

FOURTH EDITION



HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF
CAMEROON

MARK DIKE DELANCEY
REBECCA NEH MBUH
MARK W. DELANCEY

HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF AFRICA

Edited by Jon Woronoff

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Editor's Foreword

The Republic of Cameroon is one of the most intriguing countries in Africa. As the authors of this book show, it truly is an “Africa in Miniature.” Geographically, it comprises very different regions; it includes an amazing number of ethnic groups living within a fairly small area. It brings together major strands: Christian, animist, and Islamic religions; English- and French-speaking populations; and parts of the former French and British colonial empires, most of which were initially held by Germany. However, while being “Africa in Miniature” is great for tourism, for virtually everything else it only creates complications and problems. Politically, there are varying degrees of friction along all the dividing lines—ethnic, religious, and linguistic. The solution, that imposed by its rulers, has been to hold the country together with strong policies and unending regimes involving only two presidents since independence in 1960. This has not really worked, and since the economy is now in a pitiful condition as well, the future looks less and less promising.

How this has happened, and much more, is shown by this latest edition of the *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon*. The book reaches far back into early history, covers the colonial era extensively, and then continues on to the present period. It looks at the many groups that make up the country and focuses on individuals who have played a notable role. It also delves into the political, economic, social, cultural, and other aspects. This is done in hundreds of informative dictionary entries. They are put into the broader context by the introduction and an up-to-date chronology, while the list of acronyms indicates most of the numerous and almost indispensable ones. Naturally, there is still much more to learn, so the bibliography points readers toward the better works on a broad range of topics, whether in English, French, or German.

This new edition was written by a team of three authors, Mark W. DeLancey, who already updated the second and third editions; Mark Dike DeLancey, who also helped out with the third edition; and Rebecca Neh Mbuh, who joins them for this fourth edition. Mark W. DeLancey was long a professor of government and international studies at the University of South Carolina, taught at the University of Yaoundé, and is presently a visiting professor of political science and international relations at Sookmyung Women's University, Seoul, Korea. Mark Dike DeLancey is assistant professor of art and architecture at DePaul University. And Rebecca Neh Mbuh is a professor in the Liberal Arts Department at Jungwon University, Goesan, Korea. All three have spent extensive periods in Cameroon, and taught on or written about the country from different angles: the first mainly on domestic and foreign policy, the second on art and architecture, and the third on women and folklore. By pooling their resources, they have produced an even richer volume about an intriguing country.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

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Over the years so many have helped with the several editions of this book that it becomes impossible to express gratitude to all who have contributed ideas, assistance, and improvements. Authors of earlier editions—Victor LeVine, Roger Nye, and H. Mbella Mokeba—deserve special thanks. Mark D. acknowledges DePaul University’s University Research Council, which supported this work through its paid leave of absence program. Rebecca is profoundly grateful to her parents, Chief Isaac A. Mbuh and Margarett Mechi, for giving her the gift of education. Without their foresight she would never have discovered the joy of reading and writing. A hearty and warm gratitude also goes to her daughter Margarett Azienyu Yerang Gatesi for being the perfect supportive and understanding child. When Rebecca was working and was busy, Margarett simply embarked on her own work, saying, “I am working hard. Do not disturb me.” Mark W. thanks the several unpaid assistants at Sookmyung Women’s University; Sohyeon Kim, Youngeun Choi, Song Lee, Seulki Lee, Chanmi Kim, Myunghye Park, and Boram Lee are among the many who have given their time to this book. Over the years and the various editions, the Series Editor, Jon Woronoff, has given much counsel and suggestions. We thank him for this effort.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AAC	All Anglophone Conference
AASM	Associated African States and Madagascar
ABD	African Development Bank
ABN	<i>Autorité du Bassin du Niger (See NBA)</i>
ACAP	<i>Agence Camerounaise de Presse</i>
ACCT	<i>Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique</i>
ACP	African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries
ADDEC	<i>Association pour la Défense des Droits des Etudiants du Cameroon/Students Rights Defense Association</i>
AEF	<i>Afrique Equatoriale Française/French Equatorial Africa</i>
AFLEC	Africa Forest Law Enforcement and Governance
AFP	Alliance of Progressive Forces
AGRA	Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa
ALCAM	<i>Assemblée Législative du Cameroun</i>
ALNK	<i>Armée de Libération Nationale du Kamerun/ National Army of Kamerun Liberation</i>
ALUCAM	<i>Société Aluminium du Cameroun</i>
ANCAM	<i>Assemblée Nationale du Cameroun/National Assembly of Cameroon</i>
ARCAM	<i>Assemblée Représentative du Cameroun</i>
ARC-SNC	Alliance for the Reconstruction of Cameroon Through the Sovereign National Conference
ATCAM	<i>Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun</i>
AU	African Union
BCD	<i>Banque Camerounaise de Développement</i>
BCEAC	<i>Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique Equatoriale et Centrale</i>

BCUF	Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers
BDC	<i>Bloc Démocratique Camerounais</i>
BDEAC	<i>Banque de Développement des Etats d'Afrique Centrale (See CASDB)</i>
BEAC	<i>Banque des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale/Bank of Central African States</i>
BEPC	<i>Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle</i>
BICIC	<i>Banque Internationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie du Cameroun</i>
BLCC	Bakweri Land Claims Committee
BMM	<i>Brigades Mixtes Mobiles</i>
BSCLF	British Southern Cameroons Liberation Front
BSCRG	British Southern Cameroons Restoration Government
BUST	Bamenda University of Science and Technology
BVMAC	Central African Bourse
CACEU	Central African Customs and Economic Union (<i>See UDEAC</i>)
CAFTAN	Central African Forest and Trade Network
CAM	Cameroon Anglophone Movement
CAMAIR	Cameroon Airlines
CAMCCUL	Cameroon Cooperative Credit Union League
CAMRAIL	Cameroon Railway Company
CAMSUCO	Cameroon Sugar Company
CAMTEL	Cameroon Telecommunications
CAPME	<i>Centre National d'Assistance aux Petites et Moyennes Entreprises</i>
CAPTAC	Confederation of Anglophone Parents-Teachers Association of Cameroon
CAR	Central African Republic
CARPE	Central African Regional Program for the Environment
CASDB	Development Bank of Central African States (<i>See BDEAC</i>)
CATTU	Cameroon Teachers' Trade Union
CB	Cameroon Bar Association
CBC	Cameroon Baptist Convention
CBFP	Congo Basin Forest Partnership

CBLT	<i>Commission du Bassin du Lac Tchad (See LCBC)</i>
CCAST	Cameroon College of Arts, Science, and Technology
CCFTU	Confederation of Cameroon Free Trade Unions
CCIM	Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines/ <i>Chambre de Commerce, d'Industrie et des Mines du Cameroun</i>
CCSC	<i>Confederation Camerounaise des Syndicates Croyants</i>
CCTU	Confederation of Cameroon Trade Unions
CDC	Cameroon Development Corporation
CDCWU	CDC Workers Union
CDS	Defense and Security Commission
CDU	Cameroon Democratic Union (See UDC)
CEA	<i>Commission Economique des Nations Unies pour l'Afrique</i>
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEE	<i>Communauté Economique Européen (See EEC)</i>
CEEAC	<i>Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale (See ECCAS)</i>
CELLUCAM	<i>Cellulose du Cameroun</i>
CEMAC	<i>Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale/Economic and Monetary Community of Central African States</i>
CENAM	<i>Centre National d'Administration et de Magistrature/National Center for Administration and Magistracy</i>
CENER	<i>Centre National des Etudes et des Recherches</i>
CEPC	Council of Protestant Churches in Cameroon/ <i>Conseil de Eglises Protestantes du Cameroun</i>
CEPE	<i>Certificat de Fin d'Etudes Primaires Elementaires</i>
CEPMAE	<i>Centre de Production de Manuels et d'Auxiliaires de l'Enseignement</i>
CES	<i>Conseil Economique et Social/Economic and Social Council</i>
CFA	<i>Colonies Françaises d'Afrique or Communauté Financière Africaine</i>

CFC	<i>Crédit Foncier du Cameroun</i>
CFDT	<i>Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles</i>
CFN	<i>Commission du Fleuve Niger/Niger River Commission</i>
CFTC	<i>Confederation Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens Camerounais</i>
CGT	<i>Confédération Générale du Travail</i>
CGTLC	<i>Confédération General des Travailleurs Libres du Cameroun</i>
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (U.S.)
CICAM	<i>Cotonnière Industrielle du Cameroun</i>
CIGs	Common Initiative Groups
CIMENCAM	<i>Cimenteries du Cameroun</i>
CNDHL	<i>Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme et des Libertés</i>
CNF	Cameroons National Federation
CNRR	Coalition for National Reconciliation and Reconstruction
CNU	Cameroon National Union (<i>See</i> UNC)
COBAC	<i>Commission Bancaire de L'Afrique Centrale</i> / Central African Bank Commission
COLICITE	<i>Comite pour la Libération du Citoyen Titus Edzoa</i>
CONAC	<i>Commission Nationale Anti-Corruption (See NACC)</i>
COPAL	Cocoa Producers' Alliance
COPAX	<i>Conseil de Paix et de la Sécurité de l'Afrique Centrale</i> /Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa
COTC	Cameroon Oil Transportation Company
CPDM	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (<i>See</i> RDPC)
CPNC	Cameroons People's National Convention
CRADAT	African Regional Center for Labour Administration
CRTV	Cameroon Radio and Television
CSIS	<i>Confédération des Syndicats Indépendants du Cameroun</i>

CSTC	<i>Confédération des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Cameroun</i> or <i>Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs du Cameroun</i>
CTE	Cameroon Tea Estates
CTUC	Cameroon Trade Union Congress
CUAC	<i>Université Catholique de l'Afrique Centrale</i>
CUC	Cameroon United Congress
CUN	<i>Courant d'Union Nationale</i>
CUSS	<i>Centre Universitaire des Sciences de la Santé</i>
CWU	Cameroon Welfare Union
CYL	Cameroons Youth League
DES	<i>Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieure</i>
DGRE	Directorate General for External Research
DIRDOC	<i>Direction Générale des Etudes et de la Documentation</i>
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSX	Douala Stock Exchange
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of the Central African States (<i>See</i> CEEAC)
EEC	European Economic Community (<i>See</i> CEE)
EIFORCES	<i>Ecoles Internationale des Forces de Sécurité</i>
ELECAM	Elections Cameroon
EMIA	Elad, Munzu, Itoe and Anyangwe
EMIAC	<i>Ecole Militaire Inter-Armes du Cameroun</i>
ENAM	<i>Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature/ National School of Administration and Magistracy</i>
ENS	<i>Ecole Normale Supérieure</i>
ESOCAM	<i>Evolution Sociale Camerounaise</i>
EU	European Union
FAC	<i>Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération</i> or Front of Allies for Change
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FAWU	Fako Agricultural Workers' Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FEICOM	<i>Fonds Spécial d'Equipement et d'Intervention Communale</i>

FGM	female genital mutilation
FIDES	<i>Fonds d'investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social</i>
FIMAC	Investment Fund for Agricultural and Community Micro-Enterprises
FLNC	<i>Front de la Libération National du Cameroun</i> National Liberation Front of Cameroon
FNU	<i>Front National Unifié</i>
FOGAPE	<i>Fonds de Garantie et d'Aide aux Petites Entreprises</i>
FOMAC	Multinational Force of Central Africa
FOMUC	<i>Force Multinationale en Centrafrique</i>
FONADER	<i>Fonds National de Développement Rural/National Fund for Rural Development</i>
FPUP	<i>Front Populaire de l'Unité et la Paix</i>
FRONALICE	National Front for the Liberation of Students' Consciousness
FSC	<i>Fédération des Syndicats du Cameroun</i>
FSLC	First School Leaving Certificate
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GDP	gross domestic product
GICAM	<i>Groupement Interpatronal du Cameroun/Cameroon Employers Association</i>
GM	genetically modified
GNP	gross national product
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HOPE	Help Orphans of Pinyin Educate
HRDG	Human Rights Defence Group
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IDA	International Development Association
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFAN	<i>Institut Français d'Afrique Noire</i>
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IHEOM	<i>Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Outre Mer</i>
ILO	International Labour Organization

IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTELCAM	International Telecommunications Company of Cameroon/ <i>Société des Télécommunications Internationales du Cameroun</i>
IRAD	Institute for Agricultural Research for Development
IRCAM	<i>Institut de Recherche Scientifique du Cameroun</i>
IRIC	<i>Institut des Relations Internationales du Cameroun/</i> International Relations Institute of Cameroon
ISMP	<i>Institut Supérieur de Management Public</i>
ITTO	International Tropical Timber Organization
ITU	International Telecommunication Union (<i>See</i> UIT)
JDC	<i>Jeunesse Démocratique Camerounaise</i>
Jeucafra	<i>Jeunesse Camerounaise Française</i>
KNC	Kamerun National Congress
KNDP	Kamerun National Democratic Party
KPP	Kamerun People's Party
KUNC	Kamerun United National Congress
KUP	Kamerun United Party
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission (<i>See</i> CBLT)
MANC	<i>Mouvement d'Action Nationale du Cameroun</i>
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MDP	Movement for Democracy and Progress
MDR	Movement for the Defence of the Republic/ <i>Mouvement pour le Défence de la République</i>
MEAN	<i>Mission d'Etudes d'Aménagement du Fleuve Niger</i>
MFN	most favored nation
MICOPAX	Peace Building Mission in the Central African Republic
MIDENAO	Northwest Development Authority
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
MINPROFF	Ministry for the Advancement of Women and the Family
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MPLC	<i>Mouvement de Libération du Peuple Cameroun</i>
MSND	<i>Mouvement Social pour la Nouvelle Démocratie</i>
NACC	National Anti-Corruption Commission (<i>See</i> CONAC)

NBA	Niger Basin Authority (<i>See</i> ABN)
NBC	Native Baptist Church
NCCB	National Cocoa and Coffee Board (<i>See</i> ONCC)
NCCOP	National Coordination Committee of Opposition Parties
NCDM	National Coordination for Democracy and a Multiparty System
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons
NEO	National Elections Observatory (<i>See</i> ONEL)
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NESPROG	National Economic Salvation Programme
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NKDP	North Kamerun Democratic Party
NPA	National Ports Authority (<i>See</i> ONPC)
NPMB	National Produce Marketing Board (<i>See</i> ONCPB)
NUCW	National Union of Cameroon Workers
NUDP	National Union for Democracy and Progress (<i>See</i> UNDP)
NWCA	North West Cooperative Association
OAC	<i>Organisation Animiste Camerounaise</i>
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OIF	<i>Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie</i>
OK	One Kamerun Party
OMS	<i>Organisation Mondiale de la Santé</i> (<i>See</i> WHO)
ONCC	<i>Office National du Cacao et du Café</i> (<i>See</i> NCCB)
ONCPB	<i>Office National de Commercialisation des Produits de Base</i> (<i>See</i> NPMB)
ONEL	<i>Observatoire Nationale des Elections du Cameroun</i> (<i>See</i> NEO)
ONPC	<i>Office National des Ports du Cameroun</i> (<i>See</i> NPA)
ONPD	<i>Office National de Participation au Développement</i>
ONUUDI	<i>Organisation des Nations Unies pour le Développement Industriel</i> (<i>See</i> UNIDO)
ONUSIDA	<i>Programme Commun des Nations Unies sur le VIH/SIDA</i> (<i>See</i> UNAIDS)
PAD	<i>Port Autonome de Douala</i>
PAID-WA	Pan African Institute for Development West Africa

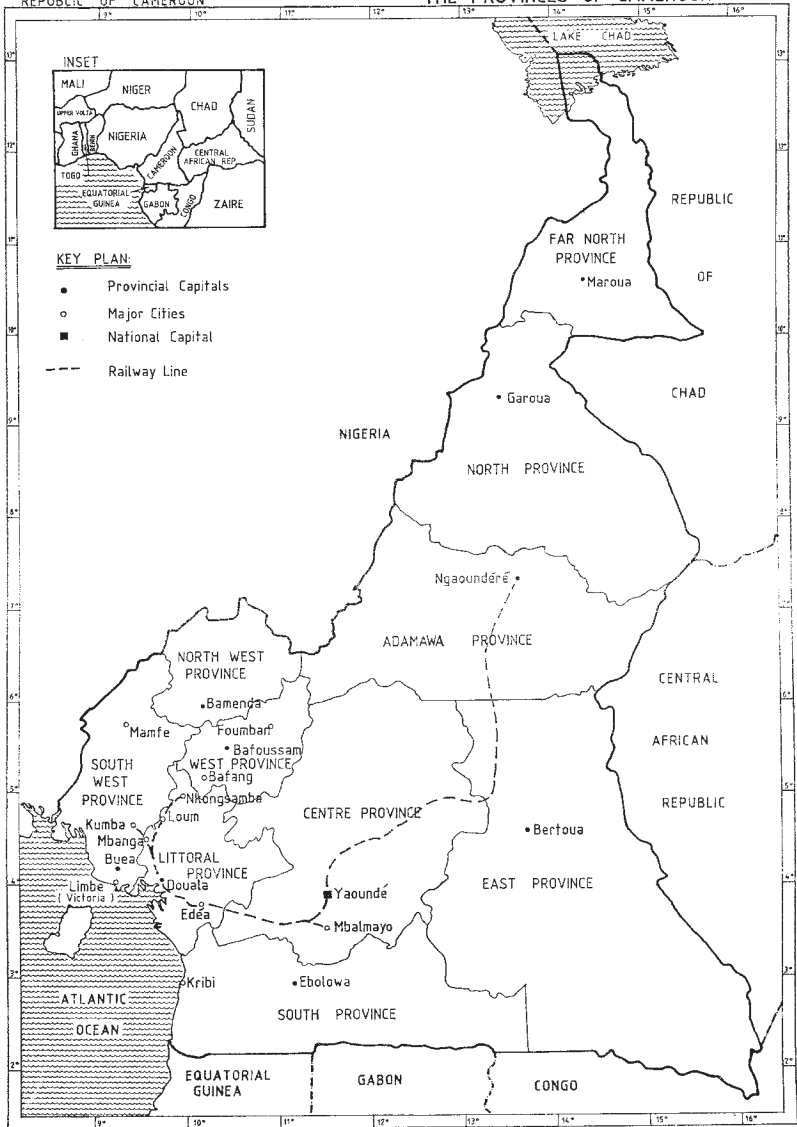
PAM	<i>Programme Alimentaire Mondial (See WFP)</i>
PDC	<i>Parti des Démocrates Camerounais</i>
PKO	peacekeeping operations
POPC	<i>Parti Ouvrier du Peuple Camerounais</i>
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSC	<i>Parti Socialiste du Cameroun</i>
RACAM	<i>Rassemblement Camerounais</i>
RAPECA	<i>Rassemblement du Peuple Camerounais</i>
RDA	<i>Rassemblement Démocratique Africain</i>
RDPC	<i>Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais (See CPDM)</i>
RECAMP	Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping Capabilities Program/ <i>Regifercam Régie Nationale des Chemins de Fer du Cameroun</i>
RENAICAM	<i>Renaissance Camerounais</i>
RPC	<i>Rassemblement du Peuple Camerounaise</i>
SAP	<i>Société Africaine de Prévoyance</i> or structural adjustment program
SCAC	Southern Cameroons Advisory Council
SCAPO	Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization
SCARM	Southern Cameroons Restoration Movement
SCB	<i>Société Camerounaise de Banque</i>
SCNC	Southern Cameroons National Council
SCPC	Southern Cameroons People's Conference
SCT	<i>Société Camerounaise des Tabacs</i>
SCYL	Southern Cameroons Youth League
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SDO	Senior Divisional Officer
SEGAZCAM	<i>Société d'Etude pour la Mise en Valeur du Gaz Naturel Camerounais</i>
SEMRY	<i>Société d'Expansion et de Modernisation de la Riziculture de Yagoua</i>
SFR	<i>Société Financière de Recouvrement</i>
SITABAC	<i>Société Industrielle des Tabacs du Cameroun</i>
SMEs	small and medium-sized enterprises
SNEC	<i>Société Nationale des Eaux du Cameroun/National Water Corporation of Cameroon</i>

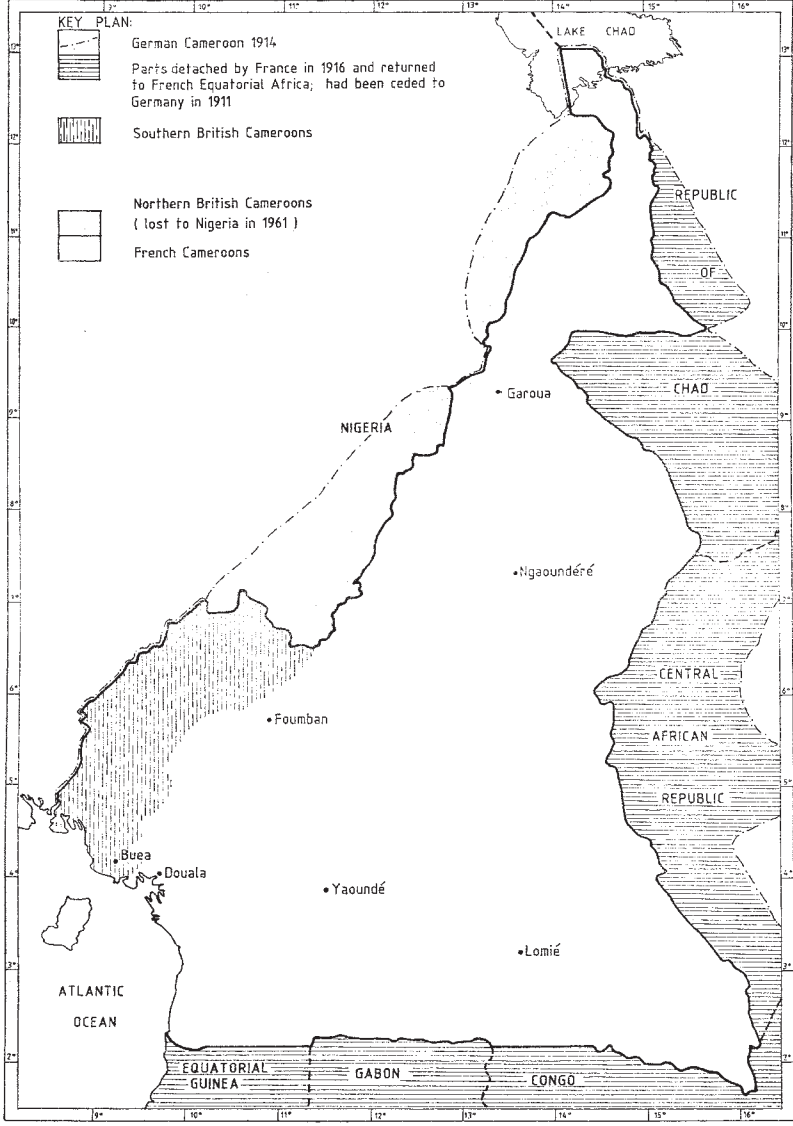
SNH	<i>Société Nationale d'Hydrocarbures</i>
SNI	<i>Société Nationale d'investissement/National Investment Company</i>
SOCAPALM	<i>Société Camerounaise de Palmeraies</i>
SOCOODER	<i>Société Coopérative de Développement</i>
SODEBLE	<i>Société de Développement pour la Culture et la Transformation du Blé</i>
SODECAO	<i>Société de Développement du Cacao</i>
SODECOTON	<i>Société de Développement du Coton</i>
SODENKAM	<i>Société du Développement du Nkam</i>
SODEPA	<i>Société de Développement et d'Exploitation de Production Animale</i>
SODEPALM	<i>Société de Développement des Palmeraies</i>
SODERIM	<i>Société de Développement de la Riziculture de la Plaine de Mbo</i>
SONARA	<i>Société Nationale de Raffinage/National Oil Refinery Company</i>
SONEL	<i>Société Nationale d'Electricité du Cameroun</i>
SOPECAM	<i>Société de Presse et d'Éditions du Cameroun</i>
SOSUCAM	<i>Société Sucrière du Cameroun</i>
SOTUC	<i>Société de Transports Urbains du Cameroun</i>
SOWEFCO	South West Farmers' Cooperative Organization
SWELA	South West Elite Association
TAC	Teachers Association of Cameroon
TI	Transparency International
UC	<i>Union Camerounaise</i>
UCCAO	<i>Union Centrale des Coopératives Agricoles de l'Ouest or Union des Coopératives de Café Arabica de l'Ouest</i>
UDC	<i>Union Démocratique Camerounaise (See CDU)</i>
UDE	<i>Union Douanière Équatoriale</i>
UDEAC	<i>Union Douanière Économique de l'Afrique Centrale (See CACEU)</i>
UEAC	<i>Union Économique de l'Afrique Centrale/ Economic Union of Central Africa</i>
UIT	Union Internationale des Télécommunications (See ITU)
UK	United Kingdom

UMAC	<i>Union Monétaire de l'Afrique Central/Central African Monetary Union</i>
UMAEC	<i>Union Monétaire de l'Afrique Equatoriale et Cameroun/Monetary Union of Equatorial Africa and Cameroon</i>
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (<i>See</i> ONUSIDA)
UNC	<i>Union Nationale Camerounaise (See CNU)</i>
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme or <i>Union Nationale pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (See</i> NUDP)
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Unicafra	<i>Union Camerounaise Française</i>
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (<i>See</i> ONUDI)
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNVDA	Upper Noun Valley Development Authority
UPC	<i>Union des Populations du Cameroun</i>
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USCC	<i>Union des Syndicats Confédérés du Cameroun</i>
USLC	<i>Union des Syndicats Libres du Cameroun/Union of Free Trade Unions of Cameroon</i>
WCNU	Women's Cameroon National Union
WCTUC	West Cameroon Trade Union Congress
WFP	World Food Program (<i>See</i> PAM)
WHO	World Health Organization (<i>See</i> OMS)
YCNU	Youth's Cameroon National Union
ZAPI	<i>Zone d'Actions Prioritaires Intégrées</i>
ZOPAC	<i>Zone de Pacification</i>

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

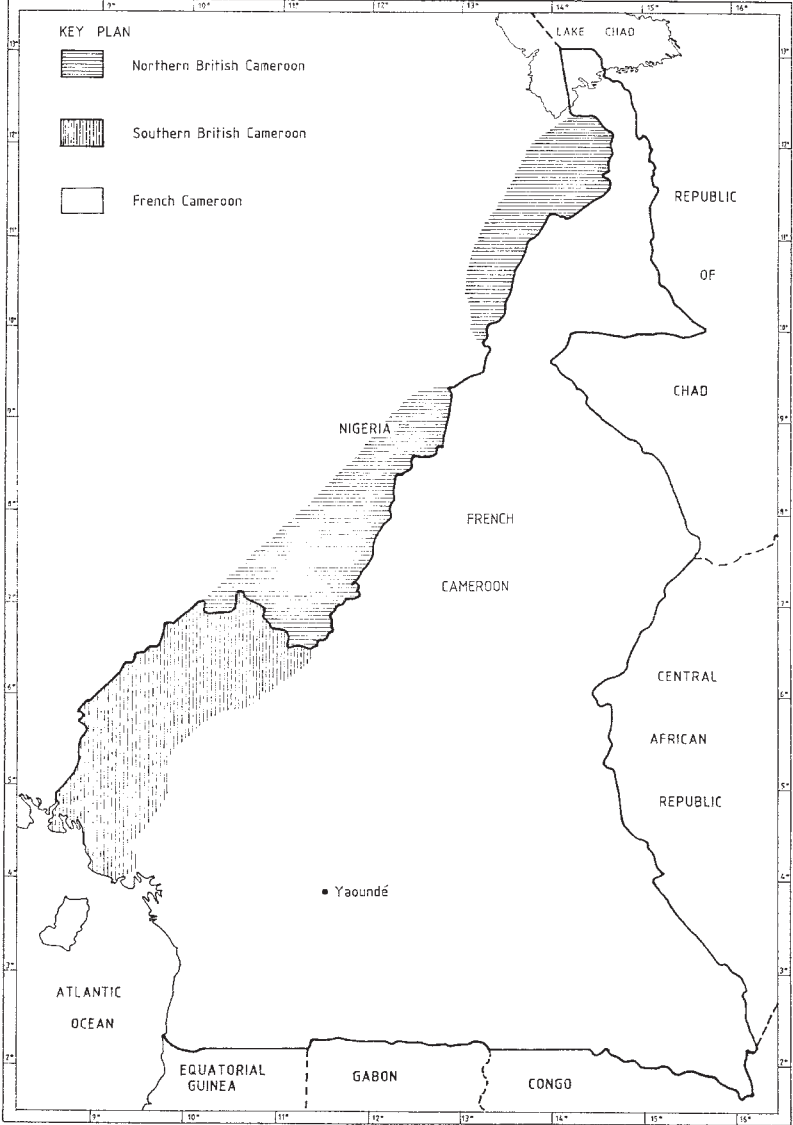
THE PROVINCES OF CAMEROON





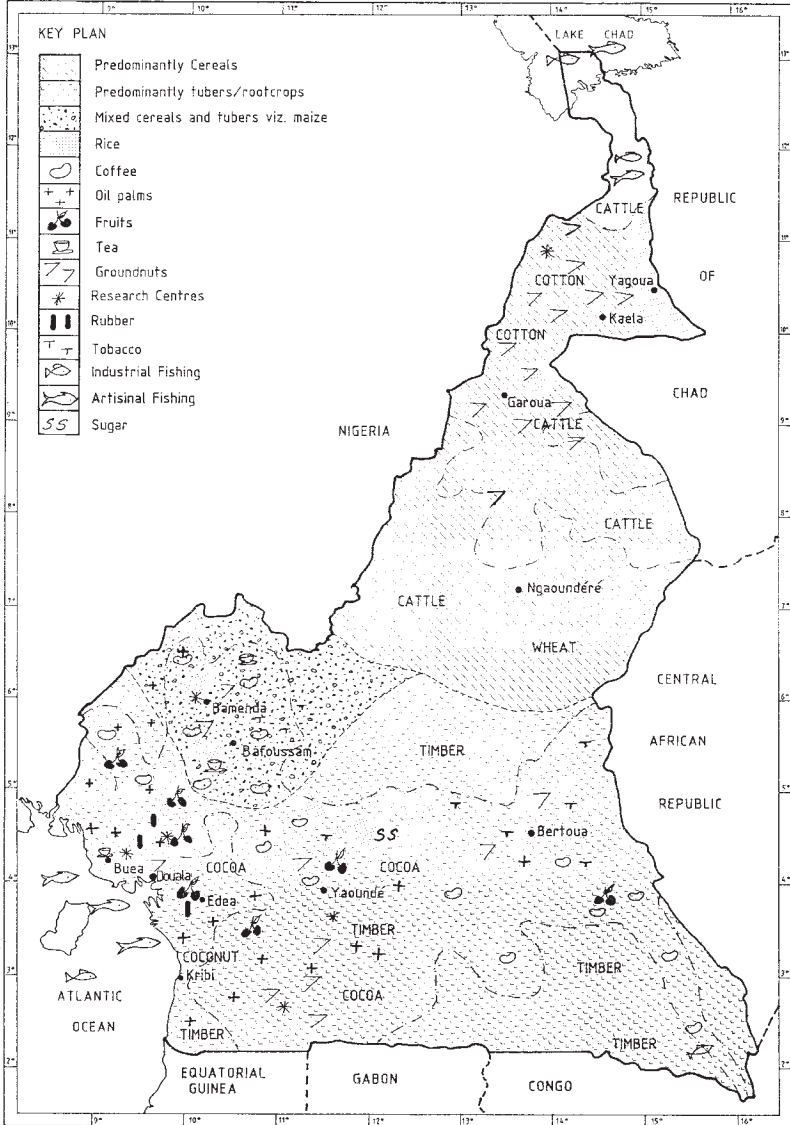
REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

THE CAMEROON MANDATE



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

AGRICULTURAL MAP



Chronology

5th century BC Hannon (Hanno) sees Mount Cameroon eruption.

9th–15th centuries AD The Sao civilization flourishes in the northern portions of contemporary Cameroon.

1472 Portuguese explorers find the Wouri River, which they name Rio dos Cameroes, or “Shrimp River.”

1600s Nshare founds the Bamoun dynasty.

1799 Rey Bouba is established.

1806 Modibo Adama founds Adamawa.

1817 Uthman Dan Fodio, Moslem religious and military leader, dies.

1843 Joseph Merrick, a Baptist missionary from Jamaica, establishes missions at Bimbia and Douala.

1847 Modibo Adama dies.

1858 Alfred Saker founds Victoria (Limbe).

1866 Ardo Bouba Njidda, first ruler of Rey Bouba, dies.

1878 Ardo Issa, ruler of Ngoundere, dies.

1884 12 July: Eduard Woermann signs protectorate treaties with Duala chiefs on behalf of Germany. **14 July:** Gustav Nachtigal arrives to establish German protectorate.

1885 26 February: Congress of Berlin defines rules for European colonization in Africa.

Ca. 1901 Hayata ibn Sa’id, Mahdist leader in the north, dies.

- 1902** Slavery is abolished by the German administration.
- 1908** Lotin Same is ordained in the Baptist church.
- 1911** France grants the territory known as New Kamerun to Kamerun.
- 1914** **1 August:** Kamerun becomes involved in World War I.
- 1916** **20 February:** War ends in Kamerun.
- 1922** British and French Mandates come into effect.
- 1939** Jeucafra is formed.
- 1940** **27 March:** Cameroons Youth League formed in Lagos, Nigeria.
26–27 August: General Leclerc arrives to rally Cameroun to the Free French side in World War II.
- 1946** **25 October:** L'Assemblée Représentative du Cameroun opens.
13 December: Mandate system is replaced by trusteeship system.
- 1948** **10 April:** Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC) founded.
- 1952** L'Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun opens.
- 1955** **13 July:** Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC) goes underground, and effective civil war begins.
- 1956** **23 June:** *Loi Cadre* is approved by French National Assembly.
- 1957** **22 February:** *Statut du Cameroun* is ratified providing for Cameroun independence. **9 May:** *Assemblée Legislative du Cameroun* (ALCAM) inaugurated. **10 May:** Andre-Marie Mbida becomes prime minister of the first Cameroun government.
- 1958** **18 February:** Ahmadou Ahidjo becomes prime minister after Mbida government falls. **May:** *Union Camerounaise* is established in Garoua. **13 September:** Reuben Um Nyobe killed.
- 1959** Southern Cameroon gains full regional status within Nigeria. **1 January:** French Cameroun gains full self-government, just short of independence.
- 1960** **1 January:** French Cameroun becomes the fully independent Cameroun Republic. **21 February:** Independence constitution for

the Cameroun Republic is approved. **5 May:** Ahmadou Ahidjo is elected the first president. **3 November:** Felix-Roland Moumié, hero of Cameroun nationalism and a leader of the UPC, is murdered in Switzerland.

1961 11 February: Plebiscites are held in British Cameroons. Northern Cameroons votes to join the Federation of Nigeria; Southern Cameroons votes to join the Cameroun Republic. **17–21 July:** Fomuban Conference defines the structure of the new country. **1 October:** The Cameroun Republic and British Southern Cameroons are reunified to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon; a new constitution is enacted.

1962 University of Yaoundé is opened.

1964 1 January: *Union Douanière Economique de l'Afrique Centrale* (UDEAC) is established.

1965 10 March: President Ahidjo is reelected.

1966 1 September: *Union Nationale Camerounaise*/Cameroon National Union (CNU) is formally established.

1971 2 April: Cameroon establishes diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

1972 20 May: Referendum in favor of the formation of the United Republic of Cameroon. **2 June:** Constitution of the United Republic of Cameroon ends the federal system.

1975 Transcameroon Railway is completed. **5 April:** President Ahidjo is reelected. **30 June:** Paul Biya appointed prime minister.

1977 December: Petroleum production begins.

1979 21–22 October: Northern Massacre occurs when police clash with Dolle villagers in the Northern Province.

1980 5 April: President Ahidjo is reelected with 99.99 percent of votes cast in his favor.

1981 15 May–19 August: Border dispute and crisis with Nigeria occurs after five Nigerian soldiers are killed in disputed area. **16 May:** SONARA oil refinery at Victoria/Limbe is inaugurated. **November:** Song-Loulou Dam comes into operation.

1982 **16 October:** Mount Cameroon volcano erupts. **4 November:** President Ahidjo resigns as president. **6 November:** Paul Biya becomes president.

1983 **29 May:** National Assembly elections are held. **17 August:** Ahidjo resigns as chairman of CNU. **22 August:** Destabilization plot against state and dismissal of Prime Minister Bouba are announced. President Biya divides Northern Province into North, Extreme North, and Adamawa Provinces. Center South is also divided to become Center and South Provinces. **27 August:** Ahidjo resigns as chairman of CNU. **14 September:** Second Extraordinary Congress of CNU selects Paul Biya as party leader. **19 October:** Treaty is signed in Libreville to establish the Economic Community of the States of Central Africa.

1984 The Constitution of the Republic of Cameroon is enacted. **14 January:** Presidential elections bring Paul Biya a victory with 99.98 percent of the vote. **3 February:** Name of country becomes Republic of Cameroon. **6–7 April:** Major attempt at coup d'état.

1985 Noma Award for Publishing in Africa awarded to Bernard Nanga for his novel *La Trahison de Marianne*. **21–24 March:** Bamenda Congress of the CNU inaugurates the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM). **14–16 August:** Pope John Paul II visits Cameroon. **23 December:** Regular television transmission begins.

1986 Petroleum income suffers major decline. **12 January:** Multicandidate elections held for lower-echelon CPDM offices. **21–22 August:** Lake Nyos disaster kills more than 1,700 people.

1987 Government announces that the country is in an economic crisis. **August:** Economic austerity measures are instituted.

1988 **24 April:** Legislative elections with multiple candidates within the single-party structure and presidential elections are held. Biya is reelected with strong support, but considerable turnover occurs within the Assembly. **29 June:** E. M. L. Endeley, anglophone politician and first prime minister of Southern Cameroons, dies.

1989 **30 November:** Ahmadou Ahidjo dies.

1990 **19 February:** Yondo Manengue Black is arrested for trying to form a new party. **26 May:** Bamenda riots at Social Democratic Front

(SDF) rally, leaving six dead. **12 June:** Foncha resigns as vice president of CPDM to protest government actions of 26 May in Bamenda. **19 December:** President Biya approves multiparty system.

1991 **1 January:** Celestin Monga is arrested for an open letter to Biya in *Le Messenger*. **12 February:** First two new parties approved by government. **March:** SDF is legalized. **22 April:** Office of prime minister is approved; Sadou Hayatou is appointed on 26 April. **26 May:** Most of the country is placed under military control. **24 June:** Official start of Ghost Town (Ville Mortes) campaign. **2 October:** Fru Ndi is shot at during Bamenda rally; government helicopters drop grenades on the crowd. **30 October:** Tripartite Conference opens in Yaoundé.

1992 **29–31 January:** Fighting in Kousseri between Kotoko and Choa Arabs kills around 100. **1 March:** First multiparty National Assembly elections are held; Cameroon People's Democratic Movement loses a majority. **13 April:** Establishment of the six-university system. **4 July:** Cameroon Anglophone Movement holds first national convention. **11 October:** First multiparty presidential elections are held; Biya wins. **27 October:** State of emergency is declared in North West Province; it lasts until 28 December. **29 October:** Fru Ndi is placed under house arrest.

1993 **23 March:** Grand Débat is announced. **4 April:** The first All Anglophone Conference (AAC I) is held in Buea. **17 May:** "Preliminary Draft Constitution," or Owona Constitution, is published.

1994 **20 February:** Cameroon announces decision to go to the International Court of Justice on the Bakassi Peninsula issue. **29 April–2 May:** AAC II Conference is held, resulting in the Bamenda Proclamation.

1995 **December:** Cameroon joins the Commonwealth.

1996 **18 January:** A new constitution of the Republic of Cameroon is promulgated. **25 May:** Paul Isidore Soppo Priso dies in France. **8–10 July:** Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit is held in Yaoundé.

1997 **17 May:** National Assembly elections are held; CPDM wins a majority. **12 October:** Presidential elections; Paul Biya wins.

1998 Cameroon is ranked 85th of 85 countries in the Corruption Perceptions Index of Transparency International. **14 February:** Nsam railway tank car fire kills more than 100 persons.

1999 Cameroon is ranked 99th of 99 countries in the Corruption Perceptions Index. **28 March:** Volcanic Mt. Cameroon erupts. **10 April:** John Ngu Foncha dies. **June:** *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* replaces UDEAC. **30 December:** Southern Cameroons National Council proclaims independence for Ambazonia.

2000 **28 May:** Volcanic Mt. Cameroon erupts. **23 June:** Cotonou agreement replaces Lomé Convention. **30 September:** Indomitable Lions win Gold Medal in football at the Sydney, Australia Olympics.

2001 **January:** 21st Franco-African Summit is held in Yaoundé. **28 May:** Francis Bebey, novelist and musician, dies. **8 October:** Mongo Beti, novelist and political opponent of the ruling elite, dies.

2002 **9 July:** African Union founded. Solomon Tandeng Muna, former vice president of Cameroon and prime minister of West Cameroon, dies. **March:** Police launch anticrime Operation Harmattan in Douala. Massive human rights violations follow. **30 June:** Parliamentary elections held. CPDM wins large majority of seats. **10 October:** International Court of Justice announces decision favorable to Cameroon in the Bakassi Dispute. **27 October:** Sarkifada Mousa Yaya, northern political power, dies.

2003 **18 January:** Theodore Mayi-Matip, cofounder of the UPC, dies. **26 June:** Marc-Vivien Foe, young soccer star, dies during a match.

2004 **4 February:** Ministry of Women's Affairs established. **12 July:** Albert Mukong, prominent human rights activist, dies. **11 October:** Paul Biya wins reelection for president by a large majority.

2005 Gnepo Nicole Werewere-Liking receives the Noma Award for Publishing for African Literature for her novel *The Amputated Memory*. **1 July:** Mungo River bridge connecting francophone and anglophone Cameroon collapses.

2006 **February:** Operation Sparrowhawk is launched to fight corruption. **12 June:** Greentree Agreement on settling Bakassi issues is signed.

2007 **6 May:** Kenya Airlines flight crashes near Douala killing 114 persons. **20 May:** Mungo River bridge connecting francophone and anglophone Cameroon reopens after a two-year closure. **22 July:** CPDM wins a large majority in parliamentary elections. **9 November:** Several student demonstrators killed by police in Kumba. **11 December:** Thousands of Cameroonians seek safety in their embassy after attacks on them in Equatorial Guinea.

2008 World economic crisis affects Cameroon economy negatively. **25 February:** Rioting begins in Douala. **11 July:** Fru Ndi charged with the murder of Grégoire Diboule. **14 August:** Final departure of Nigerian military from Bakassi Peninsula. **28 September:** Pirates attack Limbe and loot banks. **31 October:** Previously unknown group, the Bakassi Freedom Fighters, kidnaps 10 persons. **11 April:** Constitution altered to allow Biya to run for president again.

2009 World economic crisis has major effects on Cameroon economy. Cameroon ranked 141st of 180 countries in the Corruption Perceptions Index. **17–20 March:** Pope Benedict XVI visits. **21–22 May:** French Prime Minister François Fillon visits, Cooperation Accords are revised. **30 June:** Major cabinet shuffle reinforces Beti-Northern dominance. Philémon Yunji Yang becomes prime minister.

Introduction

Cameroon is a land of much promise, but a land of unfulfilled promises. This medium-sized African country has the potential to be an economically developed and democratic society. But the struggle to live up to its potential has not gone well. Since independence there have been only two presidents of Cameroon; the current one has been in office since 1982. The country has an unusual colonial history, having suffered under three rulers (Germany, France, and Great Britain) and is rather unique as a country with two international languages, French and English, as official languages. This might seem to be an advantage, but it generates serious conflict and frustration within the country. Endowed with a variety of climates and agricultural environments, numerous minerals and substantial forests, and a dynamic population, this is a country that should be a leader of Africa. Instead, we find a country almost paralyzed by corruption and poor management, a country with a low life expectancy and serious health problems, and a country from which the most talented and highly educated members of the population are emigrating in large numbers.

LAND AND PEOPLE

Cameroon is a central African state just slightly to the north of the equator. This triangular-shaped country of some 475,440 square kilometers (183,568.4 square miles, slightly larger than California) is surrounded by Nigeria, Chad, the Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and a 402-kilometer coastline on the Atlantic Ocean.

There are four major geographic zones in the country: the southern coastal lowlands, the western highlands, the central and southern plateaus, and the Chad basin in the far north. Climate is affected by altitude,

distance from the sea, and the season, but in general the country is characterized by rainy and dry seasons. Near the coast rainfall may be more than 432 centimeters (170 inches) per year and spread over six to seven months, but inland there may be only 81 centimeters (32 inches) of rain limited to two or three months. The average temperature at Douala, on the coast and close to sea level, is 26.1° C/79 °F, but at Bamenda, inland and at a higher altitude, it is 18.9° C/66 °F.¹

These multiple geographic zones and differences in climate lead to a variety of vegetation types and the possibility of a diverse range of food crops and pastoral activities. Rain forest and swamps lie in narrow belts along the coast, with the forest extending inland in the southeast. The forest gives way to savanna toward the northern interior.

The country is divided into 10 regions for administrative convenience: the Littoral, East, Center, South, West, Adamawa, North, and Extreme North Regions are francophone (French speaking); the North West and South West are anglophone (English speaking). This difference in language results from Cameroon's colonial experience. Each of these regions are subdivided into several divisions, or *départements*.

The population of almost 19 million persons is rapidly becoming an urban population with 57 percent living in urban areas (2008). It is a young population, with 40.9 percent between 0 and 14 years old with a median age of 19.2 years. The population is increasing at about 2.1 percent per year, and the fertility rate (number of children per woman) was estimated at 4.3 in 2009. The major cities are Douala and Yaoundé; smaller cities include Limbe, Kumba, Bamenda, Garoua, Maroua, Ngaoundéré, Foumban, Edéa, and Bafoussam.

Health issues are a major obstacle to economic development. Life expectancy at birth is 53.69 years, a very low figure, ranking 176th of 195 countries for the period 2005 to 2010. About 5.1 percent of the population is HIV+, but malaria is a more serious problem. Malnutrition is widespread, especially in the north.

The Cameroon people consist of numerous ethnic groups, most of which number fewer than 100,000 persons. Among the more well known of these are the Duala, Bamiléké, Bamoum, Fulani, Fang, and Nso. These ethnic groups include many of the major cultural types of the continent, leading tourism officials to describe the country as "Africa in Miniature." Many Cameroonians (about 40 percent) are Christians (evenly divided between Catholic and Protestant), and

there is a large Muslim minority, perhaps 20 percent of the population, located mainly in the north. For most of the period since independence, the Muslim minority has held a disproportionate amount of political power.

HISTORY

Precolonial Period

Archaeologists, students of oral history, and scientists are helping to uncover the early history. But at this time much is still to be learned. Remains from the Neolithic period have been found in many parts of the country, suggesting that human beings have been here for many thousands of years, perhaps 50,000 years or more. The current population of Cameroon is ethnically diverse. Among the many groups are the Baka (Pygmies), situated in the southeast corner of the country. Although now few in number, the Baka and their lifestyle represent the most ancient of Cameroon populations.

Only recently have we begun to have information substantial enough to develop some conception of Cameroon's past. Some 500 years after the birth of Christ, an important civilization was developing in the interior of present-day Cameroon. Around the shores of Lake Chad, the Sao civilization was becoming a large entity ruled by a king. Most of our knowledge of this civilization comes from the work of archaeologists. Over the years the Sao came into contact with the kingdom of Kanem, which eventually conquered Sao. By the 14th century Sao was reduced to a small entity replaced eventually by the Kotoko state.

At about this same time, Portuguese explorers were sailing along the western coasts of Africa, beginning the contacts that would lead to the slave trade and the eventual conquest and colonization of Africa—and Cameroon. At various times, Portuguese, Dutch, and British traders dominated the commerce along the Cameroon coasts, though in the end it was the Germans who colonized and established the entity now called Cameroon. In the latter part of the trading era, Christian missionaries, many of whom were of African descent, began their work establishing churches, schools, and communities, first along the coast and later inland.

The Baptist Mission from London and the American Presbyterian Mission were the first of many groups to enter the country.

Significant events were occurring inland during this time period, too. The history of the Fulani, or Foulbé, people begins far from the boundaries of Cameroon, but by the 1800s these people were becoming an important factor in northern Cameroon. Many Fulani had settled in the northern grasslands by this time. Under the powerful leadership of Uthman Dan Fodio, a revolutionary Islamic influence was rapidly spreading among the Fulani. In 1896 Uthman began a holy war, or *jihad*. He appointed Modibo Adama to carry the war into Cameroon. Adama was highly successful in conquering the various Fulani and other societies and establishing a large empire, Adamawa. Maroua, Garoua, and Ngaoundéré became major centers in this entity, which was ruled from Yola in present-day Nigeria.

By this time a large number of states, kingdoms, and societies had been established in Cameroon. Many of these entities, their customs, and the descendents of their rulers continue to be significant in Cameroon today. There is not space to discuss all of these, life within them, or the relations between them. Trade was widespread, diplomatic relations were well developed, and conquests and wars took place. Best known of these are the various Bamiléké chiefdoms in today's West Region and the various Tikar societies of the North West and West. Bamoum, founded by Nshare, is one of the most famous of these societies.

One other important term, *Bantu*, should be mentioned. The study of the Bantu peoples and their migrations over much of the African continent is a major topic in African history. Considerable research suggests that the origin of the Bantu is somewhere along the Cameroon-Nigeria border. Thus, many of the Bantu groups now found in Cameroon have been in their present locations for a long time. However, other groups moved into new locations in the recent past. The Fang and Beti were still spreading and settling in southeastern Cameroon at about the same time that American missionaries were establishing at Batanga.

Colonial Period

Regardless of the changing nationality of the predominant European traders along the coast, the Germans in 1884 managed to take the area for their empire. They did so only days before the British made

a similar attempt. The Germans moved inland over the years, extending their control and their claims to land far beyond the Cameroon on today's map. Initially, their major dealings were with African traders, mainly Duala, along the coast. But German traders did not enjoy dealing with these "middlemen," for direct trade with the interior promised greater profits. So, colonial power was used to break the Duala monopoly.

A second major economic activity of the German era was plantation agriculture. Large estates were established, especially in the southwest of Kamerun (the German spelling), to provide a variety of tropical produce (e.g., cocoa, bananas, tea, rubber) to Germany. The traders, the plantation owners, and government officials competed for scarce labor, and force was necessary for the Germans to break the Africans away from their homes and farms. The labor system established was harsh and cruel, and many laborers died while serving German interests.

The events of World War I brought a swift end to German rule. British, French, and Belgian troops—mainly drawn from their African colonies—were used to successfully drive the Germans into exile on the Spanish island of Fernando Po. Thus began a period of British rule in small western and northern portions and French rule in a larger portion of the territory. These territories, "mandates" under the League of Nations and "trusts" under the United Nations, were usually referred to as French Cameroun and British Cameroons. The latter consisted of two parts—Southern and Northern Cameroons. A large piece of Kamerun, the New Kamerun, was given to the French to add to their colonies in French Equatorial Africa. This territory was never again considered to be part of Cameroon.

British rule in their territories is generally described as a period of neglect. The areas were attached to their colony, Nigeria, and, in the eyes of many Cameroonians, the British mandate/trust became the colony of a colony. This neglect, coupled with the influx of numerous Nigerian migrants into Southern Cameroons, caused great resentment. The major economic activity in Southern Cameroons was agriculture. Most of the German plantations were located here, and after a brief period of control by colonial officials, these returned to German control—which lasted until World War II. After the war, these were united into one entity, the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC), which became a parastatal. Today, although portions have been privatized (sold

or turned over to private enterprise), the CDC is the second-largest employer in the country. Government is the largest.

Some development occurred in peasant agriculture, too, especially in the latter years of British rule. Cocoa became important in the 1930s; coffee and bananas, both for export, saw rapid growth after World War II as a result of Cameroonian initiatives—often with British opposition or reluctance. Little change of any type was fostered in Northern Cameroons.

Much greater agricultural development took place in French Cameroun. Limited industrial and infrastructural growth also occurred, again largely after World War II. The French took much greater interest in their mandate/trust than did the British. Much more capital was invested, and many French people (the *colons*) came to work in Cameroun. This greater French involvement meant that at independence French Cameroun had a much higher gross national product (GNP) per capita, higher education levels, better health care, and—although still rudimentary—a better infrastructure than British Cameroons. Note, however, that French interest concentrated in the region bounded by Douala, Yaoundé, Foumban, and Kribi. Outside this “fertile crescent” were large areas at least as underdeveloped as Southern and Northern Cameroons.

Although one may point to various differences in the colonial experiences of the French and British mandates/trusts, some powerful similarities are also evident. Most important, these rulers—and the Germans before them—continued the process of drawing the Cameroon people into the international capitalist economic system. By the time of independence, Cameroon had become an attachment to the economic system of western Europe. More directly, the majority of Cameroon had become an appendix to the French economy. A dependent status had evolved whereby the trusts produced raw materials for use by European industries, but they produced little for Cameroon needs. The trusts were dependent on Europe/France for finished goods and for a market for the raw materials the inhabitants produced. This fragile, dependent economy continues to plague the people of Cameroon and their government to this day.

Although opposition to colonial rule was expressed from its onset, it was only after World War II that internal developments in Cameroon and Europe and changes in the world attitude toward colonialism were

powerful enough to bring about independence. In British Cameroons the major question for the public was whether to remain with Nigeria or to rejoin Cameroun. In a United Nations–supervised plebiscite, Southern Cameroons decided to reunify with French Cameroun to become the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Northern Cameroons voted to join the Federation of Nigeria.

In French Cameroun the major question was the type and intensity of the relationship with France after independence. The first true nationalist party, the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), and its leaders, Felix Moumié and Um Nyobe, demanded a thorough break with France and the construction of a socialist economy. French officials opposed and suppressed the UPC, leading to a bitter civil war. The French encouraged alternative political parties and leaders as they gradually granted increasing power to elected assemblies.

Eventually, independence was granted, with Ahmadou Ahidjo to become first president. Ahidjo and his ruling party, the *Union Camerounaise*, pledged to build a capitalist economy and, in a series of secret agreements, to maintain very close political, economic, and cultural ties to France. On 1 January 1960, the independent Republic of Cameroon came into existence. On 1 October 1961, it joined with Southern Cameroons to become the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

Independent Cameroon

Politics

From independence until 1982, Cameroon was ruled by President Ahidjo. In this period he centralized power in the capital, Yaoundé, and in one person, himself. He applied the economic power of the state to reward followers and used the police and the security apparatus to punish his enemies. Cameroon was an authoritarian, single-party state in which civil rights held little sway. The civil war with the UPC was ended slowly and brutally, but the state of emergency declared during the war continued for years beyond the conclusion of the struggle. Ahidjo declared nation building to be a major goal, for—as in much of Africa—there was fear that the country’s multiethnic population might owe greater loyalty to ethnic groups than to the nation. He used the fear of ethnic conflict to justify authoritarian government. In his

effort to centralize power, he ended the federation in 1972, replacing it with a highly centralized government; he eliminated all political parties except his own, the Cameroon National Union (CNU); and on several occasions he altered the constitution to concentrate power in the presidency.

In 1982, Cameroon underwent a dramatic and obvious political change, but equally important though less obvious economic changes were also under way. On 4 November, President Ahidjo resigned his government office and turned the presidency over to his legal successor, Paul Biya, but Ahidjo retained his leadership position in the Cameroon National Union, the country's sole political party. In recent African history, such a peaceful change of government was rare. The tranquil nature of the transfer did not last long. Ahidjo's retention of control of the CNU along with other evidence suggest that he had no real intention of giving up his domination of the Cameroon political system. Rather, he wished to move into the background, keeping overall control but turning over lesser duties to President Biya. In effect, Biya was intended to be Ahidjo's puppet. However, Biya turned out to have a mind and a will of his own, and conflict between the two men became obvious. The showdown took place when Ahidjo tried to assert party domination over the government, claiming that the party would select the president of the country. However, Biya had used his time in office to build a coalition that was sufficient to override Ahidjo, and Ahidjo resigned from the party. A minor coup attempt, and then on 6 April 1984 a bloody uprising by the Republican Guard, probably in favor of if not directed by Ahidjo or his supporters, followed, but Biya prevailed.

Early in his presidency, Biya seemed to desire the development of a freer, more democratic society in Cameroon. Within the confines of a one-party system, Biya allowed competitive elections for party offices and for the National Assembly. He experimented with more freedom of speech and press. However, the conflict with Ahidjo and the severity of the 1984 coup attempt brought back some of the restrictions of the Ahidjo era. Events since that time make clear that whatever democratic intentions Biya may have had, they have been overwhelmed by his desire to stay in power.

Biya's reactions to two overlapping political issues have shown his autocratic nature. Cameroon, like much of the world, has come under strong pressure to develop a more democratic society. At the same time,

discontent among the anglophone members of Cameroon society has become intense. The two pressures unite in the demand for greater anglophone control over matters affecting their part of the country. A more democratic society is seen as a means of bringing greater autonomy to the anglophones—or even independence for their portion of Cameroon. In general, democracy is seen as a preferable way to exist. From 1989 until today, these two pressures on the Biya government have led to periods of political instability, at times almost chaos, and the threat of civil war.

These pressures have also led to some important changes in the political system of the country. Since December 1990, Cameroon has been a multiparty state. Since then, numerous parties have emerged, most based on ethnic or regional concerns. Two parties, the Social Democratic Front (SDF), led by Fru Ndi, and the National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP), led by Maigari Bello Bouba, have become significant challengers of Biya's ruling party, the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM). Since 1992, multiparty elections have been held for the National Assembly and for the presidency. Biya and the CPDM have managed to maintain power, much to the frustration of opponents who believe (correctly so) that the elections are rigged and that they do not face a fair fight in their struggle for power. Even less progress has been made in resolving the anglophone problem.

Anglophone leaders in general give strong support to the idea of returning the country to a federal situation, but a federation in which the states would have considerably more self-governance than in the original Federal Republic of Cameroon. Some anglophones have given up on the idea of Cameroon and have begun to demand independence. There is little if any support for the idea of rejoining Nigeria. Biya rammed through a new constitution in 1996 to answer anglophone demands, but it failed to quell their anger. Instead of a federation it established a weak sort of decentralization that left the central government and the president clearly in control of all matters. Indeed, some of the decentralization measures in the 1996 constitution have not yet been implemented. Enabling legislation has not been passed. The government remains highly centralized; the apparent power of the president remains very great. The National Assembly remains a weak and ineffectual rubber stamp, following carefully the dictates of the president and his ruling clique.

Cameroon's first multiparty elections took place in 1992. Since then, all national assembly elections (1997, 2002, and 2007) have been contested by several parties (41 in 2007). In 1992, the CPDM actually failed to win a majority and was forced to form a coalition government. Since then the CPDM has dominated the elections and won with an overwhelming majority of seats; in 2007 the CPDM took 153 of the 180 seats. Each of these elections has been criticized as unfair by opposition parties and has been condemned by foreign observers as rigged or as having numerous irregularities. Most observers define the country as a "one party dominant" state, a term that indicates a very weak, shallow democracy.

Paul Biya remains president and, assuming he stays alive, will do so for some time to come. The president is elected for a seven-year term and, until April 2008, could serve two terms. In 2008 this was changed to three terms, sparking considerable negative reaction from the public. Riots in Douala and elsewhere were partially a result of this discontent. In the 1992 election, Biya won with a slim majority over John Fru Ndi. The results were not made public for several days, leading many to suspect that tampering had taken place. In 1997 Biya won with 92.51 percent and in 2004 with 72.92 percent of the vote. Observers have generally criticized the elections. The next election will be held in 2011.

It is generally thought that Biya rules with a small coalition of persons from his ethnic group and from the Far Northern Region, the "Beti-Northern Clique." What is not clear is how much Biya is actually in charge and how much he is merely a front for this clique. The system relies on corruption and consistent violations of basic human rights as the means to stay in power.

Economic Development

As of 2009 Cameroon remained a predominantly agricultural country with about 70 percent of the workforce in agriculture and forestry (decreasing slowly), 13 percent in industry (up from 6.8 percent at the end of the 20th century), and 17 percent in services. Agriculture provides 43.5 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) and industry only 16 percent. Services account for 40.5 percent (2008). In 2008 GDP was estimated at \$25 billion, growing at 3.9 percent. However, this figure is probably high; the effects of the world economic crisis will probably

decrease the figure. GDP per capita is estimated at \$2,300 (or 178th of 229 countries). Poverty and unemployment are widespread and increasingly serious problems.

The major agricultural products are coffee, cocoa, rubber, bananas, and timber. Major industrial products are petroleum and aluminum, food and beverages, consumer goods, textiles, and ship repair. Exports are predominantly primary products such as petroleum, lumber, coffee, and cotton, though aluminum and refined petroleum products are also important. Imports are mainly industrial products such as machinery and motor vehicles, but food and fuel are also significant. Major export recipients are Spain, Italy, France, and South Korea; imports come from France, Nigeria, China, and Belgium. Tourism plays a small role, well below its potential.

The government's economic policy of planned liberalism aimed to encourage private investment, local and foreign, but government was to play a strong, significant role in guiding development into sectors of the economy and into geographic areas deemed as priorities. To this end, the government became a partner in numerous economic enterprises (parastatals).

Initially, Cameroon relied on the export of cash crops—cocoa, coffee, bananas, rubber, timber, palm products, cotton—to provide the foreign capital needed for development expenditures. Much emphasis was placed on the expansion of the production of these crops, often while ignoring food crops. In addition to export crops, some emphasis was placed in import substitution crops such as sugar, wheat, and rice, which had become popular in Cameroon but were not grown in sufficient quantity locally to provide for the country's needs. With the announcement of the Green Revolution at the Buea Agro-Pastoral Show in 1973, it was acknowledged that attention must be given to indigenous food crops, too. Not only was the country to be self-sufficient in food, but it was also to become the food source for many of its neighbors. Although today Cameroon agriculture continues to be plagued by low productivity and outdated technology, it has been successful in fostering growth and development in food and export crops. Some major failures have taken place in attempts to develop import substitution crops. However, the country is no longer food self-sufficient.

The discovery of exploitable petroleum reserves in the 1970s was initially a great boost to the Cameroon economy. Once into production,

petroleum soon became the country's most valuable export. Oil revenues were used to give higher prices to farmers, thus encouraging increased agricultural output. Oil money was used to pay the costs for the imports of materials and technical skill needed for many development projects. And petroleum earnings were used to build financial reserves for difficult times that might arise in the future. Sadly, petroleum income was also used to pay the costs of many large, badly planned projects. Much of the income was poorly used. In 2008 production was about 87,000 barrels per day, down considerably from peak years. Recent great fluctuations in the oil price have caused problems due to the fluctuations in national income it has caused.

Industrial development for many years emphasized large-scale projects such as the CELLUCAM paper pulp facility. Numerous problems in respect of planning, technology transfer, and market research have plagued these projects, and large amounts of capital have been squandered. In addition to other problems, these parastatals were often used as political resources. Management positions were given to reward political friends, regardless of any business skill they might lack. Many unnecessary employees were taken on for political purposes, as patronage. Corrupt practices enriched many in management but bankrupted the businesses. Attempts to privatize many of these enterprises have met with mixed success. More success has been found in assisting the growth of small and medium-sized enterprises producing goods for local use. But to a large extent the country still depends on the purchase abroad of industrial goods. Large-scale and significant exceptions to this have taken place with respect to refined petroleum products, cement, fabric and finished clothing, beverages, and aluminum. Some success has also been met in the development of agribusiness, processing agricultural products for domestic use or export.

Although a first-time visitor to Cameroon may view the transportation system as inadequate, significant progress since independence has been made in extending the road, rail, and air services. There are 10 airports with paved runways, 987 kilometers of railway, and 500 kilometers of paved road (plus 45,000 kilometers unpaved). Telephone facilities have increased but are for the most part out of date and in poor repair. Cell phone use has seen phenomenal increases in recent years. National radio broadcasting covers the entire country, and television is available in most areas. With the construction of large-scale hydroelectric projects

in the coastal region and in the north, the country has multiplied several times its electricity-generating capabilities. However, supply remains well below demand, and electricity shortages have become a major impediment to development.

The most important success in infrastructure building has been in education. Relative to many African countries, Cameroon had a high proportion of children in school at the time of independence, but shortages of appropriately trained men and women was then—and is now—a major restraint on growth and development. Tremendous growth in facilities and number of staff and students has taken place in the last three decades, but the country also faces a serious brain drain with many of its most highly educated persons departing for work in South Africa, western Europe, and North America.

The economy has presented major problems for the Biya government, a factor that has exacerbated the political demands. In some respects, Ahidjo resigned at the right moment, for a severe economic crisis was just about to emerge. In the eyes of many Cameroonians, the blame for that crisis is placed on President Biya. Corruption, bad planning, and the use of government money to enrich government personalities and serve patronage purposes are important causes of the crisis. But the economic crisis was partly the result of international economic conditions and the weak, brittle, and dependent economy that Biya inherited on coming to office. The infamous African drought of the 1980s caused export crop production to decrease at a time when prices for coffee, cocoa, and other agricultural exports were in decline.

More significant was the decline in prices and demand in world petroleum markets. Cameroon's income, dependent on exports, dropped rapidly. For a short period, this loss of revenue was covered by drawing on reserves built up in the first years of petroleum exports. These funds were quickly exhausted, and by 1987 the government admitted that the country faced an economic crisis. Cameroon had become a debtor nation. Budget cuts were necessary, and the ripple effects of this have been felt throughout the economy. Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and aid-giving countries, Cameroon was forced to accept structural adjustment programs. In return for financial assistance, the government was required to undertake stringent economic restraints and important political reforms.

While the economic demands may in the long run benefit the country, the short-term effect is hardship for the majority of the population. Cutbacks in spending on education and health care, reduction of salaries and number of employees, and closure and privatization of many of the parastatals were accompanied by a reduction in the quality of life for all but the wealthiest and most politically connected of Cameroonians.

In recent years there has been some real GDP growth following government reforms and the reaching of the completion point of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief program in 2006. Significant developments in the minerals and mining sector, including diversification away from the current dependence on petroleum, appear to be under way. Initially, the sharp rise in the world price of petroleum brought a brief burst of growth; in the same way, the recent drop in petroleum prices accompanied by a world economic crisis have caused severe contraction in Cameroon's economy. The boom and bust cycle has been repeated.

Slow-moving structural reforms, the short supply of electricity needed for industrial growth, recent riots, and a view of government as corrupt and lacking transparency hinder growth. Adding to this is the world economic crisis that began in 2007. Several projected foreign investment programs have been curtailed, particularly in the mining sector. A report in May 2009 indicated that many jobs have been lost, exports were strongly reduced, government revenues had been severely constricted, and GDP was shrinking. Timber, aluminum, cotton, rubber, transport, bananas, and tourism were negatively affected. Unemployment was, by one estimate, at a 30 percent level.

The meaning of this crisis is quite clear. Although Cameroon has made economic progress since independence, it has not been able to change the dependent nature of its economy. The economic situation combined with the dismal record of its political history indicate that prospects for political stability, justice, and prosperity are dimmer than they have been for most of the country's independent existence. Compared to some African countries, Cameroon remains a relatively successful state. But compared to itself three decades ago, most Cameroonians have a sense of failure and foresee a gloomy future for the country.

NOTE

1. Most of the data in this introduction is from the CIA *World Factbook 2008* at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html> [accessed 25 July 2009].

THE DICTIONARY

– A –

ABBIA. *Abbia: Cameroon Cultural Review* was a journal uniquely expressing Cameroonian culture and **bilingualism**. Founded by the father of Cameroon bilingualism, **Bernard Fonlon**, this cultural review successively brought about greater collaboration among Cameroonian elites as vanguards of the bilingual ideal. After 1963, however, *Abbia* experienced a rough lifecycle. Its future was sealed with the death of Fonlon in August 1986. The name “Abbia” is taken from a game of chance common among certain peoples in the south of Cameroon, particularly the Beti who come from the **Yaoundé** area. The game pieces, Abbia stones, are the carved pits of the fruits of the *Mimusops congolensis* tree. The actual design, usually carved by the player himself, is of little consequence other than to decorate one side of the game piece in contrast to the reverse, left plain. An Abbia stone as well as a few lines of the **Bamoum** script, **Shu Mom**, invented by **Sultan Njoya** were used to decorate the cover of the journal. *See also* FANG.

ACCORD DE COOPERATION ECONOMIQUE, MONETAIRE ET FINANCIERE. This bilateral agreement between **France** and the new **République du Cameroun** was signed 13 November 1960. This monetary agreement was one in a series of conditions under which Cameroun’s independence was granted by France. By it, Cameroun entered the franc zone under a monetary structure of a fixed exchange rate of 50 Cameroon francs to one French franc. All gold and foreign exchange reserves of the franc zone were to be held in Paris as a joint pool. The establishment of the **Bank of Central African States (BEAC)**, functioning in close cooperation with the

French Treasury, led to further agreements on monetary cooperation in November 1972, the Convention of the Operations Accounts of December 1973, and the Amendment to the Reserve Exchange Guarantee of 1975. There has been a debate on the merits of such a dependent monetary situation and an internationally recognized and transferable currency. *See also* CFA FRANC.

ACHU, SIMON ACHIDI (1934–). Although his true home is Santa, Achu was born on 5 November 1934 (some reports state 5 September 1932), at **Bamenda**, Mezam Division, **North West Region**. He attended primary school in Bamenda and Cameroon Protestant College (CPC) in **Bali**. On completion, he served as an accounts clerk with a commercial house before joining the Widekum Council. He then moved to the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)**, but later proceeded to do a one-year course in economics at the University of London. On his return, he was appointed assistant manager-in-training in one of the CDC's large plantations.

Achu gained a scholarship to continue his studies in economics in the Federal University of Yaoundé. He later suspended his studies in **Yaoundé** and proceeded to the University of Besançon in **France**, where in 1963 he graduated with diplomas in French language and literature. On his return home in October 1963, Achu continued with his study in law and economics at the Federal University of Yaoundé. He next gained admission into the magistracy section of the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature (ENAM)*. Between October 1965 and October 1966, he was a magistrate. On completion at ENAM, Achu worked at the Presidency as a translator and interpreter from 1966 to February 1968. While in the Presidency, he performed the functions of state inspector until 30 April 1971. Between May and October 1971, he was secretary-general in the Ministry of the Public Service, and later became minister delegate at the General State Inspection. In July 1973, Achu was appointed minister of justice and keeper of the seals, a post he held until 1977. He then retired to become a businessman.

On 9 April 1991, in an apparent attempt to calm **anglophone** agitation and cries of marginalization, Achu was called back to government and appointed prime minister. He served in this post until 19 September 1996, when he was dropped in favor of another

anglophone, **Peter Mafany Musonge**. Achu remains active in the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement**, locally in Bamenda and nationally. He is on the party central committee and served on President **Paul Biya's** reelection committee in 2004. He is chairman of the board of directors of the **National Investment Company (SNI)**.

ACT OF BERLIN. The text of the **Congress of Berlin** of 1884–1885 sanctioned the partition of Africa by European powers. Intense rivalry and suspicion characterized the activities of European powers in their quest for territories in Africa. The Act of Berlin established consensus among contending European powers who struggled to get treaties with local populations on the coast. The principal rivals for the Cameroon territory were the British and the Germans, but the territory became a German **protectorate** after the visit of **Gustav Nachtigal** to the coastal area.

ADAMA, MODIBO (1786–1847). A learned **Muslim** scholar, he established the **Adamawa** Emirate of north Cameroon. Son of another learned man, Hassana, Adama studied in Bornou and gained a high reputation for his religious learning. In 1806, he received the blessing from **Uthman Dan Fodio** to launch the holy war and become the military, political, and religious leader of the believers in northern Cameroon. Adama established his headquarters in Yola in today's **Nigeria** and named the emirate Adamawa after himself. It was from this emirate that the **Fulani** concentration in today's northern Cameroon expanded. Under Adama, the various animist groupings like the Bata, **Fali**, and Moundang were subjected to constant wars and Islamic pressure.

ADAMAWA (ADAMAOUA). This term is derived from the name of the **Muslim** scholar **Modibo Adama** and is used in several contexts. In Cameroon there are the **Adamawa Plateau** and **Adamawa Province**. A Nigerian state bears this name, as does a polytechnic there; it is the name of a language family; and there is an Adamawa breed of cattle. Perhaps its first usage was as the Adamawa Emirate, the largest state in the Sokoto Caliphate. An alternate term used to designate this emirate is Fombina or “South” in Fulani.

ADAMAWA PLATEAU. The volcanic **Adamawa** Plateau is about 1,100 meters high (though peaks reach 2,650 m) and stretches from southeastern **Nigeria** through north central Cameroon and into the **Central African Republic**. The plateau is the major water reservoir of the country; the **Benue** and several other rivers originate here. Savanna type vegetation predominates. Inhabited mainly by **Kirdi** and **Fulani**, pastoralism and subsistence **agriculture** are major activities. The name is derived from the **Muslim** scholar **Modibo Adama**. Minor tin and major bauxite deposits may become important to the **economy**. *See also* ADAMAWA REGION; MINERALS AND MINING.

ADAMAWA PROVINCE. *See* ADAMAWA REGION.

ADAMAWA REGION. With a surface area of 63,701 square kilometers, this francophone region has five divisions (Djerem, Faro and Deo, Mbere, Mayo Danyo, and Vina). The Adamawa Plateau, Benue Depression, and scattered mountains, including the **Mambila** Mountains, are the main relief features with dry and wet seasons and savannah vegetation. Its numerous rivers drain into the Niger River basin, **Lake Chad**, and the Atlantic Ocean. The major **ethnic groups** are **Fulani**, **Mbum**, **Dii**, **Voute**, and **Gbaya** with **Islam** the main religion. The estimated population in 2001 was 723,626 persons; thus, the population density is very low (about 11 people per square kilometer), most of whom are engaged in **agriculture** and animal husbandry, particularly cattle. Only 57 percent of school-age children attend school.

In recent years, **refugees** from the **Central African Republic** have caused some stress on food supplies and public services. Millet and **maize** are the major food crops, and small amounts of **wheat** and **coffee** are produced as cash crops. **Tourism** is not important, but there is some artisanal **mining** of tin and commercial mining of bauxite. The region is headed by a **governor** appointed by the president. The headquarters is **Ngaoundéré**, Vina Division. This is the terminus of the **Trans-Cameroon railway**. Other important towns include Tibati, Banyo, and Meiganga. The region was created by presidential decree of 23 August 1983 with the breakup of the **Northern Province**.

ADJOUJJI, HAMADJODA (1937–). This long-time minister of livestock, fisheries, and animal industries was born in 1937 in Banyo,

Adamawa Region. He did his elementary **education** at the Rural School in Banyo and the Regional School in **Ngaoundéré** before proceeding for secondary and high school studies to the *Collège Moderne* in **Garoua** and later to the *Lycée Leclerc* in **Yaoundé**. In 1963, he passed the examinations into the **French** National Schools for Veterinary Sciences and studied successively in Alford and later at the Faculty of Medicine in Paris. In 1968, he graduated with a doctorate in veterinary sciences and a special diploma for veterinary services in tropical countries.

On his return home in 1969, he worked in Ngaoundéré in various specialized functions until 1974, when Adjoudji was appointed managing director of the Company for the Development and Exploitation of Animal Production (SODEPA). Adjoudji served in this function until his nomination to the **cabinet** on 7 July 1984, as minister of livestock, fisheries, and animal industries. He later served as secretary for youth affairs in the Central Committee of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. On 7 December 1997, Adjoudji was reappointed as minister of livestock, fisheries, and animal industries, remaining there until 2004. In 2007 he became a member of the new **National Anti-Corruption Commission**. He is chair of the board of directors of the University of Ngaoundéré. He wields more influence as one of two vice secretaries-general of the CPDM and through his role on its central committee.

ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES. European countries were empowered to exercise control of respective territories under the auspices of the **League of Nations** and the **United Nations**. The former German **protectorate** of **Kamerun** was turned over to administering authorities at the end of **World War I**. Under the League of Nations **mandate system** the territory was unequally partitioned between **France** (four-fifths of the territory) and the **Great Britain** (one-fifth of the territory) as administering authorities. Both powers continued in this status under the United Nations **trusteeship system**. Although administering authorities accepted a special responsibility of leading their territories toward self government and independence, the Cameroon territories experienced a system of control similar to other French and British colonies in Africa. This distortion of the legal status of the Cameroon territories became a major theme among

early nationalists. Administering authorities ceased upon attainment of independence.

ADOUM, ISSA (?–1984). Adoum is the presumed civilian leader of the failed **coup of 6 April 1984**. In this, he was assisted by army captain **Mbara G. Guerandi**. Born in Mokolo, **Extreme North Region**, Adoum trained at the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature* (ENAM) and in **France**. He served successively as secretary-general of the **National Water Corporation of Cameroon** (SNEC), as deputy director general of **Crédit Foncier**, and as managing director of the **National Fund for Rural Development** (FONADER). It was in this last post, on the eve of the coup, that he is alleged to have withdrawn funds that were used to entice rebel forces. He is also alleged to have hurriedly written and edited the proclamation of the coup message that was read by Captain Abale over the local channel of Radio Cameroon on Friday, 6 April 1984. Although Issa Adoum was reportedly addressed as “Mr. President” by rebel forces, he attempted to escape as loyal forces gained military control. He was arrested on the run in Bangangté (**Western Region**) on 7 April. After secret trials by a military tribunal, Issa Adoum was executed 2 May 1984.

ADVISORY COUNCIL (GOUVERNEMENTSRAT). This council was established as part of the **protectorate** government in German **Kamerun**. The Advisory Council was created in July 1885 on the initiative of German traders who largely composed its membership. This council functioned in a purely advisory manner; its decisions had no binding effect on the **governor**. Given the major role played by trading firms in securing Kamerun as a German protectorate, the traders’ opinion was vital in the early stages of administration and consolidation. Later in the period, the Advisory Council failed to function, and its necessity was the subject of debate in the Kolonialrat in 1903. The Kolonialrat approved the functioning of the advisory councils under conditions that the indigenous population be exempted, members be named by the governor, and preference be given to colonial settlers living near centers of administration.

AFANA, OSENDE (1930–1966). This radical Cameroon nationalist and economist, born in Ngoksa, **East Region**, was remarkable

while a student in Cameroon as a classic instigator and troublemaker against the French colonial regime. He left for further studies in Paris and became a leading organizer of the French section of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) exile movement. He also served as editor-in-chief of the journal *L'Etudiant d'Afrique Noire*. In 1957, his scholarship was withdrawn for participating in a **United Nations** debate in favor of immediate independence for Cameroon. He moved to Cairo and Conakry to join the exiled UPC, where he worked on his thesis and concentrated on the political rebellion against the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime. He was elected UPC secretary-general and was widely considered an intellectual serving the masses. He led underground insurgency operations of the *National Army of Kamerun Liberation* (ALNK) from the borders between Cameroon and **Congo** Brazzaville, where he was killed on 15 March 1966 by government troops.

AFO A KOM. The Afo A Kom is a sculpture that was stolen from the court of Kom, **North West Region**, in 1966. The name literally means “a thing of Kom.” The sculpture is one of a set of three beaded, wooden statues significant to the heart and soul of Kom culture. After extensive diplomatic negotiations, the Afo A Kom was returned to Kom in 1973. A journal of Cameroon art and culture, first published in May 1982 under the auspices of the Ministry of Information and Culture, was named after this significant work of African **art**.

AFRICA IN MINIATURE. *See* TOURISM.

AFRICAN FIRST LADIES SUMMIT. The first African First Ladies Summit was hosted and organized by **Chantal Biya** during the 1996 **Organization of African Unity** Summit in **Yaoundé**. It was attended by first ladies from Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Cameroon, **Congo**, **Gabon**, Malawi, Namibia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania. The summit focused on strategies to improve the lives of rural **women**. Several sessions of the summit have been held since. Recognizing their powerful position as role models, spokeswomen, and advocates for their people, the African First Ladies Summit and the United States Doctors for Africa (USDFA) held a summit titled “Leadership for **Health**” in Los Angeles, California, in April 2009.

AFRICAN SOCIALISM. The first development ideology of independent Cameroon was elaborated in Ebolowa in 1962 as part of the statement on general policy at the fourth Congress of the *Union Camerounaise*. Underlying this philosophy was the denial of the existence of social classes in Africa. This policy of progress for the less-privileged groups was aimed at promoting the interests of farmers, workers, **women**, and unemployed. **Ahmadou Ahidjo** distinguished classical socialism that emphasized nationalization from African socialism based on village communities, collective labor, and manpower investment. African socialism was abandoned as a philosophy in 1965. One could assume it was one step, in a series of moves, to offset the socialist orientation of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC). Following poor dividends African socialism was replaced by a policy of **planned liberalism**.

AFRICAN UNION (AU). This international organization of 53 African states is the successor to the **Organization of African Unity**. Proposed on 9 September 1999 in the Sirte Declaration, the AU came into being on 9 July 2002. As the continent's premier organization, its purposes are to accelerate the process of socioeconomic integration on the continent while building a partnership between African governments. It does not aim to become a government of Africa; one of its objectives is to protect the independence of its member states. Cameroon is a member.

AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES. This group of **languages** with a common origin is found in North and sub-Saharan Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and a few areas in western Asia. Arabic is perhaps the best known member of the family. Some members of this family are found in Cameroon, particularly in the **Extreme North Region**. This classification of languages was developed in the 1950s by Joseph Greenberg. *See also* NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES.

AGBOR-TABI, PETER (1951–). Agbor-Tabi was appointed deputy secretary-general at the Presidency with the rank of minister on 30 June 2009. He had previously served as minister of higher **education**, chancellor of the University of **Yaoundé**, and pro-chancellor of the University of **Buea** among other positions. Agbor-Tabi's home is

in Mamfe, **South West Region**. He received a PhD in international relations from the University of South Carolina (1982) and has been a Fulbright Scholar at Spellman College in Atlanta, Georgia.

AGRICULTURE. Agriculture is the centerpiece of Cameroon's economy. Although only 13 percent of the land is arable, some 70 percent of the country's population is engaged in agriculture, which produces about 44 percent of GDP. The products are often categorized as "food" crops (such as **cassava**, **cocoyam**, **banana** and plantain, sorghum, millet, and **maize**) and "cash" or "export crops" (such as banana, **cocoa**, **coffee**, **palm produce**, **rubber**, and **cotton**). Until recently Cameroon was thought to be self-sufficient for food, even as a food exporter to neighboring countries. At least since 2003, this is no longer the case.

In April 2008, the government responded to the world food crisis by announcing a major program to encourage the expansion of food crop production. Many farmers received the news with cynicism, expecting government **corruption** to "eat" most of the funds to be provided. Cash crops provide an important contribution to export income, and many are employed in the raising and processing of these crops. For many years the government has tended to place more emphasis on the export crops, but as farmers became unable to satisfy domestic food demands, there has been more research and funding available to assist food farmers. Most food crops are produced by **women**, cash crops by men.

Lack of credit, migration of young people to urban areas, failure of government to provide adequate support for agricultural inputs (pesticides, fertilizer, etc.), lack of proper infrastructure (for example, roads), and lack of research and adequate **education** are among several problems affecting agriculture. In addition, **population** growth has outpaced food crop expansion. The Institute for Agricultural Research for Development (IRAD), a government institution, is the major research body. International **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**, foreign aid programs, and international organizations such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) also conduct research, promote reform, and assist farmers. *See also* AGRO-INDUSTRY STRATEGY; COOPERATIVES; GREEN REVOLUTION; SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT; TEA; UNITED NATIONS; WHEAT.

AGRO-INDUSTRY STRATEGY. The development of agriculturally related **industries** is conceived as a decisive means for speeding up the country's growth and **self-reliant development**. State support for agro-industrial ventures began in 1968 with the creation of the Palm Grove Company (SOCAPALM). Many other agro-industrial ventures have been established. These were designed to set up industries for the processing of the principal agricultural products in a bid to change the country's status from a raw material exporter. Agro-industrial ventures therefore seek to transform Cameroon's traditional **agriculture** through industrialization, to enhance rural development, to escape from the strong dependency on export crops, and to ameliorate the quality of Cameroon export and major domestic crops. More recently, the emphasis on agro-industry has been to provide an alternative to **petroleum** as the main source of export income.

The agro-industry concept received new emphasis with the **privatization** program, which has disassembled many of the relevant parastatals originally established in this program. Despite the backing of foreign consultants, constructors and financiers, agro-industry has failed to meet government's expectations and has not yet had a substantial impact. Government's decision to outlaw the export of raw **timber** in 1999 is an example of this strategy. The expectation is that finished lumber and wood products will be exported. New industrial jobs will appear as timber processing factories are enlarged and established. However, there has been considerable delay in fully implementing these decisions. *See also* ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES.

AHIDJO, AHMADOU (1924–1989). The first **president** of Cameroon, he resigned on 4 November 1982, to later become persona non grata in the country following a severe rupture with his designated constitutional successor, President **Paul Biya**. Ahmadou Ahidjo was born in August 1924 in **Garoua** to an essentially single-parent home. It was Ahidjo's mother who provided for his livelihood. After primary **education**, Ahidjo attended the *Ecole Primaire Supérieure* in **Yaoundé** and in 1941 was trained and served as a post office radio operator in the Posts and Telegraph Service in **Douala**. He later became the leader of the *Jeunes Musulmans* movement.

Ahidjo then engaged in a serious political career, which began with his election as delegate to the first Cameroun Representative

Assembly (ARCAM) in 1947. In 1952, when ARCAM was restyled the *Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun* (ATCAM), Ahidjo was reelected. He also served as a member of the Assembly of the **French Union** from 1953, and became its vice president in 1956. In May 1957, he was appointed vice premier in **André-Marie Mbida's** government. Mbida's blunders and shortcomings brought Ahidjo his lifetime opportunity. He founded the *Union Camerounaise*, and, in February 1958, he replaced Mbida as **French Cameroun's** second **prime minister**.

