

# 2020 SOUTHERN CAMEROONS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

OFFICIAL REPORT  
AND RESOLUTIONS



October 30 - November 1, 2020

VIRTUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE  
**ARMED** IN THE **SOUTHERN**  
**CONFLICT** **CAMEROONS**



**Coalition**  
for Dialogue and Negotiations

2020 SOUTHERN CAMEROONS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OFFICIAL REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS  
OCTOBER 30 - NOVEMBER 1, 2020

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**“Nearly everyone in the Southern Cameroons has heard of the word FREEDOM... But if we vote for union with Cameroun Republic, you will invite a new system under which everyone lives in fear of the police and the army. You will not be free to move about; you cannot lecture freely or discuss your political views in public; you must carry your tax ticket around your neck like a dog; and you can be arrested and flogged by the police and even imprisoned without fair trial”**

*Dr. Emmanuel M Lifaka Endeley, February 1961  
1st Prime Minister of the Southern Cameroons*

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# ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	All Anglophone Conference
AGC	Anglophone General Conference
AU	The African Union
CDC	Cameroon Development Corporation
CDN	Coalition for Dialogue and Negotiations
CFA	Coopération financière en Afrique Centrale Franc
COALITION	Coalition for Dialogue and Negotiations
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DFI	Development Finance Institution
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	The European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
PRINCIPLES	The 20 Guiding Principles for a post-conflict Southern Cameroons
SC	The Southern Cameroons
SONARA	National Refining Company Ltd
UN	United Nations
WB	The World Bank
WG	Working Group

# 1. THANK YOU FROM THE CO-CHAIRS

This report could not have been successfully completed without the invaluable contribution of several committed Southern Cameroonian professionals, who over a span of nine months, tirelessly developed the content presented in the different Working Group summary reports.

The Coalition would like to thank the various stakeholders who supported the conference planning and sent key representatives to participate in various Working Groups.

We thank the conference Co-Chairs, Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh and Mr. Augustine Ndamang for their leadership and for setting the stage for a successful conference. Your engagement and counsel prepared the ground for every Southern Cameroonian to participate in this historic conference.

The conference benefited tremendously from the deep engagement of a full spectrum of Southern Cameroonian leaders especially those who are in the front lines in the current fight for justice for the Southern Cameroons. Special thanks go to Mr. John Mbah Akuroh (Southern Cameroons Civil Society Consortium), Mr. Millan Atam (Southern Cameroons Congress of the People), Dr. Lucas Cho Ayaba (Ambazonia Governing Council), Ms. Vyvian Mbanwie (British Southern Cameroons Resistance Forces), Barrister Harmony Bobga Mbuton, Dr. Simon Munzu, Chairman Ni John Fru Ndi (Social Democratic Front), Dr. Fontem Neba, Dr. Nicholas Ngwanyam, Barrister Felix Agbor Nkongho, Ms. Edith Kahbang Walla (Cameroon's People's Party) and Mr. Dabney Yerima (the Interim Government). Your frank conversations and mutual respect demonstrated vividly to the world what we have always known as *the force of argument*. Thank you for your continued service. Heartfelt thanks to Najala Mrs. Helen Gwanfogbe and Mr. Christian Achaleke.

We acknowledge the leaders in jail, who despite the inhumane conditions where they are, took time to offer their strong support for the conference. We acknowledge particularly the encouragement from Barrister Shufai Blaise, Dr. Fidelis Ndeh Che, Pa Nfor Ngalla Nfor, and Sisiku Julius Ayuk Tabe.

Such a successful conference could not have been possible without the full support and steadfast leadership of very experienced Southern Cameroonians who Co-Chaired the various conference Working Groups. We commend the tremendous work done by Dr. Yaah Maggie Kilo, Professor Ben Bezejou, Dr. Fausta Ditah, Ms. Sally Mboumien, Professor Lilian Lem Atanga, Barrister Emmanuel Ashu, Mr. David Otto Endeley, Dr. John Fobanjong, Justice Valentine Bumah Chi, Professor Herman Ndofor, and Dr. Gabila Fohitung.

We recognize the incredible work done by Dr. John Ajongwen in coordinating the Working Groups and the entire secretariat for ensuring the conference proceeded smoothly. Special thanks to Dr. Akoh Asana and other coordinators including Dr. Victor Gomia, Mr. Arrey Obenson, and Mr. Attoh Moutchia. Dr. Edmund Folefac is much appreciated for ensuring conference deliberations and resolutions were properly captured and we are thankful to Ms. Jessi Itambi for all her contributions.

We acknowledge the pertinent contributions from around the world including Former Ambassador Liberata Mulamula of Tanzania, the Honorable Sebastien Nadot of France, the Honorable Christoph Hoffmann – Germany, the Honorable Steffan Kaufmann – Germany. We equally thank other international stakeholders who trusted in us and observed with keen interest the proceedings of the conference.

In planning this conference, the Coalition was lucky to receive substantive advice and suggestions from Southern Cameroonians from all over the world but especially from the homeland and refugees. We thank all those who submitted written, video and oral contributions.

We have also benefited from the unflinching support of our tremendous Advisory Board. Your focus on ending this unfortunate war propels us every day. Thank you to H.E. Former President Amos Sawyer, Former Ambassador Deborah Malac, Former Ambassador Herman Cohen, Dr. Yaah Maggie Kilo, Gary and Meredith Krupp, and Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh.

Producing such a successful conference requires impeccable technical coordination. And for that we are deeply indebted to the Kurth Lampe Group. Many thanks especially to Kevin, Kitty, Emily, Jason and Allan. We are also particularly grateful for the support and leadership of our Executive Director Mr. Rick Ferreira.

Lastly, we are greatly indebted to our esteemed colleagues and friends on the Steering Committee. Their hard work, dedication and extreme professionalism has been a joy to behold. They represent the very true spirit of the Southern Cameroons – principled, humble, objective, and with a profound love for justice. Thank you, Dr. Julius Agbor, Mr. Henry Atem-Oben, Dr. Eban Ebai, Dr. Valentine Fontama, Mr. Cletus Nde and Mr. Paul Ndi.

Any mistakes, errors or omissions in this report are solely the responsibility of the Conference Organizing Committee and the Coalition. The views expressed in this report reflect the views of Southern Cameroonians who participated in this conference and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Coalition's strategic partners.

Thank you for such a seminal conference and we look forward to accelerating the work to bring this war to a negotiated settlement that addresses the fundamental root causes.

For the Steering Committee,



Denis A. Foretia, MD MPH MBA FACS  
Co-Chair



Judith Nwana B.Eng(Hon) MBA MSc MCIPS  
Co-Chair

## 2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

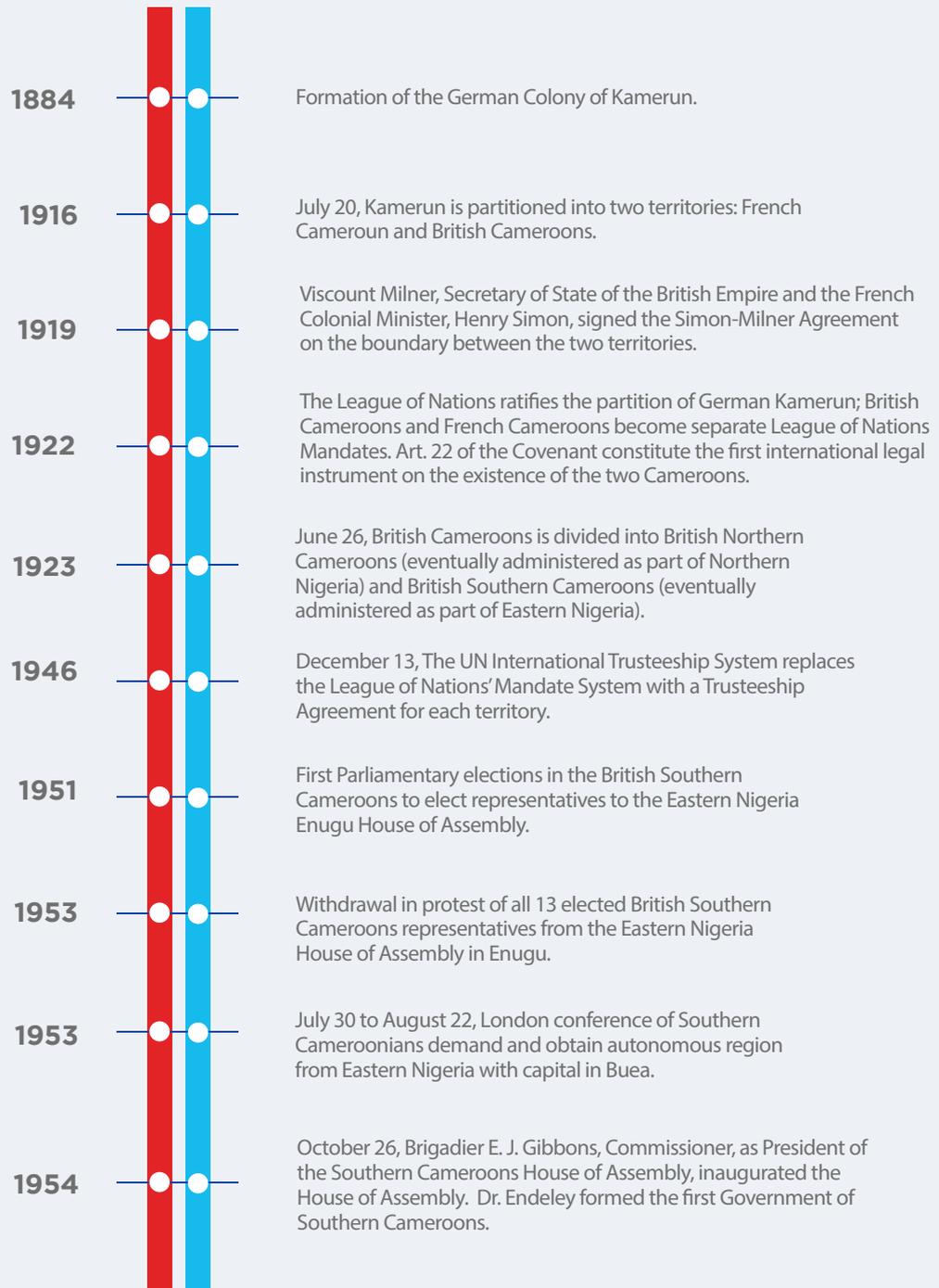
Twenty-six years after the second All Anglophone Conference (AAC-II), and nearly four years into a devastating armed conflict with grave humanitarian consequences on the people of the Southern Cameroons (former UN Trust Territory of British Southern Cameroons), over 1,000 Southern Cameroonians convened in a virtual international conference to identify a pathway to sustainable peace, justice and self-determination. Among the resolutions tabled, included the call for an immediate ceasefire, a UN-mandated fact-finding mission, the release of all prisoners associated with the armed conflict, the putting in place of a UN-mandated third party mediation process and an honest mediated settlement addressing the root cause (s) of the conflict.

To better appreciate the progressive efforts of Southern Cameroonians towards self-determination, a brief history of significant milestones is presented below.

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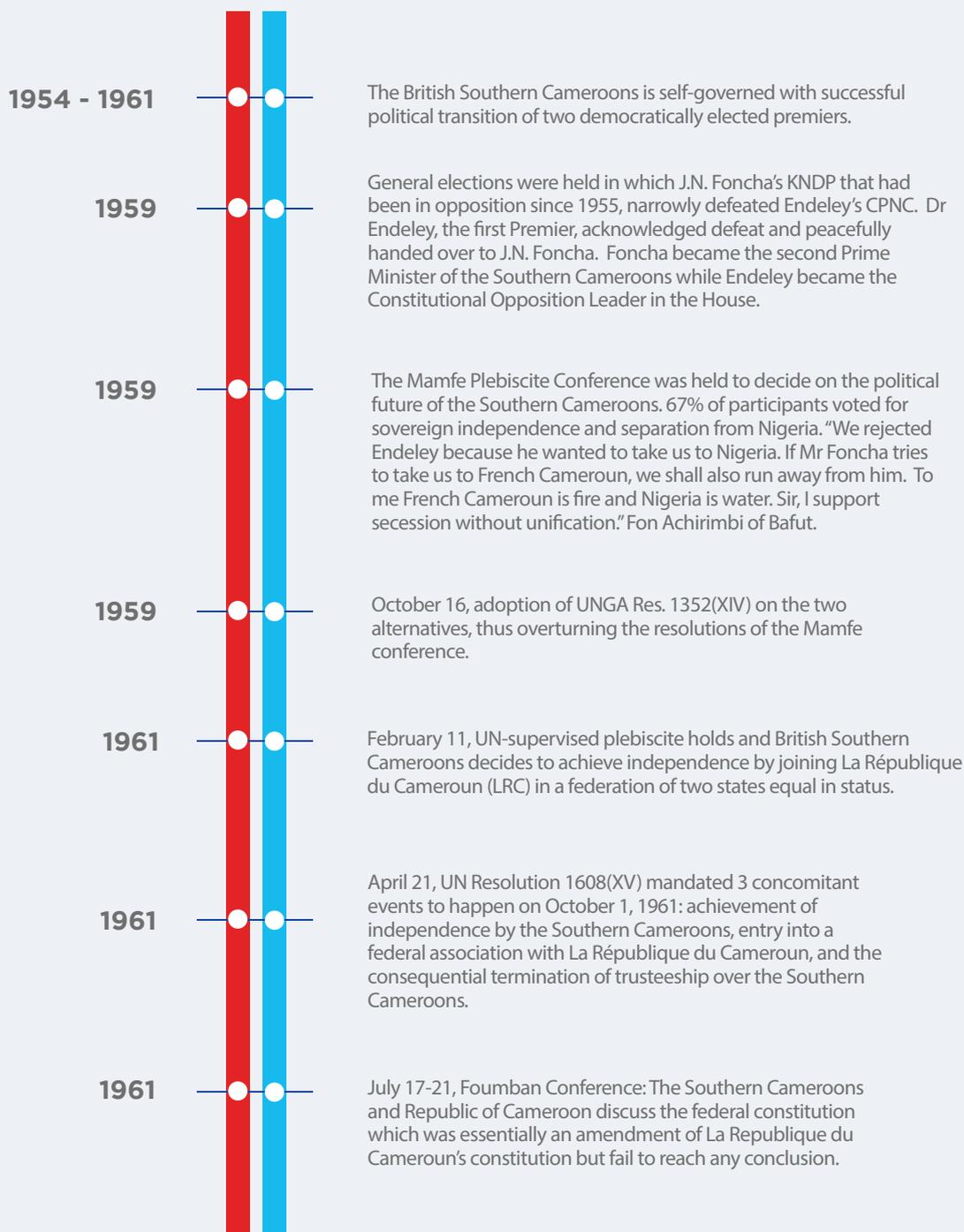
# TIMELINE

## LEADING TO THE VIRTUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE



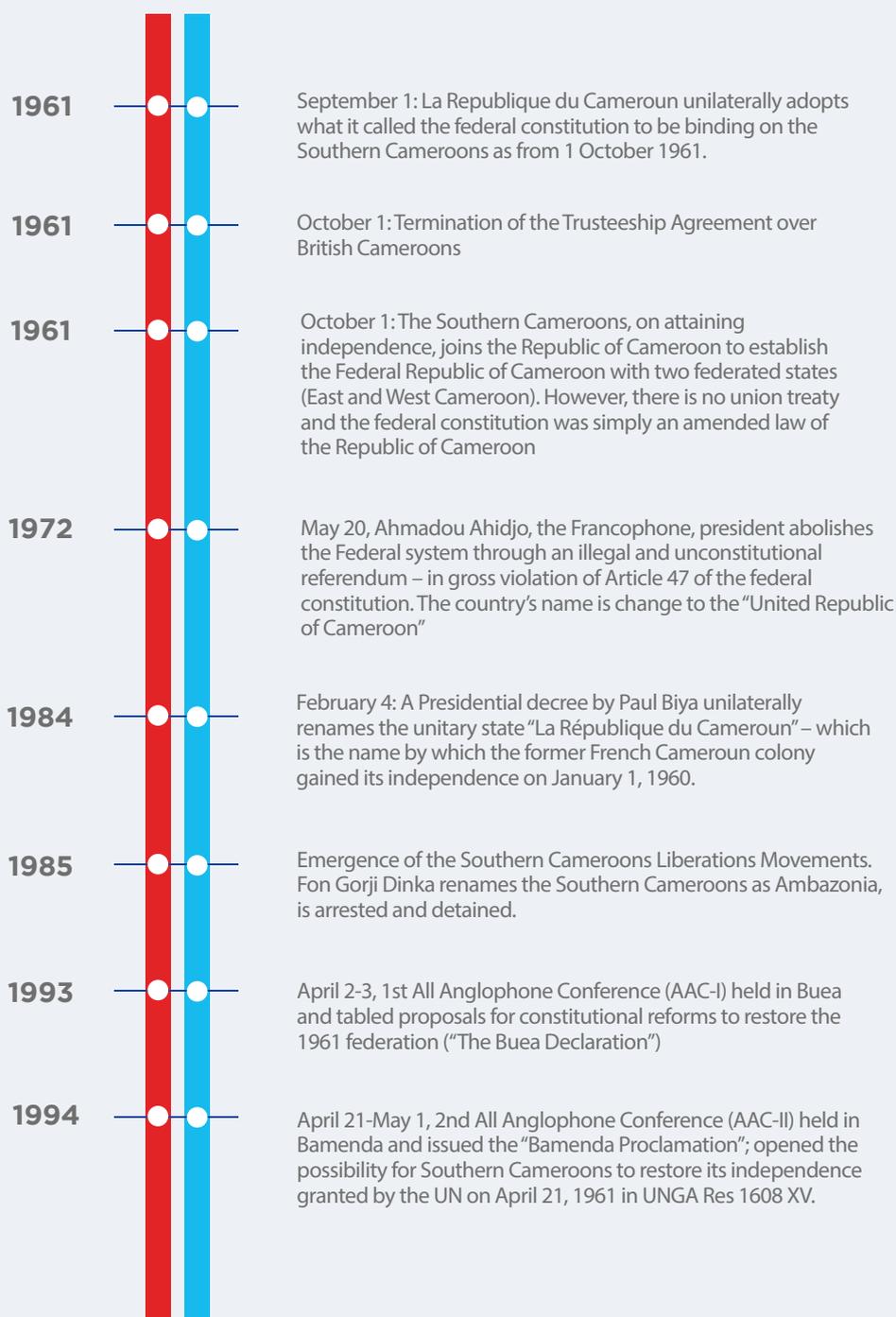
# TIMELINE

LEADING TO THE VIRTUAL  
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE



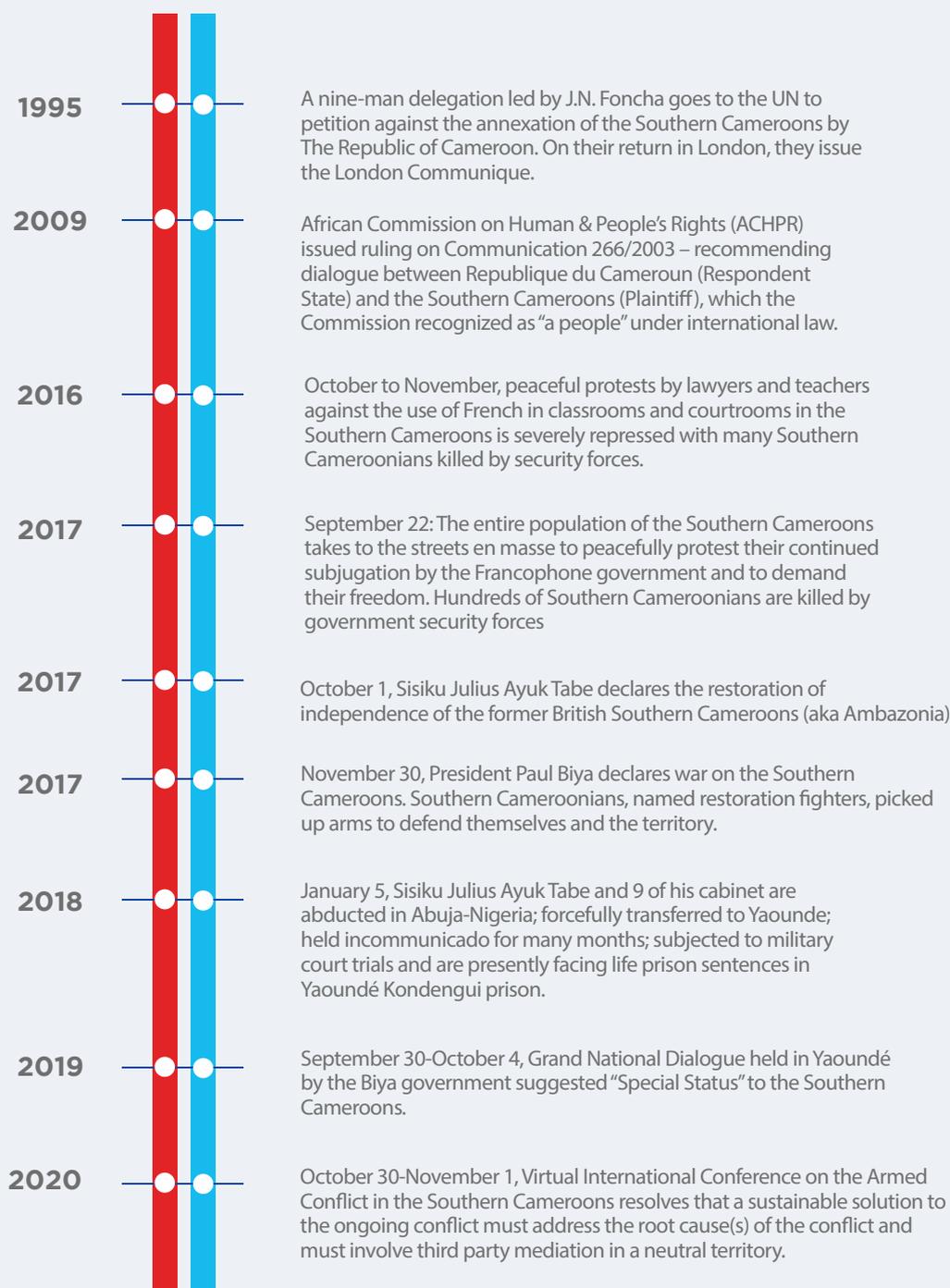
# TIMELINE

LEADING TO THE VIRTUAL  
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE



# TIMELINE

LEADING TO THE VIRTUAL  
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE



**“Whereas I spent all my life fighting to have a deep seaport in Limbe (Victoria) developed, this project had to be shelved and instead an expensive pipeline is to be built from SONARA in Limbe to Douala in order to pipe the oil to Douala”**

