

MASTER'S DEGREE FINAL DISSERTATION

Forced Migration: A Consequence of Human Rights Violation. Case Study: Southern Cameroon

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Abstract;

Torture in particular is a complex trauma that often occurs within the context of widespread persecution and human rights violations. Modern welfare shows that whole populations are at risk of suffering extensive trauma, injustice loss and resultantly emigration- forced to migrate. Such has being the faith of Southern Cameroonians forced to exit themselves from their homeland. - Dialogue could be an option. The lack of political freedom, press censorship, freedom of the press, freedom of Assembly, repression and Corruption further complicates the lives of the peoples of the entire nation

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my Sister Meseh Enice Tanjong who passed away in the course of my research. You will ever remain in my heart. To my special friend and Sister Carole Vicent for her strong words of encouragement and support you gave me at the time I mostly needed, you have been there for me from the beginning of the struggle to this very last moments, I want to thank you for the love care and concern throughout this period.

To Julia Kaffarek yours words inspired me and your love and care made me grew stronger and stronger. I would have never achieved my dreams and been where I am now without you. Thank you so much.

To my Son Bill Bryan I love you so much. To Bernice

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I would also like to thank in particular the persons with who i could share and debate my ideas and views. These people are my fellow students, friends and relatives and family members who helped broaden my vision.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAC - All Anglophone Conference

ACHPR - African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

CAM - Cameroon Anglophone Movement

DIDR - Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement

FMO - Forced Migration organisation

IASFM - International Association for the Study of Forced Migration

ICCPR - International Convention on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR - International Convention on Economic Social and Cultural Rights

MFCVT - Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture

OHCHR - Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights

PHW - Political Handbook of the World

SCAPO - Southern Cameroon People Organization

SCARM - Southern Cameroon Restoration Movement

SCNC - Southern Cameroon National Council

SCYL - Southern Cameroon Youth League

UNDR - United Nations Development Report

UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UNPO - Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation

WBED - World Bank Environmental Department

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Chapter 1: General Introduction.

Research has been carried out in the field of Social Sciences precisely as to what concerns migration and peace studies with various names been adopted to describe migrants from one part of the region, country or continent. Cameroon stands out as an example of one of those countries that has been a favoured destination for migrants from neighbouring countries such as Chad, Central African Republic and Nigeria because of its relative political stability and its socio economic potentials. Immigration into Cameroon, which registered an upward trend in the 1970-1980 period (143,611 immigrants in 1976 and 257,689 in 1987), has been on a constant decline since then, with the number of immigrants estimated at 228,383 in 2000, 211,880 in 2005 and 196,570 in 2010 (UNDR, 2009). In the same light the UNHCR assisted 8,342 and 85,824 refugees from Chad and Central Africa Republic respectively seeking refuge in Cameroon.¹ As compared to 101,269 total numbers of refugees at the end of the year 2009 of which 1,312 were asylum seekers (pending cases)² this shows a downward trend in refugee movements.

It would therefore appear that Cameroon's attractiveness has progressively declined. On the contrary there has been great deal of out migration (Emigration) of its own citizens who have been forced to run out of their home land in search of security and or greener pastures elsewhere in the world, especially to Europe and America. Asylum-seekers reached their peak of 6,289 in 2003 and declined to 2,933 in 2008 mainly in Europe (UNHCR, 2009). The reason for these are numerous, lack of political participation, lack of freedom of speech, unlawful arrest and detention without trial, persecution on the grounds of political opinion, and marginalization. The Amnesty International report for 2010 states this position about Cameroon:

¹ UNHCR Global trend report 2010: 2 <http://www.unhcr.org/4dfa11499.html>

² UNHCR Global trend report 2009 table 1: 26 <http://www.unhcr.org/4c11f0be9.pdf>

Government opponents, Journalists and human rights defenders were arrested, detained and tried for offences relating to criticism of the government or its officials..(Amnesty International, 2010: 94).

Also Amnesty International report for 2009 states that the catalogue of abuses revealed in the report mainly involves repression of political dissent.

“Political opposition is not tolerated in Cameroon,” said Tawanda Hondora, Amnesty International’s Africa Deputy Programme Director. “Any dissent is suppressed through either violence or abuse of the legal system to silence critics.” (Amnesty International, 2009)

Political opponents of the government were arbitrarily arrested and detained. Those targeted included members of the Social Democratic Front (SDF), the main opposition party, and the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) – a group supporting independence for Anglophone provinces. (Amnesty International, 2009: 98)

The ninth General Assembly meeting of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO) held on the 16-17 May 2008 Brussel, Belgium, resolved to press the UN to admit Southern Cameroons as a member of the world body of sovereign nations³(Chris Mbunwe, June 2008). The organisation says it is disturbed by the rapid rise in the number of educated young Southern Cameroonians fleeing their homeland as a consequence of the rising political insecurity and lack of opportunities for self-fulfilment, and the failure of the democratic world to protect these victims of political persecution.

³ All Africa: Cameroon UNPO presses UN to admit Southern Cameroons.
<http://allafrica.com/stories/200806161727.html>

The Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) is a non-violent resistant movement comprising of Anglophone Cameroonians fighting the de-colonization of English Cameroon from the hands of La Republique du Cameroun. The SCNC with its National Chairman Chief Ayamba Ette Otun has as motto “The Force of Argument and not the Argument of Force”. This non-violent organization has been declared illegal by the Paul Biya government of Cameroon as it fights the separation from Francophone Cameroon. Sympathizers of the SCNC have been forced out of their wish to flee their own country Cameroon because of their political affiliation and or opinion. The SCNC created in 1953 with the holding of the first Southern Cameroon conference in Mamfe after they declared benevolent neutrality due to the marginalization they faced as a minority group in the Nigerian assembly from where they were been ruled as an integral part of Nigeria under British mandate. This organization has found a good number of its members fleeing from the country due to the oppression they have been facing because of their political affiliation and or opinion. As if that was not enough, not only member of this particular organization have been forced to flee their country but also journalists, human rights activists and politicians who oppose the system have been forced to flee too.

This study actually aims to proof the fact that gross human rights violation in Southern Cameroon has been to a large extend the reason behind the large emigration of Southern Cameroonians in general. Other professionals like journalists, artists and human right defenders have also been forced to flee from the Country. This therefore means that forced migration from Cameroon has not only been a consequence of environmental or disaster pushed factors especially emigrants from Southern Cameroon but that it has been largely political motivated. Such is the case with Mr Charles Atangana who preferred to stay in Britain seeking asylum for

over 7 years before been granted than to return to his home land Cameroon to be imprisoned and tortured on grounds of his political views. ⁴

In February 2010, the police in Tiko, Southwest Province, arrested and briefly detained 25 SCNC members who had gone to a court to support fellow members on trial for holding an illegal meeting in October 2008.

In May 2010, the High Court in Mamfe, Southwest Province, found three SCNC leaders including its national chairman, Nfor Ngala Nfor – guilty of belonging to a foreign organization not recognized in Cameroon and sentenced them to five months imprisonment.

In June 2010, journalists Jacques Blaise Mvie and Charles Rene Nwe of La Nouvelle newspaper were sentenced in their absence to five years' imprisonment after the military court in Yaounde found them guilty of insulting a government official and divulging defence secrets. The trial related to an article in the newspaper alleging that the Minister of Defence had been involved in a plot to overthrow the government. (Amnesty International, 2010)

In line with my argument above,

In June, the Court of Appeal in Douala confirmed the conviction and sentence against musician and political activist Pierre Lambo Sandjo by the High Court in 2008. He was convicted of taking part in the February 2008 riots and sentenced to three years in prison. (Amnesty International, 2010)

⁴ The Afronews: Cameroonian Journalist finally granted refugee status <http://www.theafronews.eu/black-community/anti-deportation/371-cameroonian-journalist-finally-granted-refugee-status.html>

As if that was enough,

The Embassy of the United States of America in Cameroon laments the death of the journalist Bibi Ngota while in pretrial detention in Kendengui prison and expresses its greatest sympathies to his grieving family and friends... The Embassy reiterates its concern for the respect of human rights in Cameroon, including freedom of the press and freedom of expression. (US Embassy Yaounde, April 26, 2010).

This has been the plight of Journalist, artists and opposition figures and many more who will prefer to seek refuge in another country than to face the maltreatment from the government. Such has been the case of Retired Ambassador Henry Fossong now in the United States, Dr. Carlson Anyangwe in South Africa.

The Universal declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations general assembly on 10 December 1948 at Palais de Chaillot, Paris constitute one part of the International Bill of Human Rights which also constitutes the International Convention on Economic social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Convention on Civil and Political rights (ICCPR) and its two optional protocols. After its ratification by sufficient nations the bill took the force of international law in 1978. The ICESCR and the ICCPR commits its parties to right to life, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, electoral rights, rights to due process and fair trial and the right to adequate standard of living. As clearly indicated above is not the case of Cameroon.

1.1 Author's Perspective. (Motivation)

My motives for undertaking this particular research originates from my parental background and involvement in the liberation struggle for the Southern Cameroons which has played a major role in the emigration of southern Cameroonians. I was born and leaved all my life as a young boy in the southern Cameroon territory by a southern Cameroonian activist. My father's active involvement in this struggle has had a great influence in my thoughts about this struggle. As I have always asked myself from my childhood days why are they locking him up all the time? And why are they releasing him again if what he is doing is wrong? This was the case in one of his newspaper articles posted on the post newspaper about the systematic destruction of Southern Cameroons Economic and political system. In which he criticises the government of La Republique du Cameroun of frustrating the Sothern Cameroons.

Recent happenings have confirmed the fact that the successive regimes of La Republique du Cameroun are bent on wiping out every vestige of the Southern Cameroons. Native Anglophone Cameroonians are being frustrated in every aspect of life. Job opportunities are opened to Ewondos of La Republique alone as opposed to the entire Southern Cameroons.⁵(David Tanjong October 2006)

He was later arrested detained and later released as is often the case. More so in December 2006 he published another article in the same newspaper talking about the crisis at the University of Buea being part of the Anglophone problem. Here is stated that,

⁵ The Post Newspaper October 2006: The systematic destruction of Southern Cameroon Economic and Political System http://www.postnewslines.com/2006/10/systematic_dest.html

Time has finally caught up with the successive regimes in Cameroon and exposed it on how they have been marginalising the Southern Cameroons and depriving its people of opportunities. The crisis now in UB brought about by the imposition of names unto a list of successful candidates means that the chances of the Southern Cameroons children who passed the examination genuinely were sacrificed.⁶(David Tanjong, December 2006)

These constant publications which he made and his continues activities as a Southern Cameroons liberation sympathizer accounted for his been arrested and detained. These constant harassments and detention always made me so inquisitive to know more about the movement. Then I came to realise that something was wrong somewhere. When I was aged 17 I remember having a lot of pressure from my father that I should travel to Europe and continue my studies abroad which I did not like because I was going to miss my family. My father's reasons were that I was his only son and he did not want me to pass through the same things he was passing through and he wanted me to get a better life in Europe or elsewhere which I was not going to get in Cameroon based on the fact that I was a Southern Cameroonian. As the old African adage goes that 'what an old man sees sitting down a young man cannot see even while standing up'.

During my Universities studies in Cameroon at the University of Buea Cameroon, the only Anglo-Saxon University where I obtained a BSc in Political Science from the department of Political Science and Public Administration, a quite number of issues cut across the period. Such of which included the student strike in 2005.

The University of Buea, UB, students' strike which started as a show of solidarity with their striking colleagues in the University of Yaoundé I, went out of control due to the

⁶ The Post Newspaper December 2006: UB Crisis is part of the Anglophone problem:
http://www.postnewslines.com/2006/12/ub_crisis_is_pa.html

lack of strike managers, both on the part of the students and the part of the authorities, including the local administration.⁷ (Bouddih Adams, April 2005).

A Cameroon based online newspaper Cameroon info tried to explain reasons for the failures in the strike action on the part of the student identifying the fact that no one was willing to spear head the activities been aware of the consequences. Meaning that fear was the contributing factor.

It states

The failure on the part of the students was as a result of the fact that since the start of the University of Buea all student strike leaders have often been banned from state universities at the end of the strike. Such is the case of namely Ebenezer Akwanga, Tie Muchu, Valentine Nti and so on, were sanctioned never to graduate, thus scaring students.⁸ (Bouddih Adams, April 2005).

Ebenezer Akwanga who is son of the soil of Southern Cameroon was finally jailed for his role in the Southern Cameroon Liberation struggle. Ebenezer now leave on exile and is Chairman of the Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL). So therefore there was always this fear of whom to lead and without proper leadership many things go out of control. In the particular situation of the University of Buea student strike of 2005, their demands where among others that:- University of Buea student Union be officially recognised as the sole representative of University Students, total immunity granted to strike leaders, registration fees reduced if possible eliminated, cost of restaurant meals reduced, all courses should be available for “resit”, University Toilets to be rehabilitated and taps constructed.

⁷ Cameroon info: Buea Killings due to poor conflict managements. <http://www.cameroon-info.net/reactions/@,16240,7,buea-killings-due-to-poor-conflict-management.html>

⁸ Cameroon info: Buea Killings due to poor conflict managements. <http://www.cameroon-info.net/reactions/@,16240,7,buea-killings-due-to-poor-conflict-management.html>

At the end of the strike period, La Republique inability to handle the crisis was exposed when the government placed the SCNC as the scape goat in the crisis. This can be seen in the words of a French journalist such as Jean Paul Biya.

Reporting for the BBC French service this morning (7 o'clock) May 25, 2005, a reporter, Jean Paul Biya, quoting the Yaoundé Government Official Communiqué on troops and students violence at UB, yesterday, May 24th said that the encounter was between troops and members of the SCNC, an illegal group.⁹ (Vincent Feko, May 2005)

On the contrary the SCNC had nothing to do with the Student strike and had earlier on condemned governments use of force on unarmed Southern Cameroonian students with public declaration such as this.

It will be recalled that in two separate press releases on April 30th and May 2nd 2005, the SCNC vehemently condemned the illegal use of bullets by troops (with reinforcements from Littoral Province) on unarmed and defenceless students, killing two, for peacefully demonstrating to be given their rights.¹⁰ (Vincent Feko, May 2005)

This particular situation made me understand how scared La Republic was when it comes to suppressing uprisings of any form from the Southern Cameroons and also pointing accusing fingers to SCNC when it concern normal student uprising.

After my university studies in Cameroon I decided to go abroad to continue my education and the then I made the choice to pursue a career in peace studies so as to find answers to the

⁹ The Post Watch Magazine: Making the SCNC Scapegoat in the University of Buea Crisis http://www.postwatchmagazine.com/2005/06/making_the_scnc.html

¹⁰ The post watch magazine: Making the SCNC scapegoat in the University of Buea Crisis http://www.postwatchmagazine.com/2005/06/making_the_scnc.html

plight of my people-The southern Cameroonians. In a nutshell the research is relevant in that if gross human rights violations (ICESCR and ICCPR – right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and right to due process and fair trial) in Cameroon have a direct relationship with forced migration as concerns Southern Cameroon case and Cameroon as a whole.

1.2 Objectives.

- The main objective of my research is to examine forced migration (emigration) particularly from Southern Cameroon caused by political repression while bringing to light Cameroon as a whole.
- To emphasize the role of the southern Cameroon Liberation movements as non-violent resistance movements fighting for self-determination and independence from La Republique du Cameroon, successes and failures of the movements such as SCYL, SCAPO, AMBAZONIA, SCARM with special regards to the SCNC.
- To look at Human rights violations in Southern Cameroon and the role played by International organisation.

1.3 Hypothesis.

The Hypothesis of this thesis stands out that emigration from Southern Cameroons in particular and Cameroon in general cannot only be reduced to climatic, developmental or economic perspectives or stand points but actually acknowledgement of the fact that there exist a

direct relationship between emigration and political persecution especially in the Southern Cameroons not leaving out the socio-economic and political consequences of the outflow.

In this light gross human rights violations such as lack of political freedom, the absence of freedom of speech freedom of the press, absence free and fair trial of Cameroonians, the lack influence of the judiciary arm of government by the execute branch, unlawful arrest and detentions of innocent citizens have all been influential factors in determining emigration of southern Cameroonians in particular and Cameroonians as a whole.

1.4 Theoretical Framework.

This thesis is strategically located and supported by various theories: Alexander Betts theory of forced migration and global politics and by Immanuel Kant's philosophy that when one man's rights are violated anywhere, the rights of another man are violated elsewhere. Both cases find expression in the universality of human rights as held by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

In Betts theories of forced migration he argues that whether it involves a crossing of international border or not forced migration lies at the heart of global politics. Its causes, consequences and state responses to it are also inextricable from global politics. (Betts, 2009: 2)

Incooperating Betts arguement to the light of this thesis, it is worthwhile accepting the fact that, when we look at migration as a whole a good number of issues cut across the table but when we stream it down to emigration as I will like to talk about in this thesis we are faced with the 'Why' and 'Where' which the German-English geographer cartographer Ernest George

Ravenstein in his law of migration in 1885 made mention of the push and pull factors still in general terms. In this particular situation of forced migration of Cameroon i will look at the push factors here been the violations and persecutions while the pull factor been the imaginary expected comfort which in itself is a large debate to get into. But the fact that both of these issues are inextricable from global politics is the acceptable discourse. How important are the signing of international conventions and its implications, and applications of these conventions.

Betts reminds us that there has been increased recognition that where an individual's country of origin is unable or unwilling to ensure his or her access to a certain set of basic rights, then there is a wider international responsibility to ensure that sure individuals or groups receive protection. (Betts: 2009)

1.5 Literature Review

This thesis draws from and on the works of several organizations, authors, scholars, publications, newspaper articles and literature in two major fields: Forced Migration and Human rights. It is difficult to mention them all because of the large numbers especially on Human Rights. However, the most prominent authorities whose works bore strategic, direct and indirect relevance to this thesis are hereby reviewed. In the field of Human rights Annual Reports and other publications of prominent human rights institutions including Amnesty International (AI), Human Rights Watch (HRW), Transparency International (TI) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) have also been used. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and numerous United Nations Conventions, such as the International Convention on Civil

and Political Rights (ICCPR), International convention on Economic Social and Cultural Rights Treaties and Charters have been carefully used.

Also the works of Andrew Vincent (2010) in which he argues “In effect that an understanding of human rights must focus primarily on politics and we should try if possible to avoid the overt languages of morality and legality or at least, try to view such languages circumspectly.”

This is in line with my argument in the thesis of La Republique’s politization of Human rights, political repression and political reasons for emigration.

In the domain of forced migration the works of Alexander Betts, Forced migration online, Forced Migration Review, International Organisation for Migration (IOM), International Association for the study of forced migration (IASFM), Refugee Research Network (RRN), Refugee studies Centre in Oxford, Centre for Refugee studies in Canada and several authors have been reviewed, and the relevance of their hypothesis to this thesis analysed.

Transcend Migrators explain that theories of migration are important because they help us understand population movements within their wider political and economic contexts. For example, if outmigration from Third World nations as shown to be a result of economic problems caused by global economy, then such migration could be managed with better international economic agreements instead of restrictive immigration acts.¹¹ This I argue in the lights of political migrants.

¹¹ Transcend Migrators: Migration-Theories of migration-marriage and family
<http://family.jrank.org/pages/1170/Migration-Theories-Migration.html>

1.6 Relevance

The topic of forced migration is a widely studied issue today with the involvement of a large organizations, NGOs, institutions, publications, INGOs such as University of Oxford department of International development, refugee studies centre, forced migration Review, forced migration online, and the International Organisation of migration just to name a few. But narrowing it down to the situation of political persecution such as the case of Southern Cameroon and issues of Human rights violation is what has received little attention. In tracing the roots of a problem or in any peace building process, the role of the civil society, Non-violent resistance movements and pressure groups and the treatments they receive while pressing on their demands whether just or unjust has to be invoked. The situation in southern Cameroon has been that of silencing resistance movements, pressure groups by the use of force by the government and not that of constructive dialogue (Banjul Verdict 2009:42:2(ii)) which would be widely accepted and largely demanded by these organizations hence a situation arises of forced migration which I will convincingly argue that, the more force any government tries to use on its citizens or groups of people as an attempt to crush down on a resistance, the more momentum the resistance or movement gathers. Such is clearly indicated in the motto of the SCNC ‘The Force of Argument and not Argument of Force’. The Arab awakening or revolution as Aljazeera terms it, which started in January 2011 in Tunisia and spread through Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria and Bahrain are all examples. These revolutions show a mass influx of conflict induced migrants into neighbouring Turkey, Italy and other European countries. Here we can try to draw a line between the situation in the southern Cameroons and the Arab revolution in terms of repression but the figures definitely are incomparable. As for Southern Cameroon, the more the government keeps

on exercising its gross human rights violations on its people, the more the people are forced to flee out of the home land but not forced to stop the revolt, the journey continues.

In a nutshell, the research is relevant in that it tries to expose or bring to the attention of the reader the fact that human rights violations in Cameroon have a direct Relationship with forced migration as concerns Southern Cameroons case and Cameroon as a whole.

1.7 Methods

The research makes an attempt to gathers cases of human rights violation in Cameroon as a whole and Southern Cameroon in particular and in cognizance of Human rights conventions of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, marginalization, unlawful arrest and detentions without trial, torture and the right to privacy. All these information i gathered from online sources such reports from Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of States Human Rights Reports for Cameroon, websites and Newspaper articles. So the main research is based on descriptive, analytical, deductive and correlative analysis. Beside that during the research the use of qualitative approach of investigation will be employed. The work has synchronic and diachronic methods of descriptive analysis depending on the form and content in wish the material is used. I had intended to administer questionnaires which at the end of the day were not possible to Southern Cameroon liberationist and others who have been victims of Human rights violations at home and abroad so as to paint a better picture of the situation.