With Ahidjo at the helm of the state, the **République du Cameroun**, which became independent in January 1960, reunited with the British **Southern Cameroons** in 1961. Before and after independence, Ahidjo faced severe challenges. These included the growing guerilla resistance to his rule by the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC); the loss of British **Northern Cameroons** to **Nigeria** during the reunification **plebiscite**; a tarnished international image due to his poor **human rights** record; an underdeveloped **economy**; and, an acute **nation-building** problem that was aggravated by the **anglophone-versus-francophone** cleavages.

By crushing the UPC rebellion with the help of French troops, Ahidjo improved the political stability of the country, which was crucial for Cameroon to obtain the necessary foreign assistance for its development. Even though he adopted an anti-UPC stand partly because the party called for **reunification**, he later on adopted the idea and included it as one of the top priorities of his government in 1958. After talks with Southern Cameroons' politicians between 1959 and 1961, a **United Nations**-sponsored plebiscite took place on 11 February 1961, leading to the reunification of French Cameroon and British Southern Cameroons. Ahidjo became the first president of the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**.

Ahidjo had longer-range goals in terms of the country's unification process and his eventual consolidation of power. Following his reelection in March 1965, he carried his one-party *Union Camerounaise* in **East Cameroon** toward a new party structure for the entire country. This meant the dissolution of the three major parties of **West Cameroon** (**Kamerun National Democratic Party [KNDP]**, **Cameroons People's National Convention [CPNC]**, and the **Cameroon United Congress [CUC]**). Through pressure and persuasion, this became reality

on 1 September 1966, with President Ahidjo as chairman of the one-party structure, the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**.

Ahidjo was reelected in 1970, and, after having silenced the guerrilla movement with the execution of **Ernest Ouandié** on 15 January 1971, he channeled his energies toward changing the political structure of Cameroon from a federal to a unitary state. In May 1972 the Federal Republic of Cameroon became the **United Republic of Cameroon**, with Ahidjo as the father of the nation.

To do this, Ahidjo acknowledged and displayed a fundamental attachment to the doctrine of the ends justifying the means. For many critics, Cameroon has since earned the reputation of a “not free state.” Restriction of civil liberties, including freedom of speech and movement as well as detention without trial, was a common feature of the Ahidjo regime. Ahidjo argued that repression took place because certain individuals sacrificed the collective interest in the quest of personal political designs. Ahidjo used these various tactics to make Cameroon one of Africa’s most “stable” countries. It was this disputable element of stability that assisted Cameroon’s very promising economic prospects. **Agricultural** production increased, and **petroleum** exploitation helped to raise the country’s **economy** to one of the highest levels of performance on the African continent.

Consequently, by the time Ahidjo left office, Cameroon was a country with high marks on several fronts in a troubled continent. His departure in November 1982 produced a surprise of significant proportions. No one took his word when he declared on multiple occasions after 1975 that “I will not remain in power for eternity.” Although the entire nation was caught off guard by his resignation announcement, the population and his successor reserved for the former president superlative eulogies befitting his 24 years in politics following his resignation. What followed Ahidjo’s resignation was a melodramatic demonstration of power and political succession of an unusual kind. Ahidjo’s greatest undoing was that he never left power completely. He continued to retain the influential position of chairman of the CNU with President Biya as head of state and government. Such a situation inevitably created a struggle for position and influence between Ahidjo and Biya.

Two conspiracy theories have been elaborated to explain the goings-on: the first assuming Ahidjo strongly wanted to return to power, or

that he expected President Biya to be a mere caretaker president of limited tenure; the second holding that the Biya entourage created an uncompromising situation for the former president.

Ahidjo, who had taken refuge in **France**, resigned from his party post on 27 August 1983, and predicted a gloomy future for his country and the people he had ruled for over two decades. In August 1983 he was implicated in a plot to overthrow Biya, and on 27 February 1984 was tried in absentia and sentenced to death. President Biya later commuted the sentence to life imprisonment and suspended pursuit of the case a month later. Ahidjo was later accused of being behind the abortive **coup d'état of 6 April 1984**.

Ahidjo took up residence in Dakar, Senegal, but made regular visits to France. He also attended the gathering of Former Heads of State and Governments. Before his death in Dakar on 30 November 1989, several abortive attempts were made to reconcile him and his predecessor. Despite his death, Ahidjo's legacy will continue to influence Cameroon politics for a long time. The long period of misrule by the Biya administration has made many people nostalgic about the Ahidjo regime. As of 2009, the Biya government has not allowed Ahidjo's remains to be returned to Cameroon for proper burial. *See also* AHIDJO-BIYA RUPTURE.

AHIDJO-BIYA RUPTURE. Political disagreement and suspicion followed the transition of power between former **President Ahmadou Ahidjo** and his designated constitutional successor, President **Paul Biya**. Although the initial transition was peaceful and orderly, the clash of the two personalities became inevitable. In November 1982 Ahidjo resigned as head of state in favor of Biya but retained the chairmanship of the **Cameroon National Union**. Cameroon was faced with political dualism. Whereas Ahidjo believed the party defined the guidelines of the nation's policy and the government merely implemented this policy, President Biya argued that the **constitution** granted the president the prerogative to define the policy of the country. This conflict also magnified itself in trivial aspects like protocol treatment, picture on party uniforms, and decision-making formalities.

The Ahidjo-Biya Rupture could also be understood in terms of the dynamics of Cameroon's cultural politics. It was believed that Ahidjo

retained many of his close collaborators in key government positions, which made it difficult for President Biya to function effectively without turning to Ahidjo collaborators in high places. Moreover, it was argued that Biya resented the endless consultation with Ahidjo before taking decisions. Consequently, political associates close to Biya questioned the sincerity of Ahidjo in resigning from office.

Ahidjo's actions left room for suspicion. In January 1983 he visited only six of the then seven **regions** of the country to urge for more respect and support for Biya. He failed to go to the North, his region of origin. In June 1983 he held a secret conclave with **Muslim** and Northern ministers to advocate their **collective resignation** from the Biya government. From his exile home in **France**, he allegedly sent a loyal aide to Cameroon with instructions for a destabilization plot against Biya. He also issued statements and declarations from France injurious to the new head of state. Under pressure from Biya, Ahidjo was forced to resign from the party chairmanship on 27 August 1983. Attempts by French President François Mitterrand and other African leaders as well as the president of the Cameroon **National Assembly** to reconcile the two men failed.

In January 1984 President Biya distanced himself further from the Ahidjo heritage by seeking an independent mandate of his own in presidential elections. The peak of the Ahidjo-Biya Rupture was the public trial of February 1984 in which the former head of state (in absentia) and other close collaborators were sentenced to death. President Biya later commuted the sentences and suspended the further pursuit of the case. Another serious phase in the rupture was the foiled **coup d'état of 6 April 1984** in which the Republican Guard loyal to the former president attempted to overthrow Biya. After the incident, Biya fully consolidated his position and power in the country's politics. In 1985, he distanced himself further from the Ahidjo regime by changing the name of the one-party structure to the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. *See also* DESTABILIZATION PLOT OF 22 AUGUST 1983; SECOND EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE CAMEROON NATIONAL UNION.

AKWA. This is one of many lineage groupings among the coastal **Duala** peoples. The Akwa became prominent in the precolonial and

colonial periods through their learning of European **languages**, the art of governing, and significant trading skills. The Akwa clan provided leadership among coastal peoples through its king. This leadership role facilitated communication and authority in the dealings between the Duala and European governments. The **Anglo-Duala treaty of 1852** and the protectorate treaty with **Germany** (German-Duala treaty) were signed by King Akwa.

The Akwa town on the east side of the **Wouri River** was projected for inland relocation by the Germans in 1909. This hated German policy of expropriation was the source of considerable protest and debate against German rule. Protests and petitions against German land policy were a spur to the rise of nationalism in Cameroon. *See also* AKWA, BETOTE; MANGA BELL, RUDOLF DOUALA.

AKWA, BETOTE (1892–1965). An early **Duala** politician in the independence period, Betote Akwa was born on 15 August 1892, in **Douala**. He became king of the **Akwa** clan and was instrumental in organizing the cultural-political organization, **Ngondo**. He served in the **East Cameroon** Legislature from 1959 to 1960 and as a minister of state without portfolio in Prime Minister **Ahmadou Ahidjo's cabinet**. He retired from politics to resume business activities following his electoral defeat in 1960.

AKWA, DIKA MPONDA. This traditional **Duala chief** was one of the main signatories of the German **Protectorate** treaty of 12 July 1884; he died shortly thereafter.

ALBATROSS AFFAIR. This complicated scandal involves the purchase of a new presidential airplane. In 2000 it was decided to replace the *Pelican*, purchased for **President Ahmadou Ahidjo** in 1978. A new Boeing BBJ 11 was ordered in 2001, and \$31 million was transferred to an American company, GIA International, for payment to Boeing. GIA may have been a front for some Cameroon businesspeople. In 2002 it was decided to buy a cheaper used plane, but this plane suffered technical difficulties on its first flight, severely scaring President **Paul Biya**. It was not used again, and in 2005 a used Saudi Boeing 767-200 was purchased. None of the original \$31 million has ever resurfaced. Many names have been implicated, though the former manager of

Cameroon Airlines, Yves Michel Fotso, is often mentioned. The *Pelican* had become the *Albatross*. See also CORRUPTION.

ALI, AHMADU (1943–). Ahmadu Ali was born in 1943 in Kolofata, **Extreme North Region**. He did primary school in Kolofata, Mora, before proceeding to *Lycée de Garoua*. He began official service as an administrative assistant in 1961 and rose to the rank of sub-divisional officer of Kaélé. He proceeded to the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature* (ENAM) in Yaoundé and to the International Institute of Public Administration in Paris, earning diplomas from both institutions in 1970 and 1971, respectively.

From 1971 to 1972, Ali served as first assistant divisional officer in **Ngaoundéré**. He was later transferred to Yaoundé, where from 1972 to 1982 he was secretary-general in the Ministry of Public Service. He served as delegate general for tourism and was delegate general for the National Gendarmerie (1983–1985). During a major **cabinet** shakeup in August 1985, Ali retained his duties with the new title secretary of state for defense. In 1996, Ali was appointed secretary-general at the Presidency, a post he held until 7 December 1997, when he was appointed minister delegate at the Presidency in charge of defense. On 8 December 2004 Ali became vice prime minister, a position he still retains as well as being the minister of justice and keeper of the seals. Some references suggest that Ahmadu Ali is being groomed as President **Paul Biya**'s successor.

ALIMA, GIBERING BOL. See BOL ALIMA, GIBERING.

ALL ANGLOPHONE CONFERENCES. The first All Anglophone Conference (AAC I) was held in **Buea** on 2–3 April 1993, convened in response to President **Paul Biya**'s announcement in November 1992 to organize a national debate (*Grand Débat*) on constitutional reform in Cameroon. AAC I was the first attempt since the introduction of multiparty politics in Cameroon in 1993 that **anglophones** had come together to discuss their fate. In actual fact, the AAC I was the culmination of efforts by anglophones, either as individuals or as groups, to seek redress for injustices committed against them by the **Yaoundé** government. Pressure groups were formed such as the

All Anglophone Council, the **Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM)**, and the South West **Elite Association (SWELA)**.

In 1991, government convened the **Tripartite Conference**, and anglophones were, inadvertently, brought together under the canopy of the Constitutional Committee. The latter, set up to draft a new constitution reflecting the multiparty situation in Cameroon, contained four anglophone jurists, Benjamin Itoe, Carlson Anyangwe, Sam Ekontang Elad, and Simon Munzu. Being the only anglophones on the committee, and representing the political and constitutional aspirations of their kith and kin, the four presented a draft constitutional proposal on a new federal structure that came to be styled the **EMIA** (acronym for Elad, Munzu, Itoe and Anyangwe) **constitution**. Itoe was later dropped in a subsequent **cabinet** shakeup, allegedly because he participated in producing such a document, even though he never signed the final draft. Biya announced a national debate shortly after the **elections for the president in 1992**, galvanizing anglophone Cameroonians into convening a much larger meeting. Thus the AAC I was convened. Among its aims were

1. the adoption of a common anglophone stand on proposed constitutional reforms;
2. airing anglophone grievances (political, economic, social) with the hope that they would be solved within the framework of the new constitution; and
3. putting an end to Anglophone marginalization.

Proposals were put forward in the **Buea Declaration** at the end of the conference.

In 1994, a second conference, the AAC II, met in **Bamenda**. At the end of its deliberations, the conference issued the **Bamenda Proclamation (Declaration)**, stating that if the government failed to address the problems of the anglophones, they would eventually proclaim, unilaterally, the independence and sovereignty of the anglophone territory. Meanwhile on 19 August 1994, an AAC II resolution created the Southern Cameroons Advisory Council (SCAC). Various titles appear over the years designating changes in nomenclature. For examples, there are the Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization (SCAPO) and the Southern Cameroons Peoples Conference (SCPC).

These in turn are related to the **Southern Cameroons National Council**.

Whatever unity seemed to exist in the anglophone movement of the early years seems to have been lost by early in the first decade of the 2000s. As time passes, numerous persons claim to be the leader, splinter groups with slightly different agenda appear, and squabbling has replaced action.

ALLIANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMEROON THROUGH THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (ARC-SNC). This was an alliance of opposition parties that hoped to change the sociopolitical-economic situation in Cameroon through the convening of a Sovereign National Conference as a first step toward solving the country's political-economic crisis. The ARC-SNC included a group of a dozen opposition parties, otherwise known as the hard-core opposition parties, with the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** at the head. They constituted themselves into the Union for Change group, which envisaged change through a three-point agenda: the resignation of the **Paul Biya** government, the formation of a transitional government that would convene a Sovereign National Conference, and the establishment of genuinely democratic institutions. **John Fru Ndi** was elected chairman of the ARC-SNC. Other prominent opposition politicians in the alliance included **Maigari Boubu Bello** of the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)** and **Adamu Ndam Njoya** of the **Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU)**.

In anticipation of the October 1992 presidential elections, the alliance chose Fru Ndi as the opposition single candidate. This did not help the alliance because various **political parties** in the alliance presented their own candidates. Consequently, the alliance's attempt to present a single presidential candidate failed.

This was the beginning of cracks in the alliance. The cracks became more visible when the government refused to give in to any of the alliance's demands. The result was that prominent parties within the alliance, notably Boubu Bello's NUDP, began identifying itself with the party in power, eventually entering into a coalition with that party after the 1997 presidential elections. The failure of opposition parties to adopt a common strategy in dealing with government's

intransigence made the alliance redundant. *See also* FRONT OF ALLIES FOR CHANGE (FAC).

ALLIED FRONT FOR CHANGE. *See* FRONT OF ALLIES FOR CHANGE (FAC).

ALUMINUM. Aluminum has been an important part of the Cameroon **economy** since 1957, when processing began at **Edéa**. It is now a significant export of Cameroon, though some production is used domestically. The producing company, ALUCAM, is a joint venture of the government and, since 2003, the Rio Tinto Alcan company. Cameroon is one of Africa's principal producers of aluminum. ALUCAM's capacity is presently 90,000 tons per year. A huge project has been proposed by Alcan to increase production by 400,000 tons per year by 2016. This will include a new production facility, construction of a dam to increase electricity supply, the possible use of local bauxite, and the enlargement of the Kribi port. A final contract for this project was signed on 31 July 2009.

Until now, production has utilized bauxite imported from Guinea, but numerous projects are under way to begin the exploitation of Cameroon's large bauxite deposits. An Australian company plans to begin exploitation at Fongo Tongo near Dschang in the near future, and huge investments are planned in the north at Ngaoundal and Minim Martap. A smelter will be constructed to reduce ore to alumina before shipment for processing at Edéa. The combined cost of this project is estimated at \$2 billion. Some bauxite may be exported.

Low-cost electricity produced by **hydroelectric** projects on several rivers is an important prerequisite for the location of this industry in Cameroon. *See also* FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN TRADE; MINERALS AND MINING.

AMBAS BAY. Early Portuguese navigators referred to the inhabitants of the islands in the Bay of Victoria as the Ambos. This is the most plausible historical derivation of the contemporary title, Ambas Bay. It was after initial settlement in Ambas Bay that the land area once known as Victoria, presently **Limbe**, was cleared and founded by **Alfred Saker**. It was the site of one of the early trading networks established on the Cameroon coast by the British.

In the 1990s, the term **Ambazonia** came into use as a name for a proposed independent country within the boundaries of the old **Southern Cameroons**.

AMBAZONIA (AMBAZANIA). A term used to denote the former **Southern Cameroons** as an independent Republic of Ambazonia, as defined by the more radical of **anglophone** separatists. The term is derived from **Ambas Bay** on which **Limbe** is located. On 30 December 1999 the **Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC)** declared this an independent state; no country has recognized it. The **Bakassi** Peninsula is included in this new country. In addition to the SCNC, various groups (e.g., the Ambazonia Liberation Party [ALIP], the British Southern Cameroons Restoration Government [BSCRG], the Southern Cameroons Restoration Movement [SCARM], and the Southern Cameroons Peoples Organisation [SCAPO]) claim to be affiliated with the Republic of Ambazonia. *See also* BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS LIBERATION FRONT (BSCLF); ZERO OPTION.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION. This mission, one of the earliest **Christian** groups in Cameroon, began work in Batanga in 1875. By 1889 agreements were reached with the German administration, and the mission began to expand inland, opening a major station at Lolodorf. The mission's work centered among the **Bassa** and **Bulu**. Many believe that the mission's **education** role was a factor in the rise of nationalist fervor and the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**) in the area. Since 1957 the *Eglise Presbytérienne Camerounaise* (EPC) has been autonomous though still in close communion with the Presbyterian Church (USA). *See also* BASEL (BASLER) MISSION SOCIETY.

AMINOUC, OUMAROU (1943–1998). The former delegate general of tourism and minister delegate of foreign affairs, Oumarou Aminou was born in Tignère (**Adamawa**) on 20 February 1943. Aminou held numerous posts in the governments of Presidents **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and **Paul Biya**. He was also prominent in **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** circles. He was center-stage in the discord of the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture**, after which he became ambassador to Saudi

Arabia. His final appointment was as **governor, West Region** (until January 1992). He died on 2 August 1998.

ANDZE TSOUNGUI, GILBERT (1930–2007). Born 7 August 1930 in Nkolondom, near **Yaoundé**, Andze Tsoungui was a civil administrator and the first minister of Cameroon's armed forces not of northern origin. Tsoungui studied law by correspondence from the University of Dakar, Senegal. In 1955 he did law practice and administrative ethics. He later served as senior divisional officer for Mungo Division before being appointed as **federal inspector of administration** in the Littoral and in the Western Region until 1972. Under the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** government, Tsoungui served in various capacities: as minister delegate at the State Inspectorate, minister of **agriculture** in 1975, minister of justice in 1980, and under the **Paul Biya** government as minister of armed forces from August 1983 until November 1985.

During the foiled military **coup of 6 April 1984**, Tsoungui set up a secret command post to organize the recapture of strategic locations by loyal forces. The mutiny reinforced Tsoungui's position, and he emerged as a powerful figure calling for vigilance and firmness, and contradicting President Biya with the assertion that all rebel forces hailed from the North. In November 1985, he was replaced when the ministry was attached to the Presidency and the post retitled minister delegate at the Presidency, in charge of defense. In April 1989, he was appointed delegate general for national security, a post he held until he was appointed deputy **prime minister** in charge of territorial administration on 27 November 1992. On 7 December 1997, Andze Tsoungui was dropped from government. He died on 9 April 2007.

ANGLO-DUALA TREATY, 29 APRIL 1852. The export of Cameroon slaves was abolished by this treaty. The treaty was to be enforced by the king and **chiefs** of Cameroon, who were mainly the **Duala** coastal leaders. The British were to expel any Europeans who settled and made a living out of the **slave trade** in the territory. The treaty also granted the most favored nation (MFN) status in open commercial trade to **Great Britain**. Signatories were the British resident agent; trade, missionary, and military officials for Britain; and King **Akwa** and his subordinate chiefs for the Duala.

ANGLOPHONE. This term denotes Cameroonians whose secondary medium of expression is the English language, and it refers to the portions of the country previously under British rule. Historically, the grouping corresponds to the population subjected to the British **mandate** and **trust** administration. Today, anglophones mostly occupy the **North West** and **South West Regions** of Cameroon and constitute about one-fifth of the country's population. *See also* ANGLOPHONE POLITICAL PRESSURE GROUPS; ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM.

ANGLOPHONE POLITICAL PRESSURE GROUPS. The introduction of multiparty democracy in December 1990 reawakened the **Anglophone problem**. The political liberalization that came in the wake of the introduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990s provided an opportunity for the **anglophones** to create pressure groups that would address their plight. Consequently, there was a proliferation of groups that had contrasting views on how to tackle the Anglophone problem. While some felt that anglophone grievances could be redressed through a return to the federal system of government as it was between 1961 and 1972, others held the view that the secession of anglophone Cameroon from the rest of the country, the so-called "**zero option**," was the only solution. *See also* ALL ANGLOPHONE CONFERENCE; CAMEROON ANGLOPHONE MOVEMENT.

ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM. The Anglophone problem has to do with the cultural identity of English-speaking (**anglophone**) Cameroonians, who form a minority in the **Republic of Cameroon**. This group of Cameroonians argues that as citizens of the Republic of Cameroon, they reserve the right to be treated equally with their French-speaking counterparts (**francophones**). Unfortunately, many anglophones believe that this has not been the case since **reunification**. Many anglophones see themselves as being marginalized in national life.

The Anglophone problem is said to have been brought about by three factors: the Anglo-French partition of German **Kamerun** after **World War I**, which split the territory into British and French spheres; the conditions under which anglophone Cameroon achieved independence in 1961, which included the fact that it achieved inde-

pendence from a position of weakness vis-à-vis **French Cameroun**; and the price the territory had to pay as one of the two states of the **Federal Republic of Cameroon** from 1961 to 1972.

Anglophone grievances with the francophone-dominated leadership have been centered on the centralization and monopolization of power by government and the accusation that anglophones had been reduced to a second-class status, in violation of the 1961 agreement that established a federal union of equal federal status. Anglophone exclusion from effective power sharing and consequently policymaking in the country, the economic exploitation of the anglophone territory, and the fear of the eventual suppression of their cultural identity (**language** and **educational** system) by the francophones are aspects of the problem.

In an attempt to redress these grievances, anglophone Cameroonians have formed political and social groupings to fight for their cause. In reaction the government has tried to satisfy anglophone grievances by appointing anglophone **prime ministers**, gaining admission of the county into the **Commonwealth**, establishing the English-speaking university in **Buea**, creating a separate examination board for anglophone examinations, and drawing up a new **constitution** that makes provision for minority problems. *See also* ALL ANGLOPHONE CONFERENCES; ANGLOPHONE POLITICAL PRESSURE GROUPS; HOLIDAYS.

ANGLOPHONE STANDING COMMITTEE. *See* SOUTHERN CAMEROONS NATIONAL COUNCIL.

ANLU. This traditional **women's** society among the Bikom women is similar to women's associations among other **Grassfield** groups. It is best known for the Anlu Rebellion of 1958 through 1961, which opposed the attempted imposition by British colonial authorities of contour plowing, contrary to traditional farming practices. Anlu was mobilized and developed as a tool of modern politics during the days of multiparty government in **West Cameroon**. It played a significant role in supporting the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** but was also active in supporting the interests of women at the local level, a function which continues to this time. *See also* TAKUMBENG.

ARCHITECTURE. The art of building in Cameroon has not been a subject of as much scholarly interest as wood sculpture and masks. Nevertheless, attention has been focused on a few traditions that serve to emphasize the astonishing architectural diversity within the country. Along the coastal and southern regions of Cameroon, buildings are commonly rectilinear in plan and composed of wattle-and-daub construction.

The **Grassfield** kingdoms of Cameroon are renowned for their large palaces of rectilinear structures, generically called *nto*, created with raffia palm timbers. These timbers are often bound and interlaced to produce extraordinary patterns, creating an almost woven texture to the wall surfaces. Buildings are normally rectilinear in plan, but with high pitched conical roofs covered with grass thatching. The individual elements of these buildings—walls, ceiling, conical roof—may be prefabricated before being lifted into position to create the final product in a relatively short period of time.

The palace of **Sultan Njoya** in **Foumban**, built between 1917 and 1922, is unique in the Grassfield. The new palace, created to replace a palace in the Grassfield style that had burned in 1915, combines elements of **Bamoum** and European architecture with **Islamic** architecture from northern Cameroon. The materials and articulation of the façade point to King Njoya's admiration of the residence of the **German governor** in **Buea**. The interior throne hall, on the other hand, is composed of huge piers with arches supporting the ceiling in the manner of palace structures of northern Cameroon. The centrally placed tower on the entrance façade resembles the semicircular eaves over the audience courtyard in the palace that burned in 1915.

The **Fulani** rulers of northern Cameroon are renowned for their large-scale palaces that cover entire neighborhoods in area. Divided into two major areas—a private domain largely the reserve of the ruler, his wives, concubines, and servants; and a much smaller public area—the palace plan is laid out according to Islamic principles of division of public and private space. The public areas are composed of alternating buildings and courtyards, admission to which quickly becomes more restrictive. Although built of earth with thatched roofs, the plans of individual structures closely resemble those of the Grassfield, with rectilinear structures frequently covered by a conical thatched roof. This is particularly true on the **Adamawa Plateau**,

where long grasses create an extremely smooth texture to the roof. Architectural decoration and the use of pillared halls, however, point to the historic relations of this region with both Hausa domains to the west as well as Kanem-Bornu to the North.

Perhaps one of the most renowned architectural styles of Cameroon is that of **Musgum** architecture in the extreme north. These so-called beehive houses are composed entirely of earth in a domical form. They are built in layers of earth that resemble the manner in which coil pottery is created. The exterior surfaces of buildings feature relief patterns of either long, narrow upside-down “V” shapes or short vertical lines. These serve both to protect the exterior from rain as well as to provide steps for individuals to effect repairs.

As was noted in relation to Sultan Njoya’s palace, the Germans left a lasting legacy of colonial architecture. A large number of prefabricated metal structures continue to be employed as residences in Buea, for example, that feature windows and wide eaves particularly suited to the climate. One of the primary sources for Sultan Njoya’s palace was the governor’s residence in Buea, which still serves as a summer presidential palace. The Germans also left a number of important military structures, for instance at **Bamenda** and **Bafut**.

Contemporary architecture of major cities, such as **Yaoundé** or **Douala**, can be quite fantastic particularly in its elevation. These structures are frequently the work of European architects. *See also* ART; NJOYA, IBRAHIM.

ARDO (s., pl. **ARDO’EN**). This term designates the leader of a group of **Fulani** and has its origins in their nomadic past. The *ardo* is the leader of a group, referred to as a *tokkal* (s., pl. *tokke*), who are bound to their leader through bonds of loyalty rather than family or geography. They trust in the *ardo*’s ability to guide their seasonal migrations and adjudicate disputes. Individuals retain the right to attach themselves to a new *tokkal* if they find their current *ardo* ineffectual. The *tokkal* system of government was used by the early Fulani leaders who migrated into northern Cameroon in the 18th and 19th centuries. These leaders employed the *tokkal* system as the basis, furthermore, for governing the polities that they established, particularly in the early 19th century. These *ardo’en* controlled not so much defined geographical territories as groups of loyal followers.

The term *lamido*, these days used to designate the heads of the Fulani polities of northern Cameroon, was restricted in usage in the 19th century as a title for the ruler of Yola—a corollary to the Arabic term *Emir*. The rulers of northern Cameroon began to use the term *lamido*, as opposed to *ardo*, only after **German** colonial rule severed northern Cameroon from Yola, ironically permitting these former subrulers access to the symbols and titles of power at the same time that their real control of territory was diminished.

ARMED FORCES. The Cameroon Armed Forces consists of an army, navy, and air force. There are also a presidential guard and paramilitary forces. In 2009, all units included about 28,000 persons. A rapid intervention battalion of 1,000 persons (increased to 1,800 in 2008) was created in 2001 to quell kidnapping and looting in the north and along the eastern borders. This unit was also used brutally against civilian demonstrators during the disturbances of 2008, and it may be used in the **Bakassi** Peninsula. All security units, including the Ministry of Defense, are under the direct control of an office in the Presidency. Cameroon has been and is increasingly involved in **peacekeeping operations**.

Military service is voluntary; there is no conscription. Military expenditures equal about 1.4 percent of GDP. While heavily influenced by French military doctrine, advisers, and equipment, Cameroon also has military relations with the **United States** and **China**. *See also* COUPEURS DE ROUTE; FRANCE.

ARNGA, ARDO HAMMADOU (ARDO HAMMADOU NYA MBOULA) (early 19th century–ca. 1871). He was the second **Vollarbe** ruler of Tibati and Tchamba *lamidats*, both founded by his father, Hamman Sambo, in the early 19th century. He was the eldest son of six and expected to succeed to the throne after his father's death in 1849. Instead, Yola chose to divide the domain by appointing his brother Adamou to lead Tchamba and a second brother, Toukour, to rule Tibati. Hammadou Arnga took refuge at the court of **Ardo Ndjobdi** in **Ngaoundéré**, until he gathered enough strength to conquer both in 1851, executing his two brothers. *Lamido* Lawal of Yola led a punitive expedition against **Ardo** Hammadou Arnga in

which the rulers of all the other polities south of the **Benue River** engaged. This expedition, however, proved fruitless.

Ardo Hammadou Arnga's reign can be characterized by constant aggression, particularly toward the neighboring **Fulani** states. Following the defeat of Yola, Ardo Hammadou Arnga directed devastating attacks against Banyo and **Ngaoundéré**, and obliterated Tignère in 1856. Tignère would not be refounded until 1895. While the constant aggression of Ardo Hammadou Arnga may be seen as bitterness over his disputed accession, a more plausible explanation lies in the jockeying for territory and resources that characterized the early history of many Fulani states.

ART. The study of African art, Cameroon included, has historically focused on objects fabricated from wood, in particular masks and statuary. The **Bamiléké** are known for expressive masks with robust style and prominent features. Masks from the **Cross River** region are characterized by more refined features and heightened verisimilitude, exemplified by the use of animal skin stretched over the surface to replicate the sense of human skin. A Bamiléké and northwest tradition of portraiture in wood sculpture is also well known. A prominent example of this tradition is the **Afo A Kom** sculpture, famously stolen from the Kom kingdom in 1966 and returned to great fanfare in 1973.

The largest kingdom in western Cameroon, and therefore the largest patron of the arts, is the **Bamoum** kingdom. The Bamoum historically are renowned for their masks and particularly beaded sculpture of the palace. In the early 20th century, **Sultan Njoya** monopolized the trade in **Ndop cloth** in the **Grassfield** through introducing its production from northeast **Nigeria**. In more contemporary times, **lost wax** brass casting is an important art form in the **Bamoum** kingdom. Competing nodes of art production arose in the early 20th century when the artisanal street was arranged under French patronage to support **tourism** in opposition to royal patronage.

Leather and textiles are important art forms in northern Cameroon. These are particularly associated with the Islamic culture of the **Fulani**, and especially stunning leatherwork is accomplished for horse trappings and equestrian fare, while the flowing gowns worn by prominent individuals may feature complex embroidery covering both the front and the back.

The anemic contemporary art scene is a result of lack of public support, unlike that in Senegal for example. Although art exists as part of the university curriculum, there is a conspicuous lack of emphasis on art **education**, as is not the case in Nigeria or Sudan. There is little government support for museums either, despite calls for such since at least 1985 by Father **Engelbert Mveng**. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES; ATEU ATSA.

ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES. A major aspect of artisanal activities deals with **arts** and crafts. They are a significant form of traditional genius and creativity serving commercial, ritual, and aesthetic purposes. Centers of artisanal industry exist in nearly all parts of the country serving the needs of a growing **tourist** industry as well as domestic trade. Government shows considerable interest in these industries as a means of providing employment and income. Various craft cooperatives have been developed in recent years to serve local and export markets, and these have brought about a significant revitalization of skilled artisans in rural areas. Wood sculptures, beads, cast bronze, leather work, textiles and embroidery, baskets, and jewelry are among the many items produced. Artisanal **mining** of gold and diamonds occurs on a small scale, and some 34,000 persons are employed in artisanal fishing. The Ministry of Small and Medium-Sized Undertakings and Handicrafts provides the majority of government assistance in this regard, though other ministries are also important.

ASSALE, CHARLES (1911–1999). Former **prime minister** of the **République du Cameroun**, Assale was born on 4 November 1911 at Mefo, Ebolowa. Assale trained as a nurse at Ayos before serving in that capacity for 10 years. A leading nationalist, he began politics through the **trade union** movement. In 1946, he played a key role in organizing the French Cameroon branch of the French *Confédération Générale de Travail* (CGT) and a year later became a representative of the French Economic Council. In 1948, Assale helped create the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) and was instrumental in preparing the declaration “*Appel au Camerounais*” in 1948. In 1957, however, he left the UPC. In 1949, he founded the *Union Tribale Ntem-Kribi* and participated in the creation of the *Courant*

d'Union Nationale. At various times after 1948, he was elected to the *Assemblée Territoriale*, the *Assemblée Législative*, and the **National Assembly** in 1960. He also joined the *Mouvement d'Action Nationale Camerounaise* (MANC).

After serving as finance minister in **French Cameroun** from February 1958, he became prime minister of the République du Cameroun on 15 May 1960. He served in this capacity until 1 October 1961, when he became prime minister of **East Cameroon**. He remained in this post until 19 January 1965. Assale was an adviser and member of the Central Committee when the **Cameroon National Union** party formed in 1966, where he remained until the **Bamenda Congress** of March 1985. His last post was as mayor of Ebolowa in 1987. He died on 10 December 1999.

ASSEMBLEE LEGISLATIVE DU CAMEROUN (ALCAM). This was the name of **French Cameroun's** legislature during the period of self-government between 9 May 1959 and 10 April 1960. Important day-to-day government decisions, except for defense and foreign relations, were deliberated by ALCAM. Although ALCAM provided self-rule governments under **André-Marie Mbida** between May 1957 and February 1958 and **Ahmadou Ahidjo** until February 1960 and left Cameroon out of the **French Union**, Cameroon was still represented in the French National Assembly. On 22 November 1958, ALCAM voted in favor of the new French statute for the transition period into independence. The new status provided full internal autonomy for the territory, and Cameroon was no longer represented in the French parliament in Paris.

On 30 October 1959, ALCAM provided the groundwork for the future Cameroun polity with the election of a 21-member consultative committee to draft the constitution of the new **République du Cameroun**, the **Constitution of 1960**. ALCAM gave way to the **National Assembly of Cameroun (ANCAM)** following the general elections of 10 April 1960.

ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE DU CAMEROUN (ANCAM)/ NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF CAMEROUN. ANCAM was the legislative body of the **République du Cameroun** from April 1960 until October 1961. The successor of the *Assemblée Législative du*

Cameroun (ALCAM), it came into existence following the general election of 10 April 1960, with the **Union Camerounaise** as the dominant party. ANCAM was a unicameral legislature and had legislative powers over persons and property rights; political, administrative, judicial, and security matters; and socioeconomic and financial policies.

ASSEMBLEE TERRITORIALE DU CAMEROUN (ATCAM).

ATCAM was the legal successor of the *Assemblée Représentative du Cameroun* (ARCAM) in 1952. ATCAM possessed more than just advisory functions in that it provided an indigenous legislative structure in the governing process of the territory. The number of members was increased from 34 to 50, but this still included about one-third European members who constituted the “first electoral college.” Following the passage of the *Loi Cadre* in 1956, lesser restrictions were imposed on its recommendations and decisions. ATCAM decisions, however, did not automatically become law. They were subject to approval by the *Conseil d’Etat* in Paris.

The territorial assembly played the role of a melting pot for future Camerounian politicians. Except for the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), which was virtually excluded from gaining political representation even though it participated in elections, other leaders like **Louis Paul Aujoulat**, **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, **Rene-Guy Charles Okala**, and **Paul Soppo Priso** began their active national political careers in ATCAM. Following abolition of the dual college electoral system in the *Loi Cadre*, universal suffrage became the rule. Before the dissolution of ATCAM in November 1956, voter registration had reached a peak of nearly two million. Cameroun gained a new status that allowed for a greater autonomy and led to the replacement of ATCAM by the *Assemblée Législative du Cameroun* (ALCAM) on 9 May 1957. ALCAM provided the opportunity for preindependence self-rule headed by **André-Marie Mbida** as first prime minister of the coalition government.

ASSIATOU (AISSATOU), YAOU (1951–). Assiatou was the first minister of **women’s** affairs and president of the women’s wing of the national party, the **Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. Born on 28 November 1951 in Tchebo, **North Region**,

she completed primary school in Tcheboa and secondary school in the *Lycée Technique*, **Douala**. She graduated from the University of Rouen, **France**, in 1975 with a *licence* in economics. After a short experience in the **National Investment Company (SNI)** she moved to the United States, where she obtained a master's degree in finance in 1979. She returned to the SNI, serving as deputy director of finance until her appointment as minister of women's affairs (name varies) in February 1985, a position in which she remained until 2000. After the party congress in **Bamenda**, she replaced **Delphine Tsanga** as president of the women's wing of the party in March 1985. She remains in this position as of 2009 and as of 2009 is also general manager of SNI.

ASSIMILATION POLICY. This major determinant of French colonial theory prevailed throughout the 19th century. Its philosophical origins are to be found in the Enlightenment with its belief in the power of reason and the concept of the universal equality of all men. This led to the *mission civilisatrice-et-providentielle* (the civilizing and providential mission) that aimed at making colonial peoples assimilate French habits and beliefs and stressed oneness between **France** and its empire. The educated elites were the main propagators of assimilation. Although the policy of assimilation was enshrined in art. 109 of the 1848 French Constitution, a troubling divergence between policy and practice was easily detectable. By the early decades of French rule this policy, which was applied in Cameroun despite the territory's unique character, was under strong assault. It was replaced by the **association policy**. *See also* ASSIMILE.

ASSIMILE. The term *assimilé* was used in the French colonial era to denote an African who had accepted and absorbed French culture and was thus assimilated into French citizenship. There were numerous formal legal qualifications to obtain this status, including becoming a Christian and fluency in the French language. *See also* ASSIMILATION POLICY.

ASSOCIATION POLICY. French association policy was aimed at cooperation and solidarity between the ruler and ruled during the colonial period. It replaced the policy of **assimilation** that prevailed

throughout the 19th century. Association was to give higher regard for indigenous institutions and the values of inhabitants, which had been degraded under assimilation. Throughout the 20th century, the French preached the doctrine of association as a means of enabling Africans to develop within the context of their own milieu. Rather than using educated elites, the French created traditional **chiefs** to uphold local populations and stability. This participation of local leaders appeared to make French rule more secure, practical, and economical. The French also used association as a belated means to work toward economic development in their colonies.

These assumed goals of association did not, however, eliminate the traces of assimilation that continued to persist through French paternalism, **education**, and cultural control. The association policy, like that of assimilation before it, was rooted in Enlightenment ideas. The practical distinctions made between association and assimilation were not very significant. *See also* INDIRECT RULE; MISE EN VALEUR.

ASSOCIATION POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC). This part of the Treaty of Rome, which established the European Economic Community (EEC), defined various relationships between the EEC and **France's** colonies. France insisted on provisions in the EEC Treaty (Articles 131–136) that would provide for a wider economic sphere, high level of freedom, and effective financial assistance for its African territories. The six EEC members and 14 Associated African States and Madagascar (AASM) signed the **Yaoundé Agreements** in 1964 and 1969. This allowed African states to benefit from certain advantages with members of the EEC, but it was regarded by critics as a progression from the imperialism of France to a “joint imperialism” of the EEC. After 1975, the **Lomé Agreements** between the EEC and the African, Caribbean, and the Pacific countries (ACP) continued this relationship under the EEC's successor, the **European Union**. The most recent definition of the relationship is expressed in the **Cotonou Agreement** of 2000.

ASSOCIATION POUR DEFENSE DES DROITS DES ETUDIANTS DU CAMEROUN (ADDEC). The Association for the Defense of the Rights of Cameroon Students claims to represent students at all universities, but its board of officers is, with one excep-

tion, drawn entirely from the University of **Yaoundé** I. Founded on 31 March 2004 at that university, the association closed the university with a strike in 2005. The issues were tuition fees, living conditions, and the demand that professors stop taking bribes (cash and sexual) for grades. More recently, in 2008, it took a university official to court over a tuition increase. The National Front for the Liberation of Students' Consciousness (FRONALICE) is another student organization. *See also* CORRUPTION; HIGHER EDUCATION.

ATANGANA, CHARLES (early 1880s–1943). Atangana was paramount **chief** of the **Ewondo**, the major **ethnic group** of the **Yaoundé** area. The names Karl and Ntsama are sometimes used. Atangana was a sophisticated collaborator with succeeding European administrations and as such encouraged the economic and social development of those he ruled. In many ways, he can be judged as an early nationalist in spite of his collaboration with colonial officials. Born in Mvolyé (now a part of Yaoundé), Atangana gained proficiency in German and served in multiple functions as a schoolteacher, an infirmary assistant, and an interpreter under the Germans. He was also of significant assistance in opening the Ewondo to the influence of the **Catholic Church**.

During punitive expeditions into the interior of the country, Atangana is credited with saving the lives of some local chiefs. He received first-class treatment during his stay in **Germany** beginning in 1911 and was later crowned as paramount chief. Atangana's loyalty to the Germans survived World War I when he flew with his defeated masters to the Spanish Fernando Po.

When the French allowed Atangana's return from exile, he regained favor among the French. In his unswerving attachment to colonial authorities and wide-ranging support among his people, Atangana amassed substantial wealth and became a powerful figure. He died on 1 September 1943 in Mvolyé. *See also* MANGA BELL, DOULA RUDOLF; MAYI-MATIP, THEODORE; MOUMIE, FELIX-ROLAND; OUANDIE, EARNEST; SAMBA, MARTIN-PAUL; SAME, ADOLPH LOTIN; UM NYOBE, REUBEN.

ATEU ATSA. Active during the third quarter of the 19th century, Ateu Atsa is one of the few Cameroonian artists of the 19th century known

by name. A number of wood sculptures in collections have been attributed to him including nine statues, three staffs, a bowl bearer, and two house posts. These works were commissioned by at least six separate Bangwa rulers, and he is said to have also worked for a Bangyang ruler. His figural style is typified by animated poses, attenuated faces bearing sharpened teeth, the columnar treatment of the limbs and their emphatic separation from the body, and the reinforcement of the extended limbs and accoutrements by attaching them to the body and face with supporting elements. *See also* ART.

ATLANTIKA MOUNTAINS. The Atlantika are an extension of the Mandara Mountains. To many, the name may be familiar from reading Jules Verne, *Five Weeks in a Balloon* (chapter 29). The Atlantika served as a significant dividing line between the two parts of **British Northern Cameroons** at the **Benue River**. This is one of the areas to which non-**Muslim** peoples fled during the **jihad** of **Modibo Adama** in the early 1800s. Today, several **ethnic groups** inhabit the area, with Koma, Gimme, and Gimmime among the **languages** spoken.

AUJOULAT, LOUIS PAUL (1910–1973). One of the principal figures of preindependence politics, this French medical doctor was born on 28 August 1910, in Saida, Algeria. Although the early part of his life involved the medical practice and lay ministry activities, he is largely remembered in Cameroon history as a politician. After his arrival in Cameroon in 1936, he won continuous elections into the Cameroon Assembly and the National Assembly in Paris from 1946 to 1956. He was cofounder of the **Catholic** Mission Society Ad Lucem and formed a **political party**, the ***Bloc Démocratique Camerounais (BDC)***, in 1951. In the 1950s he held various **cabinet** positions in the French government. As secretary of state for overseas **France** in the Pierre Mendes-France government, Aujoulat was instrumental in passing the Overseas Labor Code in 1952.

Before Aujoulat's retirement in 1957 he had schooled future Cameroon leaders like **André-Marie Mbida** and **Ahmadou Ahidjo** toward a reformist and evolutionary stance in politics. It was this legacy that made Aujoulat's BDC a fervent opponent to the more radical ***Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)*** during the era of decolonization. Aujoulat died in Paris on 1 December 1973.

AVIAN INFLUENZA. Also known as bird flu, this viral infection occurs naturally among birds. It can jump to humans. Recently, there has been concern about one variant, H5N1. So far, there have been few human deaths, but millions of domesticated chickens, ducks, and other birds have been put to death to prevent the spread of the disease. As of 2009, the only reported instance of Avian flu in Cameroon was in March 2006 when the disease spread from northern Nigeria to a flock of ducks in the **Maroua** area. Although panic spread rapidly and consumption of chicken and duck dropped briefly, no human cases were reported. At least initially, the H1N1 swine flu epidemic of 2009–2010 had little effect in Cameroon. The import of pork was stopped, and by 23 September 2009 only four cases of H1N1 had been reported.

AWALA, ALEXANDRE BIYIDI. *See* BETI, MONGO.

AWANA, CHARLES ONANA. *See* ONANA AWANA, CHARLES.

AYANG, LUC (1947–). Luc Ayang was born in 1947 in Doukoula, Mayo Danai Division, in the **Extreme North Region**. After primary and secondary **education** at Doukoula and **Ngaoundéré**, he enrolled in the University of **Yaoundé** in 1968 reading law. Following graduation in 1972, he served at the Presidency as chief of service for regulations and control. In 1976, he was appointed assistant senior divisional officer for the **Adamawa** Division, and on 2 May 1978 he joined the **cabinet** as minister of livestock and fisheries. On 22 August 1983, he was named acting **prime minister** to replace **Bello Boub**a, who had fallen out of favor. On 25 January 1984 the post was abolished by constitutional amendment. At this time, Ayang accepted the powerful position of president of the **Economic and Social Council**, a post he still held in 2009. In May 1984, he joined the Central Committee and Bureau of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**. In the 2004 presidential election campaign he served as vice chairman of the Extreme North Region reelection committee for **Paul Biya**.

AYMERICH, JOSEPH GEORGES (1958–1937). General Aymerich led the French forces during the **Kamerun** Campaign of **World War I**,

1914–1916. Aymerich and his forces stormed German Kamerun from the southeastern border with French **Congo**. He led the administrative control of the areas captured by the French. He left Cameroon following partition in October 1916.

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BACCALAUREAT. This certificate is awarded at the end of the second cycle of general or technical secondary **education** in **franco-phone** areas. Students sit for the *baccalauréat* three years after the *Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (BEPC)*. The examination has written and oral parts. Success in both parts of the examination leads to the award of the certificate and an automatic entry into the university. Admission into other professional institutions of higher learning requires an additional competitive examination, the *Concours*, after the *baccalauréat*. For educational and employment purposes, the *baccalauréat* is the direct equivalent of the Advanced Level **General Certificate of Education (GCE)** in **anglophone** Cameroon. In 1984, the government created the *Baccalauréat* Board to organize and manage the examination.

BAFIA. This name applies to an **ethnic group**, a language, a city, and a diocese of the **Catholic Church**. The ethnic group is located mainly in the **Center Region**, as is the city. The Bafia were presumably pushed from the northern areas by the **Fulani** and are thought to be related to the **Bamoum** and **Tikar**. The Bafia today settle around the Mbam and **Sanaga River** zones; they are mostly fishermen and farmers in their daily occupation. **Christianity** is the major religion of the Bafia.

BAFOUSSAM. This city in the Mifi Division is the capital of the **West Region**. Recent **population** estimates range from 152,000 (2002) to 242,000 (2008), making it the fifth largest Cameroon city. Populated mainly by **Bamiléké** people, this city was a scene of much activity during the *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* rebellion. The city is a major center of commerce and a significant road transport hub. **Coffee** processing, a brewery, and general agricultural trade are important.

BAFUT. The Bafut, a **Tikar ethnic group** of the **North West Region**, are spread across the upward areas of the Mezam Division and are organized in several subchiefdoms. They come under the suzerainty of a paramount **chief**, the *fon*, who has spiritual, legislative, and executive roles in the society. The area is now predominantly **Christian**. In the early 1900s, the Bafut fought several wars with the German colonizers and their allies, ending in 1907 with the exile of the *fon* of that time. The *fon*'s palace was destroyed, but rebuilt with German assistance in 1910. It is now a major **tourist** attraction and is under consideration for inclusion in the **World Heritage Sites** list. In 1987 it was estimated that 50,000 persons spoke the Bafut **language**, a member of the **Niger-Congo** group. *See also* NATIVE AUTHORITIES.

BAKA (PYGMIES). The term *Pygmy* has no scientific credibility, but it is often used to refer to groups of people among whom the average height is less than five feet (152 cm). Such groups are found in the tropical rain forests of southern and southeastern Cameroon as well as neighboring countries. They are thought to be the oldest inhabitants of the southern Cameroon primary **forest**. A variety of names such as Bebayaka, Bebayaga, Bibaya, and Babinga, are used for these groups, though Baka is the most common. Byageli is also frequently used. **Population** estimates vary, but something between 40,000 and 50,000 in Cameroon is likely. Their nomadic hunting and gathering style of life is under severe threat from logging and deforestation, animal poaching, loss of traditional lands to **national parks** and reserves, and **HIV/AIDS**. The recent construction of the **pipeline** from **Chad** to **Kribi** caused considerable concern as it traversed much of the Baka inhabited areas. **Tourism** is a possible threat, but also could be of assistance in helping the Baka preserve their way of life. Within Cameroon, the Baka are often exploited and discriminated against. They have little political power; their defense lies mainly with **non-governmental organizations (NGOs)**.

BAKASSI DISPUTE. The **Nigeria-Cameroon** border has never been completely demarcated. This provides opportunities for conflict. The Bakassi Peninsula in the Gulf of Guinea is apparently rich in **petroleum**, and it became the setting for sporadic clashes between

the military and police forces of the two countries. These clashes became more severe in the 1990s, and several deaths resulted. The case was taken to the International Court of Justice. In 1999, **Equatorial Guinea** joined the case, arguing that it was an interested party as resolution of the case would define portions of its maritime borders with Cameroon and Nigeria. The court announced its decision on 10 October 2002 with Cameroon receiving the majority of the territory in question. This caused considerable consternation in Nigeria, though eventually on 14 August 2008 the Nigerian military left the area and the territory came under Cameroon sovereign control.

Still unresolved is the issue of the population residing in the area, many of whom prefer to be Nigerian and some of whom have become **refugees** in Nigeria. On 9 July 2006 a Democratic Republic of Bakassi was announced, though this seems to have had no long-term effect. More serious may be the involvement of criminal and disgruntled groups from the Nigerian delta region that have taken an interest in the Bakassi situation. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS; CAMEROON-NIGERIA MIXED COMMISSION; GREENTREE AGREEMENT.

BAKOKO. *See* BASSA-BAKOKO.

BAKOSSI. The **anglophone** Bakossi **ethnic group** inhabits parts of Meme Division in the **South West Region** along the **Mungo River** valley, bordering **francophone** Cameroon. Interactions with the neighboring francophones have not been particularly harmonious, as exemplified in the **Tombel massacre** of 1967. In general, speakers of the Bakossi **language** (of the **Niger-Congo languages**) number about 100,000 and are surrounded by two significant physical structures, the Kupe and Manengouba Mountains. The **nongovernmental organization** Conservation and Research for Endangered Species (CRES), which has been studying this **forest** region for several years, states that there are 2,440 species of plants here, the richest area in Africa, and there are proposals to make this a **national park**.

BAKWERI. A group of noncentralized peoples living in villages on the slopes of **Mount Cameroon** and coastal environs, the Bakweri are a cluster consisting of the Kpe, Moboko, Isuwu, and Wovea groups,

but no overarching system of political authority exists. The Bakweri **language**, usually referred to as Mokpe, is a member of the **Niger-Congo** family.

Their settlement is largely the result of **Bantu** migration from the mid-18th century. Early European settlement in the Bakweri region was a source of both indignation and pride among the people. The major towns—**Buea** (first German capital in **Kamerun**), Victoria (now **Limbe**, a seaport and plantation center), and Tiko (trade and seaport center)—have grown into administrative, commercial, and social agglomerations for **anglophone** Cameroon.

The Bakweri resisted the imposition of German rule violently during the period from 1891 to 1894, giving the Germans a particularly significant defeat at Buea in 1891. The Bakweri suffered substantial losses of land due to the development of plantations in the German era. *See also* BAKWERI COOPERATIVE UNION OF FARMERS; BAKWERI LAND CLAIMS COMMITTEE.

BAKWERI COOPERATIVE UNION OF FARMERS (BCUF). A large and progressive indigenous **cooperative** exporter of **bananas** in former **West Cameroon**, the BCUF was formed in 1952 under the leadership of **E. M. L. Endeley**. After the rise of national banana organizations in the 1970s, the BCUF appeared to cease existence, yet as of 2008 it continued as the Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers' Real Estate and Housing Cooperative Society. *See also* BAKWERI.

BAKWERI LAND CLAIMS COMMITTEE (BLCC). Much of the land now occupied by the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)** was originally owned by the **Bakweri** people. It was taken from them by force and without adequate compensation during the era of German rule. In 1946, during the period of **trusteeship**, this committee was established under the leadership of **E. M. L. Endeley** as part of a campaign to rectify the problem. The committee petitioned the **United Nations** Trusteeship Council without success, but the existence of the committee must be seen as part of the political mobilization of the peoples of **Southern Cameroons** and as an early contributor to the growth of the independence movement.

Originally titled the Bakweri Land Committee (BLC), it is now known as the BLCC and in recent years has become quite active. The

proposal to privatize the CDC lands reignited the Bakweri claims. Communications have been sent to prospective buyers warning of possible legal claims, though this seems to have had little effect. In 2002, the BLCC petitioned the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, but in a decision handed down in 2006, the Commission stated that it was not competent to take on the case and that the BLCC should take action in the Cameroon courts.

BALANCED DEVELOPMENT. This development philosophy aimed at spreading progress throughout Cameroon by redressing existing inequalities. The idea involved regional, sectoral, and personnel aspects. The regional aspect consisted of a judiciously balanced allocation of programs across the geographical areas of the country. The sectoral aspect concerned the redistribution of the country's economic potential across the **agricultural, industrial**, extractive, and tertiary sectors of the **economy**. In terms of personnel, balanced development aimed at equalizing opportunities for postallocation among various regional and ethnic interests. Such a policy of development required enormous state intervention, distorted the economic rational in location of industries, and sometimes led to administrative mediocrity. Government defended the balanced development option as an aspect of planning, and as such, a necessity for a young developing country.

The origins of the imbalances that exist in the country are a part of the colonial legacy. In the colonial period economic activities as well as missionary and Western **education** developments were concentrated near the coast and especially in the “**fertile crescent**” bound by **Douala, Edéa, and Yaoundé**. However, implementation of balanced development in the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** era led to dissatisfaction in southern parts of the country as Ahidjo placed heavy emphasis on projects in the northern areas. By the 1990s, little was heard of this philosophy in government circles.

BALDA, SHEIKH HAYATU. *See* SA'ID, HAYATU IBN.

BALI. This major **ethnic group** in the **North West Region** has a hierarchical political structure headed by a king or *fon*. Their **language**, Mungaka, is a member of the **Niger-Congo** family. Bali is

of Chamba origin and was the major ally of the Germans during the period of German conquest of the region. The memory of Bali's cooperation with the Germans lingers on in Cameroon, and many Bali believe they have been discriminated against because of this history. Bali is frequently involved in land disputes, often violent, with neighboring ethnic groups. For example, on 6 March 2006 elements from Bali attacked the neighboring village of Bawoc, completely destroying the village and leaving thousands homeless. More recently, there has been a conflict with another neighbor, Ngyen-Mbo. *See also* LELA.

BAMENDA. Bamenda is the common name given to the **Grassfield** highlands (also known as the Bamenda highlands) of northwestern Cameroon and the name of the main city in that area. The name was also used by the British for one of the four major administrative districts of the **Cameroons Province**. After 1949, Bamenda became a separate province. Today the city is the capital of the **North West Region** and has been the venue of important events.

Bamenda city has played a prominent role in the prodemocracy movement in Cameroon. It was here that the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** was launched in 1990. Bamenda has remained a political hotbed since then. After the proclamation of the October 1992 presidential **election**, violent protests and demonstrations erupted in Bamenda and other parts of the North West Region, leading to the declaration of a state of emergency, which was lifted only after Christmas, 1992.

Today this is Cameroon's fourth largest city, with a **population** estimated in 2002 at 316,000. According to the 1976 census, the city had 48,111 inhabitants, Cameroon's seventh largest city. It is a center of commerce, a **transportation** hub, and a **tourist** site.

Located in an area of rolling, grass-covered hills, the region surrounding the city also boasts numerous waterfalls and major palaces; see for examples **Bali** and **Bafut**. It is also a center of learning, with the Cameroon College of Arts, Science and Technology at nearby Bambili; the private Bamenda University of Science and Technology; and numerous secondary schools. It has been an archdiocese in the **Catholic Church** since 1982, and a Cistercian monastery, Our Lady of Bamenda Abbey, is in nearby Mbengwi.

BAMENDA “ALL-PARTY” CONFERENCE. This conference was convened for political leaders of **Southern Cameroons** between 26 and 28 June 1961 in a bid to create consensus prior to the important consultation and negotiation with politicians of the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** government. The Southern politicians set forward proposals calling for a loose federation of legislative powers. Despite this common ground, disunity continued to characterize relations within the Southern Cameroons camp.

BAMENDA CONGRESS. This was the fourth ordinary congress of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** held in **Bamenda**, from 21 to 25 March 1985. This congress (christened the Congress of the **New Deal**) outweighs all others held previously. The first held in the country under the leadership of President **Paul Biya**, it came on the heels of a political rupture between **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and Biya. Moreover, the Bamenda Congress led to the birth of a new party, the **Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement**, from the ruins of the CNU. In terms of orientation, the Bamenda Congress heralded the promise of a more open and pluralistic political structure in the country. The congress was the first congress of the one-party regime held in the **anglophone** part of the country. It aroused a flurry of new hopes and aspirations. The Congress represented the consolidation of Biya’s power and the enunciation of his **Communal Liberalism** doctrine.

BAMENDA IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION. One of the early nationalist movements in **British Cameroons**, the association was formed by Cameroon elites resident in Lagos, **Nigeria**, by the mid-1940s. It was a protonationalist organization calling for **Southern Cameroons’s** autonomy and demanding **reunification**. The Bamenda Improvement Association was a founding member of the coalition, which later established the **National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons** in 1944.

BAMENDA PROCLAMATION (DECLARATION). This proclamation was the result of the Second **All Anglophone Conference**, held in **Bamenda** in 1994. The essence of its message was the determination of the **anglophones** to declare independence from the **Republic of Cameroon** if the government failed to address the problems de-

fined in the first All Anglophone Conference and the **Buea Declaration**. See also **ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM**; **ZERO OPTION**.

BAMILEKE. This generic term is commonly used to refer to several **ethnic groups** in the **West Region**. Each Bamiléké group is headed by a **chief** who has strong powers, particularly with respect to land distribution. This is reflected architecturally by the massive size of the chief's compound with respect to all others. There is a dense **population** in most of the area occupied by Bamiléké, and this in conjunction with other factors has caused many Bamiléké to migrate to the urban areas of the country. The Bamiléké have a reputation of being excellent farmers and businessmen and **-women**. While they have become a significant factor in the national **economy**, their success has also generated some jealousy and resentment, especially among the original inhabitants of areas to which Bamiléké migration has occurred. The Bamiléké were also one of the major ethnicities involved in the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**). See also **TOMBEL MASSACRE**.

BAMOUM (BAMUM). This major **ethnic group** is found in the **West Region** around the historic town of **Foumban**. The Bamoum dynasty was founded about 400 years ago by **Nshare Yen**, son of a **Tikar fon**. The Bamoum are believed to be descendants of Prince Rifun and were the most southerly group to have accepted **Islam** toward the end of the **jihad** period. They have been involved in several wars with neighboring groupings and even experienced a civil war against dynastic rule. The monarchy has remained the source of Bamoum pride in addition to its highly developed oral tradition and fascinating culture. In 1896, the sultan developed a new alphabet and art of writing known as **Shu Mom**. The Bamoum crafts and **architecture** are well known and have been the subject of numerous studies. They have also provided an important contribution to Cameroon's **tourism**. See also **MBWE-MBWE**; **NGUON**; **NJOYA, IBRAHIM**; **NJOYA, IBRAHIM MBOMBO**.

BANANA. The intensive production of bananas began under the German administration. Today, plantations account largely for export production, and small farmers produce for the local market. The most

significant areas of banana production are in the **Littoral** and **South West Regions**.

Private companies such as Del Monte, Dole, and *Compagne Fruitière* have taken over most of the government-owned banana plantations. In most years, Cameroon is Africa's biggest exporter and is usually ranked eighth or ninth in the world. In 1977–1978, 83,000 tons of bananas were exported. In 2005 bananas valued at \$68,428,000 were exported. The effects of the World Trade Organization's decision in the **Banana War** are not yet clear, though by that decision the **European Community's** quota system protecting Cameroon's banana exports ended in January 2006. Another issue is Black Sigatoka fungus, a rapidly spreading disease that threatens world banana production in the next decade.

BANANA WAR. This refers to a long-running dispute between the **European Union (EU)** and various Latin American countries supported by the **United States**. In an effort to protect the **banana** producers of former colonies in Africa and elsewhere, the EU established a high tariff on bananas imported from Latin America, while keeping a low tariff (at some times a zero tariff) on bananas from former colonies such as Cameroon. Bananas are the world's fourth most valuable food crop, and the international trade in this fruit is quite large. Decisions by the World Trade Organization in 2007 and 2008 appear to have ended the dispute by ordering the EU to end the tariff. Although the United States is not a producer or exporter of bananas, American corporations dominate the business in Latin America (Chiquita, Dole, and Del Monte). *See also* FOREIGN TRADE.

BANDJOUN. Bandjoun is one of the larger of the **Bamiléké** chiefdoms in the **West Region** and the name of a town, the headquarters of the recently created Koungki Division. The palace and museum at Bandjoun are important **tourist** attractions. In 2005 a serious fire, probably set by opponents of the chief, seriously damaged portions of the palace compound.

BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES/BANQUE D'ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (BEAC). The BEAC issues currency and maintains currency stability, oversees members'

monetary policies, manages exchange operations, and manages the Union's payments system. This bank replaced the Central Bank of the States of Equatorial Africa and Cameroon, which had replaced the *Institut d'Emission de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française* established in 1955 to issue currency for French colonies in **French Equatorial Africa (AEF)** and the mandate territory of Cameroon. Established on 23 November 1972, the current membership includes the former French colonies in the AEF (**Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, and Gabon**), Cameroon, and **Equatorial Guinea**, a former Spanish colony. The major organs of the bank are the governor, a ministerial committee, an administrative council, an audit committee, and the college of censors. The **Development Bank of Central African States** is associated with the BEAC, and both are affiliated with the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC)*. The *Commission Bancaire de L'Afrique Centrale (COBAC)* and the Central African Clearing House are also associated. The headquarters is in **Yaoundé**. See also ACCORD DE COOPERATION ECONOMIQUE, MONETAIRE ET FINANCIERE.

BANK CRISIS. One of the major aspects of Cameroon's **economic crisis** was the almost total collapse of the country's banking system in 1989. Numerous banks were underfunded, several had made large loans that could not be recovered, there was a tendency to overstaff, and management was frequently inadequate. Paribas Cameroon, Cameroon Bank, and the development bank (*Banque Camerounaise de Développement*) were liquidated. A large scandal was created when rumors spread that the *Société Camerounaise de Banque (SCB)* had been undermined by bad loans to the first spouse of **President Paul Biya**.

The government was a major investor in the four collapsed banks. In addition to internal problems, the banks were hit heavily by the overall economic crisis facing the country. A *Société Financière de Recouvrement (SFR, sometimes titled Société de Recouvrement des Créances du Cameroun)* was established to assist in the liquidation of the banks. As people lost confidence in the formal banking system, many withdrew their funds and turned to the informal *tontines/njangis*.

BANQUE DE DEVELOPPEMENT DES ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRAL. *See* DEVELOPMENT BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES.

BANQUE D'ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (BEAC). *See* BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES.

BANTU. The Bantu are one of the major cultural groupings of Africa. Its unity is derived from cultural ties, though the term is often used to suggest the existence of a Bantu "race." The cradle of Bantu settlement was the Nigeria-Cameroon coastal borders from where the Bantu migrated and diffused into southern, western, and eastern parts of Africa. Eventually this great movement returned to Cameroon as Bantu groups migrated into southeastern portions of the country. Most of the **ethnic groupings** in Cameroon southern regions are of Bantu origin. Bantu **languages** are part of the Benue-Congo group of the **Niger-Congo** family.

BAPTIST MISSION. The Baptists were the first Christian mission in Cameroon. They began work in Cameroon with the Baptist Missionary Society of London in 1846. The idea to evangelize in Africa grew out of its early experience in Jamaica. Various teams of English and Jamaican preachers, **Alfred Saker** (English), Jackson Fuller, and **Joseph Merrick** (Jamaican), arrived in Fernando Po from where they paid visits to Bimbia and **Douala**.

The Baptist Missionary Society of London remained the most active Christian mission on the Cameroon coasts. It established churches, ordained pastors, and evangelized widely in Cameroon until the advent of the German **protectorate** in 1884 and the **Basel Mission** in 1886.

It was later in 1890 that a Committee of Assistance to the Baptist Churches of Cameroon was founded in Berlin. Following **World War I** (1914–1918), the German Baptists left the territory leading to the establishment of the Paris Evangelical Missions in French speaking Cameroon and the American Baptists in the English part. *See also* CHRISTIANITY; NATIVE BAPTIST CHURCH; RELIGIONS.

BASEL (BASLER) MISSION SOCIETY. This German-Swiss mission began operation in Cameroon in 1886 at the request of the Ger-

man government following the acquisition of **Kamerun** as a **protectorate** in 1884. It replaced the English **Baptist Mission**, which had arrived earlier in 1846. Although designed as an arm of the German administration in Kamerun, the Basel Mission defended the interests of the indigenous peoples against the usually harsh and unjust policies of the colonial administration.

The mission had expanded greatly by 1914 when, with **World War I**, it lost its vast holdings. It resumed activities in the country in 1924 under the British administration. It reestablished a wider network of churches, schools, bookshops, handicraft stores, teacher training and leprosy centers in the British **trust/mandate**.

These institutions were gradually turned over to the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon in 1957 and 1966 without seriously affecting the strong Swiss-German connection. *See also* AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION; CHRISTIANITY.

BASSA-BAKOKO. This **ethnic group** of **Bantu** stock was located around the coastal regions for centuries before being displaced by the **Duala**. The Bassa-Bakoko consequently suffered exploitation from the Duala middlemen role during the period of contact with the Europeans. Their early occupation as subsistence farmers and fishermen was less widely carried out under the colonial periods.

The Bassa-Bakoko emerged as fierce anticolonialists. They fought successive battles against German inland penetration but had to succumb to defeat and a rigorous regime of forced labor on the Douala-Yaoundé “Mittel Kamerun” railway. Although they suffered economic stagnation, they were very advanced in the field of **education** due to **Protestant** missionary activities. It is believed that the **American Presbyterian Mission** was instrumental in sharpening the Bassa political and intellectual consciousness. In the period of the preindependence nationalist struggle, the Bassa-Bakoko region was the seat of radical nationalism represented by the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), and it also hosted the early messianic movement led by **Thong Likeng**. Industrial activities that developed around the main city of **Edéa** were a radical inspiration in the ensuing years of labor unrest. The entire Sanaga-Maritime Division was the setting of virtual civil war between Bassa-Bakoko elements of the UPC spiritually led by **Reuben Um Nyobe** and **Théodore Mayi-Matip** and Cameroon soldiers guided by French troops. By the mid-1960s

the UPC rebellion around Bassa country had been crushed, but the belief of many Bassa-Bakoko in a “Nka Kunde” (liberation toward independence) lives on.

BASSONG, JEANNE ISABELLE MARGUERITE née AKOUMBA MONNEYANG (1937–2006). Ms. Bassong served as secretary of state for public **health** (1984–1988). Born in Ebolowa in the **South Region** of Cameroon on 9 February 1937, she did secondary **education** in New Bell, **Douala**, and later in **France**. Her university studies took her successively to the University of Paris (Sorbonne), Indiana University, and the University of Denver in the United States. She received a *licence* in modern letters and a *Diplôme d’Etudes Supérieure* (DES) in English. Prior to her nomination to the Ministry of Public Health, she was a translator at the **National Assembly**. She was a member of the Central Committee of the **Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM)** and served as assistant secretary for the press, information, and propaganda. From 1988 until her death on 9 November 2006 Bassong served as Cameroon’s ambassador to the Benelux countries.

BAYANG (BANYANG, BANYANGI). The major **ethnic group** in Manyu Division, **South West Region**, Bayang occupies the central portion around the upper **Cross River** that flows into **Nigeria**. **Language** and cultural affinities cross the Nigerian border. There are 14 Bayang clans, but no knowledge of common descent exists, making language and cultural values the principal features of Bayang identity. The village is the ultimate level of authority for their diffuse political system.

The Bayang were heavily influenced by colonialism. After early years of conflict they succumbed to the Germans in 1909. The Germans named the area Ossindinge Division, which was changed to Mamfe under the British and became the Manyu Division in 1972. Mamfe town itself has been largely deserted since the end of the colonial era, with males moving to cities or taking up plantation employment. Many Bayang live in major cities of the country and maintain quarters bearing their name. The **language** is a member of the **Niger-Congo** family and is known as Kenyang. **Art** from this area, especially carved wooden masks associated with the Basinjom society, is world famous.

BEBEY, FRANCIS (1929–2001). A Cameroonian artist of many talents, Bebey was born in **Douala** and educated in Paris and the **United States**. On the invitation of Kwame Nkrumah—to all Africans of nonindependent territories—he moved to Ghana in 1957 to serve as a broadcaster. He left Ghana and returned to **France** in the early 1960s to begin a superb career as an artist.

He served for UNESCO as a consultant while undertaking his performances as novelist and poet, filmmaker, sculptor, and musician. His most famous novel, *Agatha Moudio's Son*, was also produced as a popular song. His songs, often of a very innovative nature, were directed to the listener's mind and intellect but also contain humor and seriousness. His other specialty was the use of traditional instruments to blend the sound of his **music**. Nevertheless, his guitar and the microphone were the most significant tools while he was onstage. The ease with which the author created scenes and imagery from his poems and twisted his voice and guitar to depict reality gave his music a distinctive touch and finesse. Bebey also published *Musique de l'Afrique* (1979, also available in English). Bebey died of a heart attack on 28 May 2001. *See also* LITERATURE; MAKOSSA.

BEBEY-EYIDI, MARCEL (1914–1966). This physician and opposition politician was born on 21 November 1914, in **Douala**. He was educated in **Yaoundé** and Jos, **Nigeria**, before proceeding to Paris for medical studies. He served in the Free French Force during **World War II** and later as a medical practitioner and adviser to **Louis Paul Aujoulat** between 1951 and 1955. He opened a private clinic in Douala in 1956 but became more popular as a leading figure of the political opposition than as a medical officer.

Bebey-Eyidi published *l'Opinion au Cameroun* as an opposition journal and petitioned in the **United Nations** against French rule. He won elections into the *Assemblée Nationale du Cameroun* (ANCAM) in 1960 but was tried, convicted, and jailed with three other prominent politicians in 1962 for conspiracy and sedition. Bebey-Eyidi opposed **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** proposal to form a *parti unifié* as dictatorial. His small *Parti Travailleiste Camerounais* was disbanded following his imprisonment. Released in 1965, Bebey-Eyidi died in Douala in 1966.

BEECROFT, JOHN (1790–1854). This British agent of African descent settled along the coastal areas of **Nigeria** and Cameroon and

served as governor of the British on Fernando Po, an island off the coast of Cameroon. He was important in the development of British trade with Cameroon in the precolonial period. In 1856, he established a **Court of Equity** in **Douala** to resolve conflicts between the **Duala** traders and British merchants. *See also* GREAT BRITAIN.

BELL, RUDOLF DOUALA MANGA. *See* MANGA BELL, RUDOLF DOUALA.

BELLO BOUBA, MAIGARI (1947–). Bello Bouba became **prime minister** of Cameroon after the resignation of **President Ahmadou Ahidjo** and the accession of **Paul Biya** to the presidency in November 1982. An Ahidjo loyalist, Bello Bouba was dismissed in August 1983 in the tense atmosphere of the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture**.

Born in 1947 in Bascheou, Benue Division, **North Region**, Bello Bouba attended primary and secondary school in **Garoua**. In 1966, he entered the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature* (ENAM) in **Yaoundé**, and upon graduation in 1970, he enrolled in the Institute of International Public Administration in Paris. He began his work career as an attaché at the **Secretariat General at the Presidency** then under Secretary-General Paul Biya. He was later moved to the Ministry of Armed Forces as secretary-general before returning to the Presidency in 1974. He earned successive promotions to the rank of vice minister and minister in his post as assistant secretary-general at the Presidency. In this capacity he earned the reputation of a key Ahidjo confidant serving as special envoy in several diplomatic initiatives. In January 1982, he was appointed minister of economy and planning, a post that he occupied until he became **prime minister** in November 1982.

Bello Bouba's undoing was his solidarity with the North and his unflinching dedication to former President Ahidjo at an unfortunate juncture in Cameroon's political history. It was even rumored in many circles that there was a plan to nominate him as president when President Biya completed Ahidjo's mandate in 1985. As prime minister, Bello Bouba sided openly with the former head of state allowing regional solidarity to override concern for statehood and national unity. He participated actively in the dramatic move by ministers

from the north to resign en masse from the Biya government in June 1983, the **collective resignation plot**, but finally signed an individual letter of resignation. His contention was the failure of President Biya to inform him of a **cabinet** reshuffle that was announced shortly after their meeting.

Although Bello Bouba retained his post, he believed there was a lack of trust between the president and him. He was finally dismissed as prime minister on 22 August 1983. A non-**Muslim** from the North, **Luc Ayang**, was named as interim prime minister. Because of his participation in the secret meeting of northern ministers, Bello Bouba was charged in the plot against the security of the state, though on 14 March 1984 Biya stopped all trial proceedings.

Shortly after this, Bello went into self-exile to **Nigeria**, where he remained until the liberalization of the political scene in 1990. In August 1991, he returned to Cameroon and, together with **Samuel Eboua**, formed the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)** (*Union Nationale pour la Démocratie et le Progrès*, UNDP). Since then, Bello has remained controversial. Despite the opposition parties' boycott of the 1992 legislative **elections**, Bello's party participated and won 68 seats. He entered Parliament, and in October 1992, ran in the presidential elections. Bello remained a UNDP parliamentarian until December 1997, when he joined President Biya's 22nd government as minister of state in charge of industrial and commercial development.

As minister of state, rather than just a minister, he had become very senior in the government. His position has been confirmed through several cabinet overhauls. He was moved from minister of industrial and commercial development to post and telegraphs on 12 August 2004. Bello ran for parliament again in 2002, but this time was defeated. In 2004 he supported Biya's bid for reelection as **president**. He returned to the cabinet on 30 June 2009 as minister of state in charge of **transportation**.

Bello is an astute and powerful politician. Young, relative to many of Cameroon's most powerful personalities, he will play a significant role for some time to come.

BENUE-CONGO LANGUAGES. See NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES.

BENUE (BENOUE) RIVER. The Benue River is a major tributary of the Niger River, which it joins at Lokoja, **Nigeria**. The Benue originates in the heart of the **Adamawa Plateau**, north of **Ngaoundéré**, and has a length of 1,083 kilometers. The Mayo Kebbi is a major tributary of the Benue (Bénoué in **French**). The Benue is navigable up to **Garoua** during the rainy season. Until the construction of the railroad to Ngaoundéré, this port served to evacuate to Nigeria **cotton**, peanuts, and other exports of northern Cameroon and **French Equatorial Africa**. **Petroleum** and other imports were shipped into Cameroon on this route, although the construction of the **Lagdo Dam** has reduced the navigability of the river. Today, the port gets little use. Cameroon is a member of the **Niger Basin Authority**.

BERLIN CONFERENCE. *See* CONGRESS OF BERLIN.

BERTOUA. Bertoua has been the capital of the **East Region** since 1972. Bertoua has developed over the years with the hosting of national events like the agro-pastoral show and the schools and university games competition. The **population**, largely **Gbaya** with a large number of settled **Mbororo**, has expanded rapidly to 173,000 (2001 est.). One report sets it at 218,000. Agricultural processing, commerce, and administration are the main sources of employment. There is an airport, and a **Bilingualism** Training Center was opened in 2006, which by 2008 had 1,600 students enrolled. Since 1984, Bertoua has been the headquarters of the Roman **Catholic** Archdiocese of Bertoua, currently serving more than 120,000 followers representing 39 percent of the local population.

BETI. *See* FANG.

BETI, MONGO (ALEXANDRE BIYIDI AWALA) (1930–2001).

This famous Cameroon author lived in exile for 32 years in protest against the neocolonial regime governing Cameroon. His works were frequently banned in Cameroon and even in **France**. Alexandre Biyide was born on 30 June 1930 in Akométan, **Center Region**. He attended a **Catholic** mission school before entering *Lycée Leclerc* in **Yaoundé**. He completed his *baccalauréat* before leaving for

France in 1951, where he studied at Aix-en-Provence and later at the Sorbonne, earning a doctorate to become a professor of modern literature.

Biyidi was popular as an author. As Eza Boto, he published his first novel, *Ville Cruelle*, in 1954. He later used the pen name Mongo Beti to publish his more popular works, like *The Poor Christ of Bomba* (1956), *Mission to Kala* (1957), and *King Lazarus* (1958), powerful attacks on the missionary and colonial mentality. His other works, published after the independence of colonial entities in Africa, include *Perpetua and the Habit of Unhappiness* (1974) and *Remember Ruben* (1974), this last an unmistakable dedication to **Reuben Um Nyobe** and Cameroon's forgotten nationalist era. In Paris he published a literary review journal, *Peuples noirs, Peuples africaines* (1978–1991), and in 1989 he published *Dictionnaire de négritude*.

Beti's attacks on the postcolonial structures are exemplified in *Main Basse sur le Cameroun, autopsie d'une décolonisation* (1971) and *La France contre l'Afrique* (1991), examples of his views of postcolonial Africa and Cameroon. Upon his permanent return to Cameroon in 1994 he opened a bookshop and became a supporter of the **anglophone** politician **Fru Ndi**. He died 8 October 2001 awaiting treatment in one of Cameroon's poorly equipped, crowded hospitals.

BEYALA, CALIXTHE (1961–). Described in one review as the “most successful female writer from Francophone Africa,” Beyala was born in 1961 in **Douala**. She left Cameroon at 17 to marry in France, and at the age of 23 she published her first book, *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* (*The Sun Has Looked upon Me*). She is considered a powerful feminist and innovative writer. She has won several awards (for example, from the *Académie Française* and UNICEF), but her career has been marred by accusations of plagiarism. *See also* LITERATURE; WOMEN.

BIKUTSI. Based in the traditional Beti balafon **music**, located around **Yaoundé**, *bikutsi* pop began to be recorded in the 1940s by Anne-Marie Nzie. Other early pioneers were Messi Me Nkonda Martin and Los Camaroes in the 1960s and 1970s and Les Vétérans in the 1980s. President **Paul Biya** later lent his support to the *bikutsi*

group *Les Têtes Brulées*, who gained international acclaim. *See also* FANG.

BILINGUALISM. Article 3 of Part 1 of the **Constitution of 1996** stipulates that **French** and **English** are the official **languages** of Cameroon. Cameroon's bilingual status is rooted in the joint supervision of the territory by **France** and **Great Britain** from 1916 until 1960.

A portion of the country's population speaks both French and English, but many persons speak neither. Despite increasing attempts at integration, the **anglophone** and **francophone** sectors are distinct and jealously preserve their colonial attributes. The number of bilingual schools has increased, and both languages are now taught in most schools. It is expected that the current generation of school pupils will be much more bilingual than previous generations. In addition, the worldwide increasing popularity of English has caused many from the francophone side to learn English, contrary to the many members of the older generation who adamantly refused to do so. At independence the balance seemed to be in favor of French; today, this has been reversed, and English has become the language of preference. Cameroon recently joined *La Francophonie*, an association grouping French-speaking countries, and the **Commonwealth of Nations**. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; EDUCATION; FRANGLAIS; NATION BUILDING; NATIONAL LANGUAGES; PIDGIN ENGLISH; SUMMIT OF THE FRANCOFONIE.

BINDZI, BENOIT (1924–1998). A former foreign minister, Bindzi was born in 1924 and attended schools in Mbalmayo, **Yaoundé**, and Akono. He received professional training in the French Foreign Ministry and later at the French Embassy in Bonn, **West Germany**. He headed Cameroon's delegation to the **United Nations** from 1961 to 1964 and in 1966. He was elected vice president of the 18th session of the UN General Assembly in 1963. He was appointed minister of information in 1964 and served until July 1966, when he became minister of foreign affairs (1966–1967). He died on 24 January 1998.

BIYA, CHANTAL (1970–). Chantal Biya was born Chantal Vigouroux in Dimako, **East Region**, to a French father, Georges Vigouroux, and a Cameroonian mother, Rosette Ndong Mengolo, in 1970 (some say

1971). She married President **Paul Biya** in 1994. Biya's first wife, **Jeanne Irène Biya**, died in 1992. Chantal is very sociable and as first lady started early in her role to reach out to help vulnerable people. She is noted for drawing attention to the social plight of women and children, especially those infected with **HIV/AIDS**. One of her many foundations, African Synergies against AIDS and Suffering, deals with these issues, including providing basic **education** and **health** to abandoned children and other disadvantaged groups, promoting the right to basic education through the training of teachers and the construction of schools, and preventing and treating HIV/AIDS through the Chantal Biya International Reference Centre. This center also has close collaboration with UNESCO's Families First Africa project, which supports activities that address HIV/AIDS in several countries.

As host of the original African First Ladies Summit in Yaoundé during the 1996 summit of the **Organization of African Unity**, Chantal launched African Synergy, an organization of African first ladies. In April 2009, a two-day international summit attended by 15 of the 22 members was organized in California by the U.S. Doctors for Africa and African Synergy, focusing on maternal health, as well as girls' education and HIV/AIDS-related issues throughout Africa. She also founded *Jeunesse Active pour Chantal Biya*, an organ of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**.

On 14 November 2008, the director general of UNESCO, Koïchiro Matsuura, designated Chantal Biya as UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for Education and Social Inclusion.

Chantal is also a cultural promoter of Cameroonian attire and hair-styles. As a fashion icon, Chantal is well known for her unique hair and colorful dress styles in Cameroon. These are generally referred to as the "banana" and the "Chantal Biya" respectively.

BIYA, JEANNE IRENE (1935–1992). Jeanne Irène Atyam was born in the village of Monengombo. In 1960 she became the first wife of **Paul Biya**, who was to become **president** of Cameroon in 1982. As the first lady of Cameroon she was widely known for her kindness and generosity, especially with regard to her efforts on behalf of children. She died on 29 July 1992 in **Yaoundé**. *See also* BIYA, CHANTAL.

BIYA, PAUL (1933–). **President** Paul Biya was born on 13 February 1933, in Mvomeka'a near Sangmelima in the **South Region**. He is from the Yezum clan of the **Bulu ethnic group**, sometimes referred to as part of the much larger **Fang** group. After primary school, he entered the seminary in **Edéa** and Akono, and it was expected he would end up in the priesthood. He enrolled in *Lycée Leclerc*, **Yaoundé**, obtaining his *baccalauréat* in 1956. His university **education** was done in **France**. He obtained a degree (LLB) and a postgraduate diploma in public law in 1960 and 1963 respectively as well as two diplomas in 1961 and 1962. Like several powerful figures in Cameroon, Biya is a member of the **Rosicrucian Order**.

On his return to Cameroon Biya served in multiple administrative and governmental posts. In October 1962 he was chargé de mission at the Presidency until January 1964, when he was appointed director of **cabinet** to the then minister of education, youth and culture, **Eteki Mboumoua**. He returned to the Presidency in December 1967 as director of the civil cabinet of President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and became secretary-general at the Presidency in addition to his director functions in January 1968. His post of secretary-general was elevated to ministerial status in 1968 and was further adorned with the higher designation of minister of state in June 1970. He remained in his post during the constitutional transition from a federal to a unitary structure in 1972. Following a constitutional amendment in June 1975 reinstating the post, Biya was appointed the first **prime minister** of the **United Republic of Cameroon**. In 1980, the prime minister was declared constitutional successor to the president of the Republic in case of death, resignation, or permanent inability of the incumbent to perform his duties.

When Ahidjo surprisingly resigned from office on 4 November 1982, Biya became his constitutional successor two days later in an initially peaceful transition of power. Thereafter, a difficult period of struggle for power and influence between Biya and Ahidjo, who retained his post as **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** party chief, ensued. Ahidjo finally gave up his **political party** leadership on 27 August 1983. Biya was elected by an extraordinary Congress of the party to succeed Ahidjo in September 1983. Biya called presidential elections on 14 January 1984. He later distanced himself from Ahidjo by forming his own national party, the **Cameroon Peoples Demo-**

cratic Union (CPDM), out of the remnants of the CNU in March 1985. In a bid to allow the presidential mandate to run concurrently with that of the legislature, elections were held on 24 April 1988; Biya was reelected.

Upon assuming the supreme office of the country, Biya set an agenda of a new society based on **rigor and moralization**. His economic philosophy is based on the idea of **Communal Liberalism**, which foresees a profound transformation of the present political principles and institutions in a bid to build a new political society. Given the very high expectations of the Cameroonian masses and intellectuals, change has been rather minimal. The Biya regime has suffered against a background of an unfortunately bloody but unsuccessful **coup attempt**, a crushing **economic crisis** in the 1980s, and an image of indecision and contradiction.

Over the years, any desire to build a more democratic or more egalitarian society disappeared. Biya has become increasingly dependent upon his coethnics and northerners for support and has become ever more distanced from the masses. In so doing, he has severely narrowed the wide base of support Ahidjo had constructed across all the ethnic groups of the country. The so-called Beti Barons or Beti lobby has come to be his main base of support. Through the placement of coethnics in the key national positions in the military, the government, the party, and the **economy**, Biya has managed to stay in control and in the presidency. He won the first multiparty **elections** in 1992 (though the win was fiercely disputed by opponents) and each election since 1992 and 1994, although each victory has been tainted by accusations that the elections were rigged. He has frequently amended the **constitution** in order to prolong his stay in office, much to the dismay of the general public and those who originally saw him as a force for democracy. On 10 April 2008 the **Constitution of 1996** was amended allowing the incumbent to run for reelection without limit. Among the tactics employed to ensure that he, and the CPDM, remain in power, **human rights** are frequently ignored and **corruption** is widespread. Anticorruption campaigns appear to be aimed more at imprisoning his opponents than in ending corruption.