*Dr. John Ngu Foncha, 2nd Prime Minister of the Southern Cameroons on his resignation from the CPDM - 9th June 1990*

# 4. INTRODUCTION

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**Coalition**  
for Dialogue and Negotiations

## 4.1 Background and Rationale for Conference

The armed conflict in the Southern Cameroons is now in its fourth year and is escalating on a daily basis as demonstrated by the recent massacre of seven (7) school children in Kumba on October 24, 2020. During this period, more than 3,500 people have been allegedly killed. The Government of Cameroon (GoC)'s security forces have systematically burnt down over 400 villages forcing hundreds of thousands to flee into the bushes. According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) Cameroon Situation Report in November 2020, the on-going conflict has affected nearly three (3) million people in the Southern Cameroons, created over 700,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs), with over 60,000 as refugees in neighboring Nigeria, and an estimated 1.4 million in dire need of humanitarian assistance. Schools have also shut down, with more than 900,000 children unable to attend school for over three (3) years.

As the conflict rages on, the Southern Cameroons' economy is gradually and systematically being decimated. There is virtually no productive activity at the moment in the largely agrarian economy, with approximately 1.9 million facing severe hunger. The Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC), National Refining Company (SONARA), the service economy, and the once sprawling Silicon Mountain have all crawled to a halt. It is estimated that more than 75% of health institutions in the Southern Cameroons have been abandoned and are non-functional.

Despite national and international calls to address the root cause(s) of the conflict, to initiate a ceasefire and for a dialogue with "restorationists" without pre-conditions, the Government of Cameroon continues to double down on its use of military force and the implementation of cosmetic measures that essentially maintain the pre-conflict status quo: language policy, education and legal reform, and lack of representation of Southern Cameroonians in the central government, and without substantial concessions on issues addressing the root causes of the armed conflict.

So far, the anemic measures proposed by the Cameroon government, notably, the setting up of a Bilingualism Commission, a Disarmament Commission and the holding of a Grand National Dialogue with the announcement of a Special Status for the Southern Cameroons have not resulted in any discernible positive outcomes.

Fighting between the Southern Cameroons *restoration forces* and Government security forces continues unabated. It is now clear that a battlefield victory by government security forces is not possible, likewise a military victory by the restoration forces is not realistic in the near future. Moreover, the people of the Southern Cameroons have clearly demonstrated their distrust as shown in the just concluded twin elections boycotted by 98 percent of the electorate in the Southern Cameroons.

## 4.2 Purpose and Overall Objectives of the Conference

The armed conflict represents an existential threat to the peoples of the Southern Cameroons. That the Government of Cameroon has resorted to a military solution to resolve a socio-political crisis, with huge human and material losses to the people of the Southern

Cameroons, demands that all Southern Cameroonians sit together and chart a way forward for their collective future. The Conference had two objectives:

**First, to establish a majority position on the political future of the Southern Cameroons.**

In the heat of the armed conflict, His Eminence Christian Cardinal Tumi championed the organization of an Anglophone General Conference (AGC) in Buea before any possible National Dialogue with the Government of Cameroon. The Cardinal saw the need for Southern Cameroonians to come together, speak their needs and wants and to channel a unified message to the Cameroonian government.

Due largely to the lack of overt support from the Cameroon government, Cardinal Tumi's initiative failed to materialize, thus failing to provide the much-needed opportunity for Southern Cameroonians to collectively make their voices heard.

Following the systematic dissolution of all legitimate Southern Cameroonian institutions, notably, the Southern Cameroon's parliament on 20 May, 1972 (in an illegal and unconstitutional referendum) conferences like the AGC would have allowed a broad cross-section of Southern Cameroonians to critically assess the current conflict and establish a majority view on the way forward. Today, it is impossible for Southern Cameroonians to congregate in large numbers in the country, thus there was the urgent need for such a broad-based conference to be organized abroad, in a peaceful and neutral environment where personal security was assured. Due to COVID-19, an in-person gathering was impossible hence the need for a virtual conference which also provided greater access for more Southern Cameroonians to participate.

**Secondly, there was the need to develop a strategy on economic and socio-cultural recovery upon the attainment of a political solution.** The exacerbating economic hardship on Southern Cameroonians, created by the armed conflict is extremely disturbing. It is evident that without proactive planning, with capital and human resource mobilization, the economic recovery and reconstruction of the Southern Cameroons will be compromised for decades to come. Fully cognizant that sustained economic progress is predicated on an actively engaged citizenry, an all-Southern Cameroons International Conference, at this critical time, became a necessity to ensure a strong mobilization of Southern Cameroonians from all walks of life, with diverse technical and organizational skills, to strategize for a robust economic recovery once a political solution is attained.

Given these clear trends, the organization of a Southern Cameroons International Conference became imperative. The successful organization of this Conference was therefore critical to clarifying the potential negotiation process.

The conference had the following specific objectives.

**4.2.1 Specific Objectives:**

1. Bring together a large and broadly representative group of Southern Cameroonians to analyze the ongoing conflict.

2. Propose concrete pathways to a negotiated end to the armed conflict.
3. Propose a draft strategy report on sectoral short, medium, and long-term post-conflict reconstruction of the Southern Cameroons (practical strategies for rebuilding).
4. Identify Southern Cameroonian experts who will be critical to the success of a robust economic reconstruction effort.

#### **4.2.2 Expected Outcomes:**

- Conference Resolutions stating the majority position of Southern Cameroonians.
- Tentative Strategy Report on sectoral short, medium, and long-term post-conflict plans.
- Establishment of Working Groups on key thematic socio-economic and political areas.
- Raised awareness within the International Community on the plight of Southern Cameroonians.
- Lay the foundation for a credible third party (UN-mandated) mediation and negotiation.

The Coalition believes these expected outcomes were achieved and the objectives formed the bases of deliberations in the different sessions during the conference. The Coalition also acknowledges this is work in progress to achieving its overall objective of a mediated and negotiated end to the armed conflict.

#### **4.2.3 Outcome Document:**

The Conference resulted in an outcome document which has the following parts

1. Conference Resolutions stating the majority position of Southern Cameroonians
2. Survey of the aspirations of Southern Cameroonians
3. 20 Guiding Principles as the basis for administrative governance within the Southern Cameroons
4. Working Groups Reports

### **4.3 Conference Participants**

- 1,297 delegates accredited to the conference from the Southern Cameroons and across the globe.
- 362 non-Southern Cameroonians accredited as observers from intergovernmental and international NGOs, including diplomatic missions, universities, and citizens of foreign nations.
- Over 100,000 people engaged via on-line streaming.
- With the notable exception of Cameroon government officials who refused to participate at the conference (but however witnessed as observers), proponents of three of the four leading shades of political opinion in the Southern Cameroons (federalists,

confederationists, independentists) attended and actively participated in conference deliberations.

- Seven international guest speakers included a former head of state, former ambassadors, and current parliamentarians from seven different countries in Africa, the U.S.A and Europe.
- 28 panelists from across the globe contributed on five different panels on key topics relevant to the armed conflict in the Southern Cameroons.
- 455 Southern Cameroonian experts actively participated in the Seven Working Groups created by the CDN.
- Over 3,700 Southern Cameroonians from around the world, with a majority from the Southern Cameroons, took part in a historic survey that highlighted the political aspirations and preferences of Southern Cameroonians.
- 23 journalists and media houses registered and/or covered the conference.
- Several researchers and academics working on the armed conflict were also in attendance.
- 26 floor speeches and 28 written statements given by Southern Cameroonians across the globe especially those in the Southern Cameroons.

**Venue:** Given the COVID-19 pandemic the Conference took place in a virtual environment over Zoom.

**Language:** The language of the Conference was English. There have been no concurrent translations.

#### **4.3.1 Session Configurations**

Each day comprised plenary sessions, thematic Working Group sessions and other forums based on specific themes.

**Working Groups:** There were seven main working groups: Mediation and Negotiations, Education and Vocational Training, Governance, Economic Reconstruction, Judiciary and Constitutional Affairs, Healthcare and Humanitarian Relief, Peacebuilding, and Public Security.

Southern Cameroonian professionals with demonstrated expertise as well as those interested were able to participate in one of these Working Groups to contribute to making an objective assessment and recommendation for each of the thematic areas. This platform provided access for Southern Cameroonians, as the affected community, to participate in developing pathways for justice and durable peace in the Southern Cameroons.

**Panels of Southern Cameroonian Front Line Movements and Political Stakeholders:** A special panel bringing together leaders of the frontline movements and another panel for proponents of three of the four leading shades of political opinion in the Southern Cameroons (federalists, confederationists, independentists),

#### 4.3.2 Panels of International Experts

Three International expert panels were held to (1) make an informed assessment of the armed conflict dynamics, (2) develop pathways for a mediated and negotiated end to the armed conflict, and (3) assess international human rights violations and humanitarian situation to ensure the protection of the civilian population and access of aid to the affected communities.

###

On hearing the plans of Ahmadou Ahidjo, the Francophone president, to dissolve and absorb the Southern Cameroons into French Cameroon, Prime Minister Jua had this to say:

*“It must be emphasized that the Federal Republic of Cameroon is a federation of two states with different backgrounds, cultures and traditions; the present arrangement was in fact envisaged as the most ideal solution to reunification... Any exercise, therefore, that is designed to alter this arrangement ... will clearly alter the basis on which the entire Federation rests and will throw our present system of government into complete disarray ... It is equally clear that since ours is a democratic republic a matter of far-reaching significance and consequences cannot be conceived and executed in secret without the full knowledge and concurrence of the people of West Cameroon through their accredited representatives, to wit, the West Cameroon Government.”*

Augustine Ngom Jua  
3rd Prime Minister of the Southern Cameroons,  
October 1966

# 5. CONFERENCE WORKING GROUPS

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# AND PANELS



**Coalition**  
for Dialogue and Negotiations

## 5.1 Working Group Organization and Expectations

The Conference Working Groups (WGs) were managed by a sitting committee of five persons, consisting of two co-chairs, two vice co-chairs and a rapporteur. Appointment to the committee was by expertise but gender and differing ideological viewpoints were integrated in establishing the leadership of Working Groups. Committee members were expected to be driven by passion, the spirit of collaboration, collegiality, selflessness, and mutual respect.

**Goal:** Each WG received detailed terms of reference with the goal to provide evidence-based and pragmatic policy advice to help resolve the conflict and rebuild a robust and sustainable post-conflict Southern Cameroons economy.

**Responsibilities:** Prior to the conference, committee members identified and recruited Southern Cameroonian experts whom they deemed able to substantially contribute to deliberations. The Conference Organizing Committee reached out to all Southern Cameroonian political and frontline organizations for their representation and participation in each of the Working Groups.

The primary responsibility of the committee was to identify the major clusters or thematic areas under the Working Group and assign recognized experts to each cluster. Southern Cameroonians with demonstrated interest in a particular WG were invited to join their preferred WG and directly participate in deliberations.

From the establishment of the Working Groups in February 2020 and during the conference, clusters or thematic groups had the responsibility of identifying:

- Suitable strategic short, medium- and long-term objectives for the thematic area
- Critical issues impacting the attainment of identified objectives
- A set of strategic initiatives to enable attainment of the said strategic objectives

**Deliverables/Outcome:** At the end of deliberations, each Working Group presented a summary of their identified strategic objectives, critical issues, and strategic initiatives, all calibrated within the short-term, medium term and long-term frameworks. This is part of the Strategy Report from each WG. The rapporteur of the Working Group presented the summary at the plenary session which were debated, with resolutions and guiding principles adopted.

A summary of the Seven (7) Working Group deliberations and conclusions are described in the following seven sections.

## 5.2 Mediation and Negotiations Working Group

### 5.2.1 Background

The current armed conflict has its roots in the union between the former British and French United Nations (UN) Trust territories which became West Cameroon (The Southern Cameroons) and East Cameroon (La République du Cameroun), respectively.

Southern Cameroons was administered by the United Kingdom (Great Britain); League of Nations Mandate (1919 to 1946), and the United Nations (UN) Trusteeship (1946 to 1961) and was part of a loose union with Nigeria.

The French speaking East Cameroon was administered by France in the same period under the League of Nations and the United Nations (UN). East Cameroon Independence was gained on January 1, 1960 as The Republic of Cameroon (La République Du Cameroun [LRC]).

The Southern Cameroons (SC) became a self-governing territory from 1954 to 1961. This was a vibrant multi-party system that saw the first peaceful transfer of power in post-colonial Africa from Prime Minister Dr. Emmanuel M. Lifaka Endeley to John Ngu Foncha through democratic universal suffrage. The people of the Southern Cameroons voted in an UN-sponsored plebiscite on February 11, 1961 to gain Independence by joining La République du Cameroun (LRC). This union became effective on October 1, 1961 and the beginning of the Federal Republic of Cameroon with two equal states (the federated state of West Cameroon and the federated state of East Cameroon).

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon emphasized a union of Equal Status between the two Peoples. However, no union treaty is on file at the UN, and the Federal constitution was not ratified by the Southern Cameroons parliament.

**Note to Conference Participants:** The statements therein are based on deliberations of working group members from October 30-November 1, 2020. A detailed process and framework for international mediation and negotiations developed by the working group from March to October 2020 will be shared with the Southern Cameroons leadership team and the Steering Committee of the Coalition to inform a credible international mediation and negotiation process.

Subsequent key unconstitutional changes include:

- A 1966 ban on multi-party democracy in the Southern Cameroons.
- A 1972 illegal and unconstitutional referendum abrogating the federation.
- A 1984 Presidential decree by Paul Biya changing the country from the “United Republic of Cameroon” back to the Republic of Cameroon (pre-1961 La République du Cameroun)

**Note to Conference Participants:**

### **5.2.2 Pros and Cons of an Independent Southern Cameroons.**

**PRO:** Southern Cameroonians have the experience to run their own affairs without any fear of domination from Francophones.

- Single legal and educational system eliminates confusion; well-trained human capital, and endowed natural resources will ensure job creation, rapid economic growth, and development.

**CON:** - Major investments are required to rebuild institutions and for state building in general.

- Complex negotiations are required to split current debt obligations and disentangle from shared resources, such as electric grid and petroleum.

### **5.2.3 Pros and Cons of a Two-state Federation as outlined in the 1961 Federal Constitution.**

**PRO:** - Easy to transition to; familial, and investment relationships, benefit of being part of a larger country.

- The two-state federation would emphasize English common law and Anglo-Saxon education system in the Southern Cameroons (Quasi-confederacy).

**CON:** - Risk of continued domination from La République du Cameroun; issues of distrust continue. The Republic of France does not allow Cameroon to change its currency and stop using the Franc CFA. This makes a Federation highly impossible.

**Note:** Only two attendees/panelists out of 50+ indicated interest in “Federation” as a possible final outcome during the deliberations in the Mediation and Negotiation working group sessions.

**Note:** None of the attendees/panelists showed any interest in discussing “Special Status” in a “Unitary State” during the deliberations in the Mediation and Negotiation working group sessions.

### **5.2.4 Mediation and Negotiation Working Group Conclusions**

The Mediation and Negotiation working group, bearing in mind the fact that Southern Cameroonians are a People with a right to Self Determination as well as Self Defense, strongly recommend that as part of any agreement to end the armed conflict, the following actions occur:

1. An international peacekeeping force be sent to the Southern Cameroons to enforce the peace agreement due to the lack of trust between the warring parties.
2. A transitional period of limited self-rule to be offered to the People of the Southern Cameroons followed by a chance to vote on the above two options in a United Nations sponsored and supervised referendum.

###

## 5.3 Judiciary and Constitutional Affairs Working Group

### 5.3.1 Introduction

The Union of French speaking La Republique du Cameroun and Self-Governing Territory of British Southern Cameroons in 1961 was an unprecedented event in contemporary African politics. In the 1960s, a time when African states were clamoring for independence as separate entities, these two African territories, colonized by two opposing European cultures, bucked the trend by uniting to form one State.

At independence, The Federal Republic of Cameroon was to be constructed on the foundation of the colonial state. Under the Federal Constitution, the Federated States were to maintain their pre-independence governance and legal systems, thus making the new state not only a bicultural state but also a bi-jural state.

Small wonder that the Federal Constitution of 1961 that created the Federal Republic of Cameroon stated in its Article 47 that, “any proposal for the revision of the present constitution which impairs the unity and integrity of the Federation shall be inadmissible.”

However, events that followed registered a blatant disrespect of the constitution as its provisions were flaunted with impunity and reckless abandon. To a large extent the Federated States of East Cameroon continued to apply civil law as obtained in France, while common law as obtained in Britain was applied albeit in a limited extent in the state of West Cameroon until 1972.

In 1972, Ahmadou Ahidjo, through a gagged and dubious referendum abolished the federal structure in flagrant abuse of Article 47 of the Federal Constitution. He decreed a United Republic, and in 1984 his successor President Paul Biya completed the project of annexation and assimilation by a decree that changed the name of the country from United Republic of Cameroon to Republic of Cameroon. Most have interpreted the change to the pre-union name of French Cameroon, as the formal declaration of the colonization of the Southern Cameroons by La Republic of Cameroon. Ahidjo’s 1972 Constitution left the two legal systems in operation intact.

Having illegally terminated the union and centralized political power, French Cameroon intensified its assimilationist policies by deliberately and systematically phasing out of the legal and judicial system of former West Cameroon. The appointment of French speaking magistrates and judges with no mastery of either the common law or English to preside in anglophone common law courts was troubling.

On May 9, 2015, an inaugural All Anglophone Common Law Lawyers Conference that was held in Bamenda, noted with dissatisfaction the administration of justice and the rule of law in Cameroon, especially as they pertain to the Anglophone minority. This eventually led to peaceful protests by common law lawyers in 2016. The Government’s violent crackdown of the Lawyers’ and Teachers’ protests opened the latest chapter in the Southern Cameroonian conflict.

### 5.3.2 *The Constitution*

Prior to the contested union with French Cameroon, the Southern Cameroons was self-governing, with all her governing organs and institutions duly outlined in the Southern Cameroons (Constitution) Order in Council 1960.

