many were either unregistered or unrecognized. In all, the SDF led just like it still does today. Expert analysis reports that more than half of the entire nation stood for the SDF party including those from the very region and village of the president. The corruption and poverty and worse of all the 1992 devaluation of the CFA franc (Franc CFA) that overtook a one-time African economic power was lamentable. In fact, when Cameroonians think that under president Ahidjo Cameroon used to grant aids to Malaysia they ask themselves what happened between then and now considering that Malaysia today is about thirty years ahead of Cameroon. Bellucci (2000, pp. 399-421) believes that the devaluation of the CFA franc threw all the member countries in a dilemma of either dependency or short sovereignty. Until now, many academicians have awoken up to stage a fight against the small oligarchy within the African elite who benefit from this wickedness at the expense of their people and at the same time, it is a strong message to the imperialist France that their days are numbered. Although, the government finally recognized the SDF as the leading opposition party in the country, the promise for democracy in Cameroon today still flies away in the face of logic.

4. DOMESTIC SECURITY CHALLENGES TO CAMEROON

This chapter will discuss various domestic threats Cameroon faces and some of them are political, economic, military, environmental and human threats. For the sake of space, societal threats were inserted into environmental threats.

4.1 Political threats

The very first and most daring political threat that Cameroon has had was the 1984 attempted coup by the alleged Late El Hadj Amadou Ahidjo. The latter was tricked by a French backed lie to relinquish power to his Prime Minister and head of government, Paul Barthélemy Biya Mvondo. When things went so wrong between them seconded by Cameroon's corruption records that beat international records making it the most corrupt country in the world in 1983, Ahidjo decided to come back for his power. The few loyalist soldiers who stood by him took down most of the nation's capital but failed to gain the total control of the entire country. Unfortunately, the coup failed and Ahidjo was forced to go on exile firstly, to France and then to Senegal where he later died of a heart attack in 1989. His body has not been repatriated to Cameroon since then.

4.1.1 Political ideology

After independence of the two Cameroon's it must be said that both countries then had separate political ideologies which were highly influenced by the cultures of their colonial masters. In French Cameroon as it is the case with most other French speaking countries, the leaders were French puppets who were put in power when the people over demanded independence. Le Vine (1968, pp. 211-224) indicates that no African country is actually independent. Seeking to satisfy the demands of the United Nations to help the people become self-determined, France cooked a sarcastic document of independence but remains head of the education, defense and economy of its former colonies. On that note, most African countries in complicity with a few apathetic ruling elite live a hell. However, the puppets were there to serve the

interests of their colonial masters first, and maybe those of their citizens last. Whereas in West English speaking Cameroon like it was also the case with other English speaking countries, a system of democracy was put in place. Before unification in 1972, the Republic of Southern Cameroon had had over four prime ministers who were democratically elected all serving a four years mandate. At the same time the Republic of French Cameroon still had its one and only president who eventually became the president of the two Cameroon's after that perilous 20th of May, 1972 referendum.

Upon unification in 1972 the country's leaders jointly chose the political ideology of democracy by which the country must march to its glorious future, a one which at the time was already oblique seeing that the 1961 Federal Constitution was heavily compromised.

Gerring (1997, pp. 957-994), defined ideology as a dominant mode of thought and as such every country based on their resources and other important factors must choose their ideology which over time must work best for them. The Brazilians learnt the bitter lesson from many coups and finally settled for democracy in 1988. Ghana also after so many military coups finally confided its destiny to democracy in 1992 by a referendum.

It is argued by federalists though distant by independents that power must rotate that is between the Anglophone and Francophone. However, that has never been the case because only the Francophone have been in power since 1961 and any Anglophone who dreams of ruling the nation must be ready for the worst, death or sent on exile if lucky. Cameroon practices the presidential system whereby the president of the republic appoints the prime minister who is supposedly the head of government. Nonetheless, which is only applied on paper because the president is still the one who appoints all the ministers, the generals, top general directors, managers, ambassadors, etc. The prime minister therefore, an Anglophone, holds a subjective position. Sadly, reports say that he ranks fifth in the government instead of second (Awason, 2002, pp. 425-459). The 1996 constitution creating the position of the senate imposed thus, delimiting the Prime Minister and eroding any hopes that someday an Anglophone will democratically become president. Mindful of the fact that all the top executive and administrative positions are occupied by the francophone who enjoy their sunbath on the side of the law and a constitution which

they can change and modify at any time; this suits their interests and longevity in power.

Cameroon in contrast to other democratically practicing countries has long preached to be a democratic state as that is the political ideology it chose. Shamefully, its one party system persisted from the Ahidjo era to the Biya era until the angry Anglophone minority brought in multiparty through sweat and blood in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Although there are over two hundred political parties in Cameroon, mostly in the Francophone region of the country, with each aiming for power in every election, the majority end up selling their votes to the ruling Cameroon People's Democratic Party (CPDM) in exchange for governmental and other ministerial positions. Krieger (1994, pp. 605-628) scorns at the democratic path undertaken by Cameroon and thinks it is the biggest sham ever on political practice. In a large extent, the single party system still thrives since most political parties are actually supermarkets that harvest free votes from the electorate and in return sell them for a high price to the regime. For the last twenty-five years, that has been Cameroon's definition of democracy.

4.1.2 Effectiveness and legitimacy of the government and institutions

How effective Cameroon's institutions have been is a strong controversial discourse among Cameroonians across the Mungo. The great retard in infrastructural development and their capacity to attract the quickest attention for the wrong reasons to pressing issues like health, transport, and education dismisses every thought of an effective government. Although Cameroon must be praised to have successfully eradicated Small Pox and to having made the Polio vaccine very accessible and free, there remains so much to do and if compared on a scale of success against failure, the research is afraid to note that the result must persistently be apparent, failure on many things. Summarily, Cameroon has been a successful failure on its path to sustainable development, economic development, security management and even in diplomacy. Grier et al. (2006, pp. 35-46) thinks that just maybe the gangrenes of colonialism have eaten up the entire political and biological machinery of the ruling elite, or maybe it is just gross wickedness such that they suffer schizophrenia of developmental foresight.

The first factor that has weakened the effectiveness of the regime is its complete dependence on the West for almost everything. The production capacity of

Cameroon if compared to its importing ability is relatively sparse. Even the president and his ministers trust the western hospitals more than their local hospitals. That is why the government does not spend much to build modern and world class hospitals because the ruling elite, the oligarchy, can always travel out of the country at will for medical visits while the poor masses die to their peril.

Before discussing the effectiveness and legitimacy of Cameroon's institutions it must be wise to mention Roskin (2012, pp. 234-238), who argues that an institution must have a structure, organism of politics, must be able to create law and must be able to implement the law. The institution as Plato argued must be capable of solving societal problems (inputs) by forwarding solutions (output) to the general society which are aimed at making the society better (Roskin, 2012, pp. 241-244). The effectiveness of Cameroon's institutions therefore, remains very oblique at this time especially because Cameroon has hit the records as the world's most corrupt nation more than once. A position it has contested tirelessly with Nigeria. Moreover, incompetent people are appointed to positions they either know nothing or very little about. The underlying fruit of this is the same old fable, corruption, which continues to eat through every vein and muscle of Cameroon's political economy. Herzfeld and Weiss (2003, pp. 159-194) noted that 'an effective legal system has been viewed as a key component in reducing corruption' (Herzfeld and Weiss, 2003, pp. 621-632) which is unfortunately not the case with Cameroon. In 2001, Urbain Olanguen Awono, a specialist of law and economy was appointed minister of health. Having no experience in the health sector he spent more than five years in the ministry still trying to figure out what to do to ameliorate the health conditions of Cameroonians. The result at the end was obvious; he embezzled more than one hundred and fifty billion francs CFA (\$300 million) which would have solved many health hells such as building new hospitals and renovating old ones. Today he is in prison but the money has never been retrieved. This has been the case with many of Cameroon's ministries and other top political institutions where people hold top positions not because of their competence in the field but because of who they know. Baran (2000, pp. 127-146) asserts that the corruption is a major challenge to Turkey and Turks complain of a similar problem in their country but if one were to compare Turkey and Cameroon, Africa in miniature; one will realize that Turkey beats Cameroon in almost everything.

The resulting consequence of this has been unrectified in delimiting the institutions as well as dump founding their legitimacy. Cameroonians today believe less in their political institutions as well as their leaders. Roskin (2012, pp. 38-58) defines the word legitimacy as meaning the rightful king or queen was on the throne by the reason of their birth. This simply means practicing meritocracy in the right meaning of the word without fear or favor. Hammers (2012, pp. 279-308) believes that the practice of meritocracy leads to empirical accountability and seriousness in handling responsibilities. Moreover, it is a great asset for societal building. If the right to hold a particular position has moved to become a highly psychological thing it means that the capacity to deliver the right goods in record time as expected remains a sham to all political leaders and power brokers of Cameroon. The massive civil disobedience in the two English speaking regions of Cameroon at this time is eloquent testimony that the people in these two regions view the government and its institutions as dirty, not legitimate, incompetent and dishonest.

4.1.3 Tribalism and nepotism

One of the causes of social unrest and civil wars as it was seen in the former Yugoslavia Republic, The Central African Republic, Rwanda, Somalia, Chad Republic and Congo is the result of an unequal distribution of the national cake. The prime factor for this is the highly heterogeneous society which is not bad on its own but the practice of man-know-man politics by the elites in power. The ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995) and the genocide in Rwanda in 1993 all attest to this fact. Unfortunately, this has been the political, social and economic practice of Cameroon under Paul Biya since 1982. It is who you know that determines what you get and what you become in the society. What you know is useless until you give something in exchange for it whether in cash or in kind.

When Paul Biya came to power in 1982 amid the great expectations that were on him he was firstly, able to destroy the dominant power of the North who enjoyed every good thing when their son, Amadou Ahidjo, was president of the republic. Thus, the golden era of the northerners had passed and it was now time for the southerners, precisely, the Beties. Fokwang (2010, pp. 125-141) believes that the heavy and unrepentant practice of nepotism has generated a strong resentment for kind in Cameroon as well as deepened sectarianism. With these many dissensions in the country, it is very unthought-of how development already impeded, can play through

the many boisterous pot holes of interpersonal interaction and yet, deliver the goods expected in record time. Many thought that the coming of a youth and an intellectual will bring about the equitable distribution of national resources and benefits. Alas, they were very mistaken. In the same light, he founded his own clan called the Biya Clan whereby ninety percent of all government positions and ministries are reserved only for his tribe's men. The Betie tribe of the incumbent president has been on the game since then and the Lion's share of every developmental project or job appointments has been theirs and continuously remains theirs.

The nepotism driven government has created what some intellectuals call culture brokers. Schwei (2013, pp. 2-48), puts it even better that 'these culture brokers have shaped the politics of identity negotiation in Cameroon around two issues: fair access to state resources along presumably ethnic lines and protection by each group of its share of the national pie from more politically aggressive ethnic groups. In this context, identity negotiation follows an integrative approach that provides culture brokers, turned political entrepreneurs, with open options and flexible positions to address the issues' (Monga, 2001, pp. 199-228). It is well known in Cameroon that particular governmental positions belong to a particular tribe or clan, so, for a citizen of another tribe to have access to either of those positions, the bureaucratic ladders involved are debilitating. Entrance into the Higher Institute of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM), Cameroon Inter Military Academy (EMIA), International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), Higher National Teachers Training Institute (ENS) is reserved only for man-know-man business and before the entrance exams are announced the tribes in power already have their lists of successful candidates. Everyone knows this and so no one cares to argue. Many most times try those entrance exams just to satisfy all righteousness not because they believe they will pass. Nonetheless, many do pass the written parts but fail at the level of the interview because of either their tribe, or because they did not have a godfather or because they did not come with an envelope. There is this famous question in most government job interviews as "who sent you or who do you have?"

For those who have no particular tribe's man up there, the only way out could mean a huge envelope whose arrival at destination is not a surety. Sexually attractive women understand the basic requirement to pass if an envelope is absent. Checka (1996, pp. 41-46) laments that this practice has developed the low esteem for women's rights in Cameroon and has created a routine trend for the continuous "disempowerment of

the woman in Cameroon”. The same trend follows the treatment of documents at all the levels of the state whereby documents are known to only go fast and far depending on who knows who and who gave what. Tosam (2015, pp. 1-11) observed that corruption, tribalism and administrative laxity are sometimes responsible for the selective treatment of dossiers. Government’s anti-corruption efforts to fight nepotism and tribalism until now remain void and null. Almost every sector including the police is not free. Mua (2015) noted that cronyism, nepotism, favoritism and tribalism are very common in the delivery of police services. For a country that hopes to be an emerging economy by 2035 many wonder about the veracity of that dream because the aforementioned ills despicably render it a farce.

This example might nail the issue right into its head. On 22th February, 2017, the government launched a recruitment exercise to recruit technicians and engineers for the installation of solar panels in line with the country’s plans to take unto the new technology. The results of the recruitment were obvious, only the candidates of the Betie clan were successful in the ghost recruitment. It is lamentable to note that a country that preaches free and fair opportunities for everyone, meritocracy and the one and only stinking sermon of regional integration, only the Beti’s who are the ruling clan were recruited for the exercise. The Minister of Water and Energy Resources, Basil Atangana Kouna, an elite from the clan, was able to cook up a story to justify the reason whether the entire nation liked it or not.

4.1.4 Occult connections

The growth and propagation of occult and mystical practices in African countries continues to amaze on lookers who are gripped with fear. Many worry so much that none can become anything anymore in their respective countries unless they belong to a brotherhood somewhere. As such, it can be summarized that this policy option of the regimes is a collective violence and an organized crime against their citizens. Thus, the government at this stage is the political threat to the nation because it kills patriotism and sends all political aspirants who dream of serving their nation migrating to other safe heavens. More so, those who refute this depleting leadership style are seriously ridiculed and chased away from the social circle.

In neighboring Gabon there exists the Grand Lodge of Gabon and the Grand Equatorial Rite which were founded in 1983 by the Late Omar Bongo, former president of the Republic of Gabon. His son Ali Bongo Ondimba who succeeded him

in 2009 and who at the time was the assistant finally ascended the ladder to become the overall head following his ordination in November 2009 by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of France. Dassie (2009), reports that about one thousand influential politicians in Gabon are members of the cult. Secondly, no one can hold any particular position in the country unless he adheres to one of the two lodges that is the Grand Lodge of Gabon or the Grand Equatorial Rite. In conjunction, Dassier (2009), reports that to gain Bongo's trust, a politician was expected to adhere to at least one of the two orders and those who failed to do that were either banished from the government or were badly ridiculed.

If such is the case with neighboring Gabon and Congo all boarded to the South of Cameroon then the case could be no different in Cameroon. Investigative journalists continue to report a sporadic increase of occult practices especially at the high levels of the state. The Bastos and Mvolie neighborhoods in Yaoundé, the capital city of Cameroon, which are close to the presidency are known to be one of the great centers of great occult societies to which most top diplomats and civil servants as well as other stake holders belong. Dousset (2015, pp. 161-180) writes that a similar situation happens in Vanuatu whereby, sorcery, magic, poisoning has become a means of "self-positioning" while at the same time eliminating one's opponents.

In 1992 and in the years that followed, Daniel Ebale Angounou, now on exile, published the famous book "Biya's Blood Power Lotion" where he insisted that Cameroon is an occult empire. He continued that some of the things people do for power are unthinkably calamitous to the hearing. But as it is said power has a rational price and only those who can pay the price go for it. Centralizing his book more on the incumbent president of the republic, Paul Biya, he seeks to explain how the latter used devilish and other related mundane powers to drive away his predecessor, El Hadj Amadou Ahidjo. Secondly, he continues his explanation how he went on to consult gurus who advised him on many things including some unthinkable practices which were meant to provide him with all sorts of metaphysical and other esoteric related powers. Until today all young generations are warned by their elders concerning the aforementioned book which remains outlawed in Cameroon though its circulation has not been stopped on the internet. Anyone in Cameroon caught with the book or heard discussing it in public knows the punishment reserved for him. Messaki (1995, pp. 162-177) thinks that the evolution of these practices in 'post-colonial' Africa has become so advanced that success in

modern terms is blink if devoid of magic. Furthermore, every good deed is asserted to have a direct link or connotation to one's affiliation to the organizations or to the practice of certain mundane acts of lower liber.