Biya's greatest strength has been his ability to defy critics and weather the storms. Biya proved to be adept at delaying and manipulating domestic and international pressures for greater **democracy**

and transparency in government. Part of the explanation for his longevity in office is the continuing support he receives from France, as exemplified by the frequent visits of officials in both directions. For example, Biya made an official visit to France in July 2009.

In his effort to stay in power, one of the most significant domestic problems to emerge in recent years is the **Anglophone problem** and demands for separation or federation. Biya's response, contained in the Constitution of 1996, has been **decentralization**. However, in a ploy for which Biya has become well known, the promise of decentralization has never been kept. The relevant articles of the constitution have never been activated.

Staying in power may be Biya's greatest success, but he should also be remembered for the peaceful solution of the **Bakassi Dispute** with **Nigeria**. Not only is this a remarkable achievement in the context of African—and world—international relations, but if the promise of **mineral** wealth in the peninsula comes true, this will provide an important economic boost to the country.

Paul Biya is quite aloof from the people, rarely making public appearances or even leaving his residence at the **Unity Palace**. His most well-known departures are for international visits and frequent vacations in France and Switzerland. Such a vacation in August 2009 caused outrage in France and Cameroon when his lengthy stay included the use of 43 rooms in a five-star French hotel and expenditures that seemed greater than the amounts of French foreign aid being given to Cameroon!

Biya married **Jeanne-Irène Biya** (née Atyam) in 1960. After her death on 29 July 1992 he married **Chantal Biya** (née Vigouroux) on 23 April 1994. He has three children. *See also* AHIDJO-BIYA DISPUTE; ALBATROSS AFFAIR; COLLECTIVE RESIGNATION PLOT; DOUALA RIOT, 2008; FOREIGN POLICY; NATIONAL ANTI-CORRUPTION COMMISSION (NACC); OPERATION HARMATTAN; OPERATION SPARROWHAWK.

BIYIDI AWALA, ALEXANDRE. *See* BETI, MONGO.

BLACK, YONDO MANDENGUE. Black, a lawyer and former president of the Cameroon Bar Association, is viewed by many as one of the early heroes in the **democracy** movement. Late in 1989 he and

several others formed a political organization, the National Coordination for Democracy and a Multiparty System (NCDM). In February 1990, Black and other members of NCDM were arrested under a variety of charges, in essence for forming a **political party** in a one-party state. The trial of the “Douala Ten,” as the arrested persons became titled, brought bad publicity to Cameroon at home and abroad.

The trial before a military court was a mockery of justice, but it had the positive result of further stimulating demands for an end to the one-party system and alerting international **human rights** organizations to the deplorable conditions in Cameroon. Black, who sometimes uses the name Albert, was a candidate in the 2004 presidential **elections**. Running as the head of the Social Movement for a New Democracy or *Mouvement Social pour la Nouvelle Démocratie* (MSND) (officially recognized 3 May 1991), Yondo received 0.36 percent of the vote according to official statistics.

BLOC DEMOCRATIQUE CAMEROUNAISE (BDC). Founded in 1951 under the leadership of **Dr. Louis Paul Aujoulat**, the *Bloc Démocratique Camerounais* was a **political party** with a difference. Unlike most other parties formed between 1949 and 1954, there was no specific **ethnic group** as the base of its creation. Social reform and progress toward political evolution within the **French Union** were major demands advocated by its leader. The BDC, however, had a weak local base concentrated mostly in the **Yaoundé** area and among the elites. Dr. Aujoulat was the party’s greatest asset. When he succumbed to electoral defeat in January 1956, the party’s fortunes faded and it slipped from the political scene.

BOL ALIMA, GIBERING (1942–1999). The first minister of higher **education** and scientific research, a reputed agronomist, and ambassador to **Great Britain**, Bol Alima was born on 20 February 1942, in Mbanga. Dr. Alima occupied important academic, ministerial, and party functions. Dr. Bol Alima died on 30 July 1999.

BOOH BOOH, JACQUES-ROGER (1938–). Booh Booh was born on 5 February 1938 in Makak. After finishing secondary school, he attended university in **France** eventually earning the *Doctorat d’Etat* in 1977. He taught at the *Ecole Nationale d’Administration et de*

Magistrature before joining the ministry of external relations. He served as ambassador to several countries, including France and the Soviet Union, and as minister of external relations before becoming the head of the **United Nations** Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in 1992. He has received serious criticism for his actions before and during the 1984 genocide in Rwanda as he is seen by many observers as a major actor in preventing appropriate action to prevent the genocide.

Most references state that he became minister of external affairs on 16 May 1988, although the official history of the **cabinet** states that he took this position on 9 April 1992 and left on 11 November 1992 to take up the position with UNAMIR, which he held until 1 July 1994.

BORORO. *See* MBORORO.

BORDER PROBLEMS. Conflicts over border delineation, **refugees** associated with domestic conflict in neighboring countries, cross-border banditry, and **smuggling** are among the border issues confronted by Cameroon. Recurrent disputes in the delineation of national frontiers between Cameroon and its neighbors have led to discord with **Nigeria**, **Congo**, and **Gabon**.

Border conflict in contemporary Africa is a legacy of colonial rule. The old borders of Africa were created exclusively by European powers based on decisions of the **Congress of Berlin (1884–1885)** and were largely arbitrary. With independence, African countries did not change their old boundaries. International law made the existing boundaries sacrosanct, but the actual boundaries were not clearly delineated and often ignored ethnic and historical realities. The 1970s were marked by frequent conflict between Cameroon and Gabon and Congo; the persistent **Bakassi Dispute** with Nigeria has been resolved by a decision of the International Court of Justice. *See also* COUPEURS DE ROUTE.

BOTANICAL GARDENS. Established in **Victoria** by the Germans during the tenure of **Governor Julius von Soden (1885–1891)**, its principal aim was to assist planters in the economic exploitation of **Kamerun**. This was carried out through experimentation with various tropical crops, trees, and plants in order to test their adaptability

and commercial potential. Other substations of the Victoria Botanical Garden were opened in major administrative and military headquarters. Specialists in the Victoria center worked closely with the central Botanical Bureau in Berlin for research and investigation. Favorable research results turned the Victoria Botanical Gardens into a profit-making arm of the **protectorate**.

The defeat and the departure of the Germans after **World War I** led to the slow but gradual decline of the Botanical Gardens both as a research station and as a resort for natural beauty under the British and the later Cameroon administrations. The headquarters building of the Gardens became a hospital for whites during the British era and an expensive **tourist** hotel after independence. In 1988, the British government began to provide financial assistance for the restoration of the gardens. By the 1990s, the Gardens had returned to their original glory and had become an important tourist stop. A small graveyard contains the remains of Cameroonians who died fighting for the British in World War II. *See also* GREAT BRITAIN.

BOUBA, MAIGARI BELLO. *See* BELLO BOUBA, MAIGARI.

BOUKAR, LIMANE MALLOUM OUMATE. In late April 2009 **Nigerian** authorities announced the arrest of Boukar in the city of Maiduguri. Boukar headed the *Mouvement de Libération du Peuple Cameroun* (MPLC), which planned to overthrow the government of President **Paul Biya**. Nigerian authorities transferred Boukar to Cameroon authorities in **Maroua, Extreme North Region**. Unrest in the Extreme North has continued since his arrest and seems to be related to reports of **petroleum** discoveries in the region.

BRAIN DRAIN. This refers to the emigration of skilled and educated persons from one country to another, usually from a less developed to a more developed country. This causes serious losses for Cameroon as much is invested in educating young people, but they move to other countries for most of their productive lives. They do send remittances back to Cameroon, but this does not make up for the loss of educated persons. A survey in 2007 indicated that 83 percent of youths planned to leave Cameroon and that 80 percent of medical doctors had already done so.

BRAZZAVILLE CONFERENCE. This important political conference of **French Equatorial Africa** in January 1944 defined the postwar evolution of various African territories. It was organized by supporters of the Free French under Charles de Gaulle and presided over by the governor of French Equatorial Africa, Félix Eboué. The conference recommended the continuation of French **assimilationist** policies and rejected the idea of autonomy for these territories. The most significant recommendation was the abolition of the *indigénat* and elimination of the cosmetic distinctions between *citoyens* and *sujets*.

BREAST IRONING. Recently breast ironing allegations have brought Cameroon to international attention. This practice is believed to delay signs of puberty in girls thus reducing their attractiveness to men and delaying unwanted pregnancies. Breast ironing involves pressing, massaging, or grinding hot objects to a girl's developing breasts to make them disappear. The chest is then wrapped with a tight cloth to make it flat. It is estimated that 24 percent of Cameroon **women** have been subjected to this practice. In the majority of the cases, mothers are responsible for conducting the breast ironing. Unfortunately, some girls develop serious complications in addition to the pain inflicted during the practice. Some common implications include affects on physical and mental **health**, elevated cancer risks, inability to produce breast milk, premature sagging or deformation of the breasts, infections, cysts, and lesions.

Breast ironing is practiced in all **regions** of Cameroon with the highest prevalence in the **Littoral Region** and cuts across ethnic and religious boundaries. Women's groups and international **non-governmental organizations** are campaigning to warn about the dangers of breast ironing and expose the "national secret," creating awareness of an unhealthy and unnecessary painful practice. *See also* FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION; WOMEN; WOMEN, VIOLENCE AGAINST; WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

BREVET D'ETUDES DU PREMIER CYCLE (BEPC). This is one of the major examinations for secondary schools in **francophone** Cameroon. Students take the BEPC four school years after the *Certificat de Fin d'Etudes Primaires Elémentaires (CEPE)*. The

BEPC sanctions the end of the first cycle of secondary **education**. Success in the written part of the examination allows for admission into the oral exam. Generally, the national performance rate in the *Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle* is not very remarkable. In terms of comparative equivalence for public service employment the BEPC is ranked the same as the Ordinary Level **General Certificate of Education** in **anglophone** Cameroon.

BRIGADE ANTI-GANG. There are numerous reports of this special gendarmerie organization operating in the three northern regions under the direction of a Colonel Pom. It is accused of the extrajudicial killing of more than 1,000 persons in the period from 1998 to 2001 as part of an effort to control crime. It is thought to be a permanent organization as opposed to an earlier similar but temporary group named *Commandement Opérationnel*. See also **COUPEURS DE ROUTE**.

BRITISH CAMEROONS. The British Cameroons existed as a **mandate** from 1916 to 1945 and as a **trust** territory from 1946 to 1961. Despite this special status, **Great Britain** ruled its Cameroon territory as an ordinary British colony. For administrative purposes, British Cameroons was not only tied to the adjoining colony of **Nigeria** but was separated between **Northern** and **Southern Cameroons** without any connecting ties between them. The British justified their action on the sparse population of the territory and the need to restore historic connections between **ethnic groups** in Nigeria and Cameroon. Thanks to this connection, many Nigerians migrated to work in Cameroon, and many Cameroonians studied in Nigerian schools and colleges.

The British imposed their policy of **indirect rule** and determined all aspects of political development in the territory. By 1959, various parts of British Cameroons were allowed to operate as self-governing entities under a premier. In the 1961 **plebiscite**, Northern Cameroons voted to join with Nigeria, while Southern Cameroons voted for reunification with the **République du Cameroun**.

BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS LIBERATION FRONT (BSCLF). This group is related to the **Southern Cameroons National**

Council, Ambazonia, and several other groups that support the concept of an independent Southern or **anglophone** Cameroon. Apparently led by former Justice Frederick Alobwede Ebong, a group of dissidents took over the Cameroon radio station in **Buea** on 30 December 1999 and declared the independence of Southern Cameroons. The group was quickly arrested, and Ebong went to prison. After his release in 2001, he went into exile in **Nigeria** (some reports say London) to return to Cameroon in 2004. For some period (dates not clear), Ebong was president of the so-called Federal Republic of Southern Cameroons or Federal and Democratic Republic of Southern Cameroons. The relationship between this and the Southern Cameroons Government-in-Exile is not clear. This group announced the formation of a “restoration government” of “British Southern Cameroons” on 25 November 2007 at a meeting in Johannesburg, South Africa. Carlson Anyangwe, a figure frequently mentioned with respect to the anglophone independence movement, was named president. Anyangwe is a professor of law and one of the founders of the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)**. *See also* SOUTHERN CAMEROONS YOUTH LEAGUE; ZERO OPTION.

BUEA. The provincial capital of the **South West Region** was once the capital of the former **West Cameroon** and a capital of German **Kamerun**. Although originally populated by the **Bakweri**, the population, estimated in 2001 at 47,300 persons, is now ethnically heterogeneous. At about 1,000 meters altitude on the slopes of **Mount Cameroon**, its altitude and climate largely account for its administrative significance. Structures left behind by German administrators (many of which remain today) were used by British officials as well as by the postcolonial authorities of the former West Cameroon. Aside from its political importance, Buea remains of little commercial interest, although **tourism** has become important. The centralization of political structures in 1972 led to the decline of its administrative role. The creation of the University of Buea has boosted social and economic activities in the town.

Once every year, the town hosts the Guinness Mount Cameroon Race, a popular international sporting event. Contestants run from Buea to the top of the mountain, from 1,000 meters to 4,080 meters altitude, and back to town with the best of times under four hours.

BUEA DECLARATION. The **All Anglophone Conference** held in **Buea**, 2–3 April 1993, produced the Buea Declaration. This document expresses the view, widely held among **anglophones** at the time, that the union of **French Cameroun** and **Southern Cameroons** had failed, with the **francophone** domination and exploitation of the anglophone areas a major issue. The document argues that in fact the unitary state imposed in the **Constitution of 1972** was illegal and that the federal form of government must be restored. Other demands were made concerning **education**, including the opening of an anglophone university and the reestablishment of various anglophone institutions. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM.

BULU. A part of the wider **Fang** group, the Bulu are located in the deep south of Cameroon. The Bulu **language** is part of the **Niger-Congo** family. Their main activity is **agriculture** around the predominantly rich **cocoa**-producing towns of Ebolowa, Sangmelima, and Djoum. The Bulu served as middlemen in the European **slave trade** and were defeated in their attempt at armed rebellion against German penetration. **President Biya** is often identified as Bulu.

BUYAM SELLAM. This term describes business entrepreneurs, mostly **women**, who buy foodstuffs and other products from villages and resell them in cities on a retail basis. The income generated is used to supplement family incomes, or it may be the main income for a family. Many *buyam sellams* start up with minimal investments and grow into established businesses with retail stores in urban markets. The *buyam sellams* are middle people between village farmers and urban consumers. Due to lack of access to formal credit, these businesspeople use microcredit and *tontine/njangi* to raise capital. These entrepreneurs are now organizing to project a positive image of enterprising businesswomen and to portray them as essential to national economic development.

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CABINET. The cabinet is headed by the **prime minister**. According to Article 10 of the **Constitution of 1996**, the **president** appoints

the prime minister, who proposes the members of the government to be appointed by the president. The title of minister of state denotes Cameroon's highest-ranked minister below the vice prime ministers. A minister of state seems to possess special prerogatives above other ministers. The criterion for selection is not known, but practice suggested that a northerner, an **Ewondo**, a **Bamiléké**, and a leading **anglophone** were usually adorned with the title in the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** era. In a cabinet appointed by President **Paul Biya** in 2007, there were two vice prime ministers, three ministers of state (two from the north and one from Douala), 29 ministers, three ministers in charge of mission, 10 delegate ministers, and nine secretaries of state. Ministers of all ranks are not allowed to be members of the **National Assembly** or **Senate**.

CAMEROON ANGLOPHONE MOVEMENT (CAM). The CAM was among the pressure groups that held that a return to the federal system of government was the solution to the **Anglophone problem**. Founded in 1991, the CAM regards itself as the symbol of the **anglophone** struggle. It was the brainchild of the **All Anglophone Conference (AAC)**. In 1992, the CAM declared 20 May, Cameroon's National Day, to be Slavery Day, a day of mourning. According to CAM, it was on this day that anglophones moved from independence to slavery. It called on anglophones to observe May 20 as mourning day. In October 1993, both CAM and the AAC sent a delegation to the Nicosia **Commonwealth** Summit in an attempt to have that organization put pressure on the Cameroon government to accelerate constitutional and democratic reforms. Other profederalist pressure groups include the Teachers Associations of Cameroon (TAC) and the Confederation of Anglophone Parents-Teachers Association of Cameroon (CAPTAC), both of which are concerned with the improvement of the **educational** system of anglophone Cameroon. The creation of the GCE Board in 1993 was partly due to the activities of the TAC and CAPTAC.

Over the years the various organizations associated with the anglophone movement have splintered over leadership and objectives. Among the organization names are **Ambazonia**, the Southern Cameroons Provisional Administration (established 17 June 2001 and claiming to be the government of an independent country), the

Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL), the Southern Cameroons Restoration Movement (SCARM), and the Free West Cameroon Movement. *See also* BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS LIBERATION FRONT (BSCLF); ZERO OPTION.

CAMEROON CULTURAL REVIEW. *See* ABBIA.

CAMEROON DEMOCRATIC UNION (CDU)/UNION DEMOCRATIQUE CAMEROUNAISE (UDC). This small party originated with the return to a multiparty system. Led by **Adamou Ndam Njoya**, it finds its major support in **Foumban, West Region**. The party philosophy is in many ways similar to that of the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)**, and an alliance between the two parties would benefit both. However, there is a substantial difference of view on the issues of a new **constitution** and federalism versus **decentralization**. In the early 1990s the parties often worked together, even sharing rallies. Both boycotted the **elections for the National Assembly in 1992**. The CDU leader did run in the **elections for president of 1992**, receiving 3.2 percent of the vote, and Njoya ran again in the **elections for president in 2004**, receiving 4.48 percent of the vote. In the **elections for the National Assembly of 1997**, the CDU won five seats, all in Foumban. The CDU boycotted the **elections for president of 1997**. In the **elections for the National Assembly in 2002** the party won five seats, and in the **elections for the National Assembly in 2007** it won four seats. Most of the party's support comes from the **Bamoum** people and as such it will always remain a minority party.

CAMEROON DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (CDC). The CDC is the biggest agro-industrial company in the Central African region and the largest statutory organization in Cameroon. Created in December 1946 by an ordinance of the British colonial authorities to manage and develop former German plantations, activities were initially concentrated in the **South West** but later expanded into the **North West** with a tea estate at Ndu, the West with a tea estate at Djuttitsa, and the **Littoral Region** with a rubber estate at Kompina.

The CDC faces a hostile **Bakweri Land Claims Committee**, which requests the return of land to its indigenous owners. It also

had to struggle with uncertain budgetary subsidies from **Great Britain, Nigeria,** and the **Commonwealth** in the early period to survive. Moreover, following independence, its lifeblood was secured only with heavy loans from various bilateral and international sources. The government took control in 1962. In the early period the company was run by British and Nigerian staff; it has since been indigenized and is run by a board of directors under a government-appointed chairman and a general manager.

The CDC covers about 38,000 hectares of land and employs more than 9,000 persons. It grows, processes, and markets rubber and **bananas** for export and **palm products** mainly for domestic use. Minor crops such as coconuts are also grown. There are nine rubber estates (18,000 ha.) and six rubber factories, and seven oil palm estates (16,000 ha.) and two mills. The two banana estates (3,000 ha.) are managed in a partnership with the international Del Monte Company. Tea estates have been privatized; further **privatization** is planned. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

CAMEROON MOUNTAIN. *See* MOUNT CAMEROON.

CAMEROON NATIONAL ANTHEM. As stated in Part 1, Paragraph 6 of the **Constitution of 1996**, the national anthem of the country is “O Cameroon, Cradle of Our Fathers.” The national anthem is a symbol of the country’s sovereignty.

Although critics believe it bears a melodic resemblance to the French hymn “The Marseillaise,” the Cameroonian national anthem was actually composed in 1928 at the Foulassi Teacher Training College near Sangmelima in the **South Region**. The words of the song were selected by Jam Afane and the lyrics composed by Minkyo Bamba. The song was heard in public for the first time during the visit of the French governor to the Protestant Mission Teacher Training College in 1928. The song was gradually propagated as teachers left this institution to begin their careers elsewhere. It later became representative and symbolic of the nationalist aspiration of the people. In 1960 it was proclaimed the national anthem of the Republic by Cameroon’s first Constituent Assembly. The English version (not a translation) is widely attributed to **Bernard Fonlon**. The words of the first verse were changed in 1972 by a special commission and

later made official by the head of state. The tune has always remained true to the original.

Cameroon National Anthem (French)

O Cameroun berceau de nos ancêtres,
va debout et jaloux de ta liberté,
comme un soleil ton drapeau fier doit être,
un symbole ardent de foi et d'unité,

Chorus:

Chère Patrie, Terre chérie,
Tu es notre seul et vrai bonheur,
Notre joie, notre vie,
En toi l'amour et le grand honneur.

Que tous tes enfants du Nord et Sud,
De l'Est à l'Ouest soit tout amour,
Te servir que ce soit le seul but,
Pour remplir leur devoir toujours.

Cameroon National Anthem (English)

O Cameroon, Thou Cradle of our Fathers
Holy Shrine where in our midst they now repose,
Their tears and blood and sweat thy soil did water,
On thy hills and valleys once their tillage rose.
Dear Fatherland, thy worth no tongue can tell!
How can we ever pay thy due?
Thy welfare we will win in toil and love and peace,
Will be to thy name ever true!

Chorus:

Land of Promise, land of Glory!
Thou, of life and joy, our only store!
Thine be honor, thine devotion
And deep endearment, for evermore.

From Shari, from where the Mungo meanders
From along the banks of lowly Boumba Stream,
Muster thy sons in union close around thee,
Mighty as the **Buea** Mountain be their team;
Instill in them the love of gentle ways,

Regret for errors of the past;
 Foster, for Mother Africa, a loyalty
 That true shall remain to the last.

CAMEROON NATIONAL UNION (CNU)/UNION NATIONALE CAMEROUNAISE (UNC). The CNU was the first one-party structure in independent Cameroon. It was formed on 1 September 1966, to forge greater national unity and consolidate **President Ahmadou Ahidjo's** political hold on the country. The main **political parties** of the two federal states—the *Union Camerounaise* (UC) in **East Cameroon**, headed by Ahidjo, as well as the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)**, the **Cameroon United Congress (CUC)**, and the **Cameroons People's National Convention (CPNC)** in **West Cameroon**—met in **Yaoundé** on 11 June 1966 to reach an agreement in favor of a unified movement. Consequently, the main party in East Cameroon and the three major parties of West Cameroon agreed to declare dissolution by 31 August.

On 1 September, the CNU party came into being as a party for all Cameroonians, supposedly able to bridge barriers between the rich and poor and to integrate **ethnic groups** and religions for the attainment of common objectives. These objectives included:

- the consolidation of the union of all Cameroonians;
- the contribution of civic and political **education**; and
- the promotion of the economic and social interests of Cameroonian people.

The CNU had two ancillary organs, the youth wing (YCNU) and the **women's** wing (WCNU). Its four central organs at the national level were the National Congress, the National Council, the Central Committee, and the Political Bureau. The motto of the party was Union-Truth-Democracy. However, throughout its 19 years' existence the CNU hardly succeeded in its objectives. It was not a true reflection of the unity of peoples. It was a major propaganda institution of government, and democracy was defined only in the narrow interest of the party leadership. Indeed, membership in the high organs of the party was identical to membership in the national government, the **National Assembly**, and the **Economic and Social Council**.

The national congresses held every five years in different towns of the country marked the liveliest periods in the party's existence. These brought the party a little closer to the people as suspense arose over the choice of presidential candidate in the upcoming election. Until his resignation as head of state in 1982, Ahidjo was the sole candidate of the party. While virtually unchallenged, Ahidjo always delayed the acceptance of the candidacy to the very last minute of the Congress.

Following his resignation in November 1982 he retained the post of chairman of the CNU, plunging the party and the country into political debate. Ahidjo argued as ex-president of the country that the party, of which he was still chairman, determined and guided government policy under **President Paul Biya**. Biya, for his part, emphasized government's autonomy. The animosity and suspicion surrounding this issue led to Ahidjo's announcement from **France** of his resignation as party head on 27 August 1983. President Biya was hurriedly mandated to replace him in an Extraordinary Party Congress in Yaoundé on 14 September 1983. Biya served in this post until the March 1985 **Bamenda Congress** that led to the formation of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**.

CAMEROON-NIGERIA MIXED COMMISSION. Established by **United Nations (UN)** Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2002, the purpose of this organization is to facilitate the implementation of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) decision on the **Bakassi Dispute** between the two countries. Delegations from the UN, **Nigeria**, and Cameroon meet frequently to discuss and resolve numerous issues concerning the border between the two states as well as issues emanating from the ICJ decision. The 22nd session was held in June 2008. The mandate includes demarcation of the entire border, reactivation of the **Lake Chad Basin Commission**, and the development of joint economic ventures and cross-border cooperation. The Commission established several subsidiary organs to undertake these responsibilities. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS.

CAMEROON OIL TRANSPORTATION COMPANY. *See* PIPELINE.

CAMEROON PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (CPDM)/ RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RDPC). The dominant party of the **Republic of Cameroon**, the CPDM, is the successor of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**. The CPDM formed at the end of the fourth ordinary congress of the CNU in **Bamenda**, 24 March 1985.

The CPDM represents **President Paul Biya's** desire to create his party in his image following the identification of the CNU with the former regime of **Ahmadou Ahidjo**. It is representative of the **New Deal** era that became the symbol of Biya's rule. The party attempts to distinguish itself from the past through its new emblem made of a flame protected by two black hands on a blue field encircled by the initials of the party. Its motto is **Unity-Progress-Democracy**. The party strives in its objectives to mobilize the population of the country in order to

- consolidate national unity, integration and independence;
- promote a democratic system of government as well as rapid economic growth; and
- contribute to the civic political education of nationals and promote their economic and social interest.

However, the CPDM is equally characterized by striking resemblances to the CNU party. Like the CNU, the CPDM has annex organizations like the youth and **women's** wings. Its structures are a carbon copy of the past from the lowest organ (the cell) to its highest organ (the national congress). Like the CNU, the CPDM is highly elitist.

In the 1990s, the CPDM's monopoly of political power was challenged with some success by increasing demands for democracy and transparency in government. New parties have formed, in particular the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** led by **Fru Ndi** and the **Union for Democracy and Progress** led by **Bello Boub**. While the CPDM's presidential candidate, Paul Biya, was successful in retaining the office of the national president, the party lost its domination of the **National Assembly** and was forced to form a coalition. This was a temporary situation, for in 2002 the CPDM won 149 seats; its closest competitor, the SDF, won only 22. In 2007 the situation was even more pronounced; the CPDM won 153 seats, the SDF only 16.

In the **elections for president in 2004**, Biya took 72.92 percent of the votes, Fru Ndi only 17.4 percent. Thus, there is no evidence that the CPDM is losing its dominance or that the existence of a multiparty system is indicative of a democratic system.

While the CPDM does face competition, it retains tremendous advantages in the large infrastructure it obtained in years of one-party rule (offices, vehicles, telephones, etc.) and as a result of President Biya's control of huge patronage resources (jobs, contracts, location of development projects, etc.).

CAMEROON TRADE UNION CONGRESS (CTUC). *See* TRADE UNIONS.

CAMEROON VERSUS THE UNITED KINGDOM. *See* NORTHERN CAMEROONS CASE.

CAMEROON UNITED CONGRESS (CUC). This splinter group from the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** emerged as a parliamentary faction and developed into a small but influential party in 1965. Its main leader and founder was the then federal minister, **Solomon T. Muna**. The CUC was designed to sensitize Cameroonians to the need for greater political unity and harmony east and west of the **Mungo River**. The birth of the party was the result of a constitutional controversy in the KNDP on the appointment of the **West Cameroon** premier. Muna asserted the prerogative of the federal president (**Ahmadou Ahidjo**) over the party president (**John Foncha**). This led to the definitive rupture between Muna and Foncha. Along with another federal minister, **E. T. Egbe**, Muna made the CUC the opposition party in the West Cameroon House of Assembly in 1965. In opposition, the CUC championed the call for the immediate formation of a national party, a timely appeal as the single unified party, the **Cameroon National Union**, was founded in September 1966.

CAMEROON WELFARE UNION (CWU). Formed in late 1939 as an early political group in **Southern Cameroons**, its leaders were mainly Western-educated Southern Cameroonians, which made the CWU an essentially elite gathering. Its main purpose was the quest for an identity for the region and recognition for its leaders. It

therefore advocated direct representation of Southern Cameroons in the **Nigerian** central legislature in Lagos. The British turned down the request denying claims of any autonomy for the territory. **Chief Manga Williams** played a leading role in the early stages of the movement. In the later periods more sophisticated politicians like **Emmanuel Endeley**, **John Foncha**, and **P. M. Kale** provided leadership for the union. The CWU was essentially short-lived as a political grouping, but many of its designs were carried forward in the scheme of the **Cameroons Youth League**.

CAMEROONIAN PATRIOTIC OPPOSITION. This brief-lived coalition of 11 (and at times 13) opposition parties formed under the leadership of **Ndam Amadou Njoya** of the **Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU)**. A similar group formed for the **elections for president in 2004**. The Coalition for National Reconciliation and Reconstruction (CNRR) was unable to hold together after the **Social Democratic Front** withdrew over the issue of who would be the group's presidential candidate.

CAMEROONS NATIONAL FEDERATION (CNF). This political grouping in **Southern Cameroons** brought together various interests in local government issues in a May 1949 conference in **Kumba**. Its leader was **E. M. L. Endeley**, and it included other personalities like **Solomon T. Muna**, **Sampson A. George**, and **Nerius Mbile**. The aim was to discuss issues on tribal development initiatives through improvement unions, agrarian grievances of the land committees, and employment issues of the **CDC Workers Union**. These questions were to serve as the basis of a petition to the 1949 **United Nations Visiting Mission** to the territory. The CNF expressed local neglect of the region by the British and the frustration of the population to the UN trust authority.

The group also embraced collaboration with **French Cameroun** groupings resident in the territory and advocated evolutionary **re-unification**. Its memoranda on reunification envisaged the abolition of the intra-Southern Cameroons and interfrontier boundary regulations, the teaching of compulsory **English** and **French** with equal emphasis in all schools of **Kamerun**, and the nondiscriminatory treatment of French Camerounians in all aspects of life in **British**

Cameroons. A federal or unitary political state was to emerge from these concrete arrangements.

The CNF thus became a leading laboratory to experiment with the reunification idea. It resulted in major divergences among the leadership and conflicting options like the separationists (led by Endeley), the secessionists (under **P. M. Kale**'s guidance), the reunificationists (championed by Dibongue), and the ultra-anti-imperialists (spear-headed by **Ndeh Ntumazah**). Although the CNF continued collaboration with the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), both saw reunification not as an ideal in itself but as a means to an end. *See also* TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM.

CAMEROONS PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONVENTION (CPNC).

The CPNC was formed in May 1960 as a result of the fusion between the **Kamerun National Congress** (led by **Emmanuel Endeley**) and the **Kamerun Peoples Party** (under **Nerius Mbile**, **P. M. Kale**, and **Motomby-Woleta**). If the **Kamerun National Democratic Party** (KNDP) is largely identified as a **Grassfield** party, the elite leadership of the CPNC brands it as a forest-dominated party. In reality, the CPNC was formed to put an end to the resounding electoral victories of the KNDP that permitted the latter's political hegemony over other **political parties in Southern Cameroon**.

CAMEROONS PROVINCE. This was the official administrative title of **Southern Cameroons** between 1916 and 1949. The Cameroons Province was first administered as a province of the Southern Provinces of **Nigeria** and later became part of **Eastern Nigeria**. The province consisted of the **Victoria**, **Kumba**, **Ossidinge** (Mamfe), and **Bamenda** Divisions. In April 1949, Bamenda became a province in its own right. The Cameroons Province was ruled by a **resident** responsible to the lieutenant governor and the governor general in Nigeria. **Buea** was capital of Cameroons Province. *See also* ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES.

CAMEROONS YOUTH LEAGUE (CYL). Founded in Lagos in 1939, the Cameroons Youth League is about the earliest expression of **Southern Cameroons** nationalism. It was formed in reaction to, and as a model for, the Nigerian Youth Movement and brought

together leading figures who later commanded the destiny of **West Cameroon**, like **P. M. Kale**, its president; **E. M. C. Endeley** as secretary; and **J. N. Foncha**. In this respect, the CYL resembled the *Jeunesse Démocratique Camerounaise* (**Jeucafra**) of **French Cameroon**. Most CYL leaders were students in Nigeria who on return home founded local branches of the organization, as did Foncha in **Bamenda** by 1943.

The CYL was a social and political movement. As a social movement, it sought to develop fraternal ties among Cameroonians in **Nigeria** and foster their welfare, employment, and social consciousness. As a political movement it awakened Cameroonians' sense of awareness and stimulated political participation. The CYL was the catalyst for Cameroonian participation and identity in the **National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)**. The league's leader, P. M. Kale, played an active role in the NCNC. Given the early period of its formation, the CYL, like Jeucafra, did not foresee **reunification**, which later became a leading theme for major **political parties**. Unlike Jeucafra, which was a creation of the French and entertained Francophile fantasies, the CYL was an indigenous creation of Southern Cameroonians.

CAMEROUN. The French appellation and spelling for Cameroon. About four-fifths of the German **Kamerun protectorate** was administered by the French under the **mandate** and **trusteeship** agreements between 1916 and 1960. Consequently, this appellation and spelling is still often utilized to specifically identify the French epoch in Cameroon history. In addition, since independence and reunification many references to the country use the French spelling partly as a recognition of a greater **francophone** presence.

CAMEROUN ORIENTAL. *See* EAST CAMEROON.

CAMFRANGLAIS. *See* FRANGLAIS.

CAMSUCO. *See* SUGAR.

CASSAVA (MANIHOT ESCULENTA, POPULARLY KNOWN AS MANIOC). This root crop originated in Brazil and was domesti-

cated at least 10,000 years ago. It grows in lowland tropical areas, is drought resistant, and can grow in marginal soils. The root supplies carbohydrates, and the leaves are rich in protein, vitamins, and minerals. Cassava in Cameroon grows well in the **Littoral, East, Center, South, and South West Regions**, where it is boiled in water and eaten with sauce or pounded to make *fufu*, soaked to prepare water *fufu*, or grated to make popular foodstuffs like *miondo* and *bobolo*. Cassava can be converted to starch, which is used for laundry in many Cameroonian homes. This has attracted Chinese entrepreneurs who wish to export cassava starch on a large scale to **China**, where it is widely used in industry. At the same time, the Cameroon government has been encouraging expansion of this staple crop for domestic food purposes. However, such increases may be overwhelmed by a new strain of cassava mosaic disease spreading through **Nigeria** and Cameroon in the past decade. *See also* FOOD.

CATHOLIC CHURCH. The Catholic Church was established in Cameroon by several missionary groups and missionaries from many countries. In the German period the Pallotine Mission, mainly Germans and Swiss, began operations in 1880 under the leadership of Msgr. Heinrich Vieter. Sacred Heart missionaries joined the Pallotines in 1912 to begin work in Kumbo in today's **North West Region**. **World War I** interrupted the work of the Pallotines, who took refuge on Fernando Po in 1916 when the Germans were defeated in Cameroon.

By 1922, the Church in **France** had appointed Msgr. François-Xavier Vogt to take charge of Catholic activities in **French Cameroun**. The Holy Ghost Fathers (*Pères du St. Esprit*) replaced the Pallotines, and Holy Ghost nuns arrived in 1924. Also from France came members of the Sacred Heart order in 1922 to replace German members of the order driven out in World War I. From **Great Britain** came the Mill Hill Fathers led by Rev. William Campling to work in the British mandate of **Southern Cameroons**. Franciscan and Patricoft sisters, Benedictine fathers, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and the Daughters of the Holy Spirit were other groups involved in the Cameroon mission. The first Cameroonian to join the Church was Andres Ludwig Kuo a Mbangue, baptized on 6 January 1889. **Charles Atangana** was another early convert. Msgr. Paul Etoga

was the first Cameroonian bishop, consecrated 30 November 1955. Among other well-known figures in the Church are Msgr. **Jean Zoa**, first Cameroonian Archbishop of **Yaoundé**; Msgr. **Paul Verdsekov**, Archbishop of **Bamenda**; Father **Englebert Mveng**; and Msgr. **Christian Wiyghan Tumi**, all now retired or deceased.

As with other **Christian** organizations in Cameroon, the Catholic Church has played important roles in **education**, **health** care, and economic development. **Saint Joseph's College** in Sasse, the *Collège Libermann* in **Douala**, and the *Collège Sacré-Coeur* in Makak near **Yaoundé** are among the most famous schools. In Yaoundé in 1991 the *Université Catholique de l'Afrique Centrale* or Catholic University of Central Africa (CUAC) was opened with five faculties and three campuses. More recently, the John Paul II Institute of Theology (JOPASIT) was opened in **Buea**. In 2008, it was estimated that about 25 percent of Cameroon's population, about 4,500,000 people, followed the Catholic faith. In March 2009 Pope Benedict XVI visited Cameroon.

CDC WORKERS UNION (CDCWU). This **trade union** was formed in the **British Cameroons** in 1947 by the workers employed by the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)** in the plantations and in its related **health**, administrative, **education**, and engineering services. The first secretary general was **E. M. L. Endeley**, later the premier of the territory. The union was dissolved in 1972 when the government forced all unions into a single structure subordinate to the single party, the **Cameroon Nation Union (CNU)**. The CDCWU became the Fako Agricultural Workers' Union within that structure.

CELLUCAM. See CELLULOSE DU CAMEROUN.

CELLULOSE DU CAMEROUN (CELLUCAM). The Cameroon Pulp and Paper industry in **Edéa** began operations in November 1980 with a capital of 202 billion **CFA francs**, the first factory for the production of pulp and paper in francophone Africa. By June 1982, CELLUCAM had produced only 49,487 tons of paper, almost half its anticipated capacity. By the end of 1982, the company had lost over 23 billion CFA francs and was heavily in debt. Falling production

and export and expected bankruptcy led government to terminate the project in 1986.

CELLUCAM resulted from government's interventionist industrial strategy in its fourth five-year development plan. Its demise and closure is largely seen as a microcosm of the many problems inherent in developing **economies**: heavy dependence on foreign input, careless feasibility studies, lack of managerial and expert skills, and low quality of finished products. On 11 March 2008 an Italian firm purchased the property and announced that it would resume various operations within a few months. As of August 2009 no action had been undertaken.

CEMENT. Cement is a necessary ingredient for construction and thus for economic development, yet Cameroon has persistently faced a shortage of this necessity. *Cimenteries du Cameroun* (CIMENCAM) was opened as a government-owned company in 1970 with a capacity of only 51,211 tons. It has since expanded to 1 million tons per year with plants at Figuil in the North and **Douala**. The company, partially privatized and now managed by the French firm LaFarge, expects to reach 1.6 million tons in 2009 and will build a new plant at Figuil in 2011. However, demand still is greater than supply, so government liberalized importation in 2007. In 2008 a Korean firm began construction of a new plant at **Limbe** after several years of bureaucratic delay amid charges of collusion between CIMENCAM and government officials in an effort to avoid competition. There is also a report that a **Chinese** company will start construction of another plant in the near future.

CENTER PROVINCE. *See* CENTER REGION.

CENTER REGION. This **francophone** region has a surface area of 69,953 square kilometers divided into nine divisions. Much of the region is located on the low Southern Cameroon plateau at an elevation of 200 to 600 meters. All rivers flow to the Atlantic Ocean. Major **hydroelectric** projects are planned for Nachtigal on the **Sanaga River** and Njock-Mpoume on the Nyong River. The vegetation represents two distinct zones, secondary **forest** in the south and savannah in the north with an equatorial-type climate of two dry seasons and two rainy seasons. There are 2,501,000 inhabitants, half of whom live in

Yaoundé. The major **ethnic groups** are Beti-Pahouin and **Fang**, and **Christianity** is the major religion.

Agriculture is the principal occupation of the population, especially in the growing of key exports like **cocoa** and **coffee**. Other cash crops include **sugar** cane, **tobacco**, **rice**, pineapple, and **palm produce**. The main food crops are plantain, **cocoyam**, and yam, but there is a serious soil depletion problem affecting yields. Forest products are a major source of income, both for **timber** and various aspects of milling and processing. Rutile **mining** is expanding. Industrial, **educational**, commercial, **transportation**, and hotel activities have been greatly expanded especially in Yaoundé, the capital of the region and the country. Other important towns include Mbalmayo and **Bafia**. The Center Province was established on 23 August 1983 with the break-up of the **Center South Province**. In 2008 it became the Center Region.

CENTER SOUTH PROVINCE. This was Cameroon's second largest **province** between May 1972 and August 1983. The province gained added significance as host to the capital city, **Yaoundé**, and a multiplicity of institutions that have been established in and around the city. The province had a sparse **population** density with a total population of 1,393,608 in 1976. There were 11 administrative divisions headed by various *préfets* under the supervision of a **governor**. In August 1983, **President Paul Biya** divided the province into the **Center** and **South Provinces** (now regions) in the wake of the **destabilization plot**.

CENTRAL AFRICAN CLEARING HOUSE. See BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES.

CENTRAL AFRICAN CUSTOMS AND ECONOMIC UNION (CACEU). See UNION DOUANIERE ET ECONOMIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (UDEAC).

CENTRAL AFRICAN MONETARY UNION/UNION MONETAIRE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (UMAC)/ZONE MONETAIRE CENTRAFRICAINE. The Union was founded on 22 November 1972 to coordinate and harmonize the monetary policies of the member states—Cameroon, **Central African Republic**, **Chad**,

Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon. UMAC is an organ of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC). UMAC headquarters is in **Yaoundé**. The common **currency**, the **CFA franc**, is issued by the **Bank of Central African States**. UMAC replaced the Monetary Union of Equatorial Africa and Cameroon (UMAEC), founded in 1962. *See also* CENTRAL AFRICAN CLEARING HOUSE; UNION DOUANIERE ET ECONOMIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (UDEAC).

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. This landlocked country to the east of Cameroon has a population of about 4,500,000 persons (2008 est.) and an area of 622,984 square kilometers. A poor country, the GDP per capita is only \$700 (2007). Cameroon is an important trading partner, facilitated by common membership in the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC) and the franc zone. Civil unrest has prevailed in the country since 1996, causing disruptions in trade and sending **refugees** to Cameroon. Cameroon has sent **peacekeeping** forces to this country. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS; CFA FRANC.

CENTRAL BANK OF THE STATES OF EQUATORIAL AFRICA AND CAMEROON. *See* BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES.

CENTRE NATIONAL DES ETUDES ET DES RECHERCHES (CENER). *See* FOCHIVE, JEAN.

CERTIFICAT DE FIN D'ETUDES PRIMAIRES ELEMENTAIRES (CEPE). This certificate is awarded at the end of the primary school **education** in **francophone** Cameroon. Depending on the aptitude of the child, primary education lasts from six to eight years. Success in the CEPE allows for automatic entry into an institution of general or technical education. It is the equivalent of the **First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC)** in **anglophone** Cameroon.

CFA FRANC. The term *CFA* has had several uses. Previously, it meant *Colonies Françaises d'Afrique* or French Colonies of Africa and later *Communauté Française d'Afrique* or French Community of Africa.

The CFA franc is the currency utilized in most French-speaking countries of Africa. Today in Central Africa, CFA stands for the *Communauté Financière Africaine* (occasionally stated as *Coopération Financière en Afrique Centrale* or Financial Cooperation in Central Africa). In 1948 financial arrangements between **France** and its colonies tied the CFA to the French franc, fixing the parity at 1 French franc to 50 CFA francs. At independence in 1960 the currency became the official legal tender in the **République du Cameroun**. The currency was introduced in the **anglophone** part of the country on 2 April 1962; until this date, the **Nigerian** pound was legal tender in **British Cameroons**. Consequently, the CFA franc became the first tangible economic reality of Cameroon's **reunification**. Since then, the merits and demerits of the CFA franc in the unstable international monetary system have been frequently discussed. The falling economic fortunes of most Third World countries from the late 1980s, however, put the stability of the CFA franc to question, and on 12 January 1994, the CFA was devalued and fixed at 1 French franc to 100 CFA francs. After 1 January 1999 the CFA franc was fixed at 655.957 CFA to one euro. Countries following this arrangement are often described as being members of the franc zone. *See also* ACCORD DE COOPERATION ECONOMIQUE, MONETAIRE ET FINANCIERE; BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES; CURRENCY; EUROPEAN UNION.

CHAD, REPUBLIC OF/REPUBLIQUE DU TCHAD. To the east of Cameroon is the landlocked country of Chad (Tchad), with a population of 11,200,000 (est. 2008) and an area of 1,284,000 square kilometers. A large proportion of Chad's imports and exports must pass through Cameroon, a source of some income for Cameroon. **Petroleum** is exploited near **Lake Chad** and exported by **pipeline** to **Kribi** in eastern Cameroon, a source of income for Cameroon. Although petroleum has greatly increased the revenue of the Chadian government, little has been done to improve the standard of living of most of the population, 80 percent of whom live below the poverty line. Much of Chad's history as an independent country has been plagued with civil war and rebellions. **Refugees** have fled to Cameroon, and in recent years banditry in the northern parts of Cameroon has been blamed on Chadians. A large influx of guns has also entered

from Chad. Chad is a member of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC), the **Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC)**, and the franc zone. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS; CFA FRANC; FOREIGN TRADE.

CHAD BASIN COMMISSION. *See* LAKE CHAD BASIN COMMISSION.

CHARI RIVER. *See* LOGONE AND CHARI RIVERS.

CHIEF (TRADITIONAL, PARAMOUNT, APPOINTED, WARRANT). This term is used to designate the ultimate source of authority in most **ethnic groupings** throughout the country. Chiefs exist for both centralized and “stateless” societies; they existed in the precolonial and colonial eras and play a role in independent Cameroon. Colonialism was the intermediary agent that distinguished among the various forms of chieftaincy. Only very few ethnic groupings survived the destruction of precolonial structures. These were essentially centralized societies for which genealogy could be retraced and political systems reinstated. Under these conditions rulers retained their spiritual and noble attributes to serve as traditional rulers.

In collectively linked societies where several subunits exist over which a singular source of authority operates, this ruler is designated as paramount chief. Paramount chiefs could exist among stateless societies (like the **Bakweri** with the Mboko, Isuwu, Wovea subgroupings) as well as in centralized societies (like the **Bafut** with control over the Bafreng, Nkwen, and Bambili subethnicities). While such chiefs are selected on the basis of traditional law and custom, they must receive government approval before taking office.

Appointed chiefs prevail in societies in which traditional political structures were not visible to colonial authorities, or were destroyed by colonialism, and where European powers or latter-day independence authorities merely selected leaders based on certain preferences. The most remarkable reflection of this amalgam of chieftaincy types was the **West Cameroon House of Chiefs**. Some chiefs face a serious dilemma. The **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**–dominated government demands their allegiance and support, but many of their constituents support other parties. This is

particularly acute in the **North West Region**, where support for the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** has been very strong, and in the northern provinces, where the *lamibe* face a similar circumstance with respect to the *Union Nationale pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (UNDP)*. *See also* ELITE ASSOCIATIONS; FON; INDIRECT RULE; LAMIDO; NATIVE AUTHORITIES.

CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF (PRC). Cameroon established diplomatic relations with the PRC on 26 March 1971 and broke relations with Taiwan, established in January 1960, at the same time. Because the PRC had supported one of the militant *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* factions, Yaoundé's rapprochement with Peking led to the weakening of the UPC's insurgency. Since 1971, relations between the PRC and Cameroon have evolved, developing rapidly in the last few years as China has become more involved in Africa in general. Symbolic of the improvement in relations are numerous official visits between the two countries, including those in 2002 of Premier Zhu Rongji and in 2007 of President Hu Jintao to Cameroon and that of President **Paul Biya** to Beijing in 2006.

China has provided financial assistance as grants and soft loans to aid numerous projects including the **Lagdo Dam**, hospitals in Guider and Yaoundé, and the huge conference center (*Palais du Congrès*) in Yaoundé. In 2008 a contract was signed for a Chinese company to build major **sports** complexes in **Douala** and Yaoundé and minor complexes in 10 other cities. Educational exchanges and military cooperation are part of the relationship. While China seeks investment and trading opportunities in Cameroon, its major economic interest is in Cameroon's natural resources, particularly **petroleum**. China is Cameroon's third largest source of imports, though there have been numerous complaints that these imports are often of poor quality and that the imports and Chinese traders in Cameroon are destroying local industry and displacing local businesses. *See also* FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN TRADE; MINING AND MINERALS.

CHOA ARAB (SHUWA ARAB). The Choa Arabs are a group found mainly in the **Extreme North Region** of Cameroon. The term *Choa* is derived from the Kanuri language and means "Eastern." Their origins can be traced as far back as the original seminomadic Arab

tribes that accompanied Amr ibn al-As during the conquest of Egypt in the 7th century. Their ancestors thereafter populated the reaches of southern Egypt on the frontier with Christian Nubia. They pushed south into Nubia and eventually into the **Lake Chad** region in the 14th century. The Choa appear to have arrived in the area south of Lake Chad perhaps as early as the 16th century. In modern times, they are considered to be largely seminomadic pastoralists focusing their animal husbandry skills on the raising of cattle, sheep, and goats while also practicing some **agriculture**, particularly as regards sorghum.

CHRISTALLER, THEODOR (1840–1896). This German administrator came to **Kamerun** in 1887 and is credited to have opened the first German school in **Douala** in 1888. He later managed to spread German institutions in other towns of the **protectorate** and established a school curriculum for Kamerun. Christaller also compiled the first German-Duala dictionary and encouraged learning in Duala and German. *See also* EDUCATION; LANGUAGES.

CHRISTIANITY. The Christian belief was spread on the Cameroon coasts by missionaries in the early 19th century. In 1844, **Joseph Merrick**, the Jamaican **Baptist** missionary, laid the groundwork that was later concretized by the English Baptist missionary, **Alfred Saker**.

Various colonial powers later encouraged the establishment of particular missions in the territory. The **Basel Mission** and the **Catholic Pallotin Fathers** were established in 1886 and 1889 respectively under the German administration.

Under the **mandate** and **trusteeship systems**, the French missionary societies of the Holy Fathers and the Sacred Heart were established in the area. An equally significant development was the operation of the **American Presbyterian Mission** in the **Bassa** country in 1875. Schism in the ranks of the French **Protestant** missions gave birth to the purely African **Native Baptist Church** led by **Lotin Same** in 1922. The messianic movement of **Thong Likeng** also drew its inspiration from Christian teaching.

A major activity of Christian missions in Cameroon is **education**. Various primary and secondary institutions in the country are owned

and supervised by religious missions. There is now a Catholic university in **Yaoundé**. Although these religious denominations levy higher fees, they are reputed for providing quality education to students at all levels. Missions have also established hospitals and other **health** care facilities.

Among the various Christian churches and missions in Cameroon are Catholics, Baptists, Presbyterians, the Evangelical Church, **Lutherans**, the Apostolic Church, the True Church of God, the Greek Orthodox, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Coptic Church, and the African Protestant Church. Although these are all Christian institutions, there is no common bond of unity between them. The Baha'i, Buddhist, and **Islamic** faiths are also practiced in Cameroon.

Since 1990 various church leaders have been active proponents of **democracy** in Cameroon. *See also* RELIGION.

CIRCONSCRIPTION. *See* DIRECT RULE.

CIRE PERDU CASTING. *See* LOST WAX METHOD.

CITIES. *See* URBANIZATION AND CITIES.

COALITION FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION (CNRR). *See* ELECTIONS FOR PRESIDENT, 2004.

COCOA. Cameroon cocoa was regarded of superior quality by the Germans, and efforts were intensified to bring about large-scale production. The French administration took particular interest in cocoa and carried out important measures to ensure its growth.

Today, cocoa is widely grown in the moist land of the **South, Center, Littoral, North West, South West, and West Regions** in essentially family enterprises. Unlike other crops, cocoa is mainly considered an African crop despite the presence of Greek, Lebanese, and Syrian traders in the local market. Much of Cameroon cocoa is destined for export, and, prior to **petroleum**, its production represented over 30 percent of Cameroon's export volume. There has been substantial domestic manufacture of chocolate products since independence by the CHOCOCAM company. According to the Food

and **Agriculture** Organization, Cameroon exported 130,000 tons of cocoa in 1998. By 2007 this had increased to 172,000 tons; Cameroon was the world's fifth-largest producer. The government wishes to reach 200,000 tons by 2010. In addition to cocoa beans, cocoa paste, cocoa butter, and chocolate are exported. In 2005 the total export value of cocoa beans, paste, and butter was \$226,587,000.

However, production is thought to be far below potential due to problems defined as old farmers, old plantations, diseases and pests, the exodus of the young to the cities, and unscrupulous buyers who buy at a very low price thus destroying the incentive to produce. The Cocoa Development Company/*Société de développement du cacao* (SODECAO) supervises cocoa farmers in Cameroon and serves as an intermediary between the farmers and international buyers. The Cocoa Producers' Alliance (COPAL) represents the farmers. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE; INDUSTRY.

COCOYAM (XANTHOSOMA, TARO, MACABO). This root crop originated in tropical America. It is now a staple in much of southern Cameroon, especially in the coastal regions. After harvest, cocoyam is cooked before being used for human consumption or feeding livestock. Boiled cocoyam may be pounded and made into *fufu* or grated raw and cooked into other edible varieties like *ekpan* or *kwacoco*. The leaves are used for cooking. The big cocoyam leaves, sometimes called "elephant ears," are often used as shelter from a surprise downpour of rain. Production, estimated for 2005 at 113,322 tons, is entirely for local use. In the world **food** shortage situation of 2008, local farmers have been encouraged to increase production, and urban inhabitants have been encouraged to eat more cocoyam and less imported food. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

COFFEE. Coffee is grown extensively. The major areas include the **South, Center, Littoral, South West, North West, and West Regions**. The production of this crop for export makes many indigenous families dependent on the world market for their livelihood. There are also large expanses of plantation coffee in which European settlers played a major development role. Two varieties of coffee are grown in the country: Robusta, mostly cultivated in the coastal areas, and Arabica, which is widely grown in the western highlands of Cameroon.

According to the Food and **Agriculture** Organization, Cameroon coffee production in 1998 was 102,000 tons, up from 52,648 in 1996. Export value for 2005 of all coffee products was \$63,351,000. The estimate for production in 2006–2007 was 45,000 metric tons, of which about 4,000 tons were used in Cameroon.

Such great fluctuations are due in part to climate variations, but the general downtrend is due to lack of inputs, youth moving to the city, and the withdrawal of much government support under the liberalization programs of the 1990s. In what seems to be a frequently recurring cycle, in 2006 the government announced large-scale programs to resuscitate coffee production with the ambitious goals of increasing Robusta production to 100,000 tons and Arabica to 24,000, in part by increasing land under coffee by 5,000 hectares per year. But such expansion would be destructive of forests and would detract attention from the growing of **food**. *See also* FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY; FOREIGN TRADE.

COLLECTIVE RESIGNATION PLOT. This plot was one of the high points of the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture**. Following **President Paul Biya**'s surprise **cabinet** reshuffle of 18 June 1983, former President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** called a secret conclave of ministers from the **North Province** at his official residence on the same day to request their collective resignation. Ahidjo considered the reshuffle "a declaration of war" against the North because many of his close associates were dropped from government and Biya did not consult him on his plans. Non-northern ministers including the **Muslim** from **Foumban**, Mbombo Njoya, and non-Muslims from the North attended the meeting but did not yield to Ahidjo's call for resignation. **Prime Minister Maigari Bello Bouba** signed a separate resignation letter to the head of state during the secret meeting.

The military aspect of the resignation plot was directed by Armed Forces Minister Maikano Abdoulaye later in the night of 18 June 1983. He informed top-level military officials from the North of the impending political situation. Although the former head of state desired to create an explosive situation of instability, various other personalities, including **Sultan Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya** of **Foumban**, Governor Usman Mey of the North Province, and a former cabinet member, **Sadou Daoudou**, managed to quell the fury and the

vengeance of the former head of state and avert a difficult political outcome. The collective resignation plot was an important component of the public trial of February to March 1984.

COMMISSION BANCAIRE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (COBAC)/CENTRAL AFRICAN BANK COMMISSION. COBAC supervises the management of banks in the member states of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC). In the recovery from the Cameroon bank crisis (and in other states), COBAC oversaw the rehabilitation of banks. This rekindled confidence among savers and led to harmonization of savings. In the process, external debt problems have been minimized in CEMAC. COBAC also oversees microcredit programs. COBAC is generally recognized in the international financial community for its efficiency and professionalism; however, the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** has criticized COBAC's lack of independence and powers to discipline banks.

COMMISSION NATIONALE ANTI-CORRUPTION (CONAC).
See NATIONAL ANTI-CORRUPTION COMMISSION (NACC).

COMMISSIONERS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS OF FRANCE IN CAMEROON (1916–1959). Commissioners and high commissioners were the leading political and administrative authorities during the **mandate** and **trusteeship** periods of the French in **Cameroon**. Consequently they played a prominent role in determining the course of and the forces that affected Cameroon's evolution to independence. The following officials served in Cameroon between 1916 and 1959. The dates indicate the year of their arrival in Cameroon:

Aymerich, Georges, 1916
 Fourneau, Lucien-Louis, 1916
 Carde, Jules, 1919
 Marchand, Théodore-Paul, 1923
 Bonnecarrere, August François,
 1932
 Repiquet, Jules, 1934

Boisson, Pierre, 1936
 Brunot, Richard, 1938
Leclerc, Philippe, 1940
 Cournarie, Pierre, 1940
 Carras, Hubert, 1943
Delavignette, Robert 1946
 Hofherr, René, 1947

Soucadaux, André, 1949

Pre, Roland, 1954

Messmer, Pierre, 1956

Ramadier, Jean, 1958

Torre, Xavier, 1958.

See also ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES; DIRECT RULE.

COMMON INITIATIVE GROUPS (CIGs). *See* COOPERATIVES.

COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. Until 1949 the term *British Commonwealth* referred to the Imperial British Empire. Today the organization, most frequently referred to as the “Commonwealth,” is a loose, rather informal grouping of 53 countries. With the exception of Mozambique, all were once colonies of **Great Britain**. The closest thing to a constitution for this organization is the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles adopted in 1971 in Singapore. The most important structure is the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGMs), conducted every two years. A second significant structure is the Commonwealth Secretariat. Regular meetings at the ministerial level are also held, annually in some cases (finance ministers), less often in others (**education** ministers every three years). Today there are nearly 90 professional and advocacy organizations that are part of the Commonwealth “family of nations.”

In December 1995, Cameroon became the 52nd member of the Commonwealth at the Auckland, New Zealand, CHOGM. Prior to this, Cameroon had not joined the Commonwealth or several of the similar French organizations in deference to domestic political considerations. The situation changed in the late 1980s. English-speaking Cameroonians began piling up pressure on the **Paul Biya** government for Cameroon’s admission into the Commonwealth, given its British colonial heritage. But Cameroon’s membership of the Commonwealth was contingent on its **human rights** record, democratization, and good governance. In principle, Cameroon’s membership was tied to its respect for and adherence to the Harare Declaration of 1991, the fundamental goals of which are to promote the political values of the Commonwealth. Admission was denied for several years on the basis of Cameroon’s failure to meet these standards. Some **anglophone** organizations supported this denial as a means of pressuring the government to reform. *See also* GREAT

BRITAIN; ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DE LA FRANCOPHONIE; SUMMIT OF LA FRANCOPHONIE.

COMMUNAL LIBERALISM. The political philosophy of **President Paul Biya** is based on the dual dimensions of community and freedom that are rooted in the culture and vision of the country. The society of Communal Liberalism is based on openness toward a more interdependent mankind, a new political society at the service of man, and a policy of **social justice** designed to bring about equality and greater humanness. In the process, the Biya vision seeks to lead Cameroonians from their ethnic cultures into a national culture characterized by tolerance, freedom, and sharing. President Biya outlined this vision in his book *Communal-Liberalism*, published by Editions Faure, ABC, and MacMillan in 1987. Observers might comment today that in the many years of his presidency, Biya has accomplished little if any of this vision. However, the philosophy was repeated in his 2004 **election** campaign. *See also* NEW DEAL.

COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY. The French Community was a short-lived attempt to maintain an integrated structure between **France** and its former colonies. It replaced the **French Union**. In 1958, the colonies were allowed to vote to decide whether or not they wished to remain directly linked to France. In Africa, all colonies except Guinea voted to remain with France. They then became part of the Community, as described in the Constitution of the Fifth Republic. By 1960, almost all of the territories had decided to leave the Community and become independent states. Indirect means of retaining some of the links were established in the African and Malagasy Union formed in 1961. The Community might be viewed as a federation of France and the former colonies, but in fact control of the most significant aspects of government remained with France. There were Community organs, but these had only a consultative role. *See also* FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT; SUMMIT OF THE FRANCOPHONIE.

COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE DES ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (CEEAC)/ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (ECCAS). The Economic Commission for Africa and the Lagos Plan called for the construction of

regional organizations to include all of the states of Africa. One of these, CEEAC or ECCAS, “aims to achieve collective autonomy, raise the standard of living of its populations and maintain economic stability through harmonious cooperation. Its ultimate goal is to establish a Central African Common Market.” Priorities have been established to develop the capacity to maintain peace and security in the region; to develop multifaceted economic, monetary, and human integration; and to establish an autonomous financing mechanism.

CEEAC possesses economic potential, for it has a large population, contains several **petroleum**-producing countries, and has other resources. Its combined population is about 122 million people, and it covers an area of almost 7 million square kilometers. However, it also includes several countries with critical political problems, countries often in conflict with each other, and several very poor countries. Members are Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, **Central African Republic (CAR)**, **Chad**, **Congo**, Democratic Republic of Congo, **Equatorial Guinea**, **Gabon**, Rwanda, Sao Tomé, and Principe.

CEEAC structures include a Conference of Heads of State and Government, a Council of Ministers, a general secretariat, a Court of Justice, technical committees, and a consultative commission. The headquarters is in Bangui, CAR. CEEAC has also developed a **peacekeeping** mechanism and the **Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX)**, and some members have established an *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l’Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC). In July 2008 CEEAC’s Peace Building Mission in the Central African Republic (MICOPAX) took over the peacekeeping forces (FOMUC) sent to CAR by CEMAC in 2002. *See also* UNION DOUANIERE ECONOMIQUE DE L’AFRIQUE CENTRALE (UDEAC).

COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE ET MONETAIRE DE L’AFRIQUE CENTRALE (CEMAC)/ECONOMIC AND MONETARY COMMUNITY OF CENTRAL AFRICA. This successor to the *Union Douanière Economique de l’Afrique Central* (UDEAC) became operational in June 1999. The six members are Cameroon, **Central African Republic**, **Chad**, **Congo**, **Equatorial Guinea**, and **Gabon**. The supreme organ of this customs and monetary union is its Conference of Heads of State, which meets at least once each year.

Other organs include a Council of Ministers, a Ministerial Committee, and the CEMAC Commission. A Court of Justice is situated at Ndjamena, Chad, and a parliament is to be created. The **Bank of Central African States** is controlled by CEMAC. CEMAC is also involved in peace and security issues in Central Africa, and in 2002 it sent a **peace-keeping** force to the Central African Republic. This was taken over by the *Communauté Economique des Etats de l’Afrique Centrale* in July 2008. An airline, Air Cemac, has been debated but as of 2009 had failed to become a reality. A common passport was introduced in 2007. According to a **World Bank** evaluation in 2008, “The customs union still does not function effectively.” There is very little trade between the members, and there is “rampant poverty.”

COMMUNAUTE FINANCIERE AFRICAINE. *See* CFA FRANC.

COMPTE HORS BUDGET. This term (meaning “account outside of the budget”) refers to the practice initiated by **President Ahmadou Ahidjo** and continued by President **Paul Biya** of not including the revenues received from Cameroon’s **petroleum** production in the national accounts. Petroleum revenue was then spent at the discretion of the president in addition to funds spent within the announced budget. In 1995 petroleum revenue was included for the first time in the budget.

CONCOURS (COMPETITIVE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION).

This French term is used widely in Cameroon to designate special competitive entrance examinations for recruitment into particular positions in the public service or admission into various professional institutions of **higher education**. Usually, the number of candidates required is set before the exam is taken, independent of the number of applicants. This makes the performance level highly competitive. Announcements for the *concours* are made publicly in the national media, and results are announced in the same fashion. Supervision of public service *concours* are organized by the Ministry of Public Service, while academic *concours* are set by the various institutions. Despite the high level of competitiveness required, the public has expressed doubts about the level of fairness involved in the final selections in various *concours*. *See also* BACCALAUREAT; EDUCATION.

CONDOMINIUM, THE (1914–1916). This was the period of joint Franco-British administration of the **Kamerun** territory following the capture of **Douala** from the Germans by the West African Expeditionary force during **World War I**. In reality, the Franco-British device was never a joint administrative arrangement in the true sense of the term. For several reasons, the British carried the burden of the administration. In terms of personnel and resources, the British were better endowed in the development of major services. In terms of proximity and knowledge, the British had a better knowledge of the area, given their closer contact to the local population in the preannexation era and their more powerful presence in neighboring **Nigeria**. In addition, the British had in General **Charles Dobell** a military strategist and administrator of the first order. Consequently, the proposed Condominium was short-lived, and it was followed by the partition of the territory. The irony of the partition exercise was that the British, who prevailed during the Condominium, ended up with a tiny portion of the Kamerun territory as compared to the French. *See also* GREAT BRITAIN.

CONFEDERATION OF ANGLOPHONE PARENTS-TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS OF CAMEROON (CAPTAC). *See* CAMEROON ANGLOPHONE MOVEMENT.

CONFEDERATION DES SYNDICATS INDEPENDANTS DU CAMEROUN (CSIS). *See* TRADE UNIONS.

CONFEDERATION OF CAMEROON FREE TRADE UNIONS (CCFTU). *See* TRADE UNIONS.

CONFEDERATION OF CAMEROON TRADE UNIONS (CCTU). *See* TRADE UNIONS.

CONGO, REPUBLIC OF. Often referred to as Congo (Brazzaville), this southern neighbor of Cameroon has a population of 3,900,000 (est. 2008) and an area of 342,000 square kilometers. **Petroleum** has been an important, but now declining, source of export revenue. The GDP per capita is \$3,700 (2007). The country is a member of the franc zone and the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de*

l’Afrique Centrale. From the late 1990s internal conflict has destabilized the country and caused serious economic decline. The railroad was rendered inoperable for some time. The instability has led to a serious problem of internally displaced persons (IDPs); in addition, there are large numbers of **refugees** from Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The landlocked countries of **Chad** and **Central African Republic** have been forced to conduct more of their trade through Cameroon as a result. Cameroon is a major trading partner of Congo. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE.

CONGRESS OF BERLIN (1884–1885). This infamous international conference was held in Berlin between 5 November 1884 and February 1885 to establish a process to parcel out the territories in Africa for various European powers. The process, generally regarded as the “Partition of Africa,” led to the creation of small territorial entities for European colonial designs on the African continent.

Fourteen countries attended the conference, including **France**, **Great Britain**, the **United States**, **Germany**, Belgium, Spain, and observers from **Russia**. They were summoned to this gathering by the German empire under Otto von Bismarck in order to settle accounts and reach common agreement to prevent further colonial rivalry among them. The colossal injustice of the Congress of Berlin was the absence of any representatives from the African continent.

Of relevance to Cameroon history, the Congress not only regulated navigation on the Congo and Niger Rivers, but also solidified German annexation of **Kamerun**, which had been the subject of controversy, especially from the French and British, since 12 July 1884.

CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1961). This constitution was the result of the **Foumban Conference** between **Southern Cameroons** representatives and the government of the **République du Cameroun**. The constitution came into effect on 1 October with the birth of the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**. The federal system consisted of two states, **East** and **West Cameroon**, each with its own government headed by a **prime minister** and a legislature. In addition, West Cameroon retained the institution of a **West Cameroon House of Chiefs** in a quasi-bicameral legislature.

The federal structure consisted of a government headed by the **president** and assisted by the vice president as well as a **cabinet** and federal legislature of 50 seats. The **francophone** president had an **anglophone** vice president, while the seats at the federal assembly were distributed at a 4:1 ratio between East Cameroon and West Cameroon. The federal government had far-ranging powers and could intervene in the domains of each federated state.

There were two amendments to the federal constitution. The 1969 amendment prolonged the life of the federal assembly and changed procedures for selecting the prime ministers of the federated states; the 1970 amendment made the position of vice president of the republic incompatible with any other governmental office. Previously, the vice president of the federal republic was concurrently the prime minister of West Cameroon. This constitution ceased to exist in 1972 with the inauguration of a unitary system of government. *See also* CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1984); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1996); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN (1960); CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1972).

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1984).

The issue underlying the Constitution of 1984 was the quest for popular legitimacy by **President Paul Biya**. In addition to his constitutional mandate, Biya gained an electoral mandate in early presidential **elections** of 14 January 1984, with 99 percent of the electorate. He used this opportunity to revise the constitution.

The new constitution differed in several ways from the 1972 constitution. The major changes were Articles 1, 5, and 7. In Article 1, the new official name of the republic was simply reduced to **Republic of Cameroon**. It continued to retain its unitary structure. In Article 5, the post of **prime minister** was abolished. Article 7 stipulated that any member of government could be granted expressed delegation of powers in the case of the temporary absence of the head of state. The speaker of the **National Assembly** would exercise presidential powers until a new president was duly elected. The interim president could not modify the constitution, change the composition of government, or call for a referendum. In addition, he could not

become a candidate for the office of the president of the republic. *See also* CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1961); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1996); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN (1960); CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1972).

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1996).

According to Law No. 96/06 of 18 January 1996, a new constitution was adopted. The issue underlying the Constitution of January 1996 was the need to reflect the attempts at **democratization** and **decentralization** in Cameroon since 1990. Thus the 1996 constitution could be linked to **President Paul Biya's** quest for popular legitimacy. The new constitution differs in several aspects from the 1984 constitution. Article 6 puts the term of office for the president at seven years with the right to be reelected once. In spite of strong opposition from individuals and organizations such as the *Front du Non*, this was altered in 2008 to allow the president to run for an unlimited number of terms, thus allowing Biya to run again in 2011. The amendment also provided the president immunity for any acts committed while in office. Article 6 further stipulates that the president of the **Senate** or his vice would exercise presidential power until a new president was duly elected, after the expiration of the term of office of the previous president. Article 12 reinstated the office of **prime minister**. Article 14 creates a two-chamber legislature comprising a **National Assembly** and a Senate. As of 2009, no enabling legislation was in place to make this operative. A further innovation in the new constitution is the replacement of **provinces** by **regions** (Article 61). *See also* CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1961); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1984); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN (1960); CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1972); CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN (1960). This was a hurried draft written by a 1959 consultative committee to meet the 1 January 1960 independence deadline for **French Cameroun**. It created a unitary structure with a unicameral

parliament elected by direct universal suffrage. The **president** of the Republic had powers identical to those of the president of the Fifth Republic in **France**, who served as a model for newly independent francophone countries in Africa. The constitution was in effect for only 21 months. *See also* CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1961); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1984); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1996); CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1972).

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1972). The 1972 constitution was promulgated by decree 72-270 of 2 June 1972. This followed a massive approval by the Cameroonian electorate on 20 May 1972 of a presidential intention to dismantle the federal structure. The federalism of 1961 was now replaced by the unitarism of 1972. The new **United Republic of Cameroon** prescribed a monolithic political structure headed by the **president** of the republic, who was head of state and head of government. He could prevail over a unicameral **National Assembly** of 120 members, an integrated judiciary, and the centralized governmental institutions. The 1972 constitution was illustrative of presidential power at its superlative. In this tight political setup, the speaker of the National Assembly was the constitutional successor to the head of state.

Two major amendments were introduced to the constitution of the United Republic. On 9 May 1975 the post of **prime minister** was created, and on 29 June 1979 the prime minister was declared constitutional successor to the head of state in case of death, resignation, or permanent impairment from attending to his duties.

The 1972 constitution was Cameroon's most enduring constitutional arrangement since independence. It experienced its decisive moment with the orderly and constitutional transfer of power between former President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and former Prime Minister **Paul Biya** in November 1982. Thereafter, contradictory interpretation of party versus executive function characterized relations between the two leaders. This led to a lasting rupture and feud that paved the way for a new constitution in 1984. *See also* CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1961); CONSTITUTION OF

THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1984); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1996); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN (1960).

CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL. Article 8 of the **Constitution of 1996** calls for the establishment of a Constitutional Council to have jurisdiction in matters pertaining to the constitution and to rule on the constitutionality of laws, treaties, and international agreements. The council “ensures the regularity of presidential **elections**, parliamentary elections and referendum operations.” It announces the results of such elections. The council has 11 members appointed by the **president** for nine-year terms. Enabling legislation defining the council was passed in 2004 (Law No. 2004/005 of 21st April 2004).

COOPERATIVES. At times cooperatives have been important institutions for **agricultural** development, but in recent years the cooperative movement has been plagued by serious problems that have left it weakened and of less importance than in the past. Poor management and price fluctuations for crops produced have had their effects, but these are constant factors. Government liberalization in the 1990s must be considered the main variable leading to the decline in the viability of the movement. Liberalization brought the reduction of government subsidies and supports and the increasing power of private buyers of agricultural produce. Government may be moving in a new direction, for in mid-2008 almost \$4 million was provided for **cocoa** and **coffee** cooperatives to buy inputs.

Cooperatives are found across the country as small- and large-scale organizations for farmers, planters, and agricultural brokers designed to increase their strength and solidarity vis-à-vis the general public. The major cooperatives in Cameroon concentrate on export crops like cocoa, coffee, or **bananas**. Among the major actors are the *Union Centrale des Coopératives Agricoles de l'Ouest* (UCCAO), the South West Farmers' Cooperative Organization (SOWEFCO), and the North West Cooperative Association (NWCA). **Credit unions** are a major type of cooperative in Cameroon.

Cameroon counts on the cooperative movement for the full realization of its agricultural potential and policy. However, despite the widespread influence of the cooperative movement, they are more

developed in the **West** and **North West Regions** than in other parts of the country. A 1992 law has led to the development of Common Initiative Groups (CIGs). With about 10 members each, they are generally formed at the village level. Some CIGs have come together to form CIG unions and federations. It is estimated that there are more than 7,000 CIGs. These are based on the common interests of the members and have been especially useful in assisting **women** and in microcredit activities.

CORN. *See* MAIZE.

CORRUPTION. Corruption is a major problem in Cameroon affecting people in all walks of life. Police and gendarmes, considered the most corrupt agencies in the country, constantly harass people for small bribes. In 2005 the Cameroon police was declared the most corrupt institution in the world by the anticorruption organization Transparency International (TI). Corruption reaches to the highest levels, in the granting of government contracts, in the affairs of government-owned banks, and in the very significant **smuggling** operations in which government officials are thought to play a major role. In 1998 and 1999 surveys produced by TI, Cameroon ranked as the most corrupt country in which to do business. In its 2008 Corruption Perceptions Index, TI ranked Cameroon 141st of 180. One of the biggest scandals resulted from the French **petroleum** company Elf paying multimillion-dollar bribes to Cameroon officials.

The Global Integrity Report defined Cameroon's integrity situation as "very weak" in 2008, stating that "Cameroon faces serious problems with its governance and anti-corruption framework. Elections . . . , government accountability . . . , and oversight and regulation (including a weak to non-existent ombudsman office, audit agency, and poor business regulation) are all rated as Very Weak." Government attempts to overcome corruption, whether sincere or not, have met with little success. For examples, in 2005 the government established the National Agency for the Investigation of Financial Crimes, and in 2006 the **National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC)** was launched, but by 2009 little had resulted from their existence. *See also* ALBATROSS AFFAIR; HIGHER EDUCATION; OPERATION SPARROWHAWK.

CORVEE. *See* FORCED LABOR.

COTONOU AGREEMENT. Named after Cotonou, Benin, where the agreement was signed in June 2000 between the **European Union** (with 15 members) and the Africa, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) states (with 79 members), this replaces the **Lomé Agreements**. It came into effect in 2003 and is to last 20 years, with revisions planned every five years. It is based on five areas of agreement aimed at reducing poverty in the ACP states: an enhanced political dimension, increased participation, a more strategic approach to cooperation focusing on poverty reduction, new economic and trade partnerships, and improved financial cooperation. In addition, the agreement calls on members to give full support to the International Criminal Court and the principles upon which it is founded. *See also* DEMOCRACY; ECONOMY; FOREIGN TRADE.

COTTON. Production of this crop is concentrated in the less-humid northern **regions** of the country. Like other export crops, the cultivation of cotton was the result of colonial interest. Actual production was delayed because of the difficulty of the colonial powers to penetrate the interior. When this was accomplished, **Garoua** in northern Cameroon became the center of cotton production. Under the French administration cotton was only marginally encouraged in Cameroon as **Chad** was charged with cotton production for Equatorial Africa. Cotton production has improved since 1950 with the direct participation of the *Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles* (CFDT) and the postindependence parastatal, the Cotton Development Company (SODECOTON) set up with headquarters in Garoua in 1974. Presently, this is owned by the government (56 percent), a French company, Dagrís (30 percent), and local private investors.

Some production is now utilized by Cameroon textile companies, such as *Cotonnière Industrielle du Cameroun* (CICAM), but export is the most important consideration. In 2007, 93 percent of production was exported. Production varies greatly from year to year due to climate and other factors. For example, drought in 2002 cut production by 20 percent. Cameroon produced 306,000 tons in 2005 and 110,000 in 2008 (est.) The world economic crisis led to severe cuts in

the price of cotton, leading to a loss for SODECOTON. In addition to 350,000 farmers in more than 200 villages growing cotton, there are several thousand persons employed in cotton gins and textile factories, making this a very significant aspect of the **economy** of the three northern **regions**. *See also* COOPERATIVES; FOREIGN TRADE.

COUNCIL FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN CENTRAL AFRICA/CONSEIL DE PAIX ET DE SECURITE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (COPAX). COPAX was proposed in 1999 and established in 2002 by the members of the *Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale (CEEAC)* to promote peace and security in Central Africa. The main components are the Central African Early Warning System (MARAC) designed to predict conflict situations, the Defense and Security Commission (CDS) to advise on the need for military operations when needed, and the Multinational Force of Central Africa (FOMAC), a peacekeeping brigade established from military components of the member states. Previously, in 1994, the members had signed a nonaggression pact.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. *See* CABINET.

COUNCIL OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF CAMEROON/CONSEIL DES EGLISES PROTESTANTES DU CAMEROUN (CEPC). The council was founded in 2005, building on the previous work of the Federation of Protestant Churches and Missions in Cameroon, founded in 1969, and the Evangelical Federation of Cameroon and West Africa, founded in 1943. To become “a member a church must accept the holy scriptures as the only authority for the teaching of the gospel and in all matters of faith, and respect the traditions, doctrines, and liturgical and administrative forms of the other member churches.” CEPC is a member of the World Council of Churches. CEPC has 16 members and five associate members. Its headquarters is in Yaoundé. *See also* CHRISTIANITY; RELIGION.

COUNCILS OF NOTABLES. Between the two world wars the French attempted to establish structures of local government based on what they considered to be local elites. Councils of Notables were established as part of this effort and as part of an attempt to divert

nationalist and independence aspirations. *See also* CHIEFS; DIRECT RULE; ELITE ASSOCIATIONS; INDIRECT RULE.

COUP ATTEMPT OF 6 APRIL 1984. Rebel Republican Guards, elements of the police, and some civilians attempted a takeover of the government on this day. For once, since the difficult early years of independence, uncertainty reigned over the political stability and future of Cameroon. This was the accumulation of months of suspicion and animosity that had characterized Cameroon politics since the constitutional change of 5 November 1982. Underlying this climate of tension was the personality conflict between Presidents **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and **Paul Biya**. Republican Guards who were more loyal to Ahidjo rebelled against Biya, who had the full support of the army. Although able to seize control of strategic locations in the capital, the rebellious Republican Guards and units of the gendarmerie were overcome by the numerically superior and better-coordinated **armed forces** in a battle that ensued late into Saturday, 7 April. Government estimates of 70 dead have been contradicted by accounts that quote much higher figures. *See also* ADOUM, ISSA; AHIDJO-BIYA RUP-TURE; GUERANDI, MBARA GOULONGO.

COUPEURS DE ROUTE. In the late 1980s and into the 2000s bandits frequently attacked vehicles on the roads of the **Extreme North**, **North**, and **Adamawa Regions**. Referred to as *coupeurs de route* (highway robbers), they were thought to be from **Chad** and **Nigeria** as well as Cameroon. Their actions were highly disruptive of **transport**, **tourism**, and commerce and caused the government to organize convoys with armed guards in the region. In more recent years this has become a common phenomenon throughout the country. A report in 2008 indicated that in the **West Region** alone, more than 2,400 persons had been attacked in such robberies. This term is also used in the **Central African Republic**, where kidnapping is a frequent aspect of such attacks. *See also* BRIGADE ANTI-GANG.

COURANT D'UNION NATIONALE (CUN). This political movement, formed on 6 June 1956 and led by **Soppo Priso**, was opposed to the *loi cadre*, advocated **reunification**, and favored amnesty for the banned *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC). The CUN

attracted a wide membership but quickly disappeared in November 1956.

COURT OF EQUITY. This mechanism was devised to settle disputes between white traders and **Duala chiefs** in the mid-1800s on the Cameroon coast. The court had the power to levy taxes or penalties on guilty partners and maintain the steady exchange of goods between Europeans and Africans. British leadership in the Court of Equity initially survived the German **Protectorate** treaty of 1884 until it was forcibly abolished in December 1884. The Court of Equity was another proof of English hegemony on the Cameroon coast prior to German annexation. The German administration replaced the Court of Equity with a dual court system for different races to handle trade disputes.

COURT OF IMPEACHMENT. According to Part 8, Article 53 of the **Constitution of 1996**, this body has the jurisdiction to try the **president** for high treason and the **prime minister** and other senior officials for conspiracy against the security of the state.

COURTS. The **Constitution of 1996** (Article 5) names a Supreme Court, Courts of Appeal, and tribunals. Although the courts are defined as independent of the executive and legislative branches, judges are appointed by the president upon the advice of a Higher Judicial Council. There is also a **Court of Impeachment** (Article VIII). This body has jurisdiction to try the **president** for high treason and the **prime minister** and other senior officials for conspiracy against the security of the state. In addition to these courts, there are numerous traditional courts that utilize the legal precepts of the respective **ethnic group**. *See also* CHIEFS; FON; LAMIDO.

COUSCOUS. *See* FOOD.

CREDIT FONCIER DU CAMEROUN (CFC). This facilitates financing of housing projects. Created by the government in 1977, the CFC provides decent housing through repair, construction, or acquisition of buildings from private citizens by housing corpora-

tions. The CFC also helps to finance the purchase of land for housing development. In 2006 officials of the CFC were caught in **Operation Sparrowhawk**, convicted of misuse of funds, and given long prison sentences. Officers of the related Real Estate Company of Cameroon or the *Société Immobilière du Cameroun* (SIC) and the Special Fund for Communal Equipment and Intervention or the *Fonds Spécial d'Équipement et d'Intervention Communale* (FEICOM) were also convicted. *See also* CORRUPTION; NATIONAL FUND FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

CREDIT UNIONS. These primary institutions developed especially among farmers, peasants, and professional groups such as police and teachers for the generation of savings and surplus funds. The first credit unions in Cameroon were established in 1963 in the **Bamenda** area of the **North West Region** by Roman Catholic clergymen from Canada and the United States. Initially, these credit unions thrived on the already existing traditional saving institutions known as *tontines* and *njangis*. The savings allow ordinary farmers to gain access to important materials, and foster social projects, including **education**. The success of local *tontines/njangis* and credit union activity has improved the fortunes of the **cooperative movement** and rural development. American **Peace Corps** volunteers played a significant role in credit union growth and development.

As of 2008, the largest credit union organization was the Cameroon Cooperative Credit Union League (CamCCUL) with membership in 2007 of 209,050 persons and 191 unions in 10 **regions**. It controls 76 percent of Cameroon's microfinance, owns the Union Bank, and plans to open an insurance company.

CROSS RIVER REGION. This region of southeastern **Nigeria** and southwestern Cameroon has closely related cultures. These cultures are located in the basin of the Cross River. The Cameroonian area includes such cultures as the Ejagham, Bangwa, **Bayang**, Ekwe, Keaka, Anyang, and Widekum ethnic groups. Perhaps the most obvious cultural tie is provided by the "Leopard cult" known as **Ngbe** amongst the Ejagham. It is also known as Ekpe, and by various permutations of these two terms in other localities. Also common to,

and peculiar to, many cultures in the Cross River region is the use of skin-covered masks. *See also* ART.

CULTURAL RENEWAL. This represents part of the triple revolution launched by President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** in 1972, alongside political and economic revolutions. The aim was to make Cameroon's culture its symbolic identity as an aspect of life capable of differentiating between human beings from elsewhere. The cultural variety of the country led to the delay of endeavors toward cultural renewal. Culture was conceived not only as the legacies of traditional thought, but also as Cameroon's historical experience.

A major step was the establishment of a National Ensemble consisting of a national orchestra, a ballet school, and a dance group. Begun in 1978, the National Ensemble is a creation of the Council of Cultural Affairs, presided over by the head of state, which seeks to enhance the cultural identity of Cameroon by a *mélange* of the various dance, **music**, and choreographic patterns for public pride, delight, and appreciation. Government support for museums was anticipated but not fully implemented. In 1982 the week before 20 May was instituted as National Cultural Week of Cameroon.

CURRENCY. The currency history of Cameroon is at least as complex as its colonial history. Prior to colonialism various currencies existed in the area that was to become Kamerun. The **Bamoum**, for example, used complicated heavy brass (and bronze) bracelets as symbols of wealth with limited use as a currency. Cowrie shells were used in similar fashion by many ethnic groups. Even today in the **Grassfield** areas, cowries symbolize wealth and royalty. However, with the advent of German colonization, paper and coin currencies were introduced. Under German rule, marks and pfennigs; under the French francs and "centimes"; and under the British pounds, shillings, and pence were in circulation under various titles (Kamerun, Cameroun, British West Africa, and **Nigeria**). Maria Theresa Thalers were also a widely used currency and can still be found on sale in rural markets. With independence, Cameroon currency was for a short period issued by the Cameroon government, but the country soon began to utilize currency issued by the **Bank of Central African States** (title varies). *See also* CFA FRANC.