In terms of a constitution, a transitional constitutional framework is required. The constitution should provide for a joint interim administration led by the citizens of the Southern Cameroons; however, a combined team involving the UN/AU could be an option to be explored. For purposes of good faith and confidence building, the belligerent parties and any third-party mediators or negotiators should first and foremost, agree to reset the Southern Cameroons to her default position immediately prior to the contested union of October 1st, 1961. This will have the positive effect of undoing in one swoop the perceived ills of the union, build trust and confidence in the negotiation or mediation process, and above all, level the ground upon which each side can firmly make their proposals with regard to the future of the territory.

Besides leveling the playing field and building essential confidence, it is our opinion that, reverting to the default position before 1961, will be healthy for the post war transitional environment as the system will be flexible enough to host and sustain transitional governing structures, institutions and models that will greatly meet the needs of the post conflict society.

Should the Southern Cameroons attain statehood, a new constitution should be drafted by a duly constituted constitutional commission or a constituent assembly. The constitution should follow these guidelines to ensure durability, flexibility, and inclusiveness.

#### 5.3.2.1 *Durability and Accessibility*

To ensure the new constitution is durable we recommend the following guidelines:

**Keep it concise and simple:** Use simple language that the average citizen will understand. It is the people's constitution and should be understandable and accessible to the average person. Do not use dense legal language that alienates the people from their constitution. Durable constitutions result from open and participatory processes. It should also take account of social and cultural norms of the country.

**Broad participation:** Research has shown that constitutions that are developed with wide participation of the people are more durable than those written only by elites or experts. Wide participation takes more time but leads to wider acceptance and longevity of the constitution. South Africa's process took two years and was very consultative. As a result, their constitution gained wide acceptance.

**Who drafts the constitution:** A good constitution should be drafted either by a constitutional commission or a constituent assembly. The drafting body should take extensive input from the public before and during the drafting period. Again, the more open the process the better. Ensure that members of the constituent assembly or constitutional commission are

not allowed to hold public office for at least 10 years, to avoid conflict of interest.

**Who ratifies the draft constitution:** The draft constitution should be ratified either by an elected parliament or directly by the people in a referendum (preferred).

**Principles of the Constitution:** We recommend these broad principles are retrofitted in the new constitution or changes to the Southern Cameroons (Constitution) order in council:

The constitution shall guarantee and protect fundamental rights which shall include, inter alia, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom of information, right to privacy, due process, criminal procedural rights, equal protection, and voting rights.

The Constitution shall prohibit all forms of discrimination including gender, orientation, or tribal affiliation. Amendments to the constitution shall be done through a national referendum, after each state legislature has approved the amendment by the specially defined majority. The amendment must be approved by the majority in each state.

### **5.3.2.2 Articles of the Constitution**

**PREAMBLE OF THE CONSTITUTION:** Will define and state the aspirations of the people of the Southern Cameroons, or whatever name they shall aspire to (e.g. Ambazonia).

The Supremacy of the Constitution as the law of the Land shall be defined.

Articles of the Constitution creating and defining the Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary Powers.

The Constitution shall:

- Create Customary Courts modeled after our traditional values, customs, and indigenous rights to their ancestral land.
- Define what form of government Southern Cameroonians aspire to have.
- Define what form of legal system they should aspire to.
- Define citizenship, its acquisition, revocation, or termination.
- Each Article should define a separate category by itself.

Each Article shall be followed by a Section of the Constitution.

Each Section shall be followed by defining Clauses. For example: Article I shall state who wields Legislative Authority; Section I shall explain the composition of that body; Clause 1 shall define the modalities of accession to power and terms of their office. There will be a Section II, Clause II, as needed:

- The power to declare war and raise an army.
- The power to mint money.

- The power of Taxation.
- Environmental Law, land ownership, and property rights shall be defined by the constitution.
- The power to Ratify Conventions and Treaties with foreign nations.

Constitutional institutions for the promotion, protection of democratic and governance system (like “Chapter 9” institutions in South Africa e.g. Human Rights commission and Regulators.)

### **5.3.3 Judicial System**

Faced with these inconsistencies and conflicts because of the historical, legal, and cultural differences between the two Cameroons, it is hard to propose any possible solutions that will restore peace and harmony without addressing the root causes of the present conflict through a negotiated settlement.

It is therefore recommended that, in the event of any such negotiated settlement, Southern Cameroonians should envision a judicial and legal system that will be completely independent of the influence of politics and the economy.

The judiciary shall uphold the rule of law and shall itself be accountable to the people through their elected representatives in parliament. The judicial and legal systems should be designed to reflect the unique socio-economic and cultural realities within the Southern Cameroons. The system shall therefore be greatly informed by the best practices in indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms and structures, which are basically restorative, and person centered in nature, rather than retributive and rule centered. The proposed model shall have the unique advantage in that it shall have a bottom-up approach to justice; whereby, the local communities shall have effective control of their own judicial processes and outcomes and shall be accountable for outcomes with minimal governmental bureaucratic control.

### **5.3.4 Conclusion**

From the analysis above, it is clear that despite having no legal or historical claim over the territory of the Southern Cameroons, La République du Cameroun has deliberately and manipulatively used legal and constitutional mechanisms to continuously oppress and marginalize the people of the Southern Cameroons with the intention of completely assimilating them, and consequently phasing out their unique identity.

These attempts have not worked, and with evidence of what is happening now, it is clear that it will never work. It is therefore urgent that the government of La République du Cameroun meet Southern Cameroonians on the negotiation table where the root causes of the present conflict will be addressed to the ultimate satisfaction of the Southern Cameroons.

### **5.3.5 Bibliography**

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## 5.4 Governance Working Group

### 5.4.1 Objectives of the Governance Working Group

To provide evidence-based and pragmatic advice that contributes to effective governance frameworks and the proper management of public resources in a post-conflict Southern Cameroons.

### 5.4.2 Framework and Focus Areas

- Thematic area 1: Assessment of the Governance frameworks pre 1961, 1961 to 1972, 1972-1984 and 1984 to present.
- Thematic area 2: Comparative analysis of governance framework in similar situations and lessons learned.
- Thematic area 3: Current governance challenges and durable peace in the Southern Cameroons
- Thematic area 4: Post-Negotiations governance framework

#### 5.4.2.1 Thematic Area 1: Assessment

Important historical dates are: 1954, 1961, 1972, and 1982.

The root cause of the conflict is a failed decolonization process, and subsequent assimilation and marginalization amongst others. The aftermath of that has brought forth other governance challenges, which include:

- Poor governance and Accountability
- A weak Governance Philosophy
- No separation of powers between the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches
- Absence of genuine participatory governance
- A weak transitioning system of governance
- “Strongmanism” as a governance philosophy
- Tribalism and nepotism
- Absence of ownership of national institutions
- Localized democracy against a cut and paste system of democracy – e.g. House of Chiefs.
- An absence of a defined statehood and citizenship concept

#### 5.4.2.2 Thematic area 2: Comparative Analysis

The following table shows a comparative analysis of three African nations.

### **Comparative Analysis**

The following table shows a comparative analysis of three African nations.

<b>South Sudan</b>	<b>Somaliland</b>	<b>Cameroon</b>
Favorable international community	Stability	Presence of state
Presence of State	Security	Presence of natural resources
Presence of Strategic natural resources	Democracy	Gross Human rights abuses Absence of security
Instability, Absence of Security	Absence of negotiating state	Absence of stability
Lack of democracy	Absence of natural resources	Absence of democracy

#### **5.4.2.3 Thematic area 3: Current Governance Framework**

The special status currently offered by the government of the Republic of Cameroon (French Cameroon) will not address the root cause of the on-going armed conflict. The Governance working group believes the root cause of the armed conflict can only be addressed through a credible international Mediation and Negotiation process.

#### **5.4.2.4 Thematic area 4: Post-Negotiation Governance Framework**

##### **5.4.2.4.1 Post Negotiation**

This period is critical and any interim or permanent governance system for the Southern Cameroons should come with a government with devolution of powers, a parliamentary system with elected officials at all levels – governors, senators, and other administrators. A government with an independent judiciary and legislature would use the following principles:

- Good governance principle should be the primary philosophy
- An executive council accountable to federal structures
- Have a non-political chamber with different bodies including the civil society, and trade unions.
- A contextualized and localized form of democracy that suits the needs of the people.

#### **5.4.2.4.2 Post Negotiation without Immediate Independence**

In the event a negotiation yields a transitional government, the Governance Working Group envisaged a federated structure with a two states dual federation system that lists the competencies of the state and those of the central/federal government.

The post negotiation transitional government will prepare the people of the Southern Cameroons for the eventual referendum to vote on the choice of the form of state they want.

#### **5.4.2.4.3 Referendum**

A referendum is a legal process, and when derived from a peace agreement, must be binding to the parties through legal acts. The Governance Working Group believes issues of eligibility, establishment of a United Nations supervised independent Referendum Commission and composition, funding, referendum questions, access for Southern Cameroonian IDPs, refugees and diaspora community must be defined during the negotiations process.

The Governance Working Group's inelastic position on eligibility, subject to negotiations, is that a Southern Cameroonian is anyone born of a Southern Cameroonian parent whose ancestry can be traced to a community in the former United Nations Trust Territory of British Southern Cameroons, before February 11, 1961.

#### **5.4.2.4.4 Post Referendum**

The benchmarking analysis of the nature of the social contract that will define the state, representation, accounting mechanisms, election system designs, and parameters of governance are essential in determining a sustainable governance system that considers the peculiarities of the Southern Cameroons.

The Governance Working Group recommends that core values be instituted in whichever governance system Southern Cameroonians elect to administer. These core values include:

- Our Unique Identities based on a redefinition of the State and the citizen (citing the case of Rwanda).
- A devolution of powers.
- A parliamentary system of government with all elected officials.
- A non-political chamber that ensures laws and bills passed are for the good of the people.
- The enshrinement of our unique cultural values.

#### **5.4.2.5 General Position Statement**

1. There shall be a complete separation of powers between the executive, legislature, and judiciary, with specific checks and balances to ensure accountability, responsiveness, inclusiveness, and transparency.

2. Government should be structured at the federal, state, and local government levels and elected by Southern Cameroonians.
3. The institutions, status, and role of traditional authorities, according to indigenous law, shall be recognized and protected in the Constitution. Indigenous law shall be recognized and applied by the courts, subject to the fundamental rights contained in the Constitution and to legislation dealing specifically therewith.
4. There shall be a construction of a unique Southern Cameroons identity based on a redefinition of citizenship aligned to our cultural heritage and as a people under international law.

#### **5.4.2.6 Final Recommendations**

1. There is an urgent need for dialogue and negotiation as well as an urgent need for a mediated and supervised ceasefire to pave a way forward for mediated negotiations.
2. There must be dialogue and negotiation to discuss the root cause and related causes for justice and durable peace to return.
3. The dialogue and negotiation must be inclusive of all representative stakeholders
4. The people of the Southern Cameroons have a right to self-determination under international law and must be able to exert this right.
5. The People of the Southern Cameroons should be able to determine the form of state that they want.
6. The People of the Southern Cameroons should be able to determine the type of governance system they want.

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## 5.5 Economic Reconstruction Working Group

### 5.5.1 Background and Context: The Economy of the Southern Cameroons

The working group identified the following focus areas:

- Thematic Focal Area 1: Economic Philosophy and Pillars of a Long-term National Development Plan.
- Thematic Focal Area 2: Post-Conflict Considerations for organizing local Economic Development (LED).
- Thematic Focal Area 3: Post-Conflict Monetary and Fiscal considerations.
- Thematic Focal Area 4: Options for financing Post Conflict Economic Reconstruction and Development.
- Status Report on the Economy of the Southern Cameroons (Economic Organization, Potential and Business Environment)

The economic status has taken the following areas into consideration:

- The Economic Potential of the Southern Cameroons.
- Resources Ownership and Potential.
- Southern Cameroons within the Economy of the Cameroons.
- Identifying economic actors and stakeholders (chamber of commerce, business councils, farmers unions etc.).

### 5.5.2 Thematic Focus 1: Economic Philosophy

The following are the aspects of the Economic Philosophy:

- Economic system will be highly correlated with choice of political system.
- Responsibility of central government in formulating long term national development plan.
- Responsibility of the central government in providing backbone infrastructure and services to allow for economic development.
- Awareness of 'natural resource curse' thus reducing reliance on extractives.
- Create sovereign wealth fund to manage revenue from nonrenewable natural resources (for investment and posterity).

#### 5.5.2.1 Pillars of a Long-term National Development Plan

- Modelling the Southern Cameroon Economy after economic success stories/best practices.
- Emphasizing central role of education in economic development.

- Providing a template for industrial policy and industrialization.
- Providing a template for trade policy and export promotion.
- Providing a template for import substitution (local production).
- Promoting economic freedom and removing barriers to economic activities.
- Developing the agricultural sector and expanding its potential.
- Developing the manufacturing sector and expanding its potential.
- Developing the Services industry (Health, tourism, financial sector, Information Technology (IT) structure
- Providing a template for Infrastructure development.
- Providing a template for a sub-regional development hub. (e.g., Hong Kong Model).

### ***5.5.3 Thematic Focal Area 2: Post-Conflict Considerations for Organizing Local Economic Development (LED).***

- Local government is responsible for both the medium and the short-term economic development planning.
- There is a need to determine the model of Local Economic Development and how to organize and sustain productive capacity of Local Economy.
- There is a need to provide a template for the local economy (Agriculture and food processing, Real Estate).
- Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises development.
- Economic development Plans.
- Cooperatives and financing for local development.

### ***5.5.4 Thematic Focus 3: Monetary and Banking Systems: Post Conflict Scenarios and Considerations***

- An independent Central Bank is fundamental for a robust monetary policy.
- The need for a Southern Cameroons sovereign currency to fully control monetary policy.
- Ensuring that banking systems are consistent with global standards.
- Using cooperatives and microfinance institutions as potential building blocks for the banking sector.
- Providing mechanisms for boosting the Credit and Financing system.

#### **5.5.5 Thematic Focus 4: Financing the Economic Reconstruction & Development: Post Conflict Considerations.**

Financing reconstruction will be a significant aspect of negotiations addressing the following issues:

- Who pays for war damage?
- Who gets foreign reserves and national debt responsibility?
- Need to use reconstruction financing to build national infrastructure backbone to meet long-term development objectives.
- Need for national investment fund to coordinate financing and management of large-scale infrastructure projects
- Role of diaspora with FDI
- Major Sources of Financing for development and Reconstruction:
  - Development Finance Institutions (DFIs), WB, IMF, AfDB, KFW, EIB, GIZ, etc.).
  - Bilateral Development Partners - ‘Marshall Plan’ and Bilateral Investors (USA, UK, China, EU (FR, GMY), S. Africa).
  - National resources.
  - Private Sector (domestic and Foreign Multinational Corporations and FDI).
  - Diaspora remittances.
- What about the current ‘war time’ Economy? Economically conscious actions during wartime greatly improve odds of achieving goals. Post war reconstruction is heavily dependent on wartime economic destruction.
- Coordinate CSO/NGO activities to alleviate wartime economic hardship.
- Emphasize capacity building and empowerment of refugees especially skills necessary in the post-war economy.
- Develop short-term actions that can be implemented currently to help achieve long-term, post-war economic goals.

#### **5.5.6 Conclusions and Implications for Dialogue towards Negotiated Settlement - Key Messages**

There is a clear need to migrate away from dependence on primary industries and extractives.

Development partners and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) are key sources of financing for reconstruction. The role of diaspora in driving FDI is an important element.

Options of Domestic Resources Mobilization (Diaspora remittance, owning Natural Resources, and Private Sector), are key considerations for a Negotiated Settlement.

Money and Banking Systems considerations in post-conflict scenarios are quite complex (CFA Zone issues, New Currency, banking system setup, International payment system connection).

National Development planning (national and local economy setup) is imperative for a post conflict reconstruction context.

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## 5.6 Health and Humanitarian Relief Working Group

Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets, and activities that are required for making a living. Household assets and capabilities represent the basic components of individual livelihood which include food, water, shelter, clothing, healthcare, and education. The Health and Humanitarian Relief Working Group focused on assessing the governance framework for the equitable delivery of health services and how best to organize to better address the growing humanitarian catastrophe facing Southern Cameroonians. The following is a summary of deliberations with a full report forthcoming.

The systems framework utilized included the following key components:

- Governance
- Administration
- Workforce
- Facility/Infrastructure
- Resources/Finances
- Information Technology
- Management

The various levels of healthcare assessed include primary, secondary, and tertiary care.

In considering the key strategies and approach, the Working Group agreed on the following:

- Healthcare implementation should be at the local level.
- Healthcare policy shall be designed nationally.
- Healthcare should be free at the point of delivery.
- Each citizen shall have basic health insurance coverage.
- Human rights of all shall be respected.
- Unique identification system shall be established.

### **Immediate/Short Term Humanitarian Assessment**

- Panelists assessed the pressing humanitarian crisis that has ravaged the Southern Cameroons population.
- Topics of conversations themed around: Refugees, Prisoners, IDPs, Disabled, Wounded Fighters/civilians, Physically/psychologically traumatized and the needs of children

### **Resolutions**

- An urgent call for an “End to the War”.
- Promote the urgent need for dialogue and negotiations.
- Coordinate sourcing of finances to address the humanitarian catastrophe.

- Encourage collaborative and centralized CSO and NGO management at Refugee Camps and the Southern Cameroons to avoid duplication of resources, minimize waste and optimize effectiveness.
- Important to empower and build capacity so as to get out of dependency.
- Set up community first aid centers for refugees and displaced persons.
- Assess COVID 19 Response and management within the vulnerable population.

### **5.6.1 Immediate/Short Term Humanitarian Resolutions**

An extensive fundraising strategy is necessary to fund the humanitarian and social needs of Southern Cameroonians. The following bullet points list the priority requirements:

- Humanitarian and Social needs of Southern Cameroonians include educational support, vocational support centers, empowerment centers and community first aid centers.
- Setup and fund food banks, basic home goods centers and shelters in various cities with large vulnerable populations. These centers will serve refugees in Nigeria and Ghana, including special populations of the disabled, elderly, children, pregnant and lactating mothers, wounded citizens, IDPs in the bushes, urban centers and in Yaoundé, Douala, Bafoussam, and other environments.
- Nutritional, health, and empowerment support for those incarcerated in various prisons.
- Conduct a census of:
  - Refugees in UN Camps
  - Out of Camps in Nigeria
  - Refugees in Ghana
  - IDPs in Douala, Yaoundé and other urban areas
  - Those incarcerated across all prison systems in Cameroon
- Mobilize resources to attend to the urgent needs of the people, such as food, water, shelter, and sanitation.
- Address COVID-19 protocols (such as: masks, gloves, and sanitizer).
- Assist non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) in setting up long-term accountable structures.
- Depoliticize the humanitarian assistance provided to the suffering people.
- Ensure that non-registered refugees in Nigeria are registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

### **5.6.2 Mid / Long-Term Humanitarian Resolutions**

There is a need for coordinated civil societies to function as a framework for transitional implementation in the absence of a functioning, effective administration. Resolving the conflict soon will open the door for implementations of mid-to-long term humanitarian projects in the Southern Cameroons.

The mid-to-long term efforts required are:

- Local control and implementation of healthcare policy.
- Free healthcare at the point of service for some emergency and basic services and an insurance policy that allows for health insurance to all.
- Promote affordable healthcare, expand safe, high quality healthcare options, encourage innovation and positive competition.
- Strengthen and expand the health care workforce to meet their diverse needs.
- Identify and provide accreditation of the health care and human services workforce.
- Set up policy and federal institutions to provide quality control.
- Establish centers of excellence.
- Census of all present facilities and their capabilities.
- Establish research and development centers.

### **5.6.3 Midterm and Long Term Health and Social Welfare Expectations and Resolutions**

- Establish mental, Family (paternal and maternal), behavior, psychosocial therapy, Infectious rehabilitation centers, radiology services, pathology, and other specialty services to the goal of making sure every citizen has access to quality and low-cost health care.
- Set up health advisory boards, licensing boards for medical practitioners and medical unions for patient advocacy, and then monitor medical malpractice.
- Extensively train medical personnel to render quality health care services.
- Set up children hospitals and child resource centers like Child Protection Services.
- Setup community health resource centers with local community workers with the communities.
- Carry out extensive community health-prevention education, awareness, and outreach.
- Setup systems to uniquely identify patients for the hospital systems.
- Set up an electronic health records system for effective coordination of patient care.
- Setup food assistance programs based on eligibility and vulnerability.