While some might have considered the publication of Daniel Angoumou as mere speculations probably oriented for political or other economic related reasons, his book and his reputation were rescued by another publication this time from an insider of the regime. In 2012, a book with an earthquake effect was published by Titus Edzoa who was the former private physician to the head of state, former secretary general at the presidency of the republic, former minister of public health, and former presidential aspirant for the 1997 presidential elections. When the latter expressed his dreams of contesting for the 1997 presidential elections he was accused of embezzlement and the misappropriation of state funds. Consequently, he was condemned to fifteen years in prison. In his 155 page book titled '*Meditations en Prison–Echos de mes Silences*' (Prison Meditations–Echoes of My Silence)', he reveals the scandalous satanic practices that have taken the Cameroonian presidential palace hostage. He continued that the political practitioners of Cameroon are made up of blood hungry and thirsty individuals who will do anything to keep their power as well as amass more wealth and other fancy mundane things. Furthermore, the perpetrators of these occult practices literally eat human flesh and drink human blood as well as practice homosexuality, bestiality, pedophilia and even offer up their loved ones to their occult masters as a sign of loyalty and unbiased affiliation to the organization. He pictures with disgust that none therefore, or almost no one who either does not belong to this organization or who does not practice these things might ever ascend to those high levels in government. In a paraphrase, those with pure hands do not stand a chance because the tides up there are too high for the ordinary. In his own words he says 'the Government of President Biya is full of people who practice occultism' (Fozo, 2012 cited Edzoa, 2012).

Belonging to an occult group does not suffice because coupled to it are perilous demands and other related activities that are autocratically requested from members. Jaide (2009, pp. 2-8) puts it better in his own words as "while the vast majority of the members are on the first three rungs of the 33-level hierarchy and have no idea of the hidden agenda, they take a pledge of allegiance "to the society above all else." Reports from renowned journalists claim that most top politicians also practice homosexuality and lesbianism as a means to an end. The reason could be to either

keep their job or have a new and higher one. Thus, homosexuality and lesbianism, bestiality and pedophilia though seriously sanctioned by law, go hand in gloves with the practice of occultism. It has been said that some powers might not be acquired by the occult practitioner unless they divulge into such acts be they in public or in private. Homosexuality, therefore, in a country whose laws are strictly against it is becoming one of the strongest routes to government positions though behind closed doors. Chia (2009, p. 4) recounts that a teenager was found dead who was reportedly thrown off the high floors of a renowned hotel in Cameroon after moments of top homosexual activity. The investigations that followed after the murder revealed that the room was booked by a top government official who left off without paying for the room (Chia, 2009, p. 4) but the case went nowhere. These and many other reports go hand in gloves to show what a so-called emerging economy by 2035 is becoming in a world where other countries are moving forward to better the lives of their citizens. With all the derogatory practices and power these insane politicians amass it does not benefit the ordinary Cameroonians. Instead, Cameroon continues to regress and as of now according to the World Bank updated reports of 2016 Cameroon occupies the rear 172 out of 192 position among the most economically developed countries.

Many from childhood have wondered over the years about the names Mokoagne and Famla but never understood what they meant until recently. There exist with the Bamileke clan of the Western Regions of the country some formidable traditional secret societies called Mokoagne and Famla which are not very different from Evu practiced in the South Region of Cameroon and in some parts of Gabon and Congo, whereby initiates or members are charged to sell family relations or use them for rituals in exchange for wealth and power in any domain of their endeavors. These practices have grown so much so that anyone from that clan who prospers is strongly suspected of being a member of the said secret societies.

Many go to these sects or accept sodomy not because they inherently chose that way of life but as a result of the enormous pressure from the social bias, marginalization and unemployment they have either suffered or fear to suffer as well as other pressures that might be imposed on them. In conjunction, Jaide (2009, pp. 2-8) follows that “most initiates are willing to do this because of the temptation of power, wealth and knowledge which (are) hard to refuse”. The vibrant and dynamic youths

of the country full of potentials for nation building have been reduced to nothing but day dreamers and beggars.

The growing social dilemma of ritual crimes that Cameroon experiences at this time suggests that only members of these cults be they Freemasonry, Rose Cross, Knight Templers, Scottish Rite, Evu, Mokoagne and Famla could be directly involved. In 2013, a serious pandemic of ritual crimes broke out in neighboring Gabon where lifeless human bodies were found without their vital organs or genitals. The wave of panic and unrest this generated in the nation was such that the nation was classified by experts as the third in the world to carry out such practices. Investigations and experience from past occurrences revealed similar practices in Nigeria the mother bed of such practices where prior to elections, the rates of ritual crimes spontaneously increase. The reason is simply because many politicians go to sorcerers and other magical related bodies for powers and charms that will help them overpower their adversaries. At those times one of the best requirements for power and success is a human sacrifice and for those who are asked to provide human parts it is required that the parts are extracted from the victim while they are still alive. What a bad way to die in excruciating pain. The perpetrators of these acts are heartless and careless about the social disorder it may bring to the society. Serving the cult and maintaining their status quo is primordial to their survivor (Moluh 2006, pp. 207-226).

Fisiy (1998, pp. 143-163) reported that 18 bodies were found in Yaoundé, the capital city of Cameroon which had been mutilated. And they all belonged to girls aged from 16 to 26 years old. He continued that some traditional practitioners especially those who specialize in the outlawed black magic believe the ears, eyes, genitals, heads, and other parts possess special powers. Other occult individuals also believe in those organs lies the gate way to more power and wealth. In addition, further reports suggest that the organ(s) requested carry(s) more power and guarantee(s) more success when extracted while the victim is still alive.

4.1.4.1 Societal threat analysis

Societal threat analyses practices be they indigenous or exogenous that threatens the direct stability of the society. One of such practices is homosexuality which is increasingly being propagated by these regimes through their cults as the fundamental bases for recruitment and acceptance to most executive positions. The very first threat it poses to the society is that fundamental values and foundational

moral concepts of the society may be shunned away and replaced by the fast and easy way to make money or get fame. Secondly, the nation's educational objectives which aim at sending out excellent outputs back to the society may just crumble as many may devalue the need to work hard for any success envisaged since there is an alternative, occultism or homosexuality that does not value meritocracy or hard work. Moreover, most heterogeneous relationships are naturally mandated to procreate therefore, the rise of homosexual practices directly targets the family and promises a generation of citizens who will hold no regards for it. Kim (2003, pp. 207-309) believes that not only does homosexuality threaten our families; it also poses a threat to the entire nation as every day, homosexuals continuously ascend the ladders of the society. That is talking of the military, economy, clergy, and in politics. It is believed that if they are given the deliberate freedom to express their views, they might be able to overhaul the entire society for their personal and selfish benefits.

Thirdly, the continuous rise of ethnic tensions spanned by the select few Beti-Bulu mafias who have retained power for the past 36 years threatens the entire society. That is those who are not of this tribe are seen as nothing in the society and are even called dogs or swine.

It's worse for Anglophones who have to struggle with everything to speak French in order to get accepted. It has made it so sad that some Anglophones especially those who live in French zones prefer to only speak French in order to find a place in the society while leaving behind their Anglo-Saxon cultures. This shift creates an identity dilemma which is being used by the Anglophone separatists to forward their agenda for an independent Southern Cameroon. More so, the pressure this bestows on the entire mass of Anglophones creates strong polarity between the Leftists (from the French Cameroonian perspective) who believe that the constitution should be respected and the two official languages, English and French, should be applied in everyday life. Sadly, it paves way for extremists who will likely take it as a strong hold to expound on their separative agenda. On this note, there is social repulsion being felt by the locals of different clans who don't seem to fit in certain societies and think that the treatments given to them are very unfair. Boyart (1993, p. 38) had made it very clear that these power brokers who mediate between the ruling minority and the large underprivileged majority are creating more social tensions in every encounter. And for as long as this politics of corruption, occultism and

homosexuality is practiced, then the society might just completely fall in total fragmentation between those who are ready to accept it in order to earn their bread and those who will never give in to it for a mussel of bread.

4.1.5 The SCNC struggle and the Anglophone question

SCNC literally means Southern Cameroon National Council and it was founded in 1995 with younger participants forming the Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL). The reason was to form a formidable resistance against what is known as the illegal occupation, marginalization and the subjugation of the Anglophone minority of Cameroon as opposed to the 1961 Federal arrangement of unity. A close look at the Cameroon English and French National Anthem reveals that though both have the same rhythm, their lyrics are very different from the other. Research on the work suggests that Dr. Bernard Fonlon who wrote the English version of the anthem might have been motivated by the cracks he saw in the implementation of the 1961 plebiscite that reunified the two Cameroon's in a federal structure. The crooked political practitioners among others under the auspices of the then Amadou Ahidjo, might have helped him and many other enlightened Anglophone minds at the time to start losing faith in their new engagement with neighboring French Cameroon. The destruction of the Anglophone administrative system, economy, airports, hydroelectric potential, etc. was clear evidence that things were going to be worse than thought of. Konings et al. (1997, pp. 207-229) documents that the un-ended expectations of the Anglophones that things will get better someday as their blood sucking elites keep singing reached its untold impasse. Dreams have for so long been cut short and the hopes of the valiant trimmed to mere fantasies. The frustrations leveled from these could bring nothing less than well charged sentiments of hate and cries for secession.

Why Britain decided to sell off the English speaking Cameroonians to this modern slavery and torture might just be revealed some decades later. One of the reasons being they feared the independent British Southern Cameroons might tilt towards the Soviet Union which at the time was heavily involved in the cold war against the USA.

In 1984, when Paul Biya changed the name of Cameroon from the United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon or better translated '*La Republique Du Cameroun*', it was eloquent testimony that the Anglophone minority who by then

and until now occupy only a secondary position were further pushed down to their apparent rear gear. Thus, confirming their second class citizen position. Tempers rose sharply because it was largely opposed to the arrangement in 1961 that the two Cameroon's will live side by side with equal status and positions as well as share the national cake equally.

Cooke (1992, pp. 79-84) witnessed that arrogance and tyranny flock together. In addition, the reluctance of the government to handle the situation as well as heed to the many petitions that were fired to the Supreme Court and the United Nations by angry Anglophones, led to the formation of resistance groups such as the SCNC- Southern Cameroon National Council in 1995. Founding members of the association are reported to have been arbitrarily arrested, some were reportedly tortured, banished from the country, others were maimed and some killed in cold blood.

Worst of all that followed was the government's attempt to Franchophonize the Anglophone style of life or culture with the francophone style and the best way the government sought to do this was through assimilation. Francophone Cameroon practices civil law which it inherited from France its colonial master, while Anglophone Cameroon practices common law which it also inherited from Britain its colonial master. The two do not mix together. Hence, all of government's efforts to harmonize the two systems have met unflinching failures. They just don't go together. However, the government has remained resolute to find a way that will completely lead to the complete demise of the Anglophone system of education, language and the judiciary. This is one of the fundamental reasons for the social polarity between the Anglophones and the Biya regime in power. Secondly, French judges who do not know the Anglophone common law system and who do not speak a word in English are sent to the Anglophone courts while at the same time the government does all to employ very little of Anglophone judges who master the common law. Moreover, Francophone teachers who do not know English are sent to Anglophone schools to teach subjects in a language they do not speak while at the same time, very little Anglophones are employed by the government to teach in the language they understand. These and many more raised serious concerns which on many occasions pushed the people to call the government to order. Constant reminders have been made to the government that Cameroon by nature is a bilingual, bicultural and bi-judicial country. Therefore, there is a strong need for the government to respect the nature of the country work hard to maintain and promote

this cultural blessing which if properly harnessed, will take Cameroon higher towards the path of development in science, technology and in other areas of national growth.

Bareta (2017) reported that eight Anglophone pressure groups fighting the marginalization of Anglophone culture in general and Anglophone education in particular, have entered into a Memorandum of Understanding, MoU, to enable them confront their common enemy. Critics attest that the relentless efforts of the government to harmonize and hence, kill the Anglophone system of education and way of life, tops their policy agenda. Note that the 65% of Cameroon's GDP comes from the Anglophone section which is highly neglected, marginalized and forsaken. The union makes sense to the francophone because of the rich oil and other mineral resources found in the Anglophone sector. For that reason they are ready to kill or do whatever they can do to the Anglophones in order to maintain their pound of flesh. Therefore, the constant calls of the Anglophones to recognize their culture and the 1961 engagement frightens the francophone majority who think these Anglophones must be dealt with once and for all. That way, they will have the upper hand to use the resources anyway they like and none will be able to question their apathy and selfishness. Becker (1970, pp. 742-744) is of the opinion that despite the one sided politics the professional arrogance of the French majority and their elite, is eloquent testimony of their lack of trust in the national unity they so claim to build. At least that is only good for the cameras.

According to them it is also a good policy option to prevent any uprising as well as calls for secession. Their explanation forwarded by Fame Ndong, Minister of Higher Education, in their attempt to harmonize the system of education was that the government wants Anglophone students to have equal opportunities like their francophone counterparts. In effect what this means is that not only are the Anglophones inferior to the francophone but that their Anglo-Saxon system of education is not seen as worthy for job placements and other related benefits. To that effect there is a pressing need to completely assimilate the Anglophones into the francophone system thus, serving a last and decisive blow to the Anglophone identity which will in the short run, solve the problem of Cameroon being a bilingual country. One thing they forgot is that just because assimilation worked in France does not mean it will work in Cameroon because Cameroon is not France and vice versa.

Another important point to discuss about the Anglophone problem of Cameroon is its economic potential. Before the failed and tricked 1972 referendum where the Anglophones were duped to join French Cameroon, the Republic of Southern Cameroons was a highly democratic entity having had four prime ministers in a row. Secondly, the region had its own dam for hydroelectric potential, marketing board, banks which provided loans and other development related facilities to its citizens. Like every other nation, the state decided on its own curriculum and designed what was good for the academic needs of its students. That was however, not the case with French Cameroon whereby it is France that decided and reportedly still decides its curriculum until this day. Atangana (1997, pp. 83-111) blames this lack to French capitalism which is not devoid of some black-leg politicians who have organized themselves in a system of organized crime and collective violence against the state and its citizens. Similarly, the Southern Cameroonian judicial system was controlled by the state and all judicial branches of the government worked in synergy with the states goals and objectives. Having joined French Cameroon these all changed as its economic potentials were all destroyed including the Yoke hydroelectric dam, Marketing Board, Tiko Wharf, Airport in Tiko and the Nguti airstrip, etc.

Hence, everything had to come from Yaoundé which had both the first and the last words. The people who had been used to free and fair democratic elections had to put up with a one party dictatorship which has been in power since 1961 though with a different name. They have had to look up to Yaoundé for everything and worst of all they have had to beg for what is rightly theirs. After the depleting 1961 Plebiscite trouble had already started even before the 1972 referendum but the options for independence imposed by Britain limited the choices of the English Southern Cameroonians. Their history with Nigerians before that date was a night mare and consequently, most Southern Cameroonians were never going to accept to gain independence by joining Nigeria. No, not after the hell they went through when they were jointly administrated by the Eastern House of Representatives in Enugu, Nigeria.

In October 2016, teachers wrote a memorandum to the Head of State asking for reforms in the education sector. Top on the agenda was the transfer of all French speaking teachers from the Anglophone sector. Jua (2004, pp. 609-633) had earlier written about a radical sense of Anglophone nationalism that was rising as a result of the mismanagement of human resources. As usual, the government gave a deaf ear.