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DAMRAKA, MODIBO MOHAMMAN (late 18th century–ca. 1850). This fourth ruler of **Maroua** defended the city against an attack by the conjoined forces of **Wandala** and Bornu in 1823, as witnessed and recorded by the English explorer Major Dixon Denham. Mohamman Damraka then led attacks on the Wandala capital of Doulo in 1830 and again in 1833. While the first attack was unsuccessful, the second in 1833 led to the complete routing of the Wandala army and the sacking of the capital. The Wandala capital was thereafter permanently moved to Mora.

Mohamman Damraka was born in the domains of Bornu. His name Damraka is derived from “Damagaram,” which was the name of a state located to the north of Kano, with its capital at Zinder, Niger, in which he completed his Quranic studies. He completed his religious studies at Hadejia, **Nigeria**. Mohamman Damraka is known by the title *Modibo* in recognition of his religious learning, having functioned as a religious authority in Maroua prior to succeeding to the throne in 1801.

Much of the early years of his reign were spent fighting the Guiziga, original inhabitants of Maroua and dependents of Wandala, who constantly raided the city. The later years of Mohamman Damraka’s reign were marked by military campaigns to the east, particularly against the **Musgum** and the Zoumaya. It is unclear if the neighboring *lamidat* of Bogo came under the suzerainty of Maroua during the reign of Mohamman Damraka, as did Gazawa and Miskine. Toward the end of his reign, Mohamman Damraka sent troops to support Yola in its siege of **Ardo Bouba Njidda** of **Rey Bouba** in his fortress at Tcholliré.

Mohamman Damraka abdicated in 1846 to his son Mouhammadou Salihi, known as *Lamido* Sali. All rulers of Maroua since have been descendants of Mohamman Damraka.

DAN FODIO, UTHMAN. *See* UTHMAN DAN FODIO.

DAOUDA, YOUSOUFA (1942–). A former minister and director general of Cameroon Airlines, Daouda was born on 29 September 1942 in **Garoua, North Region**. From 1972 he served successively as minister of husbandry, fisheries, and animal industries; of indus-

trial and commercial development (1973); of the economy and planning (1975–1982); of public service (1982); and of state planning and territorial development (1983). Youssoufa Daouda was the only northern minister to have survived the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture** of 1983 and the attempted **coup attempt of 1984**. He was dropped from government in 1985. In 1986 he was appointed managing director of the National Railway Corporation and in 1987 to his post at Cameroon Airlines. He retired from this post in July 1990.

DAODOU, SADOU (1926–2002). Daoudou was minister of the **armed forces** from 1961 until July 1980. He was born in 1926 in **Ngaoundéré** and received **education** at local schools in **Garoua** before proceeding to the *Collège de Bongo* in **Chad**. He served in administrative positions as an administrative assistant in **Maroua** and as deputy subdivision chief of Kaélé. He moved to **Yaoundé** in 1958, where he served as *chef du cabinet* to the **prime minister** and won a seat to the **National Assembly** as a representative of the **Adamawa** Division in 1960. In May 1960, Daoudou earned his first cabinet rank appointment as secretary of state for information, but it was in his capacity as minister of the armed forces from June 1961 that he made his mark.

His major significance lies in his political longevity in a most sensitive office for 19 years, an exceptional feat. Thereafter, Daoudou did not disappear from the political scene. He was named civil service minister from 1980 until January 1982 and later moved to the Presidency as assistant secretary-general. In the November 1982 government—formed after the resignation of President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**—Daoudou climbed to the powerful post of secretary-general at the Presidency under President **Paul Biya**. He stayed in this office until 18 June 1983 at the onset of the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture**. During his political career Daoudou received the title of minister of state and was generally ranked at the top of official protocol listings of cabinet ministers. At the time of his death on 21 November 2002, he was vice president of the Central Committee of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement**.

DEBT. For most of its early history as an independent country, Cameroon had no national debt problem. However, with the advent of the

economic crisis in the mid-1980s, Cameroon rapidly became a major debtor country—on a per capita basis one of the world’s worst. In 1996 the official national debt was estimated at \$10 billion. Working with the **World Bank** and the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** in making serious reforms within the country, Cameroon has been granted significant debt relief under the **Heavily Indebted Poor Countries** program. Individual countries have canceled Cameroon’s debt as per agreements reached in the Paris Club (an informal group of creditors who seek to find solutions to the payment difficulties of debtor nations). Total debt relief from the Bank was about \$2 billion. The savings in debt servicing payments equal about \$100 million per year, and this is used for social service development projects. External debt (public and private) was estimated at \$2.555 billion as of 31 December 2007. *See also* FRANCE.

DECENTRALIZATION. The **Constitution of the Republic of Cameroon (1996)** states in Article 2 that “the Republic of Cameroon shall be a decentralized unitary State.” According to Article 20 a **Senate** is to be established at the national level, the members of which will represent the 10 **regions** established as part of the decentralization. Part X, Articles 55–62 set out the definition, powers, and responsibilities of the regional and local authorities. This is **President Paul Biya**’s response to those persons, especially **anglophones**, demanding a federal system of government. However, as of late 2009, very little has been done to implement this part of the constitution. There is no senate and provincial structures remain in place. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; PROVINCES.

DeLAVIGNETTE, ROBERT (1897–1976). A French colonial administrator and publicist, DeLavignette served as high **commissioner** in **Cameroon** between 1945 and 1947 after successful service in Niger and Upper Volta. During his rule in Cameroon he played a significant role in warding off attempts by French *colons* (settlers) to institutionalize an apartheid-like system in the territory and opposed the initial formation of **Rassemblement Camerounais (RACAM)** as too ambitious. Unlike other colonial administrators, DeLavignette argued that colonies were not arenas for exploitation but regions to which

the French were called to fulfill long-term obligations. He was appointed director of the Colonial School in Paris and was instrumental in making the curriculum of the institution more relevant to practical realities of the colonial world.

DeLavignette also made a name as a significant author and publisher. His work *Paysans Noirs* (1931) won the award for the best novel with a colonial theme, while his *Service Africain* (1946) was translated into *Freedom and Authority in West Africa* (1968) and serves as the only French classic on colonial administration comparable to Lord Lugard's *Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*.

DEMOCRACY. Like most of the world's governments, the rulers of Cameroon claim that their country is a democracy. Unfortunately, like many countries, the reality of Cameroon "democracy" is quite distant from the true meaning of democracy.

Under **President Ahmadou Ahidjo**, the political system was commonly defined as a "ruling democracy" void of conflicts of interest. The country was unified under a single-party system that did not allow for competitive **political parties**. President **Paul Biya** initially conceived of a strong democracy based on a national charter of freedom that would allow movement from the one-party system to a multiparty system. His ideas, perhaps sincere at the start, changed with the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture**, the **collective resignation plot**, the **destabilization plot of 22 August 1983**, and the **coup attempt of 6 April 1984**. Though there was some loosening of restrictions on freedom of speech and **press**, the one-party system under the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** and then after 1985 the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** was to continue.

However, changing world conditions after the end of the Cold War led to external pressures for democratization that were joined by demands for democracy from within Cameroon, forcing Biya to agree to multiparty politics in Cameroon in December 1990. In March 1992 the first legislative **elections** were held to elect a multiparty parliament. The result was that for the first time since 1966, the **National Assembly** became a multiparty assembly with four parties: the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM), the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)**, the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), and the **Movement for the Defence of the Republic (MDR)**.

Since 1992 presidential and Assembly elections have been contested by many parties, yet the CPDM always dominates, and Paul Biya has always been reelected. Various forms of manipulation and intimidation have prevented these elections from being true democratic competitions. As the American war on terrorism has come to dominate world affairs and the need for natural resource supplies, especially oil, has grown in the developed countries, their pressure for further democratization in Cameroon has diminished. As time has passed and the government has used its police and economic powers and divide-and-rule tactics to deny success to opposition movements such as the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** led by **Fru Ndi**, proponents of democracy such as **Albert Mukong** and **Celestin Monga**, and writers such as **Mongo Beti**, the unity of the democratic movement has waned, and a new status quo, often defined as a “single-party dominant state,” has come into existence.

A lack of transparency and widespread **corruption** prevail. **Human rights** in the country are consistently violated. In reality, little has changed since the autocratic, single-party days of Ahidjo. A façade of democracy attempts without success to hide a reality of authoritarianism. *See also* ALLIANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMEROON THROUGH THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (ARC-SNC); ANGLOPHONE POLITICAL PRESSURE GROUPS; ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; BAMENDA PROCLAMATION (DECLARATION); REFUGEES; TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF BAKASSI. *See* BAKASSI DISPUTE.

DESTABILIZATION PLOT OF 22 AUGUST 1983. In a nationwide broadcast President **Paul Biya** revealed that the security police had arrested several persons plotting to “attack the security of the republic.” Although the people were unidentified, it was generally known that the plotters, Ibrahim Oumerou and Yaro Salatoug, were key aides of former President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**. It was alleged that Biya would have been assassinated in the course of his official outing to preside over a **sports** festival. The head of state revealed that the persons had “confessed completely” to the

plot and would receive “appropriate sanctions for their criminal activities.”

The destabilization plot came at the height of the rupture between Biya and his predecessor less than a year after the transition of power. Consequently, Biya used this opportunity to take important steps to preserve the peace and integrity of the republic. Biya reshuffled the **cabinet**, creating a more united government team geared toward the objectives defined by the head of state. He split the **Center South** and **North Provinces** into two and three new provinces respectively. An **armed forces** General Staff was set up to carry out the task of national defense and the protection of the sovereignty of the republic in a more coherent and efficient manner. Personalities implicated in the destabilization plot (including the former head of state in absentia) faced a public trial in **Yaoundé** in February 1984. *See also* AHIDJO-BIYA RUPTURE; COUP ATTEMPT OF 6 APRIL 1984.

DEVELOPMENT BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (CASDB)/BANQUE DE DEVELOPPEMENT DES ETATS DE L’AFRIQUE CENTRALE (BDEAC). The BDEAC was founded on 3 December 1975 with the same membership as the affiliated **Bank of Central African States**. Operations began on 2 January 1977, and major reforms were undertaken in 2002. The purpose of the CASDB is to reduce poverty in the member states of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l’Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC), particularly through financing priority national or regional development projects and supporting the private sector. Promoting economic and social development projects, mobilizing financial resources, and conducting feasibility studies are its major tasks. The headquarters is in Brazzaville, **Congo**.

DEVELOPPEMENT AUTOCENTRE. *See* SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT.

DEWA, LAMIDO BOUBA (late 19th century–ca. 1921). Bouba Déwa succeeded to the throne of **Garoua** in 1901. He was the first ruler of Garoua to use the title of *lamido*, which had been restricted in use to the *lamido* of Yola, **Nigeria**, prior to the imposition of German colonial rule in 1901. Colonial rule severed Garoua from Yola, thus

allowing Bouba Déwa and his descendents, as well as other **Fulani** rulers in northern Cameroon, the latitude to make use of this title.

Lamido Bouba Déwa reigned during the entirety of the German colonial period. The centrality of Garoua in northern Cameroon and the amenability of its ruler made it an ideal administrative center. Furthermore, a large number of previously independent territories were attached to the *lamidat* in 1908 in order to consolidate colonial rule, thereby increasing Garoua's wealth, power, and prestige. *Lamido* Bouba Déwa abdicated to his son *Lamido* Hayatou after a 20-year reign in 1921.

DIAMARÉ. This term is used in the **Fulani** language to refer to the plains in which **Maroua** is situated, as well as the surrounding historical *lamidats* of Bogo and Pétté. The term is said to be derived from the Kanuri name of the region, the **Feroobe** Fulani having passed through Kanem-Bornu before arriving in northern Cameroon.

In 1950, the French colonial administration created an administrative unit with Maroua as its capital under the name of Diamaré. This became the Diamaré Department in 1960.

DIBANGO, MANU (1933–). One of Cameroon's most renowned musicians, Dibango was born 12 December 1933, in **Douala**. After early **education**, Emmanuel Dibango N'Djoké or Manu Dibango left for **France** to begin a **musical** career but returned to Africa, where he spent time in Kinshasa absorbing the popular sounds of the Congolese rhythms. He played his first songs in the company of leading Zairian artists.

Dibango returned to France and began an ambitious project assimilating African rhythm to the popular beat in the West. He called this musical sophistication "Soul **Makossa**." However, Dibango's greatest popularity was felt more abroad than at home. Inspired by the success of the *Soul Makossa* album, Dibango moved to the United States and began to work with leading jazz musicians. He became known as the "Makossa Man."

He has traveled to the Caribbean and fused *makossa* with reggae, as well as to Japan and Asia for greater exposure and exchange. In the mid-1970s he was employed by the government of the Côte d'Ivoire to set up and train a national orchestra. His favorite musical instrument

is the saxophone, his hair is nearly always shaved to the skin, and his unmistakable concert attire is the grandiose embroidered West African gown.

Dibango became the first president of the Cameroon Music Corporation, which became involved in a struggle against piracy, and in 2004 he was designated a UNESCO artist for peace for his efforts to link the music of Africa, Europe, and America.

DIBONGUE, R. JABEA K. (1896–1963). Robert Jabea Kum Dibongue was an active nationalist politician in **British Cameroons**. Born to the prestigious **Akwa** clan in **Douala, French Cameroun**, in October 1896, Dibongue received a classic German **education** in the country and rose to a high level in the German administration. As one of the most enlightened young elites during the period of German administration, he won the coveted Governor **Puttkamer** Prize in 1911. After his education Dibongue entered the German administration, where he served as clerk to the Douala district **commissioner** until 1916. Before the ouster of the Germans from Cameroon in 1916, Dibongue had become one of the highest-ranking Africans in the German colonial government. In 1918, he migrated to the British Cameroons and served in the Nigerian Civil Service, rising to the rank of chief clerk in Enugu, **Eastern Nigeria**, by 1946. In 1947, he returned to Douala but later moved to **Buea** to join the **Cameroons National Federation**.

As a French Camerounian, he took a lead in advocating **reunification** between the two **trust territories**. He formed the French Cameroun Welfare Union to advance the interests of the **Duala, Bassa**, and **Bamiléké** living in the British Cameroons. Dibongue became the link to the exile *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**) movement, which settled in **Kumba** for a short period after 1955, but he later fell out of favor with the UPC. By 1960, he was an advocate of British Cameroon's integration with the Nigerian Federation. He was at one time a member of the Southern Cameroons Marketing Board and the Southern Cameroons Development Agency. When British Southern Cameroons voted to reunify with the Republic of Cameroon in 1961, Dibongue lost clout in the new political setup of the country.

DII (DI'I, DURU, DOUROU). This ethnic group resides largely in the **Adamawa** and **North Regions** of northern Cameroon, particularly to

the east of the **Garoua-Ngaoundéré** road. They speak an Adamawa **language**. The alternate name Duru or Dourou is an **Mbum** derivation of the autonym Dii. They are for the most part agriculturalists and are known as the easternmost population to cultivate yams. The Dii are patrilineal and are estimated to number approximately 50,000 in **population**. They preceded the arrival of the **Fulani** in northern Cameroon, but appear to have been preceded in populating the area by the Mbum. Although there were once many Dii living under the control of the *lamido* of **Rey Boub**a, a large population fled oppressive conditions in the early-20th century in preference for the relatively lenient reign of the *lamido* of Ngaoundéré. Mbé, located just north of Ngaoundéré on the road to Garoua, is a well-known and large Dii town.

DIRECT RULE. In this system of colonial organization administrative units generally cut across traditional political or ethnic boundaries. The policy is generally ascribed to French colonial rule in Africa. In **French Cameroun**, the basic unit of administration was the *circonscription*. A *chef de région* commanded a particular *circonscription*, which was further divided into *cantons* that included traditional chiefdoms. Under the system of direct rule, French colonial officials were in charge of order and security, the **economy**, social development, and the coordination of European activities in the fields of **health, education, and agriculture**. Traditional leaders performed only ceremonial tasks and were often retained on stipends by the French. In northern Cameroon, the French allowed **indirect rule** to prevail as traditional rulers retained much power.

The policy of direct rule recognized and absorbed trained African personnel, the *citoyens* or *évolués*, to serve in administrative positions over the *sujets*. Such a system of administrative control created a gulf between the educated, French-assimilated elite and the common man. *See also* CHIEFS; LAMIDO.

DIRECTION GENERALE D'ETUDES ET DE LA DOCUMENTATION (DIRDOC). *See* FOCHIVE, JEAN.

DISASTERS. Cameroon has suffered its share of the usual natural disasters such as droughts, floods, and locusts, though the **Lake**

Nyos disaster was quite unique. Due to bad roads and lax government controls, it also has many manmade disasters. Most common are the sinking of poorly constructed, badly maintained, overloaded ships plying the coast between **Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea**. In 2001, more than 70 children, probably being **trafficked**, drowned in such an accident. In February 2005 about 85 persons died as a ship overturned near the small port of Tiko; in June 2005, 74 persons died en route from Nigeria to Gabon; and in March 2006, 127 were reported dead in a similar accident. Bus accidents, especially on the busy road between **Yaoundé** and **Douala**, are also common. More than 70 persons died in one such accident on 27 January 2003, and 23 died on 28 October 2007. More unusual accidents include the many students killed in a stampede at the Jean Monthe school on 6 December 1998 and the more than 100 who died as a result of a tank car explosion on 14 February at the railroad at Nsam. Many persons had gathered at the site to collect leaking fuel when the explosion took place. There have also been a few airline crashes, most recently in May 2007, when a Kenya Airlines plane crashed near Douala, killing 114 persons.

DJIBRIL, CAVAYE YEGUIE (c. 1940–). Djibril was born sometime about 1940 (one report mentions 1950) in Mada in what is now the **Extreme North Region**. Although born a **Christian** named Maurice, he converted to **Islam** at the time of Cameroon's independence. His career began as a teacher, but in 1970 he entered the legislature of **East Cameroun**. In either 1972 or 1973 he entered the **National Assembly** and was elected its speaker in 1992. In addition, he is a long-time member of the Political Bureau of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** and is a very powerful party figure in the northern regions.

DOBELL, CHARLES M. (1869–1954). Dobell was a British military strategist and administrator who launched the **World War I** seaborne expedition against the German **protectorate** in **Kamerun**. Through his commanding skills, the strategically important city of **Douala** fell to his troops on 26 September 1914. The capture of this port town was considered important given its powerful radio facilities, which the Germans utilized to monitor Allied shipping in the south Atlantic.

Following the collapse of German resistance in 1916, a period of supposed joint administration between French and British officials took place. It was during this period that General Dobell displayed his administrative qualities by outmaneuvering the French in organizational tactics and initiatives. *See also* CONDOMINIUM.

DOO KINGUE, MICHEL (1934–2005). Doo Kingue served as **United Nations** undersecretary-general and executive director of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) from 1983 until 1992. Born in **Douala** on 10 January 1934, he was one of the first Cameroonians sent to study in **France** after **World War II**. From 1947, he attended secondary school and the University of Paris, graduating as a chemical engineer in 1958. He later obtained a doctorate in physical chemistry in 1961. Thereafter, Doo Kingue taught in Paris and became recognized for his musical prowess.

Upon return to **Cameroon** in August 1961, Doo Kingue served as permanent secretary in the Ministry of Education under **Eteky Mboumoua**. In November 1963, he returned to Paris to become special adviser on African affairs. From May 1971, he headed the newly created Bureau for Africa at the Directorate of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). He later became the first UNDP regional director for Africa with the rank of UN assistant secretary-general, where he played a crucial role in setting development objectives of the continent and in seeking funds to implement various programs. He was appointed United Nations undersecretary-general and executive director of UNITAR on 4 December 1982 and retired in 1992. He died on 15 March 2005.

DOUALA. The economic capital of Cameroon and headquarters of the **Littoral Region**, Douala presently has a population estimated at more than 2 million, but in 1987 it was only 1.5 million, and in 1976, 500,000 persons. The history of this city dates back to the 18th century and coincides with the **Bantu** presence. It was a significant station for the **slave trade** across the Atlantic, and the town in this area thrived in its early period due to this. By the 19th century, British influence prevailed over the Dutch on the coast. Throughout this period, the Douala coast was synonymous with the territory that later came to be known as Cameroon. It was from Douala that the Germans

first established and penetrated into the interior through the use of bellicose strategies.

From 1901 to 1916 this was the capital of **Kamerun**. Again during **World War II**, Douala was the capital of **Cameroun**. Its location on the **Wouri River** near the coast and port facilities permitted access to the interior and the outside world. Foreign firms were established in large numbers and attracted labor from the country's interior, making Douala a cosmopolitan area in the colonial era. It had a substantial number of French *colons* (settlers) until the end of the French administration.

The infrastructure established during the colonial era was further developed at independence, confirming the city's vitality as the **economic**, communications, business, and social capital of the country. A university and the **stock exchange** are located here as well as numerous industries. As Cameroon's largest city, it has many social problems resulting from the massive influx of people from other areas in search of employment. New quarters are regularly established as the city continues to expand beyond its preindependence dimensions. The industrial zone in Bassa, the populous New Bell area of commerce, and **Bamiléké** bustle; the clan strongholds in Diedo, **Akwa**, and Bonaberi, as well as the commanding impact of consulates, multinational corporations, and governmental services in Bonapriso give the city a sophisticated outlook. Yet the dilapidated roads and problems with other aspects of the infrastructure as well as a serious crime problem have given the city a bad reputation. *See also* DOUALA RIOT, 2008; DUALA.

DOUALA DECLARATION. On 23 March 2005 a conference in **Douala** of local and provincial authorities announced their intention to improve the movement and distribution of **food** products within the country as part of an effort to promote food security. The Food and **Agriculture** Organization (FAO), a sponsor of the meeting, proclaimed this declaration "the first of its kind" and a "landmark."

DOUALA RIOT, 2008. On 25 February 2008 what had begun as a taxi driver's strike in **Douala** to demand lower petrol prices became a riot that lasted four days, spread to several cities including **Yaoundé**, and took the lives of many persons. Estimates range into the hundreds for

those killed, and many more were imprisoned—and tortured according to some reports. At one level, the riot was caused by complaints of high fuel and **food** prices, a response to the early manifestations of the world economic crisis. At another level, this was a protest against the administration's proposal to change the **Constitution of 1996** to allow **President Paul Biya** to stay in office longer. *See also* ECONOMY.

DOUMBA, JOSEPH-CHARLES (1936–). A former minister in charge of missions at the Presidency, Charles Doumba was born on 2 February 1936, in Yabassi, **Littoral Region**. Doumba, however, has his home in Mbethen near **Bertoua** in the **Eastern Region**. After primary and secondary **education**, he enrolled in the University of **Yaoundé**, reading law and English. He holds a license in law and a diploma for general literary studies in English. During this period Doumba also studied at the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature* (**ENAM**) and received specialized training in Paris.

On his return home, he served as secretary-general to the vice **prime minister** of **East Cameroun** simultaneously with his posts as substitute general of the Federal Court of Justice and later as secretary-general of the **National Assembly** in 1973. He became a key member of government serving as minister of information and culture (1974–1975); minister of justice (1975–1979), and then minister in charge of missions at the Presidency. In this post, he is reputed to have served as the speech writer for the head of state. He also held important posts in the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** as member of the Central Committee (1980–1983) and director of the School for Party Cadres (1973–1983).

Doumba's key role in governmental and party circles suffered from the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture** leading to his dismissal from the party and government on 29 January and 12 April 1983 respectively. Doumba apparently resisted **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** attempt to impose the primacy of the party over the government. His dismissal was proof of the enormous power Ahidjo wielded in the political system of the country even after his voluntary resignation as head of state.

In February 1984, following the eclipse of former President Ahidjo, President **Paul Biya** reappointed Doumba as minister in charge of missions. Months later, he was appointed member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the party, where he served as

organizing secretary. In May 1987, Doumba was appointed president of the Board of Administration of the **Cocoa** Development Corporation (SODECAO). In 1992, he took over from Ebenezer Njoh Mouellé as secretary-general of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement**. In 2007 he was replaced by **Rene Sadi**, but was appointed roving ambassador at the Presidency. Prior to this, he served as president of two sport federations. Doumba has remained an accomplished writer with major publications. He also headed the state publishing company, SOPECAM, for a period.

DOWAYO (DOYAYO, NAMCHI). This politically decentralized population conservatively estimated at 15,000 resides in the Faro Department in **North Region**, to the west of the main road connecting **Ngaoundéré** to **Garoua**. While they call themselves Dowayo or Doyayo, others in the region often refer to the group as Namchi. The culture is patrilocal with a largely **agricultural** economy especially focused on millet. The major cash crop is **cotton**, grown with government encouragement.

While the population seems to have been constituted by peoples gathering for refuge in the mountains around the major urban focus in the area, Poli, from the valleys to the north and west, a historical tradition ties the Dowayo culturally to the plains to the north in the area now under the control of the *lamidat* of Tchébo. It is thought that a significant population movement may have occurred some 250 years ago.

Contemporary Dowayo divide themselves broadly into mountain and plains Dowayo, with a sense that the mountain Dowayo are more observant of traditional culture. Many descended to the plains under French colonial pressure, yet retain links with their mountain origins. The French introduced **chiefs**, largely lacking in power and authority, after grouping the Dowayo into five *cantons* in 1923. These five *cantons* are incorporated into the contemporary Faro Department with the town of Poli as its administrative center. *See also* DIRECT RULE; INDIRECT RULE.

DOYAYO. *See* DOWAYO.

DUALA. This ethnic group of **Bantu** stock is located on the Cameroon coast. They were apparently the first to come into contact with

Europeans in the precolonial period, and they eventually played a successful middleman role in the **slave trade**. For this reason, early European traders regarded them as vigorous, enterprising, prosperous, and excellent collaborators.

The Duala King **Manga Bell** signed the annexation treaty with the Germans at a time when the Dualas were considered the all-powerful representative of Cameroon peoples. The Dualas later fell out with the Germans, who infringed on indigenous rights and violated the terms of the treaty. For the Dualas the end of the slave trade and their short-term middleman role in legitimate trade was replaced by the sale of land. Initially, land was sold to Europeans who settled in the area and later to **Bamiléké** from the Cameroon interior, who were attracted to **Douala** by economic opportunities.

Since independence, the Duala have gradually lost economic and political power in their area. Nonetheless, they continue to remain a cultural force. Thanks to closer collaboration with Europeans, missionaries translated the Bible and used Duala as the **Christian** lingua franca of the coastal people, including the **anglophone** coastal population. Moreover, in a country of great cultural diversity, the Duala dance and **music** style, the *makossa*, has been virtually adopted nationally and receives international acclaim. Leading Duala politicians and elites include **Soppo Priso**, **Betote Akwa**, **Eteky Mboumoua**, and **Félix Sengat-Kuo**. *See also* DIBANGO, MANU.

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EAST CAMEROON. This is the official name of the former **French Cameroun** and the **République du Cameroun** when it became a state in the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**. East Cameroon was the larger of the two federated states of the federal republic. It became a political entity in October 1961. The referendum in 1972 in favor of the **United Republic of Cameroon** led to the end of East Cameroon's existence. East Cameroon was headed by a government under a **prime minister** and a unicameral legislature. East Cameroon prime ministers included **Charles Assale** and **Simon Pierre Tchoungui**.

EAST PROVINCE. *See* EAST REGION.

EAST REGION. Occupying almost 25 percent of the country, this francophone **region** has a surface area of 109,011 square kilometers, the largest and most sparsely populated of the regions. Located in the southeastern part of the country, it has four divisions. Most of the land is a low plain, part of the Southern Cameroon Plateau, with three broad vegetation zones: **forest**, savannah, and transitional zones. Forests take up about 65 percent of the area. The southern part of the region has a Guinean type climate, and the northern part has a Sudan type climate of four seasons. Malaria and **HIV/AIDS** are major **health** problems. **Christianity** is widespread, and the largest ethnic groups are Maka, **Fulani**, and **Gbaya**. The forest is the home of the **Baka** or pygmy population.

As of 2008, there were 755,088 inhabitants, essentially rural and engaged predominantly in **agriculture**, forest exploitation, and animal husbandry. Plantains are the major food crop, and limited cash cropping of **cocoa**, **coffee**, and **tobacco** is undertaken. The region is little developed, and **industrial**, commercial, and **tourism** potentials are still undeveloped. **Mining** of gold, bauxite, and cobalt is planned, but forestry is the main commercial activity. There is much illegal felling of **timber** and poaching of wildlife, facilitated by widespread **corruption**. Some tree species have been depleted, and timber from **Central African Republic** now enters the region. **Bertoua** is the provincial headquarters, and Batouri is an important town. The region was established in 1972.

EASTERN NIGERIA. Prior to and for a few years after its independence in 1960 **Nigeria** was a federation with three regions, the Northern, Western, and Eastern Regions. Enugu was the capital of the Eastern Region. **Southern Cameroons** was attached to the Eastern Region, **Northern Cameroons** to the Northern Region. Nigeria was a colony of **Great Britain**, and the British found it convenient—and cheaper—to treat the **mandate/trust territories** of **British Cameroons** as parts of that colony rather than as separate entities. Considerable movement of goods and people took place between Eastern Nigeria and Southern Cameroons, and Cameroonians were represented in the elected bodies that governed Eastern Nigeria.

EBERMAIER, KARL (1862–1943). Ebermaier was the sixth and last **German governor** of **Kamerun** (1912–1916). His tenure began with the worsening relations between the **Duala** and the Germans and culminated with the fall of Kamerun to Allied forces at the outset of **World War I**. During Ebermaier's period in office two local **chiefs**, **Rudolf Duala Manga Bell** and **Martin Samba**, were executed by the Germans. The hostility of the local population and the defeat by the Allied troops led Ebermaier and remaining German troops to flee to the Spanish colony in Rio Muni.

EBONG, FREDERICK ALOBWEDE. *See* BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS LIBERATION FRONT (BSCLF).

EBOUA, SAMUEL (1928–2002). Born in Njombe in the **Littoral Region** on 3 March 1928, Eboua studied in **Nkongsamba** and **Douala** before going to **France** for the advanced cycle of his secondary **education**. He did his university education in Paris, earning a *Licence* and a *Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures* in geography from the Sorbonne and a diploma in political science from the University of Paris. He also did advanced training at the *Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politique*.

On return home he soon became principal of the highly prestigious *Lycée Leclerc* in **Yaoundé** and later director of secondary education in the Ministry of National Education. He was called for duties at the Presidency in 1969. He served successively as chargé de mission (1969–1971) and assistant secretary-general with rank of vice minister (1971–1975), and in 1972 he took on the post of first director of Cameroon Airlines. From 1975 until 1982 he served as secretary-general in the Presidency with the rank of minister of state (1975–1982). He was a powerful figure in the seven years in this post, virtually eclipsing the **prime minister**. When **Paul Biya** became **president** in 1982, he was moved to the Ministry of Agriculture until June 1983. In 1985, he was reappointed to his earlier post as chairman of Cameroon Airlines Company (CAMAIR).

When multiparty politics was relaunched in Cameroon, Eboua made a comeback by helping to found the **National Union for Development and Progress (NUDP)**. However, when Eboua was voted

out of office as chairman of the UNDP in favor of **Bello Bouba**, he left the party and in March 1992 founded the Movement for Democracy and Progress (MDP). He contested the October 1992 presidential elections but later threw his weight behind **John Fru Ndi**. Eboua equally contended the 1997 presidential elections but lost. At various times he has chaired the Allied Front for Change, also known as the **Front of Allies for Change (FAC)**, an organization attempting to unite the numerous parties and organizations that oppose the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. Eboua also served as chairman of the Board of REGIFERCAM, the national railroad. After a long illness, he died in November 2002.

ECOLE NATIONALE D'ADMINISTRATION ET DE MAGISTRATURE (ENAM)/NATIONAL CENTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND MAGISTRY. The original *Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature* (ENAM) was created in 1979 to train elite Cameroonian officials for the dispensation of justice and the execution of administrative functions. The cream of Cameroonian elites graduated from ENAM, amid charges that admissions were biased toward northerners, President **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** home region. It was replaced in 1985 by the National Centre for Administration and Magistry/*Centre National d'Administration et de Magistrature* (CENAM). CENAM was later restructured into two financially independent public corporations: the new *Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature* (ENAM) and the *Institut Supérieur de Management Public* (ISMP). ENAM provides initial and continuous training in the administration and magistry, while the ISMP provides vocational training and preparation for the master's degrees in public management.

ECONOMIC AND MONETARY COMMUNITY OF CENTRAL AFRICA. See COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE ET MONETAIRE DE AFRIQUE CENTRALE (CEMAC).

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL/CONSEIL ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL (CES). The **Constitution of 1996** (Part 9) continues the existence of the Economic and Social Council, without discussion of its structure or role. Law No. 2001/011 of 23 July

2001 amending a law of 1986 clarifies the role and membership of the CES. It is the consultative assembly of the republic on crucial economic and social issues. Its main function is to improve collaboration between the political and socioeconomic institutions and to determine government's economic and social policy. The **president** of the republic or speaker of the Assembly forwards projects of study to the council. The council provides its opinion and options, which are made known to Parliament and government. In 2001 membership was increased from 85 to 150 to represent the salaried sector (23), **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**, and **women's** and youth organizations (8), the liberal professions (6), **trade unions** (7), commercial industrial activities (21), **cooperatives** (11), banking (8), and **agriculture** (21). The other members are chosen for their economic, social, and cultural competence. The council has a five-year life cycle.

ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (ECCAS). *See* COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE DES ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (CEEAC).

ECONOMIC CRISIS, 1980s. The period from the mid-1980s to the turn of the century was characterized by structural difficulties, falling revenues, trade imbalances, and rising costs in the production and supply of goods and services. Government admitted to a severe crisis early in 1987. In the words of President **Paul Biya**, "all our export commodities fell at the same time." The government portrayed the cause of the crisis as largely external: the falling value of exports and especially the precipitate decline of the price of **petroleum** on the world market. Opponents of government tended to believe the cause of the crisis was political, especially the absence of shrewd economic management under the new leadership. Others argued that an over-valued **currency** was to blame.

To tackle these problems, Cameroon turned to its major foreign allies including **France**, **Germany**, and the **United States** for assistance. The industrialized countries made their assistance contingent upon Cameroon's adherence to an **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** austerity program. Given the severe political consequences of an IMF deal, government initially stepped in with economic reforms

of its own. For the first time since independence the budget of the country for 1987–1988 was reduced, by 18 percent. High-powered delegations of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** were sent to the **provinces** to explain the draconian steps announced by the head of state, including forced retirement of many civil servants; curtailing electricity, telephone, and housing facilities granted to top-level civil servants; sale of many administrative vehicles; a change in the official working schedule in a bid to bring about higher productivity; the dissolution or **privatization** of unproductive parastatal enterprises; and closure of certain costly economic missions in various Cameroon embassies abroad. Although the international community considered the Cameroon approach bold, it was not successful in bringing **corrupt** officials to trial. Moreover, armed robbery and theft from banks and government services increased.

These setbacks led Cameroon to sign an aid package of \$150 million with the IMF in October 1988. The agreement led to another **structural adjustment** loan from the **World Bank** as well as assistance from various countries. The government used this assistance to reduce its current balance of payment deficit and honor its foreign **debts**. The government also initiated internal squeezes and freezes on the national **economy** by equating salaries of workers in public service with those in parastatal institutions and by eliminating any salary increase in the near future. In addition government froze all new employment for the next few years. Eventually, as commodity prices began to rise (especially petroleum) and with the devaluation of the **CFA franc** in 1994, the economy reversed and conditions improved. However, the ongoing world economic crisis of 2007 has reversed this progress in what some government officials have deemed the worst economic crisis for Cameroon since 1929. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE; HEAVILY INDEBTED POOR COUNTRIES (HIPC) INITIATIVE.

ECONOMIC UNION OF CENTRAL AFRICA/UNION ÉCONOMIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (UEAC). The purposes of this organ of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC) are to work toward the formation of a common market in goods, services, people, and capital among the six member states; to harmonize the members' economic policies; and to bring about economic and social development.

ECONOMY. The economy remains heavily dependent upon **agriculture**, which occupies 70 percent of the labor force and provides 43.5 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). **Industry** accounts for 13 percent of labor and 16 percent of GDP, and services 17 percent and 40 percent. GDP equaled \$20.65 billion in 2007 and was growing at a rate of 2.7 percent. The latest data indicate a 30 percent unemployment rate and that 48 percent of the population live below the poverty line. There is a gross disparity in the distribution of income, with the highest 10 percent of the population receiving almost 36 percent of income, the lowest 10 percent only 2.3 percent. Exports, dependent on **petroleum** and agricultural products, are poorly diversified. **Forest** and **timber** products are important. Major export recipients are Spain, Italy, **France**, and South Korea; imports come from France, Nigeria, China, and Belgium. **Tourism** plays a small role, well below its potential. **Transportation** and other infrastructural aspects have improved greatly since independence but remain far below the country's needs.

In recent years there has been some real GDP growth following government reforms and the reaching of the completion point of the **Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt** relief program in 2006. Significant development in the **minerals and mining** sector, including diversification away from the current dependence on petroleum, appears to be under way.

However, slow-moving structural reforms, the short supply of electricity needed for industrial growth, recent widespread riots, and a view of government as **corrupt** and lacking transparency hinder growth. More powerful in reducing growth and reversing progress is the world economic crisis that began in 2007. A report in May 2009 indicated that many jobs had been lost, exports were strongly reduced, government revenues had been severely affected, and GDP was shrinking. Timber, aluminum, **cotton**, **rubber**, transport, **bananas**, and tourism were negatively affected. Unemployed was, by one estimate, at a 30 percent level. *See also* ECONOMIC CRISIS; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN TRADE.

EDÉA. Edéa is headquarters of the Sanaga Maritime Division in the **Littoral Region** and an important **industrial** center. It is connected by road and rail to **Douala** and **Yaoundé** and by road to **Kribi**; there

is a proposal to extend the railroad from here to Kribi. Mostly **Bassa** and Bakoko lived there until the town was transformed by the **hydro-electric** dam and the **aluminum** complex in the 1950s into a lively urban city. Today, the dam at Edéa provides the south of the country with much of its supply of electricity. Edéa is also the seat of the Alucam company established by the French to process imported bauxite from Guinea to produce various aluminum products.

Politically, Edéa remained an important stronghold of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) movement from 1948 to 1955. It remained under a virtual state of emergency until the mid-1970s. In 2001 the **population** was estimated at 122,300 persons, an increase from 50,700 in 1987 and 25,398 in 1976. The **Catholic** Church is strong in this area, as are various **Protestant** churches.

EDUCATION. Cameroon's educational foundation is a complex mix of its colonial heritage and attempts to create an authentic national blend. After independence **East Cameroon** used the **French** model of education while **West Cameroon** used the British model. **Harmonization** of the two systems began in 1985 and was revisited in the 1990s due to complaints from the **anglophones**. Responsibility for education is dispersed to the Ministries of Higher Education, Secondary Education, Basic Education, and the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training. Some aspects are included in the Ministry of Youth and the Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation.

In 2006, government expenditure on education equaled 3.3 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). Education is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14. The *Certificat de Fin d'Etudes Primaires Élémentaires* (CEPE) or the **First School Leaving Certificate** (FSLC) at the primary level, the *Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle* (BEPC) or the **General Certificate of Education** (GCE) ordinary level at secondary schools, and the *baccalauréat* or the GCE advanced level at the *lycée*/high school exist. The latter two certificates are the main qualifications for admission to institutions of higher learning.

Religious bodies and private individuals also run schools and colleges to assist government in its task. Mission and privately owned institutions levy high fees for pupils and students. Government provides some funds to mission and private schools. Most secondary schools are now **bilingual**, and instruction in French and **English** is

given in primary schools. Apart from classical learning, vocational, technical, and commercial institutions exist. Moreover, all educational institutions are mandated to provide **agricultural** training in order to introduce students to the practical realities of everyday life. There is a tertiary level of institutions including state and private universities, technical and professional institutions, and specialized programs. Many students go abroad for education, but the majority remain for study in Cameroon.

Problems plague the system. Low pay, poor training, and a shortage of teachers are impediments to improvement, as are inadequate physical plant and facilities. **Corruption** is widespread, with the sale of admissions, purchase of diplomas and buying of grades, misappropriation of fees and supplies, and teachers demanding favors widespread. Gender, region, and rural-urban location disparities exist.

Cameroon's literacy rate is about 68 percent (males 77 percent and females 60 percent). *See also* CHRISTIANITY; HIGHER EDUCATION.

EDZOA, TITUS (1945–). A specialist surgeon and a close confidant and personal friend to President **Paul Biya**, Edzoa was a very influential figure in Biya's government. In his 15 years of service under the Biya regime, Edzoa served as a high-ranking official, first as Biya's private physician before being appointed special adviser to the **president**. He was then moved to the post of secretary-general at the Presidency and, in September 1996, was appointed minister of health. Like Biya, Edzoa is reputed to be a member of the **Rosicrucian Order**. On 20 April 1997 Edzoa took a fateful decision to announce his resignation from government to run for the **elections for the president of 1997**. As an indication of his determination to challenge Biya's candidature, he joined the *Parti Ouvrier du Peuple Camerounais* (POPC).

Edzoa's decision to run as a presidential candidate was, apparently, an embarrassment to the government, especially as it came from a close confidant of the president. The result was his immediate arrest and detention, on 3 July 1997, on charges of embezzlement. In protest of the arrest, some Béti elites grouped themselves into the *Comité pour la Libération du Citoyen Titus Edzoa* (COLICITE), under the leadership of the writer **Mongo Béti**.

Edzoa's application to run for the presidential elections was rejected on two accounts: first that the file was incomplete; and second, that according to the law, he could not run for elections because he was under judicial investigation. This notwithstanding, on 4 August 1997 the COLICITE sent a petition to the Ministry of Territorial Administration, denouncing the poor conditions under which Edzoa was detained. Amnesty International also took up his case. The government did not budge. On the contrary, in October 1997, after what was widely considered a tragedy of justice, Edzoa and his associate Thierry Michel Atangana were sentenced by a **Yaoundé** court of First Instance to 15 years imprisonment. He was briefly removed from prison in 2003 for medical treatment. *See also* FANG.

EGBE-TABI, EMMANUEL (1921–2005). This long-serving former minister of state for posts and telecommunications was born on 24 April 1921, in Bachua-Akagbe near **Mamfe, South West Region**. After primary **education** in **Bali**, he returned to Mamfe, where he taught in Tali until 1948, when he obtained the British Chamber of Commerce Certificate through correspondence. He later earned a Cambridge certificate in 1949. He served as treasury clerk in Mamfe in 1950 and later acquired a scholarship to study economics at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone. He left Sierra Leone to study at the University of Durham in **Great Britain**, graduating in 1956.

On return home, Egbe-Tabi worked with the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)** as assistant personnel manager before he earned a scholarship from the corporation to study law in London. On return to Cameroon in 1961 he was appointed legal adviser to the CDC, the speaker of the **West Cameroon House of Assembly** and the **West Cameroon House of Chiefs**. He became a deputy federal minister of justice following **reunification** and was appointed minister of posts and telecommunications on 12 June 1970. In 1975, he was raised to the rank of minister of state in the department and remained the sole **anglophone** minister of state under the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** presidency. He served as the minister of posts and telecommunications until January 1982, when he became minister of state in charge of relations with assemblies. On 4 February 1982 he left the government but was appointed as roving ambassador, a post he held until his death on 22 March 2005.

Egbe's status as a political heavyweight was also manifested in party circles. He was a member of the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** in the early years of independence before joining **Tandeng S. Muna** to form the **Cameroon United Congress** in 1964. When the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** was formed in 1966, Egbe held a seat in the Central Committee and served as party secretary for youth and propaganda affairs. Despite his poor health, Egbe remained politically significant until the **Bamenda Congress**, when he was replaced in high party functions by Tabong Kima. *See also* CABINET.

EGLISE LIYOMBA. *See* THONG LIKENG, JOHANNES.

EKANGAKI, NZO (1934–2005). He was born on 22 March 1934 in Nguti, **South West Region**. After primary school in Nguti and Besongabang, he entered Cameroon Protestant College, **Bali** (1949–1943), and on completion enrolled at the Hope Waddle Training Institute in Calabar, **Nigeria**. In 1954, he was admitted to the University College of Ibadan, Nigeria, and later earned a bachelor of arts degree from Oxford University. He was very active in student bodies, traveling across Europe for conferences. He won a scholarship from West **Germany** in 1960, where he studied diplomacy at the University of Bonn.

On return home in 1961, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly on a **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** ticket. A year later he became deputy minister of foreign affairs and in 1964 was made a full minister and elected to the **National Assembly**. Until his appointment as **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** secretary-general in 1972, Ekangaki remained a key member of the government, serving as minister of health and population (1964–1965) and minister of labor and social welfare (1965–1972). Prior to the formation of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**, he had switched from the KNDP to form the **Cameroon United Congress (CUC)** with **Solomon T. Muna** and **Emmanuel Egbe-Tabi** in 1965. He became a member of the Political Bureau of the CNU, occupying important party duties on press, information, and propaganda.

Ekangaki's appointment as secretary-general of the OAU was aimed at converting the office from one of policymaking to an administrative

coordinating role in continental politics. Determined to work as an international official responsible only to the OAU, Ekangaki ran into conflict with the African heads of state over the Lonrho affair. He selected Lonrho, a multinational organization with strong links to racist regimes in Southern Africa and some other Black African governments, as OAU consultant on matters of refining, storage, and distribution of **petroleum** during the economic crisis. His decision was heavily criticized by the OAU summit forcing his resignation as secretary-general in 1974. Another Cameroonian, **Eteky Mboumoua**, succeeded him. Then former president **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, who had kept a distance from Ekangaki because of his independent stance in his top continental job and the “disgrace” his resignation brought to Cameroon, marginalized him to an obscure post as technical adviser in the Ministry of Territorial Administration (1974–1985). Three years into **Paul Biya**’s rule, Ekangaki received a comparatively prestigious job as adviser for administrative affairs at the Presidency in 1985, where he remained until retirement in 1989. He passed away on 3 June 2005. *See also* CABINET.

EKHAH NGHAKY, NZO. *See* EKANGAKI, NZO.

EKPE. *See* NGBE.

ELANGWE, NAMATA HENRY (1932–). A former government minister, Elangwe was born on 28 September 1932 in Kake near **Kumba, South West Region**. He attended primary **education** in Kake and Kumba before entering **Saint Joseph’s College** in 1947. Thereafter, he attended the Yaba School of Pharmacy in Nigeria and qualified as a pharmacist in 1955. He worked briefly for the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)** before becoming an independent pharmacist. His first political role was as secretary of the Kamerun People’s Party (1956–1958) before joining the **Cameroon People’s National Convention (CPNC)** in 1960 as secretary-general. He became a member of the West Cameroon House of Assembly in 1961 and was secretary of state for finance in the **West Cameroon** government in 1968. In May 1970, he was deputy prime minister of West Cameroon and still held his finance portfolio.

When the **United Republic of Cameroon** was formed in 1972, Elangwe was appointed minister of mines and energy in July, where he remained until November 1979, when he was removed from government. He remained prominent in party circles as deputy treasurer and deputy political secretary of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** at various times between 1966 and 1985. He was reelected to the Central Committee of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** at the end of the **Bamenda Congress** in March 1985. Elangwe is presently chairman of the CDC and traditional ruler of the Bakundu. He is a member of the Southwest Chiefs Conference, a conservative prop of the CPDM and antisecessionist organization. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; ELITE ASSOCIATIONS.

ELECTIONS CAMEROON. *See* NATIONAL ELECTIONS OBSERVATORY.

ELECTIONS FOR PRESIDENT, 1992. After several postponements, the first multicandidate presidential elections since independence were held on 11 October 1992. After some delay, the results were officially announced on 23 October. President **Paul Biya (Cameroon People's Democratic Movement [CPDM])** won with 39.9 percent of the votes. **John Fru Ndi (Social Democratic Front [SDF])** came in second with 35.9 percent. Other candidates were **Bello Bouba (National Union for Democracy and Progress [NUDP], 19.2 percent)**; **Adamou Ndam Njoya (Cameroon Democratic Union [CDU], 3.6 percent)**, Jean-Jacques Ekindi (Progressive Movement, 0.95 percent), and Ema Otou (0.4 percent). About 72 percent of eligible voters participated.

The elections were viewed as rigged by members of the opposition and by foreign observers. Rioting broke out in several locations after the results were announced, and the government placed Fru Ndi under house arrest after he announced that he believed the vote had been miscounted and that he was the actual winner with 38 percent of the vote. *See also* DEMOCRACY; POLITICAL PARTIES.

ELECTIONS FOR PRESIDENT, 1997. The 12 October 1997 presidential elections were boycotted by the major opposition parties (**Social Democratic Front [SDF]**, **National Union for Democracy and**

Progress [NUDP], and the **Cameroon Democratic Union [CDU]** to protest government's refusal to establish an independent electoral commission. Amnesty International reported an increase in politically motivated arrests prior to the election, and both domestic and international observers cautioned that the electoral process was not legitimate. Six candidates came forward, but other than President **Paul Biya**, only **Samuel Eboua** was a well-known figure. Biya received 92.51 percent of the vote. Other candidates were Henri Hogbe Nlend, Albert Dzongang, Joachim Tabi Owono, Antoine de Pandoure Ndemanou, and Gustave Essaka. *See also* DEMOCRACY; POLITICAL PARTIES.

ELECTIONS FOR PRESIDENT, 2004. The 11 October 2004 presidential elections provided little surprise as **Paul Biya** was returned to office by a large majority. Numerous persons announced they would run, and eventually 16 candidates emerged. The most important were Biya, **John Fru Ndi**, and **Adamou Ndam Njoya**. As before, the opposition candidates attempted to form a coalition behind one candidate. The Coalition for National Reconciliation and Reconstruction (CNRR) brought together 15 parties behind the candidacy of Ndam Njoya. Fru Ndi's **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** was originally a member, but he pulled out to run independently.

Amid the usual accusations of vote buying, registration issues, and intimidation there was an unusual aspect; a group of American observers from the **United States** House of Representatives was accused of accepting bribes and giving a false positive evaluation of the election. Biya received 72.92 percent of the votes, Fru Ndi 17.40 percent, and Ndam Njoya 4.48 percent. A lesser-known candidate, Garga Haman Adjii of the Alliance for Democracy and Development, received 3.46 percent. *See also* DEMOCRACY; POLITICAL PARTIES.

ELECTIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 1992. Cameroon's first multiparty elections since the formation of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** took place on 1 March 1992. Some of the main opposition parties boycotted the elections claiming that they had been called without adequate time for opposition **political parties** to prepare and that the electoral law favored the **Cameroon**

People's Democratic Movement (CPDM), the government party. Even with the boycott in place, the CPDM failed to gain a majority, winning only 88 of 180 seats. The **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)** won 68 seats, the *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* 6, and a small group, the **Movement for the Defence of the Republic (MDR)** 6. The MDR joined in coalition with the CPDM to form a government. *See also* DEMOCRACY; POLITICAL PARTIES.

ELECTIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 1997. The second multiparty elections for the **National Assembly** took place on 17 May 1997. About 1,800 candidates competed for 180 seats. Opposition parties and foreign observers, such as a **Commonwealth** team, declared the elections seriously flawed. However, the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** took 109 seats, the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** 43, the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)** 13, and minor parties took the remainder. Results for 7 seats were nullified due to irregularities and were rerun in August. Final results were announced on 18 August, with the CPDM now winning 116 seats. *See also* DEMOCRACY; POLITICAL PARTIES.

ELECTIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 2002. The legislative election was scheduled for and began on 23 June but was halted because there were not enough ballots printed. The elections were actually held on 30 June 2002. President **Paul Biya's** party, the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement**, won overwhelmingly with 149 seats, followed by **Fru Ndi's Social Democratic Front** with 22. The **Cameroon Democratic Union** won 5, the **Union des Populations du Cameroun** 3, and the **National Union for Democracy and Progress** 1 seat.

Although the government's **National Elections Observatory** claimed that the "elections were marred to a certain extent by some problems and irregularities which did not distort the real expression of the will of the Cameroonian people," the opposition parties denounced the process and called for the annulment of the entire elections. Foreign observers tended to view the elections negatively. Results for 17 seats were nullified by the Supreme Court, and new

elections were conducted 15 September for these. *See also* DEMOCRACY; POLITICAL PARTIES.

ELECTIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 2007. Forty-one parties fielded 1,274 candidates for the 180 seats in the elections of 22 July 2007. The **Cameroon People's Democratic Party** won 153 seats, the **Social Democratic Front** 16, the **National Union for Democracy and Progress** 6, the **Cameroon Democratic Union** 4, and the **Progressive Movement** 1. There were 103 appeals, and on 30 September new elections were held for 17 seats. The results were challenged by many with violence, vote rigging, and low turnout reported. Foreign observers generally agreed that there were serious problems. New elections should take place in 2012. *See also* DEMOCRACY; POLITICAL PARTIES.

ELECTRICITY. *See* HYDROELECTRICITY.

ELITE ASSOCIATIONS. Various associations based on village and **ethnic groups** have existed in Cameroon for many years, especially in migration centers far from the members' homes. However, since the legalization of **political parties** and the holding of multiparty **elections** the number of such organizations has increased greatly. These often serve as pressure groups, as means of organizing the voters, and as **village development associations**. A relatively new category is the elite association linking the self-defined elites of various regions of the country. The South West Elites Association (SWELA) was founded on 21 August 1991 to promote unity, development, and the overall interests of the people and communities of the **South West Region**. The Northwest Elite Association (NOWELA) is a similar organization in the **North West Region**. There are reports of such societies uniting the elites of the three northern regions and in other areas of the country.

Another category is organizations of traditional rulers. The South-west **Chiefs** Conference (SWECC), the Northwest **Fons** Union, and the Northwest Fons Conference (NOWFCO) are examples of these. Such organizations are supported and encouraged by the government and may act as negotiators for development projects in their areas. SWECC, for example is reported to have pressured the government

to open a petrol depot in **Kumba**, a major town in its region, and to have signed an agreement with a mobile phone company, Orange, for financial support. *See also* NGONDO; RASSEMBLEMENT DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RPC); RENAISSANCE CAMEROUNAIS (RENAICAM).

EMIA-EMA CONSTITUTION. This was the name given by the **anglophone** public to the constitutional proposals tabled by anglophone members in the constitutional drafting committee, set up at the **Tripartite Talks** in **Yaoundé** between October and November 1991. EMIA, the acronym for Elad, Munzu, Itoe and Anyangwe, all prominent anglophone jurists, was later reduced to EMA when Itoe refused to sign the final document, which recommended a federal structure as a solution to Cameroon's political crisis.

The fundamental objective of the architects of the EMIA-EMA constitution was to replace the **Constitution of 1961**, which, according to them, did not clearly define the scope of competence between the federal and state governments, and did not adequately take care of minority (anglophone) problems. Thus, the EMIA-EMA group hoped to awaken the consciousness of anglophones to the benefits that could be achieved if a genuine federal structure were adopted for Cameroon.

The EMIA-EMA group, therefore, strove to create a balanced constitution that, on the one hand, gave adequate protection of the anglophone against **francophone** domination and, on the other hand, took care of the division between South Westerners and North Westerners in anglophone Cameroon. The constitution received the support, at least overtly, of the majority of anglophones and some francophones mostly covertly.

Despite this, the EMIA-EMA constitutional proposals came up against the determined francophone majority, who refused to have a federal system of government. What is more, one of the architects of the constitution, Itoe, a minister and member of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**, backpedaled when the document, which initially had been meant for private circulation, was given the widest publicity. When a constitution was finally produced for Cameroon in 1996, the EMIA-EMA's recommendation for a federal structure was not adopted. *See also* CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1996).

ENDELEY, EMMANUEL MBELLA LIFAFE (1916–1998). The first **prime minister** of British **Southern Cameroons**, Endeley was born on 10 April 1916 into a prestigious **Bakweri** family. He attended schools in **Buea**, **Bonjongo**, and **Umahia (Eastern Nigeria)**. He specialized at the Nigerian School of Medicine in **Yaba** and served as assistant medical officer in **Nigeria** in 1942 and later as chief medical officer in **Buea** in 1945. He began his political activity as an organizer of **Cameroons Development Corporation (CDC)** workers in 1947, becoming general secretary of the union in 1948. Endeley was active in the organization of strikes and in petitioning visiting **United Nations** missions. As a result, he played a leading role in the formation of multiple political organizations to articulate the views of **British Cameroons**: the **Cameroon Youth League** (1939), the **Cameroons National Federation** (1949), and the **Bakweri Improvement Union** (1944).

Endeley was elected to the Eastern Nigerian Assembly at **Enugu** in 1951. There he was a leading advocate for a separate regional status for **Southern Cameroons**, and he emerged as leader of government business in the first **Southern Cameroon's Regional Assembly** in 1954. Endeley led the breakaway from the **National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)** to form the **Kamerun National Congress (KNC)** with **John Ngu Foncha** and **Solomon T. Muna** in 1953. He later came to espouse cooperation and to favor integration with **Nigeria**, a clear diversion from his earlier goals. This caused a major split in the **KNC** ranks, leading to the formation of the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** by **Foncha** in 1955. Endeley lost support and credibility in his attempt to work with the **Kamerun People's Party (KPP)**.

Following a narrow election win in 1957, Endeley was installed as first prime minister of **Southern Cameroons** in 1958. He lost his post to **Foncha** in a January 1959 election. He formed the **Cameroon People's National Convention (CPNC)** with the **KPP** in May 1960 to lead an effective opposition to the **KNDP**. Already branded as a pro-**Nigerian** advocate at a time of strong pan-**Kamerun** sentiments, Endeley's party lost the 1961 UN-administered **plebiscite**. Reduced to a leader of an opposition minority because of **Foncha's** popularity in a federal **Cameroon**, Endeley became an early cautious advocate for a one-party system in the country. Schism in the **KNDP**

ranks gave Endeley the post of leader of government business in **West Cameroon** in 1965. He became a member of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** Central Committee and was president of the Fako section from 1966 until 1985. Under the unitary system Endeley became a member of the **National Assembly**.

ENGLISH. English is one of Cameroon's two **official languages** according to Part 1, Article 3 of the **Constitution of 1996**. Its use is most common in the **South West** and **North West Regions**, which were under British domination for several decades. In recent years the popularity of English has increased substantially. English-language institutes are common in all cities, and many persons from the **francophone** section of the country now go to study abroad in **Great Britain**, the **United States**, or Australia. English is only a second language for most Cameroonians, who are more proficient in their local languages. *See also* ANGLOPHONE; BILINGUALISM; FRANGLAIS; FRENCH; LANGUAGES.

ENVIRONMENT. Waterborne diseases, deforestation, overgrazing, desertification, poaching, and overfishing are usually mentioned as the main environmental problems in Cameroon. A Ministry of Environment official stated in 2007 that desertification "has alarming proportions in the north." Associated are the drying of **Lake Chad**, due in part to irrigation and diversion of its sources, and overgrazing. **Forest** destruction has assumed massive proportions in the southeast in particular, though the use of wood for fuel and home construction is of more concern than logging for export.

Specific issues include the hazards associated with the **petroleum** industry and the giant oil **pipeline** from **Chad** to the port of **Kribi**. Oil spills, destruction of habitat, and gas flaring are among these problems. Numerous proposals to open expansive **mineral and mining** areas indicate more problems in the near future. Coastal fisheries have been almost totally destroyed by the actions of foreign fishing fleets, and the **urbanization** around **Douala** is having negative effects on the lagoon system of the **Wouri River**. There are frequent reports of poaching, especially of elephants, and the illegal exportation of live animals, especially birds. The widespread consumption of wildlife ("bush meat") has had a significant negative effect on the

animal population. A report on 21 September 2009 indicated that overfishing had eliminated 60 species of fish from the **Logone and Chari Rivers**. Global warming has not been thoroughly studied, but even slight changes in temperature and the effects on rainfall will be enormous. One study suggests that **food** crop production could drop by 50 percent and recommends government to begin preparing for the expected changes. Sanitation and waste disposal are issues receiving some attention as Cameroon struggles to meet the **Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)**.

Various international environmental **nongovernment organizations (NGOs)** are active, particularly on forestry issues. Among domestic NGOs are the Center for Environment and Development, the Cameroon Environmental Watch (CEW), and the International Circle for the Promotion of Creation (CIPCRE).

EQUATORIAL GUINEA. The mainland portion of Equatorial Guinea, Rio Muni, is to the south of Cameroon. The main offshore island is now named Bioko (formerly Macias Nguema Biyogo, and prior to that Fernando Po) with the capital, Malabo. The total area of the country is 28,051 square kilometers. Until recently it has depended upon plantation **agriculture**, mainly **cocoa**. **Coffee** and **timber** are also important, but now **petroleum** is the main export; the country currently has Africa's third-largest export production. In spite of a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of \$12,900 (2007), poverty is widespread and severe. The population of 617,000 (est. 2008) consists of several **ethnic groups**, but the **Fang** are the largest. The Fang also reside in Cameroon. Although it never was a colony of **France**, Equatorial Guinea has joined the franc zone and the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC)*. There are occasional **border problems** with Cameroon, most recently over a small island in the Ntem River that serves as the border between the countries. 11 December 2007 there began a serious clash in Malabo between its citizens and Cameroonians residing there. *See also* CFA FRANC.

ESSO, LAURENT (1942–). Although perhaps not well known to the world, Esso is a powerful figure in Cameroon government circles. Born in **Douala** on 10 August 1942, he entered the Presidency on 16

May 1988 and has remained in powerful positions since that time. On 26 September 2006 he became secretary-general at the Presidency with the rank of minister of state, though over the years he has served as minister of **health** and justice, as well as a term as minister delegate in charge of defense in the Presidency. *See also* CABINET; SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

ESUA, ARCHBISHOP CORNELIUS FONTEM. *See* VERDZE-KOV, PAUL.

ETEKY MBOUMOUA, WILLIAM-AURELIAN (1933–). This former minister and third secretary-general of the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** was born on 20 October 1933 in **Douala** into a wealthy family. He studied law, graduating in 1953, and then enrolled in the *Ecole Nationale de la France Outre-Mer*. In 1959, he returned home and was commissioned as deputy *préfet* in Yabassi and later as *préfet* of the sensitive Sanaga-Maritime Division. His skillful handling of the growing insurgency in the **Bassa** heartland opened the gates to higher duties. He was named minister of **education**, youth, and **sports** in June 1961. The University of **Yaoundé**, as well as the foundation of the education policy of Cameroon, was established during his tenure. Eteky-Mboumoua joined UNESCO briefly and served as president of UNESCO's General Conference. He was named special adviser to President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** on his return. He became secretary-general of the OAU in 1974, replacing fellow Cameroonian **Nzo Ekangaki**. In 1980 he resumed his duties as special adviser to the **president**.

Eteky Mboumoua became minister in charge of missions at the Presidency in February 1984 and in July moved to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served in this post until January 1987 when, because of a "*faute grave*," he was relieved of his duties. Officially it was argued that Eteky Mboumoua opened high-level diplomatic engagements with Hungary without consulting the head of state; other theories argue that there were previously alleged disagreements with President **Paul Biya** over the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Israel and his preference of a more activist stance toward the apartheid regime of South Africa. In 1995, Eteky Mboumoua was selected by the OAU to undertake a delicate diplomatic mission to the

Comoros Islands to settle a political crisis. For several years he was president of the National Red Cross Society. *See also* CABINET.

ETHNIC CONFLICT. Cameroon is a multiethnic society with numerous **ethnic groups** in a complex and highly fragmented political structure. The **population** frequently identifies with subgroup loyalties rather than the symbols of the nation-state. Government **nation-building** policy has emphasized symbols of national unity and integration over ethnic belonging and solidarity. The membership of the **National Assembly**, the government, the composition of a national team, and even the ballet dance group are aimed at presenting a national image of common identification.

Conflict continues at several levels and hindered the establishment of a multiparty political system due to fear party membership would follow ethnic lines. Whereas **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** policies aimed at the eradication of ethnic identity as necessary to the formation of national identity, President **Paul Biya** seems to recognize the possibility of a dual identity, ethnic and national.

In the 1990s ethnicity became quite significant in the political life of the country, in part due to President Biya's heavy reliance on his ethnic group, the **Bulu**, to fill positions in government and to otherwise favor his ethnic group. In part, the change from a single to a multiparty system has seen the growth of many ethnically based organizations.

Violent conflicts between ethnic groups frequently occur with unpleasant results. Recent examples include numerous clashes between **Choa Arabs** and **Kotokos** in the **Extreme North**; between **Balikumbat** and **Bafanji**, between **Bali Nyongha** and **Ngyen-Mbo**, and between **Bali Nyongha** and **Bawock** in the **North West Region**. **Gbaya** versus **Fulani** and **Musgum** versus **Kotoko** are other examples. Conflicts are often over land or fishing rights. There are frequent conflicts between herding communities such as the **Mbororo** and neighboring agricultural groups. Religion can also be a factor as in the conflict in **Foumban** between two **Islamic** factions. It is believed that political leaders sometimes stir up ethnic hostility as a means of generating electoral support for themselves. *See also* TOMBEL MASSACRE.

ETHNIC GROUPS. That there are many ethnic groups in Cameroon is widely agreed, but what is not agreed is the number of such groups. The **population** is variously described as “extremely heterogeneous,” “extremely complex,” and as “one of the most diverse countries in Africa.” The frequently quoted *CIA World Factbook* states that there are six groups—Cameroon Highlanders 31 percent, Equatorial **Bantu** 19 percent, **Kirdi** 11 percent, **Fulani** 10 percent, Northwestern Bantu 8 percent, and Eastern Nigritic 7 percent, and other African and non-Africans representing 14 percent. A reference in *Wikipedia* lists Western Highlanders, Coastal Tropical Forest, Southern Tropical Forest, Kirdi, and predominantly Islamic peoples. However, these are very general categories. Other sources claim that there are 130, over 200, 250, and an evangelical **Christian** organization (the Joshua Project) states that there are 287 ethnic groups. Defining the boundary of “ethnic group” is a contentious issue! **Language** is often used as a defining characteristic. It is partly due to this complexity that **tourism** advertisements claim this is “Africa in miniature.” **Ethnic conflicts** are frequent occurrences. *See also* BAFIA; BAFUT; BAKA; BAKOSSI; BAKWERI; BALI; BAMILEKE; BAMOUM; BANDJOUN; BASSA-BAKOKO; BULU; CHOA ARAB; DII; DUALA; EWONDO; FALI; FANG; FEROOBE; FULANI; GBAYA; IBO; KAPSIKI; KIRDI; KOTOKO; MAFA; MAMBILA; MBORORO; MBUM; MOFU; MUSGUM; NSO; PAGAN GROUPING; PERE; TIKAR; VOLLARBE; WANDALA; YILLAGA’EN.

ETO’O, SAMUEL FILS (10 MARCH 1981–). Eto’o is presently Cameroon’s most famous football (soccer) player. In July 2009 he moved from La Liga, Barcelona, to Inter Milan. He began professional play at an early age, probably when he was 14, and has since been in the Africa Cup of Nations competition several times, was a gold medal winner in the 2000 Olympic Games, and has played in two World Cup competitions. Although a brilliant player, Eto’o has frequently been subjected to racist slurs and attacks, a very embarrassing situation for world football. *See also* INDOMITABLE LIONS; SPORTS.

ETOUDI PALACE. *See* UNITY PALACE.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU). The EU was established by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993 as the successor to the European Economic Community (EEC), which had begun as the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952. This political and economic union has a common currency, the euro. The organization is a leading forum in the coordination of European trade relations, investment, and economic aid to African states. *See also* COTONOU AGREEMENT; FRANCE; LOME AGREEMENTS; YAOUNDÉ AGREEMENTS.

EVOLUE. The *évolué* was the end product of the French policy of **assimilation**. The *évolué* signified any African who had fully assimilated French law, language, and customs. The *évolué* was the quintessential elite. He received wider political and economic opportunities than the indigenous masses. Consequently, the *évolué* was expected to admire French life style and denigrate local mores.

EWONDO. Ewondo is a subgroup of the **Fang** peoples. The Ewondo are the original inhabitants of **Yaoundé**. The Ewondo language with several dialects is a member of the **Niger-Congo** family. *See also* ATANGANA, CHARLES.

EXTREME NORTH PROVINCE/FAR NORTH PROVINCE. *See* EXTREME NORTH REGION/FAR NORTH REGION.

EXTREME NORTH REGION/FAR NORTH REGION. This **francophone** region covers a surface area of 31,984 square kilometers (alternatively 34,246 square kilometers or 34,263 square kilometers) and consists of six divisions (*préfectures*). Its principal relief features are the Mandara Mountains in the west and the **Chad** Plain. Various rivers flow into the Chad and Niger Basins. It has steppe vegetation and a dry hot climate. A 2001 estimate places the population at 2,721,000 persons, making it the most populous of Cameroon's regions.

Animal husbandry and **agriculture** are the major occupations of the local population. Millet, peanuts, and sorghum are essentially for subsistence, while **rice** and **cotton** are the principal cash crops. Fishing is important on **Lake Chad**. **Industrial** activity is limited to handicrafts and leather, food processing, various uses of cotton, and a **cement** plant at Figuil. **Tourism** is important with

attractive scenery (for examples, the Waza **National Park**, the Mandara Mountains, and Rhumsiki peaks) and several cultural centers including Tourou, Oudjilla, and **Maroua**, the provincial headquarters. Other important towns include Kaélé (Kaélé Division), Kousseri (**Logone and Chari** Division), Yagoua (Mayo-Danay Division), Mora (Mayo-Sava Division), and Mokolo (Mayo-Tsanaga Division). The **Fulani** is the most prominent **ethnic group** politically and economically. The main **political party** in recent years has been the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)**. The Extreme North was created on 23 August 1983. *See also* ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES; DIAMARE.

EZA BOTO. *See* BETI, MONGO.

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FALI. The Fali are the indigenous people of the area directly surrounding **Garoua, North Region**, though they are also present in Adamawa State of **Nigeria**. The majority are now **Muslims**, while traditional religious beliefs are still of some importance. Historically, the Fali economy was based largely on **agriculture** practiced on terraced hills that served as protection from **Fulani** aggression, with whom they nevertheless formed alliances and intermarried at various times. It has been suggested that the Fali may, at least in part, be descendents of the ancient **Sao** population of the **Lake Chad** region who migrated south under pressure from the Bornu empire and intermixed with local inhabitants. The best known of the Fali are the Tinguelin, whose name is derived from the mountains they historically inhabited just north of Garoua.

FANG (PAHOIN). Definitions of this **ethnic group** vary considerably from author to author. The group extends well beyond Cameroon into **Gabon**, the **Republic of Congo**, and **Equatorial Guinea**. The Fang are the result of migration from northeast of their present locations, perhaps under pressure from the **Fulani jihads**. The Fang speak **Bantu languages** of the **Niger-Congo** family. There are three major components of Fang: Beti, **Bulu**, and Fang in the south.

Ewondo is a significant subgroup within Cameroon. President **Paul Biya** is usually identified as Bulu.

FANTASIA. A spectacular display of horsemanship skills normally performed during festivals in northern Cameroon. Armed and mounted riders gallop toward the local ruler rearing their horses immediately before him, brandishing their weapons, and declaring praises and oaths of loyalty. Called *durbar* in northern Nigeria, the term *fantasia* is of French origin and relates the practice to similar ceremonial equestrian displays in North Africa. In Fulfulde, the **language** of the **Fulani** ruling elite with whom the practice seems to originate, the performance of *fantasia* is called *narja*.

FAR NORTH PROVINCE. *See* EXTREME NORTH REGION.

FEDERAL INSPECTORS OF ADMINISTRATION. Senior administrative officials were placed at the head of the six administrative regions of the **federal republic** in October 1961. They were the representatives of the federal government in each administrative region. The inspector in **West Cameroon** faced the greatest challenges. The duties of the federal inspector often conflicted with the prerogatives of, and quest for autonomy by, the **prime minister** of West Cameroon. Federal inspectors performed civil and juridical functions, executed federal rules and regulations, and coordinated federal activities. In the unitary state of 1972 these inspectors were replaced by **governors of provinces**.

FEDERAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. The legislative body of the former **Federal Republic of Cameroon** (1961–1972) was a unicameral legislature elected for five years by universal suffrage. Representatives to the first Federal Assembly were selected by the state legislatures of **East** and **West Cameroon**. Direct elections to the Assembly were held in 1965 and 1970. Throughout its 11-year existence the Federal National Assembly comprised 50 deputies, 40 from East Cameroon and 10 from West Cameroon. *See also* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON. **French Cameroun** became independent on 1 January 1960 and became the **République du Cameroun**. It was joined with **Southern Cameroons** on 1 October

1961, to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon. This federation consisted of two states. **West Cameroon**, the former Southern Cameroons, was by far the smaller of the two. This **anglophone** state had **Buea** as its capital. **East Cameroon**, the former French Cameroun, was larger with 80 percent of the population, and **francophone**. Its capital was **Yaoundé**. As part of his policy of centralizing power in Yaoundé and in the presidency, **Ahmadou Ahidjo** ended the federation in 1972 to form the **United Republic of Cameroon**.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS/FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS.
See BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS LIBERATION FRONT.

FEDERALISM. *See* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON; EMIA-EMA CONSTITUTION; FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON.

FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION (FGM)/GENITAL CIRCUMCISION. Female genital mutilation (FGM), also referred to as female circumcision or female genital cutting, involves the partial or complete removal of female external genitalia often with stitching up to allow a small hole for the passage of urine and menstrual blood. This is a fundamental violation of **human rights** especially for girls and **women** who are forced to undergo this practice without their consent. FGM also violates the rights to **health** and to physical integrity, to be protected from harmful traditional practices, and to be free from injury, abuse, and degrading treatment. Many international treaties and conventions such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Additional Protocol on Women's Rights (Maputo protocol), and the European Convention on Human Rights condemn these harmful traditional practices.

FGM is usually done for customary and traditional reasons as well as for religious and hygienic reasons, to preserve virginity/morality, and for better marriage prospects. The **United Nations** estimates that between 20 and 50 percent of Cameroon women are victims of some

form of FGM, which can be carried out at any stage: at birth, during early childhood, in the course of adolescence, just before marriage, or after the birth of the first child. Female legislators and **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)** are currently working to legislate against FGM. There is no documentation of FGM in the **North West, South, and Littoral regions**. *See also* BREAST IRONING; WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

FERNANDO PO. *See* EQUATORIAL GUINEA.

FEROOBE (FEROBE). One of the three major clans of **Fulani** who entered Cameroon as early perhaps as the 15th century in the guise of pastoralists tending to the needs of their cattle. Their historical route of migration led the Feroobe (pl., s. Pereejo) to progressively enter largely by way of the **Wandala** kingdom after a lengthy sojourn under the protection of Bornu. They founded several polities in the late 18th century, namely **Maroua**, Pétté, Bogo, and Kalfou in the **Extreme North Region**. These states allied themselves with the **jihad** of **Uthman Dan Fodio** beginning in the early 19th century, becoming substates within the larger state of Fombina, or **Adamawa**, with its capital at Yola, **Nigeria**. After German colonization in 1901, the ruler of Maroua, Abdourramani Souyoudi, annexed the two other Feroobe polities of Pétté and Bogo in 1908. Pétté thereafter became a dependency of Maroua, while Bogo later regained its independent status under French colonial authority. *See also* DAMRAKA, MODIBO MOHAMMAN.

FERTILE CRESCENT. The relatively more productive area of the territory in which the French administration concentrated its economic activity covered only one-tenth of the **French Cameroun** territory, stretching as far north as **Foumban** and **Bafoussam** to the major cities of **Nkongsamba**, **Douala**, and **Yaoundé** as well as the southern towns of **Kribi** and Ebolowa. This area coincided with the portions most served by the railroad and the most fertile zones in which major crops like **cocoa** and **coffee** are grown.

The semicircular shape of this exclusive economic zone had its center in Douala. Over 1,500,000 people lived in this area during the French period in Cameroun. The fertile crescent is still the most **economically** active region in the country. In addition to its high

concentration of substantial economic and human resources, many foreign enterprises are located here. The spatial economic disequilibrium of independent Cameroun could partly be traced to this French project of accelerated modernization of the fertile crescent during the colonial era. *See also* BALANCED DEVELOPMENT.

FIRST SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATE (FSLC). This is awarded to successful school children after seven years of primary **education** in the English-speaking regions. The examination is set by the Ministry of National Education and is administered toward the end of every school year. Successful performance in the FSLC is the key to admission into secondary or technical schools in **anglophone** Cameroon.

FLAG OF CAMEROON. The Cameroon flag, rectangular in shape, consists of three equal bands of green (top), red, and yellow with a yellow five-point star in the center of the red band. During the federal period there were two stars in the upper left corner of the green band, one for each state in the federation.

FOCHIVE, JEAN (1931–1997). Fochive was head of Cameroon's intelligence service under the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime. From December 1961 until 1971, Fochive served as head of the Intelligence Department, the *Service d'Etudes et de la Documentation* (SEDOC), and as chief of presidential security. As director of SEDOC, Fochive was at the head of Cameroon's most feared political institution. SEDOC was symbolic of the tight public security that prevailed under the Ahidjo regime. As director of presidential security, he was in charge of the Republican Guard and the military command post at the presidential palace. In 1971, Fochive was relieved of his duties as director of Presidential Security but maintained his position as director of SEDOC, then known as the *Direction Générale d'Etudes et de la Documentation* (DIRDOC). He served there until 1983 at the height of the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture** when he was appointed ambassador to China. In April 1989, President **Paul Biya** returned him to his post as head of the intelligence department, the *Centre National des Etudes et des Recherché* (CENER) (reported to be the Directorate General for External Research [DGRE] after 1984). Fochive later became delegate general for national security, where he stayed until 1996.

FOE, MARC-VIVIEN (1975–2003). Foe, a professional soccer player, died unexpectedly on the field during a match between the Cameroon and Colombia national teams 26 June 2003. He played for Cameroon in the World Cup games of 1994 and 2002, but was left out in 1998 due to a broken leg. He played several years with European teams. Born in Nkolo, Foe first played for Union **Garoua**. Foe was born 1 May 1975. *See also* INDOMITABLE LIONS; SPORTS.

FON (or NFON). This is the traditional designation for the highest authority within the traditional structures of the **Bali**, **Tikar**, **Bamiléké**, and **Bamoum** peoples of the **Grassfield**. The *fon* is the powerful head of territorial, civil, and military authority within a given kingdom. His power emanates from a sacred kinship tying the living with the dead, and he rules over a kingdom from a palace adorned with royalty, independence, and respect. Under various colonial systems only the British officially granted status to traditional authorities as part of their policy of **indirect rule**, while the Germans and French generally treated the *fons* with suspicion and disdain. Traditional systems that outlived the colonial era owe their survival to the voluntary allegiance of sub-*fons* as well as to the various councils and associations formed to provide support and legitimacy to indigenous rule.

After independence, the significance of traditional authority shifted from the period of political coexistence in the era of a **West Cameroon House of Chiefs** to the present era of political integration into the civil administrative machinery under the Ministry of Territorial Administration. The *fon* faces a dilemma in the **North West Region**. He owes his position to President **Paul Biya** and the party in power, but his people support the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)**. *See also* CHIEFS; ELITE ASSOCIATIONS; LAMIDO; NATIVE AUTHORITIES.

FONCHA, JOHN NGU (1916–1999). Foncha was born in Nkwen, **North West Region**, on 21 June 1916. After **education** in **Bamenda** and Buguma, **Nigeria**, he trained as a teacher and taught **agriculture** in Nigeria (1941–1942). On return to **Southern Cameroons**, he took up teaching and was a headmaster in Bamenda **Catholic** schools. Simultaneously, Foncha began an intensive political career. He was a founding member of the **Cameroons Youth League (CYL)**, the

Cameroon National Federation (CNF), and the **Kamerun National Congress (KNC)**. Between 1942 and 1945, he was secretary to the Bamenda Branch of the CYL. He also helped establish the **Bamenda Improvement Association** in 1940, the Bamenda Catholic Teachers Union in 1944, a provincial branch of the **National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons** in 1945, and the Bamenda branch of the CNF in 1949.

In 1951, Foncha was among the “Original Thirteen” elected to the Eastern House of Assembly in Enugu, Nigeria. Disagreements over **reunification** led him to join the **Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC)** and the KNC until he formed the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** in 1955. As general secretary of the KNDP, from 1955 to 1966, Foncha gained distinction as an advocate for **reunification**. In 1957, the KNDP made electoral gains by winning six seats, up from two seats in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly, and in 1959 won the general **elections**. Foncha became **prime minister** of Southern Cameroons and in this position gradually cut off the territory from Nigerian politics with pronunification campaigns before the British Government and the **United Nations**. A **plebiscite** to decide whether to remain in Nigeria or to join Cameroon was agreed upon. Foncha’s KNDP won the 11 February 1961 plebiscite by a landslide in favor of reunification with **Cameroon** and won the 1959 general election.

Having won the reunification battle, Foncha, as **prime minister of West Cameroon**, led the **anglophone** delegation to the **Foumban Conference**. The new federal **Constitution of 1961** guaranteed Foncha the post of vice president of the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**, which he held from 1961 to 1970. Foncha remained prime minister of West Cameroon until 1965. When the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** was formed in 1966, Foncha supported it because in his opinion, reunification did not “exclude the possibility of the formation of any other party.” Foncha was later made first vice chairman of the CNU.

In 1970, Foncha was replaced by **Solomon T. Muna** as vice president of the Federal Republic. Having lost the post of West Cameroon’s prime minister to **A. N. Jua** in 1965, Foncha retired from active politics in 1970. On 18 December 1979, President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** appointed him to the largely ceremonial post of grand chancellor of national orders.

When in 1985 the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement Party (CPDM)** rose from the ashes of the CNU, Foncha was made its first vice president. On 9 June 1990, Foncha resigned that post because, according to him, he was used only as window dressing, and the CPDM leadership treated him as if he had become an irrelevant nuisance. On 19 July 1990, he was replaced as grand chancellor of national orders. In the 1990s Foncha identified himself with those anglophone political leaders who advocated a return to the 1961 federation and became a leader of the **Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC)**. He also was a leading figure and chairman of the board of the Bamenda University of Science and Technology (BUST).

A man of multiple national and foreign honors, Dr. Foncha has received favorable reviews as an exemplary figure in early Cameroon politics. A more revisionist orientation in Cameroon scholarship and opinion blames his performance at the **Foumban Conference** for the current marginalization of the minority anglophone population. Foncha died on 10 April 1999. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM.

FONDS D'AIDE ET DE COOPERATION. *See* FONDS D'INVESTISSEMENT POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL DES TERRITOIRES D'OUTRE MER (FIDES).

FONDS D'INVESTISSEMENT POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL DES TERRITOIRES D'OUTRE MER (FIDES). The French National Assembly passed into law this investment fund for economic and social development of the overseas territories on 30 April 1946. FIDES was envisaged as a long-term and last-minute effort toward development by the contribution of the French government and the various distinct territories. In Cameroun the funds were utilized to finance two economic plans (1947–1953 and 1953–1957). **Cameroun's** quota from FIDES was far higher than all of **French Equatorial Africa**, partially due to Cameroun's special status as a **trust territory** of the **United Nations**. The total fund of 80 billion French francs invested in Cameroun during the 10-year period supported local infrastructure, did less for indigenous welfare, and boosted the fortunes of European-owned firms in the

territory. Toward independence, FIDES was renamed *Fonds d'Aide et du Coopération* (FAC).

FONLON, BERNARD NSOKIKA (1924–1986). This former minister and a renowned Cameroon intellectual was born on 24 November 1924 at Kimbo, Nso, in **North West Region**. He received his early **education** at Njinikom and secondary school at Christ the King College in **Nigeria**. He entered the Bigard Memorial Seminary on completion and after teaching in **Saint Joseph's College**, Sasse, **Buea**, he gave up his quest for priesthood to plunge into scholarly pursuits.

Fonlon enrolled in the University of Ireland, the Sorbonne, and Oxford University, obtaining several degrees in literature. He served as secretary at the prime minister's office of **Southern Cameroon** in 1961, chargé des missions and translator/interpreter at the Presidency (1961–1964), and member of the Federal Parliament from 1964 to 1970 simultaneously with a **cabinet** post of deputy minister of foreign affairs. He became minister of transport and then minister of ports and telecommunication before heading the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (1970–1971).

On leaving governmental duties Fonlon moved to the University of **Yaoundé**, rising to the rank of professor and serving as head of the Department of Negro-African Literature. He remained in the University until his retirement in 1984 after having published 12 works on **language**, culture, philosophy, and politics. He was an ardent promoter of **bilingualism**, which he tried to make a national obligation. In 1962, he founded the scholarly journal, *Abbia: The Cameroon Cultural Review*, which brought together contributions of leading Cameroon intellectuals of the early postindependence era.

Fonlon died in Canada in August 1986 while on one of his many lecture trips abroad. He remained a member of the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** and **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** until his death.

FOOD. Because of its large number of **ethnic groups** and several ecological zones, food in Cameroon varies considerably from place to place. In the north the staple foods are corn, millet, and peanuts; in the south the staples are yams, **cassava**, plantains, and increasingly **rice**. Beans and peanuts are popular foods everywhere as are roasted

corn, fermented cassava sold as *bobolo*, and skewered and broiled meat. In urban areas, bread is widely used. Beef, pork, chicken, goat, and wild game (“bush meat”) are frequently eaten.