The theoretical part of the work touches on The International conventions on civil and political rights (ICCPR) and the rights to self-determination and non-violent resistant movements. The practical part explores the Southern Cameroon struggles and forms of non-violent strategies been employed. The US Department of State reports, Amnesty International Reports, have all been useful in analysing my points.

This work is conducted using academic materials such as books articles, journal, reports from international organizations and also online sources collected from the Universitat Jaume I and the Bancaja International Centre for Peace and Development libraries. Also there are interpretations of text of all relevant materials collected for the purpose of the research. In this thesis the texts and examples chosen were read and analysed from a critical reflective perspective.

1.8 Structure

The work will be structured in this way, a table of content containing four chapters excluding the general introduction and the general conclusion with bibliography and glossary of terms. Each chapter consist of an introduction, subchapters revealing the main information and conclusion at the end of the work. The general introduction which is Chapter I will reveal the main components of the work, which includes claim aims, objectives, structure of the work, methodology of research and the hypothesis.

Chapter II will examine all terminologies involved in forced migration. That is defining forced migration and its types and forms

Chapter III will define what it means to be Southern Cameroonian, The SCNC, its aims and objectives, successes and failures, and SCNC and other Liberation movements in Southern Cameroon today.

Chapter IV will talk about Human rights in Cameroon conventions ratifications and applications of these conventions.

Chapter V will address the issues surrounding forced migration in Southern Cameroon analysing case studies of prominent Southern Cameroonians and Cameroon in general today.

Chapter VI the general conclusion will be last where general opinion will be given, recommendations, future areas of research followed by the Bibliography.

Chapter 2: What is Forced Migration?

2.1 Introduction.

The study of Forced migration can be viewed as a very complex and wide ranging phenomenon. FMO has adopted the definition of ‘forced migration’ promoted by the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) which describes it as “a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects.”¹²

According to the Forced Migration Online study which provides a world of information on human displacement, views forced migration as “a complex, wide-ranging and pervasive set of phenomena. The study of forced migration is multidisciplinary, international, and multisectoral, incorporating academic, practitioner, agency and local perspectives.”¹³

Ernest Ravenstein known as the earliest migration theorist, an English geographer who defined migration from the pull and push factor perspective, his push factor I deem very important in understanding forced migration. He states that “migration was governed by a ‘push-pull’ process; that is, unfavourable conditions in one place (oppressive laws, heavy taxation, etc.) ‘push’ people out, and favourable conditions in an external location ‘pull’ them out.”¹⁴

Forced migration can be clearly studied under three categories namely: conflict induced, development induced and disaster induced migration.

¹² What is forced migration? <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

¹³ Forced Migration Online. <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

¹⁴ Ernest Ravenstein ‘Laws of Migration’. <http://family.jrank.org/pages/1170/Migration-Theories-Migration.html>

2.2 Types of Forced Migration.

2.2.1 Conflict Induced Migration:

This could refer to people who run away from their homes as a result of wars and or other conflict. On the website of [forcedmigration.org](http://www.forcedmigration.org) provide a more complete definition of who conflict induced migrants are.

“A large proportion of these displaced people will flee across international borders in search of refuge. Some of them may seek asylum under international law, whereas others may prefer to remain anonymous, perhaps fearing that they may not be granted asylum and will be returned to the country from whence they fled. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been an escalation in the number of armed conflicts around the world. Many of these more recent conflicts have been internal conflicts based on national, ethnic or religious separatist struggles. There has been a large increase in the number of refugees during this period as displacement has increasingly become a strategic tactic often used by all sides in the conflict. Since the end of the Cold War there has also been an even more dramatic increase in the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs), who currently far outnumber the world’s refugee population. In 2010, there were some 11 million refugees and asylum seekers and a further 27.5 million IDPs worldwide.”¹⁵

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the maximum international organization with the responsibility to protect these refugees. The 1951 UN Refugee Convention gave authority to the UNHCR to provide protection and assistance to refugees. However, one group of refugees do not come under the mandate of UNHCR. These are

¹⁵ Conflict induced migration: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

Palestinian refugees in the Middle East, who come under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

2.2.2 Development Induced Migration:

This term generally refers to the movement of people as “a result of policies and or projects implemented supposedly to enhance development”.¹⁶ FMO gives examples of these as large-scale infrastructure projects such as the construction of dams, roads, ports, airports: urban clearance initiatives; mining and deforestation; and the introduction of conservation parks/reserves and biosphere projects. (www.forcedmigration.org)

According to Jason Stanley (2004) in his paper titled Development-induced displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) displacement tallies almost always refer only to persons physically ousted from legally acquired land in order to make way for the planned project, ignoring those living in the vicinity of, or downstream from, projects, whose livelihoods and socio-cultural milieu might be adversely affected by the project. A count that considers this wider conception of development-induced displacement would be much higher than the World Bank Environmental Department (WBED) estimate. WBED estimates that roughly 10 million people are displaced each year due to dam construction, urban development, and transportation and infrastructure programs.¹⁷

Development-induced displacement occurs throughout the world, but China and India in particular, are responsible for a large portion of such displacements.

¹⁶ Development Induced Migration <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

¹⁷ Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/development-induced-displacement-and-resettlement/fmo022.pdf>: 3

The National Research Center for Resettlement in China has calculated that over 45 million people were displaced by development projects in that country between 1950 and 2000.¹⁸

Taneja and Thakkar (2000) point out that estimates on displacement in India from dam projects alone range from 21 million to 40 million. The WBED report notes that, in 1993, World Bank projects in China accounted for 24.6 per cent of people displaced in Bank-assisted projects, while Bank-assisted projects in India accounted for 49.6 per cent of the Bank total.¹⁹

In Cernea's paper on Africa Involuntary Population Resettlement in Global Context (1997) show the example of the, the Akosombo Dam in Ghana that displaced 80,000 people, approximately 1 per cent of the country's population, in comparison to largest displacements like China and India.

2.2.3 Disaster Induced Migration:

This clearly refers to taken away from their habitat as a result of disaster which could be man-made, natural or as a result of environmental changes and situations. Forced migration online defines it as

“This category includes people displaced as a result of natural disasters (floods, volcanoes, landslides, earthquakes), environmental change (deforestation, desertification, land degradation, global warming) and human-made disasters (industrial accidents,

¹⁸ Compensation and Valuation in Resettlement: Cambodia people's Republic of China and India (2007) http://www.landesia.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/ADB-RDI_Report_on_Land_Taking_Law_and_Practice_in_China_India_Cambodia.pdf

¹⁹ Jason Stanley in DIDR <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/development-induced-displacement-and-resettlement/fmo022.pdf>

radioactivity). Clearly, there is a good deal of overlap between these different types of disaster-induced displacement. For example, the impact of floods and landslides can be greatly exacerbated by deforestation and agricultural activities. Estimating trends and global figures on people displaced by disaster is even more disputed and problematic than for the other two categories. But there are certainly many millions of people displaced by disasters every year. Several international organizations provide assistance to those affected by disasters, including the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the World Food Programme. Many NGOs (international and local) also provide assistance to affected people.”²⁰ (FMO)

Hugo held this position on disaster induced displacements “Migration, whether permanent or temporary, has always been a traditional response or survival strategy of people confronting the prospect, impact or aftermath of disasters (Hugo 1996)”²¹

Anthony Oliver professor of Anthropology University of Florida in his works on Disaster and Forced Migration in the 21st Century was quite to cite Hewitt argument.

“Hewitt (1983) posited that most natural disasters are more explainable in terms of the ‘normal’ order of things, that is, the conditions of inequality and subordination in the society rather than the accidental geophysical features of a place. This perspective shifted the focus away from the disaster event and towards the ‘on-going societal and man-environment relations that prefigure [disaster]’ (Hewitt 1983:24-27).”²²

²⁰ Disaster Induced Migration: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

²¹ Integrated Strategies to minimize the socio economic impacts on climate change Refugees <http://www.ihmsaw.org/resourcefiles/1288445891.pdf>

²² Disaster and Forced Migration in the 21st Century. <http://understandingkatrina.ssrc.org/Oliver-Smith/>

2.3 Types of Forced Migrants.

Different terms have been adopted as to what concerns persons or group of persons affected by forced migration. These terms could sometimes be misleading as their meaning are not always self-evident. Here below I will try to define some of these terms based on definitions used by scholars working on forced migrations.

2.3.1 Refugees:

The word refugee has a long history of usage referring to a person seeking refuge. Contained in the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the status of refugee is a legal definition of a refugee.

“Article 1 of this convention defines a refugee as a person residing outside his or her country of nationality, who is unable or unwilling to return because of a ‘well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a political social group, or political opinion.’”²³ (FMO)

“Refugees include individuals recognized under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees; its 1967 Protocol; the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa; those recognized in accordance with the UNHCR Statute; individuals granted complementary forms of protection; or, those enjoying

²³ Refugees: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

“temporary protection”. The refugee population includes people in a refugee-like situation.”²⁴ (Global Trend Report 2008)

Some 150 of the world’s 200 or so states have undertaken to protect refugees and not return them to a country where they may be persecuted, by signing the 1951 Refugee Convention and/or its 1967 Protocol. (forcedmigration.org)

“Those recognized as refugees are better off than other forced migrants, in that they have a clear legal status and are entitled to the protection of the UNHCR. The annual budget for the UNHCR has grown from US\$300,000 in its first year to more than USD 3.59 billion in 2012 and the agency works in 126 countries (UNHCR, 2012). The vast majority of refugees are in the world’s poorest countries in Asia and Africa. The global refugee population grew from 2.4 million in 1975 to 14.9 million in 1990. A peak was reached following the end of the Cold War with 18.2 million in 1993. In 2010, there was estimated to be some 10.5 million refugees around the world (UNHCR, 2011).”²⁵

The UNHCR statistical snapshot for Cameroon as of January 2014 shows that there are over 114,753 refugees residing in Cameroon excluding 8,337 asylum seekers. Likewise there are also 11,442 Cameroon residing out of Cameroon as refugees excluding 4,186 asylum seekers.

²⁴ Global Trend Report, 2008: 5: <http://www.acnur.org/biblioteca/pdf/7096.pdf?view=1>

²⁵ Refugee: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

2.3.2 Asylum Seekers:

Asylum seekers can be referred to persons or group of persons who in search of security have been forced to move away from their natural habitats or homes and have crossed international boundaries. The organisation of forced migration holds this position for them.

“Asylum seekers are people who have moved across an international border in search of protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention, but whose claim for refugee status has not yet been determined. Annual asylum claims in Western Europe, Australia, Canada and the USA combined rose from some 90,400 in 1983 to 323,050 in 1988 and then peaked at 828,645 in 1992. Applications fell sharply by the mid-1990s but began to steadily rise again towards the end of the decade. By the end of 2004, asylum applications made in these Western countries had again dropped significantly and in 2010 the total number of asylum applications in 44 industrialized countries was estimated at 358,800; the fourth lowest in the past 10 years (UNHCR, 2011).”²⁶ (forcedmigration.org)

Many western powers have suffered the impact of the rise in the numbers in the 90's of these groups of persons or persons who have moved across international boundaries in search of security into their various societies. Names such as bogus migrants or economic migrants appeared into the scene to refer to these persons.

“As the numbers of asylum seekers rose during the 1990s and beyond, there was increasing skepticism from some politicians and the media, particularly in Western states, about the credibility of the claims of many asylum seekers. They have been labeled ‘economic refugees’ and ‘bogus asylum seekers’. Asylum migration is clearly a result of

²⁶ Asylum seekers: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

mixed motivations. Most asylum seekers do not come from the world's poorest states, however many do come from failed or failing states enduring civil war and with high degrees of human rights abuses and, not surprisingly, significant levels of poverty. However, the number of people who are seeking asylum in Western states comprises a small fraction of the total number displaced around the world.”²⁷ (forcedmigration.org)

The UNHCR Global Trend report for 2013 made mention of the increase in number of asylum claims likewise the diversity in destinations of these migrants.

“From 2012 to 2013, 30 of the 44 asylum countries included in this report registered an increase in asylum requests. This compares to 2012 when 29 countries reported increases. This is the highest number of countries with an increase in asylum applications in the last five years and is consistent with the increase observed in the overall number of asylum claims lodged in industrialized countries. This suggests that not only has the total number of asylum-seekers increased, but also that there has been an increased diversity in the countries where people seek international protection.” (UNHCR Asylum Trend 2013)

“With a combined number of 357,100 registered asylum claims in 2013 Germany, The United States of America, France Sweden and Turkey were the two 5 receiving countries accounting for nearly six out of the ten asylum claims submitted in the 44 industrialised countries covered by this report. By comparison, in 2012 260,700 claims were registered in these five countries.” (UNHCR Asylum Trend, 2013: 9)

²⁷ Asylum seekers: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

2.3.3 Internally Displaced Persons

The most used definition of internally displaced persons (IDP's) was that which was presented in a 1992 report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, it identifies this group of persons as “persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country”.²⁸ (FMO)

In line with this definition is that proposed by the Global trend report of 2008 with special emphases on the fact internally displaced person do not go across international boundaries

“The 2008 Global trend reports also defines IDP as people or groups of individuals who have been forced to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural- or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an international border. For purposes of UNHCR’s statistics, this population only includes conflict-generated IDP’s to whom the office extends protection and/or assistance. The IDP population includes people in an IDP like situation.” (Global Trend Report 2008: 5)

However figures are bound for statistical purposes as offered by forced migration online.

“Sometimes referred to as ‘internal refugees’, these people are in similar need of protection and assistance as refugees but do not have the same legal and institutional support as those who have managed to cross an international border. There is no

²⁸ Internally Displaced persons: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

specifically-mandated body to provide assistance to IDPs, as there is with refugees. Although they are guaranteed certain basic rights under international humanitarian law (the Geneva Conventions), ensuring these rights are secured is often the responsibility of authorities which were responsible for their displacement in the first place, or ones that are unable or unwilling to do so. The number of IDPs around the world is estimated to have risen from 1.2 million in 1982 to 14 million in 1986. However, it is likely that earlier estimates are woefully low, as little systematic counting was being conducted at the time. Estimates on numbers of IDPs continue to be controversial, due to debate over definitions, and to methodological and practical problems in counting. In 2010 there were an estimated 27.5 million IDPs worldwide (IDMC, 2011). However, statistics on IDPs are a controversial issue and there is no universal agreement.”²⁹ (forcedmigration.org)

2.3.4 Development Displacees:

These groups of persons are similar in characteristics to internally displace as they do not necessarily go across international boundaries but the motives for the movements vary.

“People who are compelled to move as a result of policies and projects implemented to supposedly enhance ‘development’. These include large-scale infrastructure projects such as dams, roads, ports, airports; urban clearance initiatives; mining and deforestation; and the introduction of conservation parks/reserves and biosphere projects. Affected people usually remain within the borders of their country. People displaced in this way are

²⁹ IDP’s: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

sometimes also referred to as ‘oustees’, ‘involuntarily displaced’ or ‘involuntarily resettled’.”³⁰

This generally causes huge-scale displacement. It is often said that displacement as a result of development often takes place with little recognition, support or assistance from outside the affected population. It unequally affects indigenous and ethnic minorities and the urban or rural poor. “It has been estimated that during the 1990s some 90 to 100 million people around the world were displaced as a result of infrastructural development projects.” (forcedmigration.org)

2.3.5 Environmental and Disaster Displacees:

This refers to displacement as a result of manmade, natural or as a result of environmental factors. This has given rise to terms such as environmental and disaster refugees.

“Sometimes referred to ‘environmental refugees’ or ‘disaster refugees’, in fact most of those displaced by environmental factors or disasters do not leave the borders of their homeland. This category includes people displaced as a result of natural disasters (floods, volcanoes, landslides, earthquakes), environmental change (deforestation, desertification, land degradation, global warming) and human-made disasters (industrial accidents, radioactivity).”³¹ (forcedmigration.org)

³⁰ Development Displacees: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

³¹ Environmental Displacees: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

2.3.6 Smuggled Persons:

Persons could sometimes be moved across international boundaries illegally but with their consent. This is what researchers and scholars in this domain call smuggled persons. Forced migration online defines this in this words

“Smuggled migrants are moved illegally for profit. They are partners, however unequal, in a commercial transaction. This is not to say that the practice is not without substantial exploitation and danger. People who think they are being smuggled may run the risk of actually being trafficked. And even if they are not, their personal safety and well-being on their journey and after arrival are not necessarily the smugglers’ top priorities. Smuggled migrants may include those who have been forcibly displaced as well as those who have left their homeland in search of better economic and social opportunities. The motivations are often mixed. As the borders to favoured destination countries have become increasingly strengthened to resist the entry of asylum seekers, migrants of all kinds have increasingly drawn upon the services of smugglers.”³² (forcedmigration.org)

In Europe for example there exist a good number of cases of smuggled persons in Spain and Italy which are one of the main entry ports into Europe. The International Organization for Migration and people smuggling states that

“People smuggling is a growing global crime that exposes thousands of migrants to unacceptable risks and challenges the integrity of international borders. In the last two decades, globalization and conflicts have seen an increase in international migration flows. Given the restrictive immigration on policies put in place by destination countries

³² Smuggled persons: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

and the important human and technological resources deployed at borders to better monitor entry and exit movements, many migrants lacking the means to reach their country destination on legally fall prey to criminal groups specialized in people smuggling that can arrange journeys at a high price.”³³

IOM in this light defines people smuggling based on the United Nations convention on Transnational Organized Crime and its protocol against the smuggling of migrants, “people smuggling is the procurement in order to obtain directly or indirectly a financial or other material benefits, of the illegal entry of a person into a state of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident”.

2.3.7 Trafficked people

Protocol signed at Lake Success, New York, on 12 November 1947, to amend the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, concluded at Geneva on 30 September 1921, and the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, concluded at Geneva on 11 October 1933. This took place at Lake Success, New York, 12 November 1947. As at now there are 48 parties but 8 signatories amongst which are: Brazil, Denmark, Greece, Iran, Luxemburg, Nigaragua, Norway, and Netherlands (UN Treaty Series, Vol. 53: 13)

“These are people who are moved by deception or coercion for the purposes of exploitation. The profit in trafficking people comes not from their movement, but from the

³³ International Organisation for Migration:
<http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/activities/ibm/10-IOM-IBM-FACT-SHEET-People-smuggling.pdf>

sale of their sexual services or labour in the country of destination. The trafficked person may be physically prevented from leaving, or be bound by debt or threat of violence to themselves or their family in their country of origin. Like smuggling, by its very clandestine nature, figures on the number of people being trafficked are extremely difficult to obtain.” (FMO)

2.4 Conclusion.

Social scientist working in the field of migration have not had it easy trying to bring out the different types forced migration and forced migrants involved. This is so because the United Nation High Commission for Refugee (UNHCR) which is said to be the highest governing body in charge of the migrants have had to face several opposition from signatory bodies (European powers) of the convention with new words coming into play such as bogus migrants, economic migrants to refer to forced migrants.

One other very important issue in this section of my research which i will like to bring out is the differences that exist between smuggled people and Trafficked people. One is for financial gains and the other for exploitation (prostitution and force labour) respectively. Voluntary in the case of Smuggled persons and involuntary in the case of Trafficked persons by use of force.

Chapter 3: Non-Violent Resistance Movement in Southern Cameroon.

3.1 Introduction.

Southern Cameroons is the territory bounded to the West and North West by Nigeria, East by La Republique du Cameroun and South by the Atlantic Ocean. Southern Cameroon, also well known as Anglophone Cameroon, today constitutes two main provinces: the Southwest Province and Northwest Province (Figure 3). This part of Cameroon after gaining its independence from the British (England) on October 1st 1961 a year later after French Cameroon, also well known as la Republic, had gained its independence from the French (France) January 1960 decided to form a federation John Ngu Foncha served as first Prime minister of Southern Cameroon and Vice President of the Federation. A decade later, 20 May 1972 this federation was turned into a unitary state; the Southern Cameroons lost its autonomy and this was when southern Cameroon parted into two different provinces, the Southwest and the Northwest provinces. This gave rise to movements calling for increased autonomy for the Southern Cameroons, calls that eventually resulted in the 1993 All Anglophone Conference (AAC) that gathered these different organizations. The aim of the conference was to restore the autonomous status of Southern Cameroons and to return to the federation created in the 1960s. The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) was formed to work towards this goal. The SCNC with its chairman Late Chief Ayamba Ette Otun (who died in the course of my work) has as motto the force of argument and not the argument of force. This non-violent organization SCNC has been declared illegal by the Paul Biya government of Cameroon as its fights the separation from Francophone Cameroon.

We also have the Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL). The Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL) also known as “The Youth League” and “The League” states on its website that it was founded on May 28, 1995 in the Federal Capital Territory of Buea. The SCYL says that it is not a political party, and describes itself as a “non-profit political freedom-fighting organization”.³⁴

The SCYL indicates that it was created with the unique mission of using all available civilized means including force to bring freedom to the suffering and persecuted people of the Southern Cameroons. Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga, Jr., (born 18 November 1970) has been the Leader of the Southern Cameroons Youth League, the SCYL, since July 1995.

There also exist other non-violent resistant movements such as The Southern Cameroon Peoples Organization (SCAPO) with its Secretary General and spokesman for the Diaspora Dr Martin Ayong Ayim, who is Professor of Health Education in the Department of Kinesiology, sports and Leisure studies (KSLs) at Grambling State University Louisiana. He is dedicated and strong supporter of the Independence and sovereignty of the former British Southern Cameroon. Dr Kevin Ngwang Gumne is Chairman of SCAPO.

And finally we have the Southern Cameroon Revolutionary Movement (SCARM) with Dr. Arnold Boh Yongbang as acting Chairman and Ambazonia with His Royal Highness Fon Fogum Gorji Dinka as Head of State of the Republic of Ambazonia.