Similarly lawyers in a peaceful strike and march pass demonstration, sought to draw the attention of the government towards their marginalization in the judicial sector. In their memorandum, they asked the government to create a common law bench in the Supreme Court, a department of Common law in Cameroon's National School of Administration and Magistracy, which trains top ranking civil servants and magistrates. The response of the government to both the memoranda and the peaceful strike of the lawyers were brutal. Police used tear gases to disperse the lawyers and had many man-handled. Furthermore, a peaceful gathering of students at the University of Buea, Cameroon's first and biggest English university, a few days later, was met by a serious police brutality which left off many students badly wounded with corresponding psychological damages. Many students were raped and some seized to the Limbe prison with unthinkable charges pressed against them. These actions by the government led to the uprising in Southern Cameroon's which took off with great heat in Bamenda the largest city in Southern Cameroon and the fourth in the entire country. Peaceful protesters were shot at leading to the death of more than six people. The shootings of protesters continued in Kumba another city in Southern Cameroon's which left more than four dead. The total number of people who were killed surpasses ten though the government says only four were killed contradicting live videos taken on the scene each carrying an opposing revelation to that of the government.

The failure of the government especially the Head of State, Paul Biya, to meet face to face with the representatives of both the lawyers and the teachers to dialogue led to where the strike is today. At this time, it is no more a teacher's or lawyer's issue but that of an entire people who only have one cry, independence. The government in an attempt to quench this call for independence and secession arrested the leaders of the Consortium, Cameroon Civil Society Movement Consortium, which was formed by the lawyers and teachers to stand as the voice of the Southern Cameroonians. The leaders who are Dr. Agbor Ngongho Balla, Dr. Fontem Neba, except Tassang Wilfred on asylum in Nigeria and Barister Bobga Harmony on exile in the USA, Mancho Bibixy the founder of the Coffin Revolution who fueled tempers which escalated to the general strike of today and many others are in the Yaoundé maximum security prison, Kondengui. They all carry charges related to terrorism whose legal punishment is death. As of now they have appeared in court a number of times while waiting for the final judgment. The abuse on the civil rights of the

Anglophones that have followed since then including the shutdown of internet connection in the two Anglophone regions is eloquent testimony that the government is ready to deal with them once and for all. Nevertheless, shutting down the internet did not resolve matters as the government had thought. Instead, it radicalized the mad Anglophones the more and lead them to other sources and means of communication between the coordinating Diaspora and their foot soldiers back home.

Many social media like Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, etc. have been taken by storm and violently used to pass across the message to the world that the Biya regime is the biggest separatist group in Cameroon as well as Cameroon's number one security threat. The apathy and segregationist attitudes of the latter have had a direct derogatory effect on the entire nation as well as region for the past thirty five years of his being in power.

The arrests of the Consortium leader, the 93 days internet black out and the current attack on the church following the convocation of Bishops and other top ranking pastors who appeared in court on the 21st of April, on similar charges has raised more dust and driven the people madder than ever. The rise in tempers frightens everyone that very soon, Southern Cameroonians might resort to arms as the only way out. If that happens then one might have to relive another Rwanda in Cameroon. For sure, the minority Southern Cameroonians will pay the heavy price because they are weaker in every sense of the analysis.

Although the president of the republic, Paul Biya, on Thursday, 20th of April, 2017 instructed the Minister of Post and Telecommunications to restore internet connections to the aforementioned regions, tempers have not calmed. Instead, huge demonstrations are planned by Anglophones over the globe to show their oneness and their insatiable quest for nothing but independence and the total restoration of their statehood, The British Southern Cameroons. The current occurrences in the English speaking parts of Cameroon are saddening because they reveal how the unattended grievances of the people have pushed them to the undesired intent of picking up arms. In the South West Region of Manyu which shares a border with Nigeria, armed groups have cropped up who are putting up a serious resistance against government security forces. Until now, a total of about 151 soldiers have been killed by the armed groups some of whom have adopted revolutionary names such as the Ambazonian Defense Force (ADF), Tigers, Vipers, The Mundemba Defense Force, and the Southern Cameroon Defense Force (SOCADEF). They are

all financed by the Anglophone Diaspora but take orders from their different leaders, termed war lords by the regime. At this stage, the English speaking minority is more than ever decided to fight their way up to independence. Though short of conventional military training, the militants practice an asymmetric hit and run attack styles. With the rise of these armed groups and the current unrecognized refugee crisis from the English speaking parts of Cameroon which records over 40.000 Anglophone refugees in Nigeria, there is a strong need for the African Union to mediate before a power vacuum breaks the entire Gulf of Guinea apart.

4.2 Military threats

The biggest military threat that is feared in Cameroon now is an uprising of the regular army against Cameroon's new and most favored elite unit, the BIR (*Battalion d'Intervention Rapide*) or the Rapid Intervention Unit founded in 2001. Prior to the creation of this unit, Cameroon suffered a lot in the hands of highway robbers who operated along the Cameroon-Chad border up to the North, Cameroon-Central African Republic who operated to the East as well as the Sudanese poachers from the North. Amin (2012, pp. 21-43) argues that when the national police force was becoming overwhelmed by these rebels, the government created the BIR to act as a counter terrorist measure. Their mission was clear but in the February 2008 strikes whereby Cameroonian youths woke up to questioning the high standards of poverty in the nation, unemployment and corruption in the government, the BIRs were sent as a repressive answer. Consequently, more than 100 people were killed media reports say but in effect testimonies from Afrique-Media TV (2013) claim that more than 2000 people were killed in cold blood and buried in mass graves. Those who were arrested since then have been forsaken in prison and still await trial until this day. Nouma (2017), a defected Cameroonian soldier and former presidential guard now on asylum in New York, United States of America, reported that the gross favoritism and inhuman treatment served against the other wings of the Cameroon army patronize the thesis of a sudden uprising from within the ranks of the military. This is because the BIRs are given all the privileges and attentions while their navy, air force, marine and gendarme counterparts and under looked.

4.2.1 Corruption within the military

It is no news in Cameroon that the entrance into the National Police Academy, Cameroon's Inter Military Academy–EMIA and other military related institutions such as the Customs is based not upon merit but upon bribery, sodomy, sex and nepotism. It is who one knows that determines one's passing score and admission into either of these schools. Cameroon's poor performances in the battle field against Boko Haram in the north and the Seleka and Anti Balaka rebels in the east among other national security threats from the military perspective could strongly attest to this fact. Hence, Cameroon over the years, has been actively recruiting the wrong people into its military while killing or driving away the right ones to 'greener pastures' due to their lack or inability to bribe their way in.

Mua and Ndedi (2015) put forth that "fraud and corruption are gargantuan twin brothers that have limited the growth and infrastructure of many nations and led many firms to the road of bankruptcy. Although every corner of Cameroon's governmental ministries and departments practice corruption at the highest level, bribery and the demand of facilitation payments to deliver services are frequently practiced by the Cameroonian police. Moreover, cronyism, nepotism, favoritism and tribalism are very common in the delivery of police services".

The increase of corruption in Cameroon and the depleting results it imposes on Cameroon's political economic performance downgrades everyone's hopes for an emerging economy by 2035. In the neighborhoods, everyone prays to have a small position in government where they will be able to take their share of the national cake. After all, they are not the ones who will change Cameroon. This is what one can always be sure to hear in the neighborhoods. Where is the patriotism of Cameroonians? The same Cameroonians, whose fathers gave up their lives to free the country from their colonial masters, build an equitable society which is free from the gangrenes of tribe and ethnicity and where every Cameroonian will be treated with meritocracy and the power of their competence. Alas, this is not the Cameroon of today.

Recent corruption indexes of the most corrupt countries in Africa can always be sure to have Cameroon topping their charts. Year in year out, there is money leaving Cameroon to Swiss accounts, and other tax heavens which belong to government civil servants. In a country where civil servants are underpaid, the richest billionaires the country has are not businessmen most of whom are poor due to the system that has been put in place by Paul Biya in his regional segregationist politics. Instead,

civil servants occupy the ranks of the richest and the reason is simple, fraud, the misappropriation and embezzlement of state funds.

According to the Business Anti-Corruption Portal (BACP), corruption has been Cameroon's biggest problem and has helped to scare away investors (Mua, 2015). Every now and then the richest country in Africa which is also known as Africa in miniature is always at the foot of the World Bank and the IMF–International Monetary Fund, asking for loans to finance projects that the yearly budgets can handle. When those loans are given even before they are used to do what they were borrowed and intended for, they are siphoned and sent to private accounts in Europe and South America. Thus, the nation has remained a beggar and burrower not because it is deficient in mineral or human resources but because it has leaders who are satanic in every aspect of the word.

Amid these corrupt practices and the constant regression of the state when the Anglophones question the legitimacy of the government and its belligerent institutions, they are arrested, tortured, maimed or killed in cold blood. Moreover, they are labeled as terrorists and an insignificant minority. It is good to know that the so called insignificant minority for the last eight months has brought down the entire nation and the economy to a standstill by a simple sit down strike whose single and expected outlet is the independence of the British Southern Cameroon's.

Until now, the Cameroon police are believed by many to be the worst and most corrupt organ of the military. One can do almost nothing with the police without having to offer 'choko' bribe as it is called. It has become like a national phenomenon such that the failure to offer bribe or choko even for services that are constitutionally one's right could lead to undesirable circumstances. One of the pivoting reasons for this high corruption is the very low salaries of all Cameroonian civil servants with some earning as low as 50 USD (25.000 FCFA) a month. With the high standards of living in Cameroon that money can do nothing, emphatically nothing. Congressional Record-House (1994, pp. 5014-5017) continued that the US Department of State reported that most influential civil servants or citizens bribe the police to harass and afflict their poorer and underprivileged counterparts. Monies are needed to cross police check points and free oneself from prison or suffocate a case despite one being guilty. Criminals are always feeling free boast that if they are arrested today they will be freed tomorrow. This supports one of the reasons why Cameroonians do not trust the police because it is believed that many of them

collaborate with thieves and other high way rebels. Similarly, any robber or thief who is caught in Cameroon is quickly served 'jungle justice' that is they are beaten or burnt to death that is if the police carries. Though this practice is bad and has claimed many innocent lives because some wicked people used it to settle scores or to do away with their creditors, the failure of the police to address national security issues are eloquent testimony to this social ill. Thus, one can conclude that the Cameroon police force is illegitimate and useless.

In 2006 the government of Cameroon created the Operation Sparrow Hawk after Paul Biya had warned in a Cameroon People's Democratic Party-CPDM, national rally in 2005 that the enemies of the state will be punished. The main mission of the Operation Sparrow Hawk as it is called in English was to find and arrest all corrupt officials in Cameroon's government and other state owned companies. This decision came after enormous pressure from the international community as Cameroon sought to be among the countries to be declared free and having attained the completion point of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPIC). Working in tandem with The National Anti-Corruption Commission (CONAC), they were able to bring down some mighty Iroko trees that until then were considered untouchable.

One of the first to be arrested by the Operation Sparrow Hawk was the 61 year old Emmanuel Gerard Ondo Ndong who was the Managing Director of FEICOM (The Special Council Support Fund-*Le Fonds Spécial d'Équipement et d'Intervention Intercommunale*-FEICOM) who allegedly embezzled 13 billion FCFA (\$26 million) (Camer.be, 2017). After him dozens of others include the recent past Prime Minister, Ephraim Inoni. They are all in prison some serving life sentences. Despite the arrests and prosecutions, all Cameroonians cry for one thing; they want the stolen monies returned home which they believe will solve some of the infrastructural problems the country faces.

Kindzeka (2016) reports that despite the state attesting that more than \$152 million USD has been looted from the state's treasury, the government has until then been able to retrieve only \$4 million USD. The reason forwarded by the state for this is as a result of the too many bureaucracies involved.

When the arrests of corrupt officials began in 2005 many Cameroonians were optimistic that finally something was going to happen for the better of the nation. However, the failure of the anti-corruption commission and the operation sparrow hawk to render credible accounts of their operations in tandem with their alleged

occult and corrupt practices as denounced by the late Ateba Eyene (2014), makes many to believe that behind the arrests and trials of the aforementioned, is something that beats the ordinary eyes. The speculations of Paul Biya who has been in power for thirty five years doing away with his political opponents who might have shown interests to replace him at the head of the country does not elude many discourse.

In Global Security (2017), it is stated that “The law provides criminal penalties for official corruption, but the government did not implement the law effectively or uniformly, and corruption was pervasive at all levels of government. As a matter of fact, some corrupt officials were sentenced for their crimes while others walked free. The vlogger Nouma (2017) stated that at the very helm of these arbitrary arrests camouflaged to be the fight against corruption is the settling of accounts and the setup of unaligned individuals who refuse to be corrupted but choose to remain upright. He mentions Fon Jindam, one of Cameroon’s best and finest engineers who were also the former General Manager of Shipyard, Douala. He explains further that the latter was arrested and jailed for embezzlement but in effect he was simply put out of the game when he brought in his great expertise during the ghost construction of the Limbe deep seaport. With his follow up and skill he envisaged to make it the biggest and best seaport ever not only in Cameroon and English Cameroon for that matter, but in the entire Africa. His francophone counterparts who did not want such a gigantic project to be in Southern Cameroon, decided to melt him away from the scene and had the project transferred to Kribi, the new city center and heart of all developmental projects in one of the cities in French speaking Cameroon (Nouma,2017).

This collaborate the finding of Global Integrity (2010), that The National Anti-Corruption Commission (CONAC) is not protected from political interference and does not have the power to carry out its mandate in practice. It is further noted that the agency does not act on complaints within a reasonable time period and does not initiate investigations independently when necessary (Kindzeka, 2016).

To conclude, the fight against corruption in Cameroon is far from won and with the way things are going where mostly civilians are arrested for embezzlement but the military left untouched with the exception of retired Colonel Edouard Etonde Koto, many think there is another game behind the scenes. Like always many think that the Head of State is simply preserving the military because he fears a possible uprising

or coup. If that be the case, then, one might sustain the thesis that institutional performance in Cameroon like in many other Sub-Saharan countries is a sham.

4.2.2 Boko Haram

The growth of terrorism in the 21st century is a global phenomenon of strict concern. The capacity by which this new virus, now a global security concern, sweeps across the globe, ramping governments, toppling down regimes while putting others in power, destroying economies and tearing down unity within states, spreading fear and panic alongside other psychological hazards, has pushed many countries to adopt strong anti-terrorism measures and laws which judge either life in prison or death sentence to those found guilty. Such was the case with Cameroon which adopted anti-terrorism laws in 2015 whose goal was to try all those affiliated with Boko Haram. While very dissimilar to terrorism and considered very legitimate by the law and the international community, protests led by some brave Anglophone Cameroonians against the government's illegal and occult spending which end up in private accounts has earned them and some of their sympathizers terrorism charges. Though their case keeps being adjourned the charges carry on them the death sentence. The threat of Boko Haram which pushed five countries in the Central African Region namely Cameroon, Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Benin to the Paris Security Conference in 2013 levels the score that this terrorist organization is out for the kill.

Although Cameroon is faced with the domestic threat of armed robbers who also hold some distinguished sphere of anguish, the rising threat of Boko Haram seems to surpass them at this time. Though this does not mean that the government has abandoned efforts to combat insecurity, the measures taken to restore peace and serenity appear as the number one priority of the government at this time. The policy options directed to neutralize this Boko Haram virus must be fast and without pity or mercy. Taureck (2006 cited Buzan et al. 1998, p. 24) analyzed the situation thus, 'to present an issue as an existential threat is to say that: 'If we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant (because we will not be here or will not be free to deal with it in our own way)'

Founded in the 2000s by Mohammed Yusuf of Nigerian origin, the extremist far right Muslim organization whose name means "Western Education is forbidden" has

created such a great rampage that over one million people in Nigeria and over 7.000 in Cameroon have been displaced both internally and externally.