In recent years the popularity of some foods has spread beyond their area of origin, but it is difficult to define any as a “national” food of the country. Perhaps closest to this definition are *ndolé*, *fufu*, *eru*, and *njama-njama*, though these all come from the south and are as yet not widely eaten in the north. *Ndolé*, from the **Duala**, is prepared with leaves similar to spinach, mixed in oil and ground peanuts. It is sweetened with salt, pepper, and onions and generally highly spiced. With smoked fish or meat as well as dried crayfish added, *ndolé* is eaten with a variety of foodstuffs especially plantain and yams. *Fufu* is derived from the boiling and pounding of major local foodstuffs like **maize**, **cocoyam**, cassava, yams, or plantains. *Fufu* or couscous is swallowed with a variety of soups. *Eru*, actually the name of the leaf (*gnetum africanum*) that is the main ingredient, is popular in much of West Africa under a variety of names. Spices and large quantities of **palm** oil are added to the leaves. This dish has spread from the **Bayang** and Ejagham peoples of Manyu Division to most of the south. The dish is also very popular in **Nigeria**, and there is a large export of the leaves, which are not cultivated but grow only wild, to that country. *Njama njama* consists of chopped green huckleberry leaves, boiled, drained, and rinsed. This is mixed with tomatoes, onions, garlic, ginger, and salt. Harvested cassava is peeled, grated, and roasted to produce white or yellow flour, *garri*. *Garri*, relatively cheap, is used in urban areas as a substitute for more nutritious expensive food. In the north, *kossam* (yogurt) and various soups referred to as *hakko* eaten with rice or millet *fufu* are popular. For example, *hakko bokko* is a baobab leaf soup.

Except among **Muslim** populations, various alcoholic beverages are popular everywhere. Palm wine and maize beer (sometimes served hot) in the south and millet beer in the north are common. European-style beer and wine are widely consumed, with much of this beer brewed in Cameroon. *See also* AGRICULTURE; BANANA; FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY. Food self-sufficiency is a goal yet to be accomplished by many African countries, but a goal that Camer-

oon attained for several years. The goal is to grow internally adequate food for the population or to have a balance between food imports and food exports. Cameroon's enviable record was the combination of natural, economic, and political factors. Policies like the **Green Revolution** and the various institutions set up by government improved the level of food self-sufficiency.

During the **economic crisis of the 1980s** Cameroon's situation deteriorated. Among other problems, government subsidies for **agricultural** inputs decreased leading to decreases in productivity. Cameroon's food self-sufficiency disappeared. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the African Development Bank announced in 2003 that Cameroon was one of 86 countries to be supported by a Special Food Security Program established to assist countries with food deficits. Recently, the worldwide increase in food prices has had a negative effect. In 2008 FAO listed the country as "high risk" for deteriorating food security.

Food security is especially a problem for the northern **regions**, where drought is a recurrent problem. Reports in 2007 indicated that 39 percent of **women** in the area suffered from malnutrition, and acute malnutrition affected 30 percent of children between six months and five years of age. Countrywide, 26 percent of the population was undernourished, and 32 percent of children under five suffered from severe to moderate stunting.

The export of food to neighboring African countries has been a significant aspect of Cameroon's food policy. Cameroon seeks to become the granary of Central Africa. However, government's desire to increase export production frequently conflicts with the desire for food self-sufficiency. *See also* AGRO-INDUSTRY STRATEGY; FOREIGN TRADE; HEALTH.

FORCED LABOR. This hated policy of conscription for labor under duress and unbearable human conditions was practiced in the territory during the era of foreign domination. It was begun by the Germans in 1884 in the face of repeated local resistance and labor shortages. In addition to poor working conditions, marginal **health** standards, and meager pay, the local inhabitants were sometimes forced to work rather than pay their taxes. Through such means the Germans carried out the construction of roads, railways, and other projects.

The French **mandate** period continued this policy in their attempt to extend the German-built Mittelkamerun rail line and in the pursuit of economic exploitation. The labor force recruited from outlying and distant areas underwent harsh conditions that led to thousands of deaths. Thus, much of the primary development of the territory was made possible by the local population under forced labor. Many inhabitants from **French Cameroun** took refuge in **British Camerouns** to escape forced labor, especially during 1922–1926. *See also* MISE EN VALEUR; PRESTATION.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT. Foreign investment, often referred to as Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), is important to the Cameroon **economy**, but there is little accurate data on amounts and sources of FDI. **France** is often thought to be the most significant investor, but according to the 2008 Investment Climate Statement of the **United States** government, French FDI is less than that of the United States. French investment is declining and American investment is rising. Despite its declining investment, France is still a major actor in the Cameroon economy with significant holdings in banking, **industry**, **transportation**, and **agriculture**, and **forestry**. **Chinese** investment may also increase rapidly. The Republic of Korea (South Korea) has recently become an important investor in the **minerals and mining** sector and a major contractor in infrastructure and other construction projects.

The majority of American business activity is in Cameroon's **petroleum** sector. U.S. investments in the national electricity company, in plantation agriculture, and in the mining sector are significant. Cobalt, nickel, and bauxite are attracting American investors, as is the construction of the railroad from **Kribi** to **Douala**. According to a United States government review of Cameroon's investment possibilities, "The operating environment remains one of the most challenging in the world, and implementation of investment incentives and a more inviting business climate remain problematic." The Federation of International Trade Associations makes a similar statement adding that among countries receiving FDI, Cameroon ranks 101st out of 141. FDI in 2004 (\$319 million) was unusually high due to funds entering for the pipeline project. In 2005 the figure dropped to \$225 million, and in 2006 it was \$309 million. In 2007 it was \$284

million, and FDI stock (the accumulated value) was \$3,796 billion. The largest individual investments were *Brasseries du Cameroun* (brewery and soft drinks, Luxembourg), *Nestlé Cameroun* (food products, Switzerland), *Groupe CFAO* (diverse activities, France), and *Société Camerounaise Equatoriale* (petroleum, France). The next three investments by size were all in petroleum. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE; INVESTMENT CODES.

FOREIGN POLICY. Cameroon's foreign policy is based theoretically on the establishment of relations with every country on the basis of equality, reciprocity, mutual respect of sovereignty, and noninterference. Such a policy is designed to contribute to harmonizing international relations and creating a truly and fully human international community. According to President **Paul Biya**, this policy leads toward a more interdependent mankind, which ensures the autonomy of weak nations and protects their freedom through peaceful coexistence. In reality, Cameroon remains closely aligned with and dependent on **France**. Economic relations with the **United States** and **China** have taken on new importance recently.

It is the head of state who determines the foreign policy of Cameroon. The implementation of this policy is done with the help of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by a minister. As part of its diplomacy, Cameroon belongs to a variety of international organizations at the regional, continental, and world levels.

According to a Cameroon government statement, Cameroon makes the Charter of the **United Nations** the base of its foreign policy. This support was made manifest when Cameroon occupied the seat of a nonpermanent member at the Security Council and held the chairmanship of this important institution at a time of extreme tension on the international scene. This attachment to peace and international solidarity is exercised as a matter of priority in the relations Cameroon has with its immediate neighbors. The policy of good neighborliness strives to develop pacific relations and cooperation. It is a common interest to stimulate commercial exchanges and to cooperate to combat the phenomenon of highway robbery at the frontiers.

The recent construction of the Chad-Cameroon **pipeline** is an example in this case. Encouraged by **Yaoundé**, big transnational road projects must end the enclavement of countries like the **Central African**

Republic and Chad that lack an opening to the sea. Concerning **Nigeria**, this policy of good neighborliness was threatened for a long time by the **Bakassi Dispute**, an example of the general problem of the demarcation of the land and maritime boundaries between the two countries. The judgment delivered in October 2002 by the International Court of Justice led to relief over the situation. The different meetings between Presidents Biya and Obasanjo put in place a process for the application of the decision of the court. This happy turn opens favorable perspectives to the development of relations between the two countries that are obliged to live side by side.

The closer ties in Cameroon's relations with its neighbors, of which many are members of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC), are naturally integrated in the project of subregional integration within this organization. Cameroon, a founding member of **Organization of African Unity**, participates in the activities of the new **African Union**. It particularly approves its objectives in the field of the maintenance of peace and security. It is important to recall that an OAU Summit took place in Yaoundé in 1996. Cameroon's foreign policy is not limited to classical diplomatic relations. It takes an active part in the Francophonie and the **Commonwealth**.

The years of **economic crisis** made Cameroon establish continued relations with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which backed, with some degree of success, the economic recovery of the country. Many other organizations have given their support to the relief efforts of the Cameroon government, notably the **European Union**. Cameroon counts on its traditional partners with whom it maintains an important and efficient cooperation. President Biya's trips abroad bear witness to the very close relations with his foreign counterparts. Recently, there have been visits to Paris, Washington, Beijing, Tokyo, and London. Relations with France are of particular significance. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS; CONGO; COUPEURS DE ROUTE; EQUATORIAL GUINEA; GABON; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DE LA FRANCOPHONIE; RUSSIA.

FOREIGN TRADE. The characteristics of Cameroon's foreign trade have changed drastically since independence. Then, the country

was heavily dependent upon **France** as a source of imports and a purchaser of exports. Today, Cameroon's trade pattern is much more complex and much less tied to France. In 2008 total imports were valued at \$4.4 billion and exports at \$5.3 billion. The major export partners in 2007 were Spain (19.8 percent), Italy (15.7 percent), and France (11.7 percent). South Korea was the fourth-largest partner, and the **United States** was sixth after the Netherlands. The major import partners were France (23.4 percent), **Nigeria** (12.8 percent), and **China** (9 percent). The main exports were **petroleum** products and crude oil, **timber** products, **cocoa** beans, aluminum, **coffee**, and **cotton**. Main imports were machinery, electrical equipment, transport equipment, fuel, and **food**. *See also* ECONOMY; SMUGGLING.

FORESTS AND FORESTRY. Cameroon is well endowed with forests; most estimates state that about 45 percent of the country, or 22,000,000 hectares, are forested. These forests contain tremendous biodiversity, both of plants and animals, and a large proportion of the forests is part of the Congo Basin forest, one of the world's greatest forest expanses and second only to the Amazon. Cameroon's forests are a very significant national resource and a critical source of income and employment.

Since the 1970s numerous laws and decrees have been announced to protect the forests and regulate the forestry business. The most recent of these was Law No. 94-01 of 20 January 1994, which, among many things, stated that 70 percent of forest production must be for domestic use and processing. However, the law has not been well enforced and forest exports have grown considerably. The main exploitation area is in the **East Region**, secondary areas are in the **Center**, **South**, and **South West Regions**. Numerous **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**, such as Global Forest Watch and World Rainforest Movement, are trying to pressure the government and the logging companies to enforce and improve the relevant laws, but they face a massive struggle against illegal companies and practices as well as **corrupt** government officials (reportedly including numerous military officers and members of President **Paul Biya's** family).

Cameroon is a member of the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) and the Central African Regional Program for

the Environment (CARPE), and was one of the founders of the Africa Forest Law Enforcement and Governance (AFLEC) project (founded at a ministerial conference in **Yaoundé** in October 2003), the Congo Basin Forest Partnership (CBFP), and the Commission of Ministers in Charge of Forests in Central Africa (COMIFAC). The latter resulted from the Yaoundé Forest Summit, held in March 1999, the first time in the history of forest conservation that leaders from neighboring countries came together to take action for their forests. The principal outcomes were the Yaoundé Declaration, outlining specific commitments to the conservation and sustainable management of forests, and the establishment of COMIFAC. In 2005 three major **timber** companies joined the Central African Forest and Trade Network (CAFTAN), a project to encourage responsible forestry. Nevertheless, illegal exploitation of the forests continues at a significant rate. *See also* ENVIRONMENT.

FOUDA, DOMINIQUE SIMA. *See* SIMA FOU DA, DOMINIQUE.

FOULAH. *See* FULANI.

FOULBE. *See* FULANI.

FOUMBAN. Foumban, headquarters of the Noun Division, **West Region**, and seat of the sultan of **Bamoum (Bamum)**, is regarded as the capital of southern Cameroon's **artisanal industry**. It is the historic capital of the Bamoum people. **Sultan Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya** is the most famous of its leaders. Today, **tourism** is the town's most significant activity. The streets are lined with modern and traditional houses with museums, the sultan's palace, and the artisans' shops being the most widely visited spots of the town. **Coffee, cocoa, and tobacco** are collected here for export via **Douala**. There are coffee processing factories, and a chocolate factory is nearby. In 1985 the **population** was estimated at 50,120, in 1987 at 57,400, and in 2001 at 113,100 persons indicating recent rapid growth. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

FOUMBAN CONFERENCE. This was the constitutional conference that laid the groundwork of the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**. It was held 17–21 July 1961, bringing together leaders of the **Répub-**

lique du Cameroun and representatives of **Southern Cameroons**. The 37 delegates (25 **anglophones** and 12 **francophones**) were to translate into practical reality the **plebiscite** decision of 11 February, an overwhelming approval for **reunification**. Issues for debate included federal jurisdiction versus state autonomy, nature of institutions, cultural blending, and the idea of a loose versus a highly centralized federation.

Led by President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, the delegates from Cameroun envisaged a strong and ever-growing centralized government, while under **J. N. Foncha**, the Southern Cameroon's delegation anticipated a loose federation. These conflicting visions of the future federal republic were entailed in Ahidjo's proposed federal constitution and the proposals of the anglophone camp. Five days were hardly enough for resolving such intricate issues. Both sides met again in **Yaoundé** in August to finally hammer out their differences.

In the end, the **Constitution of the Federal Republic** resembled the centralized pattern of Ahidjo more than it reflected the loose framework of Foncha. In recent years, anglophone political activists have portrayed the conference as a defeat for anglophone interests and heaped much blame on those who represented Southern Cameroons. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM.

FRANANGLAIS. *See* FRANGLAIS.

FRANC ZONE. *See* CFA FRANC.

FRANCE (RELATIONS WITH). France was the **mandate** and **trust** authority of the **League of Nations** and the **United Nations** for the larger portion of Cameroon from 1916 to 1960. Consequently, both countries entertain a privileged relationship to the present time. The **secret agreements** (Franco-Cameroun accord of 25 December 1959) helped to boost France's continuous tie to independent Cameroon. In May 2009 French **Prime Minister** François Fillon visited Cameroon and renegotiated these accords, ending France's right to military intervention in Cameroon. This is a part of a plan to end France's paternalist relationship with Cameroon.

Today, France remains Cameroon's most significant foreign partner. **Foreign trade**, **foreign investment**, and military, cultural, and

political connections remain strong. The frequency of top-level contact between the countries has led to a pragmatic relationship based on a history of long-standing mutual interests of the ruling classes. France has taken a very active role in developing and maintaining this close relationship with Cameroon, as well as with many of its other former colonies. However, Cameroon's attempts to lessen its economic dependence on France have led to a reduction of France's role as purchaser of exports and provider of imports. Several institutions have been established such as the **Franco-African Summit**, the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*, and the **Summit of the Francophonie** that bring French leaders into formal consultation with the leaders of countries in which the French **language** is widely used. Numerous regional groups in Central Africa also provide France the opportunity to offer advice and financial assistance as well as exerting its continuing influence in the region. Examples are the former *Union Douanière Economique de l'Afrique Centrale* (UDEAC)/**Central African Customs and Economic Union (CA-CEU)**, and its successor the *Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEEAC)/**Economic Community of the Central African States (ECCAS)**. A network of more functionally specific organizations, such as the *Commission Bancaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (COBAC)/**Central African Bank Commission**, underpin the CEEAC, thus increasing greatly the frequency of interactions not only between the francophone members (and **Equatorial Guinea** in several instances) but also between these countries and France.

An important element that assists France in maintaining its economic influence in Cameroon is the existence of the franc zone and the use therein of the **CFA franc**. This colonial relationship was continued at the time of Cameroon's independence with the signing of the *Accord de Coopération Economique et Financière*. There were concerns that this relationship would suffer or even disappear with the advent of a European currency, the euro. However, France defended the relationship in the euro negotiations and, even though the franc is no longer used in France, the monetary relationships involved in the franc zone and the use of the CFA franc continue.

France has also championed the idea of **debt** relief for Cameroon both in their bilateral relationships and in the larger context of the **Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative**. In 2006 the

two countries signed a “Debt-for-Nature Swap” in which Cameroon’s debt will be reduced by France, but in return Cameroon will spend about \$25 million between 2006 and 2010 to protect the tropical **forests** of those parts of the Congo River basin in Cameroon.

In a much broader context, France has also made certain that its former colonies, including Cameroon, have established a formal relationship with the **European Union** and its predecessor, the European Economic Community (EEC). This relationship has been formalized in a series of agreements, the most recent of which is the **Cotonou Agreement** signed in 2000.

Military cooperation is another important aspect of the Franco-Cameroonian relationship. Cameroon’s **armed forces** are advised by and in part trained by the French military. Joint training exercises take place, and the two countries cooperate in the preparation of personnel and planning for **peacekeeping operations**. Weapons procurement is heavily dependent upon France, although other countries such as the **United States** and **China** have provided some equipment to the country. France has also given military support when Cameroon has faced security problems. During certain periods of the **Bakassi Dispute** with **Nigeria**, France supplied military advisers and some equipment to Cameroon. A new defense agreement was signed between France and Cameroon in 2009 during the visit to **Yaoundé** of French Prime Minister François Fillon. Relevant to cooperation between the two countries is the regional organization the **Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa/Conseil de Paix et de la Sécurité de l’Afrique Centrale (COPAX)** founded in 2002.

For many years, France has been a major foreign aid contributor to Cameroon, both directly by providing bilateral aid and indirectly by pressuring the European Union to provide assistance to Cameroon. The most recent agreement, the Framework Partnership Document signed in June 2006, provides \$627 million between 2006 and 2010 to Cameroon for various development projects related to poverty relief. This is the largest single foreign aid grant given by France to any sub-Saharan African country. It represents France’s long-term aid commitment to Cameroon beginning from the time of independence.

French foreign investment in Cameroon is of great significance. In most years, French companies have provided more investment than

those of any other country. France's contribution has been declining recently, but France is still a major actor in the Cameroon **economy** with significant holdings in banking, **industry**, **transportation**, **agriculture**, and **forestry**. Estimates indicate that 200 French companies and 160 subsidiaries of French companies are active in Cameroon.

Of importance to Cameroon is its foreign trade with France. Domination of its foreign trade by France at the time of Cameroon's independence has diminished considerably, though France remains a significant partner today. Cameroon's trade pattern has become much more complex and much less tied to France. In 2008 France with 11.7 percent of the country's exports was its third-largest partner. The major import partners were France (23.4 percent), Nigeria (12.8 percent), and China (9 percent).

Official visits may be full of pomp and ceremony, but at least they are symbolic of the closeness of relationships between two countries. In July 2007 and again in July 2009 **President Paul Biya** was the guest of French President Nicolas Sarkozy in Paris. In May 2009 French Prime Minister François Villon and several other high-ranking officials spent three days on government business in Cameroon. Such visits are not a recent phenomenon. As examples, the French president visited Yaoundé in July 1999 and again in January 2001. The French minister of foreign affairs was there in March 2003, as was the minister delegate for cooperation in December 2003. In addition to official visits, Biya and many high-ranking Cameroon government personnel visit France informally and unofficially.

It is more than high-level visits that symbolize the close relations between these countries. There are numerous bonds of friendship; shared experience; and familiarity through work, study, travel, and **language**. Large numbers of Cameroonians have studied in France; many live there. Inter-marriage is not uncommon, and France is still ranked high on the Cameroonians' list of places to visit.

France remains the most important relationship in Cameroon's foreign policy and economic relations. *See also* ASSOCIATION POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC); BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES/BANQUE D'ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (BEAC); CENTRAL AFRICAN MONETARY UNION/UNION MONETAIRE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (UMAC)/ZONE MONETAIRE CENTRAFRICAINE;

COMMUNAUTE/COMMUNITY; CORRUPTION; DEVELOPMENT BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (CASDB)/BANQUE DE DEVELOPPEMENT DES ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (BDEAC); ECONOMIC UNION OF CENTRAL AFRICA/UNION ECONOMIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (UEAC); FONDS D'INVESTISSEMENTS POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL DES TERRITOIRES D'OUTRE MER (FIDES); LOME AGREEMENTS; TILLIER AFFAIR; YAOUNDÉ AGREEMENTS.

FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT. Bringing together **France** and the leaders of its ex-colonies in Africa, the first Franco-African Summit was held in Paris in November 1973. Ten former colonies of France and one of **Great Britain**, the bilingual Mauritius, attended. At first these were annual events, but now they are biannual. Since 1996, all African countries have been invited to attend, making attendance much broader than in the past. The venue shifts between France and Africa. A Conference of Foreign Ministers meets beforehand to set the agenda. Summit Conferences provide an opportunity to discuss a variety of issues of interest to the members, to serve as a dialogue between the North and the South, and to take stands on major political and economic issues of world interest. The 21st summit was held in **Yaoundé** in January 2001.

FRANCOPHONE. This term refers to Cameroonians whose secondary medium of expression is the **French language** or to that portion of the country previously ruled by **France**. Historically, the grouping corresponds to the population subjected to the French **mandate** and **trust** administration. Today, francophones in Cameroon live mostly in the **Littoral, Center, South, Extreme North, North, Adamawa, West, and East Regions**, and they form about 80 percent of Cameroon's **population**.

LA FRANCOPHONIE. *See* SUMMIT OF LA FRANCOPHONIE/LE SOMMET DE LA FRANCOPHONIE.

FRANGLAIS. This new mode of **language** joining elements of **French** and **English** is sometimes termed Camfranglais or Frananglais.

Developed since the mid-1970s, it is the direct consequence of the country's bilingual heritage. *Franglais* is spoken in the heavily populated and urbanized regions, where **francophones** and **anglophones** frequently interact. It serves as a shortcut to **bilingualism**. *See also* PIDGIN ENGLISH.

FRENCH. Part 1, Article 3 of the **Constitution of 1996** makes French one of Cameroon's two **official languages**. In reality, however, French is only a secondary language for the majority of Cameroonians, who are mostly proficient in their local languages. French is mostly studied in schools and polished throughout the academic and professional career. *See also* ANGLOPHONE; BILINGUALISM; ENGLISH; FRANCOPHONE; FRANGLAIS.

FRENCH CAMEROUN. French Cameroun existed as a **mandate** and **trust territory** of **France** from 1916 to 1945 and 1946 to 1960 respectively. Despite its special status, French Cameroun was ruled as part of **French Equatorial Africa** alongside **Gabon**, **Congo**, **Chad**, and Oubangui-Shari (today's **Central African Republic**). French Cameroun was administered by a **commissioner** appointed from Paris, but many local *indigènes* assimilated to the French ideals. These *évolués* were allowed to serve at lower levels. In the post-1945 era the territory was successively allowed parliamentary representation in the *Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun* (ATCAM), *Assemblée Représentative du Cameroun* (ARCAM), and *Assemblée Législative du Cameroun* (ALCAM). Despite the democratic option, *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) candidates were denied opportunities to gain parliamentary seats, and the party was outlawed in 1955. In 1957, the first nonautonomous Cameroun government was formed under **André-Marie Mbida**. **Ahmadou Ahidjo** succeeded Mbida in 1958 and led the country to independence in 1960 and **reunification** in 1961. *See also* ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES; UNITED NATIONS.

FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA. This is the geographical and administrative distinction for French colonies in the sub region (1916–1960). The colonies of French Equatorial Africa (**Gabon**,

Congo, Chad, and Oubangi-Shari) were border territories to **French Cameroun**. The French managed to maintain an artificial distinction between French Equatorial Africa and French Cameroun even though the same policies were applicable to both territories. In the later periods, Cameroun **political parties** and parliamentary representatives insisted on the respect of the territory's special status under the **mandate and trust systems**.

FRENCH UNION. The French constitution of 1946 replaced the colonial system and defined the relationships between **France**, its colonies, **trust territories**, and related entities as the French Union. The colonies became overseas departments of France. The Union was replaced in 1958 by the French *Communauté*.

FRONT DU NON. This organization brought together various groups and individuals opposed to the attempt by President **Paul Biya** to change the **Constitution of the Republic of Cameroon (1996)** to allow him to run for **president** again in 2011. The *Front* failed in its effort.

FRONT NATIONAL UNIFIE (FNU). The FNU was an anti-*parti unifié* coalition formed in May 1962. The FNU rejected President **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** proposal for a unified national **political party**. The FNU consisted of various small opposition parties in the **East Cameroon** Assembly. It was largely identified as a loose coalition led by **Charles Okala, Mayi-Matip, André-Marie Mbida, and Bebey-Eyidi**. They believed Ahidjo's proposal would culminate in a dictatorship. The leaders were imprisoned. The FNU opposition was the last significant hindrance faced by Ahidjo in his quest for a *parti unifié*.

FRONT OF ALLIES FOR CHANGE (FAC). The *Front*, sometimes translated as Allied Front for Change, was formed in September 1994 by 13 (16 in some reports) opposition parties to present a unified front in elections. **John Fru Ndi** was its first chair. He was succeeded by **Samuel Eboua**. *See also* ALLIANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMEROON THROUGH THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

FRONT POPULAIRE DE L'UNITE ET LA PAIX (FPUP). The FPUP was an outgrowth of a disintegrating *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)*. The FPUP was formed after the general elections of 1960 by **Bamiléké** remnants of the UPC who resented the electoral failures resulting from UPC extremism. Composed essentially of young, forward-looking elements from the presumed UPC stronghold of the western Bamiléké region, they aimed at preserving their self-interests within the national objectives defined by the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** government. The FPUP represented the loss of UPC influence and dominance among the Bamiléké.

Its leaders included Pierre Kamdem Ninyim, Wandji Nkuimy, Philippe Achinguy, and **Victor Kanga**, all of whom served in various **cabinet** positions for the **East Cameroon** or the federal governments. By July 1961, the FPUP had finally been absorbed in the party unification process undertaken by Ahidjo's *Union Camerounaise (UC)*.

FRU NDI, JOHN (1941–). Leader of a popular opposition **political party**, Fru Ndi was born on 7 July 1941, at Baba II village, Santa Sub-Division, **North West Region**. He began primary **education** in 1952 in Baforchu Basel Mission School, and in 1954, he moved to the Native Authority School in Santa, where he graduated in 1957.

In 1960, Fru Ndi began his secondary education in **Nigeria** in Lagos City College. Alongside his studies, he worked with the West Coast Fisheries and as a traffic officer at Ikeja Airport, Lagos. His efficient services earned him a scholarship from Accra contractors to study piloting at the Zaria Flying School in 1966. But the pogroms in the north followed by the outbreak of civil war in Nigeria thwarted his dreams of becoming a pilot.

Fru Ndi returned to Cameroon and took up trading, hawking items like apples, **bananas**, **sugar** cane, and groundnuts, before setting up a vegetable society in the **Bamenda** main market. He later took to selling newspapers and magazines and then became sole agent for two local newspapers, *Cameroon Times* and *Cameroon Outlook*, in the North West Region. This became the forerunner for his entering the book business. It was in this position that his leadership qualities were demonstrated when Fru Ndi set up Ebibi Book Center. This position enabled him to establish acquaintances and contacts.

Ndi's leadership qualities were enhanced when he became president of a local football (soccer) team, PWD Football Club in Bamenda, a position to which he was reelected several times. He also served as president of a local traditional association of the people of Baba II. Between 1987 and 1988, he served as president of the Bamenda branch of the Lions Club International and, in 1985, attended the Lions Club convention in the **United States**. Though a **Protestant**, he is a member and patron of the **Catholic** Focolare Movement.

Fru Ndi's flirtation with politics began in 1988 when, following the introduction of the multiple list system in legislative and council elections, he ran in an attempt to enter Bamenda Urban Council. Having lost the election, he petitioned against electoral malpractice.

On 26 May 1990, Fru Ndi launched the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** in Bamenda, despite the presence of armed troops in town to prevent this. Since then he has remained as SDF chairman.

In August 1992, in anticipation of presidential elections, the **Alliance for the Reconstruction of Cameroon through the Sovereign National Conference (ARC-SNC)**, a group of a dozen opposition parties, chose Fru Ndi as a single candidate to oppose President **Paul Biya** in the presidential elections. In addition, an extraordinary convention of the SDF held in **Douala** endorsed Fru Ndi as the party's presidential candidate. Expecting an easy victory in the elections, Fru Ndi declared 1992 a year of change. This was not to be, for amid abundant proof of electoral fraud, the results of the election ran against popular expectations. Nevertheless, the Union for Change, a group of hardcore opposition parties, declared him winner. The government reacted by placing him under house arrest for over a month.

In the **elections for president of 1997**, Fru Ndi joined with several other opposition leaders in a boycott to protest government's failure to ensure fair elections. Fru Ndi did run for **president** in 2004. Although there are serious doubts about the election's validity, Ndi officially took second place with 17.4 percent of the vote, receiving his strongest support in the North West and **West Regions**.

On 26 May 2006 a dissident member of the SDF, Grégoire Diboule, was murdered. Diboule was one of several SDF members attempting to oust Ndi from the party chairmanship. In July 2008 the government charged Fru Ndi and several others with his murder.

FUFU/COUSCOUS. *See* FOOD.

FULAH. *See* FULANI.

FULANI (FULAH, FOULAH, FOULBE, FULBE, PEUL, PEUHL).

This politically and economically dominant **ethnic group** is considered a demographic minority in northern Cameroon. The term *Fulani* is a Hausa corruption of the endonym Fulbé (pl., s. Pullo). While there are various theses on the ultimate origin of the Fulani, the earliest records of their existence place them on the southwestern outskirts of the Ghana empire, perhaps by the 5th century CE, and later in the Kingdom of Tekrur in what would now be Senegal. The pastoral Fulani have since slowly spread across West Africa and as far east as Sudan. This expansion has been spurred chiefly by the constant search for better pasturage for their cattle, although large numbers long ago settled in cities and towns and formed an important intelligentsia across West Africa.

The Fulani of Cameroon entered the area in successive waves over several centuries. The earliest migrants came under the protection of the Bornu Empire as early as the 12th century, but the main influx of the current inhabitants began in the 18th century. Three major clans entered in the 18th and 19th centuries that would come to dominate northern Cameroon. The **Feroobe** entered **Extreme North Region**, the **Yillaga'en** entered the Extreme North and **North Regions**, and the **Vollarbe** entered North and **Adamawa Regions**. The Fulani initially entered largely into pacific and mutually beneficial arrangements with the agricultural local populations among whom they settled. This was also a period during which they progressively adopted **Islam**. It was only toward the end of the 18th century or early in the 19th century that the Fulani began a series of spectacular conquests, eventually allying themselves with the **jihad** led by **Uthman Dan Fodio** and **Modibo Adama** in the 19th century. By the mid-19th century, the whole of northern Cameroon, excepting the domains of the **Wandala** kingdom, were more or less under Fulani control.

Fulani administrative and political control faced severe challenges under various colonial regimes. At times, Fulani rulers were empowered through systems of **indirect rule** used in particular by the **French** colonial regime in northern Cameroon. At other times, they

were limited in power and their domains were carved up into smaller ethnic-based units. Fulani influence continued into the postcolonial period. They rallied behind **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** *Union Camerounaise* (**UC**), which led to their acquisition of political power. The Fulani later formed the power base for the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)**, an opposition party. Many Fulanis have been successful in business and political endeavors.

Apart from their common cultural traits, Islam is also a force of unity among the Fulanis. Their **language**, Fulfulde, is spoken by the nearly 500,000 Fulanis in the country and is the lingua franca for the entire north. The **Mbororo** are the one group of Fulani who are often perceived as being somewhat apart from the rest, due mainly to the fact that they have maintained a pastoral way of life rather than settling in the cities. Apart from the former president, other leading Fulani include **Moussa Yaya**, **Maigari Bello Bouba**, **Yousoufa Daouda**, and most other prominent personalities from the northern regions. *See also* GABDO, ARDO HAMMAN; ISSA ARDO.

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GABDO, ARDO HAMMAN (HAMMAN GABDO DANDI) (1805–1875). He was the **Vollarbe** founder of Kontcha (**North Region**), Banyo (**Adamawa Region**), and Gashaka (**Nigeria**). **Ardo** Za'imou, the eldest son of Ardo Oussamatou, received a standard from **Modibo Adama**, but died soon after. Ardo Hamman Gabdo, Za'imou's younger brother, was enthroned in 1823. He led his followers to the area of Kontcha, where they lived peaceably among the indigenous **Pere** for a long period until eventually feeling strong enough to take control of the city and surrounding area. It should be emphasized that Hamman Gabdo was not the founder of the city of Kontcha, as it already existed, but rather the founder of the **Fulani**-ruled polity focused on Kontcha as its capital. It is claimed that Kontcha was founded in the early 17th century, at approximately the same time as the second **Wandala** capital of Doulo was founded.

Soon after conquering Kontcha, Hamman Gabdo left his son Bakari in charge in order to conduct campaigns to aggrandize his territory, eventually conquering Gashaka. He placed his son Sambo

in charge of Gashaka before continuing on to conquer Wawa and Vouté populations to the south. Hamman Gabdo founded Banyo in 1862 as the new capital of the entire *lamidat*, including Gashaka and Kontcha. Despite conflicts, all three cities remained united under the rule of Banyo until Gashaka was split by colonial boundaries and the **Germans** empowered Kontcha as an independent lamidat in 1902.

Hamman Gabdo placed Banyo under the control of his son Oussoumanou, in order to lead further campaigns to the south against the Wawa, Vouté, **Mambila**, and Kaka populations. Hamman Gabdo died of an illness in 1875 on returning from a campaign against the Mambila and was buried in Banyo. His son Oussoumanou, being the eldest, was elected to succeed as *ardo*.

GABONESE REPUBLIC (GABON). Gabon is one of three countries on Cameroon's southern border. The population consists of several **ethnic groups** including the **Fang**, who also occupy parts of Cameroon. Gabon has a population of about 1,500,000 (est. 2008) and occupies 267,667 square kilometers. The country is well endowed with mineral resources and has one of the highest per capita incomes in Africa. GDP per capita is \$14,100 (2007). Many Cameroonians find employment in Gabon, and the country is a good market for Cameroon products. Gabon is a member of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC) and the franc zone. *See also* CFA FRANC.

GANTY, VINCENT (1881–1957). A political activist in the 1930s, Ganty was born on 9 November 1881 and died on 24 November 1957, in Cayenne, French Guiana. The **Duala** requested action against German land expropriation policy in Cameroon. Ganty became self-appointed leader of the Duala claims before the **League of Nations** Mandate Commission. He also helped to articulate Duala criticism against the **French** administration. Although from Guinea, he regularly presented himself as future leader of an independent Cameroon. *See also* MANDATE SYSTEM.

GAROUA. Garoua was the capital of **Northern Cameroon** until it was reduced to three **provinces** (now **regions**) in 1983. Since then, the city has been the headquarters of one of the three regions, the **North**.

It is also the seat of a **Fulani** polity, or *lamidat*, of the **Vollarbe** clan founded in a region in which the indigenous people were **Fali**. Garoua later joined the **jihad** of **Uthman Dan Fodio** and was integrated into the Sokoto empire, but remained fairly small relative to other *lamidats* such as **Maroua** and **Ngaoundéré**.

Despite the presence of **Benue River** port-based **foreign trade** in the early colonial period, Garoua continued to lag behind the other towns of the country due to its distance from the centers of authority. At independence, the policy of **balanced development**, enunciated by President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, who hailed from Garoua, enabled the city to grow into an **industrial**, communication, **economic**, and **tourism** center. From a level of about 30,000 in 1967, Garoua's **population** was 63,900 in 1976, 142,000 in 1987, and 186,000 in 2002. The population has continued to rise due to the high level of migratory activity in the area. Its original inhabitants have since become a distinct minority, and only small traces of Fali presence remain.

It was in Garoua that Ahidjo formed the *Union Camerounaise* (UC) in 1958 and held the first Congress of the **Cameroon National Union** (CNU) in 1969. *See also* DEWA, LAMIDO BOUBA.

GARRI. *See* FOOD.

GBAYA. The Gbaya live primarily in the **Adamawa** and **East Regions**, although the vast majority is found in the **Central African Republic**. While many are **Muslim**, most are **Christian** with indigenous beliefs still playing an important role. Gbaya society is patrilineal with an **economy** revolving around cultivation of **maize** and **cassava**. Many also serve as herders for city-dwelling **Fulani**.

In the 19th century, the Gbaya were persistently attacked by the Fulani and **Mbum** of **Ngaoundéré** for the export of **slaves** west throughout the Sokoto empire. Many later joined Ngaoundéré in raiding their Laka neighbors. Gbaya populations in Cameroon grew substantially following the institution of colonial rule with westward immigration being an important factor. Particularly prominent contemporary Gbaya urban entities include Meiganga, Djohong, **Bertoua**, Batouri, and Garoua Boulai.

The Gbaya played a significant role in anticolonial agitation particularly in the 1920s and early 1930s. Gbaya in eastern Cameroon

participated in a movement initiated in what is now the **Central African Republic** called the Gbaya Revolt. Alternate names include the Upper Sangha Revolt, or the local name Kongo Wara, which translates as “the War of the Hoe Handle.” A religious leader named Barka Ngainoumbey, going by the name Karnu, preached passive resistance to colonial taxation and forced labor from 1924 until his death in 1928. Armed insurrection continued after he was killed by **French** colonial forces in 1931.

GENERAL CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION (GCE). An examination is required for secondary and postsecondary graduates in **anglophone** Cameroon. At the secondary level it is known as the Ordinary Level, while at the postsecondary level it is known as the Advanced Level. The GCE was written, graded, and published by the University of London until January 1977. The examination consisted of various subject tests. In June 1977, the Ministry of National Education organized the GCE examination for the first time at both levels.

Despite the growing disenchantment on the performance rate in the GCE, the anglophones resisted government’s reform and **harmonization** proposal in 1983. The proposals would have made the format of the GCE identical to that of the **francophone *Brevet d’Etudes du Premier Cycle (BEPC)*** and ***baccalauréat*** exams. Following anglophone protests and the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry under Professor Joseph Mboui, secretary-general at the Ministry of National Education, the GCE was allowed to continue to exist in its original form.

Following the poor management and organization of the GCE by the Ministry of National Education between 1992 and 1993, anglophones, through the Teacher’s Association of Cameroon (TAC) and the Confederation of Anglophone Parents-Teachers Associations of Cameroon (CAPTAC), successfully demanded control of the management and organization of the exam. Consequently in 1993, government created the Cameroon General Certificate of Education (GCE) Board. Since its creation, the board has introduced a number of reforms. Performance has also improved. *See also* EDUCATION.

GEORGE, SAMPSON A. (1922–1959). An early politician in **Southern Cameroons**, George was born in Mamfe on 20 November 1922,

to a Nigerian father and a Cameroonian mother. He studied in Mamfe as well as Lagos and Port Harcourt, **Nigeria**. He served in the postal service, became a journalist, and became interested in politics. He was a prominent member of the Zikist Vanguard before emerging as an active **trade unionist**. He joined other political organizations including the **Cameroons Youth League (CYL)**, where he was secretary-general, and the Mamfe Town Native Authority. Under Nigeria's Macpherson Constitution, he was one of the "Original Thirteen" Southern Cameroonians elected to the **Eastern Nigerian** House of Assembly. He was also a member of the Nigerian House of Representatives in Lagos. He was a strong advocate of **reunification** between British and **French Cameroun**. He died in a London hospital on 10 October 1959.

GERMAN GOVERNORS OF KAMERUN 1884–1915.

Soden, Julius von. 26 May 1885–14 February 1891
Zimmerer, Eugen von. 15 April 1891–13 August 1895
Puttkamer, Jesco von. 13 August 1895–9 May 1907
Seitz, Dr. Theodor. 9 May 1907–27 August 1910
Gleim, Dr. Otto. 28 August 1910–29 January 1912
Ebermaier, Karl. 29 January 1912–1915.

GERMANY (RELATIONS WITH). Because Germany was a former **protectorate** power in **Kamerun** (1884–1916), German-Cameroon relations have a lasting legacy in history. Despite the loss of **World War I**, the cravings of the pan-Germanists and the territorial quest of Adolph Hitler continued to bring Africa to the spotlight. In Cameroon, many old people maintained an unflinching linguistic attachment to Germany.

Cameroon's President **Paul Biya** visited Germany in 1986, and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl visited Cameroon in 1987. Lower-level visits over the years have maintained a positive relationship. More than 5,000 Cameroonians are now studying in Germany and represent the largest group of sub-Saharan African students in that country. Germany maintains a cultural center, the Goethe Institute, in **Yaoundé**, and there is a program of German studies at the University of Yaoundé. **Foreign trade** is an important component of

the Cameroon-German relationship, although Germany is not one of Cameroon's major trading partners. While there has been no new German foreign direct investment in Cameroon in recent years, Germany is a significant supplier of development assistance, particularly in the fields of **health** care and **HIV/AIDS**, sustainable use of natural resources and conservation, and improvement of governance. Germany has also canceled large amounts of Cameroon's foreign **debt** under the **Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative**.

GHOST TOWN OPERATIONS. Operation Ghost Towns (Villes Mortes) was a civil disobedience campaign that rocked Cameroon between May and December 1991. A brainchild of Mbua Massock, the campaign was launched by the National Coordination Committee of Opposition Parties (NCCOP), with the avowed aim of compelling the government to convene a Sovereign National Conference, to lay down guidelines for future elections and governance in Cameroon. The methods adopted varied from nonviolent action to confrontation. On 24 May 1991, the operation launched the so-called Yaoundé Plan of Action, with the declared objective to starve the capital and bring the government to submission.

Government's response came quickly. President **Paul Biya** categorically ruled out the convening of any national conference, lashed out at opposition parties for their policy of confrontation, and banned the NCCOP. The army was called in to restore calm, and seven of the 10 **regions** were transformed into operational command regions. The government carried out mass arrests, and the media was heavily censored.

In the short term, the effects on the country were telling. Biya was forced to budge, but only "budge"; there was no real movement. Short of convening a sovereign national conference, which was the main demand of the initiators of the civil disobedience campaign, Biya invited leaders of all opposition **political parties** to a conference to lay down rules for the democratic process in Cameroon. This invitation led to the holding of the **Tripartite Conference** in Yaoundé in November 1991. The real purposes of the Ghost Towns operation were never fulfilled, a depressing result for many and the cause of much political cynicism. *See also* ALLIANCE FOR THE

RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMEROON THROUGH THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (ARC-SNC); DEMOCRACY.

GHOST WORKERS. This refers to names on the civil service payroll that are not real people. Over 7,000 were discovered in 2001, but in 2006 the government found that 45,000 ghost workers were being paid. In 2007 a further 20,000 were found; 13,000 were deceased but still being paid. Also, 10,000 fake pensioners were receiving payments. In the 1990s under **World Bank** pressure to reduce expenses, 50,000 employees were released; many of these had their names fraudulently restored to the pay list. *See also* CORRUPTION.

GLEIM, OTTO (1836–1929). Gleim, the fifth **German governor in Kamerun** (1910–1912), gave energetic support to the **Dualas** against a proposed German project to expropriate Duala property. He also opposed an agreement to surrender territory near **Chad** in exchange for parts of French **Congo**.

GONI WADAY (?–1907). After returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, Goni Waday settled in Ouadai, a kingdom in modern-day **Chad**. He then visited **Maroua**, Yola, and Banyo before settling in **Ngaoundéré**, where he opened a school. While in Maroua, it is certain that he was influenced by the teachings of **Hayatou ibn Sa'id**, a great-grandson of **Uthman Dan Fodio**, who had moved to nearby Balda to preach the **Mahdiyya**.

In Ngaoundéré, Goni Waday appealed to the population to join the Mahdiyya and resist German colonial rule. The *lamido* exiled him from Ngaoundéré in 1907 for fear of souring relations with the Germans. Goni Waday then headed north toward **Garoua** and gained the support of the **Fulani** leaders of the left bank of the **Benue**. The Germans, beginning to fear his growing power, sent a small contingent to confront him, but Goni Waday's forces were overwhelmingly victorious. His ranks quickly swelled at word of the triumph, and he decided to march on Garoua in July 1907. The Germans confronted Goni Waday and his army at Guébaké, killing him and scattering his followers. The Fulani leaders who supported him were all hanged in the Garoua market. Those executed included the rulers of Agorma,

Bamé, Mbengui, Mbongui, Na'âri, Boumi, Oubao, Loubouki, Lagdo, and Gamsargou. *See also* MAL AHADJI.

GOUVERNEMENTSRAT. *See* ADVISORY COUNCIL.

GOVERNORS. Under the provincial system, governors serve as administrative heads of Cameroon's 10 **provinces**. The use of governors in postindependence Cameroon began in 1972 with the establishment of administrative provinces. They replaced the **federal inspectors of administration**, who had served as direct representatives of the head of state in the previous federal structure of government. Governors supervise the activities of the *préfets* within their areas of jurisdiction. Governors are appointed by **presidential decree** and hold yearly meetings presided over by the minister of territorial administration. Unlike *préfets*, governors are not normally recruited from former *Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature* (ENAM) graduates. They are usually drawn from a pool of senior and competent officials of the country's civil service system. The position of governor apparently will be abandoned when the **Constitution of 1996** regional system is operational. *See also* GERMAN GOVERNORS OF KAMERUN 1894–1915.

GRAND DEBAT. The *Grand Débat* (Great Debate) idea was President **Paul Biya's** response to calls for a sovereign national conference. First announced on 23 March 1993, government proposed discussion of the **Constitution of 1972**. Soon after, the government produced a draft constitution, apparently emanating from the earlier **Tripartite Conference**. Prepared by the secretary-general of the Presidency, **Joseph Owona**, this became known as the Owona constitution.

Various organizations produced draft constitutions, but there was little opportunity for "*Grand Débat*" until late in 1994 when Biya invited party leaders to a Constitutional Consultative Committee. The government produced a revised draft of the Owona Constitution as the basis of discussion, but the document did little to meet opposition demands. The sessions of the Committee made no progress and were essentially boycotted by most important opposition leaders.

The next step was a government decision to introduce a revised document for discussion and adoption in the November 1995 session

of the **National Assembly**. On 18 January 1996 the new constitution was adopted. As opposed to open debate by all interested parties, the *Grand Débat* process had been dominated by the government, and the **Constitution of 1996** was largely in keeping with Biya's desires—a strong **president** in a highly centralized system. *See also* ALLIANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMEROON THROUGH THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (ARC-SNC); SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

GRASSFIELD/GRASSLAND. This term usually applies to the area encompassed by the **North West** and **West Regions**, though the area extends beyond in some places. It is more a cultural area than a geological or vegetational concept. Some cultural differences exist between the **anglophone**/North West and **francophone**/West areas, due to both precolonial and colonial influences, but both areas are ethnically and linguistically complex. Chieftdoms are common to both areas, and in general the *fon*, or **chief**, was a powerful figure in the past, though limited by various checks and balances. While many *fons* found their power increased in the colonial period, that power has been diminished severely during the independence era due to the centralizing tendencies of the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and **Paul Biya** governments.

Most of the area is a high lava plateau with plains, valleys, and numerous volcanic peaks. There is little **forest**, and open grass fields characterize the area. Altitude varies from 500 meters to about 1,700 meters. Thus, temperature and rainfall vary considerably. However, in general the region is thought to be cooler and drier than the southern coastal areas of Cameroon. The region is relatively fertile for **agricultural** production, and pastoralism is also important. Conflict between farmers and pastoralists and between **ethnic groups** is common. The people are also well known for excellence in pottery, metal works, sculpture, and other handicraft activities. This extreme diversity of techniques and skills is expressed in a rich culture that is jealously preserved despite the assault of modernizing influences. This tenacity of history and tradition accounts in part for the pejorative view of the Grassfield (*Graffi*) by southern populations. *See also* ART; ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES; ETHNIC CONFLICT; NATIVE AUTHORITIES.

GREAT BRITAIN. Great Britain or the United Kingdom was **mandate** and **trust** authority of the **League of Nations** and the **United Nations** of the smaller portion of Cameroon from 1916 until 1961. However, the government failed to exercise direct authority on the territory and neglected its special status. For over 40 years **British Cameroon** was administered as part of **Nigeria**. Furthermore, the separation between **Northern** and **Southern Cameroons** led to a troubling aftermath. In 1961, Northern Cameroons voted in a **plebiscite** to join independent Nigeria, while **Southern Cameroons** decided to forge its destinies with independent Cameroon.

In the 1990s relations between the two countries became closer and more positive, symbolized most dramatically when in 1995 Cameroon became a member of the **Commonwealth**. Today, the two countries enjoy good relations. Though Great Britain is not one of Cameroon's main trading partners, there has been a growth in trade in recent years. Great Britain has provided significant **debt** relief to Cameroon, and Britain works with the Commonwealth and the **European Union** in efforts to improve governance and **democracy** in Cameroon. Foreign aid is given, particularly to the **forestry** component. There are several British companies operating in Cameroon, including Diageo (breweries), Shell Oil, Standard Chartered Bank, and the British American **Tobacco** company (BAT). Many Cameroonians study in Britain, and many have settled in that country. *See also* FOREIGN TRADE; NORTHERN CAMEROONS CASE.

GREEN REVOLUTION. This term is used to describe a large increase in crop yields based on cultivation of high-response varieties of grain and intensive use of fertilizers, pesticides, improved seeds, irrigation, and machinery. It also refers to revolutionizing **agriculture** by all means. Genetically modified (GM) crops are sometimes included in its arsenal. Cameroon launched this strategy during the first national Agro-Pastoral Show in **Buea** in March 1973. The Green Revolution was geared toward eliminating archaic methods and various constraints on small farmer production. Though directly targeted at the farmer, the rhetoric envisioned raising the awareness of the entire population toward respect for agriculture and optimum development of the soil.

With the **food** crisis of 2008 and onward, the term *green revolution* has again become widely used, indicating the need for modernization of Cameroon's food crop farming both as a means of feeding the nation and of developing exports. The connotations of this phrase have also been attacked by various **nongovernmental organizations** that oppose GM crops, widespread use of fertilizers and pesticides, and various other technologies relevant to the green revolution. *See also* NGONGI, A. NAMANGA.

GREENTREE AGREEMENT. This agreement was signed at Greentree, New York, on 12 June 2006 by **Nigeria** and Cameroon in an effort to resolve the **Bakassi Dispute**. Meeting under the guidance of the secretary general of the **United Nations**, the two countries agreed to principles to guide the turnover of the Bakassi Peninsula following the decision of the International Court of Justice. The main aspects of the agreement were that Nigeria recognized the sovereignty of Cameroon over the defined territory and agreed to remove all of its military forces from that territory. In turn, Cameroon agreed to protect the **human rights** of all Nigerian citizens residing in the territory.

GROUPE DE HUIT/GROUP OF EIGHT. This was a parliamentary coalition in the *Assemblée Législative du Cameroun* (ALCAM). The coalition was composed of eight representatives from the *Mouvement d'Action Nationale du Cameroun* (MANC) party and consisted of **Betote Akwa**, **Charles Assale**, **Soppo Priso**, Gaston Behle, Hans Dissake, Ekwabi Ewane, Aloys Ntonga, and François Obam. The *Group de Huit* was essentially southern politicians opposed to the growing dominance of **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** *Union Camerounaise*, with strong northern roots.

GROUPE DES PROGRESSITES/PROGRESSIVE GROUP. This parliamentary coalition of 10 representatives in the *Assemblée Nationale du Cameroun* (ANCAM) between 1960 and 1961 consisted of the *Mouvement d'Action Nationale du Cameroun* (MANC) and the *Parti Socialiste du Cameroun* (PSC), which joined in a government coalition with **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** *Union Camerounaise* (UC) in May 1960. Two of the group's prominent members, **Charles Assale** and **Charles Okala**, were appointed first **prime minister** and foreign

minister of the **République du Cameroun** respectively. In 1961, the *Groupe des Progressistes* dissolved and merged with the UC.

GUERANDI, MBARA GOULONGO (1954–). Guerandi is considered one of the major actors in the **coup attempt of 6 April 1984**. At the time, he was a captain in the army. He fled the country to **France**, where he completed a doctorate in international relations. He last was reported as residing in Burkina Faso. There are frequent rumors that he is planning another attempt to overthrow the **Paul Biya** regime. In March 2008 he published an essay, “Homage to the Fighting Youth of Cameroon,” calling for justice and patriotism in opposition to the Biya regime. In 1996 he published a book, *Cameroun: Une armée sans défense* (Ouagadougou: Lutte). The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada in its *Country Fact Sheet—Cameroon* (June 2007) names him as leader of the National Liberation Front of Cameroon/*Front de la Libération Nationale du Cameroun* (FLNC), reported in 1997 to be linked to antigovernment elements in Chad.

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HAMMAN GABDO DANDI. See GABDO, ARDO HAMMAN.

HANNO THE NAVIGATOR. Hanno was a Phoenician explorer from Carthage. According to some accounts, he sailed into the Bight of Biafra in the fifth century BC (some references state “sixth century”) and recorded seeing eruptions of a large volcano, which he called “The Chariot of the Gods.” This may have been **Mount Cameroon**. His voyage is recorded in his *Periplus*.

HARMONIZATION. This educational policy was designed to provide congruence and equivalence between the **anglophone** and **francophone** systems. The process involves unifying the contents of courses, the length of various educational cycles, and teaching models. Harmonization also involves creating appropriate equivalences for certificates and degrees earned at home and abroad. This quest led to the creation of a Service of Equivalence in the Ministry of National Education. The term *harmonization* is frequently used to define the

process of bringing together the French and British heritage in other spheres of activity. *See also* EDUCATION.

HAYATU IBN SA'ID. *See* SA'ID, HAYATU IBN.

HEALTH. The Cameroon people face numerous health problems, though compared to many African countries, Cameroon is relatively healthy. The main causes of death for persons of all ages, in descending order, are **HIV/AIDS**, lower respiratory infections, malaria, diarrheal causes, and perinatal conditions. The adult HIV prevalence rate was 5.1 percent in 2007, and 540,000 persons were HIV+. For children under five years, neonatal factors, malaria, pneumonia, diarrheal causes, and HIV/AIDS are most important. Life expectancy in 2008 was 53.3 years, slightly less for males, more for females. The under-five mortality rate of 64.57 deaths per 1,000 live births was higher than that in most countries, placing Cameroon among the worst 20 countries in the world.

Malnutrition is a problem, with 32 percent of children suffering from stunted growth and 18 percent underweight. In 2009 UNICEF reported that at least 45,000 children die in Cameroon each year due to malnutrition. Access to clean water is limited to 84 percent of the urban and 41 percent of rural dwellers. Proper sanitation facilities were available to 63 percent in urban and 33 percent in rural areas. In part because of the departure of many physicians to wealthier countries, Cameroon has only two doctors and less than one dentist per 10,000 **population**. Total expenditure on health from all sources equals 5.2 percent of GDP. *See also* AVIAN INFLUENZA; JAMOT, EUGENE; MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS.

HEAVILY INDEBTED POOR COUNTRIES (HIPC) INITIATIVE.

The HIPC Initiative is a comprehensive approach to **debt** reduction for heavily indebted poor countries pursuing adjustment and reform programs supported by the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and the **World Bank**. As of March 2008, debt reduction packages had been approved for 33 countries. Cameroon was one of these, having reached eligibility (the "Post-Completion-Point") on 14 April 2006. To reach this point, the government undertook reforms and set policies with advice from the IMF. An annual *Poverty Reduction*

Strategy Paper (PRSP) evaluates progress and outlines steps to be taken. *See also* FRANCE.

HEWETT, EDWARD H. Hewett was the belatedly dispatched British itinerant consul who arrived “too late” on 19 July 1884, one week after the German annexation of **Kamerun**. Attempts by Hewett to open contacts with other **chiefs** who did not sign the German treaty were unsuccessful. He served as administrator of British **Ambas Bay Protectorate** with Victoria as its capital from July 1884 until 21 April 1885, when it was turned over to German control.

HIGH COMMISSIONER. *See* COMMISSIONERS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS OF FRANCE IN CAMEROON (1916–1959).

HIGHER EDUCATION. The first university, the University of **Yaoundé**, opened with French assistance in 1962. Until 1993, it was an umbrella institution for professional institutions (*grandes écoles*) such as the School of Medicine (CUSS), the International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), and the Advanced Teachers College (*Ecole Normale Supérieure*). University centers later opened in **Douala** (business), Dschang (agronomy), **Ngaoundéré** (industrial services), and **Buea** (translation).

In April 1992, the government split the University of Yaoundé into the University of Yaoundé I and II, and the university centers became full universities. On 9 August 2008 the government announced the opening of the seventh state university, the University of **Maroua**. Buea is the only **anglophone** university; **French** influence remains strong elsewhere.

There are many private colleges and universities, some reputable and some below standard. The strongest of these is the Catholic University of Central Africa, opened in Yaoundé in 1989. The Cameroon Christian University in **Bali** was opened by the Presbyterian Church on 17 May 2008. The **Bamenda** University of Science and Technology (BUST) is in the **Northwest**, and the *Université des Montagnes* is in the **West**. The Pan African Institute for Development West Africa (PAID-WA) with students from all of Africa was established in Buea in 1969 to train professionals for rural development. There are theological institutions at the tertiary level (e.g., the John Paul

II Institute of Theology in Molyko opened 29 September 2007) and many professional institutes, schools, and polytechnics.

In recent years the universities have suffered from a lack of adequate funding and the loss of faculty who moved off to South Africa, the **United States**, and other countries seeking better working conditions. Student disturbances and riots, sometimes causing deaths, are frequent. In 2005, for example, two students died during demonstrations conducted by the Students Rights Defence Association (ADDEC) held at most state universities. Students often complain about **corruption** among faculty, some of whom demand bribes or sexual favors in return for grades. *See also* BRAIN DRAIN; EDUCATION.

HIV/AIDS. Cameroon is among the most severely affected of central African countries, and HIV/AIDS is a substantial problem. Because of the low quality of medical care and inadequate **health** records, it is difficult to give an accurate assessment. **United Nations** data for 2005 indicate an adult (age 15 to 49 years) infection rate of between 4.9 percent and 5.9 percent. Figures are higher in the **North West** and **South West Regions** and **Yaoundé** and lower in the northern **regions**. High-level groups include the **armed forces**, **transportation** workers, sex workers, and youth. **Women** have a higher rate than men, with the UN estimating that for every 100 men infected, there are 170 women infected.

In 2005, there were officially 510,000 cases, with 43,000 among children and 46,000 deaths. However, visits to medical centers suggest that these numbers are lower than reality. Many cases go undiagnosed or are attributed to other causes. In rural areas there is little attempt to diagnose cause of death. Several problems accompany the AIDS epidemic. Many children are orphaned as the parents die of AIDS. There is inadequate funding for the treatment of AIDS patients. There is tremendous shame associated with having AIDS, and patients are often shunned by family and former friends. And, there has been considerable difficulty in convincing people that AIDS exists and how it is transmitted and caused.

HOLIDAYS. Cameroon celebrates several national holidays as well as **Christian** and **Islamic** holidays. The dates of some of the latter vary from year to year. The national holidays are 1 January (New

Year and Independence Day), 11 February (Youth Day), 1 May (Labor Day), and 1 October (Unification Day). The latter has been the object of considerable attention by some members of the **anglo-phone** population who claim this is the day of their enslavement or colonization by “La **République du Cameroun.**” Youth Day is also subject to discontent by anglophones. 11 February 1961 was the day of the **plebiscite** to decide the fate of **Southern Cameroon**s. In 1966 President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** declared this to be Youth Day, causing some anglophones to complain that he was attempting to make the youth forget the “tragedy” of the plebiscite. There are also “bridging” holidays occasionally declared by the **president** to join a regularly scheduled Thursday or Tuesday holiday to the weekend. The president can call holidays to celebrate special events such as a win by the **Indomitable Lions** in the Africa Cup of Nations or a **disaster** such as the crash of a Kenya Airlines plane on May 2007. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM.

HOLLONG, ETIENNE. A former member of the defunct Republican Guard, Hollong was a key figure in the **destabilization plot** against the state announced by President **Paul Biya** on 22 August 1983. He was born at Toupouri in **North Cameroon** but never converted to **Islam**. He served in the reserved area of presidential security under President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and into the transition era. He had gained a reputation as the elite marksman in the ranks of the Republican Guard. In two meetings with his former bosses (Captain **Adamou Salatou** and Commandant Oumarou Ibrahim) and Ahidjo loyalists, Hollong was charged to execute a secret and undisclosed mission. Hollong informed the new deputy director of presidential security, who arrested Salatou and Oumarou Ibrahim. Both men were detained, tried, and imprisoned, while Hollong was decorated and promoted in 1984.

HOLT, JOHN (1842–1904). Holt was an influential English businessman. He took over the commercial activities of another English merchant, James Lynslager, following his death in 1864. In 1867, Holt founded John Holt, Ltd., Liverpool, and established an agency in Bimbia, on the Cameroon coast. During the British period in Cam-

eroon, the John Holt company relocated to Victoria (now **Limbe**) and became the most important trading store until the mid-1960s.

HOLY GHOST FATHERS. *See* CATHOLIC CHURCH.

HOMOSEXUALITY. Homosexuality is against the law, and those convicted of this may receive five-year prison sentences and/or a fine. In recent years, several men have been arrested in this regard, held without trial, and mistreated in prison. In 2005 several men were arrested and held for a year before a judge declared them innocent; the authorities refused to release them and issued new charges. In 2006, 12 secondary female students were expelled as lesbians. In 2006 Cameroon was one of several countries to complain at the **United Nations** about a decision to provide **health** care for gay employees' partners. The stigma is very powerful; often families abandon members accused of homosexuality. Accusations are all it takes to bring police action; this is sometimes used as a means of punishing personal enemies or debtors. *See also* NGONGANG, JOEL GUSTAV NANA.

HOUSE OF CHIEFS. *See* WEST CAMEROON HOUSE OF CHIEFS.

HUMAN RIGHTS. In Cameroon the government proclaims its adherence to the inalienable and sacred rights of the human being. It affirms its attachments to the fundamental freedoms embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, the government tends to elevate the "collective and sovereign will of the people" above individual human rights. For this reason, the country has featured prominently in yearly issues of the Amnesty International (AI) reports. The concerns have ranged from judicial inadequacies, religious persecution, and political repression to cases of prisoners of conscience. Government authorities have persistently denied such reports. The **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime was believed to be inflexible to appeals by Amnesty International, and the **Paul Biya** administration is also held accountable by the organization for identical rights abuses.

Under the Biya regime efforts have been made to give a face-lift to the country's poor human rights record. On 8 November 1990, decree no. 90/1459 created a National Commission on Human Rights and Freedoms (*Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme et des Libertés* or CNDHL). The commission is empowered to inspect penitentiary services—police stations, gendarmeries—and to submit a report to the authorities concerned. The chair of the commission as of 2009 is Dr. Divine Chemuta Banda. However, little funding is provided for Commission activities and so it has proven to be ineffective. The country's human rights record has not improved. On 29 January 2009 AI published a report, "Cameroon: A Catalogue of Human Rights Abuses," describing "the alarming human rights situation in Cameroon, accusing the government of gross violations spanning more than 10 years—including killings and torture." Numerous Cameroon groups have arisen to defend human rights, among the most significant is the Human Rights Defence Group headed by the late **Albert Mukong** and based in **Bamenda**. See also UNITED NATIONS SUB-REGIONAL CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENCE GROUP. See HUMAN RIGHTS; MUKONG, ALBERT WOMAH.

HYDROELECTRICITY. Cameroon has one of Africa's greatest hydroelectric potentials, generally estimated at 500,000 megawatts, and portions of this are being exploited. In addition to **Lagdo Dam** in the north, major southern dams at **Edéa** and Songloulou produce more than 90 percent of the country's electricity. Additional dams are in various stages of construction. These have aroused great concern for **environmental** and **human rights** groups fearing the destruction of **forest** and animal reserves and disruption of the way of life of the many people to be displaced. However, the projects are welcomed by those hoping for employment and a solution to frequent electricity shortages. Construction of Lom Pangar Dam on the **Sanaga River** will be completed by the end of 2012. Also on the Sanaga, Nachtigal Dam will depend on water held by Lom Pangar to maintain consistent generation of electricity, most of which will be used to expand **aluminum** production. According to an agreement signed on 31 August 2009, a third major

project planned for Memve'Ele on the Ntem river will be built by a **Chinese** company, Sinohydro, with electricity to be produced as early as 2014. Drought and climate change are major issues for hydroelectric dams. *See also* FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

– 1 –

IBO (IGBO). The Ibo are an **ethnic group** in the southeast of **Nigeria**. Many Ibo moved into **Southern Cameroons** during British rule to engage in petty commerce in Victoria (now **Limbe**), Tiko, and **Kumba** and in **agriculture**. Since independence they have also settled in **Bamenda** and throughout the country pursuing opportunities. Their presence contributed to anti-Ibo feeling before independence and was a factor leading many to vote for **reunification** with **Cameroon**. During the Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970) many Ibos fled into **West Cameroon**. The *CIA World Fact Book* estimates that 13 percent of Cameroon's population is non-Cameroon African. That comes to about 2.5 million persons; most are Nigerian, many are Ibo.

IBRAHIM, SALLE (?–1984). Salle was commander of the Presidential Guard during the transition period between the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and **Paul Biya** regimes. He was military leader of the **coup attempt of 6 April 1984**. He hailed from the North and was ostensibly closer to former President Ahidjo. Colonel Salle used the pretext of an impending transfer of the presidential guards to rally a few hundred of them with sophisticated military equipment to rebel against President Biya. After early successes, the mutiny was crushed by local forces. Col. Salle was court-martialed and executed. The Republican Guard was disbanded after the coup attempt. *See also* ARMED FORCES.

ID-UL-FITR. *See* RAMADAN.

INDIGENAT. This refers to the entire range of rules and penalties generally utilized to administer the mass of local indigenous people in **French Cameroun**. It consisted of a clearly defined legal regime that restricted the people's participation in various sociopolitical activities and benefits. The *indigénat* was specifically decreed in 1924

for French territories and later applied to the **mandate** territories like Cameroon. The *indigénat* was abolished in 1946 following the **Brazzaville Conference**.

INDIRECT RULE. Indirect rule is the colonial system of administration in which African rulers were allowed to exercise authority on behalf of the European colonial power. The policy of indirect rule is largely identified with the British colonial system in Africa. It was established by Lord Frederick Lugard in the period in which he served in Northern **Nigeria**. Indirect rule was later applied in other African regions of the British Empire. In the **Southern Cameroons** territory, the British sought cooperation with existing **chiefs** especially in the **Bamenda** Division and attempted to create more centralized systems of authority in other divisions where such power structures were absent. Indigenous and appointed chiefs were to perform the major functions of government especially on matters of taxation, law, succession to leadership, and community boundaries. Divisional officers were to stay in close contact with the local leaders.

Relations between British officials and local authorities were not particularly harmonious. Conflicts of interest prevailed, and many chiefs were deposed or sentenced to prison during the British period. Apart from the need to preserve cultural unity, the British were constrained to adopt indirect rule because of practical shortcomings like meager material resources, the scarcity of personnel, and lack of popular legitimacy. The greatest irony of the indirect rule policy was that the British transferred power to the Western-educated African elites rather than the traditional authorities whom they had courted throughout their period in the territory.

From time to time and place to place, The French also found it necessary and/or useful to apply the methods of indirect rule. *See also* DIRECT RULE; NATIVE AUTHORITIES; RESIDENTS.

INDOMITABLE LIONS. This name of the Cameroon national football team was decreed on 31 October 1972. The team entered a period of severe crisis from 1972 to 1978, but in 1979, the Indomitable Lions began making their presence felt. During the 1990 World Cup, they became the first African team to qualify for the quarter finals of the

competition. They qualified for World Cup finals in 1982, 1990, 1994, 1998, and 2002; won the gold medal in the 2000 Olympics; and won the African Nations Cup in 1984, 1988, 2000, and 2002. Football is Cameroon's most popular sport, and its successes and failures have become a matter of national pride. The sense of Cameroon identity probably is never stronger than when the team wins a major cup or medal. Among national football heroes are Roger Milla and **Samuel Eto'o**. Hayatou has been president of the Confederation of African Football (CAF) since 1987. *See also* FOE, MARC-VIVIEN; SPORTS.

INDUSTRY. Industry accounts for 16–20 percent of Cameroon's gross domestic product (GDP) and 13 percent of the labor force. Modern industry is centered in **Douala**. **Petroleum**-related activities and **aluminum** are the major categories. **Cement** is a key contributor to the construction industry. Food processing for domestic and export use, light consumer goods, and **timber**-related industries are also important. These categories include soap; breweries and soft drinks; chocolate; **tobacco** products; oil mills for peanut, **cotton** seed, and **palm** oil; and shoes. Wood pulp, plywood, and lumber as well as related manufactures such as furniture and home construction are important. Cotton fiber production, weaving and printing, and the tanning of hides are important in the north. Ship and oil platform repair is at an early stage of development, and Cameroon is becoming a significant oil transport center.

For most of its history as an independent country, Cameroon has followed an industrial policy based on import substitution and heavy government involvement in management and financing of parastatals. Recently, this involvement has been reduced, and **privatization** has taken place. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) have recently received much attention. In 2007 industrial growth was estimated at 3.5 percent, but such growth is hindered by electricity supply problems. **Foreign investment** in industry is limited by a perception of widespread **corruption** and a lack of transparency in government. *See also* FORESTS AND FORESTRY; HYDROELECTRICITY; NATIONAL INVESTMENT COMPANY.

INONI, EPHRIAM. On 8 December 2004 Inoni was appointed **prime minister**. Although this position has little power, it does give some

patronage possibilities, and it plays a symbolic role for the home area of the incumbent. Like his predecessor, **Peter Mafany Musonge**, Inoni is from the **South West Region**. His appointment is generally seen as a reward to the South West and as a means of discouraging its inhabitants from supporting separatist **anglophone** movements such as the **Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC)**. It is also a means of dividing the anglophone population between the **North West** and South West Regions. Inoni, who is from Bakingili near **Limbe**, was born 16 August 1947. He held several positions in the presidency prior to becoming prime minister. He has a master's degree in business and public administration from an American university. Inoni lost his position on 30 June 2009, replaced by **Philémon Yang**. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM.

INSTITUT D'EMISSION DE L'AFRIQUE EQUATORIALE FRANÇAISE. *See* BANK OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF). Founded in July 1944, the purpose of IMF is to promote a rational and stable world monetary system. Resolving currency exchange problems, settling balance of payments difficulties, and promoting economic growth are among its purposes. It has played a supportive role in Africa's **debt** crisis, but to many in Africa it represents undesirable interference in sovereign states. As Cameroon's **economy** declined in the 1980s and 1990s, the IMF, the **World Bank**, and major aid-giving countries played powerful parts in pressuring the government to improve the economy. **Structural adjustment programs (SAPs)** were imposed to promote economic and political reform. The IMF has been significant in the **Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative** in reducing Cameroon's international debt problems.

In the long term Cameroon and the IMF cooperate in the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) project, and in the short term, faced with the world economic crisis of the first decade of the 21st century, Cameroon was granted on 2 July 2009 a \$144 million loan under the Exogenous Shocks Facility program. The latter assists Cameroon in maintaining budget and project stability in a time of

declining export revenues. The PRGF provides financial assistance, technical advice, and monitoring in the effort to reduce the proportion of the population living in poverty and to facilitate long-term growth of the economy. *See also* UNITED NATIONS.

INVESTMENT CODES. These consist of various policy guidelines set by government to determine conditions for local and **foreign investments** in the country. These codes are aimed at encouraging the participation of private foreign interests in the Cameroon **economy**.

The first investment code, passed in June 1960, has been modified over the years. In response to the economic crisis and to pressure exerted via the **structural adjustment program (SAP)**, Cameroon's investment codes were altered to provide more room for private investment and less interference by government. Cameroon adopted an Investment Charter in April 2002 to replace the 1990 code. The new charter does not discriminate with regard to equity ownership, permitting 100 percent foreign ownership. Dividends, capital return, and other funds can be freely remitted abroad. Foreign and domestic investors receive legal guarantees that substantially comply with international norms. As of late 2009 the charter had not been put into full effect; the 1990 code still prevailed in many respects. *See also* FOREIGN INVESTMENT; NATIONAL INVESTMENT COMPANY; PRIVATIZATION.

ISLAM. The conversion of Cameroonians to Islam dates back to the activities of traders and pastoralists in the north as early as the 12th century. The **Wandala** kingdom in the **Extreme North**, under the suzerainty of the Borno kingdom, converted to Islam in the early 18th century. The pacific mode of conversion was accelerated at the beginning of the 19th century through the holy war (**jihad**) of the **Fulani** scholar **Uthman Dan Fodio**, led in northern Cameroon by **Modibo Adama**. Proselytizing by **Muslim** teachers is still common in northern Cameroon, and there has been a strong impact as a result of Saudi spending and educational influence. Generally the non-Muslims in the **North** and Extreme North are referred to as **Kirdi**, while in **Adamawa Region** they are referred to as Matchoubé.

Apart from the northern **regions**, the **Bamoum** in the **West Region** have adhered to the Islamic faith since the conversion of the 16th sultan, **Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya**, in the late 19th century. Significant numbers of adherents also exist among the **Tikar**, the **Voute**, the **Gbaya**, the **Fali**, the **Nso**, and the **Bamiléké** groupings. Islamic schools and institutions are present across the country. It is estimated that 20 percent of the **population**, or about 3,700,000 Cameroonians, follow the Islamic faith.

In Cameroon, as throughout West and Central Africa, the Maliki school of Islamic law predominates. The two most prominent sufi sects followed are the Tijaniyya, sometimes also called the Tarbiyya, and the Qadiriyya. The Qadiriyya is the oldest sect in West Africa. Founded in the 12th century by the Baghdadi scholar Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, the teachings of the Qadiriyya emphasize a very sober yet tolerant approach to Islam. The Qadiriyya was introduced in Cameroon through the leadership of the Sokoto empire, as Sultans Uthman, Abdullahi, and Muhammadu Bello were all enthusiastic supporters. **Garoua** remains a stronghold of the Qadiriyya today.

The Tijaniyya is a more recent introduction that quickly overtook the Qadiriyya. The Tijaniyya was founded in Algeria in the late 18th century by Ahmad al-Tijani. Al-Tijani claimed in 1782 that it was the Prophet Muhammad himself who revealed the teachings of the sect when he revealed himself incarnate. The Tijaniyya was introduced to the Sokoto Empire in the late 19th century under Sultans Muhammadu Bello and Abd al-Rahman. In distinction to other sects, the Tijaniyya requires exclusive affiliation. It is in the majority in **Ngaoundéré**, **Rey Bouba**, **Tibati**, **Banyo**, and **Foumban**, though the regional center is at Yola in **Nigeria**. The Tijaniyya has maintained important contact in particular with the branch led by Sheikh Ibrahim Niasse of Kaolack, Senegal, who visited Cameroon in 1954. Links and visits with Kaolack continued more surreptitiously under the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** administration, when the Tijaniyya were labeled as potential agitators. The sect has reemerged under the **Paul Biya** administration, and important Tijanis often make an annual pilgrimage to Sheikh Niasse's tomb in Kaolack.

A third sect of importance, particularly in the Extreme North, is the **Mahdiyya**. The Wahhabi sect has recently been introduced

from the Arabian Peninsula, but has only limited support. *See also* RAMADAN.

ISSA, ARDO (ca. 1830–1878). The third ruler of **Ngaoundéré** and Touroua ruled from 1854 to 1878. **Ardo** Issa was prince in waiting for five years during the reign of his brother Lawan Hamman. He succeeded to the throne in 1854 after his brother's death. With few exceptions, all successors to the throne of Ngaoundéré have been descendants of Ardo Issa.

Ngaoundéré was attacked by **Ardo Hammadou Arnga** of Tibati ca. 1858 while Issa was on campaign against **Bertoua** some 300 kilometers to the south. His mother was killed, his son and two daughters were taken prisoner, and the city was laid waste. He returned to fortify the city before meeting Tibati in battle again, where he routed the forces of Ardo Hammadou Arnga. Thereafter, he annexed the **Mbum** territories of Tibati to the west of Ngaoundéré.

Ardo Issa persistently expanded the limits of Ngaoundéré to the south and east, largely through **slave** raiding, which was a major source of revenue. The three major fortified frontier cities of the states were **Bertoua** in southern Cameroon, and Gaza and Koundé in **Central African Republic**. Ardo Issa was buried as he wished at Koundé after his death in 1878.

– J –

JAMOT, EUGENE (1879–1937). This French medical doctor was nominated for the Nobel Prize for his fight against sleeping sickness. Born on 14 November 1879, he joined the military as a medical doctor. He served in Cameroon as chief of military medical services from 1914 to 1916. He returned to **French Cameroun** in 1922 during a major outbreak of trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) and established a clinic to fight this disease. He met with great success. However, one of his colleagues in **Bafia** prescribed overdoses of the medicine then in use for sleeping sickness; hundreds of people were blinded as a result. Jamot was held responsible for the “Bafia scandal” and was released from service in 1936. He died the following year. *See also* HEALTH.

JANTZEN UND THORMAHLEN. This Hamburg commercial and trading firm played a significant role in the German annexation of **Kamerun** in 1884. An agent of the firm, Johannes Voss, was present during the signing of the **protectorate** treaties. Following the annexation, Jantzen und Thormahlen concentrated in dock and rail activities and began exploration into the interior.

JEUNESSE CAMEROUNAISE FRANÇAISE (JEUCAFRA). An elite, quasi-political, sociocultural, and youth organization that is significant for bringing together a wide array of political figures of early Cameroon nationalism. Founded in 1939 under the initiative of Governor General Richard Brunot largely to oppose German demands for the return of Cameroon, Jeucafra was initially led by **Soppo Priso** but also included key politicians of contrasting viewpoints like the radical nationalist **Reuben Um Nyobe** and the conservative nationalist André Fouda. During **World War II**, Jeucafra remained tightly pro-**French** and fervently anti-German. Its attempt to protect nationalist aspirations following the war was contrary to its attachment to and inspiration from French authorities. However, many of Jeucafra's demands were reduced to better treatment of the *fonctionnaires* (officials) and improvement of the **economy** to promote development of the territory and fairer chances for the indigenous population. In 1945 under Fouda and **Louis Paul Aujoulat**, Jeucafra became *Union Camerounaise Française* (Unicafra), and a definitive split with other leading members followed. Um Nyobe founded the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**) in 1948.

JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE CAMEROUNAISE (JDC). This subsidiary organization of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**) was primarily designed for youths. Formed in 1952, the JDC developed into a petition-writing and propaganda agency of the UPC movement. Its leader, **Theodore Mayi-Matip**, later emerged as an influential UPC figure following the dissolution of the organization on 13 July 1955.

JIHAD. *Jihad* is an Arabic term meaning “a struggle.” In terms of **Islam**, jihad refers to religious struggle, both in terms of personal faith as well as in terms of warfare in defense of the faith. In the early 19th

century jihad spread across **Adamawa** as an integral part of **Uthman Dan Fodio's** wars against Hausa chiefs in northern **Nigeria**. **Modibo Adama** was chosen in 1806 by Uthman Dan Fodio to lead the jihad in the region that today consists of northeastern Nigeria and northern Cameroon. Led mainly by the **Fulani**, numerous other **ethnic groups** also participated including a number of Cameroon groups who joined the Fulani cause. When the jihad ended in 1901, the Fulani had successfully incorporated several non-Fulani groups into a political and social framework that was ruled under **Muslim** religious precepts.

JOINT PROCLAMATION. This event on 22 April 1955 began a rebellion against French rule. The joint proclamation was issued by the militant *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**) and affiliated organizations declaring the termination of French **trusteeship** and calling for general elections. Thereafter, the UPC launched a series of riots and demonstrations leading to its banning in May 1955.

JUA, AUGUSTIN NGOM (1924–1979). A former **prime minister** of **West Cameroon** (1965–1968), and a highly admired **anglophone** politician, Augustin Ngom Jua was born in Kom, Wum. After being educated locally at St. Anthony School, Njinikom, he took up teaching and in 1952 entered politics as a member of the Wum Divisional Native Authority Council. Two years later he was elected into the **Southern Cameroons** House of Assembly and in 1955, with the help of **Foncha** and Anthony Ngunjoh, formed the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)**. In 1961, Jua served as minister of social services in the West Cameroon government.

In 1965 he served as secretary of state for finance before being appointed prime minister of West Cameroon that same year. As prime minister, he was determined to secure the autonomy of the state of West Cameroon within the federation. Consequently he ran into bitter conflict of principle with the **federal inspector of administration**, who was the direct representative of the **president** in the federal region. The result of this conflict was that Jua was abruptly dropped as prime minister on 11 January 1968, in favor of **Solomon T. Muna**. Before his death, Jua was a member of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** and a parliamentarian.

JUDICIARY. See COURTS.

– K –

KALE, P. M. (1910–1966). Kale was a leading politician of the pre-independence era in **Southern Cameroons** and speaker of the **West Cameroon** House of Assembly until his death in August 1966. He spent much of his life in the pursuit of Cameroon nationalism. Born on 20 March 1910, in **Buea**, Kale did his primary **education** in Buea before proceeding to **Nigeria** for his secondary education. In April 1935 he arrived in Lagos and was immediately caught in the whirlwind of militant activism. He became a founding member of the **Cameroon Welfare Union (CWU)**, joined the **National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)**, and cofounded the **Cameroon Youth League (CYL)** and the **Cameroons National Federation (CNF)**. He was also instrumental in the formation of the **Bakweri Union** and the **Bamenda Improvement Association**. As a member of the NCNC, Kale tried to project the Cameroonian personality in Nigeria and the outside world. In 1953, Kale returned to Southern Cameroons and with **Nerius N. Mbile** created the Kamerun People's Party (KPP), which merged with the **Kamerun National Congress (KNC)** to form the opposition coalition, the **Cameroons People's National Convention (CPNC)** in 1960. In 1959, Kale left the KPP and founded the **Kamerun United Party (KUP)**, which advocated the independence of British Southern Cameroons as a separate political entity. He became speaker of the West Cameroon House of Assembly. His completed manuscript, *Political Evolution in the Cameroons*, was published posthumously in August 1967.

KAME, SAMUEL (1926–). Kame, a key figure of the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** presidency, was born on 24 December 1926 in Baham, **Western Region**. He studied at the *Ecole Supérieure d'Administration* in **Yaoundé** and in **France**, graduating in 1957 from the *Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre Mer* as an administrator. Kame served in various administrative regions of the **Bamiléké** region from 1957 until 1959, where he was instrumental in breaking the **Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)** resistance. He was a member of the Constitutional Committee of 1959, served as inspector general of administrative affairs, and was permanent secretary for national defense from 1960 to 1982. He played a significant role in party affairs

as a member of the executive bureau of the *Union Camerounaise* (UC, 1962–1965), provisional political secretary of the **Cameroon National Union** (CNU, 1966–1975), and member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the CNU party (1975–1985). He was dropped from party duties at the **Bamenda Conference**, probably due to his close ties to the former Ahidjo regime.

KAMERUN. Kamerun, the German spelling for Cameroon, was a German **protectorate** between 1884 and 1916. Consequently, this spelling is often utilized to specifically identify the German epoch in Cameroon. “Kamerun” was also used by preindependence movements like the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)**, **Kamerun National Congress (KNC)**, Kamerun People’s Party (KPP), **Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC)**, and **One Kamerun Party (OK)** to symbolize their desire for **reunification** of **French and British Cameroons** during the **trusteeship** period.

KAMERUN NATIONAL CONGRESS (KNC). The **political party** is significant for having brought together leading **British Cameroon** politicians—**Emmanuel Endeley**, **Solomon T. Muna**, **John Foncha**, and **Sampson George**—under a single party platform. The first phase in the formation of this party was the May 1949 **Kumba Conference** of 17 Cameroons groups, which led to the creation of the **Cameroons National Federation (CNF)** and made strong appeals for **reunification**. This was followed by contacts with **French Cameroons** associations, including the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), which led to the founding of the **Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC)**. The fusion of the KUNC and the CNF led to the formation of the Kamerun National Congress by the end of 1952.

The second phase saw emphasis on Cameroon autonomy vis-à-vis **Nigeria**. The Cameroons members of the **National Convention of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)** waged a campaign in favor of separation from Nigeria, resulting in a legislative crisis in the **Eastern Nigerian** House of Assembly. By May 1953, Endeley had led key Cameroonian members to demand separate autonomy from the NCNC through the Kamerun National Congress. A minority faction, led by **Nerius Mbile**, **P. M. Kale**, and Motomby-Woleta,

opposed this move and formed the Kamerun People's Party (KPP). As Endeley moved the Kamerun National Congress (KNC) toward closer integration with Nigeria in December 1953, Foncha organized a majority breakaway from the KNC to form the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** in 1955. Endeley's KNC allied with the KPP but gradually lost in successive elections to the KNDP. To contain the KNDP's popularity, KNC and KPP merged to form the **Cameroons People's National Convention (CPNC)** in 1960.

KAMERUN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (KNDP). This **political party** was formed in March 1955 under the leadership of **John N. Foncha**. The KNDP was virtually the governing party of **West Cameroon** from 1959 to 1966. It is widely assumed the party was formed to serve as the platform for the pursuit of Cameroon **reunification** after the **Kamerun National Congress (KNC)** failed to reach a consensus on the reunification issue. The KNDP's enthusiasm for reunification led to its short-lived collaboration with the outlawed *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* party of **French Cameroun**. However, the conservative nationalism of the former and the radical nationalism of the latter caused an early breakdown.

Foncha organized a majority breakaway from the KNC in March 1955. By 1957, the newly formed KNDP had increased its parliamentary representation from two to five, and later in January 1959 it won over the government of **Southern Cameroons**. By gaining 14 seats in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly, the KNDP had grown in four years from a splinter to a government party. The KNDP proreunification manifesto was presented to the **United Nations** and the British Parliament. The 11 February 1961 **plebiscite** was a landslide victory for the party in favoring reunification.

In selling itself as a regional party, the KNDP was only partially successful. Most of its leadership (Foncha, **Solomon T. Muna**, and **Augustin Jua**) hailed from the **Grassfield**. Although a government party, the KNDP had an uphill task gaining credibility in the coastal divisions.

The KNDP's hegemony over West Cameroon politics was undisputed. It gained in successive elections at state and federal levels. Following reunification, it called for "loose federation" with the **Republic of Cameroon**. This appeal was a slight drift from its earlier

enthusiastic pursuit of reunification. In 1965, Muna split from the KNDP, forming the **Cameroon United Congress**, in order to seek greater unity and harmony with **East Cameroon** than was advocated by the KNDP. The “loose federation” idea caused the KNDP to stay out of the trend in Cameroon politics. In September 1966, party unification was achieved with the formation of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**. In May 1972, centralization led to the creation of the **United Republic of Cameroon**.