³⁴ Southern Cameroon Youth League: <http://www.scylforfreedom.org/scylindex.html>



Figure 1: The Flag of SCNC. Descending dove with an olive branch in its mouth symbolizing peace and hospitality. Thirteen stars symbolizing the thirteen regions that participated in the Constituent Assembly of 2000. National colours: blue and white.³⁵



Figure 2: "Southern Cameroonians own this land of milk and honey. It is our birth right and a gift from God." (Ayim, 2010)

³⁵ Figure 1: Flag of Southern Cameroon (Ayim, 2010)

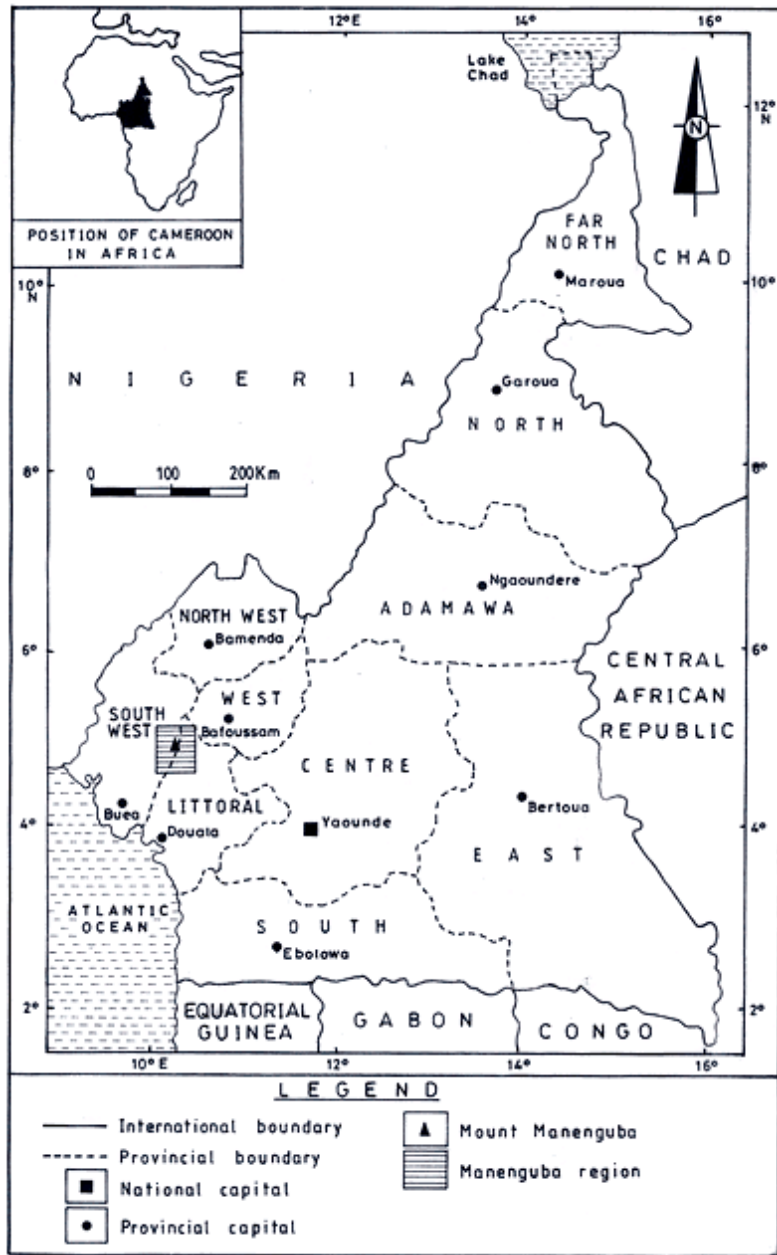


Figure 3: Map of Cameroon ³⁶

³⁶ Figure 3: Map of Cameroon: <http://ecoclub.com/library/epapers/080905.html>

3.2 Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC)

3.2.1 Origin and Creation:

This territory called Southern Cameroon is said to have been subjected to different colonial experiences. She was under German domination, British domination, and now is experiencing domination of La Republique du Cameroun.

Between 1885 and 1916, Southern Cameroons was under German domination. What was called German Cameroon (Kamerun). German Kamerun ceased to exist with the end of the World War I and the Peace Treaty of Versailles that gave birth to the League of Nations.³⁷

After the First World War, which saw the Germans against the British and French in Cameroon, the Germans lost the war and were sent out from the territory. As result of German loss, the British and French attempted a joint administration of the territory, this failed. As a result of this, the territory was partitioned by both powers. The British took one-fifth and the French took four-fifth of the territory. The manner in which the territory was divided gave rise to the Southern Cameroon Problem which is minority problem. The administrative strategy of the British was to administer their own portion of Cameroon as a mandate territory of the League of Nations; the British administered it as an integral part of Nigeria. And to do this, they further split the territory into Northern Cameroons and Southern Cameroons. The British did not consider the territory as viable. They did very little as concerns social and economic development of the territory. This caused the Southern Cameroons to be against British mandate in the territory. The British first administered Southern Cameroons as part of Southern Province of Nigeria, whose headquarters was in Lagos and later; under the Eastern Region of Nigeria, when Nigeria was

³⁷ SCNC Web: <http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/2012-12-04-18-30-08>

divided into three regions, namely, Northern, Western and Eastern. Therefore, Southern Cameroons was administered from Enugu, which was the headquarters of the Eastern Region. With the Eastern Region, Southern Cameroon suffered what was known as the Ibo domination. The Ibo established their hegemony over Southern Cameroons and caused them to be further frustrated by foreign domination.³⁸

“However, it was during this period that the first parliamentary elections were organized in the territory to choose representatives to the Eastern Regional House of Assembly and Federal House in Lagos. Following discrimination they faced as a minority group in the assembly, they walked out in protest and declared Benevolent Neutrality in Nigerian politics. This led to the holding of the first Southern Cameroons Conference in Mamfe in 1953. This Conference adopted a petition addressed to the United Kingdom Government that demanded for a separate regional status in conformity with Southern Cameroons’ status as a UN Trust territory. It was from here that Southern Cameroons nationalism began. This political action yielded the desired results. When in 1954 Southern Cameroons achieved self-governing status, with Dr. EML Endeley as first Premier, its nationalism took a multi-facet nature. Some of its leaders thought that this was a progress that was to lead them to regional autonomy and therefore opted for integration into Nigeria. Some as a result of the experience they received as a colony under another colony, namely, Nigeria, opted for independence. Some as a result of nostalgia and influence from French Cameroun opted for unification with French Cameroun. Unable to come to a consensus, the UN, which became the supervisory authority of the former mandate territories, including British Cameroons imposed two options on them. The

³⁸ SCNC Web: British Southern Cameroon: <http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/2012-12-04-18-30-08>

options were: whether they would like to achieve independence by reunifying with French Cameroon which as a result of their independence on January 1st, 1960 became La Republique du Cameroun or integrating with Nigeria which was already given independence too. Prior to the plebiscite, In 1959 Southern Cameroons organized democratic elections for a third time and affected the first peaceful and democratic transfer of power in the 20th Century Africa.”³⁹

Elections were held and the incumbent Premier Dr E.M.L. Endeley and his ruling party, the CPNC were defeated and he became leader of the Opposition in the House of assembly. February 11, 1961, saw the UN organized plebiscite which was organized on the same day separately for Southern Cameroons and Northern Cameroons; Northern Cameroons voted for integration into Nigeria and was then integrated, while Southern Cameroons voted for unification with French Cameroon and hence reunified. At this point the history of Unification started with the two Cameroons united under a UN-sponsored federation of two states of EQUAL STATUS known as the Federal Republic of Cameroon in October 1961.⁴⁰

The SCNC website clearly summarise the story of the reannexation of Southern Cameroon in this words.

“The Fouban Constitutional Conference of 1961, which federated Southern Cameroons with La Republique du Cameroun was not in line with what, the UN had envisaged. According to the UN such a conference was to involve the governments of Southern Cameroons, La Republique du Cameroun, United Kingdom as the Administering

³⁹ SCNC web: British Southern Cameroons. <http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/2012-12-04-18-30-08>

⁴⁰ SCNC web: British Southern Cameroons. <http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/2012-12-04-18-30-08>

Authority, and the UN as the Supervisory Authority. Unfortunately, it was held without some of these parties like the UN and Britain. Again, there was no accord signed by the two parties that discussed in Foumban. However, the Federal Republic of Cameroon that emerged from Foumban Talks, was made up of two federated states, namely, the State of West Cameroon, made up of Southern Cameroons, and the State of East Cameroon, made of La Republique du Cameroun. Thus, the disappearance of Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun, which respectively became sub nations of the federation with each retaining its inherited territory, colonial, political, administrative system, legal, educational, economic and cultural systems. From 1962 to 1972, the former, the former President of La Republique du Cameroun, Ahmadou Ahidjo who became the President of the Federal Republic took steps to annex Southern Cameroons into La Republique du Cameroun. He finally organised on May 20th, 1972 a referendum, which violated the Talks at Foumban. He abolished the Federal Constitution and imposed Unitary Constitution. Hence the name of the country became United Republic of Cameroon. Southern Cameroons lost its autonomous status it enjoyed under the federal system and became two of the seven provinces of the unitary state. When Paul Biya became President of Cameroon, he completed the annexation by reverting the name of the country to Republique du Cameroun, the name by which French Cameroon gained its independence. This led to the emergence of Southern Cameroon Cameroons liberation movements like the Ambazonia of Fon Gorgi Dinka and Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) the climax of this was in 1993, when Southern Cameroons liberation movements and Southern Cameroonians as a whole met in Buea under the banner of the All Anglophone Conference (AAC I). Its aim was to come out with Southern Cameroons stand and to press for the autonomy of Southern Cameroons in a restored federal system.

This firm stand is contained in the Buea Declaration. Another meeting was held in Bamenda (AAC II) which issued the Bamenda Proclamation. These declarations led to the formation of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), which is a political organisation fighting for the statehood and sovereign independence of Southern Cameroons, thanks to the intransigence and repressive nature of the Biya regime. Despite the obstacles placed on the road to the statehood of Southern Cameroons like, arrest, torture, killings, forcing its nationals into exile, blackmail, misinformation, counter-acting their action and you can name more, it has been succeeding. For instance, it has won the admissibility stage of the case deposited against La Republique du Cameroun in the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights in Banjul won a case against Nigeria, which obliged Nigeria to table and support its bid for independence to the international community and recently, it has been admitted as a new member of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) in The Hague.”⁴¹

3.2.2 Activities:

La Republique du Cameroon in an effort to jeopardise the activities of Southern Cameroon National Council has termed the activities of the SCNC illegal. As stated by the US Department of State Human Rights report for Cameroon 2008 “there were reports of political detainees, which included Anglophone citizens advocating secession through an illegal organization.” (US Human Rights Report, 2008).

⁴¹ SCNC web: The annexation of Southern Cameroon by la Republique:
<http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/2012-12-04-18-30-08>

One of the principle activities of the SCNC is sensibilization of the population of their rights as Anglophone Cameroonians and creating awareness to the population about the way to wish they are marginalized by the La Republique. By so doing, this calls for assemblies, meetings, and press conferences. But on the contrary La Republiques has banned all such gatherings of the Southern Cameroonians as illegal and all participants in such gatherings are arrested and detained without charges. Such was the case published by The vanguard march 14 2010 16 detained for SCNC activities, “According to security sources 16 activists of the United Nation State of Cameroon were arrested in the Nfeh village in Nwa sub-division at the residence of their leader, a certain Mr. Nwunzah Musah. The Vanguard was hinted that the 16 were holding a meeting upon their arrest.”

“Also Yaounde, 19 February 2007 (IRIN) - About 20 members of an Anglophone secessionist group in Cameroon have been jailed for the past month without charge, reflecting what their lawyers say is the latest effort to silence government critics without providing due process. The members of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) were detained on 20 January when they attempted to hold a press conference led by the group’s vice chairman, Nfor Ngala Nfor. Two scheduled hearings on the case have been postponed.”⁴²

The SCNC with is motto “the force of argument and not the argument of Force” and spitted in to several factions all fighting for the same course both national and international with the various leaders headings its activities sources confirm “

- Ayamba Ette Otun, National Chairman (LATE) (*The Post* 21 Sept. 2007)

⁴² Irinnews.org: Secessionist minority Anglophone group silenced: <http://www.irinnews.org/report/70258/cameroon-secessionist-minority-anglophone-group-silenced>

- Nfor Ngala Nfor, National Vice Chairman (OMCT 8 Mar. 2007; *The Post* 24 Jan. 2008; *PHW 2007*: 203)
- Frederick Alobwede Ebong, Chairman (*PHW 2007* 2007, 203) and President of the self-declared Federal Republic of the Southern Cameroons (*PHW 2007*: 203)
- Charles Mbide, Vice National Secretary [Ebong faction] (*The Post* 14 Jan. 2007)
- Henry Fossung, leader of a faction opposed to the independence declaration by the Ebong faction (*PHW 2007* 2007, 203)
- Andrew Azong-Ware, Secretary General (*PHW 2007*: 203)
- Stephen Kongnso, County Chair, Bui (ibid.; *The Post* 11 Oct. 2007)
- Henry Lamnyam, County Secretary, Donga Mantung (OMCT 8 Mar. 2007)
- Achu Njei David, Organizing Secretary, Mezam County (ibid.)
- Nguemo Clement, Financial Secretary, Santa (ibid.)
- Mbi Ann-Rita Eyong, Vice Chair, Kumba (ibid.)
- Ngiewih Asunkwan, National Communication Officer (ibid.)
- Hitler Mbinglo, Northern Zone Chairman (ibid. 17 Feb. 2008)
- James Sabum, National Organizing Secretary (ibid. 3 Apr. 2006)
- Sylvester Taku, Southern Zone Chairman (ibid. 30 Jan. 2007a)
- Anderson Ebai, Chairman for Fako County (ibid.)
- Thomas Acha, Chairman for Meme County (ibid.)
- Mathias Esambi, Chairman for Ndian County (ibid.)
- Nso Tabong, Chairman for Manyu County (ibid.)
- Joseph Mbekunjang, Chairman for Lebialem County (ibid.)

- Henry Forsung Fondeck, Chairman for Kupe Muanenguba County (ibid.)”⁴³

Other activities of the SCNC carried out by these representative included among other seeking international recognition by the international community and support from Non-Governmental Organizations and the United Nations. Such was the case with Unrepresented Nations and People Organization (UNPO). The SCNC is recognized by the UNPO under the status of and occupied and unrecognized territory with a population of +/- 6million inhabitants with and area of 43.000km with English as the official language and Christianity as their religion. This is a territory fighting for its complete decolonization from the hands of La Republique du Cameroun.

3.2.3 Objectives:

The SCNC on its official website age states the aims and objectives of the organization as follows

- “The mission of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) is to right the wrongs of yesterday, restore Southern Cameroonians to the dignity, their natural rights as the legitimate owners and masters of the Southern Cameroons territory, masters of their destiny by peacefully leading Southern Cameroons to take her deserved seat within the community of sovereign nations. Southern Cameroons is currently a colony of La Republique du Cameroun and in consideration of the fact that the modern world has banned colonialism; Southern Cameroonians are legitimately entitled to international support to oust the colonizer, namely, La Republique du Cameroun. It was in recognition

⁴³ Cameroon: The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) and the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL); organizational structures; leaders; activities; membership cards; treatment of their members by government authorities <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4829b55cc.html>

and defence of the enjoyment of this inalienable right of all peoples that classical colonialism, foreign domination and the abolition of apartheid took place. Southern Cameroons, the only UN Trust territory abandoned to its fate, has been annexed, colonized and occupied by La Republique du Cameroun. It is a victim of classical colonialism and foreign domination and should be decolonized under international law and should receive international support.”⁴⁴

- Draw the attention of the Republique to the respect of UN Charter, the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, the Declarations of World leaders and in International Law in general, with the end results of the restoration of the sovereign independence of their homeland in the most orderly and peaceful manner.

3.2.4 Successes and Failure:

One of the greatest achievements of the Southern Cameroon National council in particular and the resistance movements in Southern Cameroon in general has been the Banjul Communiqué. The 37th Session of the African Commission on Human & Peoples Rights saw Communication No 266/2003 Dr. Kevin Ngwang Gumne and Others; Acting on their Behalf and on Behalf of SCNC/SCAPO and the Southern Cameroons Versus La Republique du Cameroun.

“This is a case that was filed before the Africa Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights on January 9, 2003 by representatives of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) and Southern Cameroons Peoples Organisation (SCAPO), acting on their personal behalf and on the behalf of the Southern Cameroons. The plaintiffs who

⁴⁴ SCNC website: <http://www.scncforsoutherncameroons.net/new/index.php/2012-12-04-18-30-08>

filed the case were the following:1.) Dr. Kevin Ngwang Gumne 2.) Mr. Augustine Feh Ndangam 3.) Dr. Martin Ngeka Luma (Deceased) 4.) Chief Ayamba Ette Otun (Deceased) 5.) Mr. Nfor Ngala Nfor 6.) Mr. Humphrey Mbinglo 7.) Mr. Albert Womah Mukong (Deceased) 8.) Isaac M. Sona 9.) Dr. Emil Mondo 10.) Dr. Tayoba Ngenge 11.) Dr. Stephen Shemlon 12.) Dr. Martin Ayim 13.) Dr. J Asongu 14.) Mrs. Regina Mankefor (Deceased) 15.) Ms Melissa Nembang 16.) Mr. Andrew Edimo 17.) Mr. Tum Tafon 18.) Mr. Dennis Atemkeng.”⁴⁵(Ntemfac Nchwete Ofege, 2010)

The complainants were represented by Prof. Carlson Anyangwe, as lead Counsel and the law firm of Akinlawon & Ajomo of Lagos, Nigeria. The complaint recites that La République du Cameroun is guilty of violating the rights of hundreds of citizens of the Southern Cameroons and the collective rights of the People of the Southern Cameroons. (The Banjul Communiqué).

“At the 35th Session of the Commission held in Banjul in May/June 2004 the admissibility of the case was considered. At that hearing La République du Cameroun was represented by an 8-man delegation led by Dr. Dion Ngute, Minister Delegate in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.”⁴⁶

“At the ruling, the elements of ‘people’, ‘domination’, ‘colonialism’ and ‘oppression’: were severely taken into consideration. The people of the Southern Cameroons are without any shadow of a doubt a people, a people under the domination of the people of Respondent State, a

⁴⁵ Postwatch.com: Part III: Lessons from the Bamenda Army Day: Mr. Biya’s «I have decided » Extreme Provocation: Reviewing the Southern Cameroons Question, The Banjul Case. By Ntemfac Nchwete Ofege. With Notes from Den of Lions I and II <http://www.postwatchmagazine.com/2010/12/part-iii-lessons-from-the-bamenda-army-day-mr-biyas-i-have-decided-extreme-provocation-reviewing-the.html>

⁴⁶ Postwatch.com: Part III: Lessons from the Bamenda Army Day: Mr. Biya’s «I have decided » Extreme Provocation: Reviewing the Southern Cameroons Question, The Banjul Case. By Ntemfac Nchwete Ofege. With Notes from Den of Lions I and II <http://www.postwatchmagazine.com/2010/12/part-iii-lessons-from-the-bamenda-army-day-mr-biyas-i-have-decided-extreme-provocation-reviewing-the.html>

people under the colonial rule of Respondent State, and a people oppressed by Respondent State”
(Fonkem 2014)

In the case of the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights, the mere fact that Communication No 266/2003 was found admissible by the Commission, is already a victory that the Southern Cameroons right to self-determination is recognized under the Charter. The conclusion is that the colonial grip which la Republique du Cameroun has exercised over the territory of the Southern Cameroons, with disastrous consequences, both for the Southern Cameroons as well as for its own people, is being slowly dissolved by the moral authority of the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights, which la Republique du Cameroun believed itself free to wantonly violate with impunity, after having ratified the treaty into law. (The Banjul Communiqué).

The great international recognition the SCNC and Southern Cameroon has gained over the year is also a major success to the movement. Southern Cameroon gained recognition into the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) and has the support of the UNPO in all its actions. The World Organization against Torture (OMCT), UNHCR, UN are all international bodies that have in one way or the other commented assisted or acknowledged the works of the SCNC in particular or the Southern Cameroon in general.

On the Contrary in my opinion the greatest failure of the SCNC is the over fragmentation of the movements, the group now comprises of so many fractions. It is well understood that a well prepared battle can be won from many fronts. Having a national bureau and international bureau even continental offices is so far so good. With what has to do with the international level, continental level I see it from a positive perspective but what has to do with the splitting of the

National movements with each fighting against each other is a major failure to my part – the Ebong faction and the Fossung faction. (PHW 2007: 203)

3.3 Other Liberation Movements in Southern Cameroon.

3.3.1 Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL)

It is a resistance movement created on May 28 1995 with same objectives as all other liberation movements in the Southern Cameroon. The SCYL Liberation OATH:

“The Southern Cameroons Must Win this ‘‘War’’! – Therefore: I will work, I will Serve, I will Save I will Sacrifice, I will Endure, I will Fight Cheerfully, And do my utmost, Even Unto Death, As if the issue of the whole struggle depended on Me Alone. So HELP ME GOD!”⁴⁷

The SCYL is a group that split from the SCNC: the SCYL disagreed with the SCNC’s approach of promoting dialogue with the government of Cameroon and believed instead that the use of force was necessary. Nevertheless, the website of the SCYL states that the group has worked "hand in hand" with the SCNC, as well as with other organizations, in order to further their cause. However, the website notes that the SCYL is not the youth wing of the SCNC.