Ntamu et al. (2014, pp. 214-251), remarked that 'Boko Haram first emerged in the early 2000s with a defined religious motivation camouflaged to achieve their political and economic goals. It attacked government buildings and churches, making demands that the country reject any notion of Western culture. They continued that the Nigerian government fought back, killing hundreds of the sect's members and, eventually, the head of the group'. Having intensified its deadly attacks in 2006, it is estimated that over thirty thousand people have been killed by Boko Haram. When the sect sought for refuge in the northern parts of Cameroon in 2009, the same year its founder, Mohamed Yusuf was captured and executed by the Nigerian Army; the government of Cameroon took them for granted not knowing their dead eye gave room for the group to use the far northern regions as their recruitment grounds. Critiques who believe in state sponsored terrorism accuse the Cameroon government of using Boko Haram as a fundamentalist policy option to stir up compassion through their instrumental public opinion. By this, they hope that their flaws can be camouflaged and as people continue to concentrate on Boko Haram which can be wiped out by the Cameroon government in no time if they wanted to, it will give them the chance to continue plundering the nation even deeper. Secondly, the government knew that defected elements of the sect were hiding in the northern parts of Cameroon but did nothing to arrest them or chase them out. Where was the secret service and intelligence when Boko Haram was recruiting destitute and forsaken Cameroonians in the north by whom it now stages its assaults? Their blind eye despite the imminent threat that they brought with them to Cameroon's national security gave them the right atmosphere to expand their zone of influence. Though it is not too late to deal with Boko Haram, the failure to practice an emergency politics is one of the outright fundamental failures and irregularities of the Biya administration which only waits until things go really bad before intervening.

The 2016 World Bank Report states clearly that the highest level of unemployment and poverty in Cameroon lies in the northern parts of the country. With little developmental and environmental sustainable projects most of the individuals who are also of a low literacy level are a breeding ground for brain washing. Upon so much pressure and direct criticisms from Nigeria who accused Cameroon of supporting and harboring a direct threat to their national security, Cameroon decided

to take action against the group. By this time, it was too late because suicide attacks and other related kidnappings had begun in the far north of Cameroon. The sporadic spread of the attacks and the wave of panic it generated among Cameroonians revealed the weak and untimely ability of the state to infiltrate terrorist organizations from their very inception and hence, take appropriate action.

Many Cameroonians asked why the government had to wait for more than five years before taking action against the organization whereas, secret services with all their training were aware that the members of the group who were hiding in the Far North were on the black list of the Nigerian Army but because of international law the Nigerian army lacked the power to pursue international arrests on Cameroonian soil. Like every terrorist organization their main goal is to gain public attention and international recognition. Schanzer (2017, pp. 38-52) remarked that terrorists want many people watching and usually this message is tailored to their direct target. The direct target is those watching through any means while the indirect targets are the unfortunate ones who are used as a sample to spread the message.

The principal goal of Boko Haram is to establish a Caliphate in the Northern parts of Nigeria where they dream to impose the Shariya. Since Cameroon and Chad share similar porous borders of about 2.000km which until now is not completely patrolled by their respective armies, the sect continues to recruit either by peace or by force and if they succeed to create the Caliphate, it will cut across Cameroon, Chad and Niger republics.

Unable to face the highly trained Cameroonian Army and the now Joint Multinational task Force which is comprised of soldiers from Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria, Benin and Niger republics, the group has resorted to unconventional warfare and other asymmetric methods which the French call '*les attaques asymetriques*'. One of the finest ways they found to carry out these attacks is to use suicide bombers who disguise themselves and infiltrate populations with bomb belts which they eventually detonate. By this way, they give the army and other secret services on their trail very limited chances to see their attacks coming. With the increase of racial profiling at many ports of entry it is becoming extremely difficult for these sects to carry out their operations except if they have an inside help. Many Cameroonians have commented heavily that the many kidnappings that took place in the north of Cameroon between 2013 and 2014 whereby huge ransoms of money (hundreds of millions of FCFA) were used as ransoms in exchange for the kidnapped were

orchestrated by government officials. The reports remain unconfined until now but the huge media coverage especially Afrique Media TV on the subject makes many to feel that there is also a Western hand, specifically France and the American CIA, behind the life blood of Boko Haram. This discourse finds its solace from those who believe in state sponsored terrorism.

The numbers of women who are reportedly among the ranks of the group and who mostly stage the suicide bombings are increasingly alarming. In 2014, 250 girls in Chibok, Nigeria, were abducted by the sect and though it caused a huge media outraged which resulted to an international attention not more than fifty of them have been found and freed by the Nigerian Army despite all attempts.

The reason why this group kidnaps women most of whom cannot fight or who might take a long time to master the art of warfare might apparently seems bizarre to some. But then they are all well calculated strategies to increase their strength and assert their camouflage. Duthiers et al. (2014) report that one of the reasons why women are constantly kidnapped and some killed is because ‘the group especially opposes the education of women’. They are of the uncivilized mentality that women are reserved only for the home and the kitchen (Duthiers et al., 2014). Thus, educating women is not only against the Muslim religion but it is also a provocation. Secondly, they need women for chores, sex and of course as their ballistic missiles and shield against targeted communities and individuals.

Searcey (2016) makes it even clearer that Boko Haram has been able to transform abducted girls and women into unthinkable battle machines most of who serve as suicide bombers. She continues that in 2014, over 105 women were used by Boko Haram for suicide bombings.

Despite the successes of Boko Haram now turned into failures on a daily bases due to the growing strength of the Joint Multinational Task Force made up of the aforementioned countries there is still a need for the government to do more. Cameroon in response to the threat has signed a series of security alliances with Russia, the USA, China and France. The sales of modern equipment of warfare are the most important ingredients of these alliances. Secondly, the Cameroon government has deployed over 5.000 soldiers to the north. Though the battle against Boko Haram is far from ended one can say that the future of the sect lies on a thin thread.

4.2.3 The Seleka and Anti-Balaka Rebels

Ethnic conflicts have not only been one of the major problems faced by states regardless of the continent. This view is opposed to those dumb thinkers who attribute every bad thing to Africa. Having been initiated by Hitler in 1942 through his gas chambers, from 1992–1995 the world was stunned by a massive blood bath that took place in Bosnia Herzegovina and could only stop upon the intervention of North Atlantic Treaty Organization–NATO. At the same time in Rwanda (1992) the world witnessed the deadliest genocide ever, a one whose repetition is greatly feared if the Southern Cameroonians decide to pick up arms in order to achieve their goal of outright independence pending the bloody repression by their French Cameroon counterparts.

The Central African Republic being one of the most unfortunate countries in Africa and one of the deans of ethnic and religious violence has seen many governments toppled over short periods of time to ethnic differences. Though there are other strong geopolitical reasons behind these the fact cannot be denied that religious violence fueled by ethnic disparities are the epicenter of the many coups that have poisoned the country.

The Seleka rebels were formed and commanded by Michelle Djotodia the rebel leader who through the help of some Chadian rebels was able to oust General Francois Bozize from power in 2013, only repaying the latter what he had done to his predecessor, the Late Ange Felix Patasse in 2003.

In January 2013 the President of Gabon, Ali Bongo, under the auspices of the Security Council, convened a meeting between Michelle Djotodia rebel leader of the Seleka and Francois Bozize, president of the Central African Republic. The meeting was attended by other presidents of the Central African sub-region and had one central agenda, finding a solution to the hot exchanges between rebel leader, Michelle Djotodia and the incumbent president, Francois Bozize. Michelle Djotodia who was settled in the north of the Central African Republic which is boarded to Chad had received a great support from some Chadian rebels and considering the fluidly porous border between the two countries, it was relatively easy for the rebels to build a garrison there while at the same time staging overwhelming assaults against the Bangui government. Francois Bozize on his part failed to establish his rule as president over the national territory but concentrated his power and

legitimacy over the capital city, Bangui. Therefore, gathering the support of the locals in other provinces was relatively difficult. Moreover, the failed national reconciliation and the fresh wounds of the past most of which were from a coup he had staged against his predecessor, the late Ange Felix Patasse, paved the way for his rival Djotodia who used it to make his successful moves towards the capital with the only goal of taking power. Since 1964 when France backed their first coup in the country ousting democratically elected president, David Dacko, who sought to establish diplomatic ties with China, and had replaced him with an alleged psychopath, Jean Bedel Bokassa, the nation has known no peace and stability.

However, the Libreville cease fire agreements were nullified when in March of that same year; Michelle Djotodia marched into Bangui with the rebel coalition and declared himself the new strong man of the Central African Republic pushing his predecessor, Francois Bozize, to flee into neighboring Cameroon and later to Sudan. The reign of Michelle Djotodia not only over the Central African Republic but also over the Seleka rebellion was very short because shortly after taking power the group broke into different parts pushing him to flee to Guinea, his wife's country of origin where he was granted asylum. The new power vacuum shifted the series of events from bad to worse because shortly after his fall the religious attacks on Christians by the Muslim Seleka rebels quickly led to the creation of the Christian Anti Balaka rebels who responded to every attack with ferocity. Blood has not stopped flowing since then.

Despite setting up a transition government which was headed by Catherine Samba-Panza, the two rebel groups continued to confront each other leaving scores of innocent people dead and over hundreds of thousands displaced. It has been estimated that over three hundred thousand Central African refugees live in Cameroon amid more than seventy thousand from both Chad and Nigeria (Kindzeka, 2016).

One of the fundamental reasons for this conflict is firstly, due to the weak government and poorly organized institutions which in themselves are organs of ethnic brutality and the settling of scores. Moreover, poor governance and other geopolitical aspects involved in this small land locked country help to destabilize it at all times. Alao(2007, pp. 11-39) reported that the natural resources of this country which include diamond, uranium, oil, timber constantly attract both regional and Western powers all of whom want a piece. It equally stated that in 2013 of the four

hundred South African soldiers deployed to protect South African investments in the country, 13 died trying to save the ousted president Francois Bozize (Alao, 2007, pp. 11-39). Both the Seleka and Anti-Balaka rebels fight each other so hard over who will control the mines whose output will give the other the financial independence to purchase more arms and subjugate not only the immediate rival but will also lead it straight to Bangui, the capital in an attempt to seize power.

Despite Cameroon raising the bar of its national security higher the huge numbers of refugees in Cameroon raises another serious concern. UNICEF (2009, pp. 7-8) affirms that the numbers of Cameroonians who have been kidnapped by Central African rebels have increased since 2005. Similarly, in 2014 there were multiple attacks by the Anti-Balaka and Seleka rebels each trying to kidnap as many Cameroonians as they could in exchange for huge ransoms from the government. Sad of these was a Cameroonian warrant officer who lost an arm to an attack by the groups mentioned above. The security options of Cameroon are thus, very complex at this time because it fights two wars simultaneously, Boko Haram in the north, the Seleka and Anti-Balaka rebels in the East.

4.3 Environmental threats

The lack of the appropriate waste disposal and sewage materials left Cameroon with a deadly cholera outbreak in 2010 killing thousands. In 2014, the World Health Organization (WHO) reported two deaths to Cholera in Cameroon. The 2010 deaths to the disease were predominantly in the north of the country where many people live in very bad conditions most of whom do not have modern toilets and pipe born water. A large part of the population either depends on bore holes, wells or on the River Benue or Lake Chad which sweeps across some localities in the region. The naturally high temperatures and flies that are never absent served as good vectors as well as agents for the transmission of the disease. Worst of all the highly unequipped hospitals or clinics left all patients who were rushed to them highly vulnerable. In fact, it could be said or hypothesized that the health units help to expedite the deaths of the patients most of whom lose hope when they realize that the health units are virtually underequipped and untenable to satisfy their impromptu desires for recovery. Poor sewage disposal units and infrastructures also account to the many health hazards that Cameroonians suffer. Not that the government does not have the

means to do something but the bottle necks who surround the head of state will possibly make sure that the projects never see the light because the money will be embezzled even before the project was executed.

4.3.1 Lake Chad and Lake Nyos

The Lake Chad is the primary source of both protein and drinking water to about four nations namely Cameroon, Niger, Chad and Nigeria. Primarily it is the main water body of the Republic of Chad which depends completely on it. For some years now notably from the 1960s, the total volume of the Lake has considerably shrank causing many ecological and other environmentally related problems to the aforementioned countries. Photographs taken by Apollo 7, the NASA space shuttle in 1968 revealed how much the Lake had shrank and how great the dangers are if the Lake continues to shrink. Its known that the expansion of the Sahara Desert up north as well as the strong dry winds that constantly push upwards, while not forgetting the climatic interruptions that occurred from the over pollution of Europe, affected the rainfall of the area. This hampered the Lake's ability to recover and replenish. However, recent amendments made in carbon emission in Europe have since helped a little to get the Lake back to its feet (WWF Global, 2017).



Figure 4.1: Lake Chad by Apollo 7, 1968

Source: WWF Global, 2017,

http://wwf.panda.org/about_our_earth/about_freshwater/rivers/irbm/cases/lake_chad_river_case_study/

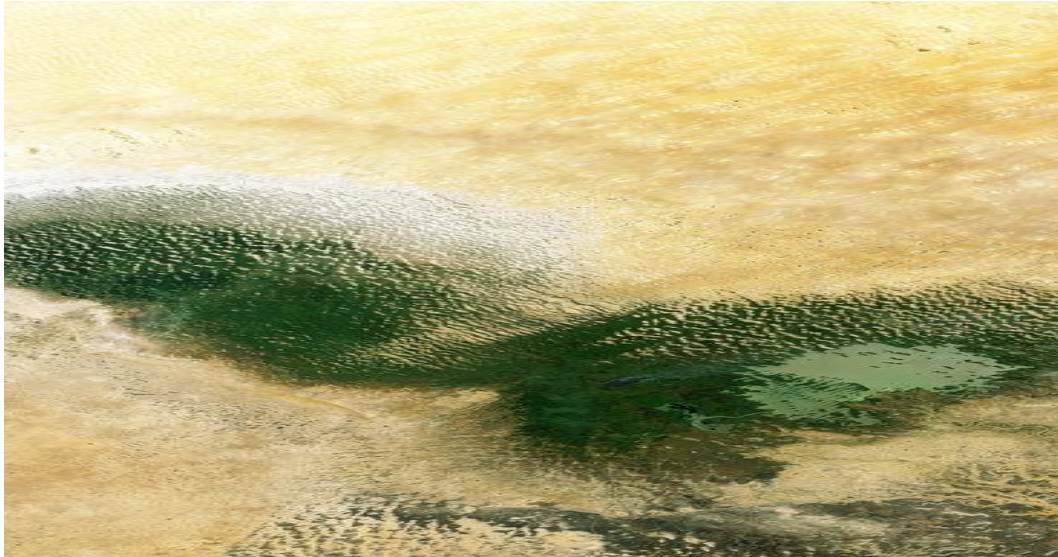


Figure 4.2 Lake Chad showing its fatal remains

Source: Our Africa, 2017, <http://www.our-africa.org/chad/lake-chad>

The areas covered in green vegetation that has covered what used to be water leaving only the small portion of the water body as can be seen in the light green area. The direct problem that the shrinking of this Lake possesses to the inhabitants of the northern parts of Cameroon is that most of them depend greatly on the lake for fishing and other sources of protein. Secondly, water security is also an issue for all the countries of this region which is as a result of a growing population, climatic demands, etc. Therefore, the improper policy measures taken by the respective states to remedy this situation will leave many dying of thirst and hunger within the shortest time possible. Moreover, the rapid decrease of the Lake has generated another problem which is that of who controls the remnant of the shallow waters (ESA, 2014). As of now, the Lake Chad Basin Commission that was created in the 1980s to find solutions to the problem has made many proposals many of which are still pending. In 2007, they met again and forwarded other recommendations on how to boost the influx of water into the Lake, a proposal that was remarkably backed by Nigeria which turns to have a stronger affinity for the Lake than Chad Republic by which it got its name.