KAMERUN UNITED NATIONAL CONGRESS (KUNC). This **political party** led by **R. J. K. Dibonge** and **N. N. Mbile** was formed with the aim of promoting the unification of **French Cameroun** and **British Cameroons**. Through its motto, “Toward self-government or independence for a united **Kamerun**,” and its objectives, the KUNC called for setting a target date for independence and the cancellation of customs and fiscal barriers in order to facilitate the free movement of persons and goods between the two **trust territories**. The KUNC attracted a large following especially from petty traders who depended on smuggled goods from French Cameroun. The party merged with the **Cameroon National Federation** to form the **Kamerun National Congress** under **E. M. L. Endeley** in 1953.

KAMERUN UNITED PARTY (KUP). The Kamerun United Party was created in 1959 by **P. M. Kale** and was dedicated to voting for independence even though this was not an alternative in the **United Nations plebiscite**. Kale and the KUP insisted on a third option, which was very popular among the traditional rulers of **Southern Cameroons**. He went on to inform the UN that the KUP would boycott the plebiscite if a third alternative was not included. As a sign of protest, he urged his sympathizers to tear their ballots in half when a third alternative was not included. After **reunification**, the party withered away.

KANGA, JEAN-CLAUDE VICTOR (1931–1991). Born in Banka, **West Region**, Kanga was an intellectual imprisoned by the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime. He earned a doctorate in law in 1956, trained as a customs expert, and returned home in 1957. He was elected into the **National Assembly**. He served on the International Law

Commission (1962–1964) and between 1961 and 1966 as minister of national economy, finance, and information, and tourism. He was arrested on 22 November 1966 and convicted of publication of anti-government rumors. He remained in jail and house arrest throughout the remainder of the Ahidjo era. President **Paul Biya** granted Kanga his release in 1969 and appointed him chairman of the governing board of the International Telecommunications Company of Cameroon (INTELCAM). Kanga was replaced in 1991 by **Victor Mukete**. Kanga also served as director general of the *Fondation Ad Lucem*. Kanga died on 17 June 1991.

KAPSIKI (HIGI). With a **population** of approximately 150,000, the Kapsiki straddle the border between **Nigeria** and Cameroon in the Mandara Mountains. The term *Higi* is used to refer to the Kapsiki in Nigeria. Inhabiting mountainous areas prior to colonization, they have since moved down into the plains areas to practice farming without need of the extensive terracing of entire hillsides for which they are historically known.

This strongly independent decentralized society has no common historical tradition; its history is cobbled together from individual village traditions. There are some 11 main dialects of the Kapsiki language. They predated the **Fulani jihad** in the 19th century and appear to have migrated to the area perhaps in the early 18th century. Their mountain residence may have served as protection against **slave** raiding originally by **Wandala** or Bornu rather than by Fulani. The Mandara Mountains were a prime raiding ground for all three empires. It is equally possible that the culture is synonymous historically with residence in mountainous terrain, as with the **Mafa**.

Village histories coalesce into two groups: western villages claiming origins near the Nigerian site of Babere, and the eastern villages claiming origins from the Cameroonian site of Goudour. Sacrifice against locusts, their best-known ritual, is controlled by the **chief** of Goudour. A wide variety of other rituals are performed there, which makes the site a true religious center for the Kapsiki, as well as for the Mafa, **Mofu**, and Hina. Sukuru, over the border in Nigeria, is an important metalworking center that dominates other Kapsiki towns due to its control of ritual iron production. Blacksmiths produce tools

that make Kapsiki **agriculture** possible, but they also serve as diviners, healers, musicians, and to bury the dead.

KARNU. *See* GBAYA.

KINGUE, ABEL (1923–1964). A revolutionary opponent of the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime, Kingue joined the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) in 1948 and made unsuccessful bids for a parliamentary seat in the 1949, 1951, and 1952 legislative elections. In 1954, he became vice president of the UPC and leader of the resistance committee until the UPC was banned in 1955. Between 1955 and 1959 he moved with the exile UPC to **British Cameroons**, Cairo, and finally to Conakry in Guinea, where he died on 16 June 1964.

KINGUE, MICHAEL DOO. *See* DOO KINGUE, MICHEL.

KIRDI. The Kirdi are composed of a number of different cultures that have been grouped together under this single term. Included are the **Massa**, **Mafa**, **Kapsiki**, Guiziga, **Fali**, and others. Most groups speak **Afro-Asiatic** languages, though some speak **Niger-Congo** languages.

During the 19th century **jihād**, some of the indigenous population sided with the **Fulani** and were eventually assimilated. Others, the Kirdi, opposed the Fulani and took refuge on mountains and hilltops, mainly in the Mandara Mountains, from which they put up fierce resistance. The Kirdi have never constituted a political voting bloc. Desirous of their votes, the Fulani, who have historically despised the Kirdi, courted them to boost the electoral chances of the *Union Camerounaise* (UC). In recent years these groups have tended to support minority parties like the **Social Democratic Front** (SDF) in opposition to the Fulani-dominated *Union Nationale pour la Démocratie et le Progrès* (UNDP). Christian missionaries have had some success among the Kirdi in recent years.

Kirdi bears the general meaning “**pagan**,” in opposition to the **Fulani** and other **Muslim** groups. This extremely derogatory term, adopted into Fulfulde and other northern Cameroonian languages from Kanuri, is ultimately thought to be derived from the Arabic word for

“monkey.” In recent years, however, many have begun to reclaim the label as a means of self-identification and political unification, giving birth to the movement known as “kirditude.” Kirditude is thought to have originated as a movement to organize opposition to the largely Muslim Fulani base of power for **Maigari Bello Bouba**’s UNDP in the 1991 election campaign. Recognized only in the **Extreme North** and **North Regions**, the term *Kirdi* is not known in **Adamawa Region**, where the Fulfulde term *Matchoubé*, meaning “slave” or “servant,” is more commonly used instead. Major Kirdi personalities include **Luc Ayang** and **Etienne Hollong**.

KODOCK, AUGUSTIN FREDERIC (1933–). Since 1991 Kodock has been the general secretary of the K faction of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)*. Born on 1 March 1933 in Mom, **Center Region**, he attended the *Lycée Leclerc* and went on to university in **France** obtaining the doctoral degree in economics in 1965. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1992, 1997, and 2002 but was defeated in 2007.

Between 1963 and 1965 he was secretary of state for finance. In return for supporting President **Paul Biya**’s reelection bids, Kodock has served in several ministerial capacities, as minister of state for planning (1992–1995), for **agriculture** (1995–1997 and 2002–2004), and for planning and territorial development (2004–2007). He has also served at the African Development Bank as a bank officer (1968–1980) and as chief executive officer of Cameroon Airlines (1983–1989). In 2006 Kodock was accused of **corruption**, but as of April 2009 the charge remains unproven and he has refused to appear in court.

KOTOKO. *Kotoko* may refer to a kingdom, an **ethnic group**, or a **language** of the **Afro-Asiatic** group. The Kotoko state was the successor in the 15th century to the **Sao** civilization in northern Cameroon. Kotoko consisted of various small kingdoms like Makari, Mara, Kousseri, and Logone-Birni. These were organized within the Kotoko state, ruled by a king. By the mid-15th century, the Kotoko state included major portions of today’s northern Nigeria and Cameroon, but it was incorporated into the Bornu empire in the 19th century. Kotoko was divided between north and south for

administrative purposes and converted to **Islam** by outside conquerors or **Muslim** missionaries. Until the advent of colonial rule in the 19th century, the Logone-Birni kingdom remained the most significant kingdom within Kotoko.

KPE. *See* BAKWERI.

KRIBI. A major **tourist** center, port, and headquarters of the Ocean Division, Kribi is in the **South Region** at the mouth of the Kienké River. The **population** was estimated in 2007 at 60,000 persons, but in 1976 it was only 11,261 (in 1984, 18,000). Christianity is important, and the Roman **Catholic Church** opened the Diocese of Kribi in June 2006. Originally, Kribi was inhabited by the Batangas, though in recent years persons from many parts of Cameroon have migrated here to find employment. The town was particularly important during the period of German scientific expeditions into the Cameroon interior.

Since independence, Kribi's coastal location with beautiful sand beaches, nearby **Baka** (Pygmy) villages, and the Lobé waterfall is a strong attraction for **tourism**. While the port is now valuable for the export of **cocoa** and **timber** and as the terminus of the Doba-Kribi **pipeline**, there are plans for expansion. A meeting of potential investors in the Kribi Deep Sea Port project was held in May 2008. This would serve expected exports of iron ore, bauxite, nickel, and cobalt. There is also a proposal to extend the railway from **Douala** to Kribi; the two are now connected by a paved highway. A plywood factory exists here, and proposals for a liquified natural gas plant and an iron and steel complex have been considered. Fishing has been important, although in recent years overfishing by foreign trawlers has harmed the local business.

The pipeline raises fears that an **environmental** disaster will spoil the miles of white sand beaches, varied wildlife, natural vegetation, and fishing industry. This fear was exacerbated in January 2007 when an oil spill occurred and officials failed to notify the public in a timely way.

KUMBA. Kumba, the largest city in the **South West Region** and headquarters of Meme Division, was originally inhabited by the Bafaws.

The head of the Bafaw is *Nfon Victor E. Mukete*, an important local and national political figure, former chairman of the **Cameroon Development Corporation**, and owner of **rubber, cocoa, and palm** plantations as well as other businesses. The city has attracted settlers from many **ethnic groups** and has also been the center of large settlements of people from the **North West Region** and by the **Ibo** from **Nigeria**. In 2001 the **population** was estimated at 125,600, a big jump from 1987, when it was estimated at 70,000 or 1976 at 11,261 persons.

Kumba played an important role as host town of several nationalist meetings of various **political parties** like the Cameroon National Federation in 1949 and the **Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC)** in 1951. After 1955, Kumba became the provisional headquarters of the underground *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* following its expulsion from **French Cameroun**. The strong anti-Nigerian feeling that developed in the town helped the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** and the **One Kamerun Party (OK)** to make their most significant gains here.

Today, the town continues to grow as a center for the production, collection, and processing of major agricultural foodstuffs, cocoa, rubber, and palm products. It is a **transportation** hub with a rail link to **Douala** and several highways connecting it to other urban locations. **Educational** institutions are important, among which are the Presbyterian Theological Seminary established in 1952 by the **Basel Mission** and the Kumba College of Arts and Science (CCAS). On 9 November 2007 several local students were killed by government authorities during demonstrations. *See also* AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION.

KUO, FELIX SENGAT. *See* SENGAT-KUO, FELIX.

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LABARANG, MOHAMADOU (1956–). Born on 1 January 1956 in **Ngaoundéré, Adamawa Region**, he was educated at the *Ecole Principale* and *Collège Mazonod*. He later studied at the University of **Yaoundé**, the University of Paris at Nanterre, and the *Ecole Na-*

tionale d'Administration et de Magistrature (ENAM). On completion he served as assistant divisional officer in Mokolo before being called for duties at the Presidency. Under **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** government he worked successively as attaché and chargé de missions in the Office of the President.

In February 1984, President **Paul Biya** appointed him assistant secretary-general at the Presidency with rank of minister. In August 1985 he became minister delegate for General State Inspection and Administrative Reforms. During the **Bamenda Congress** in 1985 he was voted into the Central Committee of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** as an alternate member. He worked as chairman of the board of directors of the National Social Insurance Fund before being appointed Cameroon's ambassador to Saudi Arabia and the Sultanate of Oman (1988). He is on the board of directors of the Islamic Development Bank and is permanent representative to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). On 25 February 2008 Labarang was moved from Saudi Arabia to become Cameroon's ambassador to Egypt.

LAGDO DAM. Lagdo Dam was completed by a Chinese contractor in 1982 as a four-turbine hydroelectric dam on the **Benue River**. At 45 meters in height, it has a reservoir area of some 800 square kilometers.

The benefits of a reliable energy supply for development in northern Cameroon are important, as is the ability to control river levels, but the negative effects of the dam have been underreported. While the large-scale displacements of people for the creation of Lake Lagdo are well known, subsequent negative effects of rising silt levels on the Benue River, reduced navigability of the river, and draining of water resources from surrounding areas are less widely realized. Recently, Cameroon has negotiated agreements with **Nigeria** to sell some of Lagdo's electricity to Nigeria and **Chad**. Nigeria will take part in rehabilitating and increasing the capabilities of the dam.

LAKE CHAD/LAC TCHAD. The lake is surrounded by four states—Cameroon, **Nigeria**, **Chad**, and Niger. Over time the lake has varied greatly in size, from being one of the larger lakes of the world (perhaps 400,000 square kilometers) to today being on the verge of

drying up, possibly as soon as 2025. In 1964 the surface was estimated at 25,000 square kilometers; in 2008 it was less than 1,500 square kilometers. Climate change with increasing drought is part of the cause, and human misuse, especially massive diversion of water for irrigation, is the other cause. The lake is shallow and thus not of much use for **transportation**, but it does provide fish and water for the inhabitants of its basin, estimated at more than 20 million people.

The shrinking of this body of water has led to conflicts between states (which one has the right to the water) and local inhabitants, farmers, and pastoralists, who want more water for crops, and animals and fishermen, who want lake levels to recover so fish will multiply. The **Lake Chad Basin Commission** has examined several projects to divert water into the lake from various sources, but until quite recently, this has led to little action. *See also* LOGONE AND CHARI RIVERS; MUNGO RIVER; SANAGA RIVER; SANGHA RIVER; WOURI RIVER.

LAKE CHAD BASIN COMMISSION (LCBC)/COMMISSION DU BASSIN DU LAC CHAD (CBLT). This body was established on 22 May 1964, with major alterations to the original agreement in 1972 and a restructuring in 1987. Cameroon, **Chad**, Niger, and **Nigeria** are the original members. In 1994 the **Central African Republic** joined, and in 2000 Sudan was proposed for membership. Cameroon pays 26 percent and Nigeria 52 percent of the budget. The headquarters are in N'djamena, Chad. There is an annual summit of heads of state, a council with two members from each state, which also meets annually, and an executive secretariat. The annual budget is under \$2 million. The purpose of the LCBC is to encourage cooperation in the use and development of the resources of the Chad Basin, to ensure that no state takes action that would adversely affect the lake's water level or flow, and to foster economic development and resolution of conflicts among the inhabitants of the lake basin. However, considering the length of its existence, not much has been accomplished. Several studies were undertaken in early years on water supplies and use, **agriculture**, and livestock. Fishery centers were established in Nigeria and Chad, free movement for fishermen was agreed upon, and in January 1973 a development fund was established. Projects

were contracted in 1976, but activity could not be undertaken due to fighting in Chad. No meetings of the commission were conducted between 1978 and 1982 for the same reason. And by 1984, there were reports of conflicts between the member states leading to suspicion and trouble within the commission. Charges of unapproved diversion of lake water by member states were made.

In 1985 the members agreed to undertake a campaign against rinderpest, a cattle disease. Improvements in road and rail communications, **health** campaigns, and drought and antidesertification activities have all been suggested. Recent activities have included investigation of the possibilities for restoration of the depleted waters of the lake, perhaps by diverting water from nearby rivers. Joint security forces to fight banditry and an anti-**HIV/AIDS** project have been undertaken. In 2000 an agreement was reached on a vision for the future, a program plan to the year 2025.

LAKE MONOUN. *See* LAKE NYOS DISASTER.

LAKE NYOS DISASTER. One of Cameroon's worst natural **disasters** was an unusual tragedy in which 1,700 people died following suffocation from toxic gas released from Lake Nyos near Wum, **North West Region**, on 21 August 1986. Most of the victims were villagers sleeping in their homes. In addition, hundreds of others had severe wounds and burns from the incident and lost their cattle. International assistance for the incident was swift and generous. Previously, in August 1984, a similar incident at Lake Monoun near **Foumban** had led to the deaths of 37 people.

Explanations for the cause of the disaster have been varied. Generally accepted by scientists is the view that carbon dioxide bubbling up from a volcano under the lake collected at the bottom of the lake until enough pressure developed to cause a giant bubble to rise to the lake's surface. Local interpretation of the disaster holds that supernatural forces were involved, and the incident was a sign of the anger of the gods and ancestors of the people. A rumor spread widely that the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had conducted nuclear experiments at the lake.

In order to prevent further tragedy, a pipe was installed in 2001 to allow the gas to continually escape. A similar pipe was placed in

Lake Monoun. However, some scientists argue that more pipes are needed and that the carbon dioxide levels are again increasing.

Some studies indicate a new threat at Lake Nyos. A crater wall surrounding the lake has worn thin and could collapse, causing flood damage in Cameroon and **Nigeria**.

LAMIDAT. *See* LAMIDO.

LAMIDO (pl. LAMIBE). The *lamido* is the **Fulani** chief at the head of a cultural-administrative unit known as the *lamidat*. There are over 21 *lamidats* in the northern Fulani area. Among the Cameroonian Fulanis there are six *lamidats* in **Adamawa**, 11 in the **North Region**, and four in the **Extreme North Region**.

The *lamibe* at the head of these kingdoms possess substantial religious, social, judicial, and political power. They constitute a separate class, characterized by conservative tendencies. After periods of initial cooperation they began to resist the accommodative and progressive stance of a new class of Northern elites championed by **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and his closest collaborators. This created some degree of friction between the Fulani postcolonial leadership of the country and the religious constituency in the interior. The Ahidjo government sought to limit the influence of the *lamibe* to the mosque and to dilute their political influence. This became largely successful as the destruction of traditional power became a national task that affected the former **West Cameroon House of Chiefs** as well.

A typical *lamido* functions with a government consisting of a *fada* (council) of 12 members serving as ministers. The *lamidat*, however, is a highly hierarchical society consisting of the freemen (*rimbe*) and slaves (*matchoube*). Following the crisis with the Adhijo government, the *lamibe* lost their usual traditional privileges of imposing tributes through taxes and the flagrant use of the police force in nonreligious assignments. The oldest *lamidat* is that of **Rey Bouba**, founded in 1798, while those of Ngaoundéré (1836) and Garoua (1839) have emerged as the most significant.

In the multiparty era the *lamido* faces a dilemma. He is dependent upon the central government, dominated by **Paul Biya** and his party, but his followers generally support **Bello Bouba** and his party and pressure the *lamido* to do the same.

LANGUAGES. Cameroon's language situation is complex. Sources vary, but there are about 286 languages, four of which are extinct. The majority of **national languages** are in the **Niger-Congo** family, many are in the **Afro-Asiatic** family, and one is in the Nilo-Saharan family. There are two official languages as stated in the **Constitution of 1996** (Part 1, Article 3). **English** use is most common in the **South West** and **North West Regions**, which were under British domination for several decades. Recently, the popularity of English has increased substantially. **French** is used in the other eight regions. Like English, French is a secondary language for the majority of Cameroonians, who are mostly proficient in their local languages. In addition, there are several trade languages; **Pidgin English** in urban and southern areas, **Fulfulde** in the north, and **Ewondo** in the central regions are the most widely used. A new language, **Français** or **Frananglais**, is also expanding in usage. Arabic finds some usage in the **Muslim population**. *See also* **ANGLOPHONE**; **BILINGUALISM**; **FRANCOPHONE**.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1919–1946). The first major international organization of the 20th century, the League was created in 1920 by the victorious powers of **World War I**. It assumed legal and political control of the former German colonies through a **mandate system** of administration. European powers were allowed to administer the territories of the defeated powers under the supervision of the League. **French Cameroun** and the **British Cameroons** were mandated territories until 1946 when the League ceased to exist. These became **trust territories** under the **United Nations**.

LECCO, FELIX SABAL. *See* **SABAL LECCO, FELIX**.

LECLERC, PHILIPPE (1902–1947). A French army officer, he led a group of 24 Free French partisans that landed in **Douala** on 26–27 August 1940, during **World War II**, to take control of **French Cameroun** for General Charles de Gaulle. He became **commissioner** for a short period. In his honor a high school, the *Lycée Leclerc*, was named after him. He was a heroic figure in the war and later took command of French forces in Indochina. Born Philippe Marie, vicomte de Hauteclocque, he changed this name during the war to

Jacques Philippe Leclerc to protect his family in Vichy **France**. After the war, he became Jacques Philippe Leclerc de Hauteclocque.

LELA. Lela refers specifically to a group in **Bali-Nyonga** and **Bali-Kumbat**, near **Bamenda** in **North West Region**, appointed by the *fon* and composed largely of members of the royal family. The Lela society is responsible for a festival, called by the same name, that occurs in late November or December. This festival celebrates the military strength of the kingdom and is a time for the *fon*'s subjects to proclaim their loyalty. This loyalty is visually symbolized in the renewal by the population of the woven mat walls that surround the palace. The Lela festival furthermore recalls the peregrinations of the Bali people from their origins near **Kontcha** in **Adamawa** to their current location sometime in the early 19th century. A lesser Lela festival also takes place in May or June.

The Lela is a four-day festival during which sacrifices are performed to the royal ancestors and to God. The last three days are given over to festivities with a war reenactment on the second and dancing on the third and fourth days. The Lela festival has been traced to the early 20th century in written documentation and even earlier to origins in the Chamba culture of Adamawa through ethnographic and historical evidence. Lela is also celebrated in **Bafut**, **Mankon**, and **Big Babanki** kingdoms, which are thought to have adopted the celebration from Bali Kumbat. In these kingdoms, however, there is an emphasis on acclaiming the role of the ruler, rather than Bali's emphasis on militarism and historical migrations.

LIBERALISME COMMUNAL. *See* COMMUNAL LIBERALISM.

LIMBE (FORMERLY VICTORIA). Located on **Ambas Bay**, Limbe was once the leading cosmopolitan town of **anglophone** Cameroon. Originally known as **Fho** by the **Bakweris**, the town was christened **Victoria** in 1858 by British missionaries led by **Alfred Saker**. It remained a British possession following its annexation by Consul **E. H. Hewett** on 19 July 1884. The British gave up the **Victoria** settlement to the German **protectorate** on 28 March 1887. The name of the town was suddenly changed from the Anglo-Saxon **Victoria** to the more indigenous-sounding **Limbe** in 1982. The town is still the divisional

headquarters of Fako Division, **South West Region**. In 2001 the **population** was estimated at 84,500 persons, but in 1976 it was only 26,988 (44,561 in 1987). During the British period, “Victoria” was also used to denote one of the four divisions of the **Cameroons Province**.

The **Germans** developed Victoria into an **agricultural** center with expansive plantations and schools as well as an experimental **botanical garden**. In addition to its coastal location, its port facilities and commercial significance, the town remained more renowned, although **Buea** was the capital of the territory. Victoria’s decline began with the **reunification** of 1961 and the opening of the Reunification Highway linking the town to **Douala**. Many business establishments fled from Victoria to Douala to take advantage of port facilities and comparatively better fiscal incentives. Therefore, for much of the 1970s, Victoria was referred to as a “ghost town.” The inauguration of the National Oil Refinery Company (SONARA) in 1981 on the outskirts of the town did not lead to the expected uplift.

However, more recent developments indicate the rebirth of the city, now described by some as the prettiest city with the best infrastructure in Cameroon. In addition to a refurbishing of the botanical gardens and the changing of a derelict zoo into the Limbe Wildlife Center, one of Africa’s best primate rescue locations, the port, Cameroon’s second largest, is undergoing major expansion. A 700-meter breakwater has been completed, a 400-meter quay is under construction, and Cameroon Shipyard and Industrial Engineering has opened the fully operational Limbe Shipyard for the repair of oil rigs, tankers, and drills. However, the overall project was far behind schedule as of late 2009; complaints from the Korean company in charge of construction and from the African Development Bank indicated **corruption** and government incompetence as major causes. **Anglophones** complained that the port of **Kribi** in the **francophone** area was being favored; however, in May 2009 the government announced agreement on an expanded program of construction that would last until at least 2015.

President **Paul Biya** has referred to the deep water port project here as one of the three most important development undertakings in the country. In 2008 a Korean firm began construction of a **cement** plant, and studies are under way for the construction of a 315 megawatt gas to electricity conversion plant that would use gas produced from

offshore oil wells. The once prosperous fishing industry has declined rapidly, mostly due to overfishing by foreign, most recently Chinese, high technology trawlers. **Tourism** based on several volcanic sand beaches and climbing on Mt. Cameroon is of some importance.

LITERATURE. Cameroon literature has generally been understood to reference works written predominantly by anticolonial, postindependence southern **francophone** writers, who privileged the impact of the colonial encounter on other aspects of the sociopolitical and cultural life of the country. This is understandable as former **East Cameroon** gained independence from **France** in 1960 before former **West Cameroon**; the overall impression seemed to be, and remains to this day, that Cameroon is a francophone county. Writers such as **Francis Bebey**, **Mongo Beti**, **Ferdinand Oyono**, and Mbella Sone Dipoko understandably address the anticolonial struggle and the realities of the emerging nation as a reaction to a predominantly French colonial policy. Recently, however, the challenge has been to depict more sensitive issues in the society, especially after the **New Deal** regime came to power in 1982.

Most dramatic in this area have been new voices from the **anglophone** sector of the country, giving the country's literature a duality that is as unique as its colonial heritage. Thematically, Cameroon literature displays a similar duality, where, for instance, the idea of colonialism for the francophone is mainly Euro-focused, while for the anglophone it is a reflection of his relationship with the francophone. Prominent anglophone writers include Bole Butake, Bate Besong, Asong Linus, and John Nkemngong Nkengasong. The dominance of male writers in both parts of the country has shifted slightly with names like **Calixthe Beyala** and Angeline Solange Bonono (francophones) and Juliana Makuchi Nfah-Abbenyi, Anne Tanyi Tang, Eunice Ngongkum, and Margaret Afuh (anglophones).

Children's literature is being introduced, albeit timidly, through individual and collective efforts. The Anglophone Cameroon Writers' Association (ACWA) launched a national poetry competition in 2008 that included a children's category. The essay is also being revived, and provides a more discursive view of sociopolitical perceptions.

Government has recently stepped in to provide financial assistance to writers, while publishing houses seem to be experiencing a rare

renaissance. For now, however, the only active writers' forum is ACWA, while the *Société Civile des Droits de la Littérature et des Arts Dramatiques* (SOCILADRA) that was created to take care of copyright dues has been plagued by leadership squabbles and financial misappropriation. However, the Ministry of Culture has been giving grants to artists as a part of government's plan to promote creative writing. *See also* TSANGA, DELPHINE; WEREWERE-LIKING, GNEPPO NICOLE.

LITTORAL PROVINCE. *See* LITTORAL REGION.

LITTORAL REGION. This francophone region covers a surface area of 20,248 square kilometers and consists of four divisions. The region is divided into three relief zones: plains in the south, plateaus, and low mountains in the north. The climate is tropical, featuring a dry season (from November to March, with 1.8 inches of rain in January) and a rainy season (April to October, with 29 inches of rain in July). While **HIV/AIDS** is important, the hot and very humid climate makes malaria the biggest killer. In 2004 the **population** of the region was estimated to be 2,202,340, with that of **Douala** at about 1,500,000 persons.

About 90 percent of the country's **industrial** activity is centered in the Littoral Region, and commercial, **transport**, and hotel activities are highly developed. Its coastal location and port facilities make Douala the gateway to Cameroon. **Agricultural** processing and export are significant. Other important towns include **Nkongsamba** (Mungo Division) and **Edéa** (Sanaga Maritime Division). The Littoral Region (the Littoral Province until 2008) has existed in its present form since 1972.

LOCK PRISO, CHIEF. This fanatical pro-British **Duala chief** of Hickory Town on the Cameroon River refused to sign the German **Protectorate** Treaty in 1884. He quarreled with the pro-German King Bell and resisted German attempts to disband the **Court of Equity**. In December 1884, the German marines were called in to suppress the uprising and demolish the small coastal town ruled by Lock Priso.

LOGONE AND CHARI RIVERS. These are important tributaries of **Lake Chad**. The Logone actually flows into the Chari and includes

other rivers like the Vina and Mbere. Politically, the Logone serves as the divide between Cameroon and **Chad**. Recent studies indicate that overfishing has reduced by over 30 percent the number of fish species in these rivers. *See also* ENVIRONMENT; MUNGO RIVER; SANAGA RIVER; SANGHA RIVER; WOURI RIVER.

LOI CADRE. The *Loi Cadre* was passed by the French National Assembly on 23 June 1956, to provide an institutional framework for the gradual evolution of overseas territories toward self-rule. Thanks to the *Loi Cadre* the French accelerated reforms and allowed various territories to adapt to their particular circumstances in the quest for independence. In Cameroun **elections** to the *Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun* (ATCAM) were introduced based on universal suffrage. A local political movement, *Courant d'Union Nationale*, was formed by **Soppo Priso** to reject the terms of the *Loi Cadre* because of its outright disregard for Cameroun's juridical distinctiveness as a **trust territory**. The Mollet-Defferre government later conceded to the insufficiency of the *Loi Cadre* provisions for **Cameroun**.

LOME AGREEMENTS. The Lomé Convention, a series of four agreements between the European Economic Community (EEC) and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) states, covered issues of aid, investment, and trade between the two groups. Replacing the **Yaoundé Convention** in 1975, Lomé established a new framework for cooperation and created STABEX to stabilize price fluctuations in agricultural products. In 1981, Lomé II introduced the SYSMIN program to stabilize price fluctuations for minerals. The Lomé agreements were replaced in 2000 by the **Cotonou Agreement**. *See also* EUROPEAN UNION.

LONRHO AFFAIR. *See* EKANGAKI, NZO.

LOST WAX METHOD (CIRE PERDU). A method of brass casting widely used in Cameroon, this three-step process involves first making a model in wax of the object to be cast. The wax model is then covered with clay and baked, causing the wax model to melt. This baked clay mold is then filled with molten brass, which after cooling forms the desired object. *See also* ART.

LOTIN, EBOA (1942–1997). This important Cameroonian musician was born Emmanuel Eboa Lotin in Banamouti-**Douala** in 1942. He recorded his first single, “Mulema Mwam, Elimba Dikalo,” in 1962. He later became known as a master of the *makossa music* style. Lotin played guitar, harmonica, bass, and keyboards in his music, and also had interests in literature, **theater**, and cinema. He died in November 1997.

LUMIERE, MARIE. This faith healer practices in the area of **Douala**, although she is from **Bandjoun**. One report suggests that she has been active at least since the 1980s. *See also* THONG LIKENG, JOHANNES.

LUTHERAN CHURCHES. There are several Lutheran church organizations in Cameroon. The Church of the Lutheran Brethren, growing from mission efforts beginning in 1920, has about 106,000 members. The Evangelical Lutheran Church started as an American mission in 1923 and became an independent church in 1960. The Fraternal Lutheran Church is listed as a member of the Council of Protestant Churches in Cameroon, but no further information has been found. The (Confessional) Lutheran Church began in 1965 as **refugees** from the **Nigeria-Biafra War** fled to Cameroon and established their church. It is active in anglophone areas with about 2,000 members. Lutheran churches draw inspiration from the writings of Martin Luther. Cameroonian Lutherans have been influenced mainly by American and Norwegian Lutherans. Together, they have made significant inroads into the **Muslim**-dominated north Cameroon and the **East Region**. *See also* CHRISTIANITY; NORWEGIAN PROTESTANT MISSION; RELIGION; SUDAN MISSION.

LYCEE LECLERC. This was **French Cameroun**'s most prestigious high school. Located in **Yaoundé**, it was established as a government institution for the training of first-rate students in secondary **education**. Students in the institution generally take the *Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (BEPC)* or *baccalauréat* examinations on completion. For a long time after independence, the principal of this institution was considered superior to other supervisors of secondary education across the country. Many Cameroon elites including Ayissi

Mvodo, Bidias à Ngon, Ndam Njoya, Ngongang Ouandji, **Youssoufa Daouda**, **Paul Biya**, and Ze Nguele attended this renowned institution. *See also* LECLERC, PHILIPPE.

– M –

MAFA (MATAKAM). Having a **population** of approximately 300,000, the Mafa, or Matakam as they are also called, represent the largest **ethnic group** in the Mandara Mountains. The Mafa are generally divided into two groups: those to the north of Mokolo, who have a higher population density despite their dispersed settlements, and those who inhabit the plains and foothills to the south of Mokolo in larger and less-dispersed settlements. The southern group has melded with the **Mofu**, who represent the second-largest group in the area. Mafa are also present in Bornu state, **Nigeria**, along the border with Cameroon.

The Mafa are commonly thought to have fled to the mountains under pressure from **slave raiding** by the **Wandala** and **Fulani** polities in the area. More recent scholarship, however, suggests much more long-term habitation of the area prior to either of these entities. Mafa founding myths frequently make mention of the sacred Goudour Massif, to the southeast of Mokolo, as a point of origin. That said, the difficulty of defining a single historical trajectory is reflective of the differing histories derived from multiple villages, each of which is essentially independent of the others.

MAHDIYYA. This **Islamic** sect accepted the Sudanese leader Muhammad Ahmad, who declared himself the *Mahdi* in 1881, as spiritual guide. The *Mahdi* is an early Islamic concept designating a divinely guided leader who would appear at the end of time to prepare the way for the Day of Judgment. In the person of Muhammad Ahmad, and his followers, Mahdism was remolded in the guise of an ideology of resistance against colonial rule, and it has been argued sowed the seeds of an emerging Cameroonian nationalism.

The concept of the *Mahdi* was an essential element of the preaching of **Uthman Dan Fodio**, founder of the Sokoto Empire, which included all of northern Cameroon. As the *Mahdi* was to appear in

the east, the emirate of **Adamawa** took on particular significance as the easternmost region of the empire. A distinction should be made between Mahdism, emphasizing the imminent arrival of the *Mahdi*, and the Mahdiyya, a group who found common cause with Muhammad Ahmad.

Goni Waday and **Mal Alhadji** were important Mahdists who led significant uprisings in the regions of **Garoua** and **Maroua** respectively in July 1907. The positive reception of Mahdism at that time reflected both the popularity of the earlier Mahdist **Hayatu ibn Sa'id**, the great-grandson of Uthman Dan Fodio, as well as popular discontent with German colonial rule.

MAIZE (ZEA MAYS). Maize, or corn, is a cereal crop cultivated throughout Cameroon, especially in the **North West, West, Littoral, South, and North Regions**. When freshly harvested, maize is boiled, roasted, or grated into several varieties of **food**. Foodstuffs like *fufu*, *kokicorn*, cornbread, *cornchaff* (with beans) or a beverage known as corn beer are all made with maize. Corn juice is also used to make a favorite breakfast hot drink popularly known as *pap*.

MAKOSSA. *Makossa* is Cameroon's most popular **music**. It is originally traced to the **Dualas**, who inhabit the **Littoral Region**, but its popularity now extends across the country and through much of the African continent. The word literally translates into "make me dance" from the Duala. It is a generally smooth and lively sound that irresistibly drives the listener to the floor. Most *makossa* musicians sing in the Duala **language**, sometimes interspersed with **French or Pidgin English**. However, it is not only Dualas who compose the *makossa*. The *makossa* has been used by many other Cameroonian and non-Cameroonian artists.

Because of the popularity of the music across Africa in recent times, artists spring up every day. Two of the most recent stars are Petit-Pays and Papillon. More classic artists include **Manu Dibango, Francis Bebey, and Eboa Lotin** as well as Nelle Eyoum, Ebanda Manfred and Villa Vienne, Ekambi Brillant, Dina Bell, Toto Guillaume, Pierre de Moussy, Prince Ndedi Eyango, Misse Ngoh François, Emile Kangue, Marcel Tjahe, Nkotti François, Jackie Ndoumbe, Joe Mboue, Penda Dalle, and Charlotte Mbango.

MAL ALHADJI (?–1907). Mal Alhadji was a Mahdist in the region of **Maroua** who led an uprising in July 1907. Mal Alhadji began preaching the **Mahdiyya** after his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca. He rallied a large number of followers after installing himself at Goudoum-Goudoum in Mindif *lamidat* under the cause of removing the Germans as well as the corrupt rulers of the *lamidats*, especially Maroua. Mal Alhadji was decisively defeated by the Germans at Malam-Pétel. He was soon after captured and executed by **Lamido** Soudi of Maroua at Doumrou.

MAMBILA (NOR). Numbering approximately 20,000, the Mambila inhabit the Mambila Plateau on the border of Taraba State of **Nigeria** and the **North West Region**. Politically decentralized on a village level, the Mambila are particularly renowned for their mask carving in relation to biannual dances performed for planting and harvesting of crops in November or December and in June or July. Masks appear in a wide variety of forms.

These agriculturalists historically have had a symbiotic relationship with pastoral **Fulani**, but also came into conflict over increasingly scarce resources. Some 30,000 **refugees** crossed into Northwest and **Adamawa Regions** of Cameroon from Taraba state in Nigeria in 2002–2003. These refugees were largely pastoral **Mbororo** fleeing clashes with agricultural Mambila communities. The clashes seem primarily to have focused on competition for land. *See also* ART; BORDER PROBLEMS; ETHNIC CONFLICT.

MAMFE CONFERENCE. This was an all-party conference held in 1959 in the **Southern Cameroons** border town of Mamfe to decide on various issues concerning the future of the **British Cameroons** territories. Participants sought to take a common stand on becoming an integral part of **Nigeria** or joining **French Cameroun** before an important **trusteeship** council session on the issue. Among participant parties was the **North Kamerun Democratic Party (NKPD)** from the **Northern Cameroons**. No consensus was reached at the end of the conference.

MANDARA. *See* WANDALA (MANDARA).

MANDATE SYSTEM 1922–1946. The international system of administration set up at the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919 was embodied in Article 22 of the Covenant of the **League of Nations**. It sought to ensure the moral and material well-being of the peoples in the mandated territories, the former German colonies. Although the laws of the administering European power were applied to each territory, a permanent Mandates Commission supervised the activities of the mandatory authorities through the receipt of annual reports. The Franco-British mandates over the separate Cameroon territories were signed in London on 10 July 1919 with **France** receiving four-fifths of the old **Kamerun** and **Great Britain** receiving two separate areas known as the **British Northern Cameroons** and **Southern Cameroons**. After **World War II** the mandates became **trust territories** under the **United Nations**. *See also* ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES.

MANGA BELL, RUDOLF DOUALA (1873–1914). This is the son of the famous King Bell (1838–1898), whom he later succeeded in 1910. Born in **Douala** and educated at home and in **Germany**, he attacked the ruthlessness of the German colonial system when he became king in 1910. His anticolonial sentiments and willingness to defend indigenous rights led to his deposition, arrest, and condemnation for “treason against the Kaiser and the Empire.” He was hanged on 8 August 1914, exactly six days after the outbreak of **World War I**, at the age of 41. As an early nationalist, Rudolf Douala Manga Bell was long forgotten by his people and only vaguely mentioned in history books. In March 1985, he gained an overdue appreciation when the government christened a group of the *Ecole Militaire Inter-Armes* cadet officers in his honor. *See also* AKWA; ATANGANA, CHARLES; MAYI-MATIP, THEODORE; MOUMIE, FELIX-ROLAND; OUANDIE, EARNEST; SAMBA, MARTIN-PAUL; SAME, ADOLPH LOTIN; UM NYOBE, REUBEN.

MANU DIBANGO. *See* DIBANGO, MANU.

MAQUIS. This French term is used to describe insurgency fighting by underground *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) elements against government forces. The *maquis* movement operated from the

deep equatorial **forests** of the **Bassa** countryside and later engulfed the **Bamiléké Grassfield**. Travel to and across areas of heavy *maquis* activity was discouraged, and a state of emergency was in force in these areas. Although the colonial and postcolonial administrations described its opponents as bandits, the UPC exalted the *maquis* as “a form of militantism on a secret seal.” The *maquis* was a constant fear in Cameroon politics between 1956 and 1971. The death of **Reuben Um Nyobe** in 1958, the assassination of **Osende Afana** in Boumba-Ngoko in the east in 1966, and the execution of the UPC leaders implicated in the **Ndongmo Affair** in 1971 all contributed to the collapse of the *maquis*.

MARAFA, YAYA HAMIDOU (1952). Since 2001 Marafa, originally from **Garoua**, has held the powerful position of minister of state, most recently as minister of territorial administration and decentralization. He is considered to be a very close associate of President **Paul Biya**. He studied petroleum engineering in the United States and began his career at the Société Nationale des Hydrocarbures. He is generally well respected in the donor and foreign investment community. He has also served as secretary-general in the Presidency. *See also* SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

MAROUA. Maroua has been the capital of the **Extreme North Region** since its creation in 1983 and was previously the headquarters of **Diamare** Division. Maroua was settled by a local **Mofu** population in the 17th century but came under Guiziga control in the 18th century. The name of the city is said to derive from the Mofu founder of the city, whose name was Bi Marva. Maroua was conquered by the **Feroobe** clan of **Fulani** at the close of the 18th century, with the current city being founded in the early 19th century. Maroua became a major urban center of the **Adamawa** emirate of the Sokoto empire, renowned in particular for its religious scholarship and for its horses. Throughout its colonial and postcolonial history Maroua has played the role of an unfortunate rival of **Garoua**.

Having an estimated **population** of 60,000 in 1894, it had plunged to only approximately 18,000 by 1950. This population drop was largely the result of a colonial reorientation of resources toward the south of the country. The city has since recovered to the extent that

its population, estimated at between 170,000 and 300,000, is generally agreed to be the country's fourth largest. **Tourism** is important, as is **cotton** processing. Maroua's status as a provincial capital, host of an agro-pastoral show, and site of the most recent state university (opened in August 2008) have added to its development. *See also* DAMRAKA, MODIBO MOHAMMAN.

MATAGA, PHILIPPE (1938–2003). The former minister of foreign affairs was born in **Edéa** on 3 March 1938, of parents from Ndom in the Sanaga-Maritime Division. Mataga attended the **Catholic** mission school in Edéa (1946–1951), the Junior Seminary in Edéa and Akona (1951–1954), and the *Lycée Leclerc* in **Yaoundé** from 1954, obtaining a *baccalauréat* in philosophy in 1958. He studied in Bordeaux but obtained his history degree from the University of Grenoble in 1962 and a postgraduate diploma (D.E.S.) from the Sorbonne in 1963. He did a one-year diplomatic specialization at the *Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Outre Mer* obtaining a diploma in 1964.

Mataga was employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from January 1965 serving in Yaoundé and as adviser in the embassy in Paris and at the Cameroon mission to the **United Nations** in New York until 1971. He continued to serve at the Ministry until 1972, when he was appointed director of the African Regional Center for Labor Administration (CRADAT). From 1975 to 1978 he was director of cultural affairs in the Ministry of Information and Culture until his return to Foreign Affairs. He was deputy director of international organizations from 1978 to 1980 and rose to the rank of secretary-general in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (September 1980–January 1983).

Mataga was called to the Presidency as technical adviser in January 1983. From November 1986 he served as minister of labor and social insurance until he was appointed as foreign minister to replace the veteran **William Eteky Mboumoua** on 23 January 1987. He was an important personality during the rule of President **Paul Biya**. In 1990 he became ambassador to Israel. Shortly before his death in January 2003 from a heart attack, Mataga was appointed to the Vatican as Cameroon's ambassador.

MATAKAM. *See* MOFU.

MAYI-MATIP, THEODORE (1927–2003). Mayi-Matip was born on 2 June 1927 in Eseka, near **Edéa**. After elementary and secondary **education** he continued to study by himself and emerged as a student of **Bassa** history and culture as well as the needs of the Cameroon masses.

A cofounder of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* in 1948, he served alongside **Reuben Um Nyobe** as theoretician, strategist, fortune teller, and griot. His official title was head of the youth wing. He joined the **French** colonial administration but was suspended in 1950 because of his UPC militancy. He became UPC administrative secretary. When the UPC was outlawed in 1955, Mayi-Matip was imprisoned in **Maroua** and Mokolo. After his release, he rejoined the UPC. Some believe that he conspired with enemies when he predicted that 13 September 1958, the day Um Nyobe was murdered, would be a fine day.

After the assassination of Um Nyobe, Mayi-Matip offered his services to **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and created the legal wing of the UPC. He immediately gained a seat in the Assembly. Later as a member of the opposition, he helped establish the *Front National Unifié (FNU)*, which criticized Ahidjo's attempt to create a single party as amounting to dictatorship. He was arrested under Decree No. 62-0F-18 of 12 March 1962, tried, and imprisoned. After two and a half years in jail, Mayi-Matip was released on the understanding that he would collaborate in the dissolution of the UPC as a political force, thus facilitating the creation of the one-party structure.

He joined the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** and was appointed to the highest organ of the party. From 1973 Mayi-Matip served as vice president of the **National Assembly** until he was defeated in the 1988 legislative elections. In 1990 when multiparty politics began, he was removed from the Central Committee and Bureau of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Union** (successor to the CNU) and rejoined the UPC. He seemed to find no place within the various party factions and retired to Eseka. He died on 18 January 2003. *See also* ATANGANA, CHARLES; MANGA BELL, DOULA RUDOLF; MOUMIE, FELIX-ROLAND; OUANDIE, EARNEST; SAMBA, MARTIN-PAUL; SAME, ADOLPH LOTIN.

MBAPPE, ROBERT MBELLA. *See* MBELLA MBAPPE, ROBERT.

MBELLA MBAPPE, ROBERT (1937–). A former director of the Office of the President, he is an accomplished scholar, magistrate, and administrator. Born on 21 October 1937 in Ebone, Mungo Division, **Littoral Region**, he did primary school in Ebone, Ndoungue, and **Douala** (1943–1950). He attended *Lycée Leclerc* (1950–1957) before earning a scholarship to study law in Bordeaux, **France**. He earned the *Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures* in private law and successfully defended his *Doctorat d'Etat* in June 1969. He also trained as a magistrate (1961–1964). Mbella Mbappe occupied important posts in the Ministry of Justice including vice president of the **Yaoundé** Court of Appeal (1964–1966). He was prosecutor of the republic in the Yaoundé Court of First Instance (1966–1967), prosecutor general in the **Garoua** Court of Appeal (1967–1970), and director of judicial affairs and secretary-general in the Ministry of Justice (1970–1973). He was chancellor of the University of Yaoundé from 1973 until 1980. Despite controversial years as chancellor, Mbella Mbappe continued to rise in the country's administration. In 1980, he returned to the Ministry of Justice as prosecutor general at the Supreme Court until June 1983, when he joined **Paul Biya's** government. He served as minister of posts and telecommunications and then of national **education** between July 1983 and November 1984. His next post was director of **cabinet** at the Presidency, and in 1985 he was nominated to the Central Committee of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** as deputy for organization until 26 November 1992, when he became minister of national education. In December 1997, he was dropped from government, but returned briefly from March 2000 to April 2001 as minister of justice. He was appointed chairman of the board of the Telecommunications Regulatory Agency on 17 December 1998, a post he held until 22 February 2008.

MBIDA, ANDRE-MARIE (1917–1980). Cameroon's first preindependence **prime minister**, Mbida was born in Edinding, Nyong-et-Sanaga District. He did his primary **education** there at a **Catholic** seminary. Between 1945 and 1950, he worked in the **French** service as legal secretary. In 1957, he opened a business in Ebolowa. By 1952, he had become so popular that he defeated political heavyweights like **Louis Paul Aujoulat** to gain a seat in the *Assemblée Territoriale* and, between 1953 and 1956, he held a position in the

French Union. In 1956, he was elected as a deputy to the French National Assembly.

It was to Mbida's credit that many Cameroonians, not strictly adhering to the *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)*, began expressing hostility against the French administration. He eventually became the national hero for a country still in search of independence and nationhood. His big legislative following in the Territorial Assembly led to the request for him to form the first Cameroun government in 1957. Mbida needed a coalition to make the preindependence government a reality, and this was achieved by the formation of the so-called Nationalist Front. However, despite his strong opposition to the French, Mbida later espoused a program that placed him at odds with other early nationalist leaders, denying the concept of nation in Cameroun and expressing a desire to delay independence until a strong local economy was in place.

Mbida's coalition gradually fell apart as the French showed increased readiness to oust the Cameroon prime minister. In a well-orchestrated political machination, Mbida was removed as prime minister in favor of his deputy, **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, in February 1958. Apart from his dislike of the French, Mbida was allegedly intolerant to minority interests, remained inflexible over the *maquis* situation, and prescribed harsh penalties to deal with the **Bassa** insurgency. Consequently, Mbida not only alienated the French but antagonized factions of the Cameroonian population. He went into voluntary exile after his forceful removal from office in 1958 and joined the exile wing of the UPC in Conakry, Guinea.

In 1960, Mbida returned to Cameroun under a government amnesty to contest local elections. His political platform was embodied in the goals of the *Parti des Démocrates Camerounais (PDC)*, which brought together various **Fang** groupings of the Yaoundé area. Although his party performed well and entered the ruling coalition with Ahidjo's *Union Camerounaise (UC)*, Mbida was not given any prominent political office. While in the Parliament, he was arrested for an alleged conspiracy against the government and jailed for three years. In 1965, he was released from prison and later developed eye problems. However, he managed to get on good terms with Ahidjo and live a secluded life out of public view. He died in October 1980.

MBILE, NERIUS NAMASO (1923–2003). Mbile was an important figure in **Southern** and **West Cameroon** politics. Born in Lipenja near **Kumba** on 4 April 1923, he attended primary school in Kumba before proceeding to **Eastern Nigeria** for his postsecondary **education**. He became identified with the quest for nationalism and joined the **National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)**, served as secretary-general of the **CDC Workers Union** (1949–1951) and later as its president (1949–1951). He allied closely with **Emmanuel Endeley** in the formation of political pressure groups and parties. He became secretary-general of the **Kamerun United National Congress (KUNC)**.

In 1951, he was one of the “Original Thirteen” to be elected from Southern Cameroons to the Eastern Regional House of Assembly, **Nigeria**. When a coalition was constructed with Endeley’s **Kamerun National Congress (KNC)** in 1957, Mbile was appointed minister of transport in the first ministerial government in **Southern Cameroons**. He became deputy leader of the **Cameroons People’s National Convention (CPNC)** and campaigned for Southern Cameroon’s association with Nigeria. A renowned parliamentarian, Mbile served in the Eastern Regional House of Assembly, the House of Representatives in Lagos, the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly, and the West Cameroon House of Assembly. He also served in West Cameroon as minister of works (1965–1967), minister of lands and surveys in 1968, and secretary of state for primary education (1969–1972). After the formation of a unitary state in 1972, he retired to become a businessman until 6 November 1992, when he was appointed chairman of the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)**. In 2002 he published his memoirs, *Cameroon Political Story: Memories of an Authentic Eyewitness*. Mbile died in September 2003.

MBOG, FELIX TONYE. See TONYE MBOG, FELIX.

MBORORO (BORORO). This term is used in northern and **North West Cameroon** to denote **Fulani** whose main occupation is pastoral. The term usually implies a high degree of nomadism and is tied to cultural perceptions of rural residence and ignorance of **Islam**. The Mbororo do not belong to one of the three major clans of sedentary Fulani, that is, the **Vollarbe**, **Yillaga’en**, or **Feroobe**; rather

they derive from other less-represented clans such as the Djafoun, Woodaabe, and others. The first Mbororo migrated into **Adamawa** in approximately 1870 from **Nigeria**. They settled and even formed political units at times, most notably Lompta, founded at the turn of the 20th century near Galim in **Adamawa Region**.

Lompta was founded to escape the predations of the great *lamidats*, but suffered instead the constant raids of the Nyem-Nyem residing in the mountains around Galim until they were subdued by the **Germans** in 1906. Lompta was officially designated a *lamidat* in 1923 by the French but was never accorded the respect of the *lamidats* established in the 19th century. The decline of Lompta after 1923 provoked migrations into the **North West Region**, southeast Adamawa Region, and **Central African Republic**.

The term *Mbororo* is usually used in a derogatory sense and normally will not be used in the presence of one so designated, who will instead be referred to as a Pullo (s., pl. Fulbé). They are often said to be enormously rich, due to the cattle that they possess, despite the poverty in which they may live.

MBOUM. *See* MBUM.

MBOUMOUA, WILLIAM-AURELIAN ETEKY. *See* ETEKY MBOUMOUA, WILLIAM-AURELIAN.

MBUM (MBOUM). The Mbum are considered the indigenous people of **Adamawa Region**, although they claim to have found another people living there when they themselves arrived. A significant Mbum population is also found in the **Central African Republic**. Toponyms suggest that they once populated parts of southwestern **Chad**. Within northern Cameroon, they are grouped politically into several polities, each with its own ruler (*Belaka*), of which the best known is that of Nganha (more properly known as Ngaouha).

The Mbum have enjoyed a very close relationship for centuries with the **Dii**. Both groups have lived under **Fulani** rule since the early 19th century, with whom they have also intermarried to a significant degree. In distinction to the largely pastoral-based **economy** of the Fulani, the Mbum and their brethren Dii base their economy largely on **agriculture**. While early authors stressed the

adversarial relationship between the Mbum and the Fulani, more recent scholarship has emphasized the conspiracy of the two in regional conquests and **slave** raiding. The Mbum retained their religious beliefs until the 20th century, but by the 1960s had largely converted to **Islam**; the Dii converted to **Christianity** in much greater numbers. The Mbum are considered the cultural and linguistic bedrock of Adamawa area, despite their lacking political and economic hegemony.

The Mbum are understood to be the ancestors of the **Tikar** people of the **North West Region** and hence the ancestors of many of the other peoples of that **region**. It has also been suggested that they were historically one of the major constituents of the Kororofa confederation of the 13th–16th centuries that frequently attacked the Hausa states of northern **Nigeria**.

MBWE-MBWE (MBUEMBWE). He was the 10th ruler of the **Bamoum** dynasty; he reigned during the 18th century. He extended his political control across the Noun River through a conquest of 48 chiefdoms. After an initial **Fulani** invasion of the Bamoum kingdom, Mbwe-Mbwe erected fortifications around the town of **Foumban** to defend and save the entire kingdom.

MEBENGA m'EBOBO. *See* SAMBA, PAUL-MARTIN.

MERRICK, JOSEPH (1808–1849). This Jamaican **Baptist** missionary of African origin was the pioneer missionary on the Cameroon coast. He reached Fernando Po in 1843 before establishing the Cameroon mission in Bell Town and Bimbia in 1844. By his numerous activities as an explorer, teacher, minister, and craftsman he laid the groundwork on which **Alfred Saker** expanded Baptist missionary activity in Cameroon. Merrick translated the Bible into Isubu (the Bimbia Dialect), published a textbook for elementary teaching in the language, set up a printing press, developed a machine for making local materials like bricks, climbed **Mount Cameroon** and paid the first non-African visit to the Bakoko people. Although Joseph Merrick's legacy was overshadowed by Alfred Saker, a boys' secondary school, the Joseph Merrick Baptist College in Ndu, **Northwest Region**, was established to honor his achievements. Born in August

1808, Merrick perished at sea en route to England on 22 October 1849. *See also* NATIVE BAPTIST CHURCH.

MESSMER, PIERRE JOSEPH AUGUSTE (1916–2007). He served as high **commissioner** to **Cameroun** (1956–1958) following bloody riots in **Douala**. He developed a more conciliatory leadership in the handling of the sociopolitical and economic issues inherited in his tenure. Messmer exercised skillful politics in treating **Soppo Priso**'s National Union Movement, reducing the popularity of its program. He became minister of armies (1960–1969) and prime minister of **France** (1972–1974). Born on 20 March 1916, he died on 29 August 2007.

MILL HILL FATHERS. *See* CATHOLIC CHURCH.

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGs). The eight MDGs were established by the Millennium Declaration adopted by 189 nations in September 2000 under the auspices of the **United Nations**. These goals are to be achieved by 2015:

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary **education**.
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower **women**.
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality.
- Goal 5: Improve maternal **health**.
- Goal 6: Combat **HIV/AIDS**, malaria, and other diseases.
- Goal 7: Ensure **environmental** sustainability.
- Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development.

Cameroon publishes reports on progress toward these goals, as do various **units** of the United Nations. For example, in 2008 the UN's Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) published "Assessing Progress in Africa towards the Millennium Development Goals Report 2008." Rising **food** prices at the end of the first decade of the new millennium as well as Cameroon's declining **petroleum** production caused concern that the MDGs would not be accomplished by 2015.

MINERALS AND MINING. Cameroon's most important mineral resource at this time is **petroleum**. However, significant deposits of

natural gas, bauxite, and iron ore as well as exploitable amounts of cobalt, granite, nepheline syenite, nickel, rutile, diamonds, gold, and tin also exist. Although Cameroon is an important producer and exporter of **aluminum**, local bauxite reserves are not being exploited.

Iron ore is a significant possibility. The Australian Sundance company, which entered Cameroon in 2006 (with a 90 percent stake in Cam Iron) has a project at Mbalam, **South Region**, to mine ore for export at **Kribi**. Although financing is a problem, the plan calls for production by 2011 and would include construction of rail and road links.

In the **East Region** cobalt deposits described as the largest in the world are in the early stages of development with production expected to begin in 2010. Nickel and manganese will be by-products of this enterprise owned by the Geovic company.

Artisanal gold production, estimated at 1,500 kilograms per year, has been undertaken for at least 70 years in eastern and northern Cameroon at very low levels of production; the African Aura company is doing test drillings for gold in the area. Recently a Korean firm has entered the country to rationalize the purchase and export of this mineral. In 2006 C&K Mining (Korea) had some 3,000 independent miners selling to it. C&K is also exploring for diamonds. In 2009 another Korean firm, Kocam, was licensed to explore for gold and silver.

Uranium has been known to exist in Cameroon for several years, but it is only recently that serious consideration of exploitation has been under way. Mega Uranium (Canada) is the major actor and in 2008 was taking test samples at three locations. Ridgeway Energy is also running tests in at least two locations.

Rutile explorations are under way near Akonolinga, though studies are very preliminary. Minor amounts of silica for glass making and clay and limestone for **cement** are also mined.

In general, the **economic crises** of the 1980s and from 2007 have caused serious problems for the mining sector of the economy. *See also* FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN TRADE.

MINISTRY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN AND THE FAMILY (MINPROFF). The Ministry of **Women's** Affairs was created on 4 February 2004 by President **Paul Biya**. It was charged with

coordinating, researching, and monitoring all aspects of women's affairs in the country in order to promote the interests of women in the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres in order to ensure their total integration in society. Generally, the typical Cameroonian traditional culture is male oriented. This ministry attempted to contribute toward greater understanding and realism in the position of women as well as to provide avenues for change in social mentalities in the Cameroon society.

In December 1997, the ministry was split into two separate ministries: the Ministry of Women's Affairs under **Yaou Assiatou**, and the Ministry of Social Affairs under Magdalene Fouda. In 1998, the Ministry of Women's Affairs became the Ministry of Women's Condition (*Ministère de la Condition Féminine*) and at some point it became the Ministry for the Advancement of Women and the Family and later on the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and the Family. On 30 June 2009 Suzanne Bomback was replaced as minister by Abena Marie Thérèse. On the same day, Catherine Bakang Mbock became the minister of social affairs. There seems to be some overlap between the responsibilities of these two ministries. In addition, a wing of the ruling party, the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**, caters to women's matters. *See also* WOMEN'S RIGHTS; WOMEN, VIOLENCE AGAINST.

MISE EN VALEUR. This term, which translates literally as "improvement," refers to an ostentatious French colonial policy of promoting planned economic development in previously unexploited areas. Originally elaborated in 1923 by Colonial Minister Albert Sarraut, the idea has been used to demonstrate **France's** commitment to development of its territories. It was also conceived as an integral part of the new policy of **Association**, which emphasized the use of indigenous labor and material.

The view that the *Mise en Valeur* was particularly successful in **Cameroon** is erroneous as it is based principally on economic indicators of trade and exchange rather than on impact on the masses. The local population suffered social and economic disintegration of indigenous structures, unemployment rose, and hardship was a bitter characteristic of the labor system. Most road and railway construc-

tion still operated under the use of the *corvée* (**forced labor**) and *indigénat* system.

Furthermore, the idea of planned development was limited by the fact that the French concentrated their projects in the “**fertile crescent**” region leaving the greater part of the territory in substandard condition. This relative imbalance in terms of economic growth and development characterized the territory’s **economy** into the period of independence. While a few **ethnic groups** like the **Bamiléké** gained materially from the *Mise en Valeur*, others, like the **Bassa**, suffered from it. The numerous French citizens in Cameroun at the time, as well as the *colons* (settlers), were its main beneficiaries. *See also* FONDS D’INVESTISSEMENT POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL DES TERRITOIRES D’OUTRE MER (FIDES).

MISSION CIVILISATRICE-ET-PROVIDENTIELLE. *See* ASSIMILATION POLICY.

MOFU. Located in the **Extreme North Region**, largely in the Mofou Nord and Zidim Cantons of the Mayo-Tsanaga Department, the Mofu numbered approximately 55,000 in 1967. They are commonly divided into a larger northern contingent and a smaller southern group, distinguished by various cultural and institutional differences. For example, the Northern Mofu as well as their neighbors the Guiziga allow smiths to marry freely throughout the larger community, while smiths are strictly endogamous within the community among the Southern Mofu. The southern group tends to build in earth on the plains, while the northern group usually builds stone structures in the mountains. The southern group is often referred to as the Gudur, rather than as the Mofu proper.

A common foundation myth records that the Mofu followed a bull from the east to their current domains. This story suggests a shift from pastoral to more agricultural occupations. Oral histories usually are very localized. The oldest villages, however, can be traced back as far as the 16th century. Recent research has shown that immigrants did indeed arrive from the rocky outcroppings on the plains to the east, as well as immigrants from nearer locations arriving from the west. These joined the original inhabitants of the area, who are still

recognized as such. Significant is the emphasis on mountainous residence historically, even of those arriving from the east. This implies that the Mofu were mountain dwellers long before the **Fulani** incursion, although some may have fled from the plains, and that this was an inherent element of Mofu culture.

The Mofu were the original 17th-century founders of **Maroua**, called Marva at the time. By the 18th century, Marva was under Guiziga authority. There are frequent cultural overlaps with the Guiziga, and it is even thought that some groups have crossed historically from one culture to the other.

MOHAMMADOU, ELDRIDGE (1934–2004). A scholar renowned for his studies of northern Cameroon history and his work on the Fulbé (**Fulani**), he was a specialist in the use of oral history. Born on 15 January 1934 to an English father and a Fulbé mother, he became as a youth a supporter of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**). He was a founder of the journals *Abbia* and *Afrika Zamani*. However, he is best known for his extensive work and considerable publications on northern history. He died in Nigeria on 18 February 2004.

MONGA, CELESTIN (1960–). Born on 27 May 1960 in Bana, Monga became a celebrity between 1990 and 1993 due to his activity in the prodemocracy movement. In the 27 December edition of *Le Messenger*, Monga wrote an open letter to President **Paul Biya**, accusing him of being indifferent to the social and economic plight of Cameroonians. As a consequence of this letter, he was arrested, tried, and given a three-year suspended sentence. Less than three years later, Monga conducted an interview with the controversial ex-finance minister, Robert Messi Messi, in which the latter exposed massive misappropriation of funds in a local bank, *Société Camerounaise de Banque* (**SCB**), by the president's first wife, **Jeanne Irène Biya**, during his tenure as general manager of the bank. The implication was that the collapse of the bank was linked to the presidential couple. These two episodes undoubtedly made Monga popular, especially given the sociopolitico-economic atmosphere in Cameroon in the early 1990s. Thus in May 1992, as rumors spread of his impending arrest on his return from abroad, a large crowd invaded the **Douala** international airport to prevent his arrest.

Monga is well known for his scholarly activities. He published *The Anthropology of Anger* (1996), a widely read significant contribution to the study of democratization in Africa, and in 2007 was coeditor of the five-volume *New Encyclopedia of Africa*. Since 1997 he has worked at the **World Bank** as lead economist in the office of the senior vice president and chief economist.

MONGO-BETI. *See* BETI, MONGO (ALEXANDRE BIYIDI AWALA).

MOUMIE, FELIX-ROLAND (1926–1960). Moumié is one of the heroes of Cameroon nationalism. A radical nationalist and committed Marxist, he resorted to guerrilla warfare to advance the political claims of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC). He was killed on 3 November 1960, by **French** security agents, presumably on orders of the Cameroun government, in Geneva, Switzerland. Born in **Foumban**, Moumié was educated in Cameroon and later earned a medical degree at the *Ecole Normale William Ponty*, near Dakar, Senegal, in 1950. He was a founding member of the UPC and rose to the level of copresident by 1952. He served in **Maroua** as a local physician before becoming UPC president.

Widely feared and discredited by the French administration because of its Marxist convictions, the UPC was outlawed after 1955. This forced Moumié to go into exile living successively in **British Cameroons**, Cairo, Conakry, and Accra. As a leader of the UPC he was usually at loggerheads with **Reuben Um Nyobe** over the manner of pursuing their vital interests. Moumié considered Um's tactical approach as too moderate and diplomatic and largely unsuited to the crushing colonial challenges. Moumié had grandiose designs for the UPC, which could be summarized in the economic, theological, and political levels as Marxist. It was this that brought him close to the radical nationalist leaders of Africa like Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, and Gamal Abdel Nasser, who sympathized with his cause after 1958. Although a fierce militant, Moumié was largely in charge of mobilizing outside support and finance for the UPC especially for the fighting guerrillas (*maquis*) in the **Bassa** and **Bamiléké** countryside.

In 2006 Moumié's widow, Marthe Moumié, published *Victime du colonialisme française: Mon mari Félix Moumié*. On 7 January

2009 she was brutally murdered at her home in Ebolowa. *See also* ATANGANA, CHARLES; MANGA BELL, DOULA RUDOLF; MAYI-MATIP, THEODORE; OUANDIE, EARNEST; SAMBA, MARTIN-PAUL; SAME, ADOLPH LOTIN.

MOUNT CAMEROON. The highest mountain in West Africa rises to 4,095 meters or 13,435 feet and interrupts the low-lying region of the Cameroon coast in the **South West Region**. It is an active volcano with frequent eruptions recently (2000, 1999, 1989, and 1982). It is known locally as Fako. The town of Debundcha on the coastal side of the mountain is reputed to be the world's second most rainy location. There is a "satellitic peak" named Etinde very close to the ocean. On 23 November 2007 the area became a **national park**. New trails have been opened to offer hikers a several days' trek to various locations on this huge structure. It is the source of livelihood and employment for many **Bakweri**. Beginning in 1973, the Guinness Company has sponsored an annual Mount Cameroon race held every February.

MOUNTAIN CHAIN OF THE WEST. It originates from the volcanic islands of the Gulf of Guinea, Bioko (formerly Fernando Po) and Sao Tomé, and extends for about 1,800 kilometers into the northeast. The mountainous chain rises in the **Littoral** and **South West** and **West Regions** and extends to Mora in the north. It is interrupted by the **Benue** basin near **Garoua**. This mountainous chain includes **Mount Cameroon** (4,095 meters), the Menengouba (2,050 meters), the Bamboutos (2,680 meters), the **Bamiléké** Plateau (2,100 meters), the Bamoum massive as well as the Mandara and **Atlantika Mountains**. The mountainous chain gradually diminishes into the **Lake Chad** basin.

MOUSGOUM. *See* MUSGUM.

MOUSSA YAYA, SARKIFADA (1924–2002). Never a government minister, Moussa Yaya was a political potentate from 1958 until 1982. Born in **Garoua** on 3 April 1924, he attended the *Ecole Principale de Garoua* and did technical training in **Maroua**. His only nonpolitical duty was as head of the Benue subsector for animal breeding.

Moussa Yaya became an indispensable confidant of President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, who selected him for the *Assemblée Territoriale* following the death of a northern incumbent in 1956. He was secretary-general and political secretary of the *Union Camerounaise* (UC, 1958–1966), secretary of social affairs for the **Cameroon National Union** (CNU), and member of the Political Bureau (1966–1983).

His party duties paralleled his role as a member of Parliament, to which he was successively reelected and served as deputy speaker, virtually the de facto head, from August 1959 until January 1983. In parliament he was president of the Commission of Constitutional Law, General Administration, Justice and the **Armed Forces**, and he was president of the High Court (1964–1983). He was active in the Executive Committee of the Inter Parliamentary Union, a member of multiple Cameroon permanent delegations to the **United Nations**, and a member of the Cameroon delegation to The Hague on the **Northern Cameroons case with Great Britain** at the International Court of Justice. He was one of the “barons” and a “pillar” of the Ahidjo administration.

The public knew Moussa Yaya mostly from his corporate duties. He was chairman, vice chairman, or board member of at least 10 of the most highly funded state corporations including those for electricity, water, investment, hydrocarbons, and air transport. With these multiple functions, Moussa Yaya had the widest clientele and constituency of any politician.

His powerful role ended on 10 January 1983. The irony of his misfortune was that it was inflicted by his mentor, Ahidjo. Still chairman of the Cameroon National Union after his resignation as head of state, Ahidjo accused Moussa Yaya and four others of engaging in subversive maneuvers to create confusion in party ranks, thus endangering national unity. Ahidjo claimed that the ambitious Moussa Yaya was a threat to his constitutional successor. Critics argued that Moussa Yaya was eliminated because he detested Ahidjo’s active presence in national affairs and was ready to reveal Ahidjo’s insincerity. At his request, he was readmitted to the **Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement** by President **Paul Biya** in 1987. Biya made him a roving ambassador, but mainly he lived privately as founder-director of the Walde Sarkifada Ranch, **Adamawa Region**, until his death on 27 October 2002 in Paris after surgery.

MOUVEMENT D'ACTION NATIONALE DU CAMEROUN (MANC). This **political party** was created from a coalition of the *Ngondo* establishment (led by **Soppo Priso**) and the Association Traditionnelle Bantu Efoula-Meyong (led by **Charles Assale**) in March 1956. The MANC sought to bring about the integration of all political forces in the country around a “common minimal program.” French authorities considered it as a *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) movement in disguise. In the Legislative Assembly elections, MANC gained eight seats to form the *Groupe de Huit* opposed to the **André-Marie Mbida** government in 1957. It joined **Ahmadou Ahidjo**'s coalition government of 1958–1960.

MOUVEMENT DE LIBERATION DU PEUPLE CAMEROUN (MPLC). *See* BOUKAR, LIMANE MALLOUM OUMATE.

**MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC (MDR)/
MOUVEMENT POUR LA DEFENCE DE LA REPUBLIQUE (MDR).** This **Extreme North Region** party gets support based on anti-Fulani, anti-Islam, anti-National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP) sentiments. The MDR apparently has received encouragement from the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**, with which it formed a coalition government in 1992. In return, the MDR was given four **cabinet** positions. In the **National Assembly elections of 1997** the MDR won only one seat, the one contested by MDR leader Dakolé Daïssala, a former cabinet minister. The CPDM won a majority and no longer had any need for a coalition with the MDR. In the 2002 and 2007 **elections** the party won no seats, but its leader became minister of transport (2004–2007). *See also* KIRDI.

MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS (MDP).
See NATIONAL UNION FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS (NUDP).

MUKETE, VICTOR E. (1918–). Mukete was the first Cameroonian chairman of the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)**. He is the traditional head (*fon*) of the Bafaw. Born on 15 November 1918 in **Kumba, South West Region**, he was active in preindependence

politics and has remained active ever since. *Fon Mukete's* lasting legacy was in the post as first Cameroon chairman of the CDC (1960–1981). Since then he has fully engaged in a private agricultural enterprise and assumed active party political functions and as a member of the country's Economic and Social Council.

MUKONG, ALBERT WOMAH (1933–2004). Mukong was born on 23 October 1933 in Babanki Tungo, **North West Region**. He attended **Saint Joseph's College**. A **human rights** activist, author, and politician, Mukong was executive director of the Human Rights Defence Group (HRDG) in **Bamenda**. He was detained and imprisoned several times by the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and **Paul Biya** governments because of his demands for **democracy**, human rights, and the rule of law. On at least one occasion Amnesty International listed him as a “prisoner of conscience.” In the 1990s he was also active in demands for **anglophone** rights, the return of federal government, and the possible independence of **Southern Cameroons**. He served as an adviser to the **Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC)**. Among his numerous publications, *My Stewardship in the Cameroon Struggle* (Bamenda: the author, 1992) and *Prisoner without a Crime* (Paris: Nubia, 1989) are quite important. Soon after winning a major court case against the government, he died on 12 July 2004.

MUNA, SOLOMON TANDENG (1912–2002). Muna was a long-time leading figure in Cameroon politics. Former speaker of the **National Assembly**, vice president of the **Federal Republic**, and **prime minister of West Cameroon**, he was born in Ngyen-Mbo, Momo Division, **North West Region**. He received primary **education** at the Local Authority School in **Bali** (1926–1926) and the Government School, **Bamenda** (1926–1931). He entered the Government Teacher's Training College in Kake, **South West Region** (1934–1936), graduating with a Grade III certificate in 1936; he earned a Grade II certificate in 1942 and a Grade I certificate in 1947. He obtained a diploma from the Institute of Education of the University of London in 1959, specializing in school administration and teacher training. He served as headmaster, head tutor, and supervisor of schools (1937–1954).

Thereafter, Muna's life was embroiled in the politics of the quest for independence in **British Cameroons** and **reunification** with

French Cameroun. He was deputy leader of the **Kamerun National Congress (KNC)**, which led to his successive ministerial positions. He was minister of works for **Eastern Nigeria** (1951–1953) and executive council member for National Resources for Southern Cameroons (1954–1957). Muna broke away from the KNC in 1957 along with other “reunificationists” to form the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)**, led by **John Ngu Foncha**. It was thanks to the successive wins of the KNDP in the general elections that Muna owed his posts of minister of works (1959) and minister of commerce and industry (1959) in the **Southern Cameroons** government. At independence in 1960, Muna served as minister of finance. He was among the few **anglophone** ministers in the federal government, where he served as minister of transport, mines, posts, and telecommunications (1961–1968).

In the interim, Muna led the breakaway from the KNDP to form the **Cameroon United Congress (CUC)** in 1965. In 1966, he served in the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** party. In 1967, he was appointed prime minister of West Cameroon, and from 1970 until 1972 he served as vice president of the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**. He was a minister of state in the first unitary government of the country until he was elected speaker of the **National Assembly** in 1973.

Consequently, Muna became the leading figure for anglophone Cameroonians and a significant personality in the country. Many anglophones tended to blame him for the strains inherent in the system. His constitutional prerogative as successor to the head of state was lost in a constitutional amendment of June 1979. As speaker of the National Assembly, Muna played multiple international roles, including vice president of the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly (1976–1977), copresident of the same body (1978–1982), and leader of the Cameroon parliamentary group to the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Union of African Parliaments. He also showed wide-ranging interests in his role in the scout movement, serving as chief scout in West Cameroon (1968–1972) and Cameroon (1973–1979). He chaired the Africa Regional Scout Committee (1972–1976) and was a member and vice president of the World Scout Committee.

Muna survived the post-**Ahmadou Ahidjo** transition and even attempted an unsuccessful peace shuttle in 1983 between **Yaoundé**,

Garoua, and Paris to seek reconciliation in the feud between President **Paul Biya** and former President Ahidjo. He was reelected to the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** in March 1985 but resigned in April 1988, prior to the first competitive legislative election in Cameroon's postindependence history. During his long political career Muna personally met with over 100 foreign leaders and received medals from many countries. He died on 22 January 2002.

MUNGO RIVER. This important drainage feature flows across the Loum, Mbanga, and **Nkongsamba** area. The Mungo is politically important. The bridge at Bekoko over the Mungo River was widely used for political demarcation between former **West** and **East Cameroon** until 1972. Cameroonians from both ends of the Mungo bridge needed a *laissez-passer* (travel pass) to cross over to the other federated state. Later, the reunification highway linking **Douala** and **Limbe** included a symbolic bridge over the Mungo. However, on 1 July 2005 the bridge collapsed, to be reopened only on 20 May 2007. The collapse caused considerable **transportation** problems, but was seen by **anglophone** separatists as symbolic of the collapse of **reunification** and the failure of a united Cameroon. *See also* **ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; LAKE CHAD; LOGONE AND CHARI RIVERS; SANAGA RIVER; SANGHA RIVER; WOURI RIVER.**

MUSGUM (MOUSGOUM). This agricultural group lives to the south of **Lake Chad** along the **Logone River** in the **Extreme North Region** and adjacent plain of **Chad**. The Musgum have lived in this area since at least the 16th century and possibly longer, though many origin myths tell of migration from the east. The Musgum claim origins in the union of a **Kotoko** prince and a Massa woman. They experienced frequent attack from the Baguirmi kingdom in Chad in the 17th through the 19th centuries. In the 19th century, eastern groups of the Musgum paid tribute to Baguirmi, while western groups came under pressure from the **Fulani**, particularly under the guise of **Sheikh Hayatu ibn Sa'id**, who conquered many in the late 19th century. The principal town in Cameroon, Pouss, was founded in the early 19th century, if not earlier. Pouss became the capital of a Musgum

sultanate in 1911 when Mbang Mati immigrated there from Chad. A second sultanate was established nearby at Guirvidig.

MUSIC. Music has always been a part of Cameroon life. With its large number of **ethnic groups** and cultures, there is much variety in traditional music and instruments.

Cameroonians love music and dancing, and the country's diversity is reflected in popular music. Music is played at all formal and non-formal occasions and sometimes just to "fill the air."

The most popular types are *makossa* and *bikutsi*; both have become national in their acceptance. *Makossa* is similar to *soukous* but includes strong bass rhythm. *Makossa*, which began in the 1950s, traces its origins to **Douala** from a type of **Duala** dance called *kossa* and has significant influences from other music such as jazz, *ambasse bey*, Latin music, highlife, and rumba. Internationally notable *makossa* artists include **Eboa Lotin**, Misse Ngoh François, and especially **Manu Dibango**. Others include **Francis Bebey**, Moni Bile, Grace Decca, Bebe Manga, Dina Bell, Papillon, Petit-Pays (Adolphe Claude Moundi), and Elvis Kemayo. A branch of *makossa*, called *makassi*, is a lighter style of *makossa* developed and popularized by San Fan Thomas. The *makossa* style has been used by international singers and artists such as Michael Jackson in "Wanna Be Startin' Somethin'," Eminem in "Doe Rae Me," Back to Basics in "Mama-kossa," the Bloodhound Gang in "Mama Say," Rihanna in "Don't Stop the Music," Chico Science in "Samba Makossa," and El Chojin in "Algo mas que musica." The most widely known musician was Prince Niko Mbarga, whose "Sweet Mother" music recorded in 1976 sold more than 13 million copies and is recognized as one of Africa's greatest songs. "Sweet Mother" is sometimes called Africa's anthem and has been voted Africa's favorite song by BBC listeners.

Bikutsi, which developed from the Beti or **Ewondo** people of the **Central Region**, first appeared in the 1940s with recordings by Anne-Marie Nzie. *Bikutsi* literally means "beat the earth" or "let's beat the earth." The music requires dancers to stomp their feet on the ground and to dance with energetic pulsations of the shoulders and/or pelvis. The popularity of *bikutsi* rivals *makossa* as the country's most renowned style. Jean Marie Ahanda introduced *bikutsi* to the international audience in 1987. The style was further popularized by

the flamboyant group *Les Têtes Brûlée*. Other artists include Jimmy Mvondo Mvele, Mbarga Soukous, K-Tino, Racine Sagath, Patou Bass, Ovasho Bens, and Natascha Bizo. It should be noted that present-day *bikutsi* is still often performed by female artists, who use music as a means of self-expression in a patriarchal society. In this regard, K-Tino, the self-styled *femme du peuple* (woman of the people), sees herself as having an important role to play in the emancipation and liberation of Cameroon **women**.

In addition to *makossa* and *bikutsi*, other varieties of Cameroon music include the *tsamassi* of the **Bamiléké**, which was popularized by André-Marie Tala; the *mangambou* of the Bangangté, made known by Pierre Diddy Tchakounte; the *assiko* traditional musical rhythm of the **Bassa**, propagated by Jean Bikoko; and the typical sound of the coastal peoples, *ambase bey*, revived by Salle John.

Cameroon has other musicians who have made names. Jo Biso and Vicky Edimo are making strides in the world of jazz; Tim and Foty excelled in vocal acrobatics; and Arbo Gaste Mbella specializes in religious music and gospel songs from his long-time base in **France**. The Fulani group *Kawtal* has been a popular success in the north. More recently, a softer more poetic style of music is gaining popularity due to the talents of such artists as Henri Dikongué and Sally Nyolo. It is thanks to these personalities and groups like *Les Têtes Brûlées* that Cameroon music is fast competing with Cameroon football as the most distinctive factor with which a majority of Africans have come to identify the country. *See also* THEATER.

MUSLIM HOLY WAR. *See* JIHAD.

MUSLIM POPULATIONS. A conglomeration of **ethnic groupings** in today's northern regions have adopted the **Islamic** faith. These groupings include large entities such as the **Fulani**. Although a common universal belief ties them together, they still retain their unique sociocultural attributes. The Muslim population of the northern regions is not a unified or coherent ensemble.

The **Wandala** were organized in a weak kingdom in the northern portions of the mountainous chains and were Islamized by the **Choa Arabs** at the beginning of the 18th century. Islamic influence was strongest with the **chief** and his entourage and only gradually reached

the local populations. Political, fiscal, and religious authority is vested in the *tlikse* (sultan) who symbolized political centralization. The Wandala population was stratified socially into freemen and slaves, and commerce grew out of trade with the powerful Bornu Kingdom.

The Fulani are the largest group of Islamic peoples in northern Cameroon. Their settlement is the result of successive migrations in the late 18th century. Today they constitute a distinctive grouping based largely on their ethnic features and their glorification of Islam. Learning in Fulani society is highly regarded, particularly in Islamic teachings. The teacher is known as the *modibo*, and their role in Fulani society is revealed in the leadership of **Modibo Adama**. Besides learned men, the preponderant role of the warrior is exemplified in the conquest of **Uthman Dan Fodio**. Contemporary Fulani Muslims are grouped in collectivities headed by a “commander of believers” known as the *lamido*.

It was the fervent belief in religion that led to the declaration of the holy war (**jihad**) against their neighbors and the establishment of Fulani hegemony centered in Yola, **Nigeria**. Ardent pastoralists, nomadism is a major occupation of the masses in the complex and highly stratified society. Islamic populations also exist in **anglo-phone** Cameroon, where the **Mbororo**, a Fulani group, have settled in the **North West Region**. In the **Western Region**, the **Bamoum** are also Muslims.

MUSONGE, PETER MAFANY (1942–). Born on 3 November 1942, at Muea, **South West Region**, he attended primary school in Muea and secondary school at **Saint Joseph’s College** (1956–1961). He proceeded to the United States to the Drexel Institute of Technology, where he graduated with a B.Sc. in civil engineering in 1967; the next year he completed the M.Sc. at Stanford University. From March 1969 until November 1970 he held various positions in the **West Cameroon** department of public works. He moved to similar positions in **Yaoundé**.

In 1976, Musonge attended a course at the **World Bank** in Washington, D.C. On his return, he served as deputy director of roads up to 1980, when he was appointed general manager of the Civil Engineering Laboratory (**LABOGENIE**) in Yaoundé, a post he held until

April 1984. In 1981, Musonge attended the Paris-based Institute for Higher Commercial Studies. Between April 1984 and August 1988, he headed the Civil Engineering Equipment Pool (MATGENIE), before being appointed general manager of the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)**. During his tenure at the CDC he rescued that corporation from economic collapse.

Musonge has many academic and national honors to his credit. He was decorated with the Commander of the Order of Valour, one of the highest awards in Cameroon, and on 4 March 2007 he was made chancellor of the national order. He is also a fellow of the Cameroon Society of Engineers and president of the African Natural **Rubber** Producers' Association (ACNA). He was chairman of the University of **Buea** Development Fund Management Committee and a member of its council. On 19 September 1996 Musonge was appointed **prime minister** and remained at this post until 8 December 2004. This position has little power, though as head of government the prime minister may play some role in the legislative process. The most significant aspect of this position is to symbolically represent **regions** or ethnicities that feel underrepresented in the political system or groups that express long-term discontent. The post is thus usually filled by an **anglophone**, generally to reward the South West Region for its support of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**.

Musonge chaired President **Paul Biya's** **election** campaign in 2004 and remains active in CPDM politics. *See also* ACHU, SIMON ACHIDI; AYANG, LUC; BELLO BOUBA, MAIGARI; INONI, EPHRIAM; YANG, PHILEMON YUNJI.

MVENG, ENGELBERT, S.J. (1930–1994). Mveng was a historian, author, artist, and **Catholic** priest. Born 9 May 1930 in Enam-Ngal, Ntem Division, Reverend Father Mveng was an accomplished scholar. He attended mission and diocesan schools in Ebolowa and **Yaoundé** between 1936 and 1948 and later taught and attended the seminary in Akono and Otele. Between 1951 and 1953, he trained as a Jesuit novitiate in the then Belgian Congo before leaving for Europe in 1954 for studies, obtaining three *licences* in theology, letters, and philosophy as well as a doctorate in philology from the University of Paris in 1964.

Mveng returned home in 1965 and lectured in the Department of History at the University of Yaoundé, rising to the level of head of department on several occasions. He also served as the country's director of cultural affairs and won several prizes for his scholarly and artistic works. His various manuals and texts such as *L'Histoire du Cameroun* have been revised several times since 1963. The latest edition in the series on Cameroon history was published in 1984. Mveng was murdered in 1994. There has been no solution to the crime.

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NACHTIGAL, GUSTAV (1834–1885). This German explorer was a military physician who led expeditions across the African continent. He was appointed German Imperial Consul General in Tunis in 1884. From Tunis Nachtigal traveled to establish German territories along the coast including the German **Kamerun Protectorate**, 12 July 1884. Nachtigal was the key German personality present during the hoisting of the German flag over **Douala**. Born on 23 February 1834, he died at sea off of the Liberian coast on 19 April 1885 on his return trip to **Germany**.

NAMCHI. *See* DOWAYO.

NATION BUILDING. Nation building is the process of creating a national identity to overcome the centrifugal forces of subnationalities prevalent in many postcolonial societies. Nation-building symbols consist of every act or object that reflects the essence of state over an area or an **ethnic group**. Cameroon faces more than a fair share of the nation-building problem. It not only struggles with multifarious ethnic groupings but also faces problems of regional divisiveness (**Grassfield** vs. coast, North vs. South), language differences (**francophones** vs. **anglophones**), and religious divisiveness (**Muslim** vs. **Christian**).

These problems were crucial in the decision leading to the formation of a unitary state and the continuance of a centralized system of administration thereafter. *See also* BILINGUALISM; ETHNIC CONFLICT; TOMBEL MASSACRE.