The SCYL indicates on its website that the group has an executive council, which includes the following individuals: Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga, National Chairman; Lucas Cho Ayaba, Secretary-General; Benedict Nwana Kuah, Strategic

⁴⁷ Southern Cameroon Youth league official website. [Http://www.scylforfreedom.org/](http://www.scylforfreedom.org/)

Commander; Fuachaleke Charles Taku, Technical and Legal Adviser; and Nkea Aleambong Emmanuel, Founding Member.⁴⁸

Most of the leadership of the SCYL is located outside of Cameroon. Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga the National Chairman is living in the United States America, apparently having been granted refugee status after fleeing from prison in Cameroon. Like the SCNC, many of the SCYLs activities are thought to be at the international level, including undertaking missions to the UN and channelling activities through the UNPO. The SCYL website indicates that its membership cards are issued by the group's International Secretariat (SCYL), located in the Netherlands. Membership cards are generally signed by the group's secretary general; however, the head of the International Secretariat also has the authority to sign the cards. The website states that SCYL is open to those who support the group's cause, regardless of nationality or race (SCYL). The SCYL claims to have a membership of approximately 700,000 people.⁴⁹

The SCYL claims to have a standing army called the Defence Force. The Postnews paper in an article dated 3 April 2006 reported that security forces arrested a group of individuals identified with this group.

“Some 29 or so people said to be members of a supposed Southern Cameroons Youth League, SCYL, Defence Force, are reported to have been arrested in the towns of Mutengene, Mile 16 and Muea in the Southwest Province by gendarmes and detained.

The Post gathered that the said members were picked following a tip-off that volunteers

⁴⁸ SCYL Executive council: <http://www.scylforfreedom.org/execomit.html>

⁴⁹ Southern Cameroon Youth League: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4829b55cc.html>

were being recruited into the so-called Southern Cameroons Defence Force code named SOCADEF.”⁵⁰



Figure 4: Flag of Southern Cameroon Youth League (<http://www.scylforfreedom.org/missionstate.html>)

“SCYL Flag is made up of four distinct colours with the following signification: Black – Signifies the remembrance of the Martyrs of the Struggle. Green – Signifies the Growth and Maturity of The Youth League in the Southern Cameroons Struggle. White – Signifies the search for a Permanent Positive Peace (PPP). Red – Signifies the Ultimate Sacrifice (Freedom at All Cost).”⁵¹



Figure 5: SCYL Logo- Two Chained Hands signifying bondage with a Divine Scissors to break the Chains of annexation (<http://www.scylforfreedom.org/missionstate.html>)

⁵⁰ Cameroon: SCYL Members Arrested for 'Recruiting' Fighters <http://allafrica.com/stories/200604030914.html>

⁵¹ Significance of the various colours of the SCYL Flag: <http://www.scylforfreedom.org/missionstate.html>

3.3.2 SCAPO

The Sothern Cameroon Peoples Organization (SCAPO) has as its Secretary General and spokesman for the Diaspora Dr. Martin Ayong Ayim, who is Professor of Health Education in the Department of Kinesiology, sports and Leisure studies (KSLS) at Grambling state University Louisiana. He is dedicated and strong Supporter of the Independence and sovereignty of the former British Southern Cameroon. (Ayim 2010)

“Dr Martins has actively participated in opposition Politics from 1990-2002 militating for the Social Democratic Front (SDF) where he served as vice Provincial Chairperson for the SDF-USA Province. His strong interest for the restoration of independence and sovereignty caused him to resign the SDF and he joined the SCNC in 2003 where he served as vice Chair of the SCNC-USA. As the SCNC failed to uphold the constituent Assembly to engage in other civilized measures than the force of argument to restore independence and sovereignty, Dr. Ayim Martin resigned the SCNC and joined the Southern Cameroon People Organization (SCAPO) in 2004 and was appointed as Secretary General and spokesperson Diaspora (US,UK and UN) in September 2006”. (Ayim 2010) Dr. Kevin Ngwang Gumne is Chairman of SCAPO.

The objectives of SCAPO are clearly laid down in his book titled *Former British Southern Cameroons Journey towards Complete decolonisation Independence and Sovereignty*. In which he states that

Dr Ayim and SCAPO believe that the United Nations and the United Kingdom erred in the termination of the UN Trusteeship of southern Cameroon. It is an error that must be corrected to decolonize the former British Southern Cameroons, which is being annexed,

occupied and recolonized by la Republique du Cameroun, due to the Unimplimentation of the Post Plebiscite UN RES.1608(XV), whose implementation would have produced an act of union between La Republique du Cameroun and the former British Southern Cameroons, now Republique of Ambazania, and would have been deposited at the United Nations Secretariat in time with UN Article 102 paragraph 1 and 2. Dr. Ayim sees this as a human rights issue as the Former British Cameroons has the rights to self-determination, all sorts of freedoms and territorial integrity among the family of peaceful Nations of the world. He firmly supports African Unity that respects the rights of former UN Trust territories to exist as Nations in the Union. He believes that annexation and recolonization like apartheid are crimes against humanity. (Ayim 2010)



Figure 6: SCAPO Logo (Ayim 2010)

3.3.3 Ambazonia and SCARM

These two are also Non-Violent Resistance movements based in Southern Cameroon with lesion offices at home and abroad fighting for the independence of southern Cameroon. Southern

Cameroon Revolutionary Movement (SCARM) with Dr. Arnold Boh Yongbang as acting Chairman and Ambazonia with His Royal Highness Fon Fogum Gorji Dinka as Head of State of the Republic of Ambazonia

3.3.4 Southern Cameroons' Claims. (Way Forward)

The ways forward for Southern Cameroon can be found in a letter addressed to the people of the Federal Republic of Southern Cameroons by Justice Chief Frederick Alobwede Ebong, president of the Federal Democratic Republic of Southern Cameroon and SCNC leader in exile. This letter states clearly all the demands of the peoples of Southern Cameroons. “

- The quest for Self-determination and Independence of the peoples and Territory of the Southern Cameroons is an incontrovertible and a burning issue. The UN should ensure that Self-determination and Independence of the Peoples and Territory of the Southern Cameroons is Rectified and Regularised in accordance with Article 76, paragraph b, of the Charter of the United Nations.
- The present on-going Nigeria/La Republique du Cameroun Mixed Commission on their border problems provides an opportunity for the Southern Cameroons independence issue to be raised and regularized. Why? Because since UN Resolution 1608 (XV), paragraph 5, of 21 April 1961, was not implemented according to international law, La Republique du Cameroun had, and has, no legal right to claim Sovereignty over the Bakassi Peninsula of the Southern Cameroons. This is in accordance with Article 102 (2) of the Charter of the United Nations which states: ‘No party to any such Treaty or International Agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph

1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.’

- La Republique du Cameroun should withdraw its illegal and illegitimate administration from the Southern Cameroons Territory immediately and progressively. It should also encourage the peoples of the Southern Cameroons to continue to work for their sovereign self-determination and independence through the United Nations Organisation to ensure international peace and security.
- Exiled Southern Cameroons citizens should be called back home.
- All SCNC prisoners too should be released.
- And damages be paid to their families i.e. of those dead.
- This means that a UN Transitional Administration should take over the Territory of the Southern Cameroons to ensure that the peoples of the Southern Cameroons prepare themselves for their Independence and Future Government and Administration of their Territory. The presence of the UN Administration on the Territory of the Southern Cameroons will not only ensure international peace and security in the Southern Cameroons, but will also reduce the unnecessary tensions between the peoples of the Southern Cameroons and La Republique du Cameroun.
- Legitimacy and legality of Southern Cameroons independence will be endorsed.
- East Timor became independent recently on 20 May 2000.
- A war is not necessary.”⁵²

⁵² An address to the peoples of the Federal Democratic Republic of Southern Cameroons, Done in Aduja May 16 2004 by Justice Chief Frederick Alobwede Ebong. President of the Federal Democratic Republic of Southern Cameroons and SCNC leader in Exile.

3.4 Conclusion

As we could find out from this Chapter, I have been able to bring the activities organisation, structure of various Non-Resistant Movements in Cameroon and what actually they are fighting for. They have also succeeded in one way or the other in their struggle for Self-determination and these successes to a large extent can be seen internationally rather than nationally. One aspect I will like to note here is that SCYL seem verbally non-peaceful due to its various use of strong words like war, fight and so on but on the contrary there have not been any registered case of violent activities perpetrated by the SCYL. The use of violent expressions by the SCYL could be for the purpose of intimidating the La République to compliance. This is explicitly my personal opinion and not what I gather from the research.

Chapter 4: Human Rights in Southern Cameroon

4.1 Introduction.

In this part of my work I will like to talk about rights most especially Human Rights what are there all about. What are Human Rights in the first place? These are those rights which by virtue of your birth and existence in this world you have them upon you. Do these rights actually exist and are they respected who ensures the implementation of these rights? The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations general assembly on December 10 1948 at Palais de Chaillot Paris is the highest document which regulates through its article the human rights of each person group of person and or states. The International Bill of Human Rights consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and its two Optional Protocols. The ICESCR was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 16 December 1966 and entered into force on 3 January 1976. Its implementation in Southern Cameroon especially and Cameroun in general remains questionable. ICCPR recognizes the inherent dignity, equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace. The ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights.

In Southern Cameroon although the law provides for freedom of speech and press, it also criminalizes media offenses, and the government restricted freedoms of speech and press during the year.

“On August 4, in Bamenda, Northwest Region, police disrupted a Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement (SOCALIM) meeting in a private residence. SOCALIM is critical of the government and considers it an occupying power on Anglophone soil. Police arrested six activists and charged them with disturbing public order. The trial continued at year’s end, with the last hearing on November 30.”⁵³

The trial of several dozen members of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), arrested in 2008 and charged with holding illegal meetings and failing to produce identity cards, had not taken place by the end of the year. The accused had appeared in court on more than 30 occasions but the trial was adjourned each time because of the failure of the prosecution to present witnesses or the absence of court officials, including presiding judges. (Amnesty international 2013)

“The law provides for freedom of association, but the government limited this right in practice. The law prohibits organizations that advocate any type of secession, resulting in the disruption of SCNC meetings on the grounds that the purpose of the organization rendered any meetings illegal”.⁵⁴

“On October 1, which the SCNC commemorates as independence day for "Southern Cameroons," security forces disrupted SCNC meetings and rallies in Tiko, Buea, Bamenda, and Kumbo. The conditions for government recognition of political parties, NGOs, or associations were arduous, interminable, and unevenly enforced. The process forced most associations to operate in uncertainty, in which their activities were tolerated but not formally approved”. (US Department of State, HR report 2010)

⁵³ AllAfrica. Cameroon: Human rights report. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201304231123.html?page=9>

⁵⁴ US Department of State HR report 2011. Freedom of Association: <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2011/af/186173.htm>

The consequences of this lack of freedom be it freedom of speech, movement or assembly in once home land is enormous call it flee call it escape call it self-exile or forced migration. This has great impact on the territory in this case Southern Cameroon. It could be economical political social and or Intellectual. This seemingly could be the Intention of la Republique.

4.2 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

In this part of my research I will like to state in details some articles of the UDHR which i deem necessary for a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the Southern Cameroon plight and hence forced migration. Cameroon is signatory to this declaration adopted by the United Nations general assembly on December 10 1948. The preamble states that

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people, Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law, Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations, Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better

standards of life in larger freedom, Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge, Now, therefore, (OHCHR)

The General assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a

person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.
 1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein. (OHCHR)

4.2.1 International Convention on Economic Social and Cultural Right (ICESCR)

The republic of Cameroon is a member of the United Nations and the African Union. It has ratified many UN Human Rights Conventions including the ICESCR which it ratified in 1984 and thus has made binding international commitments to adhere to the standards laid down in these Universal human rights document. Cameroon is a middle size country with a low population density. With a Human Development index of 0.52 Cameroon ranks 153rd of the 182 countries ranked in the UNDP 2009. Life expectancy of the 18.9 million inhabitants at birth is 50 years. Population growth is 2.0% per year. GNI is 1.150US-\$ per capita. External debts are 15.3% of gross national income.

In as far as Cameroon has ratified the Optional Protocols for UN Human Rights Conventions or has accepted the competence of the corresponding UN Treaty bodies, the inhabitants of Cameroon and their representatives are able to invoke their Human Rights through these bodies. All inhabitants of Cameroon may turn to the UN Human Rights Committee through procedure 1503, to the special Repporteurs for violations or specific human rights or to ECOSOC for women rights violations. Since Cameroon is also a member state of UNESCO, its citizen may also use the UNESCO procedure for human rights violations in UNESCO's field of mandate. (Claiming Human Rights 2010)

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights entered into force on 3 January 1976, three months after the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the thirty-fifth instrument of ratification or accession, as provided in article 27. As at 30 September 1995, the Covenant had been ratified or acceded to by 132 States:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cambodia, **Cameroon**, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, San Marino, Senegal, Seychelles, Slovakia, Slovenia, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe. (OHCHR 1996)

The preambles recall the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote human rights; remind the individual of his responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of those rights; and recognize that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can be achieved only if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social and cultural rights.

Article 1 of ICESCR states that the right to self-determination is universal and calls upon States to promote the realization of that right and to respect it. The article provides that “All peoples have the right of self-determination” and adds that “By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”. Article 3, reaffirms the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all human rights, and enjoins States to make that principle a reality. Article 5, ICESCR provides safeguards against the destruction or undue limitation of any human right or fundamental freedom, and against misinterpretation of any provision of the Covenants as a means of justifying infringement of a right or freedom or its restriction to a greater extent than provided for in the Covenants. It also prevents States from limiting rights already enjoyed within their territories on the ground that such rights are not recognized, or recognized to a lesser extent, in the Covenants.

Articles 6 to 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognize the rights to work (art. 6); to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work (art. 7); to form and join trade unions (art. 8); to social security, including social insurance (art. 9); to the widest possible protection and assistance for the family, especially mothers, children and young persons (art. 10); to an adequate standard of living (art. 11); provides for the

enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health (art.12); to education (arts. 13 and 14); and to take part in cultural life (art. 15).

Finally, article 28 provides for the establishment of a Human Rights Committee responsible for supervising implementation of the rights set out in the Covenant. (OHCHR 1996)

As a limitation, The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that the rights provided for therein may be limited by law, but only in so far as it is compatible with the nature of the rights and solely to promote the general welfare in a democratic society (art. 4).

4.2.2 International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights entered into force on 23 March 1976, three months after the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the thirty-fifth instrument of ratification or accession, as provided in article 49 Cameroon ratified this convention in 1984. As at 30 September 1995, the Covenant had been ratified or acceded to by 132 States:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cambodia, **Cameroon**, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran

(Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, San Marino, Senegal, Seychelles, Slovakia, Slovenia, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe. As at the same date, 44 States parties to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights had made the declaration under its article 41, recognizing the competence of the Human Rights Committee "to receive and consider communications to the effect that a State Party claims that another State Party is not fulfilling its obligations" under the Covenant. The provisions of article 41 entered into force on 28 March 1979 in accordance with paragraph 2 of that article. (OHCHR 1996)

The preambles and articles 1, 3 and 5 of the two International Covenants are almost identical. The preambles recall the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote human rights; remind the individual of his responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of those rights; and recognize that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can be achieved only if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social and cultural rights.

Article 1 of this Covenant states that the right to self-determination is universal and calls upon States to promote the realization of that right and to respect it. The article provides that "All peoples have the right of self-determination" and adds that "By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". (Same as in the ICESCR)

Article 3, in both cases, reaffirms the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all human rights, and enjoins States to make that principle a reality. Article 5, in both cases, provides safeguards against the destruction or undue limitation of any human right or fundamental freedom, and against misinterpretation of any provision of the Covenants as a means of justifying infringement of a right or freedom or its restriction to a greater extent than provided for in the Covenants. It also prevents States from limiting rights already enjoyed within their territories on the ground that such rights are not recognized, or recognized to a lesser extent, in the Covenants.

In its articles 6 to 27, the ICCPR protects the right to life (art.6) and lays down that no one is to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (art. 7); that no one is to be held in slavery; that slavery and the slave-trade are to be prohibited; and that no one is to be held in servitude or required to perform forced or compulsory labour (art. 8); that no one is to be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention (art. 9); that all persons deprived of their liberty are to be treated with humanity (art. 10); and that no one is to be imprisoned merely on the ground of inability to fulfil a contractual obligation (art. 11). The Covenant provides for freedom of movement and freedom to choose a residence (art. 12) and for limitations to be placed on the expulsion of aliens lawfully in the territory of a State party (art. 13). It makes provision for the equality of all persons before the courts and tribunals and for guarantees in criminal and civil

proceedings (art. 14). It prohibits retroactive criminal legislation (art. 15); lays down the right of everyone to recognition everywhere as a person before the law (art. 16); and calls for the prohibition of arbitrary or unlawful interference with an individual's privacy, family, home or correspondence, and of unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation (art. 17). The Covenant provides for protection of the rights to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (art. 18) and to freedom of opinion and expression (art. 19). It calls for the prohibition by law of any propaganda for war and of any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence (art. 20). It recognizes the right of peaceful assembly (art. 21) and the right to freedom of association (art. 22). It also recognizes the right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family, and the principle of equality of rights and responsibilities of spouses as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution (art. 23). It lays down measures to protect the rights of children (art. 24), and recognizes the right of every citizen to take part in the conduct of public affairs, to vote and to be elected, and to have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country (art. 25). It provides that all persons are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law (art. 26). It also calls for protection of the rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities in the territories of States parties (art. 27). (OHCHR, 1996)

As condition the ICCPR contains no general provision applicable to all the rights provided for in the Covenant authorizing restrictions on their exercise. However, several articles in the Covenant provide that the rights being dealt with shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect national security, public order, or the rights and freedoms of others. Certain rights, therefore, may never be suspended or limited, even in emergency situations. These are the rights to life, to freedom from torture, to

freedom from enslavement or servitude, to protection from imprisonment for debt, to freedom from retroactive penal laws, to recognition as a person before the law, and to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights allows a State to limit or suspend the enjoyment of certain rights in cases of officially proclaimed public emergencies which threaten the life of the nation. Such limitations or suspensions are permitted only "to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation" and may never involve discrimination solely on the ground of race, colour, sex, language, religion or social origin (art.4). The limitations or suspensions must also be reported to the United Nations. (ibid)

The two optional protocols:

The first Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights enables the Human Rights Committee, set up under that Covenant, to receive and consider communications from individuals claiming to be victims of violations of any of the rights set forth in the Covenant. Under article I of the Optional Protocol, a State party to the Covenant that becomes a party to the Protocol recognizes the competence of the Human Rights Committee to receive and consider communications from individuals subject to its jurisdiction who claim to be victims of a violation by that State of any of the rights set forth in the Covenant. Individuals who make such a claim, and who have exhausted all available domestic remedies, are entitled to submit a written communication to the Committee (art. 2). Such communications as are determined to be admissible by the Committee (in addition to article 2, articles 3 and 5 (2) lay down conditions for admissibility) are brought to the attention of the State party alleged to be violating a provision of the Covenant. Within six months, that State must submit to the Committee written explanations or statements clarifying the matter and indicating the remedy, if

any, that it may have applied (art. 4).The Human Rights Committee considers the admissible communications, at closed meetings, in the light of all written information made available to it by the individual and the State party concerned. It then forwards its views to the State party and to the individual (art. 5). A summary of the Committee's activities under the Optional Protocol is included in the report which it submits annually to the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council (art. 6).

The Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty, was adopted by the General Assembly by its resolution 44/128 of 15 December 1989. Under its article 1, no one within the jurisdiction of a State party to the Protocol may be executed. Under article 3 of the Protocol, States parties must include in the reports which they submit to the Human Rights Committee information on measures taken to give effect to the Protocol. Article 5 of the Second Optional Protocol provides that, with respect to any State party to the first Optional Protocol, the competence of the Human Rights Committee to receive and consider communications from individuals subject to that State's jurisdiction shall extend to the provisions of the Second Optional Protocol, unless the State party concerned has made a statement to the contrary at the moment of ratification or accession. Under article 6, the provisions of the Second Optional Protocol apply as additional provisions to the Covenant. (OHCHR, 1996)

4.2.3 Importance of the UDHR, ICESCR and ICCPR.

From its inception into law till date the Universal declaration of Human Rights can be seen as a yard stick from which to measure the degree of respect for and compliance with international Human Rights standards.

Since 1948 it has been and rightly continues to be the most important and far-reaching of all United Nations declarations, and a fundamental source of inspiration for national and international efforts to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. It has set the direction for all subsequent work in the field of human rights and has provided the basic philosophy for many legally binding international instruments designed to protect the rights and freedoms which it proclaims. (UN fact sheet no.2 (rev.1) p 4)

In recent times there is a growing tendency whereby the UN, International organizations, states NGO's and groups of person or person in associations, in preparing international instruments, conference papers, publications on Human rights issues, do refer not only to the Universal declaration of Human Rights but to other parts of The International Bill of Human Rights.

4.3 Human Rights Violations in Southern Cameroon

There exist a handful of examples of gross Human Rights violations in Southern Cameroon. In this part of the work I am going to examine a good number of these violations. These violations have included extrajudicial executions, arbitrary arrests, unlawful detentions,

torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, unfair trials, and persecution.

In Violation of art 20(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Members of the Anglophone Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) continued to face arrest and imprisonment.