### ***5.6.7 Long-Term Health and Social Welfare Expectations and Resolutions***

- Setup Housing Assistance programs based on Eligibility and Vulnerability.
- Establish State and Federal Professional Health Training Institutes and Specialty Universities.

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## 5.7 Peace and Security Working Group

The Peace and Security Working group and this summary is a result of knowledge-based brainstorming sessions from diverse individuals each with their own specializations and expertise but maintaining a high level of professionalism, neutrality, inclusivity, and independence of thought.

### Summary

The Peace and Security working group proposes a way forward using a framework for an immediate ceasefire, credible and experienced mediators, willing facilitators, respected guarantors, and preparation for potential negotiations by all parties.

In arriving at this position, the following items were analyzed:

- Historical causation factors.
- The current state of the war and its impact.
- Armed Groups vs state actors or criminal groups.
- Past history and current behavior of all actors.
- The behavior of regional and international partners or community.
- Unique experiences of other countries with similar history.
- Preconditions – disorganization of Ambazonia groups and leadership – on the ground (Ground zero) /Diaspora
- Unity of purpose and goal

### 5.7.1 Introduction

The CDN recognizes the need to place full responsibility for lasting peace and security in the hands of Southern Cameroonians who have the greatest stake in the ongoing conflict in former British Southern Cameroons. During this conference on ending the armed conflict in Southern Cameroon, the Peace and Security Working Group was given the mandate to brainstorm and provide strategies and recommendations that can lead to peace building and security as a preferred alternative to continuous fighting. The peace and security framework proposal is flexible, diverse, and comprehensive with a four-tier timeline (immediate, short-term, medium, and long-term). This framework takes into consideration some of the different stakeholder positions and is designed to achieve peace and security as an end point. Sustainable peace and security require sustainable investments in peace building initiatives.

#### 5.7.1.1 Primary Argument for Peace and Security

The four years of ongoing conflict in the Southern Cameroons has not only destabilized peace and security in the region, increased the impact on human lives in terms of actual deaths, incarceration, economic and environmental destruction, human suffering in health and psychological aspects, the spread of diseases, and displacement of people among others, but it has also been devastating.

This conflict has led to severe humanitarian crises and persistent human rights abuses. More

than 3000 people have been killed, about 900,000 internally displaced persons, more than 60,000 refugees in Nigeria, and more than 400 villages burnt down.

Children have not been able to go to school, and some who have attempted to go to school have been shot and killed while in school. Most horrifically, children have been recruited into armed groups. Women and children are some of the most affected in and outside the battlefield. Kidnaping and ransom taking is rampant, as well as illegal imprisonment of citizens.

Peace cannot be achieved when fighting still occurs, and these atrocities are on the rise. The situation is still ongoing with escalations in the number of deaths and damages. Working towards sustainable peace and security is therefore an urgent task that should be carried out by all those involved in this conflict.

The following state measures have not stopped the conflict: The Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission; The Grand National Dialogue, and the announcement of a Special Status.

### **5.7.1.2 Stakeholder Identification**

**Internal:** The People of the Southern Cameroons; The People of La Republique du Cameroon; The government of La Republique du Cameroun and its agencies; The Ambazonia Restoration Forces on ground zero (All ideological components); The Ambazonia frontline leaders in Cameroon and the Diaspora; The Federalist (all ideological components), De-Centralization/ Special Status, Civil Society Organizations.

**External:** The Southern Cameroons Diaspora community, La Republique du Cameroun Diaspora Community, regional states like Nigeria; Support countries with a stake in Cameroon – France , United Kingdom , United States, Germany, Canada, China , Russia , Serbia , Israel, Switzerland, Ghana – ECCAS, AU , UN, Commonwealth – the Francophonie, AFDB, IMF , World Bank, and so forth.

### **5.7.1.3 Strategic Communication and Advocacy**

What are the interests of various stakeholders and how to engage their interests, strategically?

- For Southern Cameroonians: Human and personal security – Prosperity
- For the Cameroon government: Economy, stability, image
- For Neighboring States: Risks of contagion and prevention of spillover ideology
- For other Countries: Political and economic interests
- For international organizations: Humanitarian dimension, human rights dimension, and financial risk.

### **5.7.2 Strategies for Ceasefire Agreement**

All sides should consider a temporary ceasefire; however, trust-building measures are required by all armed stakeholders.

For example, and in practical terms:

- The government of Cameroon could consider withdrawing its forces.
- Ambazonia armed groups could agree to suspend operations in the Southern Cameroons. A consensus by all Ambazonia armed groups might be necessary to avoid spoiler factions and criminal elements usurping the real Ambazonia groups.
- Agreeing to respect a ceasefire is the first real step towards any genuine pre-talks.
- Another advantage is that ceasefires allow for unhindered humanitarian access into ungovernable and ungoverned spaces for the sole purpose of reaching out to the most vulnerable and the assessment of the real impact of the conflict.
- There must be a consideration for the creation of buffer zones where territorial control is highly contested by warring factions or parties to the conflict. The maintenance of buffer zones requires good faith or a trusted third-party monitoring team with sufficient buy-in from and influence on all parties involved.
- Pressure from the people of Cameroon, the UN, AU, Commonwealth, Francophonie, France, USA, UK, Germany, Switzerland, Israel, China, Chad, Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa; etc. has the potential to influence the Government of Cameroon and key Ambazonia armed groups and their representatives to accept a temporary ceasefire agreement.

A key disadvantage of a temporary ceasefire is that it provides a window of opportunity for either party to re-strategize, rearm, recruit, and return to the battlefield. A unilateral ceasefire can be declared by either party, but they are mostly unsustainable and likely to be considered as battlefield weakness.

It should be noted that ceasefires are only guaranteed as long as all parties respect them. They cannot be imposed. The working group proposes a temporary ceasefire guaranteed by a combination of internal and external stakeholders with sanctions attached to any breach by either party. This could take the shape of a United Nations political mission with a humanitarian mandate to monitor the ceasefire process as agreed.

#### **5.7.2.1 Full Amnesty as a Trigger for Trust and Peace building**

An effective step towards dialogue and negotiations as a peace-building indicator should start by the Government of Cameroon granting general amnesty to all prisoners, including activists at home and in the diaspora. The group noted that amnesty and prisoner release is an inevitable step towards peace building.

**Mediation:** Identifying and opening doors for credible and experienced mediators that have the buy-in from all parties is a crucial first step towards a peace process. There can be more than one mediator selected to engage in the process of negotiation especially in cases where compromise is possible from past experiences. With facilitation from the CDN, soliciting for

the involvement of the Church, Germany, Canada, USA, Norway, United Kingdom, Scotland, Rwanda, and Gambia as potential mediators will be a game changer.

**Negotiation:** Any successful negotiation process should be inclusive, identified and be represented by experienced Negotiators from all or a majority of the key stakeholders in the conflict. Negotiators selected by all relevant strands; Independence, Federalism, Special Status etc., should be included in a pre-planned intra-negotiation framework.

### **5.7.2.2 A Requirement for Guarantors**

Guarantors will secure prior commitment of Good Faith and Enforcement Guarantees from all parties. Because of the changing behavior of all parties to this conflict, a good guarantor will reassure all parties that any agreement concluded at peace talks will be honored and implemented.

Obtaining enforcement guarantees after agreements are signed is very crucial. The United States, UK, China, Germany, Canada, Norway, UN, the Vatican, AU, ECOWAS and ECCAS have the influence to provide these guarantees.

### **5.7.2.3 Facilitators**

The Coalition for Dialogue and Negotiation has the capacity and cultural intelligence to facilitate a negotiated settlement platform drawing from its own human resource experience in the conflict in partnership with other viable international organizations like the United States Institute of Peace, or any other organization of repute with similar extensive experience in peace negotiations and peace facilitation in a wide range of conflicts in different parts of the world.

The Peace and Security working group recognizes that a sister working group will dive deep into this process.

Considering assessments as previously described, it is highly likely that the only credible way forward for both conflicting parties is through a third-party mediated and negotiated process that satisfactorily addresses the root cause(s).

## **5.7.3 Key Considerations**

### **5.7.3.1 Immediate and Short-Term**

There must be a sanctioned and enforceable conditional ceasefire with complete withdrawal of troops and fighters. A sponsor for a peace process could be:

- A United Nations Political mission with a mandate for humanitarian intervention and monitoring of a ceasefire agreement, protection of people and provision of essential relief materials.

- Quick access and protection for NGOs, INGOs, and civil society to begin to provide urgent remedies and in preparations towards accommodating IDPs, refugee returnees, and so forth.
- Unconditional release of prisoners.

#### **5.7.3.2 Medium-Term**

- Third-party sponsored dialogue, mediation, and negotiations are necessary. The location and the mediators and negotiators must be agreed upon.
- All parties to select and present a team of negotiators to represent them.

#### **5.7.3.3 Long-Term**

- Depending on the outcome, efforts to create truth and reconciliation avenues, post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation as well as reintegration.
- Peacebuilding must be initiated.
- Depending on the outcome of a negotiated settlement, a revised framework will determine the shape and form of a human security strategy.

#### **5.7.3.4 Finding a Face-Saving Strategy**

Despite that, the war is overdue for settlement, it does not necessarily mean that both sides will, at the first beckon, willingly drop their weapons and go in for peace talks. This is a war in which both sides are fully determined to obtain battlefield victory.

- The Government sticks to its “one and indivisible” clarion call.
- Ambazonia groups stick to their “Independence or resistance forever” battlefield pledge.

For these factions to pull back or give up these strongly worded pledges and settle for something less than total victory, there needs to be consideration for some face-saving by all parties, a determination that requires the decision of the stakeholders themselves.

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## 5.8 Education and Vocational Training Working Group

In October 2016 schools were closed as a result of a general strike with legitimate concerns that needed to be addressed to ensure the right to quality education in the Southern Cameroons. Unfortunately, measures undertaken by the Government of Cameroon rather worsened the situation and has led to many arbitrary arrests and false imprisonment, indiscriminate killings, loss of homes and livelihood. With the armed conflict that has now lasted over four (4) years, more than four hundred villages have been burned down by the Cameroon military, leaving thousands of families without shelter. Most of these are either internally or externally displaced persons living either in the forests, or as refugees across the borders in Nigeria, Ghana, or other African countries. This situation whereby over 900,000 pupils and children in the Southern Cameroons have been deprived of their right to education for four years now requires the undivided attention of all Global citizens.

### 5.8.1 Historical Background

The historical development of the education system in the Cameroons is defined by its complicated two states history in the pre- and post-independent periods. Pre-independence, both Cameroons inherited two distinct educational systems and traditions from the colonial era:

- French-oriented educational system within the Republic of Cameroun as a French mandated territory.
- Anglo-Saxon-oriented educational system within the pre-independent Southern Cameroons as a British mandated territory. (Tosam, 1988; Tchombe, 2006)

Post-independence, there has been a deliberate attempt driven by the central government (Yaoundé) to “harmonize” the curriculum and policies and transform the English-system into a Francophone system.

The outcome has been a plethora of inconsistencies thus far that has led to the current socio-political, economic, and cultural conflict.

### 5.8.2 An Assessment of the Situation: Root Cause

#### 5.8.2.1 International Statue

The level of priority afforded to the education system is assessed by looking at the volume of central government spending as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Products (GDP).

In 2018-2019, the country spent 3.13% of its Gross Domestic Products (GDP) on Education (OECD 2019; UNESCO 2018), while in international and comparative terms, the top six countries in 2018, spent as follows:

- Belize with 7.6%.
- Sierra Leone with 7.0%.
- Lesotho 7.0%.
- Costa Rica 7.0 %.
- Bhutan 7.0 %.
- Timor-Leste 6.8%.

When compared to La Republique du Cameroun (with only 3.1% of GDP spent on education) the difference is clear. This might be seen as reasonable when also compared with other lower middle-income countries; however, it is worth highlighting two fundamental problems:

- Firstly, this was, and is still not demonstrably the choice of Southern Cameroonians to prioritize expenditure on education at that percentage point.
- Secondly, the actual figures spent is not based on an economically justified GDP of the Southern Cameroons as an entity (which is made up of about 8 million people and contributes up to approximately 45% of the country's GDP).

#### **5.8.2.2 Harmonization of the Two Distinctive Sub-systems**

Harmonization became the major term adopted by the central government to fulfil the demands of reunification of the inherited colonial educational systems getting into the union. The specific purpose being the establishment of a synchronized system as a strategy for strengthening the capacity of education institutions to meet many emergent needs (Ndille, 2019, p. 15). The assumption that underlies harmonization is that the contents taught in the two subsystems are universal. The different educational traditions reflect; however, different value systems and perspectives on educational development (Tosam, 1988), and hence, the failure of this attempt.

#### **5.8.2.3 Bilingualism as a Structure and its Value**

Bilingualism was crafted as the modus-operandi of the educational system on the basis of the colonial hangovers regarding English for Southern Cameroons and French for French Cameroon. This led to the bilingual school experiment; however, it is more apparent than real considering that even in administration, all circulars and decisions are made mainly in French. The English Language is *completely non-existent in official circles*, and there seem to be neither an educational nor a social value to bilingualism for Southern Cameroonians.

#### **5.8.2.4 Governance structures, human resource development and deployment**

Controlled centrally by the government, the governance structure of education in Cameroon is steeped in a confused setting. Four differing ministries from the basic, secondary, tertiary, and vocational education control the educational system and each ministry acts as a panoply of force and prestige with coordination completely sacrificed. Each has a delegation in each region and division and structural funding is assured in state public schools and negated in

non-governmental religious public education or low fee institutions (Scheunpflug, 2014, p. 2), the hub of Anglo-Saxon education. For example, the recruitment of teachers is characterized by favoritism and nepotism, mainly through political interference with preference given to French speaking candidates.

### **5.8.2.5 Systematic Disadvantage of Southern Cameroonians**

The central government appoints teachers and boards of schools as deemed necessary and in view of its strategy to harmonize both systems. With 80 % of the population being French speaking, teachers, for example, have been sent to teach Anglo-Saxon based students in French or broken English, deliberately allowing students to gain nothing from the experience.

### **5.8.3 Preliminary Recommendations**

Looking critically at this very complex problem plaguing the education of the Southern Cameroonians children, the conclusion is that the security of the Southern Cameroonian pupil is a priority.

The Education Working Group has therefore focused on immediate or short-term measure recommendations as well as long-term solutions.

#### **5.8.3.1 Immediate Measures:**

**Secured Study Environment:** Southern Cameroonian children should be granted access to all existing educational institutions in total security with a safe, free and study environment void of harassment, victimization and corruption (e.g., sex or money for grades.)

**Education for Life:** Displaced kids and refugees should be provided with technological support, vocational training, finance, and volunteer assistance to catch up on the missing years.

**Emergency Action:** To avoid duplicating efforts in view of the urgency, we suggest identifying existing educational initiatives, creating support systems that are geared towards promoting education within Southern Cameroonians such as providing children with cell, smart phones, tablets and solar panels and creating Apps that can be used to download the content offline.

**Home Schooling:** Parents should be encouraged to assist their children with their studies at home. Be it in the forest or in refugees or IDPs camps, parents should get involved in their Children's education. Learning does not have to take place only in classrooms.

**Community involvement and volunteering:** Teachers as well as other community members that are capable of assisting could offer free services to children who need assistance either because their parents are illiterates or they have no parents, since many children now are orphans.

**Mental Health Intervention:** We recommend that psychiatric or psychosocial evaluation be

carried out to ensure the good mental health condition of our children by expert volunteers. Educational facilities should also cater for special needs, so this group is not left out.

**Consensus Principles from our Working Group:** The Education Working Group resolved to create a network to liaise with all educational stakeholders in the Southern Cameroons (ground-zero) especially the youths (students) and trade union leaders to engage in hands-on project initiatives to keep forging on with the education of the children.

### **5.8.3.2 Short and Long Term**

Because there is little appetite for the harmonization of the education systems; we therefore revert to English as the sole language of instruction in the Southern Cameroons and French in French Cameroun with immediate effect.

The Southern Cameroons education system should be governed by Southern Cameroonians mainly through decentralized local structures, with a common universal framework agreed with the governmental structure.

Higher education in the Southern Cameroons, including teacher education should include high standards in ethics and operate with maximum autonomy to permit research informed curricular, integrity and capacity building.

The educational system of the Southern Cameroons needs rebranding and re-invention with an educational system that is relevant, industry driven, entrepreneurial, solution focused, ethical, inclusive, and standardized to meet global dynamics. This requires a robust framework and state of the arts teacher training, retention, and empowerment process.

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## 5.9 Special Panel Sessions

Three of these panel sessions were intended to bring together international practitioners with specific expertise on the subject matters to assess, explore, and obtain consensus on salient issues for participants to be informed on pathways and commitment towards achieving justice and peace for the people of the Southern Cameroons. Another two brought together leaders of the Southern Cameroons struggle and opinion leaders of all three shades of opinion to examine, arrive at a consensus path, and to address the root cause(s).

### 5.9.1 Panel Session with Leading Political Stakeholders

At a special panel bringing together proponents of three of the four leading shades of political opinion in the Southern Cameroons (federalists, confederationists, independentists), the following outcomes emerged:

#### 5.9.1.1 Understanding the Root Cause of the Conflict

The panel of Southern Cameroonian political stakeholders were in consensus that the root cause of the present conflict goes back to 1961: The decolonization of the State of the Southern Cameroons and the foundational principles were flawed in that there existed a legacy of bad governance and unwelcomed dictatorship. This overall flaw in the union, along with significant cultural differences between the two states (French-speaking and English-speaking population) entering into the 1961 union further compounded the lack of clarity in the foundation of the union.

#### 5.9.1.2 Finding Consensus to a Sustainable Resolution

The panel worked toward a consensus on which process would most likely bring lasting peace and prosperity to the peoples of Southern Cameroons.

A consensus was agreed on that a sustainable solution to the present conflict must include a third-party mediated dialogue without preconditions and by addressing the root cause(s) of the conflict.

There was consensus that a credible way of finding the majority view of Southern Cameroonians on their most preferred system of governance would be best addressed by holding a UN sponsored and supervised referendum on the question.

#### 5.9.1.3 Driving Consensus toward a Resolution for all Southern Cameroonians

An overwhelming majority of Southern Cameroonians want the immediate release of all Southern Cameroonian prisoners of war in the jails across the Republic of Cameroon, even if on certain conditions, and also the need for amnesty for restorationist fighters.

The panel agreed that an immediate ceasefire was needed for a society of justice, rule of law, freedom of speech, accountability, and self-governance.

#### **5.9.1.4 Consensus on Collaboration to drive Negotiations**

The leaders in attendance from the Ambazonia Governing Council (AGovC), the Interim Government of the Southern Cameroons/Ambazonia (IG-Care), the British Southern Cameroons Resistant Force (BSCRF) and the Southern Cameroons Civil Society Consortium committed to attending a leadership forum to explore proactive pathways to collaboration.

There was an acknowledgment of the necessity for adequate access for aid workers and humanitarian assistance and the need for collective outreach to educate Southern Cameroonians about the protection of international human rights.

The leaders also expressed their commitment and preparedness to an internationally mediated and negotiated settlement to the armed conflict, provided this process is credible, mandated by the United Nations, and endowed with guarantees for an effective implementation of a peace agreement.

#### **5.9.2 Panel Sessions of International Experts**

Three international expert panels were held:

- Assessing Armed Conflicts for Self-Determination: Key Considerations in the armed conflict in the Southern Cameroons.
- Mediation and Negotiations in Armed Conflicts: Normative Perspective and Best Practices
- The Role of INGOs in Armed Conflicts in Africa: Perspective on Human Rights and Humanitarian Response.

The following consensus were reached in all three sessions:

##### **5.9.2.1 Driving to a Possible Escalation of Hostilities**

Panelists assessed the conflict dynamics and the trend since 2017 and came to a consensus, informed by current trends and dynamics, of a possible escalation of hostilities. Panelists agreed local remedies have been exhausted with little or no path to achieving lasting peace or addressing the root cause of the armed conflict. The panel concluded an international mediated and negotiated settlement between the Yaoundé regime and the people of the Southern Cameroons is critical to end hostilities.

##### **5.9.2.2 Consensus on a Credible Mediation and Negotiations Process**

Members of the panel, informed by comparative processes and standard practice, agreed the international community must play the vital role of mediating an end to the armed conflict.

There was a consensus on the role of the United Nations and its organs especially the Security Council as well as the United States of America in facilitating mediation including a proactive role of Africa's statesmen and women.