NATIONAL AGENCY FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF FINANCIAL CRIMES. *See* CORRUPTION.

NATIONAL ANTHEM. *See* CAMEROON NATIONAL ANTHEM.

**NATIONAL ANTI-CORRUPTION COMMISSION (NACC)/
COMMISSION NATIONALE ANTI-CORRUPTION (CONAC).**

This organization was established by presidential decree No. 2006/088 on 11 March 2006. Members were appointed more than a year later (15 May 2007) with **Paul Tessa**, a confidant of President **Paul Biya**, as head. Members serve a three-year term, renewable once. The commission is to investigate **corruption** and fraud and propose steps to control these problems. There are three divisions: investigation, prevention and communication, and study and cooperation. The commission has not been well received by the public. The Global Integrity Report, a **nongovernmental organization**, gives it a very low score for overall effectiveness (33 of 100 points) and its lowest score in most subcategories.

NATIONAL ARMY OF KAMERUN LIBERATION/ARMEE DE LIBERATION NATIONALE DU KAMERUN (ALNK). This is the official name of the guerrilla forces of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), which organized the underground insurgency against government troops between 1955 and 1962. Its activities were most effective in the West, East, and South areas of the country. A triumvirate of **Félix-Roland Moumié**, **Ernest Ouandié**, and **Abel Kingue** composed the Comité Directeur, which had bases in radical African countries like Guinea, Egypt, Ghana, and Congo. Local leadership of the ALNK was controlled by individuals such as **Afana Osende**. *See also* MAQUIS.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. The Cameroon National Assembly is the country's legislative body and a historical successor to the **Federal National Assembly**, which was dissolved in 1972. The current assembly began in May 1973. It originally consisted of 120 members selected from the **provinces** on a demographic basis. It meets in plenary and ordinary sessions of 30 days each and consists of various committees presided over by an internally elected chairman. Members

of the Assembly can be called into an extraordinary session by the head of state or a two-thirds majority of parliamentarians. They elect their own members of the National Assembly Bureau.

Prior to the drawing up of a new constitution for Cameroon in 1996, the president (speaker) of the Assembly was the provisional successor to the head of state. Between 1973 and 1988 members to the National Assembly were preselected by the party and presented to the electorate for approval. Generally, the electorate unanimously approved the party's single list. No member of parliament tabled a bill on the floor and the head of state exercised this prerogative almost single-handedly.

In July 1983 a constitutional amendment increased the number of parliamentarians to 180. After the November 1987 session, the Assembly was dissolved in favor of a new **democratic** option. For the first time, the party selected competitive lists of party members for various areas of the country in the parliamentary election of April 1988. Eighty-four percent of incumbents lost their seats. The speaker of the National Assembly for 15 years, **Solomon T. Muna**, resigned prior to the elections. He was replaced by another **anglophone**, Lawrence F. Shang, in June 1988.

The advent of multiparty democracy in December 1990 brought further changes in the Assembly. For the first time since its creation, election to the Assembly was conducted on a multiparty basis. The **elections for the National Assembly of March 1992** were thus won by four parties: the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** won 88 seats, the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)** won 68 seats, the *Union des Populations du Cameroon (UPC)* won 18 seats, and the *Movement pour la Défence de la République (MDR)* won six seats. Despite this, the Assembly remained CPDM dominated. The MDR allied itself with the CPDM. Alongside this development was the change in the Assembly's speaker. For the first time since the formation of a unitary state, a **francophone**, **Cavayé Yeguie Djibril** (Cavayé Yegué Gibril), became speaker. As of September 2009, Gibril still holds this position.

The **Constitution of 1996** creates a two-chamber legislature with a **Senate** and the National Assembly. The speaker of the Senate or his vice speaker becomes the interim successor of the head of state should

the **president** be incapacitated or die. Thirty percent of the senators are to be appointed by the president of the republic. However, as of late 2009 no enabling legislation has been passed to make this Senate a reality. Another change in the Assembly concerned the introduction of the question-and-answer session during the March 1998 ordinary session of Parliament. Members of the National Assembly are elected by direct and universal suffrage for a five-year term.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF CAMEROUN/ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE DU CAMEROUN (ANCAM). The ANCAM was the legislative body of the **République du Cameroun** from April 1960 until October 1961. The historic successor of the *Assemblée Législative du Cameroun* (ALCAM), it came into existence following the general **election** of 10 April 1960 with the *Union Camerounaise* (UC) as the dominant party. Following his investiture as the first **president** of the République du Cameroun, on 5 May 1960, **Ahmadou Ahidjo** began the process leading toward the eventual dissolution of parliamentary opposition and the formation of the unified party, the UC and its successor the *Union Nationale du Cameroun* (UNC), in September 1966. The ANCAM was a unicameral legislature and had legislative powers over persons and property rights, political, administrative, judicial, and security matters as well as on socioeconomic and financial policies. *See also* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR ADMINISTRATION AND MAGISTRACY (CENAM). *See* ECOLE NATIONALE D'ADMINISTRATION ET DE MAGISTRATURE (ENAM)/NATIONAL CENTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND MAGISTRY.

NATIONAL CIVIC SERVICE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT. The legal basis for this organization was Act No. 2007/003 of 13 July 2007, which also voided earlier legislation (Act No. 73-4 of 9 July 1973), which had established a broad program of the same name designed to integrate youths into the development process. Reorganized in 1979, it became the National Office for Participation in Development or *Office National de Participation au Développement* (ONPD) in the Ministry of **Agriculture**. However,

because of its wide-ranging objectives, various other ministries participated in ONPD activities. This law allowed the imposition of work in the general interest on citizens aged between 16 and 55 years for 24 months, with penalties of imprisonment for refusal to participate and thus was seen by many as a form of **forced labor**.

The ONPD was dissolved in 1990, though its enabling legislation remained in effect. In his Youth Day speech on 10 February 2008, President **Paul Biya** stated that the new civic service would come into operation under the control of the Ministry of Youth Affairs during 2008 as one of many steps to curb youth unemployment. It is assumed that this will be based on voluntary participation.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM. *See* HUMAN RIGHTS.

NATIONAL COORDINATION COMMITTEE OF OPPOSITION PARTIES (NCCOP). *See* GHOST TOWN OPERATIONS.

NATIONAL COORDINATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND A MULTIPARTY SYSTEM (NCDM). *See* BLACK, YONDO MANDENGUE.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NIGERIA AND THE CAMEROONS (NCNC). This political party was founded by nationalist leaders of **Nigeria** and **British Cameroons** to exert pressure on **Great Britain** to hasten the political development of the two territories. It was formed in August 1944 and led by the Nigerian Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. Key Cameroonian members in the NCNC included **Emmanuel M. L. Endeley**. The main affiliated British Cameroons organizations were the **Cameroons Youth League**, the **Bamenda Improvement Association**, and the **Bakweri** Union.

Party unity suffered in 1953 as a result of a prolonged governmental crisis in the Eastern Regional House of Assembly in Nigeria and the quest for separate autonomy by a significant faction of the Cameroonian membership. The **Kamerun National Congress** and the **Kamerun People's Party** were formed out of this split within the NCNC. Despite its short-lived existence, the NCNC was the closest political partnership linking the destinies of Nigeria and

Cameroon in the preindependence period. The NCNC ceased to exist in 1966.

NATIONAL ELECTIONS OBSERVATORY (NEO)/OBSERVATOIRE NATIONAL DES ELECTIONS DU CAMEROUN (ONEL). The NEO was created by Law No. 2000/016 of 19 December 2000 (and amended by Law No. 2003/015 of 22 December 2003) as the government's response to public demands for an independent electoral board. The NEO is not independent as its 11 members are appointed by the government. NEO is to control and supervise the electoral process including monitoring elections, providing civic **education**, and managing electoral conflicts. In December 2006 legislation was passed to replace the NEO with a new body, **Elections Cameroon (ELECAM)**, which would be more independent. The law gave the government until 28 June 2008 to prepare this new body. That time limit was extended in 2008. A common tactic of the government is to appear to give in to public demands, but then to delay implementation in various ways for long periods. In late December 2008 the government began to appoint members to ELECAM. Complaints immediately arose that most of the appointees were, like its chairperson Samuel Fonkem Azu'u from Pinyin, **North West Region**, loyalists and activists of the ruling party, the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**.

NATIONAL FUND FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT/FONDS NATIONAL DE DEVELOPPEMENT RURAL (FONADER). FONADER was one of the major institutions of the **Green Revolution**. Established in 1973, it was designed to assist farmers through the provision of credit. The apparently simple procedures of applying for credit scared off rural dwellers, and FONADER became the tool of the wealthy urban Cameroonian who was well versed in the **corrupt** practices of the system. Many accusations point to the Beti coethnics of President Paul **Biya**. For these reasons, and in the wake of a crushing **economic crisis**, FONADER was reorganized in 1987. Since then, several attempts at establishing a workable rural credit system have been attempted. Various names appear over time, for example, the **Agricultural Credit Bank of Cameroon** and the Investment Fund for Agricultural and

Community Micro-Enterprises (FIMAC). Yet, in a government statement issued in 2007 it is stated that “actions are under way for the creation of an agricultural bank.” *See also* FANG.

NATIONAL INVESTMENT COMPANY/SOCIETE NATIONALE D'INVESTISSEMENT (SNI). According to its web page, the SNI “was set up in 1964 as a public corporation, with the State as sole shareholder, for the mobilization and orientation of national savings and any other national and international financial resources.” It has a capital of 22,000 million CFA. The SNI was created to foster the development of the private sector in stimulating the growth of industries and the construction of major development projects. In recent years, **privatization** of many of its holdings or the reduction of its share of holdings in various parastatals has been a major activity of the SNI, though it has continued to invest as a partner in several new endeavors. Investment in small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) was mainly a function of the *Fonds d'Aide et de Garantie aux Petites et Moyennes Entreprises* (FOGAPE). However, it has been closed, and SNI now has responsibility for SMEs.

NATIONAL LANGUAGES. They are the estimated 279 **languages** of the country's numerous **ethnic groups**. These are mainly in the **Niger-Congo** and **Afro-Asiatic** families. National languages are distinct from the **official languages**, **French** and **English**. **Christian** missionaries translated the Bible and songbooks in **Duala**, **Mungaka**, **Ewondo**, and so on. **Sultan Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya** invented an original script, **Shu Mom**, for the **Bamoum** language. Currently, national languages receive only minimal programming in radio broadcasts. Today, many languages are being reduced to writing by the members of SIL International, formerly the Summer Institute for Languages, a Christian missionary organization. Several national languages are on the verge of extinction. *See also* BILINGUALISM; FRANGLAIS; NATION BUILDING; PIDGIN ENGLISH.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF CAMEROON/Front de la Liberation Nationale du Cameroun. *See* GUERANDI, MBARA GOULONGO.

NATIONAL OFFICE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT/OFFICE NATIONAL DE PARTICIPATION AU DEVELOPPEMENT (ONPD). *See* NATIONAL CIVIC SERVICE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT.

NATIONAL PARKS. Waza, a 17,000-hectare park, is one of the most interesting in West and Central Africa. Sixty kilometers north of **Maroua**, it contains elephants, ostriches, giraffes, lions, and a wide variety of birds and mammals. Korup National Park is better known for its plant than its animal life. Located in the southwest bordering Nigeria, it is an area of ancient rain forest that Cameroon has determined to preserve. Numerous experiments are under way to allow the inhabitants of the villages to coexist and prosper with the plants and animals of the reserve. **Mount Cameroon** National Park, launched on 23 November 2007, is one of the newest additions to the system. It includes a large portion of the volcanic area as well as **forest** areas. Numerous trails and campsites are available for trekkers. In 2008 Takamanda (676 square kilometers) and in 2009 Deng Deng (580 square kilometers) National Parks were added. Among other purposes, both are aimed at providing safe haven for gorillas. Other new parks include Boumba Bek and Nki, opened in 2005, which include more than 600,000 hectares of biodiverse animals and plants in the Congo Basin forest in the southeast of Cameroon. The gorilla is among the numerous species found in these parks. Faro National Park in the **North Region** near the Nigerian border is known for its hippopotamus herds. Other parks include Campo Ma'an, **Benue**, **Bouba Njida**, Lake Lobake, and the Dja Faunal Reserve. Dja, Waza, and Benoue have been declared biosphere reserves.

In addition to the government, many **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)** and foreign government aid programs are involved in funding and maintaining these parks. The World Wide Fund for Nature (better known as the WWF) is probably the largest of the NGOs working in these parks.

NATIONAL PORTS AUTHORITY (NPA)/OFFICE NATIONAL DU PORTS DU CAMEROUN (ONPC). This was a public corporation responsible for the management and development of Cameroon's seaports. There were numerous complaints of inefficiency,

shipping delays, and widespread **corruption** that led to the liquidation of the ONPC as part of the **privatization** process of the late 1990s. It was replaced by autonomous ports authorities for the ports of **Douala**, **Limbe**, and **Kribi**, such as the *Port Autonome de Douala* (PAD).

NATIONAL PRODUCE MARKETING BOARD (NPMB)/OFFICE NATIONAL DE COMMERCIALISATION DES PRODUITS DE BASE (ONCPB). The board was created by law on 9 September 1972 and finally established in 1978. Its purposes included promoting mainly cash crop production and controlling prices. The NPMB also represented Cameroon in international organizations dealing with relevant issues. The NPMB was particularly active in the buying and marketing of **cocoa**, **coffee**, **cotton**, groundnuts, and **palm** kernels. Its establishment eliminated the *Caisse de Stabilisation de Prix* in **East Cameroon** and the Produce Marketing Organisation in **West Cameroon**. Mismanagement and the economic recession that set in around 1987 led to the NPMB's liquidation in 1991. Its functions have been taken over by the National Cocoa and Coffee Board (NCCB)/*Office National du cacao et du café* (ONCC). *See also* AGRICULTURE; ECONOMIC CRISIS; PRIVATIZATION.

NATIONAL SCHOOL FOR ADMINISTRATION AND MAGISTRACY (ENAM). *See* ECOLE NATIONALE D'ADMINISTRATION ET DE MAGISTRATURE (ENAM)/NATIONAL CENTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND MAGISTRY.

NATIONAL UNION OF CAMEROON WORKERS (NUCW). *See* TRADE UNIONS.

NATIONAL UNION FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS (NUDP)/UNION NATIONALE POUR LA DEMOCRATIE ET LE PROGRES (UNDP). **Maigari Bello Bouba** had been a significant figure in the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** administration, and many expected him to succeed Ahidjo as **president**. However, **Paul Biya** became the next president, and as relations between Biya and Ahidjo deteriorated, Bello Bouba went into exile in **Nigeria**. As the multiparty era dawned, from exile he declared the formation of a new party, the National Union for Democracy and Progress. The NUDP was legal-

ized in 1991 under the leadership of **Samuel Eboua**, another strong Ahidjoist. Bello Bouba returned from exile, and a struggle immediately began between him and Eboua for leadership of the party. In 1992 the struggle was won by Bello Bouba, and Eboua left the NUDP to found the Movement for Democracy and Progress (MDP).

The NUDP has been built on the Ahidjo inheritance. Its main strength is in the northern **regions**, especially among the **Fulani** and **Muslim populations**. In the **elections for the National Assembly in 1992** the NUDP won 68 seats to become the largest opposition party. It showed strength in the **anglophone** areas, but only because the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** of **Fru Ndi** boycotted the election. In the **elections for the National Assembly in 1997** the SDF participated, and the NUDP lost its anglophone support. In the elections for the **National Assembly** in 2002 the NUDP won only 1 seat, and in 2007 it obtained 6 seats. In 1997 Bello Bouba accepted a minister of state position in the Biya **cabinet**; as of 2009 he was in charge of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunication.

While the NUDP is a significant opposition party, it has a more conservative orientation than the more radical SDF. Its leaders are more willing to work with the Biya government. As an ethnic and regional party, it will be difficult for the NUDP to broaden its appeal beyond its present areas of strength. *See also* MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC (MDR)/MOUVEMENT POUR LA DEFENCE DE LA REPUBLIQUE; POLITICAL PARTIES.

NATIONAL WATER CORPORATION OF CAMEROON/ SOCIETE NATIONALE DES EAUX DU CAMEROUN (SNEC).

The SNEC was created in 1967 to handle the management of water supply installations and the **transportation**, storage, and distribution of water. There were numerous complaints about its inefficiency. The SNEC was **privatized** and sold. However, a portion concerned with infrastructure (Camwater) remains under government control. As of 2008, 70 percent of the population had access to safe drinking water, 88 percent in urban areas and 47 percent in rural regions. *See also* HEALTH.

NATIVE AUTHORITIES. These were indigenous representatives of various **ethnic groups**, recognized or created by the British

administration in **Southern Cameroons**. This system of administration was known as **indirect rule**. It was the result of practical necessity by the British rather than any trust or interest in the Native Authorities. Throughout the period of British rule the administration suffered from a chronic lack of funds and personnel to carry out policy. Native Authorities became an inescapable alternative.

The predominance of an indirect rule policy was tainted by reported British disrespect, arrest, and imprisonment of local **chiefs** in the early periods of the administration. The official proclamation of an indirect rule policy was made in April 1921 by **resident** Major F. H. Ruxton.

Native Authorities were of three different categories: the well-established hereditary traditional leadership of the *fons* in the **Bamenda Grassfield** area, the village or district head appointed by the British or accepted by the population, and a council of elders in areas where authoritative leadership could not be imposed. Native Authorities handled taxation, criminal offenses, **health** development, and road construction. They could keep half of the revenues obtained through taxation and court fines. The entire system of indirect rule in Africa was the brainchild of a leading British official, Lord Lugard, who also served in **Nigeria**.

NATIVE BAPTIST CHURCH (NBC). This important religious institution in colonial and preindependence Cameroon brought together 3,000 members by 1955 and remained an edifice of **Christian** nationalism and combative leadership. Native Baptists were formed by the English Baptists prior to German rule. They were given much independence and self-government in their religious organization. Although this initially worried the Germans, they quickly developed good relations. Major Native Baptist Churches were located in the coastal towns of **Douala**, Victoria (now **Limbe**), and Hickory.

Leadership was a crucial determinant in the NBC's existence. In Victoria during the German epoch, native Pastor Wilson worked closely with the Germans and ably retained the quasi-autonomy of his church. In Douala, it was the German Pastor Bender who ordained **Lotin Same** in 1908. Lotin Same later became president of the NBC in 1915, and a troubling relationship ensued with the French authorities. Despite French determination to make missionaries defend its

colonial vision, the NBC refused to be aligned as a subsidiary of the Society of Evangelical Missions of Paris. This made the NBC an autonomous religious institution of the first order. The Church stressed indigenization and religious coexistence. These claims embarrassed the French, who regarded the NBC as a “ferment of anarchy” and branded its members as “German Baptists.” The NBC still exists in Douala, **Yaoundé**, and other places. *See also* BAPTIST MISSION.

NCHARE YEN. *See* BAMOUM.

NDAM NJOYA, ADAMOU (1942–). Born in Njika-Foumban, **West Region**, on 8 May 1942, he was educated in **Foumban**, **Nkongsamba**, and *Lycée Leclerc* before his academic career in **France**. He attained the *Doctorat d’Etat* in public law from the University of Paris 1 Sorbonne-Pantheon with a dissertation published as *Le Cameroun dans les Relations Internationales*. He later entered the *Institut des Hautes Etudes d’Outre Mer* and the *Institut International d’Administration Publique*, obtaining a diploma in administration and diplomacy.

After returning home in 1969, he served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and lectured in the Law Faculty of the University of **Yaoundé**. He was the founding director of the International Relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC) (1972–1975) before his appointment as vice minister of foreign affairs in 1975. From December 1977 until July 1980, Ndam Njoya left a controversial mark as minister of national **education**. He was the precursor of the **rigor and moralization** slogan that became popular under the **Paul Biya** presidency. Among other things, he introduced stringency to the educational system, limited the **francophone probatoire** and **baccalauréat** to one-session exams, and implemented the early stages of the **Cameroon General Certificate of Education (GCE)** that was no longer administered by the University of London. In addition, during his tenure an age ceiling was set for university admission.

Although well intentioned, Ndam Njoya was criticized particularly as his measures affected a broad section of the population, including a ruling class accustomed to **corrupt** practices in determining the success of children at educational institutions. He was transferred to the largely insignificant office of minister-delegate at the General

Inspection of State and Administrative Reforms in July 1980, and dropped from government in January 1982.

Ndam Njoya has also engaged in multiple sociocultural, international, and literary activities. Within Cameroon he served as chair of the Executive Committee for the Service of the Handicapped, as editor-in-chief of *Cameroun-Littéraire*, as founder-president of the Institute of Islamic and Religious Studies, and as publisher of the Islamic cultural review *Al-Houda*. Outside Cameroon, Ndam Njoya served as consultant to UNITAR in 1983 and in October 1985 was elected to the UNESCO Executive Council. He was a member of the **United Nations** Group of Intergovernmental Experts (January 1986–December 1987).

Ndam Njoya made a political comeback when multiparty politics was reintroduced. He founded the **Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU)** in 1991. Ndam was instrumental at easing the tense sociopolitical and economic situation in the country. In November 1991 he led a delegation of opposition parties to the **Tripartite Conference**. In 1992 he contested the presidential **election**, coming in fourth; in 1997 he boycotted the election; and in the 2004 presidential election he received 4.48 percent of the vote. He served two terms (from 1997) in the **National Assembly**. In 1996 and 2007 he was elected mayor of **Foumban**.

An advocate of New Ethics, he is the coordinator of the Superior Council of Islamic Affairs, affiliated with the World Conference of Religions and Peace. He is a well-known author in the social sciences as well as of fiction.

NDEH NTUMAZAH. *See* NTUMAZAH, NDEH.

NDJOBDI, ARDO MOHAMMAN (1791–1839). Ndjobdi was the founder of Boundang (now Touroua, **North Region**) and **Ngaoundéré lamidats**. The sole son of **Ardo** Oumarou, founder of Boundang, he gained the throne in 1821 at age 30 after a period of regency by his uncle Ba Wabili. Ba Wabili founded Bantadjé, which was later placed under Ardo Ndjobdi's control by Yola. Bantadjé and Boundang were separated from Ngaoundéré by the Germans in 1914.

He left governors in Boundang and Bantadjé while turning south to establish Ngaoundéré in approximately 1830. Although the local

Mbum population suggest that the foundation of Ngaoundéré was completed amicably, **Fulani** traditions unanimously record a battle between Ardo Ndjjobdi and Belaka Koya in which Ndjjobdi called upon the assistance of Ardo Haman Sambo of Tibati and **Ardo Bouba Njidda** of Rey.

Ardo Ndjjobdi died at Ngaoundéré in 1839, after which his eldest son Lawan Hamman was enthroned.

N'DJOKE, EMMANUEL DIBONGO. *See* DIBANGO, MANU.

NDOLE. *See* FOOD.

NDONGMO AFFAIR. In August 1970, the bishop of **Nkongsamba**, Albert Ndongmo, was arrested by the government for aiding underground leaders of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC). These leaders (**Ernest Ouandié**, Wambo le Courant, and Celestin Takala) were tried and sentenced to death in 1971, while the bishop received a life sentence. Although Bishop Ndongmo was actually critical of the government's exploitative policies vis-à-vis the poor and had close ties with the UPC, he was accused as the ring leader in the plot to overthrow President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**. Many foreign leaders including the French socialist François Mitterrand and Pope Paul VI called for clemency especially on Bishop Ndongmo's behalf. The three UPC leaders were executed by a firing squad in **Bafoussam** in 1971, while Bishop Ndongmo was released from prison and sent out of the country in 1975. The Ndongmo Affair led to the collapse of the UPC insurgency in the Western **Bamiléké** countryside. All the personalities implicated in the Ndongmo affair were Bamiléké. Ndongmo was born on 26 December 1926 and died on 29 May 1992. *See also* MAQUIS.

NDOP CLOTH. A type of textile widely used in the **North West** and **West Regions** that is characterized by **cotton** strip-woven cloth that has been resist-dyed with white designs on an indigo background. Although the term *Ndop* is widely understood, there is in fact a wide range of related terms used throughout the area to refer to this type of cloth. It is believed to have originated with the Jukun in Taraba State of **Nigeria**, particularly from the city of Wukari. That said, the

actual weavers of the cloth, called Aky cloth, for the Jukun were Abakwariga Hausa resident among them.

The modern production of Ndop cloth actually involves multiple **regions** of Cameroon. The cotton is grown in the plains of the north, but is then woven into strips in the Mandara Mountains. The material is then transported to the **Grassfield**, where the designs are stitched together with raffia fibers, after which the fabric is transported back to **Garoua** to be dyed in indigo. Finally, the dyed cloth returns to the Grassfield, where the raffia fibers are removed and the cloth is sold.

To monopolize the trade in Cameroon, **Sultan Njoya** set up a dying and weaving industry in the **Bamoum** palace in 1912. Up until this time, it seems that the cloth had largely been imported from what is now Nigeria. Njoya managed to dominate the Ndop industry in Cameroon for a short time, but by the 1930s, the industry had largely been supplanted by other centers in the Grassfield. It is no longer practiced at **Foumban** today. *See also* ART; ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES.

NEUKAMERUN. *See* NEW KAMERUN.

NEW DEAL. The New Deal (*politique de renouveau*) refers to President **Paul Biya**'s vision of Cameroon. The New Deal aims at building a political society in which the **economy** is at the service of man, and **social justice** serves as the guiding rule in the distribution of the fruits of production. The New Deal also strives toward the creation of a perfect nationhood of integration and the building of a truly humane democracy based on **Communal Liberalism**.

The essence of the New Deal was to distinguish the new Cameroon polity under Biya from that of the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** years. The New Deal was an expression of the aspiration of the average Cameroonian toward a more participatory society. Excluded political groupings were to be able to make demands on the system based on greater openness and adherence to democratic ideals.

Major political landmarks of the New Deal have been the introduction of a multiparty system and an opening toward freedom of the **press**, both limited by a continuation of authoritarian rule. This slight progress toward the goal of a true **democracy** can be considered as a

New Deal achievement. *See also* BAMENDA CONGRESS; RIGOR AND MORALIZATION; ZAMBO COMMISSION.

NEW KAMERUN (NEUKAMERUN). A territorial exchange between **France** and **Germany** in 1911 allowed Germany to obtain a considerable piece of territory from French Congo in compensation for surrendering its existing rights over Morocco to France. The acquisition of part of the French Congo territory increased Kamerun's territorial size from 465,000 to 760,000 square kilometers. There was considerable debate on the rationale for such territorial exchange, which did not provide any potential for commercial exploitation or economic value for Germany. The German colonial secretary was forced to resign over the issue. The New Kamerun territory remained part of German **Kamerun** until 1916. Following the defeat of the Germans in the Kamerun Campaign of **World War I**, the territory was returned to France as part of **French Equatorial Africa**.

NFON. *See* FON.

NGANGO, GEORGES (1932–1998). Ngango was born in Elongango, **Littoral Region**, on 17 June 1932. His higher **education** was in the Universities of Strasbourg, Bordeaux, and Lyon, where he successfully obtained bachelor's degrees in economics and sociology and a *Doctorat d'Etat* in economic sciences.

Ngango gained political prominence under the **Paul Biya** presidency, where he was a fervent advocate of an open political system with pluralist participation, including multiple parties and candidates for election. His positions included minister in charge of missions at the Presidency (1983–1985), minister of information and culture (1985–1986), and minister of national education (1987–1989). He was also a member of the Central Committee of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. Before his death in May 1998, Ngango was chairman of *Crédit-Foncier*, successor to the **National Fund for Rural Development (FONADER)**. *See also* DEMOCRACY.

NGAOUNDERE (N'GAOUNDERE). Ngaoundéré has been capital of **Adamawa Region** since 1983. It is a **transportation** and **tourist**

center, especially since 1974, with the construction of a **Trans-Cameroon railway** terminus in the city. This line connects the city to Yaoundé and the port of **Douala**, and a paved highway connects the terminus to **Chad**, providing that landlocked country with entry and exit for imports and exports. It is also a capital of one of the largest and wealthiest *lamidats* of the precolonial era, founded in approximately 1835 by the **Fulani** ruler **Ardo Mohamman Ndjoddi** of the **Vollarbe** clan. **Ardo** Ndjoddi wrested control of the territory to found his new *lamidat* from the indigenous **Mbum** population, who were then incorporated into the political structure of the new polity. The palace is an important center of touristic appeal.

The **population** is growing rapidly; in 1987 it was estimated at 78,000 and in 2005 at 200,000 persons. **Christian** missionaries, especially Norwegian **Lutherans**, were attracted to the area. The city is estimated to be 60 percent **Muslim** and 30 percent Christian.

Ngaoundéré is not simply a meeting point of Cameroon's northern and southern sectors; it is also considered a transition zone between West and Central Africa, a division designated by the **Adamawa Plateau**. The city's altitude provides a very comfortable climatic condition that serves to attract tourists. The cool conditions also historically benefited cattle pastoralism, one of the mainstays of the region's **economy**, by fending off the tsetse fly. The granitic and volcanic aspects of its physical milieu have also led to increased scholarly research in the area. However, its greatest all-around attraction is its vast adornment of flora and fauna. For all these reasons, the infrastructure of the city has been developed considerably through the provision of highways and hotel services.

In addition, Ngaoundéré is a frequent host for national events, such as the national Agro-Pastoral Show, which have contributed to the city's growth and development. The University Center for Applied Industrial Sciences was also a significant boost to the city. This has now become the University of Ngaoundéré, which served all of the northern regions until the recent dedication of the University of **Maroua**. *See also* ISSA, ARDO.

NGBE (EKPE). This Leopard Cult of the **Cross River region** is thought to have originated amongst the Ejagham. This cult is a governing brotherhood/association in which membership can be

purchased, and it has spread throughout the Cross River region over time through this means. Successive grades within Ngbe are purchased by the member. Each grade gains further initiation into the secret knowledge of the cult. This knowledge is publicly represented through **nsibidi**, a symbolic language that can be represented graphically or through dance. The name of the cult denotes the derivation of its power from the spirit of the leopard.

NGHAKY, NZO EKHAH. *See* EKANGAKI, NZO.

NGONDO. *Ngondo* is a highly significant cultural assembly of the **Duala**. It served as the **Council of Notables** and had the potential for an activist political role in the nationalist period. Like the *Kumsze* for the **Bamiléké**, *Ngondo* was initially close to the radical stance of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) against colonial rule. Many traditional associations turned against colonial authorities who denied participation and exercise of indigenous culture. However, the effort of French authorities to divest the UPC of popular support led to a cooling off of the relationship between the UPC and the *Ngondo* government.

After independence, *Ngondo's* relations with the new leaders of the country remained uncordial, leading to the banning of its festival for some time. Such a stormy evolution has contributed to *Ngondo's* gradual loss of popular appeal. This notwithstanding, *Ngondo* was revived with the advent of political liberalization in the early 1990s. Today *Ngondo* is not limited to the Dualas but embraces all people of coastal origin in its annual festivals. Political figures who gained renown through the *Ngondo* establishment include **Betote Akwa** and **Soppo Priso**. *See also* ELITE ASSOCIATIONS.

NGONGANG, JOEL GUSTAVE NANA (1982–). Ngongang is a Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgender (LGBT) rights advocate in Cameroon and Africa. He is also an **HIV/AIDS** activist. He has been active in defending those imprisoned on charges of **homosexuality** and in promoting HIV prevention activities for gay and bisexual men. As of 2009 he was associated with the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC), a **United States**-based **nongovernmental organization**. In 2005 he was a

cofounder of Alternatives-Cameroun, a **human rights** organization struggling against homophobia and discrimination.

NGONGI, A. NAMANGA (1945–). On 14 November 2007 Ngongi became president of the Alliance for a **Green Revolution** in Africa (AGRA), a major **nongovernmental organization** chaired by Koffi Annan, former **United Nations** secretary-general. Ngongi began his career as an agricultural extension officer in Cameroon after earning the PhD at Cornell University (1976). He has worked with several relevant international organizations, including the World Food Program. AGRA is an African-led and -inspired organization aiming to increase productivity and incomes of small farmers by supporting sustainable and innovative practices.

NGU, VICTOR ANOMAH (1926–). A renowned surgeon, scholar, and former minister of public **health**, Ngu was born in **Buea** on 19 February 1926. His home is in the **North West Region**. After primary **education** in **Bamenda**, secondary school at **Saint Joseph's College**, and Government College, Ibadan, **Nigeria**, Ngu attended medical school at the University of London (1951–1954). Next, he had successful careers as house surgeon and medical officer of the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)** and as an academic at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, until 1972. He became professor of the University Center for Health Sciences until September 1974 when he was appointed vice chancellor of the University of **Yaoundé**. In July 1982 he became delegate general for scientific and technical research, and he was minister of public health (February 1984–1988).

Honors have been bestowed on Dr. Ngu, in particular the Albert Lasker Medical Research Award in Clinical Cancer Chemotherapy (1972), the Leon Sullivan Achievement Award (2003), and the presidency of the Association of African Universities (1980–1982). His party functions include former youth secretary of the national party, assistant secretary for **women's** affairs, and member of the Central Committee of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. From 1993 Professor Ngu was pro-chancellor of the University of Buea. Ngu's early acclaim was the result of his research on cancer, but today he is receiving considerable attention for his claim

to have discovered a cure and vaccine to prevent **HIV/AIDS**. His announcement of **VANHIVAX** has been met with considerable acclaim as well as severe criticism.

NGUELE, ROSE ZANG. See ZANG NGUELE, ROSE.

NGUON. *Nguon* is a festival of reconciliation and resolution of disputes and renewal of the fecundity of the **Bamoum** kingdom. The *Nguon* historically took place after the first harvest in June or July, though its contemporary celebration occurs in November or December after the second harvest. The lineage heads bring a portion of their harvests to the palace before the festival.

The lineage heads assemble at the palace the night before the festival. The next morning, the sultan and lineage heads are informed by three officials who have toured the kingdom for a period of several months asking after the grievances of the population. The sultan must listen calmly in the courtyard before his palace to all the grievances reported to the three officials. Resolutions to these grievances are determined and then announced to the assembled population. Afterward, there is a huge feast.

On the second day, the sultan and other palace officials pour libations on the graves of royal ancestors and the crania kept within the palace. This practice is followed by the lineage heads, who likewise pour libations on the graves of their ancestors. Finally, palace officials and sets of twins pour purifying substances over the bodies of the royal wives to ensure their fecundity.

Nguon was outlawed by the French administration in 1924 in an effort to restrict the power of **Sultan Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya**. It was reestablished in 1936, however, during the reign of Njoya's successor **Sultan Seidou Njimoluh Njoya**.

Closely related to *Nguon* is the *Nja* festival, which ceased to be celebrated in the 1920s under Sultan Njoya ostensibly due to its offensiveness to **Islam**. *Nja*, unlike *Nguon*, has never been reinstated. The *Nja* festival took place after the second harvest in December or January. The practice of *Nja*, like *Nguon*, also incorporated sacrifices on royal graves and ancestral graves of lineage heads. Unlike *Nguon*, however, *Nja* was famed for its procession of masquerades who exited the palace to encircle the orchestra in the center of the courtyard

in front of the palace. The king and his wives arranged themselves before the palace façade to watch the procession. After the parade of masquerades, the king arose to lead the procession in a counter-clockwise direction three times around the orchestra. The celebration of *Nguon* has in modern times been shifted to occur when the *Nja* festival used to be celebrated, perhaps uniting the two in one grand event. *See also* LELA.

NIGER BASIN AUTHORITY (NBA)/AUTHORITE DU BASSIN DU NIGER (ABN). In the 1950s the French colonial administration established the *Mission d'Etudes d'Aménagement du Fleuve Niger* (MEAN). After the independence of its members, a new organization, the Niger River Commission (CFN), was formed by the Act of Niamey in October 1963. In 1980, this became the Niger Basin Authority. Although not very active for much of its history, since 1998 the NBA has become a serious actor in managing and developing water resources, fighting desertification and soil degradation, and conducting hydrologic research. Integrated development of the Niger Basin through the cooperation of the riverine states via the mechanism of the Authority is the main purpose of the organization. A major task is attracting external funds to support its activities. On 30 April 2008 the Water Charter of the Niger Basin was adopted to provide proper authority for the international actions of the NBA. On 18 August 2009, the NBA announced details of 639 new projects, 42 in Cameroon, for the period from 2008 and 2027.

The members of the Authority are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, **Chad**, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, and **Nigeria**. The structures include a Summit of Heads of State and Government, a Council of Ministers, an Executive Secretariat, and a Technical Committee of Experts. The headquarters is in Niamey, Niger. The Authority maintains a *Fonds de Développement du Bassin du Niger*, a development fund. Because a major tributary of the Niger River, the **Benue River**, flows through Cameroon, Cameroon joined the NBA.

NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES. This is the largest **language** family in Africa; some estimates indicate that 85 percent of Africans speak one of its languages. Joseph Greenberg first defined this family. The

Benue-Congo branch contains many of Cameroon's **national languages**. **Afro-Asiatic languages** are also common in Cameroon.

NIGERIA, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF. With a **population** estimated in 2008 at 138,300,000, Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and Cameroon's most significant neighbor. Nigeria borders Cameroon to the west. Although Nigeria has substantial **petroleum** deposits and earns large amounts of export income from this, the GDP per capita is only \$2,000, and most of the population remains poor with 70 percent below the poverty line. **Corruption** and mismanagement are widespread. Ethnic and religious tensions are omnipresent.

Both countries have maintained good relations with occasional periods of strain over the years. Historically, there is a cultural affinity between the people of the two countries. Moreover, through the colonial joint administration of Nigeria and the adjoining British **Southern Cameroons**, there was a constant flow of persons across their common border. Many Nigerians worked and settled in Cameroon, while a host of **anglophone** Cameroonians studied there and intermarried with Nigerians.

This common identification led to the formation in 1944 of the **National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)**, designed as a nationalist platform for both territories. However, prior to independence strong anti-Nigerian sentiments developed as an integral part of Cameroon nationalism. Out of the 1961 **plebiscite** came a short period of tense relations when **Northern British Cameroons** became part of Nigeria. In addition, border conflicts between the countries have led to frequent accusations and consultations between the governments. This border management diplomacy failed on 18 May 1981, when Cameroon border patrol guards killed five Nigerian soldiers. Cameroon apologized and paid compensation to the families affected by the fatal event. In 1983, in a fit of Nigerian xenophobia, more than 10,000 Cameroonians were expelled from Nigeria. Many Nigerians continue to live in Cameroon (some estimates are as high as four million Nigerians in Cameroon) and are widely engaged in trade, farming, and domestic activities. From time to time, small groups of **refugees** move across the border as a result of land and chieftaincy disputes. Border incidents continue to occur.

In December 1993 relations became strained when Nigerian troops attacked and occupied the Bakassi Peninsula, a potentially oil-rich area along the maritime border claimed by both countries. Violent events occurred in this region for several years. However, the recent decision of the International Court of Justice resolving the **Bakassi Dispute**, and Nigeria's apparent willingness to accept the decision stands out as an important example of the peaceful resolution of an international conflict. Other conflicts have emerged along northern borders and with the construction of the **Lagdo Dam** in Cameroon, which reduced river flow into Nigeria. Apart from border conflicts, the **smuggling** of goods and products across their mutual borders is also a cause for concern. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS; NORTH-ERN CAMEROONS CASE.

NJANGI. *See* TONTINE/NJANGI.

NJEUMA, DOROTHY LIMUNGA (1943–). The former vice minister of national education was born in **Buea** on 26 June 1943 and attended the local government school (1948–1955). She left for the Queen's School, Enugu, **Nigeria** (1955–1962), for secondary **education**. University studies were at Brown University in the United States (1962–1966), where she obtained a bachelor's degree in biology, and at University College, London (1966–1970), for a PhD in zoology.

On return home she lectured at the Faculty of Science of the University of **Yaoundé** and rose to the rank of associate professor before appointment as vice minister in 1975. She served in this post for 10 years and as chairperson of the Administrative Board of the Centre for the Publication of School Textbooks (CEPER, 1977–1985). She is one of few **women** to hold the rank of minister. She was replaced by Catherine Ngomba-Edo. Dr. Njeuma later served as technical adviser in the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, before her appointment as director of the Buea University Centre. When the center was upgraded to a university in 1993, she was made vice chancellor.

In 2005 she became president of the Conference of Rectors of Cameroon State Universities and rector of the University of Yaoundé I. Among national and international appointments she has held are

vice president, Association of African Universities; member, **United Nations** University Governing Board; president, National Federation of University **Sports**; and, president, **African Union** Mechanism for African Peer Evaluation (2006–2007).

NJIDDA, ARDO BOUBA (1767–1866). This was the first ruler of **Rey Bouba**. A wildlife reserve in **North Region** is named after him. Bouba Njidda was the eldest son of **Ardo Bouba Djôda**, leader of a branch of the **Yillaga'en Fulani** when **Uthman Dan Fodio** undertook the **jihād** in Sokoto. He founded the village of Rey within a year of his enthronement in 1798, which was to become the capital of the *lamidat*.

In approximately 1835, Ardo Bouba Njidda supported **Ardo Ndjobdi** of **Ngaoundéré** in conquering the **Mbum** Belaka Koya and establishing his own *lamidat*. Ardo Njidda came into conflict with **Modibo Adama** of Yola, supported by all the Fulani armies south of the **Benue River**, in 1836–1837 after declaring his independence. Peace was brokered between the two, and Ardo Bouba Njidda thereafter always paid tribute.

By the end of his reign, he had extended the domain of Rey to its fullest extent, which would eventually be reduced to the north and east by colonial partitioning. Ardo Bouba Njidda was succeeded after his death in 1866 by his son, Ardo Bouba Djouroum.

NJOYA, ADAMOU NDAM. *See* NDAM NJOYA, ADAMOU.

NJOYA, IBRAHIM (ca. 1890–1962). Ibrahim Njoya was an adviser and loyal subject of his homonym Sultan **Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya**. He was renowned for his drawing abilities above all else, although he was equally skilled in calligraphy and in architectural design. Ibrahim was one of a number of intellectuals who assisted Sultan Njoya in developing **Shu Mom**, a script for the **Bamoum** language.

He made copious drawings appreciated both by Bamoum patrons as well as internationally in Europe. His subjects mainly focused on portraits of Bamoum kings, battle scenes, scenes from Bamoum history, and representations of Bamoum culture. Other subjects included architectural representations, calendars, maps, and collections of abstract designs for use in other media.

In 1917, Ibrahim Njoya designed the famed palace of Sultan Njoya, which still stands in **Foumban**. Drawing on elements of Bamoum, **Fulani**, and German colonial **architecture**, the palace represented a truly original design. The palace was restored with assistance from UNESCO in 1980. After Sultan Ibrahim Njoya was deposed by the French in 1923, and after Ibrahim Njoya was awarded a prize for a drawing at an international art competition in 1927, his production was refocused largely toward a European audience until his death in 1962. *See also* ART.

NJOYA, IBRAHIM MBOMBO (SULTAN) (1876–1933). He was the 16th sultan of the **Bamoum** dynasty and an important figure in early Cameroon history in political, religious, and intellectual terms. Njoya was too young to personally assume power when his father, Sultan Nsangou, died in 1888. In his place, Njoya's mother served as regent for two years. In 1890, at the age of 15, Njoya became sultan. Although the Bamoum were close to the British prior to German annexation, they came to accept German rule, and Njoya received high regard as an imperial official. This attachment to the Germans was to ruin his political career with the advent of the French administration. In 1923, Njoya was deposed and his Bamoum territory carved into 17 chieftaincies. Exiled to **Yaoundé** in 1931, he died in the capital on 30 May 1933.

Apart from his political significance, Njoya's renown is symbolized by his high sense of achievement as an intellectual and sociocultural innovator. He developed an original alphabet of 83 letters and 10 numbers called **Shu Mom**, which he used to write the *History of the Customs and Laws of the Bamouns*. Under the strong influence of a German missionary, Njoya turned to **Christianity**, although he spent time trying to create his own Christian-animist religion. By 1916 he had converted to **Islam**, the predominant religion of most Bamoum today. The **Foumban** palace constructed under his reign still attracts hundreds of **tourists** and foreign dignitaries. It was restored with the assistance of UNESCO in 1980 and now houses a museum of Bamoum culture.

Njoya is widely remembered as well for his multiple sociocultural innovations: the drawing of the map of Bamoum, a compilation of Bamoum legends and tales, a preparation of pharmaceutical compila-

tions, the establishment of a museum for the preservation of **art**, and the construction of a mechanical mill to grind corn, among others. *See also* NJOYA, IBRAHIM; NJOYA, SEIDOU NJIMOLUH.

NJOYA, SEIDOU NJIMOLUH (1904–1992). One-time sultan of the **Bamoum** and local spiritual head of the **Islamic** faith, Seidou was born in 1904 of royal parents. He was the 18th king of the Bamoum and was highly schooled in **Shu Mom** (the writing of his father) as well as in **French** and **English**. He was enthroned in June 1933 following the exile and the death of his father, **Sultan Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya**, and remained in power for almost 60 years. Apart from his royal functions, Njimoluh Njoya also served for 20 years as a member of the legislative and national assemblies of Cameroon. Consequently, he was considered a link between the Bamoum and both colonial and postcolonial authorities. Before his death in 1992, he remained the principal link between his people and government authorities. He was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya, named after the Sultan Njoya who reigned in the late 19th to early 20th centuries.

NKONGSAMBA. Headquarters of the Mungo Division, **Littoral Region**, Nkongsamba in 1976 had 71,000 inhabitants. In 2002 the **population** was estimated at 109,000. Originally inhabited by the Mbo, it took on a more cosmopolitan outlook during the colonial period. The French policy of intensive economic exploitation of the productive **fertile crescent** accounted for its economic vitality. Over the years the city was administered by various colonial authorities. The Germans (who connected the city to **Douala** by a now defunct railway) were replaced by the British in 1914 and the French after 1916.

Farming and cultivation of major cash crops, as well as the establishment of various food processing activities, continue to dominate life and activity in Nkongsamba. The biggest population grouping today is the migrant **Bamiléké**. They control the production and marketing of **cocoa**, **coffee**, **bananas**, and other cash crops.

NKUETE, JEAN (1944–). Secretary-general of the government, an economist, and a monetary expert, Nkuete was born in Balessing, Menoua Division, **Western Region**. He did primary **education**

in Penja and Dschang before pursuing secondary education in **Nkongsamba** from 1956, obtaining his *baccalauréat* in 1963. He went overseas for university studies at the **Catholic** University, Milan, and the School of Economic Development, Rome. He earned a graduate degree and a diploma from both institutions.

In 1969 when he returned to Cameroon, Nkuete served in the Ministry of Economic Planning in **Yaoundé** and the **Littoral Region**. He was deputy director of planning before moving to the office of the **prime minister**. He served first as director of economic affairs and later as technical adviser to the prime minister until appointment as deputy director of the Paribas-Cameroon bank.

On 12 April 1983 Nkuete joined the government as assistant secretary-general at the Presidency of the Republic. He served in this capacity until his major appointment as secretary-general of the government on 21 November 1986. This post is particularly significant under the **Paul Biya** presidency. The secretary-general of the government coordinates interministerial affairs, approves decisions that were previously reserved for the head of state, and prepares the agenda for **cabinet** meetings. He left this post on 16 May 1988.

From government Nkuete moved on to serve as director of the **Douala** branch of the **Bank of Central African States (BEAC)** and from 1999 until 2006 as executive secretary of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC)*. On 7 September 2007 he became deputy prime minister while continuing as minister of **agriculture** and rural development, to which he had been appointed on 22 September 2006, upon leaving CEMAC. In the cabinet changes of 30 June 2009 Nkuete became vice prime minister and minister of agriculture and rural development.

Nkuete is also a power within the ruling party, first in the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**, in which he served as a member of the Central Committee and Political Bureau, and then in the same positions with the **Cameroon Democratic People's Movement (CPDM)** after 1985. As of 1989 he left the Political Bureau but is still with the Central Committee. *See also* SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs). NGOs have become increasingly significant actors in Cameroon. Prior to 1990

only international NGOs were allowed to operate in the country, but Law 90/053 of 19 December 1990 changed this. Since then hundreds of organizations at local, regional, and national levels have begun to work in diverse sectors such as **human rights** (Humanus International), **women's** issues (Christian Women of Cameroon), development (Cameroon Rural Development Foundation), and the **environment** (Cameroon Environmental Watch). Help Orphans of Pinyin Educate (HOPE) funds the schooling costs of orphans, mostly children of AIDS victims, in Pinyin. Aid has been given to about 120 children.

Some NGOs are registered with the government and are legally constituted; many exist informally outside the law. Many are legitimate nonprofit organizations of private citizens with a common interest, but there are numerous cases of fraudulent groups calling themselves an NGO. International NGOs such as Population Services International, Save the Children, and Heifer International are active in Cameroon.

NOR. *See* MAMBILA.

NORTH KAMERUN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NKDP). This **Northern Cameroons** party participated in the **Mamfe Conference** of 1959. It advocated the union of **Northern** and **Southern Cameroons** and eventual **reunification** with **French Cameroun**.

NORTH PROVINCE. *See* NORTH REGION.

NORTH REGION. This **francophone** region has a surface area of 66,090 square kilometers and consists of four divisions: Benue, Faro, Mayo-Louti, and Mayo-Rey. Relief features comprise the Benue Depression, the **Adamawa Plateau**, and the Mandara and **Atlantika Mountains**. Rivers drain into the Niger Basin. The two main vegetation types are wooded savannah and steppe. The North has the tropical climate of two seasons: the long dry and shorter rainy seasons. During the dry season the hot and dusty *Harmattan* wind blows from the Sahara. Most of the population is engaged in animal breeding and **agriculture**. Sorghum, millet, and **maize** are the most important food crops; **cotton** is the main cash crop. **Agro-industrial** projects have been established, and **tourism** plays a limited role (mostly hunting) in the three **national parks**.

Garoua is the provincial headquarters, **industrial** and commercial center, **transportation** hub, and a minor port. Guider town and **ce-ment** production at Figuil are important. The **Lagdo Dam** and the **hydroelectricity** produced there make an important economic contribution. The present North Region came into existence on 23 August 1983 with the breakup of the former **Northern Province**.

During the rule of **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, this area was favored with many infrastructural projects and thus is well endowed at present. Today, the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)** is a popular **political party**. The **Fulani** are the major **ethnic group**, and **Islam** is widespread among the **population** estimated in 2001 at 1,227,000.

NORTH WEST COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION (NWCA). *See* COOPERATIVES.

NORTH WEST PROVINCE. *See* NORTH WEST REGION.

NORTH WEST REGION. This **anglophone** region, one of two, covers a surface area of 17,300 square kilometers and has a **population** estimated in 2001 of 1,840,527. The population is young and the rate of growth is high. It consists of seven divisions and 31 subdivisions. The provincial headquarters is in **Bamenda** (Mezam Division). The principal towns include Fundong (Boyo Division), Kumbo (Bui Division), Ndop (Ngoketunjia Division), Nkambe (Donga-Mantung Division), and Wum (Menchum Division). The North West Region has a mountainous relief system and a rather temperate climate. The population is engaged in economic activities, especially **agriculture**, animal breeding, and handicrafts. There are some **tourist** attractions, in particular the spectacular rolling hills that predominate. **Lake Nyos** and Menchum Falls are other sites. There is little **industrial** production other than agricultural processing. The economic productivity of the region is high, and traditional culture continues to be a vital part of political and social organization. The region was established in 1972. Since the 1990s the North West has been the stronghold of political opposition to the **Paul Biya** government and the center of anglophone discontent. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; ART; ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES.

NORTHERN CAMEROONS. This indicates the British territories located in the northern portion of **British Cameroons**. In reality, the British had more than one distinct territory in the north. The **Atlantika Mountains** separated the various parts of Northern Cameroons at the **Benue River**. Administered as parts of **Nigeria**, Northern Cameroons consisted of the Tigon-Ndoro-Kentu area in the Benue Province, the Southern and Northern Adamawa districts in the Adamawa Province, and the Dikwa Division in the Bornu Province. No administrative links existed between Northern and **Southern Cameroons**, and both regions developed separate identities.

In the **plebiscite of February 1961** North Cameroons voted for integration with Nigeria as opposed to **reunification** with the **Républicque du Cameroun**. Only 97,659 people voted for reunification, while 146,296 voted for integration with **Nigeria**. Diplomatic and international legal pressures by the Cameroun government to contest the alleged irregularities of the outcome were unsuccessful. Northern Cameroons officially became part of the Federation of Nigeria on 1 June 1961. *See also* NORTHERN CAMEROONS CASE.

NORTHERN CAMEROONS CASE (CAMEROON VS. THE UNITED KINGDOM). In a **United Nations plebiscite of February 1961**, inhabitants of the Northern Cameroons voted to integrate with Northern **Nigeria** and become part of the Federation of Nigeria. This was a logical outcome of British administration since 1916.

The Cameroon government accused **Great Britain** of complicity, first before the United Nations, where it failed to gain sufficient support, and later to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at The Hague. In 1963, the court ruled in favor of abiding by the decision of the UN. Cameroon accepted the ICJ's ruling, but relations with Great Britain suffered a temporary chill under the outspoken and flamboyant Foreign Minister, **Charles Okala**.

Apart from the multiple voting irregularities Cameroonian officials detected in the Northern vote, it was Vice President **John Foncha** who sought to iron out the differences, realizing deteriorating relations with Britain would have adverse effects on **West Cameroon**. Cameroonian leader **Ahmadou Ahidjo** argued that a combination of both the Southern and Northern Cameroons vote (rather than the isolated counts of distinct regions) would have shown an overwhelming

choice in favor of **reunification** with the **République du Cameroun**. The loss of British Northern Cameroon was politically disturbing for Ahidjo, given that the population of the area would probably have aligned with his major area of support, the **Northern Province** of the **Republic of Cameroon**, and boosted his base of support in the early period of independence.

NORTHERN MASSACRE. On 21–22 October 1979, in Dolle and the Makari area in the Logone and Chari Divisions of **North Cameroon**, government paracommandos from **Maroua** massacred 200 people, including **women** and children, who protested the failure of the administration to open a village school despite local contributions toward its construction. The villagers turned their rage on security officers on a cleanup campaign killing 14 policemen and seriously wounding three. Reinforcements from Maroua led to the massacre and razing of the village. The Cameroon government denied the gravity of the situation and put forward the thesis of a quack Chadian *marabout* resisting arrest. The Northern Massacre of 1979 was the first serious domestic security embarrassment to the government since its crushing of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) rebellion in the early years of independence. Occurring in the North, it was a severe blow to then President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, who hailed from the area. *See also* ETHNIC CONFLICT.

NORTHERN PROVINCE. Established in 1972, the Northern **Province** covered the entire stretch of territory from the **Adamawa** highlands to **Lake Chad**. This extensive administrative entity gained added significance because of the largely **Muslim population**, the relative under development of the province, and the leadership bonus in President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, who hailed from there. It was widely believed in the Ahidjo era that behind the slogan of “**balanced development**,” the province was largely favored in various development projects like **industries**, schools and colleges, **tourist** facilities, airport and road facilities, as well as **sports** infrastructure. A single **governor**, Usman Mey, served in the province for 11 years until 1983.

In the wake of the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture** it was feared in Yaoundé that the mammoth province could secede from the rest of the country. In August 1983, President **Paul Biya** divided the Northern Province

into three new provinces: **Adamawa, North, and Extreme North.** The **Center South Province** was also divided into the **Center and South Provinces,** partly to quell suspicion that the reorganization of the provinces was solely designed against the former Northern Province. These are now known as *regions.*

NORWEGIAN PROTESTANT MISSION. The Norwegian Protestant Mission established a presence on a hilltop south of **Ngaoundéré** in 1925 by Karl Flatland, Johannes Thrana, Pastor Sverre Oseland, and Pastor Jens Nikolaisen. The decision was made to focus on Ngaoundéré, preferable for its climate and more substantial population as well as the presence of **Lutheran** missions to the west, north, and east, after an initial intention to focus on the Vere region, south of Yola, **Nigeria.** Its most successful station, aside from Ngaoundéré, was the **Dii** town of Mbe to the north along the Ngaoundéré-**Garoua** route. The Norwegian Protestant Mission worked in tandem with the **Sudan Mission** and the *Mission Fraternelle Luthérienne* to establish a hospital, press, and a radio station in 1966 known as Sawtu Linjiila. A school of theology was established at Meiganga in 1958. All three Lutheran organizations were folded into the *Eglise Evangélique Luthérienne du Cameroun* (EELC) in 1975. *See also* CHRISTIANITY.

NSO (BANSO, NSAW). This **Tikar** group of about 125,000 persons resides in the Bui Division of the **North West Region.** The Lamnso **language** is a member of the **Niger-Congo** family. Famous personalities from this group include **Bernard Fonlon, Christian Wiyghan Tumi,** and **Paul Verdzekov.** The **Catholic Church** and **Islam** are strong in this area.

NSHARE (NSHARE YEN). Nshare is the presumed founder of the **Bamoum** people in the 17th century. Nshare was the son of a **Tikar chief** who absconded from his **ethnic group** with a group of loyal supporters, heading south. He crossed the Mbam River and settled in Nji-Mom against heavy opposition from people around the Mbam area, 30 kilometers north of **Foumbam.** Nshare could survive only at the cost of opposition and conflicts with neighboring groupings and their rulers. Nonetheless, he skillfully brought 17 chiefs under his control to become paramount chief of the Pa-Mbam, from which

the name Bamoum is derived. Thereafter the kingdom extended even farther to include Mfom-Ben, from which the name Fouban is derived. It was this dynasty that continued to reign through the legendary **Sultan Njoya** to the present incumbent sultan of the Bamoum people. Popular and traditional songs honor Nshare.

NSIBIDI. This system of pictographic signs and danced motions is used as a form of communication among members of the **Ngbe** (Ekpe) cult in the **Cross River** region of southwestern Cameroon and southeastern **Nigeria**.

NTARINKON PALACE. This refers to the private residence of **Fru Ndi**. His **Social Democratic Front (SDF)**, one of the major opposition parties, was launched on 26 May 1990 at Ntarinkon Park in **Bamenda**. Police and military attacks on SDF supporters left six civilians dead. Ntarinkon Park is very near Ndi's residence.

NTAW, FOSI YAKUM. *See* YAKUM-NTAW, FOSI.

NTUMAZAH, NDEH (1926–). A militant politician of the **pre-unification** era and radical opponent of the postcolonial regimes in Cameroon, Ntumazah was born in Mankon, **Bamenda**, and educated there until 1944. He moved to **Douala** thereafter and was exposed to the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**) ideology before returning to Bamenda. He became notorious for participation in various local disputes. When the UPC took refuge in **Southern Cameroons** in 1955, Ntumazah emerged as a principal collaborator. In 1957, he formed the **One Kamerun Party (OK)** in Southern Cameroons following the departure of the UPC.

Under his leadership the OK became a strong advocate of reunification and **democratic** institutions. In his appearances before the **United Nations** in 1957, 1958, and 1959, Ntumazah gained high marks for his polished style and the fierceness and depth of his convictions. Apart from his leadership position in the OK, Ndeh Ntumazah neither won a local election nor held any political office in Cameroon. He left for exile at independence and lived mainly in London, but maintained close ties with the UPC in **France**.

Following the political liberalization that came in the wake of the legalization of multiparty politics, Ntumazah returned from his

exile in 1991 and became for a time the national president of the UPC. Over the years there have been several branches of the UPC as personality, ideological, and ethnic issues continually split the organization. Ntumazah became head of the UPC-N, a major branch, and **Augustin Kodock** became head of the UPC-K, another major branch. In 2001, Ntumazah published *Ndeh Ntumazah: A Conversational Autobiography* (Bamenda: Patron Publishing), which could as well have been named “a controversial autobiography” for it rejected most accepted Cameroon political history.

NWCA. *See* COOPERATIVES.

NYAMBE-BANTU. *See* THONG LIKENG, JOHANNES.

NYOBE, REUBEN UM. *See* UM NYOBE, REUBEN.

– O –

OFFICE CAMEROUNAIS DE BANANES. *See* BANANA.

OFFICE NATIONAL DE COMMERCIALISATION DES PRODUITS DE BASE (ONCPB). *See* NATIONAL PRODUCE MARKETING BOARD.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES. According to Paragraph 3 of Part I of the **Constitution of 1996**, “The official languages of Cameroon shall be **English** and **French**, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of **bilingualism** throughout the country.” Consequently, business in governmental offices and lectures in schools, colleges, and institutions of higher learning, as well as public texts and presidential decrees, are published in both official languages. *See also* EDUCATION; FRANGLAIS; NATIONAL LANGUAGES; PIDGIN ENGLISH.

OKALA, RENE-GUY CHARLES (1910–1973). Okala was independent Cameroon’s first foreign minister, and he was known for outspoken and daring stances on diplomatic issues. Okala was born on 19 October 1910 in the **Center Region**, and he did primary **education** in

a **Catholic** seminary in **Yaoundé**. He was a founder of the *Jeunesse Camerounaise Française* (1939) and was elected and reelected to the Representative Assembly in the 1940s and 1950s and as senator to the French Council of the Republic. Okala held various ministerial offices prior to independence and was named foreign minister (1960–1961).

Dismissed as minister in 1961, Okala was arrested in June 1962, tried, and convicted of conspiracy. He was released from jail in 1965 in a deal that led to the dissolution of the Cameroon Socialist Party. He was later co-opted into the *Union Camerounaise* (UC) and **Cameroun National Union** (CNU) parties and was named roving ambassador to President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** in 1968. He again fell out of grace in the period that led to the formation of the unitary state in 1972. He died on 16 September 1973. *See also* NORTHERN CAMEROONS CASE.

ONANA AWANA, CHARLES (1923–1999). Cameroon's veteran finance minister in the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** era was born in Ngoulmekong. He occupied important administrative functions in the period before independence and in 1960 was named federal minister of finance. He was first secretary-general of the *Union Douanière Economique de l'Afrique Centrale* (UDEAC) in 1964 and returned to government as minister of planning and territorial development (1970–1972). Under the unitary state in 1972 he was again named minister of finance, in which post he remained until 1975. His last ministerial posting was in the government of 2 May 1978. Onana Awana, a close adviser to President **Paul Biya** in the 1980s and 1990s, died on 10 January 1999 in Paris.

ONE KAMERUN PARTY (OK). This was the remnant of the short-lived *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC)–**Kamerun National Democratic Party** (KNDP) collaboration from 1955 until 1957. The UPC fostered interterritorial links with the **British Cameroons** in the late 1940s and took temporary shelter there following repression and banning in **French Cameroun**. The One Kamerun Party emerged from this contact in 1957. Its leader, **Ndeh Ntumazah**, originally hailed from British Cameroons and contributed to popularizing the party in the area. He was a

former member of the UPC directorate. Although not very popular or successful, the OK Party gained a constituency among the labor force, **cooperatives** members, and urban employees, as well as university students abroad and local intellectuals with its appeal for radical nationalism. The OK Party advocated **reunification** as its primary goal and faded out of existence when this goal was achieved in 1961.

OPERATION HARMATTAN. In March 2002 the police launched this anticrime campaign in **Yaoundé** and **Douala**. Thousands were arrested amidst charges of massive **human rights** violations and that it was used to intimidate the opposition parties.

OPERATION EPERVIER. *See* OPERATION SPARROWHAWK.

OPERATION SPARROWHAWK/OPERATION EPERVIER. As part of its **anticorruption** activities, the government launched this program in 2006 to ferret out embezzlement, misappropriation, and similar fraudulent activities in government, parastatals, and related organizations. Occasionally a big politician's name is brought up, but there have been few convictions. In April 2008 two former ministers were brought in for questioning; they were soon released. An anticorruption nongovernmental organization declared that this campaign was not relevant to the corruption problem. It is more sparrow and less hawk. Operation Epervier should not be confused with the similar title of French military forces in **Chad**.

ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DE LA FRANCOPHONIE (OIF). In many respects the OIF is similar to the **Commonwealth**. Numerous organizations exist to tie **French-speaking** countries together for economic, cultural, political, and other purposes. Originating in 1970 as the *Agence Coopération Culturelle et Technique* (ACCT), it became the *Agence de la Francophonie* in 1995 and the OIF in 1998. Presently, there are 55 members and 13 observers. The organization's supreme body is the **Summit of the Francophonie**. There is also a secretary-general, a Permanent Council, and a Ministerial Conference. Associated organizations include the Francophone University Agency, the Senghor University,

TV5 Monde, the International Association of Francophone Mayors, and the Francophone Parliamentary Assembly.

The purposes of La Francophonie include the development and maintenance of the **French language** and associated values, the encouragement of **democracy**, the maintenance of peace, and the development of solidarity through cooperation to provide for economic growth. It is also a means for **France** to exert influence in its former colonies. Cameroon is a member of the OIF.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). The OAU was an international governmental organization of African countries founded on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Cameroon was a founding member. Cameroon's most symbolic commitments to the organization were the roles of **Nzo Ekangaki** and **William-Aurelia Eteky Mboumoua** as secretaries-general. President **Paul Biya** served as chairman of the OAU (1996–1997). On 9 July 2002 the OAU became the **African Union**.

OSENDE AFANA. *See* AFANA, OSENDE.

OUANDIE, ERNEST (1924–1971). A revolutionary leader of guerrilla forces, the *maquis*, in the **Western Region** of the country, Ouandié was born in 1924 in the then **Bamiléké** Division. He was educated locally before embarking on a teaching career at the age of 16. However, it was politics that later determined his life as he joined the Cameroon chapter of the French left-leaning *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT) in 1944. This wing eventually emerged in the post-war era to form the first true Cameroonian political movement, the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) in 1948.

Following the outlawing of the party in 1955 Ouandié left the French territory and took refuge in **Bamenda, British Cameroons**. He later moved on to Egypt and Ghana, where the UPC had established as a community of political exiles. He returned to the country in early 1962 to clandestinely run the guerrilla operation now in full force in the Bamiléké countryside against government and French troops loyal to President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**. Caught in August 1970, he was arraigned in the conspiracy trial with Wambo le Courant,

Celestin Takala, and Bishop **Albert Ndongmo**. Following detention in Mbanga, he was court-martialed and sentenced to death. The execution took place on 15 January 1971. *See also* ATANGANA, CHARLES; MANGA BELL, DOULA RUDOLF; MAYI-MATIP, THEODORE; MOUMIE, FELIX-ROLAND; SAMBA, MARTIN-PAUL; SAME, ADOLPH LOTIN; UM NYOBE, REUBEN.

OWONA CONSTITUTION. *See* GRAND DEBAT.

OWONA, JOSEPH (1945–). A prominent jurist and scholar, Owona was born on 23 January 1945 in Akom Bikoe in the Ocean Division, **South Region**. He attended primary school in Mbalmayo (1953–1958), and secondary school at *Collège Vogt* in **Yaoundé**. He entered the University of Yaoundé and earned a *Licence en Droit* before proceeding to Paris to obtain a *Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures* in political science in 1970. Thereafter, he served as assistant lecturer at the University of Paris I Sorbonne-Panthéon until 1972, when he returned home. Simultaneously with his doctoral research, Owona lectured in the Faculty of Law and Economics, the School of Journalism, and the Higher Police College in Yaoundé. From 1973 until 1976, he served as chief of service for teaching and research at the University of Yaoundé. In 1976, he obtained his *Doctorat d'Etat* and the title of *Agrégé de Droit Public et Science Politiques*. He was named director of the International Relations Institute of Cameroun (IRIC) in September 1976 simultaneously with his post as head of the Department of Public Law in the University of Yaoundé. In 1983, Owona became chancellor of the university for a brief period before joining the **cabinet** in 1985 as assistant secretary-general at the Presidency with the rank of minister.

Following the reorganization of the Presidency in November 1986 he was appointed to the post of assistant secretary-general of government. He remained in this position until 1988, when he was appointed minister of higher **education** and scientific research. Owona was later moved to the Presidency in April 1992 as secretary-general, a post he occupied until 1994, when he became minister of public health. Following the second presidential **elections** under the multi-party system, Owona was appointed minister of youth and sports on

7 December 1997 and then minister of national education on 3 March 2000, where he remained until the reorganization of 8 December 2004, when he was dropped from the cabinet.

As a scholar, Owona is a figure of international renown, having lectured in the University of Brazzaville, University of Bordeaux, Marien Ngouabi University, and the African Institute in Moscow in various capacities until 1983. He has published extensively on public and constitutional law, political science, **human rights**, and disarmament in various scientific journals and has served as consultant for international organizations, multinational corporations, and foreign governments. *See also* SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

OYONO, FERDINAND-LEOPOLD (1929–). A long-time diplomat and leading African writer, Oyono was born on 14 September 1929 in Ngoulemakong, Ntem Division, **Center Region**. After secondary **education in France**, where he successfully obtained his *baccalauréat*, Oyono studied law at the University of Paris 1 Sorbonne-Panthéon. He graduated with a *licence* (LLB) and later enrolled in the diplomatic section of the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* in Paris. While studying, he also worked as an actor onstage and in television. In 1958, he served in the French foreign service as *chargé de mission* and later in the French embassy in Italy until the independence of Cameroon in 1960.

Oyono was appointed Cameroon's ambassador to France and was recalled home in 1961 as legal consultant in charge of studies. In 1962, he served as Cameroon's minister plenipotentiary to the European Economic Community (EEC) in Brussels and from 1963 to 1965 as ambassador to Liberia. He returned to Brussels as ambassador to the Benelux countries and the EEC from 1965 to 1968. Thereafter, he served as ambassador to France until 1974, when he became Cameroon's permanent representative to the **United Nations** in New York. During his long tenure at the United Nations Oyono presided over sessions of the Security Council and was vice president of the General Assembly.

He was moved to Algeria as ambassador in 1982 and later to **Great Britain** in the same capacity in September 1984. He was appointed to the high **cabinet** office of secretary-general at the Presidency in

1985, a post that he held until he became minister of housing and town planning (November 1986). He remained at this post until 1990. In November 1992 he became minister of external relations. In December 1997, Oyono was once more moved to become minister of state in charge of culture, indicative of very senior status in the cabinet. He retired from service on 7 September 2007, but was returned to the cabinet on 30 June 2009 as roving ambassador.

Apart from his wide-ranging diplomatic experience and ministerial duties, Ferdinand Oyono is most renowned to the outside world as a leading African writer. His numerous publications include *Houseboy* (1956), *The Old Man and the Medal* (1956), and *Chemin d'Europe* (1960). *See also* LITERATURE; SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

– P –

PAGAN GROUPING (SOCIETES PAIENNES). This term is frequently used to denote non-Islamized populations of the northern **regions**. They existed prior to the establishment of **Fulani** hegemony and resisted all attempts at Islamization. Their present settlement pattern was influenced by the construction and development of other states of the Sudan belt and the Chadian basin. They were obliged to migrate as Fulani pressure and conquest increased.

The major groups today include the Massa, the **Wandala**, the **Kapsiki**, and the Guiziga. Numerically, the Wandala are the largest of these groupings, which took up early settlement in the Mandara Mountains to escape Islamic persecution. They have survived despite the lack of a centralized political structure. Major personalities to emerge from these populations include **Luc Ayang** and **Etiénne Hollong**.

These people are called “pagan” because of their nonsubscription to **Islam**. **Christian** missionaries have been very active and successful with these groups within recent years. Politicians opposed to Fulani domination in northern politics and especially the **National Union of Democracy and Progress (NUDP)** have also been successful with these groups. *See also* KIRDI; MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC (MDR)/MOUVEMENT POUR LA DEFENCE DE LA REPUBLIQUE.

PAHOUI. *See* FANG (PAHOUI).

PALLOTINE MISSION. *See* CATHOLIC CHURCH.

PALM PRODUCTS. These include palm wine and kernel and palm oil produced from a variety of palm trees growing across the West African coast. Peasant smallholder and commercial plantation production are both significant. Many plantations have been **privatized**, but the **Cameroon Development Corporation** remains important. While export considerations have been significant, domestic use of palm products for consumption (especially as palm oil and palm wine) is very strong. In 2004, 7,623 metric tons of oil was exported, but 20,843 were imported! Export value for 2005 was \$14,522,680, and import value was \$10,168,000. A government report states that in 2007 total domestic production was about 170,000 tons, but domestic demand was for 220,000 tons. The expansion of production is envisaged, both for domestic consumption and for the increasing world demand for biofuels. The expansion of commercial plantations at the cost of **forest** areas caused an outcry from **environmentalists** and villagers who stand to lose productive resources.

PARASTATAL. *See* PRIVATIZATION.

PARTI DES DEMOCRATES CAMEROUNAIS (PDC)/CAMEROON DEMOCRATS PARTY. This organization was founded in 1958 as a **political party** with strong religious and ethnic participation. Occasionally it is referred to as the *Démocrates Camerounais* and, at its founding, the name *Parti des Démocrates Chrétiens* was suggested. **Catholic** and **Ewondo, Bulu,** and Eton support provided most of the PDC's followers. In the 1960 elections PDC candidates won 63 percent of the vote in the Nyong et Sanaga Province.

The period of its formation and the areas of its electoral support identify the PDC with **André-Marie Mbida**, preindependent **Cameroon's** first **prime minister**. Removed from office in 1958, Mbida went into exile in Conakry, Guinea. But the PDC continued with support from **Louis Aujolat** and the Ad Lucem group and with assistance from **Charles Atangana** and André Fouda. However, the PDC did not prosper, and by the mid-1960s it had ceased activity.

PARTI SOCIALISTE CAMEROUNAISE/CAMEROON SOCIALIST PARTY (PSC). This minority political grouping was formed in November 1959 under the leadership of **Charles Okala**. In June 1962, the party formed a loose coalition, the *Front National Unifié (FNU)*, opposed to **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** idea of *parti unifié*. The party fell into oblivion following the arrest and imprisonment of Okala in July 1963. The PSC later fused with other parties to form the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** in September 1966.

PARTI TRAVAILLISTE CAMEROUNAIS/CAMEROON WORKERS PARTY. This minority **political party** in **East Cameroun** was formed by **Bebey-Eyidi** in March 1962. The party lost its political existence following the arrest and imprisonment of its leaders. Its opposition to **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** *parti unifié* option was unsuccessful.

PARTI UNIFIE. This political concept was developed by **Ahmadou Ahidjo** in 1960. It was designed to create a common ground of operation among feuding **political parties**. The *parti unifié* signified that parties could voluntarily dismantle their artificial differences and work together in unison within a one-party structure. It was through the *parti unifié* idea that Ahidjo consolidated his governing **Union Camerounaise (UC)** into a one-party structure, the **Union National Camerounaise (UNC)**.

The unified party idea was put forward in opposition to the idea of a single party that implied constraint and obligation. Many other politicians or political parties opposed to the idea of a monolithic national party as the high point of dictatorship fell into political disfavor or disbanded.

PEACE CORPS. On 1 March 1961 President John F. Kennedy established the Peace Corps to assist in Third World development using volunteers from the **United States**. On 23 July 1962, agreement was reached between Cameroon and the United States to begin Peace Corps activity in Cameroon. The first volunteers, assigned to **English-speaking West Cameroon**, arrived in September 1962. Since then, the program has expanded to all **regions** of Cameroon and to many types of activity.

In 2008 effort was concentrated at the grassroots level in classroom instruction, teacher training, **agriculture**, agro-forestry, and **health**. A small enterprise development project addressed growing needs in the business sector. In 2008 there were 161 volunteers in Cameroon; a total of 2,961 had worked there since 1962. Several other countries have developed similar programs in Cameroon, most significantly **Germany**, Canada, the Netherlands, and **Great Britain**.

PEACE-WORK-FATHERLAND/PAIX-TRAVAILLE-PATRIE.

This is the official motto of Cameroon as denoted in the **Constitution of 1996**, Part 1, Para. 7.

PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS (PKO). Cameroon has been an active participant in PKO activities, most frequently supplying police and staff, less frequently supplying military observers, and on at least two occasions, troops (Sudan and **Central African Republic**). Cameroon frequently takes part in PKO training exercises (RECAMP or the Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping Capabilities program) with other African countries and major external powers, especially **France** and the **United States**. It is the Awae Regional Centre for Training on Techniques of Keeping Law and Order (CPTMO), which also houses the French-supported *Ecole Internationale des Forces de Sécurité* (EIFORCES). In 2008 Cameroon had personnel in the following countries for PKO activities: Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), Haiti (MINUSTAH), Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL), Afghanistan (UNAMA), Central African Republic (MICOPAX), **Chad**/Central African Republic (MINURCAT), Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), Sudan (UNAMID), Burundi (BINUB), and Nepal (UNMIN).

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC). *See* CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF (PRC).

PERE (KUTIN, KOUTINE). Numerically this is the main **population** of the Faro and Déo Department of **Adamawa Region**. The Pere are clustered in particular around the Guenfalabo mountain, which provided protection in uncertain times, in the region of Kontcha. Their **language** is in the Adamawa-Ubangi subfamily of the **Niger-Congo** languages. Originally thought to have been matrilineal, the Pere

have become largely patrilineal as a result of conversion to **Islam** and **Christianity**, and interaction with related patrilineal groups. Although frequently called Kutin by neighbors, this is a pejorative term, derived from the **Fulani** term for dog, *kutiiru*.

The Pere, a decentralized group, preceded the Fulani in the area. According to local histories, they arrived from the region of Kano, **Nigeria**, by way of the Jukun realms of Wukari. The population were subjects of the *lamido* of Kontcha from that city's establishment by the Fulani in 1823 until 1951, when the French, in pursuing a policy of emancipation, separated the Péré into three independent *arrondissements*. These new entities drew upon the preexisting political structure by which the *lamido* appointed Pere representatives in the towns. The Pere of Mayo-Baléo historically were administratively tied to the Wadjiri of Kontcha, while the Pere of Almé and Gadjiwan were administratively under the direct control of the *lamido*.

The Center for Pere Literature has studied Pere language and literature since 1974 in the town of Gadjiwan as a project of the **Lutheran** Evangelical Mission in collaboration with the **Catholic** Mission at nearby Almé.

PETROLEUM. This has been Cameroon's most significant export since the 1980s. Oil deposits were known to exist in Cameroon as early as the 1950s, but this was rarely officially confirmed by the postindependence federal government. Following the creation of the **United Republic of Cameroon** in 1972, government followed up with a definite petroleum policy.

Following the early stages, government maintained a cloud of secrecy over production and export of Cameroon's petroleum. It is widely believed that Cameroon's exploitation and export began in December 1977 with an estimated output of 13,000 barrels per day. The price of Cameroon's petroleum per barrel remained an equally guarded secret in the early period, but the bulk of the exports went to the **United States**. The **Ahmadou Ahidjo** government also did not disclose the destination of petroleum revenues, which were not included in the national budget, a tactic known as "*compte hors budget*." The typical Ahidjo strategy was not to base the nation's **economy** entirely on its petroleum. According to Ahidjo, **agriculture** was

the mainstay of Cameroon's economy because "before petroleum there was agriculture and after petroleum there will be agriculture."

On 16 May 1981, Ahidjo inaugurated the National Oil Refinery in Victoria (now **Limbe**), although the refinery company, SONARA, had existed on paper since 1976. The export and management of Cameroon's petroleum improved its balance of trade with many foreign countries. It allowed government to engage in important long-term development projects and boost its creditability in economic management in various international circles. Strangely, the refinery does not use locally produced crude, but imports its needs. A planned refit of the facilities will allow local crude to be refined.

For the average Cameroonian, the home production of petroleum was no panacea for high gasoline prices. In the wake of the worldwide slump in oil sales, the price of Cameroon's petroleum dropped from \$29 per barrel in 1984 to \$26 in 1985 and reached an all-time low of \$10 in 1986. The precipitate drop of Cameroon's petroleum price is blamed by government as one of the main causes of the country's **economic crisis**. As the economy continued to decline and government became even more desperate for income, "forward oil deals" came into play. Government sold oil at reduced prices in advance of production in order to get immediate income. Long term, such a policy was harmful. The recent wild fluctuations in petroleum prices have caused some difficulty in financial management and economic planning.

Although the government has tried to encourage more search and discovery activities, it is widely assumed that there is little petroleum left and production will soon cease. Reserves are estimated at 0.4 billion barrels. Production has declined for the last 20 years, from about 175,000 barrels per day in 1986 to about 85,000 in 2008. Total production in 2008 was 30.8 million barrels, of which 20.4 million was exported, earning \$1.9 billion. The recent settlement of the **Bakassi Dispute** transferred land thought to be rich in petroleum to Cameroon; this may increase the country's reserves.

Looking forward, Cameroon is developing capacity as a petroleum service center with the construction of a repair facility for ocean drilling platforms at Limbe and the huge **pipeline** project with **Chad**, including the development of the port at **Kribi**. Although not utilized at this time, Cameroon has enormous natural gas reserves of 3,900

billion cubic feet, the second largest reserves in sub-Saharan Africa. In November 2008 an agreement was signed between Cameroon's *Société Nationale des Hydrocarbures (SNH)* and GDF Suez, a major French company, to plan and construct a liquification plant and related facilities to enable Cameroon to become a significant exporter. There are also plans to use some natural gas for electricity production. *See also* FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN TRADE; MINERALS AND MINING.

PEUHL. *See* FULANI.

PIDGIN ENGLISH (WES COS; CAMTOK). This is the main lingua franca in contemporary Cameroon. It originated before the start of the colonial period as many of the early traders and missionaries were British. Local inhabitants were eager to work and develop relations with early traders. Pidgin **English** arose to serve the transactions between the two sets of actors. The German colonial army found it so widespread in the 1880s that they made it the **language** of their **Kamerun** army and it was widely used on their plantations. The **Catholic Church** produced and still uses a Bible in this language.

Pidgin is frequently used, and the number of speakers is expanding with estimates that more than 50 percent of the population use it, most widely in the **North West** and **South West Regions**. One author states that there are five pidgin dialects and that it is increasingly becoming a first language for many people (that is, a Creole language). *See also* BILINGUALISM; FRANGLAIS; FRENCH; NATIONAL LANGUAGES.

PIPELINE. **Chad**, a land-locked country, has major **petroleum** deposits in the Doba Basin. However, these are of value only if a means to export the valuable liquid can be found. Cameroon and Chad agreed to construct a pipeline from the oil fields through Cameroon to the port at **Kribi**. In January 1994 agreement was reached with the Exxon, Shell, and Elf Aquitaine oil companies to build the pipeline, and construction got under way in the late 1990s. The project was the largest investment in sub-Saharan Africa at that time at an eventual cost of \$3.5 billion. Cameroon is expected to earn at least \$500 million from the project, and for several years many Cameroonians were

employed in the construction of the pipeline, 1,050 kilometers in length. However, in late September 2009 Cameroon demanded renegotiation of the financial part of the agreement, claiming that with the great increase in oil prices since the time of the original agreement, there should be increase (roughly double the amount) in the rate per barrel piped being paid to Cameroon.

However, there has been considerable concern about the effects of the project on the **environment**. Other issues involved the rights of indigenous peoples, especially the **Baka**, and whether the profits of the project would be used to assist the many poor inhabitants of Chad or would be used to enrich the elite or provide arms for the military. After considerable pressure from international **nongovernmental organizations**, an agreement on the latter issue was reached in which the Chad government agreed to devote 80 percent of its profits to poverty alleviation. Once the pipeline went into operation, there was no way to enforce this agreement, and the Chad government reneged, leading to a revision of its agreement with the **World Bank**. COTCO, the Cameroon Oil **Transportation** Company, represents Cameroon's interest in this project. *See also* FOREIGN INVESTMENT; HUMAN RIGHTS.

PIRACY. Frequent reports of piracy have come in recent years from the coastal waters of **Nigeria**, but there has also been an increase along the Cameroon coast. On 28 September 2008 speed boats loaded with pirates attacked the town of **Limbe**, killing one person and robbing several banks. Local security forces were unprepared for such an attack. On 31 October 2008 a group called the **Bakassi** Freedom Fighters took 10 persons hostage from a ship and held them for 10 days. In January 2009 pirates killed the captain of a Cameroon trawler near **Kribi**. Also in January 2009 the **United States** announced that it would provide antipiracy training to Cameroon naval forces. Nigerian and Cameroonian authorities agreed to joint actions to prevent cross border incidents and piracy. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS.

PLANNED LIBERALISM. Planned Liberalism was the key concept in Cameroon's economic development philosophy. The main poles of this concept were double: the encouragement of private initiative

and reliance on market forces, as well as government regulation of investment and the judicious allocation of resources. Major actors in the execution of this philosophy were private individuals and foreign companies, on the one hand, and parastatal enterprises and the national government, on the other.

Conceived in 1965 following the abandonment of **African Socialism**, Planned Liberalism was a deliberate attempt at ideological neutrality. It sought to integrate the best elements of capitalism and socialism in respect to private initiative and national sovereignty. The state therefore entered into partnership with private foreign enterprises to execute certain highly prized economic ventures. Economic misfortunes since the mid-1980s have led to criticism of the Planned Liberalism philosophy due to poor governmental judgment at guiding private **foreign investment**, the pervasive **corruption** paralyzing bureaucratic structures, and the overheated process of **industrialization**. There is now considerable pressure for the government to **privatize** the parastatals, turning them over to private enterprise. *See also* ECONOMIC CRISIS; STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM.

PLEBISCITE (1961). The **United Nations** organized and supervised a plebiscite on 11–12 February 1961 to determine the future of the British territories in Cameroon. **Great Britain** ruled its Northern and Southern territories separately. It also developed a strong identity between the Cameroon territories and **Nigeria**. The populations of the Cameroon territories were to decide between integration with the Nigerian federation or **reunification** with the **République du Cameroun**. Overwhelmingly, the **Southern Cameroons** voted for reunification with Cameroun (233,571 for reunification and 97,741 against). Some argue that if a third choice, independence alone, had been included, the vote count would have been very different. **Northern Cameroon** voted for inclusion in Nigeria (146,296 for Nigeria and 97,659 for Cameroon). *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; NORTHERN CAMEROONS CASE.

POLITICAL PARTIES. Cameroon's political parties have evolved through five stages, beginning with the various precursors of real parties that emerged during the years before World War II. In the

francophone area this included groups such as *Jeunesse Camerounaise Française* and *Jeunesse Démocratique Camerounaise* and in the anglophone side the **Cameroon Welfare Union (CWU)** and the **Cameroons Youth League (CYL)**. Leaders emerged from these to form the first real (and numerous) parties in the preindependence stage after the end of the war. Among these were the *Bloc Démocratique Camerounaise (BDC)* and the *Rassemblement Camerounais (RACAM)* in French Cameroun; in the Southern Cameroons examples are the **Kamerun National Congress (KNC)** and the **Cameroons National Federation (CNF)**. Most of these parties had short lives and were not in existence at independence. Also at this time there were influential external political parties, the **National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)** and the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA)* allied with the *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)*.