The government of Cameroon has tried its best and keeps trying to help the situation by turning the northern part greener through the planting of trees which are meant to stop the rapid expansion of the desert. It is hoped that through that the Lake will be saved because in a few years to come, there is a strong possibility that the Lake might just become history and when one considers the apathy and selfishness of our

leaders who only think of themselves and will not put in place the necessary mechanisms to save the Lake, its feared that the locals in those areas who depend entirely on the Lake will in adamantly start another ethnic war over there on who has the right to control the leftover of the Lake.

Lake Nyos made its mark and came on the eyes of the international community when it announced itself by releasing poisonous gases into the air that killed more than one thousand people in 1986. Lake Nyos is found in the North West Region of Cameroon and cuts across many villages and communities extending up to some parts of Nigeria. Extensive geological studies in the Lake revealed that it happens to be one of the few Lakes in Cameroon and in the world to possess volcanic activity. A fundamental reason is because it finds itself in the fault line of volcanic activity that resulted from plate tectonics that split Africa and South America some one hundred and ten million years ago. Moreover, the huge volcanic activity under the Lake pushes carbon dioxide gases upwards that mix with the water to form a toxic carbonic acid (Our Africa, 2017). This means at all times there is a considerable quantity of carbon released into the water which must find its way out to escape.

In 1986, a huge explosion occurred in the Lake which released huge fumes of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere covering more than one kilometer in distance and more than 25 kilometers killing 1.746 people and 3.500 livestock. This is the worst natural disaster Cameroon has ever had in centuries (Shanklin, 1988, pp. 12-14).



Figure 4.3 Lake Nyos

Source: Nasr, S. L. (2017), How Stuff Works Science, How did Lake Nyos suddenly kill 1,700 people?

<http://science.howstuffworks.com/environmental/earth/geophysics/lake-nyos.htm>



Figure 4.4 The hazards of Lake Nyos

Source: Nasr, S. L. (2017), How did Lake Nyos suddenly kill 1,700 people?
<http://science.howstuffworks.com/environmental/earth/geophysics/lake-nyos.htm>

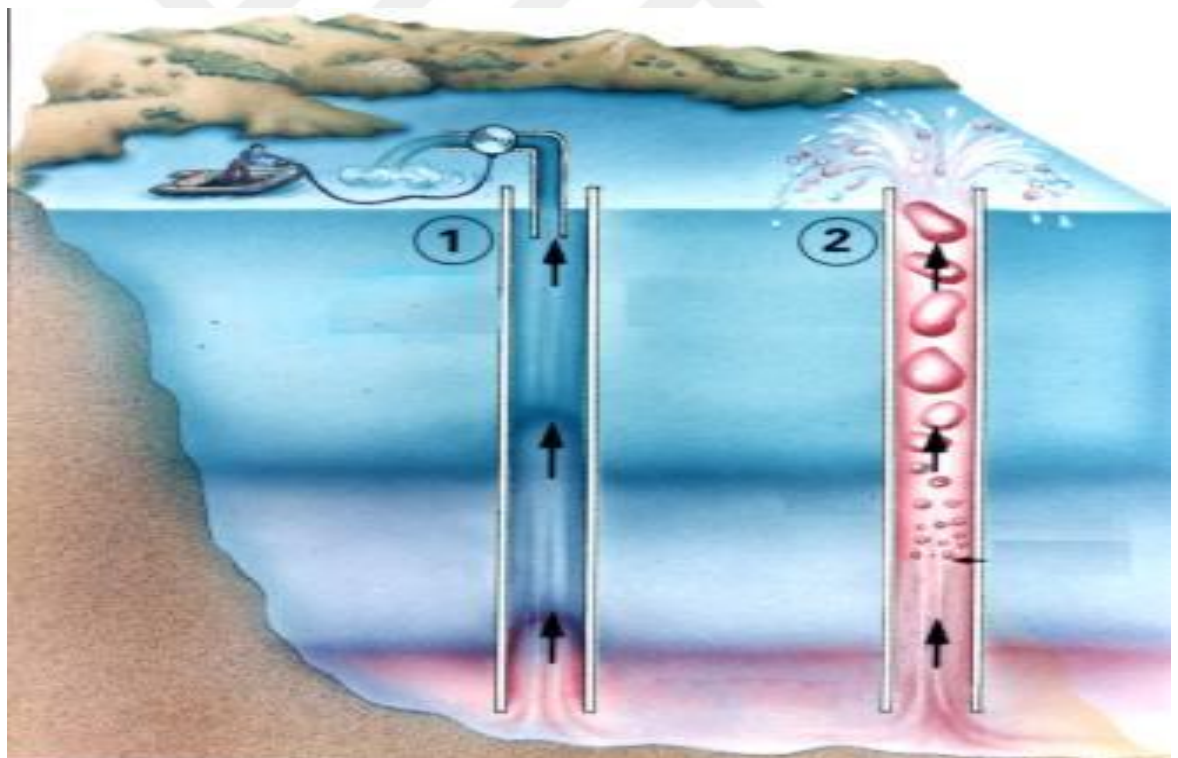


Figure 4.5 Degassing the Lake Nyos to prevent future hazards

Source: Kayzar, T., The Lake Nyos Disaster, August 1986-Lake Kills 1,700,
http://www.geo.arizona.edu/geo5xx/geos577/projects/kayzar/html/lake_nyos_disaster.html



Figure 4.6 Degassing Lake

Source: Kayzar, T., The Lake Nyos Disaster, August 1986-Lake Kills 1,700
http://www.geo.arizona.edu/geo5xx/geos577/projects/kayzar/html/lake_nyos_disaster.html

Figure 4.6 depicts degassing the Lake with a pump simulating an eruption. Studies warned of another sudden release of the gas which is constantly accumulating at the bottom of the Lake and this is the best method that was found to resolve the issue. This disaster displaced a few other thousands who survived and has since scared many from returning. Though the government tried to counter another sudden release of the gas by installing pipes in the Lake that direct the carbon dioxide out of the water in 1986 and in 2011, the necessary developmental, sanitary, education and economic facilities needed to reboot the morale of the region have and may never follow. The remnants of the locals in that region feel completely remote and abandoned. Starting from very bad and untarred roads to no modern schools and health facilities, Lake Nyos and its communities is a forgotten people.

For the environmental security of not only the region but the entire country, it is feared that the lack of the proper health facilities may lead to the outbreak of diseases which could be patronized by the chemical composition of the Lake which the people still use in one way or the other. If the government does not develop that area it could lead to an insurgency and one which has already started by the ‘Anglophone Spring

4.3.2 Sewage disposal and the break of pandemics and epidemics

Like many African nations Cameroon has a serious sewage and waste disposal problem. Beginning from the poor planning of its cities and towns to poor roads, to

poor management of state facilities and to make matters worse, the rampant corruption and misappropriation of resources, there is no way Cameroonians can be proud to say they are a happy nation. The emotional and psychological threats and stress these bequeath are tantamount to the reason many especially in the lower class prefer to isolate themselves in the most remote areas. Every day, the living conditions get even worse and the people encompassed by only the bad things, find solace sometimes in places they never thought to go. The synergy of actions between the natural and manmade justify the insatiable and unattended traumas that perforate the people's every day troubled souls. Every now and then floods are characteristic of big cities like Douala, the economic capital.

Tonye (2013, pp. 4-17) summarizes it very well 'Flooding is perceived as normal by Douala residents who live in constant physical and emotional threats with the return of persistent rains since two weeks. Yet, living in swamps, risk zones and slums, though unlawful, seems most preferred by urban poor in Douala' (Tonye, 2013, pp. 4-17). The poor drainage systems disallows rain water its right passage to be emptied into the River Wouri. Consequently, the water forces its way into town with all the debris it carries turning it into a semi swam. Furthermore, many standing waters undrained or untended to by the social service and municipality workers most of whom are under the surveillance of the municipality or the Regional Delegation of Public Health, leaves the female Anopheles Mosquito with no other choice but to impose its will of Malaria on the population. Though Douala is considered the most developed city in the Central African Economic Community, it is also one of the dirtiest ever with high tolls of Malaria in the nation.

The reasons for these are few firstly, the *laissez-faire* politics put in place by the Biya regime whereby everyone does what he can to amass as much money as they can, leaves the people to the detriment of their natural or obscene oppressors. Secondly, the recalcitrant and truant attitudes of public contractors who siphon moneys allocated for public contracts create another crater in the affair.

Shocking as it may sound that in 2017, in many rural communities in Cameroon people do not either have direct access to modern toilets or more than twenty people per household share a single toilet. The situation is so worse that houses are built without any town planning such that someone's toilet is directly in front of another man's veranda. In some communities like Pendam Boko, the locals use the Rubber bushes as their toilets because there are not any. Drinking water is from wells and

boreholes most of which are very dirty. Sadly, anytime money is given by the government to solve these many problems, they end up in foreign accounts and private pockets. In 2008, the Mayor of the Mbanga Rural Council, Nkotti Francois, attempted a difference by offering pipe born water to the community. The bad stench emanating from the toilet and nearby bushes turned toilet, maintain an unappealing feeling and drives away comfort from the soul.

The local municipalities that have in them so called qualified cartographers who are supposed to watch over these improper constructions and the disrespect of town planning use it instead as a point of money making. Whoever is able to offer an envelope is issued a building permit without considering where they intend to build and if it is in conformity with the law. Most times, people do not even respect the building limits and the results are alas, unavoidable, deaths resulting from either landslides or buildings collapsing.

Lambi (2011, pp. 29-68) reiterates that waste disposal has been a serious problem for the government of Cameroon. He cites laws that were codified such as Law No 96/12 of 5th August, 1996, relating to Environmental management (Chapter VI, Section 1, and Article 42). This law clearly defined the government's perspective on waste and other sewage related distress as well as stated the government's position on how they should be handled for the public good. Moreover, he cites (Article 46 (1)). Article 48. (1) Of the 1996 law which gives the municipal authority the power to pursue anyone before the law who goes contrary to the law on waste and sewage disposal. He reaffirms the government's attempts to solve the problem by stating that an 'Inter-Ministerial Commission for Municipal Waste Management in Cameroon (ICMWM), created under the direction of the Prime Minister by Decree No. 95/230/PM of 31/04/95 is charged with developing strategies for the management of municipal solid waste. In that regard, five different ministerial departments are responsible for the implementation of municipal waste management in Cameroon'. Nonetheless, he laments that despite these efforts the pervasive attributes of nepotism and corruption perforate the smooth implementation of these laws. And despite the communities' efforts to keep their towns clean, nothing is achieved as the state of the towns go from bad to worse (Lambi, 2011, pp. 29-68). He could be summarized that Cameroon is very quick and good to codify laws but suffers a serious inertia to ratify them.

The institutional performance of both the central government and its local councils on this note once again fails as a result of a weak or sluggish follow up mechanism put in place by the hierarchy. Putnam et al. (1993, p. 208), in his book 'Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy' showed with great enthusiasm after twenty years of studying different local government areas in Italy that institutional performance is tied to the culture and civic performance of the people in an area. This of course cannot be devoid of the support or discouragement of the local authorities who must see to it that their intended goals and objectives are met within a specified period of time. The findings of Putnam elucidate why the northern part of Italy was more successful than its contrary south and reveals an aspect of political culture built up for many years, now a daily life of the people (Putnam et al. 1993, p. 208). Such is the case with Cameroon whereby since president Biya came to power, Cameroon has never failed to top the chart of the most corrupt countries on earth. A position it has contested sharply with its neighbor, Nigeria. The two seem to love this position so much. The laissez-faire political culture of the regime is the number one killer disease of this great nation.

The danger in all this is that despite being in the heart of most of the tropical diseases to think of in the African continent, Cameroon has a more unfriendly friend, Cholera, which never hesitates to make its unannounced passage at every opportunity. In 2008, more than 2.000 people died to the disease up in the north of Cameroon and the best the government could do was to allocate 2 billion francs for the construction of bore holes and toilets (UNICEF, 2013, pp. 1-2). How effective this money was managed to solve the need which once again put Cameroon on the spot light for the wrong things, is a question of conscience. A strong criticism here would directly attack the idea of digging bore holes instead of addressing the construction of public taps and giving the people the pipe borne water and excellent sanitary service which they deserve.

4.4 Economic threats

Many economists assert that Cameroon is trying to cope economically despite possessing one of the world's richest mineral and other ecological deposits. The International Monetary Fund country report No.15/331 (2015, pp. 1-79) reported that Cameroon had a 'brisk 4.7%' economic growth despite the drop in oil prices among

other recessions that many countries faced in that business year. Similarly, the World Bank's update report in 2016 explaining Cameroon's economic performance from the political, economic, social and developmental perspectives does not fail to mention that the fundamental problem imprisoning Cameroon's development and economic might is weak or better still poor governance. In its report, the World Bank revealed that despite a slowdown in economic activity in 2016 by 2007 and 2014 the number of poor people or the percentage of poverty rose in Cameroon by 12% that is 8.1 million people. This is very strange for a country that has everything to give its citizens a better life. The World Bank(2016, pp. 25-26)concludes that 'Cameroon ranks 130th out of 168 countries in the 2015 Transparency International corruption perceptions index and ranks 172nd out of 189 economies in the 2016 Doing Business report'. To put a cap on it, the International Monetary Fund country report No.15/331 (2015, pp. 1-79) summarizes Cameroon's economic potential and its entrenched plagues thus, 'Cameroon's economy suffers from factors that often impact underdeveloped countries, such as stagnant per capita income, a relatively inequitable distribution of income, a top-heavy civil service, endemic corruption, continuing inefficiencies of a large parastatal system in key sectors, and a generally unfavorable climate for business enterprise'. For the sake of space and time only a few shall be discussed.

4.4.1 Unemployment

The recent report of the World Bank as indicated above why poverty increased in Cameroon between 2007 and 2014 is as a result of unemployment. Cameroon Country Office (2013, pp. 4-31) in their release Issue No. 3 defines Cameroon's unemployment as 'In Cameroon, the unemployment rate measures the number of people actively looking for a job as a percentage of the labor force'.

Cameroon Country Office (2013, pp. 4-31), the World Bank (2016, pp. 25-26) agree that the percentage of unemployment in Cameroon has increased since 2010. They estimate unemployment to be at an average of 4.5 % in 2016.



Figure 4.7 Cameroon Unemployment Rate

Source: *Institute National de la Statistique du Cameroun*,
<https://tradingeconomics.com/cameroon/unemployment-rate>

Moreover, Ekuh (2014, pp. 2-4) notes that ‘in Cameroon, the unemployment rate is 30% while that of underemployment stands at 75%’. The World Bank Group (2015, pp. 18-80) Report No. ACS13117 had earlier indicated that the government of Cameroon is the highest employer with a stronger indication that by the 2000s 48% of Cameroonians lived below the poverty line. Ekuh (2014, pp. 2-4) continues that despite having a working population of 12 million only about 2,000,000 are civil servants meaning there are 11.8 million Cameroonians who are not government employed. Seemingly, the marginal transformations and encouragements of the government in the private sector narrows down the percentage number of those who by meritocracy will find jobs. How many will be able to start up small businesses and survive the heavy and unfriendly taxes is another bone of contention. In the nut shell, the solution is to seek for ‘greener pastures’ out of the country whether it means passing through the desert to Morocco or dying in Libya. Ekuh (2014, pp. 2-4) further summarizes some of the reasons of the unemployment to be:

- ‘1- The unprecedented economic crisis suffered in the 1990s,
- 2-The educational system of Cameroon which focuses mainly on theories and abstract concepts with little or no training in technology and entrepreneurship,

- 3- Low quality jobs,
- 4-Skills mismatch,
- 5-Inadequate job matching,
- 6-The work experience trap,
- 7-Lack of access to capital,
- 8-Little or no entrepreneurship and business training,
- 9-Limited youth participation,
- 10-Social discrimination and corruption,
- 11-Frustration and discouragement, amongst others'

The government in an attempt to remedy this problem came up with the ministries of small and medium sized enterprises as well the promise of the creation of a bank that will provide loans to young entrepreneurs for job creation. Since the implementation of the program not so much has been achieved and critics think that it is another way for embezzlers and the enemies of the state to siphon state funds for personal gains.