- In February 2010, the police in Tiko, Southwest Province, arrested and briefly detained 25 SCNC members who had gone to a court to support fellow members on trial for holding an illegal meeting in October 2008.
- In March 2010, seven SCNC members were arrested and detained on suspicion of holding an illegal meeting. They were provisionally released on 2 April.
- In May 2010, the High Court in Mamfe, Southwest Province, found three SCNC leaders – including its national chairman, Nfor Ngala Nfor – guilty of belonging to a foreign organization not recognized in Cameroon and sentenced them to five months’ imprisonment. The three had been awaiting trial since September 2002 when they were arrested on their return from Nigeria, where they had gone to gather support for their organization’s political objectives. The court agreed with the prosecution that the SCNC was not recognized in Cameroon and was therefore an unregistered foreign organization and its members liable to prosecution under the Penal Code.(Amnesty International 2010)

As it has often been the case in previous years,

Members of the Anglophone separatist movement, the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), were arrested and briefly detained. At least 40 SCNC members were

arrested in January while holding a meeting in Buea. They were released without charge after several days. A further 29 were arrested in March and detained for several days in Buea. More than 60 SCNC members were arrested in Bamenda on 24 April and released without charge on 1 May. When SCNC leaders, including Humphrey Prince Mbiglo, tried to hold a press conference on 7 May to protest, they were among 20 SCNC members who were detained for several days. Fidelis Chinkwo, Emmanuel Emi, Priscilla Khan, Elvis Bandzeka and Cletus Che were arrested in Bamenda on 16 September and released several days later without charge. (Amnesty International 2007)

The killing of Southern Cameroonians while protesting for their right by forces of la Republique.

On 9 November, Ngome Nkwele Herbert was killed during a demonstration against the detention of his colleagues by the Kumba police on 7 November following a demonstration over lack of electricity power at their school in Kumba. No progress was made in bringing to justice those responsible for the killing of Ivo Obia Ngemba and Moma Bennet who were shot by police during a peaceful protest on the campus of the University of Buea in November 2006. (Amnesty International 2008)

Political opponents of the government were arbitrarily arrested and detained. Those targeted included members of the Social Democratic Front (SDF), the main opposition party, and the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC)

At least 20 SCNC members, including Fidelis Chinkwo Ndeh, were arrested in Bamenda on 10 February and at least seven were arrested the following day. At the end of the year, nearly 40 members of the SCNC were awaiting trial on charges ranging from wearing SCNC T-shirts to agitating for secession. At least 23 members of the main faction of the

SDF were detained without trial for more than two and a half years, accused of killing Grégoire Diboulé, a member of a dissident SDF faction, in May 2006. In November, the High Court in Yaoundé ordered the unconditional release of one of the detainees and the provisional release of the others. The leader of the SDF, John Ni Fru Ndi, was also charged with the killing but had not been detained by the end of the year. (Amnesty International 2009)

Cases of unlawful arrest and detention are bound in Southern Cameroon and Amnesty Internally keeps on publishing year after year these abuses but very little seem to have changed.

The security forces continued to arrest members of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) and disrupt or prevent their meetings. The SCNC advocates secession of anglophone Cameroonian provinces from largely francophone Cameroon. In February, members of the security forces arrested SCNC national chairman Chief Ayamba Ette Otun and several other people who were travelling with him to Bamenda, capital of North West province. Ayamba Ette Otun was reportedly returning from Buea in South West province where he had handed an SCNC memorandum to a visiting delegation from the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. All were released several days later without charge. On 1 October, members of the security forces disrupted a meeting of the SCNC in Buea and arrested 50 people, claiming that the SCNC had not obtained prior permission to hold the meeting. They were released without charge several days later. (Amnesty International, 2012)

Respect for Civil Liberties, including Freedom of Speech and Press. Although the law provides for freedom of speech and press, it also criminalizes media offenses, and the

government restricted freedoms of speech and press during the year. Government officials threatened, harassed, arrested, and denied equal treatment to individuals or organizations that criticized government policies or expressed views at odds with government policy. Individuals who criticized the government publicly or privately sometimes faced reprisals. The government increasingly abused the law requiring notification of public protests to stifle discourse before it could begin. The government attempted to impede criticism by monitoring political meetings as reported by the US Department of States in its 2012 Human rights report.

On August 4 in Bamenda, Northwest Region, police disrupted a Southern Cameroons Liberation Movement (SOCALIM) meeting in a private residence. SOCALIM is critical of the government and considers it an occupying power on Anglophone soil. Police arrested six activist and charged them with disturbing public order. The trial continued at year's end, with the last hearing on November 30. (US Department of state 2012)

The absence of freedom of press:

On October 1, Baature Edua Mvochou, a Nigerian national and editor of African Drum magazine published in Nigeria, and Martin Yembe Fon, editor of local newspaper The Frontier Telegraph, were arrested while covering a secessionist gathering at a church in Buea. After 10 hours of detention, police took them to court and charged them with unlawful assembly under section 231(a) of the penal code. At year's end both were free on bail but faced a fine and up to six months in jail. (US Department of State 2012)

Respect for political right was and is still a problem in Southern Cameroon. Residence of the Anglophone Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon tended to support the opposition Social Democratic Front party (SDF) and consequently claimed to suffer disproportionately from

human rights abuses committed by the government and its security forces. Many residents of the Anglophone region sought greater freedom, equality of opportunity and better government by demanding regional autonomy rather than national political reform and they have formed several quasi political organizations in pursuit of their goals. (US Department of States 2012).

Albert Womah Mukong was a bookstore owner. He was imprisoned at the Kondengui maximum security prison in the Central province Yaoundé for his ideology of self-determination of Anglophone Cameroon. He was a pro-independence activist who spent six (6) year of his life in prison during the 1970s. He later on became head of the Human Rights Defense Group. He is author of *Prisoner Without a Crime*. In the case of *Albert Womah Mukong vs Cameroon*

“he claimed to be a victim of violations by Cameroon of article 7 and a number of other provision of the International Convention of Civil and Political Rights including article 19 of the freedom on the rights of freedom of expression and opinion” (Ralph et al 2006).

Ebeneza Jr Chairman of the SCYL stated that “the case of late Albert Womah Mukong versus Cameroon (Views of the Human Rights Committee, Communication No.458/1991, UN Doc CCPR/C/51/D/458/1991 of 10 August 1994) that played out in favor of Mr Mukong in Geneva is also a case that proves widespread acts of torture”(SCYL web).

Violations of Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights likewise Article 6 of the International Convention of Civil and Political Rights which state the Right to life, have been rampant. Such was the case with the University of Buea student strike in Southern Cameroon.

Francis B et al (2012) stated his book *University Crisis and Student Protest In Africa*, the case of Gilbert Nforlem a postgraduate student of the University of Buea shoot dead by the police in Buea on Thursday April 28 2005. Mrs Rose Mary Lem Niba Foster mother and aunt to Gilbert Nforlem narrated the story to the post newspaper that “she learnt her foster son a post graduate student of the Department of Zoology had barely left his room on the request of his supervisor to pick up the corrected version of his thesis and hand it in for final typing, it was on his way back to his room in Molyko that a police officer shot him” (Francis B 2012).

It should be recalled during these period students of the University of Buea where on strike. The students were demanding better conditions for studies at the University. The postwatch magazine of 2 June 2005 stated that, when the university strike was launched at the University of Yaounde I, ADDEC (Association pour la défense des droits des étudiants du Cameroun) had a laundry list of 11 demands, among them the following 10 which I have so far been able to identify:

1. The convening of the Higher Education and Scientific Research Council;
2. The election of Rectors (Vice Chancellors), deans and heads of all higher educational institutions;
3. The elimination of the 50,000 FCFA registration fees;
4. The establishment of a Statute of the Cameroonian university student;
5. Provision of appropriate equipment for laboratories;
6. Free meals in university restaurants;
7. The construction of more amphitheatres;
8. An end to the extortion of students by some lecturers;
9. Restoration of university bursaries;

10. Construction of toilets

When the University of Buea joined the strike movement some time later, the student demands were similar, if not identical, to the original demands of ADDEC. The major difference (due to the unique situation of UB), was the demand that all courses at UB be available for "resit". Subsequent to the creation of UBSU (University of Buea Students' Union), there was an additional demand to have the new student union recognized as the official / sole representative of the UB student body.

Aloysius Abouam also lost his life in a similar way and on same day 28 April 2005. "Aloysius Abouam a student of the department of education was also gruesomely murdered by another gendarme's gunshot behind his head"⁵⁵ (Human Rights perspective SCYL web,).

On May 10 2005, the corpse of Aloysius Abouam, one of the two students shot dead by security forces on April 28, was removed from the Buea Hospital Mortuary.⁵⁶

In responds to the killing of innocent Southern Cameroonian students of the University of Buea, The National Vice Chairman of the SCNC made his declarations on the issue. This was posted on the official webpage of The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) May 14 2005. It states

The National Vice Chairman of the Southern Cameroons National Council, SCNC, Nfor Ngala Nfor, has issued a press release condemning the recent killing of two students of the University Of Buea. The National Vice Chairman of the Southern Cameroons

⁵⁵ SCYL website: Human Rights perspective : <http://www.scylforfreedom.org/hrightperspective.html>

⁵⁶ The African Independent: http://www.africanindependent.com/cam_university_riots_addec_end_strike051205.html

National Council, SCNC, Nfor Ngala Nfor, has issued a press release condemning the recent killing of two students of the University Of Buea, following the ongoing strike action in the state Universities. Anti-riot police opened fire on demonstrating students of University of Buea leaving two dead; Gilbert Nforlem (M.Sc) and Aloysius Abuoam (B.Ed). The release, dated May 2, signed by Nfor Nfor, says having carried out such criminal acts, the forces of occupation of La République du Cameroun wanted to erase evidence of used live bullets on unarmed peaceful demonstrators by stealing the corpses away from the Buea District Hospital mortuary. "As they failed in Bamenda in March 1992, so did they this time around in Buea, thanks to the vigilant patriots." The SCNC release states that when the students of the University of Buea, on April 27, resolved to join their colleagues of the University of Yaounde I who had been on strike, they pledged to make it peaceful for the purpose of demanding for improved conditions of effective learning. (UNPO: Southern Cameroon Leaders condemn student Killings).

In defence to the Innocent killing of Southern Cameroonians (university of Buea Students), la Republique du Camerun issued an interview with BBC saying it was an issue between the police and the SCNC an illegal group in Southern Cameroon and those students were not involved. The post watch magazine got this

“Reporting for the BBC French service this morning (7 o'clock) May 25, 2005, a reporter, Jean Paul Biya, quoting the Yaoundé Government Official Communiqué on troops and students violence at UB, yesterday, May 24th said that the encounter was between troops and members of the SCNC, an illegal group. The Communiqué also said people were seriously wounded but that students were not involved. He added that about 800 students attended classes.” (The post watch magazine: Making the SCNC Scapegoat in the University of Buea Crisis).

Systematic targeting and Killing of English speaking Cameroonians by La Republique du Cameroon is no new subject. Most of these people are arrested kept in custody to die there with no charges levied against them. Amnesty international report of 16 December 1997 stated

At least five of those detained in connection with these incidents have since died either as a result of torture and ill-treatment or lack of medical care. Emmanuel Konseh died in late March after being severely beaten and stabbed with a bayonet. In May two detainees held at the gendarmerie headquarters in Bamenda, North-West Province, died: Samuel Tita who died as a result of lack of medical care and food and Pa Mathias Gwei who was denied medical care although critically ill as a result of torture. The following month Daniel Tata also died at the gendarmerie headquarters in Bamenda. One of the many detainees transferred from Bamenda to Nkondengui prison was Ngwa Ricahrd Formasoh who died on 5 July apparently as a result of dehydration caused by diarrhea for which he did not receive treatment. (Amnesty International, 1997)

The United States department of State in its country reports on human rights practices of March 2002 indicated that

“There were no known developments, nor are any likely to be, in the May 2000 case of Mamfe residents Joseph Enow, Joseph Tafong, Chief Assam, and Mathias Takunchung, who disappeared after security officials searched their homes. The families of the four Mamfe residents have alleged that they were executed, and that 30 other persons disappeared under similar circumstances in 2000.” (US Department of State Country Report 2000)

“On October 1 in Kumbo, a gendarme shot into a crowd of approximately 400 unarmed demonstrators, killing 3 and injuring 16 persons, after a SCNC anniversary celebration became violent. No action was taken against the responsible gendarme by year’s end.”
(US Department Of State Report 2002)

The World Organization against Torture (OMCT) stated in its report case CMR 151002 that it has come to their notice concern about the personal integrity of certain members of SCNC a secessionist movement demanding the independence of Anglophone Cameroon.

“During the night of August 10th, 2002, Mr. Georges Shinyuy was arrested and taken to the police station in Kumbo, where he died after a few hours following having been subjected to torture. During the same night Mr. Henry NCHENDZE, Mr. Limfouyuy EDWIN, Mr. Joseph JUMRAU, Mr. Thomas KOMBAU and Mr. Tobias KOUGUSO were also arrested in Kumbo and were later transferred Bafoussam prison and brought before a military tribunal.” (OMCT: personal integrity of SCNC members)

“During the afternoon of September 27th, 2002, Mr. Albert MUKONG, Mr. AYAMBA and Dr. NFOR NGALLANG NFOR were also arrested. Mr. NFOR NGALLANG NFOR, vice-president of the SCNC, is still in hospital due to ill-treatment that he received during his arrest. Five other members of the movement, Mr. Joseph AGBOR NGAW, aged 71, Mr. John ENOW ENOW, aged 65, Mr. Daniel TABE AGBOR, Mr. Valery TAMBE ATEM and Mr. Samuel OJONG NDIP, were arrested at a later and as yet unspecified date”.(OMCT: personal integrity of SCNC members)

The Medical Foundation for the Care of Victim of Torture (MFCVT) in its report published June 26 2002 on the Occasion of the United Nations International Day in support of

victims of Torture sighted a good number of cases and victims of human rights abuses specifically torture inflicted on Southern Cameroonians. MFCVT also outline the various forms of torture and inhuman treatments practiced in Cameroon. Beatings with truncheons, machetes and rifles butts often on the soles of the feet, torture with electricity, suspending human in excruciating positions and for women rape is very common (MFCVT 2002 report, pg 4).

This report states that ‘in this predominantly French-speaking country, Anglophones suffer discrimination from both State and society and disproportionate human rights abuses including arbitrary detention. During the 1990s radio stations controlled by or supportive of the government repeatedly “incited ethnic animosity against Bamilékés and Anglophones.” Public - sector discrimination and their under-representation in public institutions has led many English-speaker to support claims for greater self-determination for the Anglophone northwest and southwest provinces’. (MFCVT: 14)

MFCVT study has revealed that 35 of their subjects that is, 58% were members from the strongest opposition party SDF founded in Bamenda the Northwest Capital in 1990. 9 of the 60 survival involved in the MFCVT study where from the SCNC a non-violent resistant group formed to defend the interest of the Anglophone minority now declared a non-sectarian group. (MFCVT: 15). Both organization are found in the Southern part of Cameroon and have similar objectives. This therefore brought a total of 44 out of the 60 (73%) cases at study as of 2002 by the MFCVT were from Southern Cameroon.

“Those agitating for greater autonomy of the English-speaking provinces faced increasing hostility and repression from the central government in the 1990s. The US State Department reported the detention without trial of five Anglophone independence

activists in 1999. In 2000 a foreign teacher was beaten, tortured and interrogated for having suspected connections with a separatist organization. Anglophone detainees have been denied visitors and/or died in custody. Amnesty reports the case of one separatist Mathew Titiahonjo Mboh who died in detention in 2000 after being refused medical treatment. Another eight, at least, of a large group of Anglophones detained in 1997, have since died as a result of torture or other abuse and lack of medical treatment. Trials of such activists, where they have occurred, have been conducted in French (in breach of Cameroon's commitment to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, article 14 para. 3f), have allowed evidence gained under torture (in breach of the UN Convention Against Torture and Cameroon's own Penal Code) and have been prejudicial in other ways." (MFCVT: 17&18)

According to the MFCVT report , all 60 of the subjects in our study claimed to be direct or indirect victims of State persecution other than that related to their detention. The forms of persecution they cited included:

“the arbitrary detention of close relative(s);· the disappearance of close relative(s);· the killing of close relatives, either in or outside detention;· the rape of self or close relative(s) – often forced to witness the latter;· beating or other wounding of self or close relative(s);· surveillance, threats, harassment and discrimination against self, friends, family or colleagues (e.g., being threatened, interrogated, forced to close their business, made to lose their job or wages withheld, especially Public sector employees);· house or business ransacked, property stolen or destroyed; and· house, business or crops burned.” (MFCVT: 22)

One great example of Human Rights violation of Southern Cameroonians is the personal life experience of the Chairman of the Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL). This will stay in the minds of all Anglophone Cameroonians. Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga Jr.

“Ebenezer Akwanga was born in Cameroon in 1970 and became a political activist, campaigning peacefully for the rights of the people of Southern Cameroons as leader of the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL), which worked together with the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC). In March 1997 he was arrested and for the next six years suffered a range of serious human rights violations including torture, incommunicado detention, and a variety of forms of abuse in prison including being held in grossly overcrowded and unhygienic conditions, lack of proper food and wholly inadequate medical care, both before and after being tried before a military tribunal. As a civilian the military trial itself was entirely inappropriate and did not meet the minimum requirements for a fair hearing, but despite this in 1999 he was sentenced to 20 years in prison. In 2003 he escaped to Nigeria and from there, after some 30 months, he was re-settled in the USA where he lives today”.⁵⁷ (redress.org)

Redress is a non-profit organization that fights for the ending of torture and seeking justice for survivors has brought the case of Ebenezer before the United Nations Human Rights commission. As stated

‘In a unanimous decision published on 12 May 2011 the UN Human Rights Committee (HRC) in Geneva upheld the petition brought by REDRESS on behalf of Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga against Cameroon. The petition averred multiple breaches of the International

⁵⁷ Redress.org: <http://www.redress.org/case-docket/akwanga-v-cameroon>

Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) over the period 1997 to 2003. All 15 members of the UNHRC found that Cameroon had breached

Article 7 prohibition against torture:

Article 9(2) failure to inform reasons for arrest,

Article 9(3) failure to bring detainee promptly before a judge

Article 9(4) denial of habeas corpus

Article 10(1) failure to treat with humanity and respect for a person's inherent dignity

Article 10(2) failure to separate and accused person from convicted criminals

Article 14 failure to have a fair trial' (Redress.org Akwanga v Cameroon).

Human rights violations in Southern Cameroon have had tremendous impact on the territory, its inhabitants and the future of the people. As it could be interpreted that the intention of La Republique du Cameroun is to slowly and steadily kill the dreams and aspiration of the people of Southern Cameroon (Anglophones) so can the results of the gross human rights violations exerted on these people be seen. Forced to migrate, traumatized, brain drained, weak with lack of hope and depressed. As MFCVT puts it in its study of June 2002 these consequences range from physical, mental and psychological.

4.4 Impacts / Consequences of Human Rights Violations on Southern Cameroon

As a result of the gross human violations that exist in Southern Cameroon which we have seen above has had a tremendous impact on the lives of the people of Southern Cameroon

(Anglophones). These impacts are what we are going to analyse in this part of my research. In my opinion the consequences of these gross Human rights violations on the people of Southern Cameroon (Anglophones) are the expected results of La Republique du Cameroun (The oppressor). These consequences range from forced to migrate, traumatized (psychological impact), Brain drain, dependency and inferiority –superiority complex. What should also be noted here is the fact that the consequences as expected by la Republique du Cameroun did not only have the one sided effects of scaring the Anglophones to silence but has created a double sided effect(the run and shot effect) as call it. They have been forced out of their homes but have not kept quite they have rather become stronger from outside seeking international recognition and assistance. Such can be seen in the Banjul communiqué and the Akwanga vs. Cameroon case which we are going to see in more details ahead in the course of this research.

Forced Migration: One of the greatest consequences of Human rights violation on Southern Cameroon has been that of migration. They have been forced to leave their home land in search of security elsewhere. Case studies are numerous, Ebenezer Jr of the SCYL, Retire Ambassador Henry Fossong of the SCNC, Judge Ebong Frederick Alowede, Dr Carlson Anyangwe, Dr Martin Ayong Ayim, Albert Mukong and the many University of Buea student (Anglophone) who were sanctioned never to study in any University in Cameroon just because they were part of the group of student demanding their rights. This people have been forced out of their territory not of their wish likewise others have been indirectly forced not to return because of their political opinion. In the next section of this research we shall dwell particularly on these group of individual denied the right to freedom of nationality.

More so another major consequence of Human rights violations on the people of Southern Cameroon is brain-drain. The territory of Southern Cameroon is been slowly, carefully and

systematically denied of its intellectual work force. When we see the number of Southern Cameroonian intellectual denied stay in their homeland (who now leave in the Diaspora) there do we come to realize the impact of these violations on the Anglophone Minorities. Doctors, retired Ambassadors, Retired or Dismissed Judges, Scholars and Academics of Southern Cameroon origin that is Anglophone Cameroonians have been forced to go on exile from their own Country. They have been tortured, imprisoned, harassed and threaten for demanding their rights which is that of self-determination of the people of Southern Cameroon. This therefore shows an intellectual drain of the territory of Southern Cameroon as one of the main objectives of la Republique du Cameroon.

Furthermore, the psychological impact is not to be left out. Gross Human rights violations on the territory of Southern Cameroon have left severe psychological impacts on the people of Southern Cameroon. Such is the example presented by The Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture (MFCVT) in its June 2002 report on Cameroon pointed out a good number of effects of torture on victims they had examine. Torture is a very common weapon used by La republique on Southern Cameroonians demanding for their rights. These include depression, loss of consciousness, insomnia, nightmares, poor concentration, poor memory, panic attacks, suicidal, sexual problems and anxiety. As one scholar said “the greatest weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed” Hence traumatizing Southern Cameroonians.

Last but not the least, by violating the Human rights of the people of Southern Cameroon, La Republique du Cameroun has in all efforts tried to create that sense of superiority upon the people of Southern Cameroons. This has gone a long way to confirm the assertion of the people of Southern Cameroon that they are been marginalized by la Republique du Cameroon. Torture,

arrest, detentions, no freedom of assembly or gatherings, no freedom of press, and no fair trials only helps confirm this opinion.