There was consensus that any credible mediator must undertake a detailed assessment of the armed conflict and understand the major stakeholders to inform the process while maintaining universal standards and practice. Panelists agreed to having no preconditions for negotiations as vital for an honest path to a successful negotiations process and agreed a multilateral approach as the best guarantee of a credible peace agreement.

### **5.9.2.3 Consensus on the Protection of International Human Rights and Need for Access to Humanitarian Aid and workers.**

The panelists assessed the trend of international rights violations and the limited access of aid to the affected populations and agreed there was an urgent need for warring parties to abide by international laws that protect civilian populations during periods of war. Panelists also agreed the humanitarian disaster in the Southern Cameroons is the single most under-reported and under-funded globally.

There was a consensus for the donor community to do more to fund and alleviate the humanitarian disaster, to care for the over 60,000 refugees and more than 900,000 civilians displaced. Panelists also reached a consensus that an independent international investigation of the rights violations was necessary to examine the nature of atrocities committed and to identify the perpetrators.

###

**“Virtually every Anglo-Saxon qualification is inferior to French ones, and so Anglo-Saxon standards are supposed to be inferior to French ones. This gives an idea the frustrations which English speaking citizens face virtually at all levels in the university, in the public service and in state corporations with regard to their progress.”**

*Solomon Tandeng Muna,  
4th Prime Minister of the Southern Cameroons  
(appointed by Ahmadou Ahidjo)*

# 6. PRE- CONFERENCE SURVEY

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## OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS



**Coalition**  
for Dialogue and Negotiations

## 6.1 Survey Rationale

This survey was sponsored by the Coalition for Dialogue and Negotiations (CDN). The goal was to take the pulse of Southern Cameroonians and gauge their aspirations on key aspects of their homeland.

## 6.2 Survey Methodology

This online survey ran from October 16 – 24, 2020. The survey was structured in two parts: part 1 had demographic questions while part 2 focused on substantial questions to determine people's expectations for their homeland. Extensive demographic questions provided the data needed to determine if the user was a Southern Cameroonian or not. Those who were deemed not to be Southern Cameroonians were eliminated after completing part 1. This was because the primary target respondents were Southern Cameroonians. Those who made it to part 2 answered questions on the root causes of the conflict, which form of state would address the root causes, who is the best mediator of the conflict, etc.

The survey was developed and run on SurveyMonkey, an online platform with global reach. Distribution of the survey was carefully controlled to avoid sabotage or fraud. The survey was shared broadly through Southern Cameroonian groups in Cameroon and across the world. Extra steps were taken to reach Southern Cameroonians of all persuasions, including those who advocate for decentralization, various forms of federation, confederation, or full independence. The survey was very accessible since you only needed a phone to be a respondent. In fact, provisions were made for those without personal phones to take the survey with a shared phone.

The target audience was Southern Cameroonians worldwide and at home. The total sample size was very large - 3,749, making it one of the largest surveys yet of Southern Cameroonians.

The representation of respondents based on current country of residence was as follows:

- Cameroon: 38%
- USA: 23%
- UK: 7%
- Nigeria: 6%
- Germany: 4%
- Canada: 3%
- South Africa: 3%
- UAE: 3%

In addition, the survey reached a broad and diverse spectrum of Southern Cameroonians including Refugees. There was diversity by gender, age, level of education and employment status. In addition, there was diversity in tribal affiliation and location for those in Cameroon.

### 6.3 Survey Results

Eighty six percent (86%) of respondents chose full independence as the best political solution to the root cause of the conflict, seven percent (7%) chose federation, four percent (4%) selected confederation and only one percent (1%) chose Government-sponsored “Special status”. Eighty percent (80%) of respondents preferred a United Nations mandated body as the best mediator of the conflict, nine percent (9%) preferred the Swiss-led mediation initiative and only one percent (1%) thought the Government of Cameroon could be a good mediator.

Eighty seven percent (87%) of respondents prefer an independent judiciary system based on common law and ten percent (10%) chose a common law system controlled by the central government.

While Anglo-Saxon educational system was favorable (57 percent), many Southern Cameroonians would like to see a newly developed educational system (38 percent). Most Southern Cameroonians would like to see Elder Statesmen and Women play a more active advisory role in resolving the conflict.

In addition, most Southern Cameroonians would prefer traditional leaders to serve as custodians of culture and traditions only. A sizeable minority are happy for Chiefs and Fons to play a more active role in local administration, so long as they are exempted from political parties.

Ninety five percent (95%) of Southern Cameroonians rejected the CFA franc as currency, while 96 percent do not recommend Gendarmes as security officers. Eighty percent (80%) of respondents preferred locally vs centrally controlled police forces.

These trends were steady across different gender, age groups, and levels of education. No major difference in results were observed after adjusting for gender imbalance.

Deeper statistical analysis showed the choice of political governance was highly correlated with citizen’s preferences for their ideal system for law, economy, education, and security. Those who

1. Prefer an independent judicial system
2. Reject the Franc CFA
3. Prefer an Anglo-Saxon educational system
4. Reject the Gendarmes, tend to prefer full independence.

Full survey results are found in the Appendix.

###

**“Uniting the Southern Cameroons  
to the Cameroun Republique is like  
forcing a balloon under the sea. One  
day, it will come out”**

*Dag Hammarskjöld  
United Nations Secretary General, 1953 - 1961*

# 7. CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

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**Coalition**  
for Dialogue and Negotiations

Resolutions of the Virtual International Conference on the Armed Conflict in the  
***Resolutions of the Virtual International Conference on the Armed Conflict in the  
Southern Cameroons held from October thirtieth to November first the year of our  
Lord two thousand and twenty***

###

**W**e, the people of the former Trust Territory of British Southern Cameroons (referred here as the Southern Cameroons),

**AWARE** of the 1913 Anglo-German Treaty territorially defined the international boundary between Nigeria and the British Southern Cameroons, subsequently emphasized in a 1954 British Order in Council.

**WHEREAS** the Anglo-French Treaty of 1919 (the Milner-Simon Declaration) defined the international boundary between the British Cameroons and French Cameroun; subsequently confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922 when the two territories were separately placed under the Mandates System.

**WHEREAS** the territorial alignment between British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroon was further confirmed by the Anglo-French Treaty of 9 January 1931, signed by the Governor-General of Nigeria and the Governor of French Cameroon.

**WHEREAS** the British administration of the British Southern Cameroons from 1858 to 1887, and then from 1915 to 1961, bequeathed to it an Anglo-Saxon heritage: official language being English, and its educational, legal, administrative, political, governance and institutional culture and value systems being all English-derived.

**WHEREAS** on 1 October 1960 the British Southern Cameroons was separated from Nigeria and by 1961 the British Southern Cameroons had attained a full measure of self-government in its Government of British Southern Cameroons, except on matters of defense and foreign affairs that remained under Britain as provided in the Southern Cameroons Constitution Order in Council of 1960.

**WHEREAS** at the 849th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the UN on 25th February 1959, Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo of La Republique du Cameroon solemnly assured the UN: “We are not annexationists. ... If our brothers of the British zone wish to unite with independent Cameroon, we are ready to discuss the matter with them, but we will do so on a footing of equality.”

**WHEREAS** on February 11, 1961 the United Nations held a plebiscite in which the choice of attaining independence as a sovereign nation was eliminated from the ballot against the will expressed by a delegation of the people of British Southern Cameroons, and the said people voted to achieve independence by joining the Republic of Cameroon on precise terms, as described in United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1608 (XV) of April 21, 1961.

**AWARE** of our political history, driven by our common heritage, defined by our international geographical boundaries are

**DETERMINED** to assert ourselves as a free people as defined in Communication No 266/2003 of the 37th Session of the African Commission on Human & Peoples Rights and save our future generations from the scourge of neocolonial domination, deprivation and persistent denial of the right to self-determination.

**REAFFIRM** our faith in the strength of our unity and in our ability to realize our goal of self-determination, human and material development, and progress in all fields of human endeavor.

**DETERMINED** to create for ourselves a democratic society that would ensure the rule of law, respect of human rights and freedoms and the dignity of all men and women in all communities large and small.

**RECALL** our long-suffering under French Cameroon neo-colonial oppression, including on-going acts considered as genocide, all of which have internally displaced hundreds of thousands, in addition to thousands of refugees and those killed.

We solemnly pledge our commitment to eradicate neo-colonialism, economic deprivation, political exclusion, and human rights abuses in our land, and to coordinate and intensify our cooperation and efforts to achieve self-determination and a better life for all our people, have;

**ASSEMBLED** conference participants from all shades of opinion who freely and amply expressed all shades of opinions, who,

**ACTIVELY** participated in our virtual international conference from October 30 to November 1, 2020, to discuss, chart the way forward on all issues currently affecting the People of the Southern Cameroons, and have

**ADOPTED**, under thematic subjects, the resolutions herein below:

**Nomenclature:** That the ongoing armed conflict is between the Former British Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroon (La République du Cameroon) rather than between Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians.

**Kumba Massacre and Others:** The conference condemns in the strongest possible terms the massacre of school children on Saturday October 24, 2020 in Kumba that led to the death of seven (7) children. Established as a pattern of massacres, pointing from Menka (May 28, 2018), Tiben (July 12, 2018), Muyuka (August 4, 2018), Misaje (October 12, 2018), Bali (May 14, 2019), Bole Bakundu (February 6, 2020), Babanki (March 2, 2020), Ngarbuh (February 14, 2020), Muambong (April 22, 2020), to Bafut (May 3, 2020), and many others, the conference calls for an international independent investigation into these deaths considered to be acts of genocide and a fact finding mission under the auspices of the United Nations.

**Root Causes:** The root causes of the ongoing armed conflict borders on a core cause and a combination of existential issues:

Bad faith on the part of French Cameroon, in the execution of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1608 pursuant to the plebiscite of February 11, 1961, under the supervision of Great Britain, considered procedurally and legally as illegal occupation and annexation of the Former British Southern Cameroons. This subsequently resulted to other related causes to the armed conflict;

- a) Excessive rights abuse, deprivation, assimilation, and marginalization of social, economic, and political rights and freedoms of the people of the Southern Cameroons,
- b) Persistent denial for dialogue and of participatory right to self-determination of the people of the Southern Cameroons.

**Key Actors:** The key actors in the present conflict are the Southern Cameroons and the Republic of Cameroon (La République du Cameroun) but other important actors include France, Israel, Russia, and Serbia who are selling arms to the Yaoundé regime, as well as foreign private corporations profiteering from the war. It is also important to recognize that neither the Former British Southern Cameroons nor the Government of Cameroon are homogenous actors. Fifth columnists have notoriously masterminded gross financial misappropriations within the Southern Cameroons faction and perpetuated human rights violations, including extra-judicial killings and kidnappings for ransom.

**External Stakeholders:** The main stakeholders are Great Britain and France, in their capacity as former colonial masters, as well as neighboring Nigeria, the United Nations, the African Union, and the United States of America. These stakeholders can and must take urgent steps to end this armed conflict.

**Survey:** Cognizant of the fact that we are meeting on behalf of all Southern Cameroonians, and that those being represented may not be able to participate, the survey sought to capture their views through a survey. Most, a UK Credit Risk and Data Analytics firm was contracted to analyze the data and present findings to Southern Cameroonians during the conference for appreciation and validation. In conclusion, the conference acknowledges the wishes of Southern Cameroonians and the datasets therein in the survey.

This survey, comprising over 3,749 Southern Cameroonians, with the largest group of respondents residing within the territory of the Southern Cameroons and refugees, reveals the following:

- 86% of respondents chose full independence as the best political solution to address the root cause of the conflict, 7% chose federation with Cameroon, 4% selected confederation with Cameroon, and only 1% chose Cameroon Government-sponsored “Special status”.
- 80% of respondents prefer an UN-mandated body as best mediator of the conflict, 9% prefer Swiss-mediation initiative and only 1% think the Government of Cameroon is a good mediator.

The full results and data sets of the survey analyzed by 4Most were published in a separate document of the conference proceedings.

**Aspirations:** All Southern Cameroonians agree that they want to live in a free country where the general will undergird the governance system. While the overwhelming majority of Southern Cameroonians who took part in the survey chose independence as the means of achieving self-determination, they believe a UN mandated mediation and negotiation process is the only legitimate way to achieve justice and durable peace in the Southern Cameroons.

## 7.1 International Right Violations

Conference participants regret the killings and massacre of over 3,500 children, women and the elderly, thousands more unreported since the beginning of the armed conflict in November 2017. Noted over 900,000 internally displaced Southern Cameroonians with limited humanitarian assistance in other parts of Cameroon and took stock of over 60,000 forced to flee their homes, now refugees in Nigeria, Ghana, and other parts of the globe. The conference resolves to;

- Denounce and condemn all acts of international human rights violations and call for an end to all atrocities targeting the civilian population in the Southern Cameroons.
- Challenge OCHA Cameroon and Nigeria to do more to identify, document and provide aid, including medical assistance, to all Southern Cameroonians externally (refugees) or internally displaced as a result of the crisis.
- Call OHCHR to investigate all atrocities, massacres, and to determine acts of genocide, and document international rights violations committed to Southern Cameroonians, including to children and women during the ongoing armed conflict.
- Call parties to this armed conflict to allow access to all forms of humanitarian aid to Southern Cameroonians affected by the ongoing armed conflict.
- Call for unilateral and multilateral sanctions on Cameroon Government officials and others who commit or facilitate the violation of international rights of Southern Cameroonians.

## 7.2 Mediation and Negotiations

Conference participants acknowledge the only way the ongoing armed conflict in the Southern Cameroons will end without creating conditions for future conflicts is through earnest mediation and negotiations. Southern Cameroonians agree;

- That there is a trust deficit between the Southern Cameroons and the Yaoundé regime and therefore no meaningful negotiations or dialogue can take place between the two parties without mediation by a credible third party at a neutral venue.

- The Southern Cameroons is not a non-state actor, rather it is an unrecognized state. As such mediators should recognize and consider our correct status to ensure meaningful negotiations.
- That the United Nations, which the Southern Cameroons was its Trust Territory under the British Administration, should formally initiate a multilateral mediation and negotiation process and mandate stakeholders such as the United States of America, the German Federation, the Republic of South Africa, the Republic of Ghana, and others to actively participate in the process and to appoint representatives thereto.

### 7.3 Southern Cameroonians

Conference participants acknowledged the need for active collaboration and synergy between the armed groups and the difference in opinion amongst Southern Cameroonians. The conference resolved;

The lack of discipline on the part of Southern Cameroonians who engage in salvaging one another just gives the international community an excuse not to act and call on all Southern Cameroonians to demonstrate civility in pursuing justice and peace.

That any human rights abuse committed to Southern Cameroonians by Southern Cameroonians is unacceptable, undermines the struggle for self-determination, and must be condemned in the strongest possible terms.

That genuine Southern Cameroonians must call to order any forms of disunity in fighting for the resolution of this armed conflict through the building of bargaining power, the documentation of rights violations, and the pursuit of justice.

To acknowledge the commitment by leaders of front line movements to attend a “Leadership Forum” bringing together the leadership and stakeholders of Southern Cameroons self-determination struggle within the short term with a goal to unify around a common purpose and the call for the Coalition, as an independent Southern Cameroonian organization, to act as facilitator in partnership with the elders to pursue and achieve lasting collaboration.

That elders, statesmen and women demonstrate leadership in an active advisory role as requested by the overwhelming majority of Southern Cameroonians that took the survey to achieve durable collaboration amongst leaders of the Southern Cameroons armed struggle for self-determination.

That Southern Cameroonian professionals be more engaged and to leverage the Southern Cameroons diaspora human capital to contribute to defend the freedoms of Southern Cameroonians and to seek lasting peace in the Southern Cameroons through a credible mediated and negotiated end to the armed conflict.

To fully endorse **The 20 Guiding Principles** for the Southern Cameroons adopted by the conference working groups. These principles reflect the foundation of the society and system of governance that Southern Cameroonians want for themselves. Any constituent

party engaged in negotiations on behalf of Southern Cameroonians is expected to uphold/advocate for these 20 Guiding Principles and others, as shall be further determined.

## 7.4 International Community

The conference urges the United Nations Security Council, the African Union, the European Union, and individual states within the international community, including the United States of America to;

- Oblige an immediate and unconditional ceasefire and demilitarization of the Southern Cameroons to guarantee access to aid and humanitarian workers into the Southern Cameroons by using their leverages.
- Pressure the Cameroon Government to release all prisoners arrested and jailed within the context of the ongoing armed conflict and to cease the arrest and detention of Southern Cameroonians.
- Initiate a fact-finding mission to document all international human rights violations and atrocities committed against the civilian population of the Southern Cameroons and determine acts of genocide.
- Impose targeted sanctions on the cabinet members and military hierarchy implicated in the war, to force them to abandon the military solution in favor of a peaceful, mediated and negotiated solution.
- Designate a credible mediator, acceptable to both sides of the armed conflict, so that a meaningful negotiated settlement of the conflict can take place.
- Engage former African Heads of States to influence parties to the armed conflict to achieve a mediated and negotiated settlement.

These resolutions are an expression of the aspirations of 1,297 Southern Cameroonian delegates who participated in the virtual international conference, 3,749 who participated in the pre-conference survey and over a hundred thousand who engaged on social media platforms and shared their views through written statements, videos/audios or online comments. There is a consensus amongst Southern Cameroonians that international stakeholders therein, including the United Nations and the United States of America, must actively engage in facilitating mediation and negotiations to bring an end to the escalating armed conflict.

These Resolutions shall be made public, documented, and shared with all national and international stakeholders to the armed conflict in the Southern Cameroons for appreciation and action.

Done, November 1, 2020

Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh  
Conference Co-Chair

Mr. Augustine Ndamgam  
Conference Co-Chair

**“The Biya Government has crossed the red line; they have proven beyond reasonable doubts that Southern Cameroonians can never live together in harmony with La Republique du Cameroon.”**

*Mola Njoh Litumbe,  
Southern Cameroons Elder Statesman  
On seeing the brutal killing of  
Southern Cameroonians in November 2017*

# 8. THE 20 GUIDING PRINCIPLES

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*for a Post-Conflict  
Southern Cameroons*



**Coalition**  
for Dialogue and Negotiations

For a Post-Conflict Southern Cameroons

These fundamental principles were debated and adopted by concerned Working Groups and presented at the plenary session.

## 8.1 The Negotiation Process

Negotiation is a process and for the people of the Southern Cameroons to get the best out of this process:

### I.

a) Those to negotiate on behalf of the Southern Cameroons must be drawn from amongst the most qualified Southern Cameroonians or partners determined by Southern Cameroonians acting solely in the interest of the Southern Cameroons. As such, a clear, transparent process of selecting representatives to negotiate on behalf of Southern Cameroonians must be established. Such a process must be such that those negotiating on behalf of Southern Cameroonians must be answerable to the majority of Southern Cameroonians.

b) International mediation is critical in ending armed conflicts and multilateralism in mediation provides additional assurances to parties in conflict. Any international actor(s) serving as mediator or facilitator of a mediation process must conduct a thorough assessment of the armed conflict, apply standard international normative and best practice in mediation, and provide assurances that the negotiated peace agreement will be implemented within the specified timeframe.

## 8.2 Judiciary and Constitutional Affairs

Democracy or representative government only works when there is a judicial system to guarantee the rights, liberty, and freedoms of all people.

### II.

The negotiated constitution, which shall be the supreme law of the land, shall guarantee and protect fundamental rights. The Constitution shall prohibit all forms of discrimination including gender, orientation, tribal affiliation, etc.

### III.

The constitution shall guarantee the individual rights and freedoms of all citizens which include, inter alia, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom of information, right to privacy, due process, criminal procedural rights, equal protection, private property rights and voting rights

#### IV.

The judiciary shall be independent and impartial and shall have the power and jurisdiction to safeguard and enforce the Constitution and all fundamental rights. It shall ensure the equality of all before the law and an equitable legal process.

#### V.

Appointment of judges and magistrates must be free of political influence. There should be a judicial services commission that is responsible for appointment of judges and supreme court justices. This commission shall be independent from Parliament or the Executive branches.

Nominated judges and justices must be confirmed by the legislature and under no circumstances shall a supreme court justice be removed from office by the head of the executive branch. The head of the executive branch shall not have any authority to dissolve the legislature or the supreme court

#### VI.

The constitution shall recognize and integrate customary laws. These customary laws should not be repugnant to natural justice. The constitution shall guarantee the right to a safe and healthy environment.