4.4.2 Female genital mutilation and breast ironing

Female genital mutilation is simply the severing or puncturing of the clitoris which is the chief pleasure stimulating organ of the woman or girl child. While breast ironing is the use of hot objects to apply pressure on the breast of young girls, for flattening, mostly in their teenage years fearing that their biological build up will make them sexually appealing, thus, lead them astray. These practices are not only a social problem in Cameroon but also in most other African countries. These practices have been alive for centuries and many adepts believe it keeps or determines a woman's fidelity to her husband (Simister, 2010, pp. 247-257).

According to Ako and Akweongo(2009, pp. 47-54) analysis covering 29 countries in Africa and the Middle East, Egypt has the region's highest total number of women that have undergone Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) (27.2 million), while Somalia has the highest percentage (prevalence) of FGM (98%).

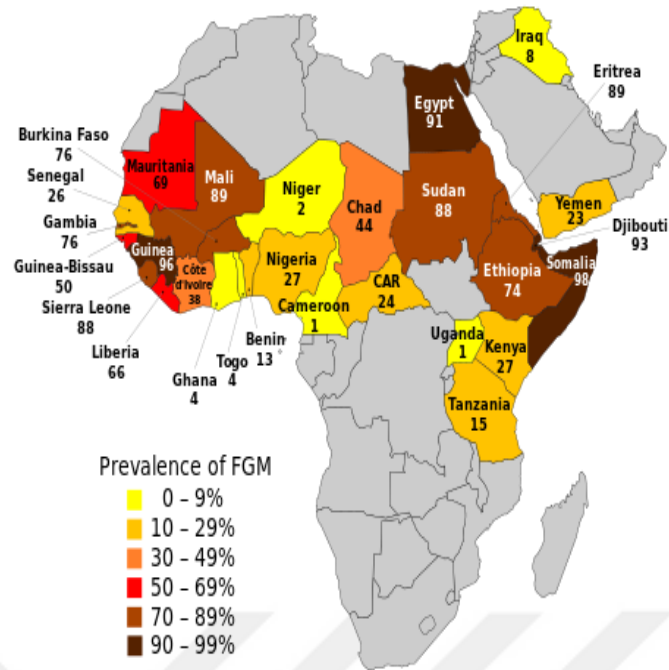


Figure 4.8 The map of Africa showing the most endemic regions where female genital mutilation is practiced between the ages of 14-50

Source: Huffington Post, Female Genital Mutilation Map, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/female-genital-mutilation-map_us_57dda1d2e4b04a1497b4e144

Though only 1.4% of these practices are in Cameroon as a whole with the greater majority coming from the Muslim community and only less than 1% from the Christian community, the Chantal Biya Foundation in Cameroon, founded by the First Lady, Chantal Poulcherie Biya, has fought relentlessly for decades to kill the practices through the teaching and sensitization campaigns. The foundation draws its strength from the African Union which fights against it as well. In July 2003, at its second summit, the African Union adopted the Maputo Protocol promoting women's rights and calling for an end to FGM. The agreement came into force in November 2005, and by December 2008, 25 member countries had ratified it (German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015, pp. 4-11).

Education is seen as one of the best policy options meant to guarantee a smooth victory over these practices. With reforms that followed in 2006 adopting the BMP system (Bachelors, Masters, and PhD) the government decreed schools in every corner of the country. The goal is to elevate the literacy level of the country so that it can become like that of Zimbabwe which is believed to be the most literate country in Africa scoring 90.70 while Cameroon ranks 22nd scoring 67.90 (Easton, 2014, pp. 20-120).

Education is an opportunity to have a four square view of things and the capacity to analyze correctly. It is also one of the greatest asserts of economic growth and political stability of every country. Therefore, if this strategy works, then the fight against these practices is on its way to a great success and girls will not have to get married and just become baby making machines without having to enjoy sexual pleasure which is their natural matrimonial and absolutely sexual fundamental right. Mabuse (2011) reported that of the more than 200 ethnic tribes in Cameroon all practice breast ironing which is meant to make the girl child sexually distasteful to boys. Hence, prevent unwanted pregnancies. It is a natural phenomenon that at puberty girl's hormones most will start threshing high forcing them against her wishes to fantasize about boys. Therefore, how effective these practices work in deterring boys from girls remains a little mystery. Though opinions between the academic community and the traditional practitioners are mixed Ngunshi (2011, pp. 4-9), nonetheless, cited the US State Department, in its 2010 human rights report on Cameroon, which said breast ironing "victimized numerous girls in the country" and in some cases "resulted in burns, deformities, and psychological problems" (Mukama and Domkam, 2007, pp. 2-5).

At the height of the battle against this social crisis now turned a national policy option for human development and capacity building, it could be said that the tireless efforts of the government and its partners to quench the ills are paying off well. CBC News report (2017) announced good news to advocates against the acts claiming that since the 2005 media outburst, there has been a remarkable 50% reduction of the acts. Secondly, the place given to sexual education is gaining the ascendancy in most parts of the country. With these, one can applaud the government's efforts in not only educating the people by raising the level of awareness but for also generating capacity building in that regard.

A pertinent question to ask is how female genital mutilation poses as an economic threat. This is because most women who have undergone this painful treatment end up being housewives with no high or formal education. Their lack of proper education and their inability to provide valuable substance to the economy either through education, job creation or skilled labor reduces the work force of the country. Thus, the country may boast to have a vibrant youth population but without the necessary involvement of everyone to nation building, the country is definitely going nowhere.

4.5 Geopolitical positioning of Cameroon in the sub-region

4.5.1 The nature of the region and the attitudes of Cameroon's neighbors

The Republic of Cameroon finds itself in Central Africa or West Africa depending on who one is talking to and is a strong member of the Economic Community of Central African States (CEMAC), which comprises of six countries namely Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Chad, Congo, and the Central African Republic (CAR).

Though most countries of the region share a common denominator, wealth of natural resources, they nonetheless also share another common numerator, dictatorship, corruption, tribalism, nepotism and economic stagnation except for Equatorial Guinea, the acclaimed new Qatar of Africa.

Though all of the countries with the exception of Cameroon that was annexed by both Britain and France after the 1919 Milner-Simon treaty that partitioned Cameroon followed by the endorsement of the League of Nations in the same year, the others are all French colonies. As it is all French speaking countries in Africa are in a belligerent stand still while their counterparts who were colonized by Britain and Portugal are rapidly advancing. Not wanting to emphasize that the colonial masters still retain the despotic power over them, it sadly boils down to what the former president of Gambia said, 'it is a choice of leadership' (Jameh, 2014, pp. 2-17).

Cameroon finds itself in a very unstable region characterized by coups like in the Central African Republic which is meant to happen almost every five years. Despite the January 2013 peace agreements between Francois Bozize, incumbent President of the Central African Republic and Michelle Djotodia rebel leader of the Muslim Seleka rebels, under the auspices of Ali Bongo, President of Gabon in Libreville, not much was gained after all. The agreements were not respected following violent exchanges much sooner that helped Michelle Djotodia who marched into the nation's capital, Bangui, later in March that year seizing power from his predecessor, Francois Bozize still on the run. Congo Brazzaville has also reported many political uprisings including the all nation civil war that brought back Denis Sassou Nguessou in power in 1997. Gabon has also had serious political shake ups like those in 1993 and in the early 2000s requiring the government of Cameroon to send up to 1.500 elements of the Rapid Intervention Unit (BIR) for military aid. Similarly, Chad has suffered many rebel attacks and its incumbent president, Idris Derby Itno; a military

officer came to power through a coup in 1990 and has remained in power since then. BBC (2016), reports that “Idris Derby Itno has faced several attempts to oust him by similar means. In addition, he survived a bid to topple him in April 2006, when rebels attacked the capital, and again in February 2008, when they were beaten back by government forces backed by French warplanes and troops offering logistics, intelligence and protection. In May 2013, the government said it had foiled another coup plot, this time allegedly involving army officers and an opposition MP” (BBC, 2017).

Equatorial Guinea has had the same story seeing its strong man, Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, came to power in 1979 through a coup whereby he overthrew his uncle, Francisco Macias Nguema, who had been president from independence. Since then he has also had numerous coup attempts to oust him from power. One other thing that makes his country unstable is the gross human rights violations and abject poverty until another foiled coup in 2004 brought in some relief. Since then both the economic situation and human rights have gradually improved. The foremost accused to be responsible for the many coup attempts especially the 2004 foiled coup plot against Teodoro Obiang Nguema, are the British who are thought of wanting the nation’s oil as well as to install an exiled politician and presidential aspirant, Severo Moto, as president (Mann, 2011, pp. 2-24).

Although Nigeria is not a member of the Economic Community of Central African States-CEMAC, it borders Cameroon to the north-west and is Cameroon’s biggest trading partner. Nigeria being highly heterogenic in culture and ethnicity like Cameroon has known bitter moments of political dissolutions ranging from the bloody Biafra war (6 July 1967–15 January 1970), to many coups and other social hazards like recurrent ritual crimes, etc., and presently, the headquarters of the extreme Muslim terrorist group, Boko Haram. The refugee crises these political upheavals bring are such that Cameroon is always on the spot light to house them whenever they have an issue. Presently, there are over 250.000 refugees from the Central African Republic and Nigeria in Cameroon (European Commission, 2017, pp. 1-2).

The attitudes of these neighbors following their unstable political and economic institutions vis-à-vis Cameroon which has known some decades of peace and stability until the Boko Haram thug came up in 2013, has pushed Cameroon to revise its internal and external policies. In 2015, Cameroon adopted a new law against

terrorism which punishes to death anyone found guilty of the crimes related to terrorism.

Alas, Cameroon despite its huge natural resources and being the economic power house of the region has failed to maintain a steady growth of its economy, and at the same time its fights against poverty is far from won because every day, its infested by the cankerworms of corruption which insatiably undermine its grand ambition goals. Consequently, Cameroonians are forced to search for greener pastures in neighboring CEMAC countries, a phenomenon which has raised many social, political and economic tensions with the neighboring countries. Equatorial Guinea is known to have publicly executed and deported many Cameroonians in the recent years and still accuses Cameroonians of wanting to take over the different sectors of their economy. Gabon also has been heavy on deporting Cameroonians and to seal up their resentment to this exodus, both Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, declined to ratify the free circulations of persons and properties that was signed by all six member countries in 2012. On the 1st of January, 2013 when the law was expected to come into force, both Gabon and Equatorial Guinea closed their borders though the other four countries ratified it. Since then both countries though signatories of the law they had unanimously endorsed, have closed their borders to free circulation and impose stringent visa regulations to Cameroonians and other member states nationals who are known to be very daring, educated and hardworking.

4.5.2 The geopolitics in the Gulf of Guinea

The Gulf of Guinea comprises of many countries that share a border with the Atlantic Ocean like Togo, Sao Tome and Principe, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Liberia, Benin and Nigeria. Many scholars have also added Angola which is one of the leading oil producers in Africa and one of the hottest spots for geopolitical warfare. The Angolan civil war (1975-2002) is an exclusive representative of the tussle between Western powers on who will finally have the power in that region.

For some millions of years in times past the countries in this region emptied their sedimentary waste into the Atlantic Ocean which over the years formed great organic deposits now, oil. Though the countries in the Gulf of Guinea are very rich in oil they also have huge and unthinkable hectares of forest and wood. They are also known to have a vibrant and working youth population which could be largely exploited for the development of their respective countries. Unfortunately, the reverse is true because

youths are pushed out in search of greener pastures by the debilitating political system put in place by most African states and heartless leaders.

The rich mineral deposits of these countries coupled with the sarcastic leaders who have porous policies that do not work for their masses has thus, left them overly exposed to the prowling of the Western powers who never have enough most of whom are ready to have a share by peace or by force. Though Congo is not a member of the Gulf of Guinea, its rich Coltan deposits has exposed it to multinational companies who are accused of being responsible for the bloody civil wars and rebellions the country. It is even believed that the invisible hand that finances the M23 rebels thought to be patronized by Robert Kagame of Rwanda, originates from the West. The idea is to totally destabilize the region so that multinational companies can mine and exploit the minerals without direct government intervention. The weak government policies and institutions put in place to address and contain the political uprisings in the country as well as the practice of ‘clienteles’, that is citizens partnering with the foreign companies to loot the country for their personal gain, among others, puts the government in a very difficult position. The Democratic Republic of Congo, going through some very intense moments lately, could not afford to organize presidential elections in late 2016 because the government did not have the money to do so. Moreover, the human rights abuses and rape crimes, coupled with the total loss of the central government’s ability to control the entire national territory, leaves it face to face with new factions of rebels who emerge from time to time from nothing and only leave, if they ever leave, with heavy human casualties on their curriculum vitae.

Many other countries in the Gulf of Guinea face the same problem and only a proper counter security measure as well as a close partnership of all African States to fight back against the constant interference of Western powers in Africa’s domestic politics will reap off this virus. But firstly, before dealing with the Western virus, African states must unanimously get rid of all the political thugs and economic vampires within their respective countries who relentlessly going after their personal gains are ready to sell the entire nation to whomsoever, regardless of the outcome. A solution to this problem will elevate African states to a strong and sporadic economic growth followed by a change and meaningful development in other key areas of nation building, while not minding so much the regressive discourse on democracy.

As mentioned above concerning the unstable nature of the CEMAC region, one of the reasons why Equatorial Guinea has been under constant attack by Western powers that still use this policy of clientele is because of the resources found in this small Island of only about 600.000 inhabitants. Before 1980, Equatorial Guinea was a very poor country and benefited a lot from aids given by Cameroon under the then Amadou Ahidjo. But the tides turned in 1980 when oil was discovered in the country. The Guardian (2016) explains that the fundamental reason why British paid mercenaries tried to topple down the government of Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo in 2004 “is most likely connected to the discovery of oil in the formerly impoverished state. Production has increased tenfold since the mid-1990s, making Equatorial Guinea the third largest oil power in sub-Saharan Africa. Since then Equatorial Guinea has enjoyed media commendations to be the new Eldorado of Africa and of course, to the displeasure of its Spanish colonial masters who have nothing to gain from it all.

Similarly, Cameroon has received sufficient media coverage as well on the same subject because in 2011, China’s Yan Chang Company found oil in the extreme northern region of Cameroon. Cameroon expected to increase its oil production to 200million barrels following that discovery. One very funny thing to note is that shortly after that oil was discovered by the Chinese company, Boko Haram became a serious trouble in the same region of Waza, were the oil was discovered. Today 300 American soldiers are stationed there claiming to be helping the Cameroonian Army with intelligence and other military drill related assistance to fight Boko Haram. It should also be known that the arrival and settlement of the Americans has a great significance geopolitically.

Firstly, Afrique-Media TV (2015) has reported tirelessly that Cameroon on many occasions has denied both the Americans and the French the opportunity to have a military base in the region where the USA planned to build a very big naval base. Despite the many attempts to have one Cameroon remained resilient. The discovery of oil by the Chinese Company was politically and economically an open haven for Chinese influence in Cameroon and in the entire region. Needless to say that at this time China enjoys a great relationship in Africa. Its soft power ambitions which maim Western influences put Africa again in the hot spots of another world war which it did not contribute for. Smith (2012) reporting for The Guardian Magazine reported that Hilary Clinton initiating a tour on the behalf of the US government

meant a direct attack against China which at this time needs more resources from Africa to maintain its 8% yearly economic growth. He also cited Emilio Viano, a professor at the American University, who told Voice of America radio: "One of the major objectives of the visit is to compete with China and try to limit China's influence, business making and political power in Africa". From this one can tell without much difficulty who is behind the Boko Haram uprising in the northern parts of Nigeria and Cameroon.