Chapter 5: Forced Migrants from Southern Cameroon

5.1 Introduction.

In this part of my work we are going to deal with what I call the greatest impact of Gross Human rights violation of the Anglophone population of Cameroon. Forced to run away from your homeland in search of security elsewhere in the world, is never a good feeling. Although this group of persons fall under the cover of the UNHCR, these persons have to prove the existence of the well-founded fear of persecution from home country which is not always so easy to do. That not with standing at this point therefore I will like to bring out case studies of Southern Cameroonian intellectuals who have left the country and based abroad and still hold on the dream of liberating the Anglophone Cameroonians from the hands of La Republique du Cameroun. Retired Justice Frederick Alowede Ebong which the post newspaper dated December 7th 2004 stated

“Mr. Justice Frederick Alobwede Ebong, who once took the nation by storm, by declaring the independence of Southern Cameroons over CRTV Buea, on December 30, 1999, is in the country, after several years of exile in Nigeria. The retired judge, who sneaked out of the country on April 15, 2001, after he was released from almost two years of detention....”

Also retired Ambassador Henry Fossung who has served as Cameroons Ambassador to Chad, Central Africa Republic, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, a master degree holder in International Law/Relations from the American University Washington DC and has lectured at Browns University and many other notable institutions now leaves in exile in the outskirts of

Baltimore, Maryland in the United States. He made these declarations in an interview granted to him by Cameroon journal.

“... I’m not here (USA) as an economic immigrant. I didn’t ask for economic asylum here. I left for this country after twenty death attempts on my life. I have continued to work. The only difference is that I don’t believe in gallery shows. I don’t need to tell the world that today I’m going to the UN or today I’m going to meet with the Secretary General or anybody who is important. My people know when I started long ago as the chairman that I don’t believe in gallery shows. I don’t believe in standing and telling people I’m going to do this or that. I believe in results and such results will show in the restoration of the statehood.”⁵⁸

The chairman of the SCYL Ebenezer Akwanga Jr who rose to power as leader of the SCYL just months after its creation was denied University Education In Cameroon, jailed for seven years because of his political views and stringent opposition character, the so called “our own Mandela” escaped from prison and stayed in Nigeria for 33 months before moving to the United States of America where he has earned a Refugee status. The Paris based monthly magazine *Jeune Afrique Economic* publisher and editor Blaise Pascale Talla described Ebenezer in this words “the portrait of an idealistic young man...whose historical itinerary strongly symbolizes the frustrating and debilitating living condition of the Cameroonian youth of today”.

Dr Carlson Anyangwe now a University Lecturer in South Africa, and Dr Simon Munzo on special mission with the United Nation in the DRC who were University lecturers in Cameroon strong followers of the struggle for the Southern Cameroon and pioneer members of

⁵⁸ Cameroon: Ambassador Henry Fossung “I treat la Republic as invaders”
<http://www.camer.be/31887/11%3a1/cameroun-cameroun-ambassador-henry-fossung-i-treat-la-republique-as-invaders—cameroon.html>

the AAC Buea all lost their respective jobs as a result of their participation in the struggle for the liberation of Southern Cameroon and where forced to leave the country in search of better lives somewhere else in the world. At this junction we have examined frontline leaders who have had to migrate. There have also been cases of flour members of the struggle who have also been forced to flee their home land and seek greener pastures elsewhere where in the world as we shall examine cases in Holland, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain United States of America and Canada.

In general there are examples of Journalist, artist, politicians and Human Rights activist who either because of their critics to government or their support for the struggle have also been forced out of their homeland. Such was the faith of Charles Atangana a Cameroonian journalist who because of his critics to government and exposing fraud and corruption he was forced to flee just like many others. The guardian newspaper of August 8th 2010 stated that

“When Charles Atangana, a leading Cameroonian journalist, did so, he was set upon by President Biya's security forces, arrested, stripped naked, beaten up and detained for 40 days. He was locked in a flooded cell and tortured to try to force him to reveal his sources. He refused...Vilified in the state-run media, censored by his own newspaper, facing threats to kill him he fled to the UK....”

Another Cameroonian journalist who did not have the opportunity to escape like others was Bibi Ngota Ngota who died while in pre-trial detention in Kondengui central prison.⁵⁹ The case of Cameroonian Artist and musician Pierre Lambo a.k.a. Lapiro de Mbanga cannot be left

⁵⁹ Bibi Ngota Death: http://yaounde.usembassy.gov/pr_04262010.html

out. He was imprisoned in Cameroon for 3 years because of his song “Constitution constipee”⁶⁰ in wish he criticised attempts by the president to abolish term limits in the constitution so as to be able to run in for election again which he was not qualified. He was released he escaped and died in exile in the United States of America.

5.2 Forced Migrants

5.2.1 Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga Jr (SCYL)

He was born on November 18, 1970 in Tiko, Fako division of the Southwest province of Cameroon to John Nembu Zah Akwanga a.k.a A-Z who hails from Bechati village Mundani and to Yaya Hilda Enanga Mbongo of blessed memory from Bakweri tribe. Ebenezer is last son in a family of 5 children plus 3 step brothers and sisters. Ebenezer had a very successful and brilliant primary, secondary and High school education. He graduated in June 1991 with a General Certificate of Education Diploma in the Advanced level. In June of same year 1991 he got married to Agnes Nenji Abungwi with whom they have four kids namely: Sabina Enanga Akwanga, Geneviva Abungwi Manyoh Akwanga, Corretta-Scot Gillian Enanga Akwanga and Leopard-Spencer Nembu-Meka Akwanga.⁶¹

He has a rich academic background which he acquired in the United States of America after his ordeal. Has an Associate Degree in Criminal Justice from Axia College, University of phoenix, Bachelor’s degree in Criminal Justice Administration University of phoenix, Master’s Degree in Diplomacy from Norwich online College of graduate and continuing studies 2011,

⁶⁰ “Constitution constipee”: meaning constipated Constitution refering to the Cameroon constitution

⁶¹ Personal life History: <http://www.scylforfreedom.org/chairman.html>

doctorate candidate at University of South Africa for Doctorate in philosophy.⁶² He is also member of numerous prestigious associations and organisations amongst which are: National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), Campaigner for Amnesty International (AI), and Member of the American Civil Liberty Union (ACLU). He is author of a book *Smiling Through Hardship* (2007) and Co- author of *Burundi's Negative Peace* (2009).

After Ebenezer completed high school like any young ambitious man he wanted to get a University Education. At this period in time in Cameroon there existed only one state university which was the University of Yaounde and Ebenezer knew his hopes and aspirations will not allow him enrol in this University. His trial and tribulations actually began when

“in June 1991 when he organized, and led the first-ever pacific demonstration in the Cameroons on Friday, the 12th of June 1991 in Victoria (presently called Limbe by some). On that day, the twenty-one year Akwanga, Jr., questioned the Cameroonian regime of Paul Biya on its policy of constructing more underground political prisons at a time when the nation was barely able to feed itself. He called for the liberation of all political prisoners, most especially students of the country's only university in Yaoundé who have been abducted, some summarily executed, others brutally raped by the Cameroonian military and the gendarmerie, some tried and sentenced with no court appearance after a series of bloody confrontation between the students (mostly Southern Cameroonians and those from the Bamileke clan) and the Cameroonian military following a student peaceful demonstration on the 3rd of April, 1991. He equally called for the

⁶² <http://www.norwich.edu/about/news/2012/101212-akwangaVisit.html>

creation of a university for students of English expression and for the Biya regime to open up the country to real political pluralism. Akwanga, Jr., became blacklisted and declared a potential enemy of the Cameroonian state who must be extinguished at all cost before it is too late”.⁶³ (scylforfreedom.org)

A few years later, Southern Cameroon witnessed the creation of the Anglo-Saxon University and Ebenezer gained admission into the University of Buea to study English which he did not like so he changed to the Department of History and to minor in Political Sciences. He was elected as pioneer student union president of the University of Buea.

In his book *Smiling through hardship* (2004) he is described as “His charm, charisma and incorruptible nature gained him the nicknames *Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and John Fru Ndi*. His real problems aggravated when as the students’ union president, he opposed an unpopular and untimely decision to increase the university fees from 50,000FCFA to 550,000FCFA in the heart of an abject poverty and bureaucratic thievery that has gripped the Cameroons. (Ebenezer, 2004: 201)

In very harsh words, he addressed his fellow councillors at a meeting which were representing the President of the Republic, Prime Minister and others.

“The decision to increase fees is not only untimely, it is also diabolical and another attempt for my generation to pay a heavy price for bureaucratic thievery in the name of an economic crisis. Your generation has taken everything from us and now you are about to take away our possibility to be educated. I will never allow pillagers and plunderers sanctioned by a very crafty and dangerous system of governance to destroy my

⁶³ About the leader. Trial and Tribulations: <http://www.scylforfreedom.org/chairman.html>

generation's hope for a brighter tomorrow. I cannot accept no matter the outcome that fees should be increased, worst of all at this moment in time. That can only happen over my dead body". (scylforfreedom.org)

This saw the end of Ebenezer University Education in Cameroon. He was dismissed from University, banned from all Public Universities and institutions of higher learning in Cameroon and was denounced to the police as main organiser of the strike that paralysed the institution. Ebenezer, left with little or no options decided to join the pastoral ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon wrote and passed the entrance examinations into the Theological Seminary 1994 but was not allowed to study. Applied for studies abroad at University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa to read Divinity in 1994 but Cameroonian authorities upon instructions from above will not issue him a passport. He became very frustrated from every angle but rather grew stronger. Faced with all these Ebenezer Jr did not give up, he changed his ideas to saving his nation. There was great euphoria in Southern Cameroon in general and the SCNC in particular in 1995 with the stepping down to power of Barrister Ekotang Elad as National Chairman and succession by Retired Ambassador Henry Fossung. This therefore saw the rise of the SCYL.

“Lucas Cho Ayaba, Benedict Nwana Kuah, Christopher Fomunyoh Bah-Tangoh (late), Cornelius Asonganyi Bedefeh, George Ebai and other youths formed the Southern Cameroons Youth League (the SCYL) on the 25th of May 1995. The mission purpose of the SCYL is to use all available civilized means including force to bring freedom to the suffering and persecuted people of the Southern Cameroons; to act as a forum where the voices of the stakeholders in the struggle for freedom and the vision of their country of tomorrow can be properly represented. George Ebai was made the first Chairman and

Akwanga, Jr., became the pioneer Spokesman for the Movement. However, barely three months in its inception, Ebai George was “caught” in activities that jeopardize the objective of the Movement and he was immediately replaced as Chairman. Akwanga, Jr., took over the helm of the Movement in what many considered returning the stole to the rightful owner”. (scylforfreedom.org)

During this period Ebenezer Jr Chairman of the SCYL made remarkable progress in the organization, he spread the words throughout the southern Cameroon held rallies and meetings and recruited followers through his charismatic and touching words. This for sure did not go unnoticed by the Cameroon authorities who already had plans for him. On the 24th March 1997 was arrested on his way back to Bamenda after holding one of his numerous meetings. He was arrested alone side Julius Ngu Ndi who later on died in the Central prison in Yaounde, Cameroon. As quoted on the SCYL website, “In an ensuring Clash between the population and the gendarmes, many were wounded and some killed. Hundreds of Southern Cameroonians were rounded up in what became a brutal crack-down on all activities for the Southern Cameroon freedom” Ebenezer Jr was detained at the gendarmerie cell in Jakiri and later transferred to Kumbo and Finally Bamenda Up station where he faced severe torture inflicted upon him by agents of La Republique du Cameroun In the name of security officials. Ebenezer describes his first night in the hands of security forces in this words

“Suddenly, kicks were rained at my body, and I felt slaps and knocks from batons everywhere. Buckets of stinking water probably prepared for occasions like this emerged from the adjacent room and were thrown on me. The beating accelerated, accompanied with insults, and by silently bearing the pains, I angered them most. They continued until I pass out again. When I regained full consciousness, I found myself in a very narrow cell

meant only for two persons with very poor ventilation. Surviving any cell like this is only through God's will. I had never been treated this way though I had been caught in their dragnets many times before. For the first time since my involvement in the political struggle to liberate my people, I personally preferred dying to living". (Ebenezer 2004:18)

On March 28 1997, he was transferred to the National Headquarters of the Gendarmerie (SED). Here he was described as the "element tres dangereux"⁶⁴. In confirmation of what Konings stated in his book that the SCYL soon came to be seen by the Biya government as the most dangerous Anglophone movement. (Konings 2011:120) On the 2nd June 1997 he was transferred to the Yaounde Central prison, throughout the year 1998 his health deteriorated due to torture, he became paralysed, unable to speak, vomited blood and excreted blood for over a month while in detention. This raised fear among member of the Southern Cameroon struggle. After spending two years in the "Solitary Confinement"⁶⁵ in Mfou special prison under very poor health conditions on March 14 1999 the trial of Ebenezer Jr at the Yaounde Military tribunal began. His charges included among others incompatible activities with state security, attempting to secede the two English-speaking provinces of the Cameroon. On the 6th October 1999 the military tribunal slammed Ebenezer Jr a 20 years jail term. His controversial trial is in what editor-in-chief and publisher Blaise-Pascale Talla of the French based magazine Jeune Afrique described in this words.

"If it is true that the gravity of the issue justifies a certain weakness on the part of the judiciary, then it is important that the Cameroonian authorities take stock of the profound root causes of this problem. The Anglophone Problem would no longer be pushed to the

⁶⁴ "element tres dangereux" a french word meaning very dangerous element *smiling through hardship* pg 22

⁶⁵ "Solitary Confinement" is a gradual process of killing a person beginning from the psychological to the physical. It is the battle between the stronger spiritual forces and the weaker physical forces, Solitary confinement is another name for the angel of death. (Ebenezer 2004:45)

side-line as it has been the case for a very long time...for, no amount of penal sanction would be too heavy enough to stop the growing spirit for freedom in the Cameroonian youth, who, like Ebenezer Akwanga and his comrades, would attempt another adventure”.⁶⁶

While in prison Ebenezer Jr kept his fight for the Southern Cameroon course moving and was even stronger and send words of support to his fellow compatriots. An example of such strong charismatic and touching words of Ebenezer: January 28th, 2000.

“FREEDOM NOW! FELLOW Southern Cameroonians! Dear people of Goodwill. It's now almost about three years since I and forty-nine other Southern Cameroonians were arrested in different parts of the northern region (north west province) of the Federal Republic of the Southern Cameroons and deported to Yaounde by night, the capital city of La Republique du Cameroun. We were accused of acts of terrorism which took place in Bamenda, Bafut, Jakiri, Kumbo and Oku in March 1997. As you all know, after a host of pressure from the international community but most especially from the Cameroons political party, the Social Democratic Front (the SDF), we were arraigned before the Yaounde military court which for seven months tried us in one of history's most politically-flawed trials of the last century. Reports from the Bamenda based Human right Defence Group (HRDG), London-based amnesty international and the United Nations all condemned the trial in strong terms. While the court released some of us, eighteen others including myself were sentenced to terms ranging from eight years to life imprisonment, all because we accepted our belonging to the membership of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) the people's legitimate organisation clamouring for the

⁶⁶ Political involvement/Rights to self determination: <http://www.scylforfreedom.org/chairman.html>

sovereignty of the people and territory of the Southern Cameroons. Fellow Southern Cameroonians! It is true and now history that the regime of La Republique du Cameroun has sentenced us to different long prison terms. However, we have vowed to stand up and battle for the Anglophones "MANHOOD rights", denounce and defeat oppressive laws and assail the ears and conscience of francophones Cameroons, so long as the Cameroons remain unjust to the Southern Cameroon question. We will continue to do this even though we are behind bars...⁶⁷

After spending 7 horrible years in prison Ebenezer escaped from Prison in a historical and inexplicable manner. No one know the way in wish Ebenezer managed to do this and with the help of who. He fled Cameroon from prison to Nigeria on the 9th July 2003. He spent 33 months in Nigeria and survived several assassination attempts. With the help of the Nigeria Government, who ask the UNHCR to transfer him to a third country Ebenezer and his family left Nigeria Murtala Mohammed International Airport on the 20th February 2006 and arrived the Miami International airport United States on February 21st 2006. The fearless Ebenezer leaves in the United States of America with his family and has even grown stronger about the movements and plans to return home someday. Ebenezer and Redress in 2011 filed in a case against the Cameroon government at the Human Rights committee in Geneva which states

“In a unanimous decision published on 12 May 2011 the UN Human Rights Committee (HRC) in Geneva upheld the petition brought by REDRESS on behalf of Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga against Cameroon. The petition averred multiple breaches of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) over the period 1997 to 2003.” And as a result,

⁶⁷ Letter from jail Kondengui Central prison: http://www.humanrights.de/doc_en/archiv/cameroon/cam.htm

“All 15 members of the UNHRC found that Cameroon had breached Article 7 (prohibition against torture); Articles 9(2) (failure to inform reasons for arrest), 9(3) (failure to bring detainee promptly before a judge) and 9(4) (denial of habeas corpus); Articles 10 (1) (failure to treat with humanity and respect for a person’s inherent dignity) and 10(2) (failure to separate an accused person from convicted criminals); and Article 14 (failure to have a fair trial).”⁶⁸

Ebenezer Jr has continued working for the people of Southern Cameroon a struggle he says he will not mind giving his life for. On May 15th 2006, Ebenezer addressed a letter to the Director office of Internal Audit Decoding the Criminal Asylum Racket that exist in the United States of America of people using the name of the SCNC, SCYL or any other organization fighting for the liberation of the people of Southern Cameroons to enrich themselves. In this document which he also copied the UNHCR, US Department of States, US Department of Justice, US Department of Homeland Security and others, he presented himself as the legal representative of the people of Southern Cameroon and the Chairman of the SCYL. On August 29th 2009, he also addressed one of those letters to the office of fraud detection and National Security, US Department of Homeland Security in which he called for the rejection of the asylum claim of a certain Achu Doris Achange for political usurpation of membership of the SCNC and involvement in fraudulent Asylum request and also called for the termination of the asylum granted to a certain Nicolas Nguh Santo of Cameroon nationality.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Akwanga v Cameroon: <http://www.redress.org/case-docket/akwanga-v-cameroon>

⁶⁹ <http://scylinfo.files.wordpress.com/2009/05/for-the-personal-attention-of-the-director.pdf>

5.2.2 Retired Ambassador Henry Fossung

A highly regarded statesman who has served as Cameroon's ambassador to the Central African Republic, Chad, Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leon is the next Southern Cameroonian on the list to run away from his homeland because of his political views- the right to self-determination. (The Anglophone Struggle) He is a well-educated Southern Cameroonian. He has a Master's degree in International Law/relation from the American University in Washington, D.C, and degrees from the Blackstone School of Law, John Hopkins University and the Institute of Higher Overseas Studies and has lectured at Brown University. Retired Ambassador Henry Fossung has also taken part in numerous International committees and conferences including the United Nations Committee on Disarmament and Law of the Sea, has a good number of books and articles which he has written. Some of his works include *OAU: The Politics of Survival* 1968, *The new Cameroon as a Four State Federation* 1992, and *Catechism of the Southern Cameroon Question*, 2003.

“Ambassador Fossung was a leading figure within opposition circles serving amongst others as the founder and pioneer Chairman of the National Democratic Party and Executive President of the Liberal Democratic Alliance after the merger of his party. He was active within the vibrant National Coordination of Opposition Parties and was one of the most articulate voices from the opposition during the tripartite talks of 1991. Ambassador Fossung was one of the pillars of the first All Anglophone Conference of 1993 in Buea which set the stage for the rebirth of Southern Cameroons Nationalism.”⁷⁰

⁷⁰ University for Peace: Peace and Conflict Monitor: http://www.monitor.upeace.org/archive.cfm?id_article=430

As one of the founding fathers of the AAC he later became Chairman of the SCNC taking over from the pioneer chairman Barrista Ekotang Elad after he fell sick and had to undergo a major operation. During his reign in office he made numerous advancement for the movement. He presented the Southern Cameroon case to the United Nations in 1995.

On January 16th 2004 Fossung alongside 50 other SCNC members were arrested and put behind bars for holding illegal meetings as the authorities say. Fossung told the Post newspaper that he was just coming back from a meeting in America and Europe. He had as leader of the SCNC presented a lawsuit against Her Majesty government for breach of trust that has caused Southern Cameroonians to suffer from the hands of la Republic du Cameroun. The post newspaper stated

“Police of the Mobile Intervention Unit, GMI, in Buea Saturday, January 15, invaded and ransacked the home of Rtd. Ambassador Henry Fossung, leader of one of the Southern Cameroons National Council, SCNC factions, arresting him alongside 50 other SCNC activists. Fossung told *The Post*, Sunday, January 16, that the police fired about ten gunshots into the air before bludgeoning their way into his compound. The police said the Ambassador was holding an illegal meeting in his residence located near the GMI police station. They surrounded the compound, swooped on the activists and whisked them off, including women who were preparing food for the occasion.”⁷¹

In responds to this harassment and maltreatment on Fossung and the SCNC members he filed a query to the United States House of Representatives H.RES.503 109 congress, 1st session

⁷¹ Police arrest Fossung, 50 SCNC activists: http://www.postnewsline.com/2005/01/strongpolice_ar.html

“Condemning the actions taken by the Government of Cameroon against Henry Fossung and others, and for other purposes..... Whereas on January 15, 2005, under the direction of the Divisional Officer for Buea and the Provincial Delegate for National Security, more than 200 members of the Government of the Republic of Cameroon's militia and police surrounded, fired their weapons at, and invaded the residence of Ambassador Fossung and arrested Ambassador Fossung and his houseguests, including women who were cooking food at the time, a 2-year-old toddler, and elderly and disabled individuals; Whereas Ambassador Fossung and his guests were taken into custody and detained in a government facility for up to 2 days;

Whereas the Divisional Officer told Ambassador Fossung that he was arrested for hosting a gathering of more than 2 people without permission from the Government of the Republic of Cameroon;

Whereas there was no warrant of criminal charges issued to Ambassador Fossung or the others arrested... Whereas there are numerous documented accounts of citizens of the Republic of Cameroon being imprisoned, beaten, and murdered for political reasons: Now, therefore, be it”⁷²

Congress in response condemned the Cameroon government for such acts of brutality of the people of Southern Cameroon.