#### VII.

Amendments to the constitution shall be done through a national referendum, after each state legislature has approved the amendment by the specially defined majority. The amendment must be approved by the majority in each state

### 8.3 Governance

Government only derives its right from the consent of the governed. The people must own the government and not vice-versa. Devolution of power into federal, state, and local government levels ensures that administration is brought closer to the people.

#### VIII.

There shall be a complete separation of powers between the executive, legislature, and judiciary, with specific checks and balances to ensure accountability, responsiveness, inclusiveness, and transparency.

#### IX.

Government shall be structured at the federal, state, and local government levels, all elected by Southern Cameroonians.

## X.

The institutions, status, and role of traditional authorities, according to indigenous law, shall be recognized and protected in the Constitution. Indigenous law shall be recognized and applied by the courts, subject to the fundamental rights contained in the Constitution and to legislation dealing specifically therewith.

## XI.

There shall be a construction of a unique Southern Cameroons identity based on a redefinition of citizenship aligned to our cultural heritage and as a people under international law.

### 8.4 Economic Reconstruction

Economic justice is sacrosanct to peace, development and social justice in every community and shall predicate the new southern Cameroons economic program.

## XII.

Each level of government shall have a constitutional right to an equitable share of revenue collected nationally to ensure that states and local governments are able to perform their functions and provide basic services as expected.

## XIII.

State and local governments shall be responsible for short- and medium-term economic development in their respective areas. They will also be allowed to impose and collect their own taxes, which includes but not limited to income taxes, sales taxes, and property taxes.

## XIV.

The Constitution shall provide for and ensure an independent and impartial Attorney General, a Central Bank, an Auditor-General and a Civil Service Commission in order to maintain very high standards of professionalism. It shall also create a sovereign wealth fund to manage revenues from non-renewable natural resources for posterity.

### 8.5 Peacebuilding and Public Security

Law enforcement officers shall reflect the people they protect, be hired by and answerable to them.

## XV.

Police powers shall be vested with states and local governments. There shall be no federal or centralized police force except for special purposes as shall be specified in the negotiated Constitution.

## XVI.

Every member of the security services (police, military and intelligence) shall be required to perform their duties and exercise their powers in the national interest and shall be prohibited from acting in a manner that promotes the interests of a particular political party.

### 8.6 Education

Education is the most important investment of any society. The prosperity and sustainability of any nation depends on investments in education. All Southern Cameroonians deserve the quality of education that will enable them to become productive and successful citizens. Local control of the education curriculum is crucial to ensuring good quality education.

## XVII.

The governance of education shall be the jurisdiction of individual states and local school boards. Where minimum standards are necessary the Federal or Central government shall, in consultation with states and local governments, provide such leadership and direction as shall be negotiated.

## XVIII.

Education should reflect the socio-cultural aspects of the community, be relevant, vocational, and entrepreneurial focused, competency based, inclusive and standardized.

### 8.7 Healthcare and Humanitarian Relief

Healthcare is a right of every Southern Cameroonian and it is the duty of the state to provide quality, accessible and affordable healthcare to all its citizens.

## XIX.

Local governance at state/regional level shall be primarily responsible for the delivery of healthcare to its citizens with the Federal / Central government having specific responsibilities as shall be negotiated.

## XX.

Healthcare shall be free at the point of delivery and each citizen shall have basic health insurance coverage.

###

APPENDIX – FULL RESULTS

# 9. SURVEY OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS

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Alan Lucas, BSc, RSS  
Mauro Iannace, PhD  
Valentine Ngwabo Fontama, PhD

November 7, 2020



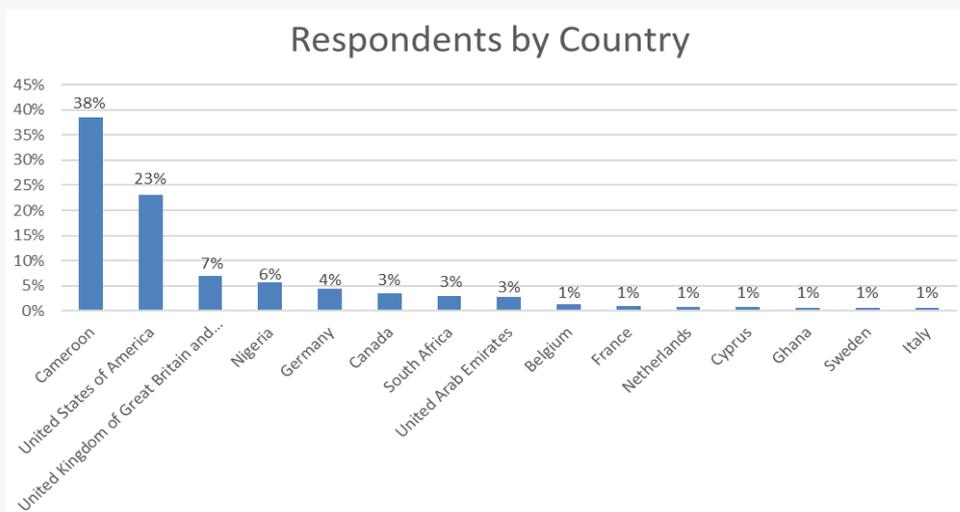
**Coalition**  
for Dialogue and Negotiations

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

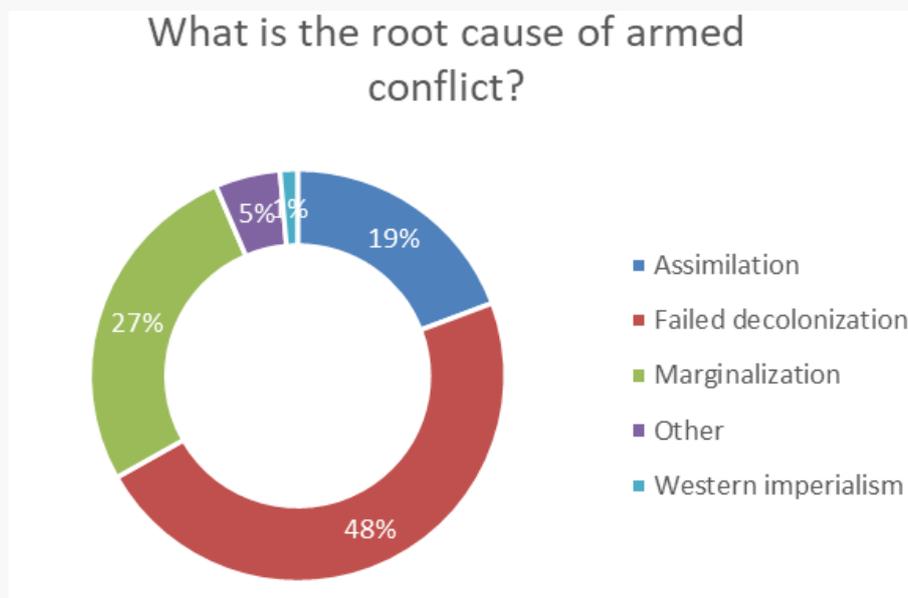
- 1 This survey had a large sample size with 3,749 respondents. One of the largest number of Southern Cameroonians surveyed to date.
- 2 Majority of respondents were from Southern Cameroons (38%)
- 3 The results suggest a strong preference for independence:
  - 86% of respondents chose full independence as the best form of state to address root cause of conflict
  - 7% chose federation and
  - 4% selected confederation
  - Only 1% chose Government-sponsored “Special status”
- 4 Most respondents prefer a UN-backed body as best mediator of conflict (80%)
  - 9% prefer Swiss-backed negotiations
  - Only 1% think the Government of Cameroon is a good mediator
- 5 A large majority (87%) prefer an independent judiciary system based on common law. Another 10% chose common law system controlled by central government.
- 6 While Anglo-Saxon Educational system was favorable (57%), many Southern Cameroonians would like to see a newly developed educational system (38%)
- 7 Most Southern Cameroonians would like to see their Elderly Statesmen and women play a more active advisory role.
- 8 Most Southern Cameroonians would prefer their traditional leaders to serve as custodians of culture and traditions only. A sizeable minority are happy for their chiefs to play a more active role in local administration, so long as they are exempted from political parties
- 9 95% Southern Cameroonians rejected the CFA franc as their currency while 96% do not recommend the Gendarmes as security officers. 80% of them preferred locally vs centrally controlled police forces.

- 10 These trends are steady across different gender, age groups, and level of education. No major difference in results after adjusting for gender imbalance.
- 11 Deeper statistical analysis showed the choice of form of state was highly correlated with citizen's preferences for their ideal system for law, economy, education and security
- Those who (i)prefer an independent judiciary system, (ii)reject the Franc CFA, (iii)prefer an Anglo-Saxon educational system, or (iv) reject the Gendarmes, tend to prefer full independence

## LARGE SAMPLE WITH STRONG REPRESENTATION FROM CAMEROON



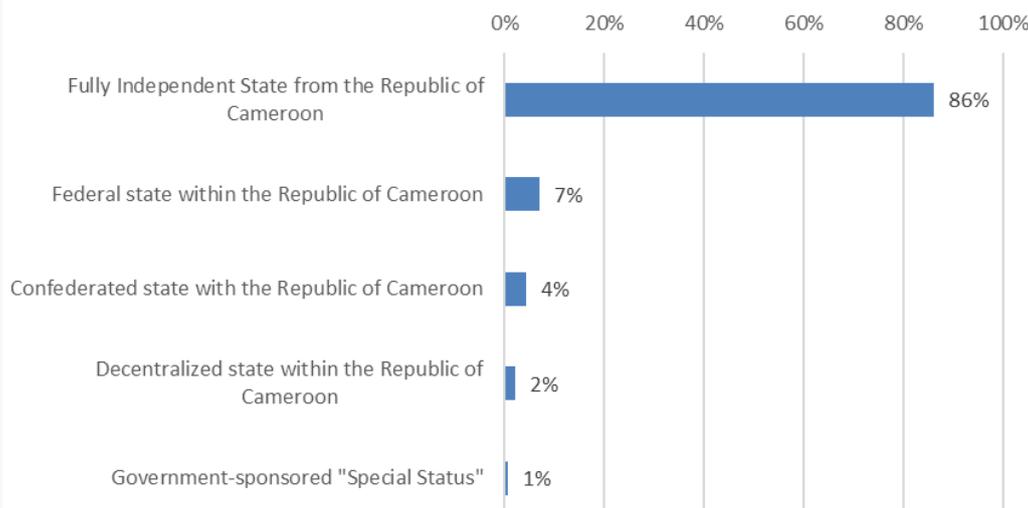
- Large sample size: 3,749 respondents.
- One of the largest number of Southern Cameroonians surveyed to date.
- 1 Cardinal Christian Tumi's survey had 1,000 respondents.
- Majority of respondents were from Cameroon (38%).



Majority of Southern Cameroonians believe failed decolonization is the root cause of the armed conflict.

## THE RESULTS SUGGESTS A STRONG PREFERENCE FOR INDEPENDENCE

What form of state would address the root cause of armed conflict?

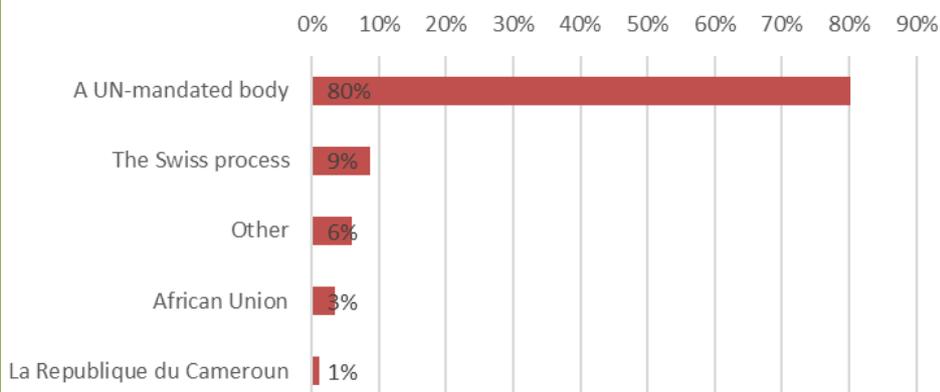


**86%**

- 86% of respondents chose full independence to address root cause of conflict
- 7% chose federation
- 4% selected confederation
- Only 1% chose Government-sponsored "Special status"

**MOST RESPONDENTS PREFER A UN-MANDATED BODY AS BEST MEDIATOR OF CONFLICT**

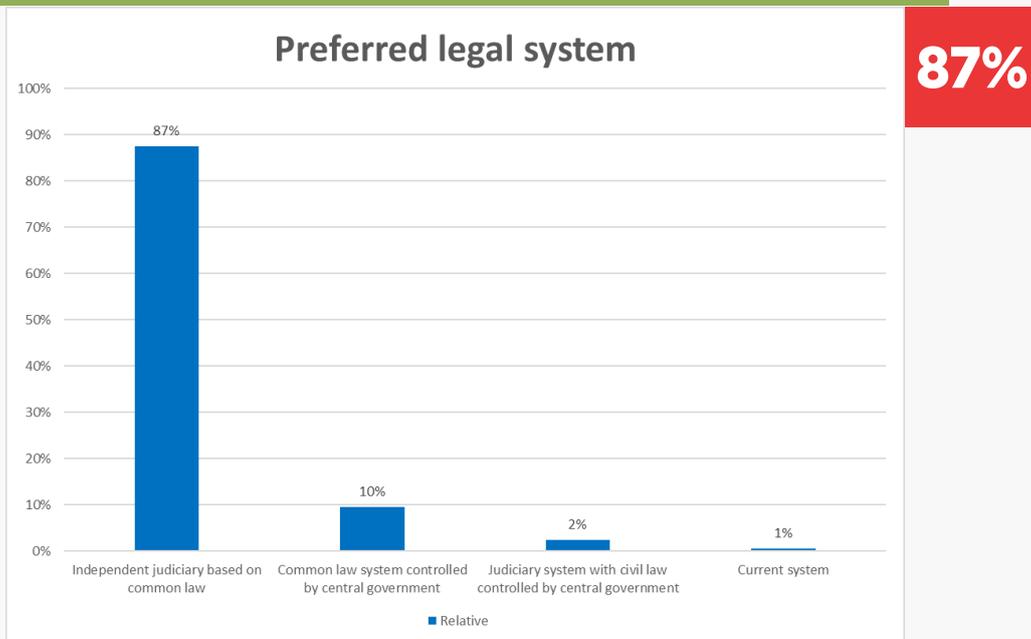
Preferred mediator



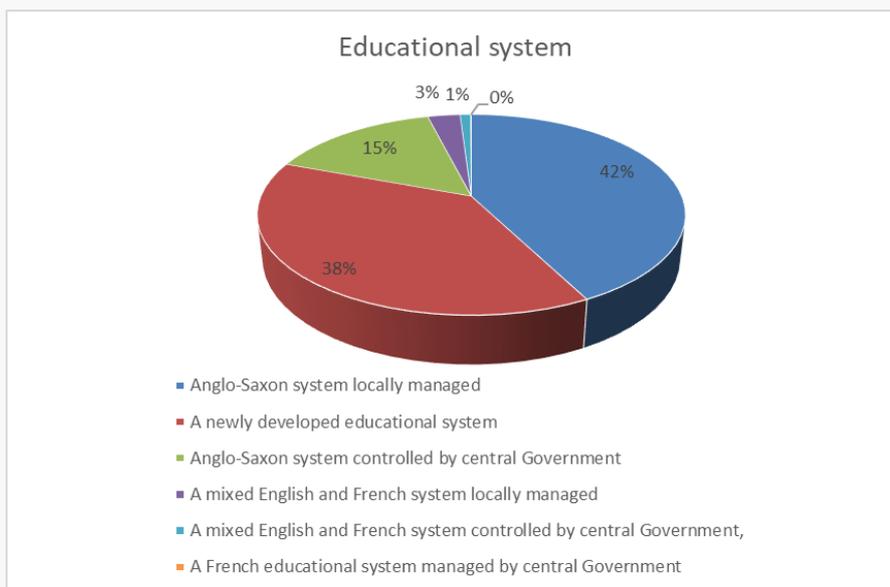
**80%**

- 80% prefer a UN-mandated body
- 9% prefer Swiss-backed negotiations
- Only 1% think the Government of Cameroon is a good mediator

## A LARGE MAJORITY (87%) PREFER AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY SYSTEM BASED ON COMMON LAW



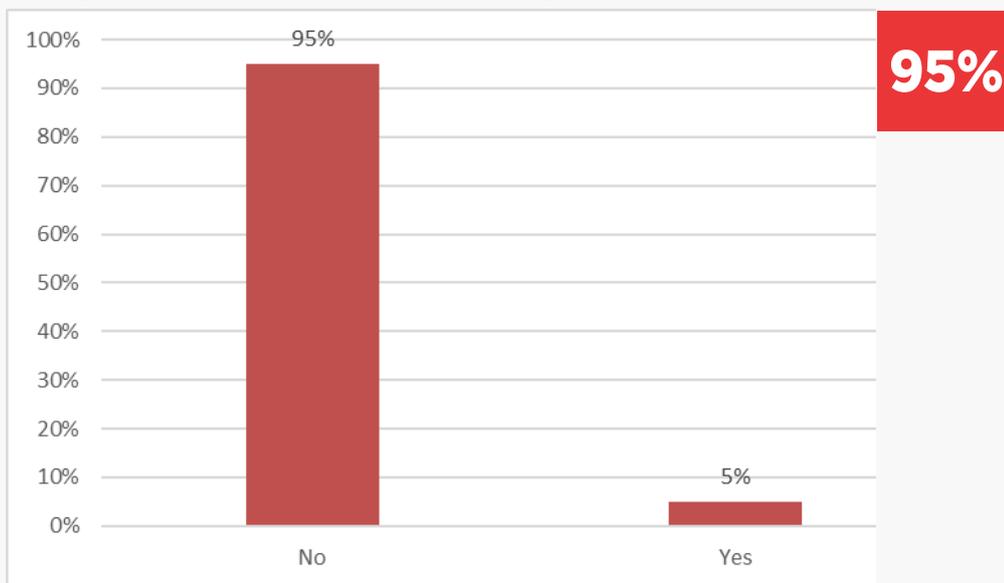
- 87% prefer an independent judiciary system based on common law
- Another 10% chose common law system controlled by central government
- 2% chose a judiciary system with civil law controlled by central government.



While Anglo-Saxon Educational system was favorable, many Southern Cameroonians would like to see a newly developed educational system

## 95% SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS REJECTED THE CFA FRANC AS THEIR CURRENCY

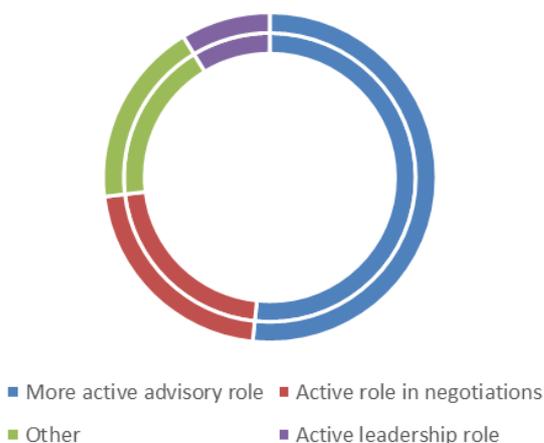
Would you recommend the Franc CFA as currency for Southern Cameroons?



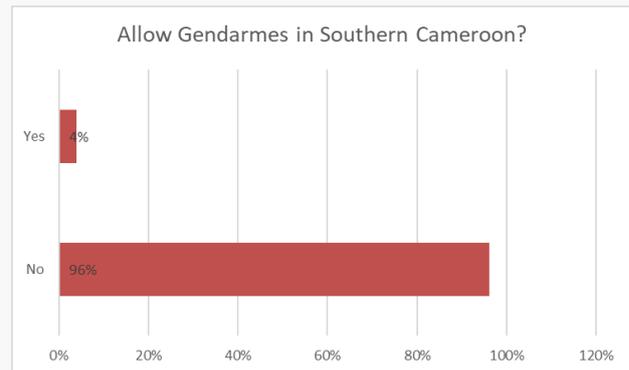
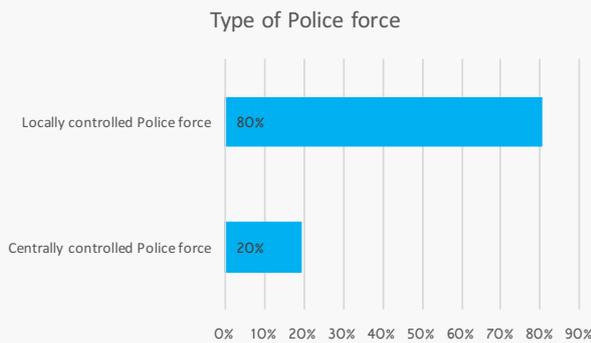
## MOST SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEIR ELDERLY STATESMEN AND WOMEN PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ADVISORY ROLE

- 73% would like Elderly statemen and women to play a more active role to end the armed conflict
- 52% prefer a more active advisory role
- 21% want them to take an active role in negotiations
- Only 9% preferred a leadership role for them.