Secondly, in late 2013 Cameroon, like many other African countries including Algeria which is Africa's largest importer of Russian weapons, signed security agreements with Russia which has pledged to support Cameroon in its fight against Boko Haram. The signing of the treaty with Russia meant Cameroon was putting France, its traditional ally on the rear and secondly, bringing in Russia was a deliberate attempt to destabilize the already destabilized equation which has the Chinese in. More so, the tussle between the Americans and the Russians and currently China in the South China Seas, would not permit the American's to let Russia to have a similar influence like China in Africa. It should be known that while these powers fight hard to have a strong grip and control over Africa as it was in pre colonization, a country in Africa, Djibouti, is using the war between these powers to make huge sums of money which it adds to its total national trading benefits.

After the fall of the Soviet Union Russia under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, has staged a comeback and over the years there has been a constant increase of Russia's efforts to regain its lots glory and place in Africa. Today, Russia counts on a number of partners like South Africa and Algeria with whom cooperation is mostly on military, infrastructure and technology. Nevertheless, The Atlantic Council (2014) highlighted that "Ever since Vladimir Putin succeeded Yeltsin as president on New Year's Eve in 1999, there has been a slow, but steady, renewal of Russian interest in Africa. A stream of African leader has been welcomed in Moscow and Russia's diplomatic presence across Africa has expanded commensurately. Underscoring Russia's continuing interest in the continent, Putin waxed eloquent at the BRICS summit in Durban, South Africa, in March 2013, about Russia's "friends and partners in Africa" (the visit itself was his second to South Africa) (The Atlantic Council, 2014).

The geopolitical game is even fiercer in Djibouti, this small country found in the horn of Africa happens to be one of the hottest cakes and arenas for political and

diplomatic war between Western Powers. The small nation harbors in it many different military bases including Spanish, Italian, Chinese, American, French, Japanese, Russian bases and now a Saudi Arabian military base in view. Oladipo (2015, p. 33-49) reported that the geopolitical position of Djibouti is so strategic because 'It lies on the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, a gateway to the Suez Canal, which is one of the world's busiest shipping routes'. Djibouti is separated from Yemen by the Red Sea and like Cameroon, is boarded by very unstable neighbors and in a very crisis filled region. Braude and Jiang (2016, pp. 1-7) add that 'Djibouti's location also matters greatly to global commerce and energy, due to its vicinity to the Mandeb Strait and the Suez-Aden canal, which sees ten percent of the world's oil exports and 20 percent of its commercial exports annually. Iran had signified interests to build a military base in the country but it was denied the opportunity. In response to Iran's quest for global dominance, its rival Saudi Arabia woke up to the idea of building a base there as well though it camouflaged its reason to simply be its strong hold for humanitarian action.

Though the idea of state sponsored terrorism does not appeal to many, the recent developments in Syria where American congress man, John McCain, was spotted with some militants of anti-Assad rebels confirms the theory that there is an invisible hand behind every terror attack.

The heavy economic spending of China and now Russia in Africa is raising strong concerns about what the stability will look like pending American influence. Just like the First and Second World Wars started because of the arms races which were most likely fueled by the new resource haven found in Africa, the Third World War will not be devoid of the re-conquest of Africa, unfortunately.

The constant provocation of North Korea towards its Western detractors does not only end in its ability to build and test nuclear weapons, but also in its capacity to do business with some African states regardless of heavy UN sanctions on the country following its nuclear program. Blogger Oscar Nkala (2016) confirms that North Korea is an old ally of Namibia and the North Korean company "Mansudae assisted in the construction of a munitions factory at Leopard Valley, close to Windhoek. It built a new military academy as well as the headquarters for the Ministry of Defense. And it was involved in unspecified construction at the Suiderh of military base. Similarly, North Korea has done businesses with Uganda, Congo, and Ethiopia to whom it supplied military hardware in exchange for hard currencies which it badly

needs to reshape its heavily attacked economy (Oliemans and Mitzer, 2014, pp. 1-11). The closeness of China and Russia to North Korea among others, somewhat insulates the country and puts the West in panic of a heavy presence and influence in Africa.

Finally, the geopolitical position of Cameroon is of great importance and it directly affects the stability of the region because most French investments mostly pass through Cameroon to other countries in the region or need the agreements of Cameroon for them to push through. For example, France needed the Sea Ports of Cameroon to cross over its military gadgets and apparatus in 2013 following the civil unrest in the Central African Republic. When the French mission was over following the national resentment of the Central African's against French soldiers in the country, they had to drive their equipment to Cameroon where they were finally shipped from Cameroonian ports back to France. The absence of Cameroon in most political and diplomatic meetings in this region puts every intention at risk. For example, the success of China today in the CEMAC region is thanks to the successful diplomatic connections established between Amadou Ahidjo former president of Cameroon and Beijing. The latter despite the dangers that surrounded him was able to succeed where David Dacko, first president of the Central African Republic failed. David Dacko was ousted in a coup plot by Jean Bedel Bokassa for trying to establish political connections with China in the 1960s. Following his failure, Amadou Ahidjo of Cameroon went ahead to successfully recognize the People's Republic of China in 1972. That marked the birth of Sino-African relations in the region and when Paul Biya came to power he emphasized the relations giving China a significant influence in Cameroon thus, elevating Cameroon on the spot light.

4.5.3 France African relations and the FCFA (Chattered Financial Credit)

The word France-Afrique was first used by the Late Felix Houphouët Boigni, former president of Ivory Coast who used it to symbolize the political and economic connections that will tie Africa to France upon gaining independence. These relations were of course pacified by the ruling elite who used it as their bargaining power to maintain power. Though it sounds very limited to the normal man, the politics of the France-Afrique in complicity with some ruling elites in the 14 African countries that use the Franc CFA (the details of this satanic currency will be discussed below)

directly explains the retard of these countries when compared with their Anglo Saxon counterparts.

The France-Afrique was established by General Charles de Gaulle of France who sought to keep his former colonies under France for as long as it could take. This is the only way France will remain a global actor in modern politics. Abdel en vrai (2017) cited François Mitterrand (1996) who once said that “without the France-Afrique which is a highly parasitic relationship between France and its former colonies, France will be nothing in the 21st century”. Similarly, Jacques Chirac through the Inferno Channel (2011) added that “without the Franc CFA, France will sink into a Third World Country”. Therefore, fully aware of the fact that most African states will not develop with the occult France-Afrique connections still in place, most ruling elite, careless of the welfare of the masses adhere strongly to it since it guarantees their welfare and grip on the riches of their countries.

In the past some African politicians sought to change this by creating their own political and economic atmospheres where their citizens could build their own country with hopes of a better tomorrow. As usual, France used some wicked elites from their nations to have them killed. They include Sékou Touré of Mali, Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso who was killed by his best friend and deputy, Blaise Compaore, now on exile in Ivory Coast, Sylvanus Olympio of Togo and just of recent, the Colonel Muammar Kaddafi.

What exactly is the France-Afrique? Robert Bougie a very prominent French lawyer originating from French Maghreb Africa, explained that it simply refers to the occult network of back door politics practiced by all presidents of French colonial Africa who send huge and exorbitant sums of money in brief cases, usually tax payers money, to France as a bid to remain in power or to gain power. This practice has been in place since the declaration of the “Kangaroo or pseudo independence” by France on all its colonies. Nevertheless, the games going on behind closed doors with the voluntary complicity of the ruling elite puts all these countries on their knees before their former colonial master. Therefore, colonialism has ended in the eyes of the ordinary man, but it still continues in the political, economic, and diplomatic spheres where the colonial master continues to impose his will on his colonies without resentment or care.

“The Franc-Afrique system originated with the establishment of a Cell for African affairs at the Élysée set up by General de Gaulle, headed by Jacques Foccard (1913-

1997), nicknamed “*Monsieur Afrique*” that is “Mr. Africa”. This meant that in every African presidential palace there was a French representative or emissary who oversaw that actions of the president and at the same time, guaranteed his safety in the case of a war or coup. On this regard, it could be easily understood why France is always aware of the actions of all its former colonies and why it is easy for them to stage a coup in any country and have any unsubordinated president either ousted or killed. Though it has not been really easy in all African palaces it is been relatively easy in the Central African Republic. On these grounds France continued its neocolonialist affairs and subjugation of African states in partnership with the ruling elites whom it chooses. Secondly, it supports, grants help and praises to dictators who keep their subjects under debilitating living conditions but maintain the successful growth of French interests in the region. To say that there is no end to this occult practice, now a taboo to the enlightened 21st century Africa, is a sham because most Africans have woken up to the despotic and regressive appendages of these connections and are increasingly calling on their leaders to flinch from them.

In the nutshell, the geopolitical importance that France attaches to the Sub-Saharan Africa remains of significant interest to French growth and success economically. That is why France and its many homosexually connected partners like the USA and Britain will not hesitate to use any one of the many mercenary companies in Africa to kill any patriotic president who stands up like Laurent Gbagbo former president of Ivory Coast.

Sagna (2015) puts it even better that “Today the term “*Françafrique*” is a term used to describe the neocolonial action of France, which would make Africa its “turf”. It describes (network of influence) of all personal relationships and political, economic and military mechanisms that bind France to its former African colonies, as well as a number of other African countries. One of the key elements of the France-Afrique which after 77 years still continues to subjugate former French colonial African countries is the devilish currency, the Franc CFA.

The economic ties between France and Africa have never ever worked for the mutual benefits of both partners because the foundation on which they lie is highly parasitic and puts Africa in a very difficult, yet, dangerous position. Through this parasitic economic cooperation, France maintains its influence over its former colonies and denies them every right to economic freedom and development. Why would this be so? This is because all former French colonies are naturally richer than France and if

each of them were to develop economically they will in a very short time dominate and rule over France in every aspect and sense of it. Therefore, in order to succeed in keeping these countries in a beggarly position, France put the France-Afrique in place whereby it largely interferes with the domestic politics of the countries such that none will wake up to develop the country or seek for partners abroad for the welfare of its citizens. Those who went against this rule like Sylvanus Olympio of Togo and Sékou Touré of Mali ended up dead. The funniest thing in all this is that France cannot succeed without the help of their African clientele elite on whose hands the success and failures of the France-Afrique depends. Most times those used are close friends of the targeted blockade. It is on this page that most Africans of the 21st century and the 2017 android generation, decry the savagery between us African's which leaves the door open for a foreigner to come in and destabilize our countries.

The destruction of the Franc CFA and the creation of an African currency managed by Africans will lead to the direct demise of France thus, putting it in a terrible economic meltdown than Greece or Portugal. The Inferno Channel (2011) having as guest Jacques Chirac had stated clearly that “if the Franc CFA were to be abolished by all 14 African colonies it will push France to the economic position number 26 or far beyond”.

The Franc zone was created by General de Gaulle in 1939 and the Franc CFA happens to be one of the oldest currencies still used on earth. There are presently 14 African nations that use it and who pay a scandalous colonial tax to France for benefits obtained from colonialism. In every aspect of its relations with Africa, France seeks to suck out money from its colonies thereby leaving them in a very poor and beggarly situation. As such they will remain easy to manipulate and control. French vlogger Data Gueule (2016) narrates that when the Franc zone was created by de Gaulle in 1939 the Franc CFA at the time meant “Franc of French African Colonies”. In 1945, 85% of all profits made in Africa were transferred to the French Treasury. In 1958, the name changed to mean “Franc of the French Community in Africa” directly implying that the currency was a set up for French success and progress only. African states were to eat from only the grumps that were left after France had had its full. Our stupid politicians at the time and until now still adhere to this wickedness at the expense of their citizens who put them in power. After the pseudo independence of most Sub-Saharan countries in 1960 the currency lived on

but it carried a different meaning. For example in The West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), it is “Franc of the African Financial Community” and with the Economic Community of Central African States (CEMAC) it means “The Franc of the Financial Cooperation in Africa”.

Despite creating the breeding ground for the drenching and continuous collapse of the African economy in partnership with the ruling elite, France put in place a set of rules to govern the success of the money. They include that only the French Treasury will guarantee the conversion of the money to another currency. In exchange 50% if the money from UEMOA and 65% from the CEMAC region will be deposited in the French Treasury in what was called a running account. It is the same money that is loaned back to the African states with very high interests. The money will be pegged to the French Franc later the Euro in 1997 and the exchange rate will be determined only by France for example 1 Euro = 655.89 Francs and it has been the case since 1999(Gueule, 2016).

The transfer of capital between CEMAC States must be free. This transfer of capital in lay man terms must be equivocally beneficial to all Sub-Saharan countries with long lasting economic benefits but no, instead, it is the French multinational companies like Credit Lyonnais, Total, Perenco that benefit from this deal having the power and capacity to transfer all their revenues and profits to France without any interferences with the law.

More so, all member countries using this retrogressing currency are cautioned to monitor their inflation and in this way most African governments are warned and restricted to giving many loans to banks or other companies. Moreover, it means that there will be very little or no money coming in from interests returns which in the long run will keep the country economically maimed and unable to achieve its goals for development in infrastructure and education. Meanwhile the system works in such a way that while African counties are dying economically, France is prospering economically. It is wondered how educated people with a great foresight can overlook these to the detriment and peril of their brethren who look up to them.

The French propaganda backing this system claims that it will help African states to match towards a state of sustainable development but the irony in this is that among the 14 countries subjected to this modern form of economic slavery, they all find themselves bastardized with the label of Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPIC). French agencies and mercenary organizations working in Africa see to it that this

indexing tag comes upon the countries concerned all to the carelessness and ‘I do not care attitude’ of the ruling elite who hold in their hands the power to stop this and turn the tables around for the welfare of their people.

Moreover, it is very sad to know that though the Franc CFA is about 77 years old and most French African countries 66 years old or more, most if not all financial decisions are taken in Paris and not their respective state capitals. This is not the Africa that will be an emerging economy. As a matter of fact, African countries following the very weak and unrecognized nature of their currency can only manage to do business that will give them some benefits with countries whose currencies are considerably lower like China.

Marie Le Pen, the unfortunate French presidential candidate in a 2015 television interview said very clearly that “African nations cannot develop with the Franc CFA (Citesic, 2015). Obviously, it is only a political discourse to get the votes because once she is elected president; she will have to keep the systemic locomotive moving. A lamenting point to note is that even with the little returns these countries make is it still France that stops them from building roads, schools, hospitals and other related infrastructures that will lead the country forward to development? The answer of course is emphatically, no. Equatorial Guinea not a French colony but a member of CEMAC is nonetheless, one of the fastest growing economies in the region. In the last five years, the government of Equatorial Guinea has invested heavily on infrastructure making it one of the most advanced countries in the region. Really it is a choice of leadership. While the masses continue to struggle underneath, it is a painful point to note that despite the currency being a strong and repressive hold against African states, it is however, a good and favorable breeding ground for many elites who hold unto it and will do their best to maintain it for their personal good and for those of their families. Macky Sall president of Senegal and Alassane Dramane Ouattarra president of Ivory Coast, despite the growing hostilities against the money and a strong march organized by the young Senegalese Pan Africanist, Kemi Seba, who calls on all Sub-Saharan countries to abandon the currency, all said “there was nothing wrong with it”.

In fact, they continuously see it as the future of Africa though the reality speaks of the reverse. At the same time, Idris Derby Itno, President of Chad continues to call on all African presidents to drop it and create what he calls ‘La Monnaie Africaine’, that is “the African Currency”. The cry of Idris Derby Itno ties with those of the Late

Muammar Kaddafi of Libya who among many others fought for an economically independent Africa and even proposed the creation of an African Monetary Fund which will oversee the financial needs of all African States and by so doing, African States will not have to borrow money anymore from the International Monetary Fund–IMF, which is in itself a strong tool for imperialism. The cries of the late Kaddafi came into actualization in the 2015 African Union General Assembly in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, where all African presidents unanimously chose Yaoundé, the capital of Cameroon to be the headquarters of the African Monetary Fund (AMF) still in development.