“*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives--

(1) strongly condemns the actions taken by the Government of the Republic of Cameroon against Ambassador Henry Fossung, his family, his house guests, and the members of the Southern Cameroons National Council;

⁷² Bill Text 109th congress(2005-2006) H.RES.503.IH <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c109:H.+Res.+503:>

(2) affirms that the United States continues to hold the Government of the Republic of Cameroon responsible for upholding all the rights of its citizens and nationals, regardless of political views or beliefs;

(3) urges the Government of the Republic of Cameroon to extend to all Cameroon's citizens, including political dissidents, Ambassador Fossung, and the Southern Cameroons National Council, the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and other international covenants on human rights, including the freedoms of thought, conscience, and religion and equal protection of the law;...⁷³

In view of all these constant harassment, trial and persecutions the Retired Ambassador Fossung applied for refugee status in the United States of America where he now lives and continues working for his people the Southern Cameroonians. In an interview granted to Fossung in the outskirts of Baltimore Maryland where he now lives by Cameroon Journal he was asked if Cameroon is in one piece and his response was

“No, the country isn’t together. What I’m saying is that the people took us by fraud and they have been treating us with repressive laws, extrajudicial killings, intimidations, arrests and persecutions, so to say.”⁷⁴

⁷³ Bill Text 109th congress(2005-2006) H.RES.503.IH <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c109:H.+Res.+503:>

⁷⁴Cameroon: Ambassador Henry Fossung “ I treat la Republique as invaders”
<http://www.camer.be/31887/11%3A1/cameroun-cameroon-ambassador-henry-fossung-i-treat-la-republique-as-invaders--cameroon.html>

And in response to his next question was the journalist asked him which was about the silence that exist in the group as most of the forefront leaders now leave abroad like himself, his response was quiet reflective of his personality.

“The only difference is that I don’t believe in gallery shows. I don’t need to tell the world that today I’m going to the UN or today I’m going to meet with the Secretary General or anybody who is important. My people know when I started long ago as the chairman that I don’t believe in gallery shows. I don’t believe in standing and telling people I’m going to do this or that. I believe in results and such results will show in the restoration of the statehood.”⁷⁵

5.2.3 Prof Carlson Anyangwe

Professor Carlson Anyangwe is well known law teacher and researcher. He teaches international law, criminal law and procedure and human rights law. He has been a teacher of law in several African Universities and institutions of higher learning including the University of Yaounde, University of Buea, University of Zambia, University of Limpopo, University of Swaziland and the Walter Sisulu University. He has served in various managerial capacities such as Research Cordinator, Deputy Dean, Dean and Director. He was Associate Dean and Acting Dean of the School of Law in the University of Zambia and has done consultancy and Human rights education works in Seychelles, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mongolia, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, Egypt and Zimbabwe. He read Law at the University of Yaounde Cameroon where he obtained a BA-LAW and an LLB, a post-graduate diploma in comparative law from the University of Strasbourg France and LLM and PhD from the University of London England. His

⁷⁵Cameroon: Ambassador Henry Fossung “ I treat la Republique as invaders”
<http://www.camer.be/31887/11%3A1/cameroun-cameroon-ambassador-henry-fossung-i-treat-la-republique-as-invaders--cameroon.html>

areas of research include human rights law, public law, international law and comparative law with particular focus on Africa and in relation to issues such as self-determination, boundaries, indigenous law, government, and criminal law & procedure. Prof Anyangwe is a USIA International visitor Fellow and member of the African Commission's Working Group of Experts on the Death penalty in Africa. He is currently director of the School of Law and research champion, Walter Sisulu University, Eastern Cape Town, Republic of South Africa.⁷⁶ He is author of a many articles and books including: *Betrayal of Too Trusting a People*,(2009) *Criminal law in Cameroon: Specific offences*,(2011) *Imperialistic Politics in Cameroon: Resistance and the inception of the Restoration of the Statehood of Southern Cameroon*,(2008) *The Secrets of an aborted Decolonisation: The Declassified British Secret files on the Southern Cameroons*,(2010)

Prof Carlson Anyangwe alongside Barrister Sam Ekontang Elad and Dr Simon Munzo is one of the founding fathers of the ACC 1993 held at Mount Mary Hall, Buea which saw the birth of the SCNC. The trials and persecution of Carlson Anyangwe began shortly after the holding of the ACC Barrista Ekontang Elad explains his fate in a newspaper interview in April 2013

“Shortly after the AAC, he probably lost his job. It became difficult for him to continue teaching at the University. Same fate befell Carlson Anyangwe. The two men left the country and I am happy they are working elsewhere now. Dr Munzu has an important assignment with the UN in the DRC and Dr Anyangwe is a Lecturer in Law in one of the Universities in South Africa.”⁷⁷

⁷⁶ African books collective: <http://www.africanbookscollective.com/authors-editors/carlson-anyangwe>

⁷⁷ We took the fight to the point we did: <http://www.icameroon.com/2013/04/we-took-the-fight-to-the-point-we-did-barrister-ekontang-elad/>

That notwithstanding Prof Carlson Anyangwe has been and is still very instrumental in the Anglophone struggle for independence and self-determination. At the 37th session of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights communication No 266/2003, Dr. Kevin Ngwang Gumne and Others; Acting on their Behalf and on Behalf of SCNC/SCAPO and the Southern Cameroons versus La République du Cameroun The complainants were represented by Prof. Carlson Anyangwe, as lead Counsel and the law firm of Akinlawon & Ajomo of Lagos, Nigeria. This therefore shows the very important role he played in bring the Southern Cameroon struggle before the ACHPR.

In an interview which Prof Carlson Anyangwe granted to a Cameroon newspaper La Nouvelle Expression on November 12 2008, he **reinterated** Southern Cameroons stand on the struggle for the liberation of the territory occupied by La Republique du Cameroun. When asked by the journalist what he thinks could be the ideal formula, he did not mix words. He stated this

“Cameroun Republic must forthwith end its colonial occupation of the Southern Cameroons, leave the Southern Cameroons and return to the international borders that define Cameroun Republic under international law. Whether Cameroun Republic does as peacefully as happened between the Slovaks and the Czechs, between Senegal and Mali or as between the component Republics of the USSR, or through war as happened in the former Yugoslavia is up to Cameroun Republic. We would prefer the former because at the end of the day we have no quarrel with the ordinary people of Cameroun Republic, many of who are thoroughly embarrassed and scandalized by the colonial pretensions and conduct of their rulers and the daily brutal repression of the people of the Southern Cameroons. The people of the Southern Cameroons did not choose their present

geographical location and are condemned to live side by side with the people of Cameroun Republic as citizens of two good neighbourly sister states.”⁷⁸

And when the journalist went further with his question session and mention colonialism, he did not play with words but had this to say in response.

“The people of the Southern Cameroons do not just feel themselves a colonized people. They are actually colonized. They find themselves in a classic situation of colonial subjugation. “Colonialism is the extension of a nation's sovereignty over territory beyond its borders by the establishment of either settler or exploitation colonies in which indigenous populations are directly ruled, displaced, or exterminated. Colonizing nations generally dominate the resources, labour, and markets of the colonial territory, and may also impose socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic structures on the indigenous population.” The situation that obtains in the Southern Cameroons fits in every respect this classic definition of colonialism.”⁷⁹

He did not just end at this point he went further to demonstrate the socio-political and economic damages La Republic has inflicted on Southern Cameroon. He made mention of these economic damages “Southern Cameroons sovereign vibrant economic infrastructures: Tiko International Airport, the Tiko and Victoria burgeoning seaports, functional roads, agricultural infrastructure,

⁷⁸ Professor Carlson Anyangwe’s Interview with La Nouvelle Expression, November 12, 2008: <http://www.postwatchmagazine.com/2010/05/prof-carlson-anyangwe-i-did-not-exclude-resistance-to-colonial-occupation-i-did-not-exclude-selfdefe.html>

⁷⁹ Professor Carlson Anyangwe’s Interview with La Nouvelle Expression, November 12, 2008: <http://www.postwatchmagazine.com/2010/05/prof-carlson-anyangwe-i-did-not-exclude-resistance-to-colonial-occupation-i-did-not-exclude-selfdefe.html>

Powercam and its Yoke power plant along with our private businesses and its operators.” Which he said have all disappeared today.

On the 19th January 2008 Southern Cameroon Restoration Movement (SCARM) President Prof Carlson Anyangwe addressed the people of Southern Cameroon. In his statement he defended the creation of the Restoration Government as a transitional government whose objectives are to take the peoples of Southern Cameroon to Sovereignty and democratic rule. He also stated the fact that “colonialism is necessarily aggression and that the law entitles the colonised to fight off such aggression by all means recognised under international law.”⁸⁰ He went further to make use of such as terms as the employment of self-defence by the people of Southern Cameroon. And made a final call for negotiations to La Republique du Cameroon.

“It cannot be in the long-term interest of Cameroun Republic to continue its futile policy of obduracy. Its barren bloodshed and endless brutal repression in the Southern Cameroons will lead nowhere. That violence may in fact form the basis of a future ‘heredity enmity’ between the people of the British Southern Cameroons and those of Cameroun Republic. It may in fact turn out to be a real danger to the corporate existence of Cameroun Republic. Indeed, Cameroun Republic will be casting adrift its future as a corporate entity if it stubbornly continues with its sterile efforts at holding the Southern Cameroons in colonial captivity and in defiance of the world’s condemnation of colonialism, be it White or Black.”⁸¹

⁸⁰ TheSouthern Cameroon Restoration Government releases it first public statement: <http://www.postnewsline.com/2008/01/the-southern-ca.html>

⁸¹ TheSouthern Cameroon Restoration Government releases it first public statement: <http://www.postnewsline.com/2008/01/the-southern-ca.html>

A read through of Prof Carlson Anyangwe word in various interview and speeches which he has delivered over the years show his bitterness with La Republique du Cameroun treatment of the peoples of Southern Cameroon and his readiness to stand for his people throughout the struggle. Also worthy of note is his response to the usage of terminologies by French journalist such as “mouvement secesionist” and “les Anglophone”

5.2.4 Dr Simon Anyopeuh Munzu

He is also one of the founding father of the ACC which took place in Buea 1993. It should be recalled that the ACC was formed to call the attention of La Republique du Cameroon of the existence of an Anglophone problem which was, the marginalization of Anglophone Cameroonians, the use of English language in official transactions in Cameroon and the proposal to la Republique du Cameroon of a federal system of government and constitutional reforms for Cameroon as a means of providing equal opportunities to all Cameroonians be it Francophones or Anglophones alike. He has a very rich academic and professional background as we shall come to see. He studied at the Cameroon College of Arts Science and Technology (CCAST) in Bambili. In January of to pursue higher studies in law and graduated as a Barrister-at-law from the Inns of Court School of Law and call to the Bar at the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple in London. Has a Bachelor of Laws (LL.B) degree and a Master of Laws (LL.M) degree from the University of London and a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) degree in law from the University of Cambridge.

His interesting professional career began as a Law teacher and Civil servant for 13 years, teaching Law at the University of Yaounde I and subsequently University of Yaounde II. He resigned the Cameroon public service in August 1994 on political grounds. He joined the United

Nation Volunteer (UNV) in September 1995 with the United Nations Human Rights Field Operations in Rwanda (UNHRFOR). From August 1997- June 1998 he became interim Chief of Mission for UNHRFOR. He was Programme Manager for the UNDP in Rwanda from July 1998 to February 2001. March 2001 to September 2004, he was in New York as Senior Policy Adviser on Human Rights UNDP. September 2004 to May 2011 he was the UN Department of Peace Operations (DPKO) as Director of Human Rights Division of the United Nations Operations in Ivory Coast (UNOCI). May 2011 till his retirement in August 2012 he was Director of Political Affairs in the United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). He returned home a year to live at the sea side town of Limbe just to be reappointed of 7 October 2014 by Ban Ki-Moon UN Secretary General a resort from the Cameroon journal.

“Cameroon Journal, Yaounde, Oct 10 – Simon Munzu, the awe-inspiring personality who together with a few others briefly but valiantly championed the Anglophone cause in the early 1990s has been appointed Deputy Special Representative of the United Nations Operations in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI).He was appointed Tuesday October 7, by United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon who said Munzu brings to this position a wealth of political, human rights, legal, academic and management experience from a career spanning more than 30 years. He replaces Arnauld Akodjènou of Benin, who now serves as Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali.”⁸²

⁸² Cameroon Journal October 10 2014: *Simon Munzu named Deputy Special UN Rep for Cote d’Ivoire*. <http://www.cameroonjournal.com/?p=472>

At the age of 19 Simon Munzu while still a student at CCAST Bambili in Bamenda was already interested in party politics and was a member of the Cameroon National Union Youth Wing of former president Ahidjo which later became the Cameroun Peoples Democratic Movement (CPDM) of Paul Biya the ruling party. He was Pioneer member of CNU United Kingdom Section and South England Subsection where I served a number post of responsibilities in the executive between 1972 and 1982 when he returned back home.

Upon Munzo's return home he continued as arty member of the CPDM and Professor of University of Yaounde. He grew in the ranks of the party and was a member of the tripartite committee that was formed in view of the constitution reforms under the supervision of Minister Joseph Owona.

With the holding of the AAC, the persecutions of Dr Simon Munzo began. He abandoned the ruling party the CPDM which he has been serving for over 24years from 1963-1993 and joint the coalition opposition party which was a fusion of the Fossung and Mola Njoh Litumbe's party to form the Liberal Democratic Alliance Party so that the Anglophone could fight the constitutional reforms from a single standpoint. He became Secretary General of the LDA.

In an interview report posted on camer.be website Dr Simon Munzo explained what happened after ACC Buea and how he was forced for patriotic reasons to leave Cameroon

“Matters came to a head when I openly supported federalism and publicly argued for an equitable solution of the ‘Anglophone problem’ in the national constitutional debate of the early 1990s, co-convened the first and second All Anglophone Conferences, took on the role of Spokesman of the AAC and, ultimately, joined the ranks of the opposition upon becoming Secretary-General of the LDA. I was harassed and ‘punished’ for my

‘rebellious’ behaviour in many subtle ways. For example, at the University of Yaounde and, subsequently, the University of Yaounde II where I taught law, I was always passed over for promotion and denied research missions abroad on which the university routinely sent its academic staff during the long vacation”⁸³

Dr Munzo goes on with the list of his persecutions and final departure from his home land

“After I resigned from the University of Yaounde II and the civil service in August 1994 on political grounds, with loss of pension rights as provided for by the general rules and regulations of the civil service, I was denied, up to this day, the ‘immediate’ refund of my past pension contributions to which I was entitled under the provisions of the same general rules and regulations of the civil service. When, following my resignation from the University of Yaounde and the civil service, thus ceasing to be a civil servant, I applied to be sworn in to practice law as an advocate, having fulfilled all the legal requirements for admission to the Cameroon Bar, my application was denied in the Ministry of Justice, which legally had no power of decision in the matter, with no reasons given. The list goes on and on and on...I spent one year in Cameroon without a paid job and no income to take care of myself and my family. This was a price that I chose to pay for the freedom of my conscience, the liberty of my mind and the integrity of my being. However, in September 1995, I received the offer to serve in post-genocide Rwanda as a United Nations Volunteer.”

⁸³ DR. SIMON MUNZU BREAKS 20-YEAR SILENCE!

<http://www.camer.be/31362/11:1/cameroun-cameroon-dr-simon-munzu-breaks-20-year-silence-cameroon.html>

DR Simon Munzo in a later part of his interview accepted the fact the AAC has left an impact on the lives of the peoples of Southern Cameroon today but is not a party to violence in any form and strongly believes in dialogue. This I accept as one of the greatest difference between Dr Simon and many other Southern Cameroonians fighting the Anglophone struggle, he is of federalism but not secession as others.

5.2.5 Fon Gorji Dinka

Fon Gorji Dinka who was traditional ruler of widikum has been sight lined as one of the Southern Cameroon Leader who is in favour of secession from La Republique du Cameroun. He is the self-proclaimed Head of State of Ambazonia. On the 8th Oct 1981 Fon Gorji was detained when he tried to defend some Nigerian missionaries who were detained by the Police. Few months later he was charged with providing fake permits for a group of missionaries the authorities described as a sect. He was imprisoned for 12months. Fon Gorji appeal was delayed until he had served all his prison term. He subsequently abandoned his appeal and filed for compensation for unlawful detention, but he never received a reply from the authorities. In 1983 when riots broke out in Cameroon as a result of subjugation by Franco-Cameroon military forces, parliament was forced to enact the Restoration Law 84/01 which called on the separation of the two Cameroons, he went forward and declared the Ambazonian Restoration Council and published a number of article calling on the president of La Republique to comply with the Restoration Law and withdraw from Ambazonia. On the 31st May 1985 he was arrested again and taken to Yaounde and detained in very poor conditions with no sanitary facilities where fell sick. He managed to escape and presented himself to the residence of the British Ambassador but his asylum claim was rejected and he was handed over to the police again On the 9th June 1985

he was re-detained at the Brigade mixte mobile. As a result of the physical and mental torture which he received from the hands of the paramilitary force he suffered from a stroke and was paralysed on the left side. This last detention of Fon Gorji sparked riots all over the national territory and the President of the Republique had him charged with high treason at a military Court. This case collapsed because of lack of legal provisions to incriminate him. On the 3rd February he was acquitted of all charges and released from jail. Since the law in Cameroon does not provide for appeal in cases of high treason in the Military Tribunal, all further attempts by the President of the Republique to appeal the case and bring him to book again failed. While out of jail he kept on preaching the gospel of the Restoration of Ambazonia. On February 7th 1986 and on March 28th 1988 he was served with house arrest. His disrespect for this order made the Ministry of Territorial affairs and the Department of Political Affairs on 15th May 1987 addressed a letter to him informing him of his situation of House arrest and his continuous attendance in custody court sessions and holding of meetings in his residence was contrary to his probationary release by the military court. On March 28th 1988, he to go into exile in Nigeria. In 1995, he went to Great Britain, where he was recognized as a refugee and became a barrister.⁸⁴

In response to all the trials, persecutions and torture he had gone through in the hands of La Republique he filed a complaint to the Human Rights Committee 87th session 14th March- 1st April 2005 Communication No 1134/2002 wherein

“The author claims that the "illegal annexation" of Ambazonia by the Republic of Cameroon denies the will of Ambazonians to preserve their nationhood and sovereign powers, as expressed in the 1961 plebiscite and confirmed by a 1992 judgment of the High Court of Bamenda, thereby violating his people's right to self-determination under

⁸⁴ <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/undocs/1134-2002.html>

article 1, paragraph 1, of the Covenant. By reference to article 24, paragraph 3, he also alleges a breach of the right to his own nationality

3.2 The author claims that his detention from 8 October 1981 to 7 October 1982 and from 31 May 1985 to 3 February 1986, as well as his subsequent house arrest from 7 February 1986 to 28 March 1988, were arbitrary and in breach of article 9, paragraph 1, of the Covenant. The conditions of detention and the ill-treatment suffered during the second detention period amounted to violations of articles 7 and 10, paragraph 1, while the fact that he was initially kept with a group of murder convicts at the BMM headquarters, upon his re-arrest on 9 June 1985, violated article 10, paragraph 2 (a). He further claims that the restriction on his movement during house arrest and his current *de facto* prohibition from leaving and entering his country amount to a breach of article 12 of the Covenant.

3.3 The author alleges that his deprivation of the right to vote and to be elected at elections violated article 25 (b) of the Covenant.

3.4 Under article 19 of the Covenant, the author claims that his arrest on 31 May 1985 and his subsequent detention were punitive measures, designed to punish him for his regime-critical publications.

3.5 The author further alleges that his right, under article 9, paragraph 5, to compensation for unlawful detention from 8 October 1981 to 7 October 1982 was violated, because the authorities never replied to his compensation claim.

3.6 The author claims that all his attempts to seek domestic judicial redress were futile, as the authorities did not respond to his compensation claim and did not comply with

national laws or with the judgments of the Cameroon Military Tribunal and the High Court of Bamenda. Following his escape from house arrest in 1988, domestic remedies were no longer available to him as a fugitive. He contends that the only way to make his rights prevail would be through a Committee decision, since Cameroon's authorities never respect their own tribunals' decisions in human rights-related matters.