Role of Elderly Statesmen and women



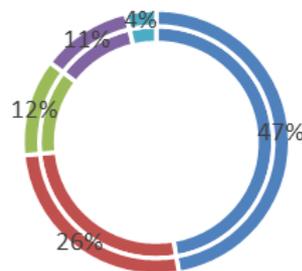
## MOST SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS PREFER A LOCALLY CONTROLLED POLICE FORCE AND NO GENDARMES



## MOST SOUTHERN CAMEROONIANS WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEIR ELDERLY STATESMEN AND WOMEN PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ADVISORY ROLE

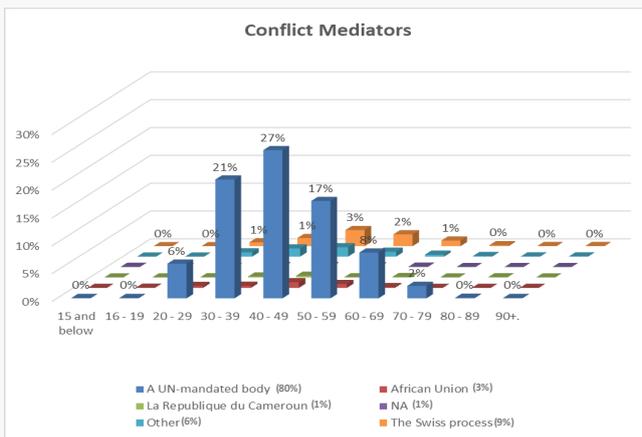
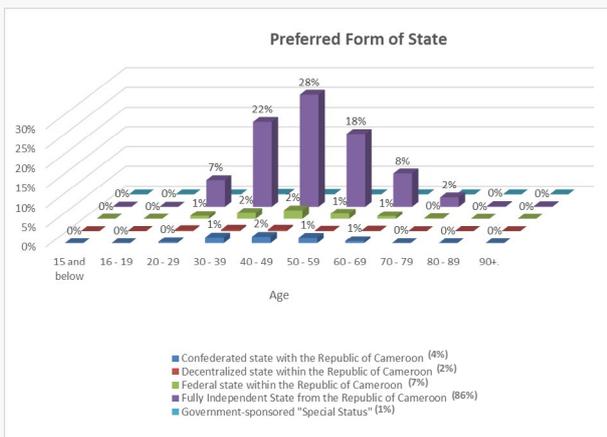
- A sizeable minority are happy their chiefs to play a more active role in local administration, as long as they are exempted from political parties

### The role of traditional leaders

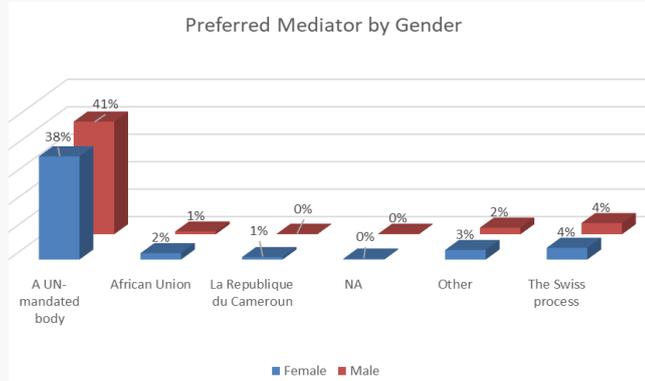
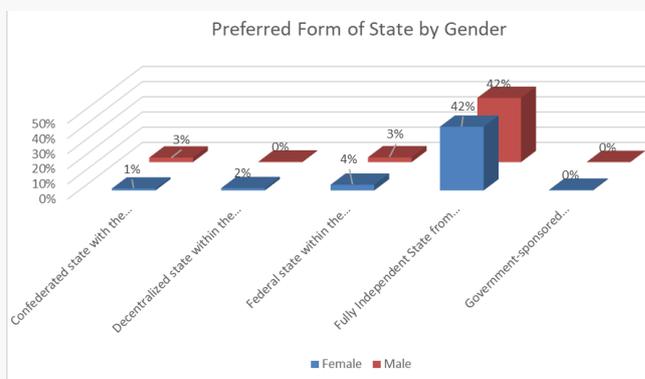
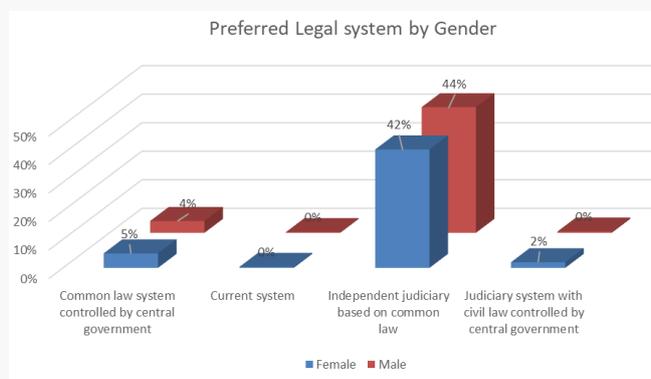


- a) custodians of culture and traditions only.
- d) b & c
- c) exempt traditional leaders from partisan politics.
- b) a more active role in local administration.

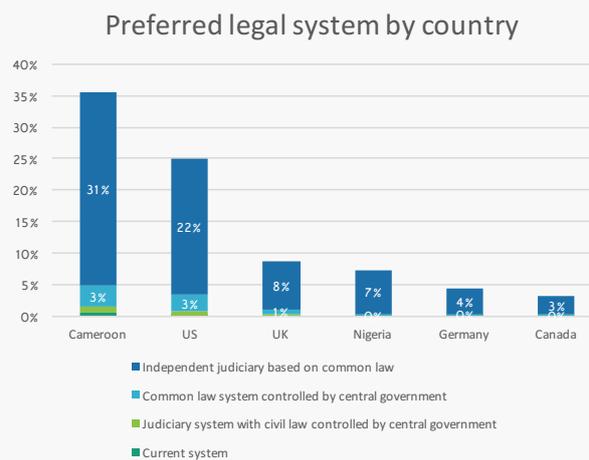
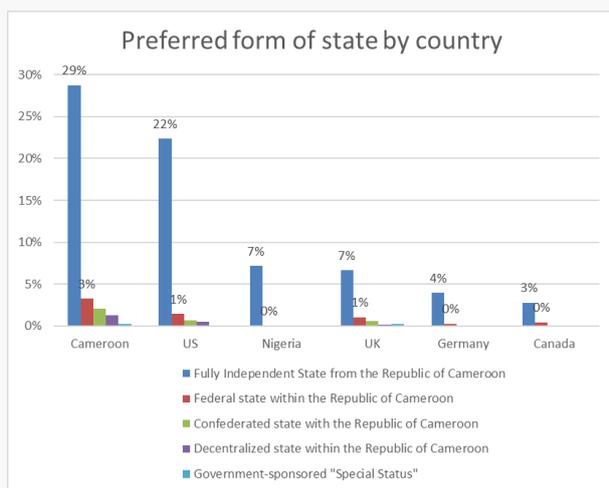
## THESE TRENDS ARE STEADY ACROSS AGE GROUPS, GENDERS, AND COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE



## THESE TRENDS ARE STEADY ACROSS AGE GROUPS, GENDERS AND COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE



## THESE TRENDS ARE STEADY ACROSS AGE GROUPS, GENDERS, AND COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE



## MULTIPLE CORRESPONDENCE ANALYSIS HAS BEEN APPLIED TO EXTRACT KEY FACTORS

In order to reduce the data dimensionality and identify the key drivers, Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) has been performed. Below are the variables that were used:

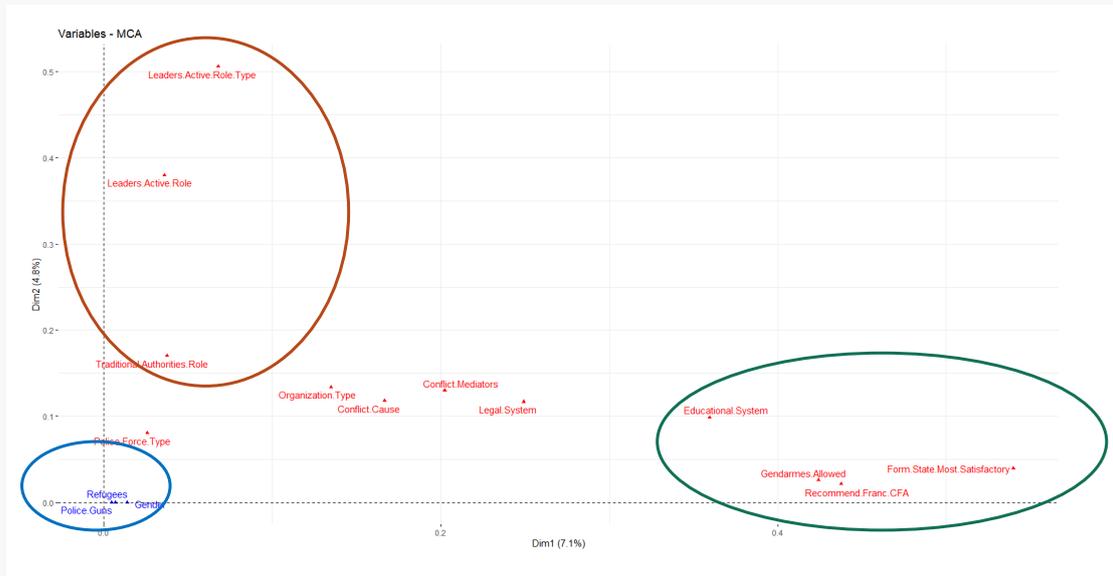
### Active Variables

Conflict Cause, Conflict Mediators, Organization Type, Form State, Legal System, Educational System, Traditional Authorities Role, Leaders Active Role, Leaders Active Role Type, Police Force Type, Gendarmes Allowed, Recommend Franc CFA.

### Supplementary Variables

Gender, Refugee Indicator, Police Guns

# 1ST COMPONENT CAPTURES ORGANIZATIONAL PREFERENCES, WHEREAS 2ND COMPONENT REPRESENTS THE ROLE OF KEY PLAYERS



# GRAPHICAL INTERPRETATION IS CONFIRMED BY STATISTICAL TESTS

## 1st Component

	R2	p.value
Form.State.Most.Satisfactory	5.398E-01	0.000E+00
Gendarmes.Allowed	4.243E-01	0.000E+00
Recommend.Franc.CFA	4.378E-01	0.000E+00
Educational.System	3.596E-01	7.310E-273
Legal.System	2.493E-01	3.958E-177
Conflict.Mediators	2.023E-01	3.222E-137
Conflict.Cause	1.667E-01	2.246E-111
Organization.Type	1.349E-01	2.838E-88
Leaders.Active.Role.Type	6.796E-02	2.371E-42
Leaders.Active.Role	3.597E-02	1.460E-24
Traditional.Authorities.Role	3.759E-02	9.762E-23

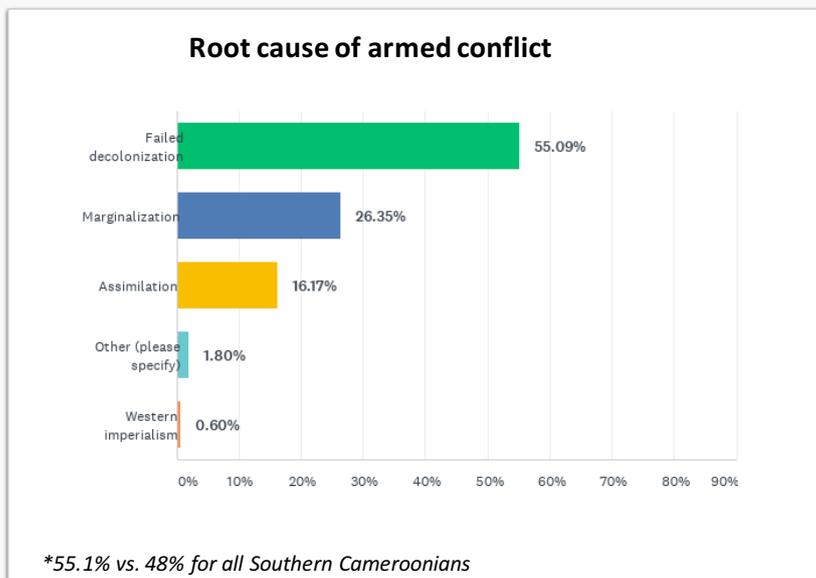
## 2nd Component

	R2	p.value
Leaders.Active.Role.Type	5.060E-01	0.000E+00
Leaders.Active.Role	3.797E-01	1.175E-298
Traditional.Authorities.Role	1.706E-01	2.866E-114
Organization.Type	1.341E-01	1.099E-87
Conflict.Mediators	1.298E-01	1.338E-83
Legal.System	1.170E-01	9.791E-77
Conflict.Cause	1.180E-01	2.684E-76
Educational.System	9.896E-02	3.511E-62
Police.Force.Type	8.047E-02	4.719E-54
Form.State.Most.Satisfactory	3.972E-02	4.414E-24

# VOICES OF REFUGEES

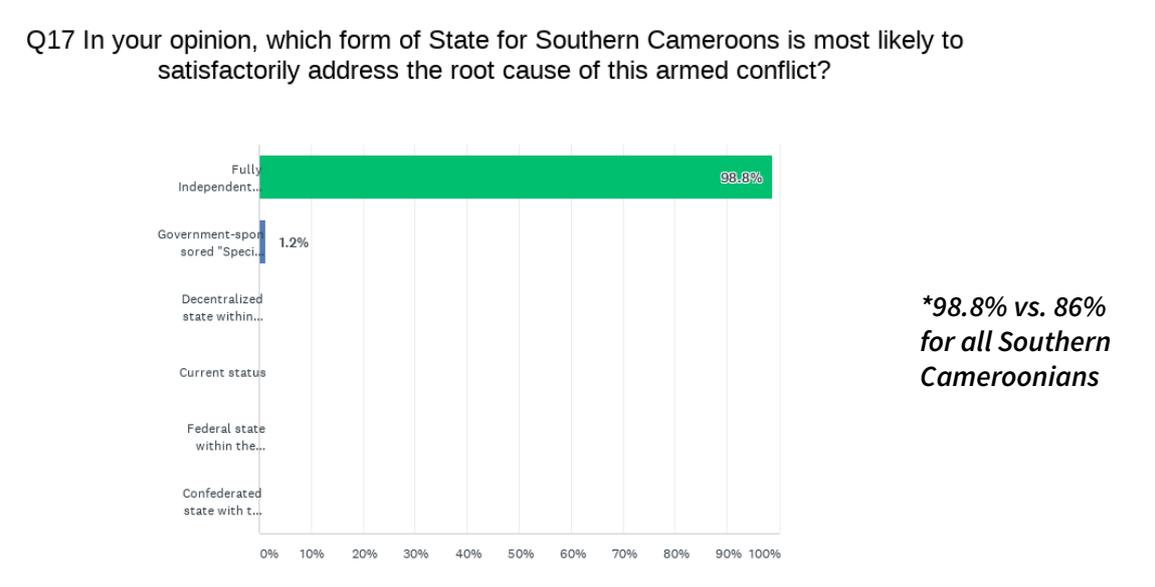


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\*Majority of refugees believe failed decolonization is the root cause of the armed conflict.

**THE RESULTS SUGGESTS THE REFUGEES HAVE AN EVEN STRONGER PREFERENCE FOR INDEPENDENCE AS THE BEST FORM OF STATE**

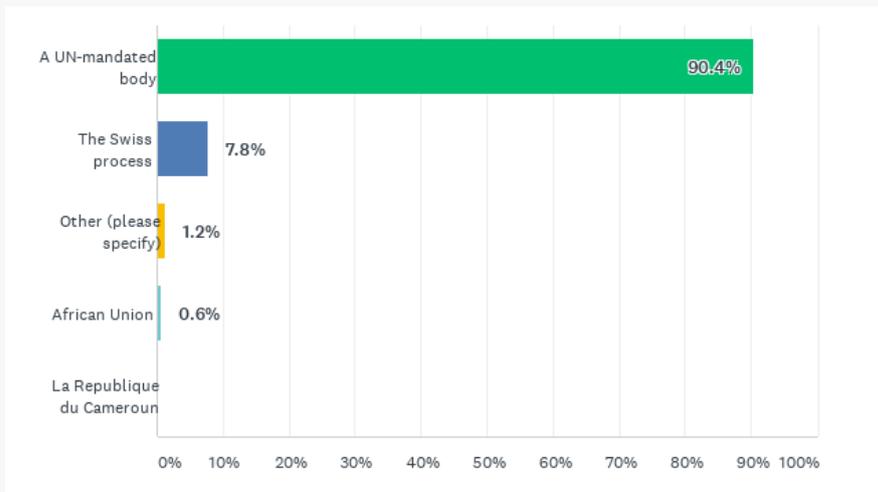


**98.8%**

- \*98.8% of refugees chose full independence as the best form of state to address root cause of conflict
- 0% chose federation
- 0% selected confederation
- Only 1.2% chose Government-sponsored “Special status”

## EVEN MORE REFUGEES PREFER A UN-MANDATED BODY AS BEST MEDIATOR OF CONFLICT

### Preferred Mediator

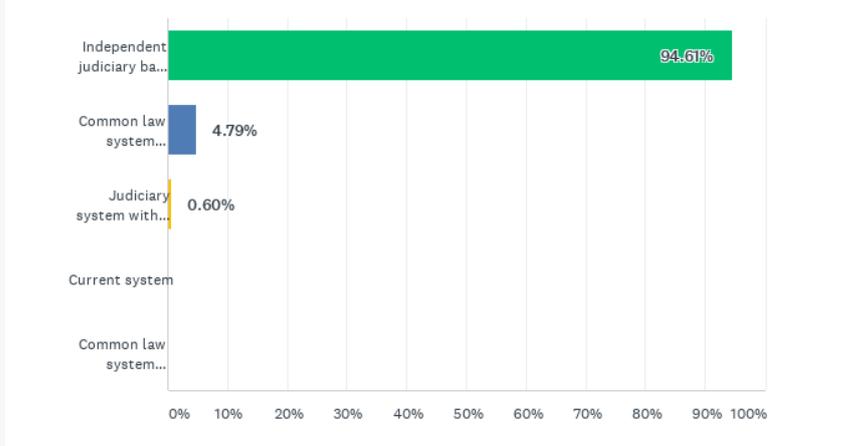


**90.4%**

- 90.4% prefer a UN-mandated body (vs. 80%)
- 7.8% prefer Swiss-backed negotiations (vs. 9%)
- 0.6% prefer the AU as a mediator (vs. 3%)
- 0% think the Government of Cameroon is a good mediator (vs. 1%)

## \*REFUGEES HAVE AN EVEN STRONGER PREFERENCE (94.61%) FOR AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY SYSTEM BASED ON COMMON LAW

### Q21 What Legal system do you want for Southern Cameroons?

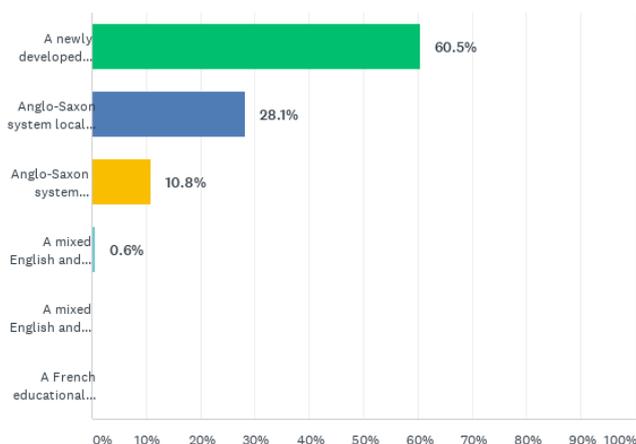


**94.6%**

- 94.61% prefer an independent judiciary system based on common law (vs. 87%)
- Another 4.79% chose common law system controlled by central government (vs. 10%)
- 0.6% chose a judiciary system with civil law controlled by central government (vs. 2%).