Responding to this call Laurent Gbagbo, former president of Ivory Coast, now on trial in The Hague, sought to change the economic destiny of his country among many other things. The result was obvious, a French backed puppet, Alassane Dramane Ouattara, who did not win the 2011 elections was put in power by France while Gbagbo was arrested and brought to the Hague for crimes against humanity.

Finally, the Franc CFA does not in any way threaten the Euro but instead is threatened by the Euro because its continuous marriage to the Euro puts it and its users in a very bad situation. One of which African countries spend a lot to purchase goods from the Euro zone but gain very little when they export their goods and produce to the same countries because they export in a low currency that has no international value and recognition. If presidents and their cohorts think that they can keep generations to come under their economic poverty and hostility for their personal good then they should think again because the tides must change whether they like it or not.

4.6 Counter security measures of Cameroon

Like every other nation Cameroon has many times attempted many counter security measures to the threats listed above that undermine its development and emergence on the global scene. In the political sphere in 1996 it adopted a law that created the Senate though the institution saw the light of day only in 2009. It also created the National Anti-Corruption Commission (CONARC) and Operation Hawk whose duties are to track down the enemies of the state who hope to enrich themselves from the states treasuries by any means. Though the creation of the Operation Hawk promised a great change as it started its work with the arrests of many top

government officials in 2006, the expectations of many soon died when they realized that within this so called operation Hawk was another operation settling of scores. More so, the true objectives of the operation had been infiltrated by the same people who either created it or feared they might be arrested and jailed.

The recurrent disrespect of the law which is practiced by the Head of State himself who from time to time changes the constitution for his personal good leaves no major progress in the counter security measures designed to fight all possible political threats. As of now the head of state by his new constitution which works only for him and his cohorts is president for life.

On the economic part, the government has greatly fought to diversify its partners and this occurred by the ushering in of the Chinese who have won if not all, but most of the biggest contracts in the nation. The partnership tying Cameroon with China as of now lies mainly in infrastructure and military aids. One thing to note is that though the government heavily preaches economic development for the entire nation, it radically elevates tribalism in its economic development plans. For some decades now all major economic developmental projects are sent to the South Region, precisely Kribi its regional capital. The thought of sending some of these projects to either of the two English speaking regions is a bad dream. Apart from the National Oil Refinery (SONARA) and the Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC) which are all controlled by the Francophone and leaving the Anglophones with no power over them, there is nothing the Anglophones can look up to and call theirs or say they can depend on for economic sustenance. Absolutely nothing, the level of unemployment in these two regions is far higher than in any other region in the country. Some years ago, the government as always started its propaganda of building a deep Sea Port in Limbe which was supposed to be one of the biggest in Africa. But just when the project was about to begin, the government transferred it to Kribi, in French speaking Cameroon. Anglophone Cameroonians had greatly waited for this and saw it as a boom to their economy and hoped to have many openings from the Sea Port. Other projects include the Lom Pangar Hydroelectric Dam in the South, the gas thermal plant still in the South, the tallest building in Africa still in Kribi, in the South. Everything is the South and nothing is anywhere else. This is the politics of Paul Biya and the system he has put in place.

On the military side of it the creation of the BIR – Rapid Intervention Unit, did a great help to the nation in its fight against highway robbers from the Republic of

Chad and the Central African Republic. They are also in the fault lines of the states that fight against Boko Haram.

To say that Cameroon has really achieved much in its counter security struggles when faced to the every present threat to its propaganda emergence goals is a sham. Tribalism and corruption has badly eaten into the nation's blood that almost nothing good can come of it unless; the right people are put in the right positions. Unemployment continues to thrive while Paul Biya enjoying tax payers' money feels free to spend over 800.000 Euros in a five star hotel in Switzerland with his delegation on private visits. He has even worn many awards from the hotel as the best guest. Yet, he cannot boast to have such a hotel in his own country and even if he does, he will not dare spend night in it. Cameroon is suffering and is doing very bad under Paul Biya who has done nothing much to help the country overcome its security problems. It is time for a change in regime probably giving the baton of command to an Anglophone so that one can see what will happen. Perhaps the nation will experience a change and move a little higher up the ladder from its 179th economic position globally.

4.6.1 Support from regional players and partners of Cameroon

Cameroon has continued to intensify its counter security measures beginning with the highway robbers or "*coupeurs des routes*" from the Central African Republic, Chad, to the Sudanese poachers who travel from one country to the other killing scores of Elephants for their tusks in order to satisfy the growing demands and market in China. The BIRs–Rapid Intervention Unit of Cameroon was created for this sake and has recorded tremendous results since its inception in the 2000s.

More so, there has been the growing regional response to the many threats posed by Boko Haram in the region. It is no more a Cameroonian or Nigerian affaire but now a joint collective security assignment of all member countries involved. In a 2013 Paris conference when presidents of the Central African Region met to discuss the growing threat of Boko Haram, a Joint Multinational Task Force was created with headquarters in Chad Republic. The member countries are Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Benin and Niger Republics most of whom share a common boundary and provide narrow escape for Boko Haram insurgents who benefit from their highly porous borders.

When this Joint Multinational Task Force was created one of its main goals was to engage in international pursuits and arrests. In the beginning, Nigeria was strongly opposed to this but with time; there have been ameliorations with the Cameroon army staging serious assaults against the Boko Haram insurgents on Nigerian soil. The Chadian army has also carried out many offensive operations against the movement both in Chad and in Nigeria. For now, one can say that the regional response has been great and advancing but the long expected demise of Boko Haram still happens to be a far dream.

Other regional powers like the USA, the EU, have stepped in with some help in logistics, intelligence, and hardware to fight the growing threat. But this comes at a time when there is a violent criticism against the American CIA and the French who are strongly accused of being the brains behind the organization. Meanwhile, the republic opinion in Cameroon has generated much revenue for the state through mobilizations organized by different groups of persons and religions who all come under the banner of patriotism to fight against Boko Haram while at the same time, sending motions of support to the president of the republic. In terrorism studies, it is greatly believed that the direct target of terrorists is the people watching by whom the terrorist hopes to instill fear and panic. Nonetheless, their ability to do this might move the state to hasty decisions which will mostly work for their good. But thanks to the many counter terrorist programs on television, many Cameroonians have awakened with a strong knowledge and message to the insurgents that in no way will they surrender their nation to them. This public opinion has given the government some more legitimate power to carry out extrajudicial arrests as well as other forms of assault in its fight to counter the threat.

Table 4.1 French exports to its ten-largest trading partners in Sub-Saharan Africa

Names	million \$, 2010
Sub-Saharan Africa total	15,000
South Africa	2,300
Nigeria	2,100
Cote d'Ivoire	1,000
Senegal	946
Angola	841
Cameroon	790

Gabon	750
Mauritius	420
Madagascar	309
Democratic Republic of Congo	226
World total	511,651

Source: Moncrieff, R. (2012), French Relations with Sub-Saharan Africa under President Sarkozy, <https://www.saiia.org.za/occasional-papers/40-french-relations-with-sub-saharan-africa-under-president-sarkozy/file>

Table 4.1 above presents the economic interest of France in Africa in 2010. As seen on the table, Moncrieff (2012, p. 18) explains that French exports to its top ten trading partners in sub-Saharan Africa were worth 15,000 million dollars. The total trading of France with the world at large was 511,651 million dollars. This however shows that Sub-Saharan Africa was approximately 3% of French total exports. South Africa had the highest rate of export from France, with a sum of 2,300 million dollars, Nigeria followed with 2,100 million dollars, Cote d'Ivoire with 1,000 million dollars, Senegal with 946 million dollars, Angola with 841 million dollars, Cameroon with 790 million dollars, Gabon equal to 750 million dollars, Mauritius was with 420 million dollars, Madagascar with 309 million dollars and Democratic Republic of Congo with 226 million dollars.

Table 4.2 French imports from its ten-largest trading partners in Sub-Saharan Africa

Names	million \$, 2010
Sub-Saharan Africa total	12,500
Nigeria	3,494
Angola	2,265
South Africa	1,100
Cote d'Ivoire	718
Gabon	654
Equatorial Guinea	635
Congo-Brazzaville	601
Ghana	424
Madagascar	394
Mauritius	360

Source: Moncrieff, R. (2012), French Relations with Sub-Saharan Africa under President Sarkozy, <https://www.saiia.org.za/occasional-papers/40-french-relations-with-sub-saharan-africa-under-president-sarkozy/file>

Table 4.2 above presents the economic interest of France in Africa in 2010. As seen on the table, French imports to its top ten trading partners in Sub-Saharan Africa were worth 12,500 million dollars. This however shows that France absorbs approximately 3.5% of Africa's exports of 344,000 million \$ (Moncrieff, 2012). Nigeria received the highest rate of export from France, worth the sum of 3,494 million dollars, Angola followed with 2,265 million dollars, South Africa with 1,100 million dollars, Cote d'Ivoire with 718 million dollars, Gabon received import rate of 654 million dollars, Equatorial Guinea with 635 million dollars, Congo-Brazzaville with 601 million dollars, Ghana with 424 million dollars, Madagascar with 394 million dollars and Mauritius was with 360 million dollars.

Table 4.3 below shows that from 1964 to 2013, Sıradağ (2014, p. 106), explains that France has intervened militarily 25 times within the African continent. All the operations took place in French African countries. Most of the interventions by France in Africa were to protect its economic and political interests on the continent, protect its citizens, safeguard regimes with special economic, political and strategic ties with Paris, expand its sphere of influence over French zones, fight against rebels who threaten the puppet regimes and to increase its leadership role through interventions. The table above illustrates the country, year and main reason of military intervention. For instance, in 1964, France had a military intervention in Gabon, to restore the president after a coup. Between 1968 and 1972, France also intervened militarily in Chad to halt the northern rebellion.

Table 4.3 Main French Military Interventions in Africa since 1964

Year	Country	Aim
1964	Gabon	to restore the president after a coup
1968-1972	Chad	to halt the northern rebellion
1978-80	Chad	to defend the government against rebels
1978	Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo)	To save European hostages from rebels
1979	Central African Republic	to remove Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa from power
1983-84	Chad	to protect the regime against rebels
1986	Chad	to defend the government against rebels
1986	Togo	to restore the president after a coup
1989	Comoros	to put down a coup
1990	Gabon	to support the regime of president Omar Bongo and evacuate foreign nationals from cities damaged by upheaval
1990-1993	Rwanda	to evacuate French and other Europeans after rebels attacked the country
1991	Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo)	to support the regime of Mobutu Sese Seko
1992-94	Somalia	to participate in the "Restore Hope" operation with the US
1994	Rwanda	to participate in "Opération Turquoise"
1995	Comoros	to halt a coup and protect the regime
1996-7	Central African Republic	to maintain order after a coup
1997	Republic of Congo	to evacuate foreigners during the civil war in the country
1996	Cameroon	to provide military assistance to Cameroon
1998	Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo)	to evacuate foreigners
2002-present	Ivory Coast	to participate in "Operation Licorne"
2003	Democratic Republic of Congo	to maintain order in the northeastern Ituri region of the DRC
2008	Chad	to strengthen the regime and evacuate foreigners during the upheaval
2011	Libya	to put down the regime of Muammer Gaddafi
2011	Ivory Coast	to participate in the "Licorne" operation and to put down the regime of Laurent Gbagbo
2013	Mali	to support the regime in the country against the rebels

Source: Sıradağ, A. (2014), Understanding French Foreign and Security Policy towards Africa: Pragmatism or Altruism, *Afro Eurasian Studies Journal*, Vol 3. Issue 1, Spring 2014, http://www.afroeurasianstudies.net/dosyalar/site_resim/veri/7429761.pdf

Table 4.4 French Military Defense Pacts with African countries

Partners	Year	Partners	Year
Benin	1975	Malawi	1980
Burkina Faso	1961	Mali	1985
Burundi	1969	Mauritius	1979
Cameron	1974	Mauritania	1986
Central Africa	1960	Morocco	1994
Chad	1976	Nigeria	1977
Comoros	1978	Rwanda	1975
Congo(Brazzaville)	1974	Senegal	1974
Congo(Kinshasa)	1974	Seychelles	1979
Djibouti	1977	Togo	1963
Equatorial Guinea	1985	Tunisia	1973
Gabon	1960	Zimbabwe	1992
Guinea	1985	Madagascar	1966
Ivory Coast	1961		

Source: Siradağ, A. (2014), Understanding French Foreign and Security Policy towards Africa: Pragmatism or Altruism, *Afro Eurasian Studies Journal*, Vol 3. Issue 1, Spring 2014, http://www.afroeurasianstudies.net/dosyalar/site_resim/veri/7429761.pdf

Table 4.4 above shows that France signed a total of 27 military defense treaties with African countries between 1960 and 1994. This however shows France's engagement in that part of the continent. It also draws many attentions to the fact that defense treaties legitimize French military bases and interference in the continent of Africa, thus protects French strategic interests (Siradağ, 2014, p. 108). The defense treaties signed by France enabled their military staff to work as military consultants in the armies of most African countries and to have the opportunity to train military forces of the host countries. Degang and Zoubir (2011, pp. 78-96) points out that the deployment of French military bases in Africa can be seen in five main dynamics. Firstly, France has a very strong economic interest in Africa. It was the largest trading partner in Africa between 1991 and 2008 where China superseded. Secondly, Africa has always popularized French language and culture especially in Francophone African countries. Thirdly, France has a strong political interest in Africa and turn to be interested in political developments in French speaking African countries. Fourthly, France uses their military as a means to protect the property and

security of its citizens living in Africa. The last dynamics is that the French military power in Africa enhances military diplomacy, increase arms sales within the continent, controls African peacekeeping missions, and provides security to African countries.



5. CONCLUSION

The growing trends of global insecurity have gained their fair share of media attention with some lasting up to six months on the spot light of mainstream media. This reveals that terrorism and media go hand in gloves. It could possibly imply that several aspects are related to predicting media attention; furthermore, “terrorist attacks are carried out to draw attention to a cause, such as promoting a religious agenda (e.g., the Taliban or Al-Qaeda) or pushing for political goals. Catching people’s attention is an important mechanism to promote the terrorists’ goals”. Hence, the fatal disappearance of morality and other forms of equity which in times past defined many societies, leaves the diligent asking what fate the planet holds as globalization keeps coming in with new forms of human and social insecurity. Just recently, the mass legalization of homosexuality has raised many concerns of violations of morality and human capacity development. More so, the rise of cyber security taking the US 2016 presidential elections as the best possible example leaves one with no small picture of the fervency of the threats to national security. How much shall be achieved both locally and internationally to counter these threats remains a factor of truth in the right application of collective security and collective law. While scholars continue to ponder on the future of the planet, security studies will continue to bring in much light and a wealth of recommendations to trouble shoot the aches of the societies.

On this note, this study realizes that the security challenges of Cameroon just like those of many other African countries are similar. Cameroon is fast approaching its 2035 golden point for emergence according to the propaganda of the president, Paul Biya. To say that one should be emergent in 2035 is a bad dream for many Cameroonians who want it now. In fact, the growing impatience and the many failing hearts that see Europe as the only way out explain the drama in the Mediterranean.

In the nutshell, the study agrees with its theory that a possible regime change as well as the total collapse of the Biya regime might be the solution. If it is not, then the

total separation of Cameroon between the English and speaking regions does not elude a closer look.



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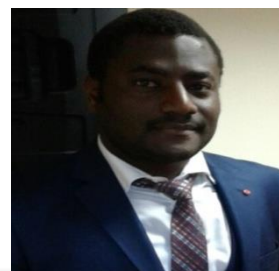
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