3.7 The author submits that the same matter is not being examined under another procedure of international investigation or settlement.⁸⁵

It also should be taken into consideration that it was same Fon Gorji Dinka who in 1992 with Ambazonia secured evidence of Judiciary mandate from a High Court in Cameroon Bamenda HCB 28/92 which called on Cameroon to vacate Ambazonia territory for having failed to demonstrate how it acquired Ambazonia. Piet Konings describes Fon Gorji Dinka's plight in these words "Fon Gorji Dinka and Albert Mukong who had already made representations to the United Nations on behalf of the Anglophone minority in the late 1980's and early 1990's. These Anglophone leaders shared a common experience in having been subjected to imprisonment, torture and frequent harassment in the Francophone dominated state" (Konings et al 2003:94)

5.2.6 Albert Muwah Mukong

Albert Muwah Mukong was born on the 23rd October 1933 at Bananki village in Tongo, he went to primary school at St Anthony's Primary School Njinikom and attended Secondary School at St Joseph's College Sasse in Buea. He later worked at the Cameroon's Development

⁸⁵ Fongum Gorji-Dinka v. Cameroon, Communication No. 1134/2002, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/83/D/1134/2002 (2005). <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/undocs/1134-2002.html>

Coperation (CDC) for a very short while. He would later move over to Nigeria to Study Physics at the University of Ibadan Lagos 1957. It is worth mentioning that during this period in time there were great political upheavals in African in general and Cameroon in particular as a result of Colonial occupation by European powers. There was the Mau Mau in Kenya, the Nationalization of the Suez Canal in Egypt and the UPC calling for independence in French Cameroun and the Endeley, Foncha calling for autonomy of British Southern Cameroon. All these issues did not go unnoticed by Mukong. He therefore dropped his dreams and professional career of becoming a physicist to join the political movements in his country at the time. In 1959 Albert Mukong attended a special UN session that was held from February 20- March 13. When he returned from this session, Mukong joint the One Kamerun party which was the British Southern Cameroon's branch of the UPC nationalist under the leadership of Ndeh Ntumazah in 1957. He served as leader of the student wing of the party and was later made Secretary General of One Kamerun. In this capacity Mukong was opportune to attend numerous conferences. He attended the Founban Conference of July 1961. Mukong's active participation and affiliation with the One Kamerun party will bring him into problems with President Amadou Ahidjo of French Cameroon who exiled him to Accra, Ghana in 1962. Mukong stayed in Ghana for two years and later moved to Togo and with interventions from close allies and the Cameroon Embassy in Nigeria he was allowed into Cameroon. It was on October 6th 1970 just few weeks before his birthday that members of the Cameroon's paramilitary Brigade mixed mobile visited and arrested Mukong at his Kumba residence and he was to spend the next six years in prison. While in prison he met with other political prisoners like him who opposed the Ahidjo regime and witness the execution of Ernest Ouandie in 1971 in front of his family and friends.

Mukong appeared again in 1988 this time around criticizing the Biya regime of corruption and was sent to prison again for more than a year. But in the early 1990 Mukong was still there for the presentation of a new political party in the corridors of Cameroon's politics. He was once more arrested for consorting with the Yondo Black group. By January of 1990 he was in the hands of the Brigade Mixte Mobile but was to be released. But this time around Mukong left the Country on self-exile to the United Kingdom where he sought Asylum. While in the United Kingdom, Albert Mukong submitted his case at the United Nations Human Rights Committee on February 26 1991 against the Cameroon government. United Nations Human Rights Committee 51st Session Communication No458/1991 saw the Albert Mukong which stated that

“3.1 The author alleges a violation of article 7 of the Covenant on account of the treatment he was subjected to between 18 June and 10 August 1988, and during his detention at the Mbope Camp.

3.2 The author further alleges a violation of article 9, as he was not served a warrant for his arrest on 16 June 1988. Charges were not brought until almost two months later. Moreover, the military tribunal designated to handle his case postponed the hearing of the case on several occasions until, on 5 May 1989, it announced that it had been ordered by the Head of State to withdraw the charges and release the author. Again, the arrest on 26 February 1990 occurred without a warrant being served. On this occasion, charges were not filed until one month later.

3.3 It is further submitted that the State party authorities violated article 14, paragraphs 1 and 3, in that the author was not given any details of the charges against him; neither was he given time to adequately prepare his defence. The author claims that the court a

military tribunal was neither independent nor impartial, as it was clearly subject to the influence of high level government officials. In particular, as the judges were military officers, they were subject to the authority of the President of Cameroon, himself the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

3.4 The author notes that his arrests on 16 June 1988 and 26 February 1990 were linked to his activities as an advocate of multiparty democracy, and claims that these were Government attempts designed to suppress any opposition activities, in violation of article 19 of the Covenant. This also applies to the Government's ban, in 1985, of a book written by the author ("Prisoner without a Crime"), in which he described his detention in local jails from 1970 to 1976.

3.5 Finally, it is submitted that article 12, paragraph 4, was violated, as the author is now prevented from returning to his country. He has been warned that if he were to return to Cameroon, the authorities would immediately rearrest him. This reportedly is attributable to the fact that in October 1990, the author delivered a petition to the SecretaryGeneral of the United Nations, seeking his good offices to persuade the State party's authorities to observe and respect General Assembly Document A/C.4/L.685 of 18 April 1961 on the Report of the Trusteeship Council ("The Question of the Future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under the United Kingdom Administration").⁸⁶

⁸⁶Views of the Human Rights Committee under article 5, paragraph 4, of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights- Fifty-first session –concerning Communication No. 458/1991. <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/undocs/html/vws458.htm>

The case worked in favour of Mukong July 21st 1994 the committee found that he had been subjected to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and that the Cameroon government had violated article 19 of the Universal declaration of Human Rights- the rights to freedom of expression. It was seven years later after the ruling that Mukong will receive the stipulated compensation demanded by the committee's ruling for abuses he had suffered from the hand of the authorities during imprisonment for close to 20 years.

Meanwhile after Mukong spent two years in the UK and when he got information of the formation of the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) by Dr Enonchong he rushed back home and got invitation to join the movement. He was later made Secretary General of the Movement. The CAM later gave rise to the ACC Buea to which Mukong was **articiant** and later the SCNC where Mukong served whole hearted calling for separation of the two Cameroons. Mukong who had started his political career calling for the Unification of the country with equal rights for all and freedom of expression, multipartism under the Ahidjo regime and later the Biya regime was now calling for Separation. He had seen that the culture of these two peoples are different and would never be same people. Albert Mukong died on the 14th July 2014 leaving a gap in the Anglophone never to be refilled. He was one of the most influential English Speaking Southern Cameroonian.

Professor Emmanuel Konde, a former Fulbright, teacher of History and Political Science in Albany State University, Georgia had this to say about Mukong

“He stands alone as the only Cameroonian who played an active in the entire political spectrum of Cameroon. Mukong began as an advocate for the unification of the two Cameroons and ended as a separatist convinced of the unwillingness of the dominant

Francophone leadership to negotiate a satisfactory political system with the marginalized Anglophone minority. He died a member of the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) that was founded in 1995 to represent the sectional interests of Anglophone Cameroon, while advocating secession.”⁸⁷

5.2.7 Forced Migrants from Cameroon

In this part of my work I will like to bring to light the fact that not only Southern Cameroonian activist, politicians or sympathizes asking for self-determination and greater equality between English and French speaking Cameroonians face gross human rights violations but rather on the other hand that there also exist cases of journalist, Human rights activist and Musician who criticise the corrupt practices of the government of Cameroon are also arrested, imprisoned and even killed. Hence they are forced to flee their homeland in search of security elsewhere. Any journalist who in one way or the other show support or sympathy for the Anglophone problem, criticises the treatment of Anglophone Cameroonian, investigates corrupt practices of the government of Cameroon knows his/her faith. It is either you run or you die in jail.

The well-known journalist of *Le Messager* independent newspaper Charles Atangana now leaves in the United Kingdom. He explains his exile in these words.

“I was arbitrary and unlawfully arrested and detained in a heavily secured military police detention facility in Cameroon for 40 days. I had to bribe my way out of the country to

⁸⁷ Nanje School of Creative thinking: Vincent Feko and Albert Mukong- One Unsung Hero in the Struggle for multipatyism in Cameroon. <http://nanjcreativethinking.blogspot.com.es/2013/03/vincent-feko-and-albert-mukong-one.html>

seek sanctuary and protection. Cameroon is a dictatorship dressed up as a fake democracy, with a leader in power for more than 29 years. As an investigative economics and current affairs journalist, I worked with the leading independent newspaper, *Le Messenger*, and also with *other newspapers* before that. I wrote critical articles about the government and exposed its wrongdoing and corruption. Tortured, beaten, and stripped naked in a cell, I have suffered the worst things a journalist can imagine. I fled Cameroon on May 9, 2004, and arrived in the U.K. the following day and sought asylum in Birmingham. I didn't plan to come over here. I started the asylum process in Birmingham, at Solihull Immigration reporting centre. I was asked questions about where I came from and why and how I entered the country.”⁸⁸

Jean Claude Mdede Fouda is a graduate from the University of Yaounde where he studied Journalism. He worked in Cameroon for six year upon graduating from the University and held several post of responsibilities. He was correspondent for Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Vatican. He was editor-in-chief of the first ever private television channel in Cameroon the STv2 and founded the FM Radio Liberte in 2007 where all his trial and tribulation escalated. He therefore fled to Italy where he became the first political refugee to join the Italian National Association of Journalists. Member and founder of the Network of exiled journalist now works in Adis Abeba for an Italian Cooperation as Communication Officer. This is the price Jean Claude is paying for been outspoken and for been too critical of the government of Cameroon.

⁸⁸ In exile: From a Cameroonian jail to immigration limbo: <http://www.cpj.org/blog/2011/06/from-a-cameroonian-jail-to-immigration-limbo.php>

Issa Nyaphaga is a Cameroonian Artist and producer whose story is not different from that of the rest of the Cameroonian journalist, artist and musician who would not dance to the tune of the drummer (Cameroon Government).

“Issa Nyaphaga grew up in Nditam, Cameroon, a village without access to running water, electricity, medicine or education. His work was published weekly in several national newspapers before he was repeatedly censored and jailed. One of the newspapers, “*Le Messager Popoli*” (“*The Messenger of the People*”) published the top news stories in the form of cartoons and comics for the very large illiterate population living in urban areas. In 1996 independent publication reached about 5 million readers and was banned by the Cameroonian regime. He struggled with censorship laws and issues, which forced him (and many other journalists) into exile in France, where he co-founded African Journalists in Exile (JAFE).”⁸⁹

On April 26th 2010 the American Embassy in Cameroon reiterated its concern for the respect of Human rights in Cameroon including freedom of press and freedom of expression. This was in respect of the death of Cameroonian journalist while in pre-trial detention. Bibi Ngota Ngota was arrested alongside two other journalists Harrys Robert Mintya and Serge Sabouang in February 2010. They were accused of obtaining not publishing an important government document that implicates a top presidential aide of influence peddling and corruption; they have been charged with imitating the signatures of members of government and could face up to 15years imprisonment. On the 22nd April 2010 Bibi Ngota died while still in detention. Some sources say Bibi died of torture meanwhile his friends are still in jail. From this story therefore one can start

⁸⁹ Issa Nyaphaga: Artist and Producer: http://www.radiotaboo.com/#!about_us/cjg9

to imagine the obvious route that could follow suit for Bibi's friends if freed from jail. They have touched the top ranks of government so it's 'either you run or die'.⁹⁰

The famous Cameroonian musician Pierre Lambo a.k.a. Lapiro de Mbanga died in exile. On the website of global voices states

“Lapiro de Mbanga, known as Ndinga Man meaning Guitar Man, died of cancer in the United States on March 16, 2014. The Cameroonian protest singer, social critic, political activist and general spokesperson of the downtrodden had been granted political asylum there in September 2012 after serving a three-year sentence in Cameroon for his alleged role in the anti-government riots in February 2008 – charges that were widely considered to be politically motivated. He was 56 years old.”⁹¹

It is not new in Cameroon that the government authorities use false claims on you so as to extinguish you. Lapiro de Mbanga was well known and loved all over Cameroon for his critics which he put in his songs and touched the hearts of the grassroots man while revealing all government ills with music. He was falsely accused sent to jail and left to die. As one former Cameroon Radio and Television journalist Boh Herbert states

“It is no longer a secret, after Lapiro, that the government of Cameroon has specialised in administering death to its most formidable political opponents and dissidents, using prison as the slaughter house or as the transit station “en route” to the grave. We also now know

⁹⁰ ‘Either you run or die’: just another way of explaining that these accused die of torture or maltreatment in prison or forced to migrate

⁹¹ Cameroonians mourn exiled music icon Lapiro de Mbanga:

<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2014/04/01/cameroonians-mourn-exiled-music-icon-lapiro-de-mbanga/>

that denying medical care to prisoners is not just negligence, It is part of an assassination plot, meticulously executed”⁹²

On the website of the online newspaper Iroko heritage, they cited the case of Ebenezer Jr as a Human Rights activist on Exile. Ebenezer as a Human Rights Activist with the help of Redress a UK based Human Rights Organization is said to have have sued the Cameroon Government to the United Nations Human Rights Committee a case he won but the Cameroon government three years later is still playing tactics to pay for compensation of his youth which he practically spent behind bars in the Cameroons. The Iroko Heritage states that

“Mr Akwanga, the Southern Cameroons Youth League Chairman and 22 other Anglophone activists were sentenced in a military Tribunal In Yaoundé in 1999 for attacking military installations in North Western Cameroon, a charge they denied. Ebenezer managed to escape in 2003 from the Kondengui maximum security prison after serving seven years of his 20 year term. REDRESS accepted to take his case against the Cameroon government for torture and wrongful detention and won but the Cameroon government is now feet dragging about compensating Mr Akwanga.”⁹³

Alain Christian Eyoum Ngangue was born on the 1st January 1967 a journalist by profession is another Cameroonian who because of his job was forced to flee his homeland. Amnesty international report of 1997 quoted him to be a prisoner of conscience.

⁹² Cameroonians mourn exiled music icon Lapiro de Mbanga:
<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2014/04/01/cameroonians-mourn-exiled-music-icon-lapiro-de-mbanga/>

⁹³ Cameroon and Justice Delayed: The case of Human Rights Activist Ebenezer Akwanga:
<http://irokoheritage.com/2013/11/07/cameroon-and-justice-delayed-the-case-of-human-rights-activist-ebenezer-akwanga/>

Eyoun Ngangue, a journalist working for the independent Le Messenger newspaper, was arrested in Douala on 22 January 1997 and is currently being detained by the police. There is concern that his arrest may be part of the pattern of arrest and imprisonment of journalists in Cameroon for exercising their right to freedom of expression, and that he may be a prisoner of conscience. (Amnesty International, 1997)

Upon his release from prison two months later Alain fled to France where he knows leaves.

Isolated Case like that of a so called 'Roger' who would not give his names to the writer Oscar of the vice.com in an interview he had with this Southern Cameroonian Activist while writing on Asylum cases in the UK. He had this to say

“Recently, while writing about the asylum system in the UK, I spoke to members of the SCNC living in exile. I met Roger (not his real name) at a coffee shop in London, where he told me that he was unlawfully imprisoned in Cameroon for being in the SCNC. “We want Southern Cameroon to be a state on its own, with its own laws,” he told me. “I’ve witnessed one killing of a fellow SCNC member in front of me. Another man was shot from behind. Many of us have died in the cause just like that. Many have died in prison. Many have died in police cells having being tortured.”

Roger had to get out of Cameroon, and after a number of appeals and over two years in various detention centres, he was granted asylum in the UK. He misses his country but, far more than that, he misses his wife, who he said was raped and then killed by men opposed to the Southern Cameroons independence movement.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ The Ignored Struggle for an Independent English-Speaking Cameroon: <http://www.vice.com/read/english-speaking-cameroonians-are-being-persecuted-for-wanting-a-state-of-their-own>

This is one of the isolated cases of Cameroonians who after escaping from Cameroon are still deeply rooted in the struggle but still fear for their lives. At least he was courageous to speak out.

5.2.8 Conclusion

In this part of my research I have examine examples of specific Southern Cameroonian Intellectuals, former members of the Cameroon government forced to flee their homes as a result of their political opinions. This does not end there also journalist Musicians have also been forced to flee or left to die in prison for practicing their profession. These are all visible examples of how corruption has eaten deep into the Cameroon society in general and the end result of all these is that the people are forced to migrate. But worthy of note is the fact that not only these groups of persons are affected by this situation. The local masses too also have fled their homeland in fear of persecution but what is difficult for research purposes is that data about these groups of persons is difficult to assemble because when some of them arrive in Europe or America which are their favourite destinations they do not declare their status due to the difficulties involved in getting recognized under the UNHCR. I have examined cases of well-known professionals from Cameroon who faced repatriations back to their home countries as a result of non-compliance with the requirements to be granted a refugee status in Europe or America. Immigration authorities or immigration laws as you may call it also make the situation of these forced migrants more complicated. However some have acquired refugee status and leave in peace and tranquillity with their families abroad. That notwithstanding there are examples of Southern Cameroonians in Belgium, Holland, France, Germany, America and Canada who keep on with the fight holding regular meeting session, organizing protest matches in front of consular

services, celebrating National day like the 1st October all these in an attempt to call for international recognizing and attention to the plight of their people.

Chapter 6: General Conclusion

6.1 Conclusion

I have come to the end of my research and have to make conclusions about my findings. I will like to confirm here that from the above writings there is definitely no doubts that the activities of Southern Cameroons non-violent resistant movement has led to gross human rights violations upon Southern Cameroonians meted unto to them by the authorities of La Republique du Cameroun better said by the Cameroon Government hence they have been forced to migrate to other countries especially to Europe and America which has been their favourable destinations although some preferred other African countries like Nigeria for first refuge before making final moves. The fact that all non-violent resistance movement from Southern is now our days internationally represented with most of its leadership in foreign countries is enough evidence. Worthy of note is the fact that most of these leaders have preferred to settle in the United States of America. Examples do exist such as the Fossung faction of the SCNC in the United States of America, Ebenezer Jr and his SCYL in the United States of America, and Dr Martin Ayim Ayong of SCAPO in the United States of America. Is America a safe Heaven?

More so, after my findings I realized that some of these non-violent resistant movements such as the SCNC has diverted from one of its main objectives for which it was created. At the ACC Mount Mary hall Buea Cameroon where the SCNC was given birth it was said that the intentions was for all Anglophone Cameroonians from all works of life irrespective of political party, profession or post of responsibility should come together and form a common platform and press the Cameroon government to give equal opportunities to French and English speaking Cameroonians alike, a greater use of the English language throughout the national territory press

for constitutional reforms such as the return to federalism and that Southern Cameroonians should enjoy the autonomy they enjoyed just after independence. This seems not to be the case anymore, the SCNC alone has been fractionized into so many different factions and various leaders. An insufficient defence could be given that there now exist the national front and the international front but with an inside view of the situation you would realize that it is not the case. The SCNC is no more fighting together against the enemy but rather fighting amongst themselves. Rumour speculates that the corrupt Cameroon government has bought over some members and key figures of the SCNC hence stirring division. So hold the saying that 'divided we fall and together we stand'. Another school is of the opinion that greed, selfishness and the interest for money has eaten through the organization. That the existence of so many factions today in the SCNC is to facilitate membership cards and activity reports to the multitude of Southern Cameroonians in Europe and else in the world to facilitate their demands for asylum and gain refugee status and in return get huge sums of moneys from the demanders hence enriching their private pockets. The African Independent newspaper posted in 2003 on its website a law suit filed by the National Chairman Ndangam dragging the National Treasurer Dr Yongbang to court for libel claiming the sum of 183.856.00 US dollars. To the best of my opinion I think this does not speak well of the SCNC.

The birth and existence of new non-violent resistance movement with similar if not same objective as the SCNC in my opinion is a good sign. By this I mean the SCYL, SCARM and SCAPO. They could differ in the method of approach to the problem but the objectives as was in the beginning of the struggle:- the decolonization of the Southern Cameroons remains. With the active participation of more youths in the struggle, it goes a long way to confirm Marcus Ganey

saying that ‘A people without knowledge of their past, history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots’.

On the Human rights aspect, it is evident that the government of Cameroon through its policies of violating the human rights of Southern Cameroonians in particular and Cameroonian in general directly or indirectly promotes forced migration. Reports from Amnesty International, US Department of State Country reports on Human rights and Human rights watch country profile shows that there exist gross human rights violations in Cameroon every year. From the lack of political tolerance, lack of freedom of speech and expression, illegal arrest and detentions torture and maltreatments in detention centres the lack of sanitary facilities to killings. This therefore has prompted a number of Southern Cameroonian in particular and Cameroonian in general to run away from their homeland as a result of insecurity in the performance of their duties and the lack of political freedom.

6.2 Shortcomings and Recommendations

One of the shortcomings of this was the lack of books on the research topic since the area of research is still very young. UNHCR report on asylum claims and refugee status are very generalized and do not inform on specific cases such as refugee status granted for non-violent resistant movement activist hence very difficult to have statistical facts and data. Same holds for countries, the UK or whatever European powers do not publish data on numbers of asylum cases or refugee status granted. This information usually comes from the individual when granted or denied decides to make public his claims. It is therefore easy to find individual situations and cases than data of particular interest.

As for what has to do with recommendations I will propose that the Cameroon authorities concentrate efforts to provide and uphold values of Human rights enshrined in the UDHR, ICESCR and ICCPR rather than concentrate on promoting the violations on Human Rights. These violations when reported to the HRC and sanctioned the Cameroonian peoples are losing a lot of money for compensation of the victims. Such is the examples of Late Albert Mukong where the Cameroonian Government lost the case presented before the HRC and had to pay compensations worth 137,000 US dollars. One would wonder if this money is disbursed from the private pockets of those who committed the act or from the Cameroon government budget.

That the non-violent resistance movements in Southern Cameroon should be one voice and use Diplomatic means and accept dialogue is proposed by the Cameroonian government to resolve the Anglophone problem bearing in mind that violence will rather bring sufferings and hardship to the peoples of Southern Cameroon and Cameroon in general. And that the Cameroon authorities should yield to the advice of the ACHPR to create room for dialogue rather than the continuo's violations of Human rights which lead to forced migration hence a great loss in Cameroon intellectual bank.

6.3 Future areas of Research

Researching on areas such international migrations laws, asylum claims in relations to Human rights will be of great interest, not leaving out states interest.

I believe that the world is on the move, people move as much as ideas, products move as well as technologies. And diseases which can affect regions and whole continents as we are

observing right now also move. Globalisation brings changes villages to cities and cultures as well as to social structures such as the family and likewise the job market. This development is a challenge to the regulatory powers of nation states. To the best of my Knowledge Migration is therefore a key phenomenon in the world of today. Migrants today are entering societies that are already in flux. Engaging in change at this point in time is necessity for everyone, not just for immigrants. Some immigrants maintain a variety of close links with families back home in their various countries of origin creating transnational zones, while others move on to other countries just after only a short time. All of these people are on the move the world is moving.

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