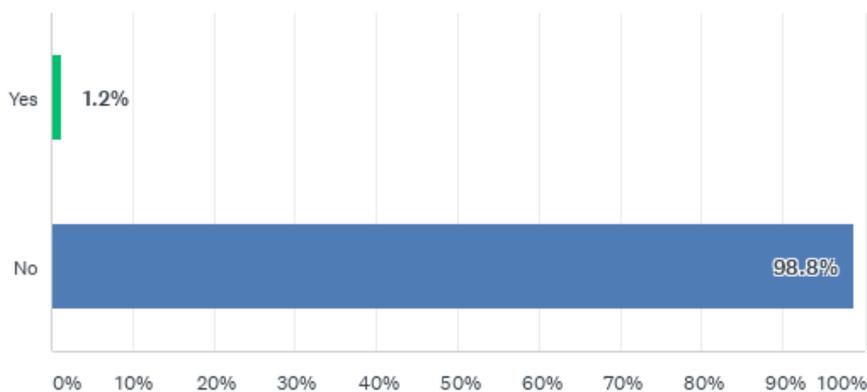
*\*94.6% vs. 87% for all Southern Cameroonians*

**Q22 What educational system do you want for Southern Cameroonians?**



Like the rest of Southern Cameroonians, the Refugee population prefer a newly developed educational system or and Anglo-Saxon Educational system.

**Would you recommend the Franc CFA as currency for Southern Cameroonians?**

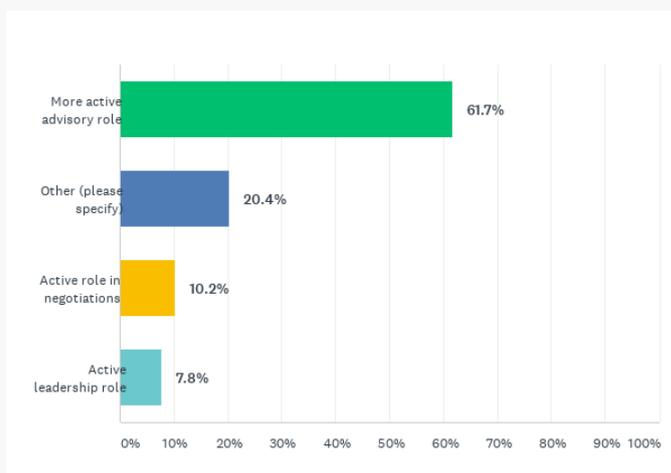


**98.8%**

\*98.8% of the refugee population rejected the CFA franc as their currency

**\*98.8% vs. 95% for all Southern Cameroonians**

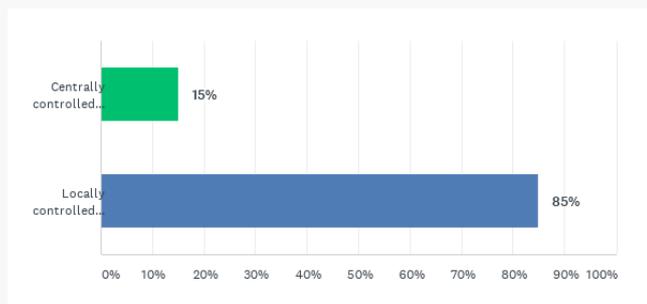
## MOST REFUGEES WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE THEIR ELDERLY STATESMEN AND WOMEN PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ADVISORY ROLE



- 77.8% would like Elderly statesmen and women to play a more active role to end the armed conflict (vs. 73%)
- 61.7% prefer a more active advisory role (vs 52%)
- 20.4% want them to take an active role in negotiations (vs 21%)
- Only 7.8% preferred a leadership role for them (vs 9%).

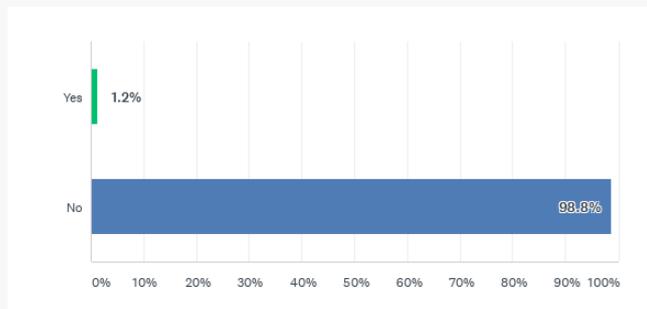
## MOST REFUGEES ALSO PREFER A LOCALLY CONTROLLED POLICE FORCE AND NO GENDARMES

**Q26 What type of Policeforce would you like to see in Southern Cameroons?**



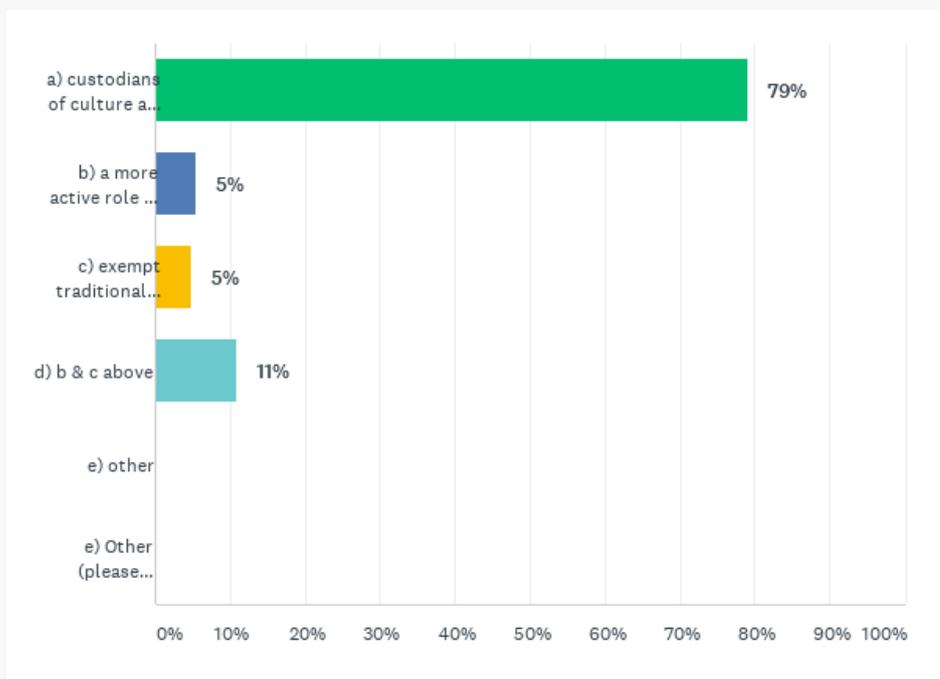
**\*85% vs. 80% for all Southern Cameroonians**

**Q27 Should the Gendarmes be allowed in Southern Cameroons?**



**\*98.8% vs. 96% for all Southern Cameroonians**

## MOST REFUGEES WOULD PREFER THEIR TRADITIONAL LEADERS TO SERVE ONLY AS CUSTODIANS OF CULTURE AND TRADITIONS



*\*79% vs. 47% for all Southern Cameroonians*

- \*Unlike the general Southern Cameroonian population, the refugees mostly prefer their chiefs to be custodians of culture & traditions
- Very few refugees expect Chiefs to be active in politics.

## KEY CONCLUSIONS

- 1** The results clearly and unambiguously indicate a strong preference for independence and greater autonomy in their choices for type of legal system, educational system and security
- 2** These trends are robust across multiple segments of society – by age, gender, country of residence, level of education and others
- 3** Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) shows a strong correlation between the desire for full independence and preferences for the legal, economic, educational systems and the type of policing the respondents wish for.

# 10. ABOUT THE COALITION

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## FOR DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS



**Coalition**  
for Dialogue and Negotiations

## ABOUT THE COALITION

The Coalition for Dialogue and Negotiations (CDN) is a United States based international non-governmental organization (NGO) whose goal is to facilitate dialogue and seek a negotiated resolution and an end to the conflict in the Southern Cameroons. CDN is made of professionals and has developed partnerships with over 20 organizations worldwide advocating for an end to the war in the Southern Cameroons. The Coalition is not a Southern Cameroons or Ambazonian frontline movement. The Coalition is administered by a Steering Committee with a standing Secretariat that runs the day-to-day work, and an Advisory Board that provides guidance and support. The Coalition’s work is guided by three core principles namely:

1. Southern Cameroonians have a right to self-determination;
2. Southern Cameroonians have a right to self-defense, and that
3. Any resolution to the ongoing-armed conflict must address the root causes through negotiations and has been engaging the international community towards achieving this goal.

## GOVERNANCE OF THE COALITION

The Coalition is administered by a Steering Committee, with administrative support from a Secretariat managed by an Executive Director and an Advisory Board of eminent personalities across the globe. Associate members are admitted by the Steering Committee to assist and provide expert-based services for the Coalition to achieve its objectives.

### 10.1 The Steering Committee

#### **Denis Foretia MD MPH MBA FACS**

*Co-Chair - Steering Committee*



Dr. Denis Foretia is Co-Chair of the Denis & Lenora Foretia Foundation and Executive Chairman of the Nkafu Policy Institute, a leading think tank. He is also currently a surgeon at the University of Tennessee Health Science Center and the Associate Director of the Global Surgery Institute. Prior to this Dr. Foretia was faculty in the department of surgery at the Johns Hopkins University and staff acute care surgeon at Lifebridge Health in Baltimore. He was also an Associate in the department of International Health at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health.

Denis is the Founding President of the Association of Cameroonian Physicians in the Americas (ACPA) and was also the Co-Founder and pioneer president of the Cameroon

Professional Society (CPS). He holds a Bachelor’s degree with honors in Biological Sciences from the University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC), a Doctor of Medicine degree from Vanderbilt University School of Medicine, Nashville, Tennessee. Denis holds a Master’s in Public Health (MPH) from Bloomberg School of Public Health at Johns Hopkins University and a Master’s in Business Administration (MBA) from the Carey School of Business also at Johns Hopkins University.

**Judith Nwana B.Eng(Hon) MBA MSc MCIPS**

*Co-Chair - Steering Committee*



Judith Nwana leads the delivery, Contracts and Vendor Management of Global Telecoms links at the World Bank. She is Vice Chair of the Staff African Society. Judith is a Steering Committee member of Cameroon Humanitarian Relief Initiative, CHRI, an NGO helping Refugees, IDPs and Political prisoners. She was a strong advocate for #BringBackOurInternet during the internet shutdowns in #Cameroon working with organizations such as access now and Internet Sans Frontieres. Has an MBA from London Business School, MSc in Civil and Structural Engineering from the University of Sheffield and a B.Eng (Hon) in Civil Engineering from Enugu State University, Nigeria.

**Valentine Ngwabo Fontama M.Sc., MBA, PhD**

*Member of the Steering Committee*



Dr. Valentine Ngwabo Fontama is the Head of Contact Center AI Services at Google Professional Services. Before Google he was a principal data scientist manager in Microsoft Azure. As a new technology consultant at Equifax in London, Valentine pioneered the use of Machine Learning in the consumer credit industry. He has published 12 academic papers and co-authored three books on Big Data and Predictive Analytics. Valentine holds a PhD in Artificial Intelligence, an MSc. in computing, an MBA in strategic management and marketing from Wharton Business School, and a BSc. (First Class Honors) in Mathematics and Electronic Engineering.

**Paul Ndi M.Sc. Architect. MBA**

*Member of the Steering Committee*



Paul is Managing Director of SteadWay, an international Project and Cost Management consultancy based in Berlin, Germany. He has over 21 years of construction and real estate consulting experience. He worked as a Project Architect and Team Leader in Darmstadt, Germany. He was a lecturer at the Technical University Braunschweig, where he headed a major research project - PROsab. In 2010 he joined the international Property Consultancy AOS Studley and in 2012 he became head of the Berlin office in Berlin. Paul also served as vice - chairman of the supervisory board of CaDiDec, a Cameroonian diaspora cooperative based in Frankfurt, Germany. He graduated

from the University of Technology in Darmstadt with a degree in Architecture. Paul holds an Executive MBA from the ESCP Europe and a Certificate of Leading Innovation from Red McCombs School of Business, Texas. He originally qualified as an architect at the Technische Universität Darmstadt, Germany, and is a member of the German Chamber of Architects.

**Mr. Henry Atem MBA MEPA**

*Member of the Steering Committee*



Henry Atem is the Executive Director at the United States International Center for Electoral Support (USICES), an international election assistance organization that provides technical support to countries. He is a career elections expert with over twelve years of professional experience in over 20 countries working and consulting for the African Union, United Nations, UNDP, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, and the Carter Center. He contributes to the Electoral Violence Prediction Market, an initiative of the U.S. State Department's Bureau for Conflict Stabilization

Operations. He holds a Graduate Certificate in Election Administration from the University of Minnesota, a Master's in Electoral Policy and Administration from the School of Advanced Studies, Pisa, Italy, a Master's in Democracy and Governance from Georgetown University, and an MBA from Southern New Hampshire University, in the United States of America.

## **Julius Agbor PhD**

*Member of the Steering Committee*



Dr. Julius Agbor is an Associate Professor of Economics and Finance at Vanguard University of Southern California. Holder of a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) degree in Economics from the University of Cape Town, South Africa, he has published in peer-reviewed journals and contributed several book chapters on international political economy and development issues. Dr. Agbor has had a rich and diverse professional background working for government, academia, think tank and the private sector in developing, emerging as well as advanced economy contexts. During 2011-2013, he was a research fellow at the Africa Growth Program at the Brookings

Institution in Washington DC. He has also consulted for many organizations, including The World Bank, The U.S. Department of the Treasury, and the State Department.

## **Cletus Nde Msc.**

*Member of the Steering Committee*

Cletus Nde currently works with the radiology department, Navarro Regional Hospital,



Corsicana TX. Cletus has worked as a medical imaging technologist for over nine years. Cletus Nde is a former biology instructor at St Paul's College Nkwen and Sacred Heart College, Mankon Cameroon, as well as a political activist. Founder/owner Abegail Human Services Inc., registered in Texas, USA. He holds a BS in biology/microbiology from the University of Buea, Cameroon, an MS in Nature Conservation and Biodiversity Management from Greenwich University, and a Postgraduate Diploma in Medical Imaging from the Massachusetts General Hospital Institute of Health Professions, Boston USA.

## **Eban Ebai PhD**

*Member of the Steering Committee*



Dr Eban Ebai is the Executive Director of the African Center for Justice Security and Rights (ACJSR) and of Kinara Health and Home Care Services LLC in Washington DC USA. He was a National Research Foundation (NRF) Chair in the African Security and Justice Programs, with the position of Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre of Criminology, Faculty of Law, and University of Cape Town, South Africa. He has worked with CLEEN Foundation in Nigeria as Deputy Director of Programs. From 2010 to 2013, he led research teams in Haiti, Liberia, Sierra Leone, South Sudan and Columbia to implement the United Nations Rule of Law Indicators Project and impact assessments and has taught in several universities including University of Limerick, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland and the University of Dschang, Cameroon. Dr Eban holds a PhD from the University of Limerick, Ireland, Master of Laws LLM from Obafemi University Ile Ife, Nigeria and a License en Droit from the University of Yaoundé Cameroon.

## **Rick Ferreira**

*Executive Director of the Coalition*



Rick Ferreira is the Executive Director of the Coalition for Dialogue and Negotiations and manages the Secretariat. He holds an MA in Democracy & Governance from Georgetown University as well as a BA in Political Science from the University of Florida.

## 10.2 The Advisory Board

### **His Excellency Amos Sawyer** *Former President of Liberia*



[Professor Amos C. Sawyer](#) has worked tirelessly for peace and the establishment of democratic governance and development in his home country, Liberia, as well in several other African countries. He was Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Commission in Liberia bringing Liberia back to constitutional rule after the 1980 military coup and was Interim President of Liberia from 1990 to 1994 during Liberia’s civil war. He has served as Chairman, Panel of Eminent Persons of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) of The African Union and has led several elections observation and peacebuilding missions on behalf of ECOWAS and the African Union. He is a distinguished scholar with an impressive record of publications and other academic achievements.

### **Ambassador Herman J. Cohen** *Former United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs*



[Ambassador Cohen](#) is a retired career diplomat and specialist in African and European affairs. Cohen retired from the U.S. Department of State in 1993. His last position was assistant secretary of state for African affairs under President George H.W. Bush (1989-1993). During his 38-year career with the U.S. Foreign Service, he served in five African countries and twice in France. He was the ambassador to Senegal, with dual accreditation to the Gambia, from 1977 to 1980. During assignments in Washington, he also served as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan (1987-1989), principal deputy assistant secretary for intelligence and research, and principal deputy assistant secretary for personnel.

### **Yaah Maggie Kilo (PhD)** *Former Resident Representative Sierra Leone & Liberia - African Development Bank*



[Yaah Maggie Kilo](#) holds an MA in Sociology of Education from the London University Institute of Education, and a PhD in International Development Education from Stanford University School of Education. She served her country as an educator and a researcher for many years prior to joining the international development community. In 1998, she joined the services of the African Development Bank, where she has held several positions in both Country Operations and

Policy Review. Between 2006 and 2008 she served as the Bank’s Resident Representative in Sierra Leone and was later appointed to head the newly established Fragile States Unit. In August 2011, she was transferred from Tunis, Tunisia to Monrovia, Liberia as Resident Representative of the African Development Bank in Liberia, a position which she held until her retirement in 2017. H.E. President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf awarded her Liberia’s highest non-national civilian medal: Dame Commander in the Most Venerable Order of Knighthood of the Pioneers of the Republic of Liberia

**Gary and Meredith Krupp**  
*Founders of Pave The Way Foundation*



[Gary and Meredith Krupp](#) are the Founders of Pave The Way Foundation (PTWF) – a not-for-profit organization founded in 2002 to initiate cultural, educational and technological exchanges between religions, facilitating gestures of goodwill. PTWF identifies non-theological obstacles in the diplomatic and political arena, unraveling and eliminating the barriers of disinformation that serve to stoke distrust between religions. Working quietly

behind the scenes, PTWF talks to people who will not talk to each other, consequently, PTWF is the most effective organization in the world “that no one has ever heard of”. Mr. Krupp is the highest- ranking Jewish person in the Catholic Church. Gary Krupp was made a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great by Pope John Paul II, only the seventh Jew to be so honored.

**Ambassador Deborah Malac**  
*Former U.S. Ambassador to Liberia, Uganda*  
*Former Director of the Office of East African Affairs at the U.S. State Department*



[Ambassador Deborah Malac](#) spent over 38 years as a Career Member of the U.S. Foreign Service, representing the U.S. and advancing U.S. interests abroad. Most recently, Ambassador Malac served as Ambassador to Uganda (2016-2020). Prior to that posting, she was Ambassador to Liberia (2012-2015). Ambassador Malac began her career in Yaounde, Cameroon, and subsequently served overseas in South Africa, Thailand, Senegal and Ethiopia, as well as multiple assignments in the Department of State in Washington, DC, most focused on sub-Saharan Africa. Ambassador Malac retired from the Department of State in January 2020.

## **Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh**

*Senior Associate and Regional Director National Democratic Institute (NDI)  
Washington, DC*



[Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh](#) is the Senior Associate and Regional Director for Central and West Africa programs at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. He has organized and advised international election observation missions in various African countries. He has also designed and supervised country specific democracy support programs with civic organizations, political parties and legislative bodies across Africa. He designed and helped launch the African Statesmen Initiative (ASI), a program aimed at facilitating political transitions in Africa by encouraging former democratic heads of state to engage in humanitarian, mediation, election

monitoring and other democratic consolidation activities. Dr. Fomunyoh makes frequent guest appearances on major radio and television networks. He has published several articles in academic journals on African politics and democratization. He holds a Licence en Droit from Yaoundé University in Cameroon, a master's degree (LL.M.) in international law from Harvard Law School; and a Ph.D. in political science from Boston University. He is a former adjunct faculty of African politics and government, at Georgetown University, and at the African Center for Strategic Studies. He is also the founder of a nonprofit organization that supports democracy and humanitarian causes in Cameroon

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