The immediate postindependence stage was a time of mergers and alliances leading eventually to the single party stage. The **Cameroon Union (UC)** was the dominant party in the francophone region at independence, and under President **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** direction it encouraged and coerced other parties to meld into the UC. This process included the independence parties of **West Cameroon**, such as the **Cameroon United Congress (CUC)** and the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)**, both of which dissolved in September 1966 to join the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**, successor to the UC and, as of that time, the single party in the country (although the UPC continued to exist in exile). The single-party stage lasted until 1990, though the CNU, the party of Ahidjo, became the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**, the party of President **Paul Biya**, in March 1985.

The year 1990 marks the beginning of the multiparty stage of party history, though not the end of single-party domination. While there are now many parties, more than 80 in 2008, the CPDM remains solidly in power at all levels of government and in almost all locations. Its major competitor, the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)**, won only 16 of 153 seats in the **elections for National Assembly in 2007**. The CPDM won 153 seats. Seats were also won by the **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)**, the **Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU)**, and the *Mouvement Progressiste* of Jean Jacques

Ekindi. There have been attempts to form alliances of minority parties, such as the **Front of Allies for Change**, but these have failed to hold together when faced with an election. There are also parties outside of the electoral system, such as the **Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC)**. *See also* CAMEROONS PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONVENTION; COURANT D'UNION NATIONALE; FRONT POPULAIRE DE L'UNITE ET LA PAIX (FPUP); KAMERUN NATIONAL CONGRESS (KNC); KAMERUN UNITED NATIONAL CONGRESS (KUNC); KAMERUN UNITED PARTY (KUP); MOUVEMENT D'ACTION NATIONALE DU CAMEROUN (MANC); MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC (MDR); NORTH CAMEROON DEMOCRATIC PARTY; ONE KAMERUN (OK); PARTI DES DEMOCRATES CAMEROUNAISE (PDC); PARTI SOCIALISTE CAMEROUNAISE (PSC); PARTI TRAVAILLISTE CAMEROUNAIS; PARTI UNIFIE; RASSEMBLEMENT DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RAPECA); RASSEMBLEMENT DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RPC); RENAISSANCE CAMEROUNAISE (RENAICAM); SOUTHERN CAMEROONS YOUTH LEAGUE.

POLITIQUE DE RENOUVEAU. *See* NEW DEAL.

PONDI, PAUL (1928–). Cameroon's former ambassador to the **United States** and previously first delegate general for national security, Paul Pondi was born on 10 February 1928 in Ngog-Bassong, Nyong and Kéllé Division, **Center Region**. After completing elementary **education** in Eseka in 1947 and the Evangelical Mission Institute of Libamba at Makak in 1950, he passed the *baccalauréat* from *Lycée Leclerc* in 1955. For five years he served as regional controller of finance and climbed to the rank of civil servant or "*fonctionnaire*."

In 1960, Paul Pondi was appointed delegate general for national security and in this capacity played a crucial role in quelling the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) rebellion and insurrection that was rife in the early days of Cameroon's independence. This contributed to the stabilization of the new republic and the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime. Between 1972 and 1977, he was ambassador to Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo), and from 1977 to 1981,

ambassador to **Great Britain**. He was appointed Cameroon's ambassador to the United States in January 1982. Although he retired in 1997, he presently serves as chairman of the board of the Cameroon Civil Aviation Authority.

POPULATION. Cameroon's population was estimated at barely 5 million in 1960. By 1976, when the most ambitious census drive was held, the official accounts placed the country's population at 7.802 million inhabitants. By 1987, Cameroon had over 10 million inhabitants. In 1998, the population was estimated to be 15 million, with a growth rate of 2.81 percent per year. Life expectancy was 51 years. The results of the latest census, conducted in 2005, have not yet been published. However, it is estimated that in mid-2008 the population was 18,467,692. The population growth rate is 2.218 percent. Life expectancy at birth has increased slightly and is now 53.3 years.

This is a young population, with 41 percent 14 years old or younger. Only 3.2 percent is over the age of 65. In the early years of independence the government followed a pronatal policy, a factor inherited from the French colonial experience. Contraception and family planning were largely illegal. In more recent years there has come the realization that rapid population growth was detrimental to efforts at economic development. Cameroon has moved from a pro-population growth view to a population control attitude. However, the fertility rate (the number of births per **woman**) is still 4.41. *See also* HEALTH; URBANIZATION AND CITIES.

POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY PAPER (PRSP). *See* HEAVILY INDEBTED POOR COUNTRIES (HIPC) INITIATIVE; STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS.

PRE, ROLAND JOANES LOUIS (1907–1980). Pré was high **commissioner** of **Cameroun** from 2 December 1954 until 17 April 1956, after experience in the colonial service in **Gabon**, Guinea, and Upper Volta. He was considered progressive but tough and a ready answer to the growing radicalism in Cameroon politics represented by the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC). Consequently, he began an anti-UPC campaign by forming various local councils

to offset the growing strength of the movement. He called for the integration of many planters, traders, and workers into newly formed traditional institutions that were opposed to the UPC. However, some of his measures also alienated moderates, especially his decision to control the powers and activity of the *Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun* (ATCAM).

Pré personally declared an all-out war to “crush communist activity” in February 1955 at a time of unrest and economic malaise in **French Cameroun**. He also took economic decisions that alienated the white *colons* (settlers) in Cameroun. All these measures gave rise to intermittent strikes organized in **Douala** by various labor groups. Between 22 and 30 May 1955 bloody riots engulfed Douala, **Yaoundé**, **Nkongsamba**, and Mbanga. The administration estimated the loss of 26 lives, including two Europeans. Before he was replaced in April 1956, Pré took the ultimate political decision by banning the UPC from legal existence.

PRÉFET (SENIOR DIVISIONAL OFFICER; SDO). The *préfet* is the head of an administrative unit known as *département* in **French** and division in **English**. **Regions** are subdivided into divisions. The *préfet*, locally a very powerful person, is appointed by presidential decree. He has various subordinates, including the first and second assistant divisional officers, the subdivisional officer, and the district head, below him. Since independence, most *préfets* have been graduates of the *Centre National d'Administration et de Magistrature* (CENAM).

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. See AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION; BASEL MISSION SOCIETY; CHRISTIANITY; RELIGION.

PRESIDENT. Since the independence of Cameroon, there have been only two presidents, **Ahmadou Ahidjo** (1960–1982) and **Paul Biya** (1982 to the present). The president's role is defined formally by the **Constitution of 2 June 1972** as amended by Law No. 96-06 of 18 January 1996, the **Constitution of the Republic of Cameroon (1996)**. However, the president is also defined by practice and custom as well as the personality of the person holding the office.

That the majority of Cameroon was controlled by **France** for much of its history has been a significant factor in defining the Cameroon president's role. French political culture is based on a concept of government as highly centralized, and, especially during the era of President Charles de Gaulle, as headed by a strong president. The Cameroon system envisaged at the time of independence was consciously designed on this model.

According to the constitution, the president is the head of state, head of the **armed forces**, and the symbol of national unity. He or she is responsible for defining the nation's policy, ensuring respect for the constitution, and guaranteeing the independence and territorial integrity of the state. The president can propose bills to the legislature for approval. The president's power of appointment is unrestricted by any legislative checks or balances. Among others, the president appoints the members of the judiciary, the **prime minister**, and the members of the government.

The president can declare a state of emergency or a state of siege that confer additional powers to the office. In addition, the legislature may empower the president to make law by means of ordinance. He may dissolve the **National Assembly** and call for new elections.

The president is elected by a majority of votes cast based on direct, equal, and universal suffrage. The term of office is seven years. According to an amendment passed on 10 April 2008, the president may stand for reelection without limit and is immune from prosecution for any act committed while president. The candidate must be Cameroonian by birth and be, at the time of the election, at least 35 years old. The president may not hold any other elected office or be involved in other professional activity. Should the president become incapacitated, the president of the **Senate** shall become interim president. However, as no senate has yet been established, it is not clear who would take power.

Over the years, the strong president described in the constitution has become even more powerful through the actions of the incumbent, especially President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**. Ahidjo moved the country from a federation to a centralized form of government, established a single-**political party** system (today a single party-dominant system), and used his considerable financial and police powers to

concentrate power in the presidency and in himself. President **Paul Biya** has maintained the powerful position established by Ahidjo, though he has not added to that power and he has not been as successful in maintaining the support Ahidjo received from most sectors of society. *See also* AHIDJO-BIYA RUPTURE; CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1961); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON (1984); CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN (1961); CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL; DEMOCRACY.

PRESS. The press in Cameroon has a history dating back to the early activities of **Christian** missionaries, the activity of Cameroonians mainly in opposition to French colonialism between the world wars, and the publications of the Nigerian press that were sold in **South-ern Cameroons**. Real growth has taken place in the years since independence and especially since the early 1990s. Today, there are numerous newspapers, many irregular in publication and transitory in existence, but there are several that are well established. Among the leading newspapers are the *Cameroon Tribune*, a government newspaper with **French** and **English** editions, which serves as a government mouthpiece; *Le Messager*, published in **Douala** in French and widely considered to be the most effective opposition newspaper; and *L'Effort Camerounais*, published since 1955 by the **Catholic Church** and now in French and English. *Nouvelle Expression* and *Mutations* (**Yaoundé**) are well-established French papers. *The Post* (**Buea**) and *The Herald* (**Yaoundé**) are English-language papers. Most of these are available online. Over the years various English publications such as *Cameroon Outlook* and the *Cameroon Times* played important roles but failed to last after the original editor's life or simply failed for lack of income. As literacy has increased over the years, so has newspaper readership. It is estimated that sales increased by 4.29 percent in 2007.

The press suffers from many problems, such as lack of trained journalists, poor business methods, and the public's lack of purchasing power. However, the most serious problems are government censorship and **corruption**. From colonial times to the present, there has never been real freedom of the press. Censorship was very strict

under the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime, and though this has been relaxed under the **Paul Biya** government, there are still narrow limits with respect to criticism of government policy and personalities, especially criticism of the **president**. Reporters without Borders World Press Index listed Cameroon as 111th of 169 countries in 2007. However, the government has established a fund to support press development, and since 2004 funds have been provided to newspapers and private radio stations for this purpose. Reports suggest the funds are provided quite selectively. Corruption, referred to as “*gombo*,” occurs frequently as reporters and papers accept gifts and bribes from individuals to print specific stories.

PRESTATION. In this system of **forced labor** applied by the French in **Cameroun**, males performed a 10-day free labor service to government. It was imposed only on Cameroonians of the *sujet* status. French authorities accepted financial contributions from the *sujet* in lieu of the required *prestation*. Local **chiefs** collaborated with French administrators for the operation of this exploitative policy.

PRIME MINISTER. A position with this title has appeared and disappeared in both states of the **Federal Republic** and the central governments. Its most recent definition is in Article 12 of the **Constitution of 1996**. The prime minister is the head of government (the **president** is the head of state). The prime minister cannot be a member of either house of parliament. The prime minister is appointed and dismissed by the president, but the **National Assembly** may pass a vote of no confidence or a motion of censure, forcing the prime minister to resign. The post has little power, but is frequently used to mollify public opinion in areas such as the **South West Region** that feel neglected.

National prime ministers have been **Paul Biya** (1975–1982), **Mai-gari Bello Bouba** (1982–1983), **Luc Ayang** (1983–1984), Sadou Hayatou (1991–1992), and under the 1996 definition, **Simon Achidi Achu** (1992–1996), **Peter Mafany Musonge** (1996–2004), and **Ephriam Inoni** (2004–2009). The last three are **anglophones**. On 30 June 2009 **Philémon Yunji Yang**, another anglophone, replaced Inoni in this position.

PRISO, CHIEF LOCK. *See* LOCK PRISO, CHIEF.

PRISO, PAUL SOPPO. *See* SOPPO PRISO, PAUL.

PRIVATIZATION. Many African states have played a major role in investment in a wide range of companies as part of their effort to encourage economic development. These parastatals, defined as a company owned entirely or in part controlled by the government, have been seen by many African governments, including Cameroon, as a way of fostering and guiding industrial development in desirable directions. All too often, they have been economic disasters. With the **economic crisis** of the 1980s and the intervention of the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, the **World Bank**, and various donor nations, there has been pressure on African governments to turn these over to private ownership, a process termed *privatization*. Many parastatals were badly managed, poorly planned, overstaffed, and the focus of **corrupt** practice. It was assumed that private ownership would lead to rational management and profitability. In addition, the sale of government shares would provide revenue to assist the government to pay off its **debts**.

Cameroon's government has invested in numerous parastatals, ranging from the pulp and paper company *Cellulose du Cameroun (CELLUCAM)* to banks (*Société Camerounaise de Banque*) to utilities, **transportation**, and so on. Pressure to divest began to grow in the mid-1980s, and the first sale took place in 1990. The list of planned divestments included most of the well-known companies in the country—CAMAIR (the airline), CAMSHIP, REGIFERCAM (the railroad) in transport; HEVEACAM, SODECOTON, SOCO-PALM, **Cameroon Development Corporation**, and CAMSUCO in **agriculture**; SONEL (electricity), Intelcam, the **National Water Corporation of Cameroon (SNEC)** (water), and SOTUC (urban bus) in public utilities; and the Port of **Douala** are among those frequently mentioned. Some 60 to 70 companies were planned to be liquidated and 25 or more sold.

A study in 2007 indicated that in fact, 35 had been liquidated, 17 had been restructured, 18 had been privatized, and 10 more privatizations were in process. In the latter group was CAMAIR, the national airline. Its privatization process has led to many problems—workers went on strike, it was sold, then the sale was canceled, and the airline went bankrupt and stopped flying. Privatization of the Cameroon

Development Corporation has encountered a different problem; the territory on which many of the plantations are located was taken from the inhabitants by the Germans without proper compensation in the 1880s and 1890s. The **Bakweri Land Claims Committee** has for many years tried to get some settlement of the issue, and privatization has given it a new opportunity to state its case.

In general, government has moved slowly with this process. The parastatals have been an excellent source of patronage, and many officials have become very rich from the management positions they received in them. Moreover, the reductions in staff associated with economic rationalization have been politically unpopular and are an important factor in the massive unemployment problem the country faces. Also, the sales of the parastatals have not been as beneficial as expected. The least successful companies have been the most difficult to sell. In some instances buyers have been willing to take profitable parts of companies and to leave the government stuck with the unprofitable parts. Prices received have been lower than hoped, and more often than desired, foreigners (especially French) have been the purchasers rather than Cameroonians. *See also* ECONOMY; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; PLANNED LIBERALISM.

PROTECTORATE. This was the official German title of the **Kamerun** territory between 1884 and 1916. The particular notion of the protectorate entailed German supervision over the affairs conducted by native Kamerun rulers. *See also* INDIRECT RULE.

PROTESTANTISM. Protestant **Christian** missionaries have strongly influenced Cameroon history beginning with the English **Baptist** missionaries on the Cameroon coast. In later periods, various other mission groups including the American, French, and Swiss Presbyterians; the American Baptists; the French Protestant missions; the Norwegian and American **Lutherans** as well as the Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses have established bases in Cameroon. *See also* AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION; BASEL MISSION; RELIGION.

PROVINCES. Until 2008 Cameroon was divided into 10 provinces, each headed by a **governor**. In 2008 the term was changed

to **region**. Each region is divided into divisions headed by a *préfet*. Like the governor, a *préfet* is a powerful figure. Divisions are further divided into subdivisions headed by a *sous-préfet*. According to the **Constitution of 1996**, the regions are to have a substantially different administrative arrangement. However, as of early 2010 no action has been taken to implement these provisions.

Cameroon: Provinces, 2008

<i>Province</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Area Square Kilometers</i>	<i>Population (2001 est.)</i>
Adamawa	Ngaoundéré	63,701	723,626
Centre	Yaoundé	68,953	2,501,229
East	Bertoua	109,011	755,088
Far North	Maroua	31,984	2,721,000
Littoral	Douala	20,248	2,202,340
North	Garoua	66,090	1,227,000
North West	Bamenda	17,300	1,840,527
South	Ebolowa	47,720	535,000
South West	Buea	27,520	1,242,749
West	Bafoussam	14,000	1,982,106

PUTTKAMER, JESKO VON (1855–1917). The third German **governor** in **Kamerun** (1895–1907) was a strong advocate of penetration into the interior and expanding the plantation **economy**. Under his tenure the design for a railway project was established. He championed **forced labor** and was harsh toward the local population. Puttkamer had a particular dislike of the **Duala** and defended the rights of whites and soldiers over indigenous **women**. For these reasons he was constantly in conflict with missionary establishments. Puttkamer was dismissed as governor for his uncomely behavior toward the local population.

PYGMY. *See* BAKA.

– Q –

QADIRIYYA. *See* ISLAM.

– R –

RABAH al-ZUBAYR FADL ALLAH. Rabah was an influential Bornu ruler in the late 19th century who claimed allegiance to the **Mahdiyya**. During his reign Kanembu and the **Wandala** people in north Cameroon were conquered in 1895. Rabah later fell to French invaders in 1900. *See also* SA'ID, HAYATU IBN.

RADIO TROTTOIR. This phrase refers to the circulation of sensational rumors by unofficial sources in Cameroon. Under the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime there was strict news censorship. Occasionally seizure was made of foreign **press** coverage of Cameroon's affairs. There is more freedom under the **Paul Biya** regime, but journalists within the country have restricted opportunities to be effective. Because explanations are not given to various national issues, this information is "fabricated" as a means to satisfy the curiosity of the population. Usually "Radio Trottoir" stories are not unfounded. They contain some truth, but the facts are usually inflated well beyond their true proportions.

RALLIEMENT. This term was used to signify the campaign by the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** government to entice and rally declared opponents of the political system to the national cause. The *ralliement* strategy was particularly in operation between 1958 and 1960. Various **Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)** rebels including **Mayi-Matip** and Kamdem-Ninyim were given official status and allowed to maintain a legal opposition, the *Raillé UPC*, in the **Assemblée Législative du Cameroun (ALCAM)**. The *ralliement* strategy helped to weaken the underground insurgency and strengthened Ahidjo's control of the country.

RAMADAN. The ninth month of the **Muslim** lunar year is a period of fasting from sunrise to sunset. Feasting often occurs after sunset. This is a time of purification, worship, and meditation. It is a time to study the Koran and to devote oneself to Allah. Ramadan is the fourth of the five basic duties ("pillars") of the Islamic faith. On the day after Ramadan, a feast is held, *Eid-ul-Fitr*. This is a national **holiday** in Cameroon. *See also* ISLAM.

RAMADIER, JEAN (1913–1968). The son of famous French politician Paul Ramadier, Jean Ramadier became French high **commissioner** in **Cameroun** in 1958 after serving in similar positions in Guinea and Niger. He played a crucial role in engineering the process by which the unpredictable **André-Marie Mbida** government lost parliamentary and popular support. This led to Mbida's forced resignation in 1958 and facilitated his replacement by Vice Premier **Ahmadou Ahidjo** on 18 February 1958. Ramadier was removed from office in May 1958 after completing this task. Ramadier was born on 1 December 1913 and died on 19 February 1968.

RASSEMBLEMENT CAMEROUNAIS (RACAM). RACAM was a fervent nationalist **political party** formed in April 1947, following a split within the ranks of the *Union Camerounaise Française* (Unicafra). It was formed by **trade unionists** and established a **constitution** intended to be the charter of an independent **Cameroun**. The charter stressed the indigenous will of the population based on the collective responsibility of a united and indivisible people. RACAM's populist and radical stance led it to serve as the crucible for the birth of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) in 1948. Compared to predecessor movements, it was no tool of the French designed to suppress pro-German sentiments. In relation to post-1945 movements, RACAM became the prototype of an organization formed to assault colonialism wherever and however it was manifested. Banned by the French because of its unabashed radicalism, its banner was taken up by the UPC, whose key leader, **Reuben Um Nyobe**, was among the nine founding members of RACAM.

RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN (RDA). This panfrancophone African political movement grouped leading parties from French territories in order to provide an avenue to demand civil and political rights for **French**-speaking Africans. Formed in 1946, it won seats in the French National Assembly that year. It entered into a close alliance with the French Communist Party until 1955. The *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) was an RDA member from 1948 in a bid to develop and broaden African bases of support.

RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RDPC). *See* CAMEROON PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (CPDM).

RASSEMBLEMENT DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RAPECA).

This **political party** bearing the same name as the *Rassemblement du Peuple Camerounais (RPC)* (see following entry), emerged in 1959. However, it was distinguished from the RPC by its more popular acronym RAPECA. It was formed by André Fouda in **Yaoundé** aimed as an allied party to the *Démocrates Camerounais* led by **Soppo Priso**. RAPECA became significant in its own right when it participated in the *Table Ronde* for reconciliation of French Cameroon parties.

RASSEMBLEMENT DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RPC). One of many political movements in the French trust territory of **Cameroon** organized in the postwar period, it became particularly prominent in the **Bamiléké** region as an anti-*Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* forum. Its leadership was recruited among the traditional conservative Bamiléké chiefs, who on three occasions in April 1955 prevented the UPC from holding meetings in the area. The movement became less active after violent confrontations with the UPC. *See also* ELITE ASSOCIATIONS; RASSEMBLEMENT DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RAPECA).

REFUGEES. On 21 June 2008 the **United Nations** High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) stated that the Cameroon government had demonstrated an exceptional amount of generosity and understanding by agreeing to play host to hordes of refugees from strife-torn neighboring states. Indeed, over the years Cameroon has hosted numerous refugees as its various neighbors went through periods of civil war and domestic conflict. For examples, during the Biafran War (1966–1970) and the **Chad** civil war (1979–1982) thousands fled into Cameroon and were generally well received. Kousséri served as a haven for refugees in the 1980s as well as when the city's population swelled by some 50,000 as a result of political instability in Chad. By 2001, those Chadian refugees who desired to

return to Chad had largely been repatriated, and the UNHCR camps were closed.

Some 30,000 refugees crossed into **North West** and **Adamawa Regions** from Taraba State in **Nigeria** in 2002–2003. These refugees were largely pastoral **Mbororo** fleeing clashes with agricultural communities. The refugees were taken in by the local community, rather than being settled in permanent camps. Approximately half returned soon after fleeing with the remaining 17,000 residing in Cameroon until they were repatriated in an organized fashion by the UNHCR in 2005. In 2005–2006, another 25,000 Mbororo entered Adamawa and **East Region** from the **Central African Republic (CAR)**. They claimed to be the targets of cattle thieves and kidnappers, resulting from the political instability in CAR. In response to the situation, the UNHCR opened a new office in **Bertoua** along the border with CAR to coordinate assistance. A camp was not opened, however, to house these refugees. In early February 2006 some 30,000 Chadian refugees fled Ndjamen, Chad, to find refuge either in Kousseri or in the nearby UNHCR camp at Maltam, 30 kilometers to the north. While some returned just a few days later after rebel forces were repulsed from Ndjamen, many chose to remain as the stability of the capital seemed uncertain.

In 2008 the main countries of origin were Chad (again in civil war and in conflict with Sudan) and the Central African Republic (CAR) (in a state of civil war and plagued by kidnappers and bandits). Estimates for 2008 are that there were 97,400 refugees in Cameroon (49,300 from CAR, 41,600 from Chad, and 2,900 from **Nigeria**). There was a major influx from Chad in January as fighting broke out in its capital. However, by July 2009 the estimate of CAR refugees had risen to 60,000. The UNHCR estimated that there were 15,000 “urban refugees” from many countries (Rwanda and Liberia, for example) settled in **Yaoundé** and **Douala**.

There were also Cameroon refugees in Nigeria due to ethnic fighting in Akwaya, **South West Region**, and as a result of persons fleeing the **Bakassi** Peninsula after Cameroon took possession. There are numerous Cameroon refugees in the **United States**, **Germany**, and elsewhere. Most of these are fleeing political persecution. Cameroon has developed a bad international reputation because of numerous persons making false applications for asylum. A small industry has

arisen in Yaoundé to produce false documentation and to devise artificial asylum cases. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS; COUPEURS DE ROUTE.

REGIONS. Until 1996 the country had been divided into 10 administrative **provinces**. These were directly administered from **Yaoundé** by appointed officials led by an appointed **governor**. According to the **Constitution of 1996**, the 10 provinces are now to be known as regions, and their governance is to be substantially altered. The regions shall have jurisdiction in economic, social, **health**, educational, cultural, and **sports** development. A Regional Council and its **president** will be the administering authorities. The council will consist of divisional delegates indirectly elected and representatives of traditional rulers elected by their peers. Local members of parliament will serve as advisers to the council. The council will elect the regional president from among its members. An administrator appointed by the **president** of the republic retains substantial power over the council. The president of the republic may suspend or dissolve a council and its president. And the president of the republic may change the names and boundaries of a region and create additional regions.

These provisions were established to meet public demands for **decentralization** of government and to placate those demanding a return to a federal system. The latter group was not satisfied, and many in the former group argued that this was only a façade, not true decentralization.

As of 2009, the term “region” was in use but none of the other envisaged changes had taken place.

RELIGIONS. The Christian church, in both **Protestant** and Roman **Catholic** forms, has been active in Cameroon since the 1850s. **Christianity** entered from the Atlantic Ocean, and so today the southern portion of the country is more solidly Christian than the northern. **Islam** entered the country from the north, far inland, and so the northern population tends to be more solidly **Muslim** than the southern. However, both religions are found in all parts of the country. Estimates vary greatly, but the most common figures are that 40 percent of the population is Christian (about evenly divided between Protestant and Roman Catholic), 20 percent is Muslim, and 40 percent

follow indigenous religions. The Evangelical, **Baptist**, Presbyterian, and **Lutheran** faiths are the largest Protestant communities. There are also small Buddhist and Bahá'í communities in the country, and there is some data to suggest that a Jewish community existed here in the distant past.

Freedom of religion and tolerance of those of different faith has generally been the rule, although for a period, the Jehovah's Witnesses was illegal. In recent years there has been some growth of Islamic fundamentalist thought. On 22 July 2008 the government published a list of "legal" churches, causing an outcry from groups like the Faith Clinic Church that were not on the list; the purpose of this list is not clear. It does not ban unlisted churches, though some government officials expressed hope that this would occur. *See also* AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION.

RENAISSANCE CAMEROUNAIS (RENAICAM). RENAIKAM was formed in December 1948 in Abongmbang as another anti-*Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* political grouping by elite *indigènes* from the eastern part of the territory. RENAIKAM was formed largely with the help of the French administration determined to weaken the influence of the UPC across the territory. The movement disappeared in 1957. It was principally composed of the **Ewondo-Maka** people. *See also* ELITE ASSOCIATIONS; RASSEMBLEMENT DU PEUPLE CAMEROUNAIS (RPC).

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON. This has been the official English-language name of the country at two points in time—in the period when the French **trust territory** had become independent (1 January 1960) until **reunification** (when it became the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**), and from 1984 to the present. *See also* REPUBLICQUE DU CAMEROUN.

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN. This was the official name of French **Cameroun** when it became independent on 1 January 1960. The new country was headed by a president and a unicameral legislature. The new political entity faced domestic and international challenges. Its domestic challenge was the insurgency of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* against the government of

President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**. Its international challenge was the critical attitude of radical African leaders because of the republic's close alliance to **France**. The République du Cameroun was a short political experiment. It ceased to exist with **reunification**, which gave birth to the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**.

The term *République du Cameroun*, the current name of the country in French, is popular today among **anglophones** who use it to signify their desire to return to a federal status or to become an independent state. The term suggests the illegitimacy of the 1972 formation of a unitary government and the perceived inferior, dominated position of anglophones in that system. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON.

RESIDENTS. Leading administrative and political officers when **British Southern Cameroons** was the **Cameroons Province** (1916–1949) were titled “residents.” The province consisted of four divisions: **Victoria**, **Kumba**, Mamfe, and **Bamenda**. The division was subdivided into districts, each headed by a district officer. After 1949, Bamenda was made a separate province, relieving the strain and neglect in the British administrative setup.

Residents were responsible for the efficiency of the public service in the province. Because of the lack of personnel prevalent in the British system of the time, they ended up performing multiple fiscal, technical, political, and administrative functions. Residents were not all-powerful. They received orders from the lieutenant governor in Enugu, **Nigeria**, and the governor general in Lagos. But they never stayed in office long enough to grasp the needs and peculiarities of the province. The resident's office was in **Buea** and, after 1949, also in Bamenda. *See also* ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES; INDIRECT RULE.

REUNIFICATION. This is the process by which Cameroonian peoples forged a common political unity following the demise of the dual **mandate** and **trusteeship** administrations in the territory. The objective was to return Cameroon to its 1914 composition as it existed under the German **protectorate**.

Proréunification sentiments were first expressed in radical nationalist platforms like the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC)

and in party names that used the German spelling, like the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)** or the **One Kamerun Party (OK)**. Such a trend mirrored elite nostalgia for the territory's past and its aspiration for the future. In the end, partial geographic reunification was achieved through a United Nations-supervised **plebiscite** and a series of constitutional conferences. However, in a highly controversial outcome, British **Northern Cameroons** voted to join the Nigerian Federation rather than the **République du Cameroun**. For this reason, the Cameroon reunification was an incomplete process. Only **Southern Cameroons** opted for reunification to form the **Federal Republic of Cameroon** with the **République du Cameroun** on 1 October 1961.

Despite the long quest for reunification, critics believed that in the constitutional conferences **Ahmadou Ahidjo** manipulated **anglophone** politicians to establish a strongly centralized presidential system in which he easily prevailed. In addition, the creation of the one-party structure in 1966 and the unitary structure in 1972 are seen as attempts at consolidating personal power as well as promoting the reunification process.

Apart from the political reality of reunification, Cameroon's reunification is also identified in multiple symbols like road and stadium names, the dual official languages, and the tensions of coexistence between two contrasting communities of peoples. In 1970, the celebration of 1 October as reunification day was discontinued; 11 February, the date of the reunification plebiscite, continues to be celebrated as Cameroon Youth Day. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; BILINGUALISM; FOUMBAN CONFERENCE; HOLIDAYS; NATION BUILDING; NORTHERN CAMEROONS CASE.

REY BOUBA. Rey Bouba is the largest and one of the oldest of the historic **Fulani** polities of northern Cameroon. The **Yillaga** Fulani who would eventually found Rey Bouba entered northern Cameroon from the domains of Bornou as seminomadic pastoralists in the early 17th century. They entered the southeastern part of the contemporary **North Region** in the early 18th century under the guidance of **Ardo** Bouba Mbondi Lamallé. His successor Ardo Djoda reigned for some 73 years and conducted peaceful relations with the agricultural Dama and Mono peoples who were the majority in this area. In the last year

of his life, Ardo Djoda settled on the site of Rey to be his permanent capital, but died before he could establish a presence there. It remained for his son and successor, **Ardo Bouba Njidda**, to establish a capital at Rey in 1799.

The site was chosen because it is on elevated terrain well supplied by the river Mayo Rey, whose waters run year round. The name of the site is said to be a reference to the fields of sesame that the local Dama people were in the habit of planting on this elevated terrain. It is more likely that the name of the site is derived from the group of Dama, the Dama Aray, who inhabited this area and whose capital was across the river at Rey Manga (“Big Rey”), later renamed Nassarawo (“Victory”) after the military conquest of the Dama Aray by Bouba Njidda. The name of the polity, Rey, is derived from its capital. The name Rey Bouba, joining the patronym of the ruling family to the name of the polity, gained currency only under German and later French authority.

Ardo Bouba Njidda established his polity before the commencement of the **jihad** of **Uthman Dan Fodio**, but nevertheless submitted to his authority by receiving a standard from **Modibo Adama**. The two later came into conflict, as did Tibati under **Ardo Hammadou Arnga**, in 1836–1837 after Rey declared its independence in the face of increasing central control from Yola. As a result of this conflict, Bouba Njidda founded the more easily fortified site of Tcholliré, later developed under his successor Bouba Djouroum (r. 1866–1899) into a true second capital of the polity.

In 1901, the ruler of Rey, Ardo Mal Hammadou (r. 1899–1901), opposed the German advance into northern Cameroon, as did most of his contemporaries. Hammadou’s forces were decimated by the Germans, who proceeded to bombard the capital with cannon, causing the ruler to flee. Ardo Bouba Djama’a (r. 1901–1945) was elected to replace Mal Hammadou, who brokered peaceful relations with the Germans. Ardo Bouba Djama’a later gained the favor of the French, whom he supplied during **World War I**, and in return was given unprecedented control of his territory during the French colonial period. This despite the fact that his territory, already reduced through the German-French border commissions that gave some of the domain to **Chad** and the **Central African Republic**, was further reduced in particular through removing the **Gbaya** territories to the

south. Additionally, a large proportion of the **Dii** population fled Bouba Djama'a's authoritarian rule for **Ngaoundéré**, establishing themselves in particular at **Mbé**.

Rey was administered directly from **Garoua**, and it was not until 1954 that an administrative unit was established at Tcholliré. Thereafter, Tcholliré became the focus of government in the area, with Rey Bouba reduced to a subprefecture.

To this day, Rey remains an enigmatic territory within Cameroon that is much more autonomous than any other historic polity. Though wealthy due to **agricultural** produce, Rey lies off to the side of the main highway connecting the rest of the north with Ngaoundéré, and from there with the south via the **Trans-Cameroon railway**. The *lamido* of Rey, or Baba Rey, has been a staunch supporter of both Presidents **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and **Paul Biya**, and banned opposition party **National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)** meetings within the *lamidat*. There have been numerous reports of violence against opposition supporters by the *lamido*'s guards, and in some cases of death at their hands. The prison at Tcholliré is known as the destination for numerous political prisoners. The territory is also known for banditry (*coupeurs de route*), in particular as a result of Chadian troops and others who cross the border to wreak havoc only to return to safety across the border.

RICE. Although it was not a commonly used **food** in precolonial Cameroon, German experiments found Cameroonian soils fertile for the growing of rice. This was the case in areas of Yagoua, Nanga Eboko, and Doume. No extensive growth of rice existed prior to 1971, and the local market survived through imports. But as demand began to grow, various projects were implemented to encourage rice production. Among these were a Taiwan-sponsored project in the **North West Region** and later the Upper Noun Development Authority project in the same area. However, the largest was in the northern regions. Here the state initiated in 1954 the *Société d'Expansion et de Modernisation de la Riziculture de Yagoua* (SEMRY) established at heavy capital cost, which made the price of its rice, when compared to imported rice, prohibitive. *La Société de Développement de la Riziculture dans le Plaine de Mbo* (SODERIM) was created in 1977 but liquidated as part of the **privatization** process. More recently,

the **Chinese** government has assisted with the Nanga-Eboko Rice Cultivation project in the south.

Rice is a widely consumed food all across the country, but production has not been able to keep up with demand. Local production is also not competitive pricewise. In 2007, 470,947 metric tons were imported (valued at \$85,000,000). Cameroon production in 2007 was 82,000 tons. *See also* AGRICULTURE; FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

RIGOR AND MORALIZATION. This key slogan of the **Paul Biya** presidency is based on the idea that the Cameroonians could attain higher goals and objectives with a greater sense of purpose and dedication. According to the head of state, “rigor and moralization” signifies the struggle against tribalism, sectarianism, clientelism, provocation, and intoxication. Consequently, moralization becomes a permanent endeavor against laxity, fraud, diversion of public resources, **corruption**, favoritism, and arbitrary action.

The slogan was immensely popular in the early stages of the Biya presidency. It was applied in multiple practical cases, mentioned in all public speeches at all levels in the country, and served as the demarcation line between the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** and Biya regimes. Over time, the public has become very cynical with respect to the “rigor and moralization” concept, as the Biya regime has become known as even more corrupt than its predecessor. Today, the term seems to be used more by critics of members of the administration. *See also* NEW DEAL.

ROSICRUCIAN ORDER. In the early 1600s in **Germany** occult powers were claimed by a Christian Rosenkreutz in pamphlets that spread across Europe. Various groups now claim Rosicrucian origins. President **Paul Biya** and many of his closest associates are members of the Rosicrucian Order. Some argue that membership is a stepping stone to power in Cameroon. Although the Rosicrucian Order is a secret society, the names of members do slip out from time to time. **Titus Edzoa** is among those reputed to be a member. As recently as 2005 the archbishop of **Yaoundé** has condemned the secret and power-seeking nature of the organization’s local branch, stating, “We denounce and energetically condemn the teaching of the Rosicrucians.”

RUBBER. During the German epoch, rubber was the most important export of **Kamerun**. Initially, rubber was gathered from wild vines; later it was cultivated in plantations in the southwest and southeast regions of the country. The export importance of rubber was later overtaken by **cocoa, coffee, and palm products**.

The **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)**, with extensive plantations in the **Southwest** and **Littoral Regions**, is expanding with the opening of 6,000 new hectares. Hévéa-Cameroun (HEVECAM), created in 1975 in response to an increase of rubber prices, underwent **privatization** in 1996 by the Singapore CMG firm. Another large actor is Safacam, owned by the French Bolloré company. Cameroon's natural rubber faces increasing competition from the less expensive synthetic rubber and other natural rubber producers. Production in recent years has ranged between 56,000 and 60,000 metric tons. In 2005, rubber exports were \$31,226,000. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

RURAL EXODUS. It is a widespread tendency for the local **population** to discard the rural areas in favor of the urban areas. This rural exodus is largely the result of the absence of socioeconomic amenities in the rural areas, which tends to push the population away from villages, and the comparatively better amenities in the urban centers, which tends to pull the deprived folk into the major cities. The sum total of these push and pull factors creates the conditions for rural exodus. The desire for a larger income and the relative low earning capacity in rural areas is a significant factor in this equation.

Government attempts to overcome this rapid **urbanization** by improving conditions in the rural areas and providing adequate facilities in the urban areas to cater for the influx of rural migrants. All villages in the country have been particularly hard-hit by the rural exodus, while the cities have grown tremendously as a result of this phenomenon. Attempts to improve conditions in smaller, provincial urban centers have been made in an effort to slow the exodus to **Yaoundé** and **Douala**. As of 2008, it is estimated that 57 percent of the population lives in urban areas and that the rate of urbanization is 3.5 percent per year.

RUSSIA (RUSSIAN FEDERATION). Today, Russia is a minor trading partner of Cameroon. Relations between the two states opened in

1960, when the Soviet Union recognized the new country of Cameroon, although postindependence Cameroon faced problems from radical nationalists of communist inspiration. Trade was the essential link between the two countries with the Soviet Union emerging as the fifth-largest **foreign trading** partner of Cameroon in the late 1960s. Cultural exchanges developed through scholarships and **sports** assistance. While Cameroon used the early support of the Soviet Union to weaken the diplomatic strength of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) and carry out its task of **nation building**, it never used Moscow to juggle between superpowers as was common with the **foreign policies** of some other African states. Despite its professed policy of nonalignment, the country remained tied to the West in terms of financial, cultural, and political relationships. Since the end of the Cold War, Cameroon has continued to maintain cordial relations with Russia.

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SABAL LECCO, FELIX (1920–). The former president of the **Economic and Social Council** was born in 1920 in Lena, in the **Eastern Region**. He attended primary school at **Bertoua** and Doume, earned a diploma from the **Yaoundé** School of Administration, and worked as a teacher and chief of examinations in the **Education** Service (1938–1957). From 1957 until 1965 he held various middle-level administrative positions. From September 1965 to September 1969, he served simultaneously as **federal inspector of administration** for the **Littoral Region** and *préfet* (senior divisional officer) for the Wouri Division. After a short tenure in the **East Cameroun** government as secretary of state for rural development, Sabal Lecco joined the federal **cabinet** as minister of justice in June 1970.

From 1972 until 1974, he was the minister of public service. He became chairman of the Economic and Social Council in 1974. He also held important posts in the Central Committee of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**, including the powerful office of political secretary. He remained a key political figure until his replacement in 1984, when he was dropped from his party duties and named ambassador to Italy, later replaced by Michael Tabong Kima. In 2004

he was serving as head of the National Communication Council. He should not be confused with a much younger drummer of the same name.

SADI, RENE (1948–). Born in **Maroua** on 21 December 1948, this northerner has been suggested as a possible successor to **Paul Biya**. After holding several positions in government, Sadi was appointed on 8 December 2004 by Biya to be second assistant secretary-general in the Presidency, with ministerial rank. On 4 April 2007 Biya appointed Sadi to be secretary-general of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. On 30 June 2009 Sadi became minister in charge of missions.

SADOU DAODOU. *See* DAODOU, SADOU.

SA'ID, HAYATU IBN (ca. 1840–ca. 1901). This is the great-grandson of **Uthman Dan Fodio**, commonly known in Cameroon as Sheikh Hayatu Balda. Born in Sokoto, Sheikh Hayatu settled in Balda, near Bogo in the **Extreme North**, in 1882. He immigrated ostensibly in order to meet the *Mahdi*, who it was thought would arise in the East. It is unclear if Sheikh Hayatu was aware at that time that Muhammad Ahmad had declared himself the *Mahdi* in Sudan in 1881.

Sheikh Hayatu Balda soon declared **jihad** upon the surrounding non-Muslim populations of **Musgum**, Massa, and Sumeya. He was very successful in his conquests and quickly transformed the small town of Balda into the burgeoning capital of his own domain. In 1883, Sheikh Hayatu sent a mission to Muhammad Ahmad in Sudan to pledge his loyalty to the *Mahdi*. The *Mahdi*, in return, appointed Sheikh Balda as his representative in the region and sent letters to the leaders of the Sokoto empire enjoining them to follow Sheikh Hayatu.

By 1892, Sheikh Hayatu threatened the unity of the **Adamawa** emirate sufficiently that Emir Zubeiru marched against him. Sheikh Hayatu's defeat of the emirate's army brought him great respect and swelled his ranks. In 1893, he formed an alliance with **Rabah**, who soon thereafter conquered the Bornu empire to the north. Sheikh Hayatu and his followers left northern Cameroon for Dikwa, Rabah's capital in northern **Nigeria**, where he became imam of Bornu. He

remained imam until 1901 when he was killed by Rabah's son and successor, Fadl' Allah. *See also* MAHDIYYA.

SAINT JOSEPH'S COLLEGE. This is the oldest and most prestigious secondary school in **anglophone** Cameroon. Much of the male anglophone elite received its **education** at this institution, located at Sasse, near **Buea**. **Catholic** missionaries opened a primary school at this site in 1912, and the secondary school opened in 1939.

SAKER, ALFRED (1814–1880). An English **Baptist** missionary, Saker was born on 21 July 1814. He served in Jamaica and Fernando Po (1843–1845) before establishing a **Christian** mission on the Cameroon coast on 22 June 1845 in **Douala**. His missionary activity benefited from the knowledge and experience of **Joseph Merrick**. In 1849, Saker performed the first conversion and baptism of indigenous Cameroonians from his permanent station in Bimbia. He learned the **Duala** language for the Duala versions of the Bible. This facilitated missionary activity among the Duala and led to the opening of new stations in Deido and Bonaberi.

Alfred Saker is equally remembered for making Victoria (today's **Limbe**) the first permanent English settlement on the Cameroon coast in 1858. He remained in Cameroon for 30 years before returning to England in 1876, where he died on 12 March 1880. The expansion of the Baptist church in Cameroon is owed largely to him. An outstanding secondary school for girls in Limbe (Saker Baptist College) and a mission secondary school in Douala (*Collège* Alfred Saker) have been named after him.

SALATOU, ADAMOU (1946–). Salatou was a gendarme officer, aide-de-campe of former President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**. Together with **Oumarou Ibrahim** he fomented the plot to assassinate President **Paul Biya**. He was arrested, tried, and condemned to death on 28 February 1984. President Biya later commuted the death sentence. *See also* DESTABILIZATION PLOT.

SAMBA, MARTIN-PAUL (1875–1914). Originally known as Me-benga m'Ebobo, Samba was born in Metoutoe-Engong, near Eb-olowa, **South Region**. He grew up in **Kribi** and became close to the

Germans who settled there. He served under the German explorer Kurt von Morgan, who sent him to **Germany** for **education** and military training. Samba served as a lieutenant in the German Army and rose to captain.

On his return home in 1895 he participated in the various explorations by Germans in the **Kamerun** hinterland. In this role, Samba was widely considered a traitor by the local population. In 1910 he turned to his folk and was enthroned as traditional **chief** in Ebolowa. He became the strategist of the local resistance against the German invaders. At the outbreak of **World War I**, Samba publicly declared his intention to take action against the Germans in a letter to French authorities in Brazzaville. The Germans intercepted the communication. He was arrested, charged with high treason, and executed by a firing squad on 8 August 1914. Samba has been hailed as a nationalist and hero in the same category as **Rudolf Douala Manga Bell**. *See also* ATANGANA, CHARLES; MAYI-MATIP, THEODORE; MOUMIE, FELIX-ROLAND; OUANDIE, EARNEST; SAME, ADOLPH LOTIN; UM NYOBE, REUBEN.

SAME, ADOLPH LOTIN (1881–1946). Same was president of the **Native Baptist Church (NBC)** during the French administration of **Cameroun**. Born in **Douala** on 9 October 1881, he grew up as an intelligent youth under German clergymen. He was ordained into the clergy in 1908. His ardor and hard work led to his nomination in 1915 as president of the Conference of Baptist Churches in **Kamerun** and president of the NBC.

Same developed a strong attachment to the Germans, which led to increased friction with the succeeding French authorities. The French, who were determined to put religious leaders in the service of their colonial vision, experienced a showdown with the NBC because of the determination and combativeness of Lotin Same. From 1930 until 1945, the French denied recognition to the NBC and opposed Same's use of the title "president" of the NBC as subversive. Short of an arrest, the French tried to entice him into the *Jeunesse Camerounaise Française (Jeucafra)*. Same's heroism lies in his independence and conviction that one could be a **Christian** without being French. He died in 1946; the NBC was recognized by the French in 1949. *See also* ATANGANA, CHARLES; MANGA BELL, DOULA

RUDOLF; MAYI-MATIP, THEODORE; MOUMIE, FELIX-ROLAND; OUANDIE, EARNEST; SAMBA, MARTIN-PAUL; UM NYOBE, REUBEN.

SANAGA RIVER. Cameroon's longest river extends 918 kilometers and originates from the tumultuous descent of the **Adamawa Plateau** before turning into a large river fed by tributary streams. Important rivers serving as tributaries to the Sanaga include the Lom, Vina, Meng, Mbam, and Noun. The Sanaga basin also includes the **Wouri, Mungo**, Nyong, Ntem, and Campo Rivers. The Sanaga is not navigable because of the many rapids and waterfalls around the north of **Yaoundé** and around **Edéa**, but this does create great **hydroelectric** potential. Some of this potential has been put to use. *See also* LAKE CHAD; LOGONE AND CHARI RIVERS; MUNGO RIVER; SANGHA RIVER; WOURI RIVER.

SANGHA RIVER. The Sangha is an important tributary of the Congo River. The Sangha River also serves as the frontier between Cameroon and the Republic of **Congo**. The major affluents of Sangha consist of Kadei, Boumbe, Ngoko, and Dja Rivers in the **East Region**. *See also* LAKE CHAD; LOGONE AND CHARI RIVERS; MUNGO RIVER; SANAGA RIVER; WOURI RIVER.

SAO. The Sao civilization was well developed by AD 500, reaching its height between the 9th and 15th centuries. Located to the south of **Lake Chad** and near the Chari River, Sao is known today mainly through oral history and archaeological finds. Sao was eventually displaced by **Kotoko** in the 15th century.

SECOND EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE CAMEROON NATIONAL UNION. The historic congress of 14 September 1983 was the result of the political rupture between the head of state, President **Paul Biya**, and party chairman **Ahmadou Ahidjo**. Ahidjo stepped down from the party leadership on 27 August 1983, with a provocative declaration from Paris. His resignation was proof of the unworkability of political dualism in the Cameroon system. The Congress also ended the political primacy of Ahidjo in Cameroon politics. The Central Committee of the Party met on 7 September

under President Biya's chairmanship and approved the holding of an extraordinary congress for 14 September 1983. Various options were open for the Congress. Moderate reformers argued for a simple reorganization of the Central Committee, while radical reformers called for new elections and a revision of the **Constitution of 1972**. In the end, the Congress discussed only the election of a new party chairman. Biya was unanimously elected to the post at the end of the one-day event. In his closing speech, Biya introduced his policy slogan of the **New Deal**. *See also* AHIDJO-BIYA RUPTURE.

SECRET AGREEMENTS. A set of entangling agreements between **France** and its former territories in Africa were signed prior to the attainment of sovereignty by the African territories. According to international law, such agreements between two unequal partners are questionable. The Secret Agreements between France and **Cameroun** were signed on 31 December 1958 and included agreements in the following fields: military and financial cooperation, cultural affairs, administrative relations, civil aviation and aeronautics, military assistance, and a consular and legal convention. These provided France with an absolute privilege and advantage in the conduct of the affairs of the new **République du Cameroun**. These secret agreements led several countries to question the sovereignty and independence of Cameroun. *See also* ARMED FORCES; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY. This institution is the very foundation of political centralization and administrative bureaucracy. The Secretariat General was a creation of President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** in the 1960s. It gradually accumulated political functions. It held a determinant role in the governmental mechanism and individual realities. To gain a government contract, open a law firm, or begin a pharmacy, one had to receive approval from the Secretariat General. The personalities serving in this capacity have all been important figures: Mongo Soo, Christian Tobie Kuoh, **Paul Biya**, **Samuel Eboua**, **Sadou Daoudou**, surrounded by able assistants, **François Sengat-Kuo**, Ayissi Mvodo, and **Maigari Bello Bouba**.

The power of the office gradually weakened under the Biya presidency with Abouem A Tchoyi and **Ferdinand Oyono**, who left the

Presidency to assume less-powerful posts. In a reorganization of government on 22 November 1986, Biya abolished the Secretariat General at the Presidency in favor of the Secretariat General of Government.

The **president** later resumed the old practice with the re-creation of the Secretariat General at the Presidency (reorganized by Decree No. 098/273 of 22 October 1988). The Secretariat General has a broad range of responsibilities including relations between the Presidency of the republic and the government. "It shall, in addition, liaise with the Executive and the various institutions of the Republic, in particular the Parliament, the **Constitutional Council**, the Supreme Court, the **Economic and Social Council** and Supreme State Audit Services." The secretary-general assists the president of the republic in the accomplishment of his mission.

Several important organs of governance are attached to the Secretariat, including the Supreme State Audit Services, the Grand Chancellery of National Orders, the Delegation General for National Security, the Directorate General for External Research, the **Bilingual Training Programme**, and the Directorate General for Major Works. **Laurent Esso** is the current secretary-general.

SEITZ, DR. THEODOR (1863–1949). Seitz was the fourth **German governor** of **Kamerun** (1907–1910). Compared to his predecessors, Seitz was a remarkable humanitarian who showed great interest in the welfare of the local population. He called for the end of domestic slavery and favored the increase of indigenous representatives in local councils. He began the negotiations with **France** that led to the German acquisition of a large part of French **Congo** in 1911 in exchange for Morocco. This new territory was known as **New Kamerun (Neukamerun)**.

SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT (DEVELOPPEMENT AUTO-CENTRE). This was an economic policy aimed at integrated national development through effective control of the main factors of production by the government and the people. As defined in 1975, self-reliant development was development for the people, by the people. It subordinated Cameroon's international economic relations to the objectives of domestic development, depending principally on

local efforts and labor. A self-reliant policy is based on the following options: a production policy more sensitive to domestic demand, a greater mobilization of financial and monetary policy toward internal savings; and an enhanced wage and employment policy. This was directed toward increased productivity and self-sufficiency in **food** and the encouragement of cash crop production, along with constant increases in the prices of these crops. By encouraging small-scale farmer projects and youth participation, the self-reliant doctrine aspired to make Cameroon the food supplier of Central Africa. Today, while the government does not seem to follow this policy any longer, the concept of self-reliance has become quite popular in rural areas. It has become a sort of rallying cry for numerous **village development associations** and local development projects. *See also* AGRICULTURE; FOOD; FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY; FOREIGN TRADE.

SEMENGUE, PIERRE (1933–). Semengue, commander general of Cameroon **armed forces**, was born in Lolodorf, Ocean Division, **South Region**. He attended primary school and later enrolled in *Lycée Leclerc* in 1949, graduating with high marks in 1956. He entered the Hanson-de-Sailly academy to prepare for admission into the famous Saint-Cyr Military School, which he completed in 1959. He did a year of training in the *Ecole d'Application d'Artillerie* before returning to Cameroon.

Semengue renounced his title of French officer and joined the Cameroon army, commanding forces in the critical zones of conflict of the postindependence era. He returned to Paris to the *Ecole d'Etat Major* of the *Ecole Supérieure de Guerre* and obtained a diploma in 1965. This moved him to the rank of lieutenant colonel and the post of commander of ground forces. He was promoted to colonel in 1969 and brigadier general in 1973, and was made inspector general of the armed forces, a function with no power, command, or authority. Under President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, it was widely believed the post was created to eclipse the general's popularity and to blunt his ability to seek political office.

Semengue was appointed divisional general and chief of staff in June 1983 by President **Paul Biya**. Although his home was surrounded in the early hours of the **coup attempt of 6 April 1984**, and he was a key target of the rebel troops of the Republican Guard, Semengue

escaped to take control of the counteroffensive that crushed the mutiny. Semengue is often identified as a confidant of President Biya, not surprisingly as the general was responsible for saving Biya's position in the 1984 coup attempt, but also because the general is Beti, a group thought to be closely aligned with Biya's **Bulu** group.

In October 2001 Semengue moved from the post of commander-in-chief of the army to chief of staff with control over all armed forces.

Semengue has published a book about his life in the military, and he served for a period in the 1990s as chair of the Tonnerre football club in **Yaoundé**. *See also* FANG.

SENATE. The **Constitution of 1996** provides for a two-house legislature, a **National Assembly** and a 100-member Senate. As of 2009, the Senate had not become operational. Chapter II of the Constitution defines the Senate as having 10 senators from each of the **regions**, previously known as **provinces**. Seven are elected by indirect universal suffrage, and three are appointed by the **president** to serve a five-year term. Bills must be approved by both houses.

SENGAT-KUO, FRANÇOIS (1931–1997). This former minister of information and culture and political secretary of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** was born in **Douala** on 4 August 1931. He did primary **education** there before proceeding to **Yaoundé** for secondary school. He studied law in Paris and served in essentially diplomatic posts from 1960 until 1966, including a posting as permanent representative at the **United Nations** in 1964.

In 1967, Sengat-Kuo was recalled home to serve as minister in charge of missions at the Presidency. He served as assistant secretary-general at the Presidency in 1968 and rose to the rank of vice minister in 1969 and that of minister from 1970 until 1979. Prior to **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** resignation, Sengat-Kuo had been stripped of his governmental and party functions although he was the principal architect of the **Constitution of 1972**. In the difficult moment of crisis with President **Paul Biya**, Ahidjo turned to Sengat-Kuo as political advisor.

Sengat-Kuo's animosity for Ahidjo and his stronger personal ties to Biya led to his reentry into government as minister of information

and culture from 1983 until 1986. In 1983 he also became a member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, and political secretary of the national party. When the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) was created in March 1985, he was appointed secretary-general of the party. He was also president of the board of directors of the Palm Groves Company (SOCAPALM).

After his removal from Biya's government, Sengat-Kuo left the CPDM (1992) and moved to the opposition, identifying himself with the hard-core opposition parties, particularly the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)**. His departure from the government and from the CPDM was due to his growing opposition to Biya's policies and his covert support to founding of the SDF. He was secretary-general for the **Alliance for the Reconstruction of Cameroon through the Sovereign National Conference (ARC-SNC)**. Before his death in 1997, he was vice president of the Union for Change, which advocated creation of a federal system.

Sengat-Kuo is also a well-known poet, having published several volumes of his work as well as many essays and poems in literary magazines, such as *Présence Africaine*. *See also* SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

SENIOR DIVISIONAL OFFICER. *See* PRÉFET.

SERVICE D'ETUDES ET DE LA DOCUMENTATION. *See* FOCHIVE, JEAN.

SERVICE D'EQUIVALENCE. *See* HARMONIZATION.

SHU MOM. This is the official alphabet of 83 letters and 10 numbers developed by **Sultan Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya**, the 16th sultan of the **Bamoum**.

SHUWA ARAB. *See* CHOA ARAB.

SIMA FOU DA, DOMINIQUE (1934–). Sima Fouda, a former president of the now defunct Cameroon **Trade Union Congress (CTUC)**, was born in Ngomedzap, Nyong and So Division, **Center Region**. After primary and secondary **education** in Akono, he enrolled in the

School of Journalism in Lille, **France**. He returned home on completion to serve as secretary-general of the Chamber of **Agriculture** and later became editor-in-chief of *L'Effort Camerounais* (1965–1971). He joined the Cameroon News Agency, where he served as chief of service for foreign news and president of the Union of Journalists of the Private **Press** and Mass Media Workers. It was from this last capacity that he was unanimously elected president of the newly formed Cameroon Trade Union Congress in December 1985. When the latter was dissolved in June 1992 and replaced by the Confederation of Cameroon Trade Unions (CCTU), Sima Fouda was replaced as president by Emmanuel Etame Ndedi.

SLAVE TRADE. Cameroon was a supply zone for the export of African slaves to the New World after the Portuguese exploration on the Cameroon coast. Cameroon slaves were generally sold to the Fernando Po collection center. Between the 1750s and 1820s, the **Duala** served as “slave trading middlemen” in these transactions. Most slaves traded from the Cameroon coast are believed to have come from inland as well as from the neighboring Batangas and the **Bassa**. Another major source area was the **Bamenda Grassfield**. Slaves from here were exported via the **Cross River** to Calabar. Disagreements between the Duala middlemen and the European merchants as well as the successive abolition of slavery by various European governments led to the decline of this inhumane commerce. Later in the 19th century trade in ivory and **palm** oil on the Cameroon coast gradually replaced the slave trade.

The slave trade also provided a major source of income for the Islamic states of northern Cameroon and great impetus for their constant warfare against non-Islamic neighbors. The slaves thus procured, if not maintained locally, were generally routed to northern Nigeria for trade. **Ngaoundéré**, for example, is said to have provided 1,000 slaves annually to Yola as tribute. The frontier states in general, such as Banyo, Tibati, Ngaoundéré, and **Rey Boub**a, were frequently the largest and wealthiest as a result of proximity to populations who could be enslaved. A central tension persisted between the ideals of the **jih**ad to convert non-Muslims to **Islam** and the pursuit of wealth by enslaving the indigenous population. It is not permitted in Islam to enslave a fellow Muslim.

SMUGGLING. The illegal importation or exportation of goods across international borders occurs in every country. In Cameroon it has assumed such large proportions that the government's financial basis has been threatened. Government derives much of its revenue from import-export duties. Many local businesses have also been threatened as cheaper goods flooded in from neighboring states, especially **Nigeria**, and undersold Cameroon-made goods. This effect has been magnified by the recent importation of many cheap goods from **China**. Textiles, gasoline, **sugar**, beer, **cement**, matches, and soap are frequently smuggled goods.

Once inside Cameroon, smuggled goods spread throughout the countries of the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC). There are reports that vast numbers of cigarettes enter the country illegally from Equatorial Guinea and then transit to many nearby countries, even as far away as Sudan. BAT, the British American **Tobacco** company, has been accused of knowingly participating in this activity. Cameroon has also become a transit center for smuggled drugs and as a center for **trafficking in humans**. Smuggling also involves items leaving the country illegally, and for Cameroon this means particularly wildlife products such as ivory and live animals such as parrots. In 2007 the Cameroon wildlife authorities received an award from Interpol for its attempts to counter ivory smuggling. *See also* BORDER PROBLEMS; CORRUPTION; ENVIRONMENT; FOREIGN TRADE.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT (SDF). In the 1990s the SDF was the most radical opposition party in Cameroon. The SDF was formally launched at **Ntarinkon Park** in **Bamenda, North West Region**, on 26 May 1990, amid a massive military presence. Considering the circumstances under which it was born, including the killing of six innocent youths by security forces, a constitutional proviso allowing the existence of **political parties**, and the party's ideology, the SDF has maintained a policy of confrontation with the government for the better part of its existence.

It led the **prodemocracy** movement in Cameroon and, under the leadership of **John Fru Ndi**, played a preponderant role in the **Ghost Town** operations between May and December 1991. The SDF strongly advocated a Sovereign National Conference as the

logical takeoff point for the transition from a one-party to a multi-party system.

In November 1991, the SDF refused to sign the final communiqué at the **Tripartite Conference**, which, among other things, required the opposition parties to call off the Ghost Town operations. The SDF continued to uphold the policy of confrontation in its relations with government, but was forced to concede in 1996, when an attempt to protest the appointment of government delegates to councils won by the party did not produce the desired results. Thereafter, the party adopted the policy of noncooperation as an alternative.

In March 1992, the SDF had boycotted the **elections for the National Assembly**, a decision that raised controversy. However, at the party's first convention held in Bamenda in May 1992, it was decided that henceforth the party would participate in elections. Consequently, the party participated in the **elections for the president of 11 October 1992**, expecting a landslide victory against the governing **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** and to eventually change Cameroon. These expectations were dashed when the fraudulent results of the elections gave victory to the CPDM (39.97 percent) instead of the SDF (35.96 percent). This heralded a period of disillusionment, and problems of discipline began to emerge and preoccupy the party.

In the process, prominent party officials were shown the way out. Some of them included Barrister Ben Muna, the party's campaign manager, Dr. Siga Asanga, founding member and secretary-general of the party, and other members of the National Executive Committee, the policymaking organ of the party. These expulsions shook the foundations of the SDF, as rumors became the stock-in-trade of party officials, and witch-hunting became the ideal weapon frequently used by some position-seeking individuals to guard their interests. SDF sympathizers accused the **Paul Biya** government of having rigged the elections, thereby depriving the party of victory. Party militants and sympathizers went on a rampage throughout the country, leading to the loss of life and property. Government's reaction was to place the entire North West Region, the political base of the SDF, under a state of emergency, and arrest and detain several party officials and sympathizers.

The party seemed to have recovered from its tribulations when it won the 1996 council elections. At its fourth convention held in **Buea** from 11–13 December 1996, the SDF launched a constitution,

an economic program, and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, to enable dismissed party officials to rejoin the party. In its draft **constitution** for Cameroon issued in 1995, the party advocates a **decentralization** of the administration through the creation of a federal structure with four states. In addition, a federal capital territory would be the seat of the central government.

As a solution to Cameroon's economic problems, the SDF advocates social economic liberalism. This policy includes, among other things, the elimination of monopolies in the **economy**, the creation of independent **trade union** organizations to protect workers' interests, a drastic reduction in the size of government, the complete elimination of government interference in the conduct of business, and the **privatization** of state-owned enterprises in order to attract **foreign investors**. The party's economic policy is contained in its National Economic Salvation Programme (NESPROG), issued in 1996.

Early successes in parliamentary elections have faded in recent years. In the parliamentary **elections for the National Assembly of 1997** the SDF won 43 seats, but in 2007 this was reduced to 16. Even in the North West Region, the party stronghold, despite winning 19 of 20 seats in 1997, the SDF could only win 11 of 20 in 2007. This may reflect disarray, disappointment, and disaffection within the party, and it may reflect government election meddling. This may also be a result of the electorate's frustration with a party that has not been able to take power after almost two decades of existence. Symbolic of this are breakaway parties formed by former SDF leaders such as Bernard Muna's Alliance of Progressive Forces (AFP), formed in mid-2002 by dissident members of the SDF, citing the autocratic management of John Fru Ndi. *See also* ALLIANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMEROON THROUGH THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (ARC-SNC).

SOCIAL JUSTICE. In theory, this is considered the first duty and governing idea of the Cameroon state. At the micro level, the policy consists of giving each citizen an equal chance to develop her/his personality through **education**, job opportunities, **health** care, and decent housing. These amenities are to enable the individual to enjoy the material fruits of a good life. At the macro level, social justice consists of attempts by government to balance opportunities of various

social classes, **ethnic groups**, and geopolitical regions through equitable resource allocation.

Whereas former President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** denied the existence of social classes or disadvantaged regions in the country, President **Paul Biya** envisaged the creation of a new society of social transformation in which the exorbitant privileges of the few and the impoverishment of the masses would be eliminated, for a political society of equity, harmony and interdependence. Despite these pronouncements, in reality, Cameroon society is still characterized by marked, disturbing inequalities and latent disharmony at all levels. It often seems that government has done more to exacerbate than to ameliorate these problems.

SOCIETE CAMEROUNAISE DE BANQUE (SCB) SCANDAL. In an article published in May 1992 in *Jeune Afrique Economie*, **Celestin Monga** described an interview with Robert Messi, former director general of SCB, a government-owned bank that had become bankrupt and was closed in August 1989. Messi claimed that a major factor in the demise of the bank had been the frequent withdrawals of bank funds without repayment by **Jeanne Irène Biya**, the first wife of President **Paul Biya**. Messi claimed that Mrs. Biya and other top officials had taken more than 5 billion CFA francs, without repayment. *See also* BANK CRISIS.

SOCIETE CAMEROUNAISE DES TABACS (SCT). *See* TOBACCO.

SOCIETE DE DEVELOPPEMENT DE LA RIZICULTURE DANS LE PLAINE DE MBO (SODERIM). *See* RICE.

SOCIETE D'EXPANSION ET DE MODERNISATION DE LA RIZICULTURE DE YAGOUA (SEMRY). *See* RICE.

SOCIETE FINANCIERE DE RECOUVREMENT. *See* BANK CRISIS.

SOCIETE NATIONALE DES EAUX DU CAMEROUN (SNEC). *See* NATIONAL WATER CORPORATION OF CAMEROON.

SOCIETE NATIONALE DES HYDROCARBURES (SNH). The SNH was created by presidential decree of 13 March 1981 as an industrial and commercial company for the promotion of hydrocarbon exploration and guarantor of the state's interest in this domain. According to Article 4 of the statute, the National Hydrocarbon Company conducts all studies, collects all information, supervises the execution of contracts between the state and foreign oil companies, and undertakes the training of Cameroonian personnel relative to the **petroleum** industry. The company is headed by a director general responsible to a board of administrators, who are all appointed by the head of state. The level of autonomy of the company is further limited by various other companies like the National Refinery Company (SONARA) and the company for the Study and Exploitation of Cameroon's Natural Gas (SEGAZCAM). In addition, apart from a slim ministerial control by the Ministry of Mines and Power, the direct supervision of the functioning of the SNH is maintained by the **Secretariat General at the Presidency**. The headquarters of the company is located near the presidency in **Yaoundé**. The Cameroon Oil **Transportation** Company (COTCO) was established to oversee the **Chad-Kribi pipeline**.

There have been suggestions that SNH is to be **privatized**, but no visible action in this direction has been taken.

SOCIETE NATIONALE D'INVESTISSEMENT. *See* NATIONAL INVESTMENT COMPANY.

SODEBLE. *See* WHEAT.

SODECAO. *See* COCOA.

SODECOTON. *See* COTTON.

SODEN, JULIUS VON (1846–1921). *Kamerun's* first **German governor** (1885–1891), he was an advocate of joint partnership between government and economic enterprises in the exploitation of the territory. He made **Buea** the capital of the territory, began an experimental **botanical garden** project in Victoria (**Limbe**), opposed the purchase of indigenous **women** by white officials, and consolidated

German rule on the coastal regions with the help of various **Christian** missions.

SOMMET DE LA FRANCOPHONIE. *See* SUMMIT OF LA FRANCOPHONIE.

SOPPO PRISO, PAUL (1913–1996). An early Cameroon politician and postindependence business magnate, Soppo Priso was born in **Douala** on 19 July 1913. He was educated by French **Protestants** locally to rise as a dependable elite and *assimilé*. He was instrumental in the anti-German movement of the interwar period and later emerged as president of the *Jeunesse Camerounaise Française (Jeucafra)* created by the French to rally anti-German sentiments. This position served as the base for Soppo Priso's political career. After **World War II**, he became a prosperous contractor for public works and buildings. Between 1947 and 1952, he was a deputy in the *Assemblée Législative du Cameroun (ALCAM)* and served as the president of the *Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun (AT-CAM, 1952–1955)*. He was a deputy in the Legislative Assembly (1956–1960) prior to independence.

Soppo Priso was a cofounder of the *Mouvement d'Action Nationale Camerounaise (MANC)* in 1956, which was suspected of pro-*Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* leanings by the French. In the 1955 legislative elections the UPC declined to present alternative candidates and backed Soppo Priso. He was widely considered the compromise candidate for **prime minister** following his proposition of a common “minimum program,” which advocated **reunification** of the Cameroons and a general amnesty for the outlawed UPC. His *Courant d'Union National (CUN)*, formed on 6 June 1956, was supported widely by various politicians of the time and served as the platform for a nationalist program toward self-rule, national reconciliation, and independence.

The collapse of the CUN in November 1956 also began the gradual disappearance of Soppo Priso from the political scene. In April 1960, he lost his parliamentary seat to Prince Douala Manga Bell. Thereafter Soppo Priso retired from political life to become an independent contractor. He was believed to have been Cameroon's first millionaire, and maintained this success until his death in May 1996.

SOSUCAM. *See* SUGAR.

SOUCADAUX, ANDRE (1904–2001). A French governor or high **commissioner** in **Cameroun** (1949–1954), he established the various postwar administrations by favoring *lamibe* in the North and creating artificial chiefdoms in the South. Economically he practiced *laissez-faire vis-à-vis* the European employers in Cameroun but was not very friendly to the **trade unions**. Soucadaux was replaced in 1954 due to concern that he was unable to handle the upsurge of *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)* radicalism. Prior to his work in Cameroun, he had served as acting governor general of **French Equatorial Africa**. From Cameroun, he went on to Madagascar as high commissioner. *See also* CHIEFS; INDIRECT RULE.

SOUTH PROVINCE. *See* SOUTH REGION.

SOUTH REGION. This **francophone region** (previously **province**) covers a surface area of 47,720 square kilometers and consists of three divisions. In addition to bordering three regions, it also borders the ocean and three countries—**Gabon**, **Equatorial Guinea**, and **Congo**. The relief features are the coastal plain and the plateau of about 300 meters elevation. Primary **forest** is the major vegetation feature. It has an equatorial climate with four seasons, two dry and two rainy. In 2001 the **population** was estimated at 535,000 persons, mostly of the **Fang (Pahouin) ethnic group** (Beti, **Bulu**, and **Ewondo**). It is the least populated of the regions. **Agriculture** (**cocoa**, **rubber**, plantains, **cocoyam**, fish, and poultry) is the main activity of the population. Other activities include forestry and **timber**, but **mining** is a growing factor. **Hydroelectricity** is produced at sites on the Ntem and Ma'an Rivers. **Kribi** (Ocean Division) is the region's most important **tourist** (beautiful beaches) and commercial location. It has become an important port as the **Chad pipeline** ends here. Ebolowa (Ntem Division) is the provincial headquarters. The only other important town is Sangmelima in the Dja and Lobo Division.

The South Region was created on 23 August 1983. President **Paul Biya** comes from this region, and many people believe he has favored it, especially the area near his birthplace, with investments and infrastructure and development projects.

SOUTH WEST FARMERS COOPERATIVE ORGANISATION (SOWEFCO). *See* COOPERATIVES.

SOUTH WEST PROVINCE. *See* SOUTH WEST REGION.

SOUTH WEST REGION. One of two **anglophone regions**, the South West covers a surface area of 27,520 square kilometers (variously reported as 24,571 square kilometers and 25,410 square kilometers) and consists of six divisions. The **population** was estimated in 2001 as 1,242,749 inhabitants. Its major relief feature and **tourist** site is **Mount Cameroon**, locally known as Fako. Seaside activities are another tourist attraction. The region has a hot and humid climate of four seasons: two dry and two rainy. **Agriculture** dominates the **economy** with modern plantations cultivating **tea, cocoa, rubber, and palm products**. **Buea**, Fako Division, is the provincial headquarters and site of the University of Buea, Cameroon's only **English-language** university. An important industrial project, the SONARA oil refinery, is near **Limbe**. Limbe, on the coast, is developing as a seaport and marine oil rig repair site. Other important towns include **Kumba**, Tiko, and Mamfe. The South West Region was established in 1972. Until 2008, all regions were known as provinces. *See also* TRANSPORTATION.

SOUTHERN CAMEROONS. The Southern Cameroons was one of two territories in **British Cameroons** from 1916 to 1961. Southern Cameroons corresponded to the Victoria, Mamfe, **Kumba**, and **Bamenda** Divisions. It was initially attached to the Southern Provinces and later to the Eastern Provinces of **Nigeria**. It was supervised by a British **resident** who received orders from the lieutenant **governor** in Enugu. Officially, the British named Southern Cameroons as the "**Cameroons Province**." Southern Cameroons gained self-government in 1958 under its premier **E. M. L. Endeley**. It was Southern Cameroons that voted for **reunification** with **French Cameroun** in the **plebiscite** of 11 and 12 February. Reunification of the two Cameroons was finalized on 1 October 1961. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; NORTHERN CAMEROONS.

SOUTHERN CAMEROONS NATIONAL COUNCIL (SCNC). The SCNC is one of the many pressure groups that supported the so-called

zero option or secession of **anglophone** Cameroon. The use of the name **Southern Cameroons** was orchestrated by the argument by some anglophone Cameroonian leaders that the **francophone**-led Cameroon leadership was ruling the country without a constitutional basis. This conclusion was drawn from the premise that **Ahmadou Ahidjo** had neglected the provision for the enactment and amendment of the **Constitution of the Federal Republic of 1961**. This group of anglophones therefore considered that anglophone Cameroon had not yet achieved independence, thus their use of the appellation Southern Cameroons, an appellation used for that territory in the period prior to **reunification**.

Even though it adopts an extremist stand as far as the anglophone course is concerned, the SCNC advocates a peaceful approach to attaining independence for anglophone Cameroon. This is reflected in its motto, which is the “force of argument and not the argument of force.” In order to achieve its objectives, the SCNC through the Anglophone Standing Committee strives to sensitize the international community to the anglophone cause. It communicates with the **United Nations**, the International Court of Justice, the **Commonwealth** Secretariat, and governments outside Cameroon.

In June 1993, when the secretary-general of the Commonwealth visited Cameroon to examine whether the country had fulfilled the conditions for admission, the SCNC unsuccessfully tried to convince him to admit anglophone Cameroon, and not the Republic of Cameroon, as a member of the Commonwealth. In spite of this, and to the embarrassment of members of the SCNC, Cameroon was admitted to the Commonwealth in November 1995. At the Commonwealth summit in New Zealand, in which Cameroon gained its admission, the SCNC requested the organization of a Quebec-styled independence referendum and repeated its call for a separate anglophone Cameroon membership of the Commonwealth.

A similar memo was given to the high commissioner of the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** Commission on Human and People’s Rights in September 1998. In 1995, shortly after the second **All Anglophone Conference (AAC II)** in **Bamenda**, the SCNC sent a delegation to the UN, composed of prominent anglophone Cameroonians like **J. N. Foncha**, **S. T. Muna**, and **Albert Mukong** to plead anglophone Cameroon’s course. While there, the delegation presented a formal petition against the annexation and in favor of

the independence of anglophone Cameroon. On the way home, it stopped in London and issued the London communiqué, which stated that 1997 was a turning point in the struggle.

Recently, the SCNC petitioned UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon “to urgently adopt a resolution to put in place a process for the complete decolonization of the UN **trust territory**, the **Southern Cameroons**. This process should include, among other things, the appointment of a UN administration for the British Southern Cameroons, a designation of a **peacekeeping** force to guarantee the total withdrawal of “La **République du Cameroun** proconsuls, civil servants and merciless occupation force.” The current chairman of the SCNC is **Chief** Ayambe Ette Otun, although other names appear occasionally such as Frederick Ebong, Martin Luma, and Frederic Alobwede. Other pressure groups that support the so-called zero option include the Free West Cameroon Movement (FWCM) and the **Ambazonia** Movement. *See also* ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; BRITISH SOUTHERN CAMEROONS LIBERATION FRONT (BSCLF); FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF SOUTHERN CAMEROON; SOUTHERN CAMEROONS YOUTH LEAGUE.

SOUTHERN CAMEROONS YOUTH LEAGUE (SCYL). Like numerous other **anglophone** organizations, the SCYL, founded on 28 May 1995, supports the independence of the former British Southern Cameroons from “La **République du Cameroun**.” SCYL originated in the **Buea** area as individuals from various student organizations found common ground in their antagonism toward **francophone** domination. As of 2009, its leader is Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga. The SCYL seems to have a close relationship with the **Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC)** as well as the **British Southern Cameroons Liberation Front**. *See also* AMBAZONIA; ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; ZERO OPTION.

SOVIET UNION. *See* RUSSIA (RUSSIAN FEDERATION).

SOWEFCO. *See* COOPERATIVES.

SPORTS. Sports are an important aspect of national policy and are considered a physical and moral imperative. For this reason a government

department, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, was created to cater to sports needs. As of 2009, this is known as the Ministry of Sports and Physical Education. Various traditional sports like wrestling and canoe racing have given way to modern sports like football (soccer) and cycling. Initially, modern sports were widely transmitted and practiced at primary and secondary school levels. The Office of Schools and University Sports Competition (OSUSC) organized games at local, divisional, provincial, and national levels every school year. The OSUSC was replaced in 1992 by the National Federation for College and University Sports (*Fédération Nationale des Sports Scolaire et Universitaire*, FENASCO). In addition, the new federation organizes sports activities for the primary schools at the provincial level, for the secondary schools at the national level, and university games.

Although nonscholastic sports are essentially amateur, they are hotly contested at all levels. Various teams in the **francophone** parts of the country were initially established on an **ethnic** basis, while sports teams in **anglophone regions** have departmental or corporation names. Intense rivalry and violence in domestic sports are a drawback to the cherished ideal of national unity. Victories in international sports competitions strengthen national cohesion and are a source of pride.

Apart from the Ministry of Sports and Physical Education, the Cameroon Olympic Committee propagates the need for total commitment to the sports ethic. Various sports federations like the Cameroon Football Federation (FECAFOOT) work closely with the sports ministry and the national Olympic committee. A score of other federations, for instance, the Cameroon Handball Federation (FECAHAND), the Cameroon Boxing Federation (FECABOXE) and the Cameroon Volleyball Federation (FECAVOLLEY) organize sports competitions for their disciplines.

The most recent innovation is the introduction of a Cameroon Rugby League, although the sport had long been practiced by the military as *ballon militaire*. There is a national sports institute in **Yaoundé** and other sports centers established across the country for the training of cadres and coaches. Private economic enterprises also contribute to the promotion of national and international sports. For instance, the Cameroon Brewery Company opened and currently runs a football school in **Douala**, where talents like **Samuel Eto'o**

were nurtured. Another such institution, The Yong Sports Academy, has a football team that has been promoted to the Premier League. The most memorable achievements of Cameroon sports have been in football (soccer).

For all its reputation regarding sports, especially football, however, the main drawback is the lack of adequate infrastructure. The **Chinese** have recently constructed a modern indoor sports complex in Yaoundé, and there are plans to construct more football stadia in various towns in view of Cameroon's bid to host the African Nations Cup in 2016. *See also* INDOMITABLE LIONS.

STABEX. *See* LOME AGREEMENTS.

STATUT DU CAMEROUN. This law was passed by the French National Assembly to implement the recommendations of the *Loi Cadre* in 1956. The law was ratified by the *Assemblée Législative du Cameroun* (ALCAM) on 22 February 1957. The statute provided the framework for self-rule and independence.

STOCK EXCHANGES. In 2003 the **Douala** Stock Exchange (DSX) was opened, but trading began only in July 2006. As of 2009 only three companies had been listed. A rival stock exchange, the Central African Regional Financial Market (BVMAC), sponsored by the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC), exists in Libreville, **Gabon**, but only four companies had listed with it as of 2008. The Douala exchange was established when the CEMAC refused to locate its bourse in Douala. The hope was that the stock exchange would bring capital into the country, but so far, little has been accomplished.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS (SAPs). SAPs were primarily a tool of the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, the **World Bank**, and the major industrial states to bring about economic reforms in the developing countries of the world, including Cameroon. As the **economic crisis** of the 1980s and 1990s became widespread, many such countries faced severe **debt** problems. They turned to the IMF and other institutions for assistance. However, that

assistance was given with strings attached. The SAP aimed at bringing the recipient country into the free market **economy**, reducing government involvement in the economy, and reducing **corruption** and mismanagement. Political strings were added to the SAP with demands for **democratization**, transparency in government, and multiparty systems.

In order to qualify for debt relief and new loans, and to attract new **foreign investment**, debtor countries accepted the often stringent rules of a SAP, a concept referred to as conditionality. Among the most frequent requirements are devaluation of the **currency**, reduction of government spending and efforts to balance the budget, liberalization of **foreign trade**, **privatization** of government-owned businesses, reduction of wages, and promotion of export products.

Cameroon undertook steps to meet these requirements, although often with hesitation. On several occasions loans were withheld by the IMF and donor nations to force Cameroon to proceed. Among the most dramatic steps were the very large reductions in wages and benefits—as well as reduction in total employment—of the civil service, privatization, reduction of regulations and interference in free trade, changes in **investment codes**, devaluation of and restrictions on the export of **currency**, cutbacks in development spending, reductions in spending on **health** care and **education**, and debt reductions negotiated with the Paris Club and bilaterally.

These programs may have had long-term positive effects, but in the short run they were associated with a serious reduction in the quality and longevity of life in Cameroon. Domestically and internationally the SAP concept came under political attack due to the often harsh and brutal effects of the SAP on many of the people in the countries involved. It is the lower and middle classes that were most seriously affected. The title *SAP* is not used today, but it has been replaced by a similar concept, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). There may be more emphasis on those suffering from the most abject poverty than in the SAP concept, but the conditionality aspect remains in force. The earlier SAP and the more recent PRSP concepts are related to debt relief programs. *See also* CFA FRANC; DEMOCRACY; HEAVILY INDEBTED POOR COUNTRIES (HIPC) INITIATIVE; POLITICAL PARTIES.

SUDAN MISSION (AMERICAN LUTHERAN MISSION). The Sudan Mission, an American **Lutheran** mission under the leadership of Adolphus Eugene Gunderson, was founded on 10 October 1918. Commencing work in 1923, its first stations were at the **Gbaya** village of Mboula, as well as in nearby Binako, approximately 85 kilometers southeast of **Ngaoundéré** in **Adamawa Region**. Other smaller stations were established later with particularly important ones opened in the quickly developing village of Meiganga by 1935 and another in Poli in **North Province** in 1937.

The **Norwegian Protestant Mission**, based in Stavanger, also established a Lutheran mission in Ngaoundéré, with another station in Tibati, in 1925, and the two missions have worked together closely since that time. The Sudan Mission was subsumed within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1952, located in Chicago, Illinois. Since 1960, the mission at Ngaoundéré, as well as the other Lutheran missions in the country, has come under the auspices of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Cameroon.

SUGAR. Sugar is a significant product processed from sugarcane grown across the rain **forest** zone of Cameroon. The Germans played a very small role in the development of sugar production, and the French and British administrations allowed for only local cultivation and sale of sugar cane. The Cameroon government regarded sugar production as important for economic development. The SOSUCAM (1976) and CAMSUCO (1980) sugar companies were established with heavy **foreign investment**. A second sugar company was justified by the need to satisfy indigenous demand given persistent shortages and high prices. In 1998, Cameroon produced 1,350,000 tons of sugarcane, down from 1,500,000 tons in 1988. Also in 1998, SOSUCAM took control of CAMSUCO. By 2008 production was down to 130,000 tons, and a large amount of smuggled sugar from Brazil (passing through **Nigeria**) was causing serious problems. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

SUMMIT OF LA FRANCOPHONIE/LE SOMMET DE LA FRANCOPHONIE. This organ of the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (**OIF**) is one of several strands that bind the ex-colonies of **France**, other French-speaking territories, and France

together. The **Franco-African Summit** is another and similar strand. The summit brings together the heads of state of the members; it is the supreme organ of the OIF.

The first Francophone Summit was held in Paris in February 1986. The leaders of 39 French-speaking states and representatives of three regions from five continents took part. The summit meets every two years, most recently in Quebec, 17–19 October 2008. *See also* FRANCOPHONE.

SWINE FLU (H1N1). *See* AVIAN INFLUENZA.

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TAKUMBENG (TAKEMBENG). In recent use, it is the name given to a group of **women** in their 60s and 70s who gathered around the home of **John Fru Ndi** to protect him after his house arrest after the **elections for the president of 1992**. Earlier, *Takumbeng* had appeared at **Social Democratic Front (SDF)** rallies. Using their power of age and maternity, these women resorted to shame to keep police and soldiers from misbehaving. On occasion, they are a powerful force in the **North West Region**.

Some observers suggest that the *Takumbeng* concept is derived from the earlier *anlu*. However, *Takumbeng* as an association of older women among the Ngemba and neighboring groups has a long history, preceding colonial rule. This sacred society consists of women who have attained menopause, and in some respects it is a female parallel to *kwifon*, a male society with responsibilities for maintaining societal order. Should a *kwifon* make a decision unacceptable to women, a *Takumbeng* will respond and put pressure on the men to alter that decision. The ultimate power the women possess is to appear naked in public, thus shaming and possibly cursing the men who are their “sons.” The age of the women is significant in this process.

Some reports indicate the society played a role in maintaining peace during intervillage conflicts and served to correct various desecrations of the land. In addition to its modern political uses, the society meets regularly to settle disputes among the members, to assist and support each other, and, in some instances, to work with

microcredit and savings. *See also* TONTINE/NJANGI; VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS.

TANKEU, ELIZABETH (1944–). This former minister of planning and regional development was born on 29 February 1944 in Yabassi, **Western Region**. She did primary **education** in Bangangté (1951–1958), attended *Lycée Leclerc* (1958–1965) for secondary education, and went to **France** to study advanced commercial studies before enrolling in the Faculty of Law and Economics, University of Paris, where she majored in econometrics. On completion in 1971 she served in the Ministry of Planning and later as *chargé d'études* for economic and financial analysis. From 1976 to 1979, she was deputy director of planning. She became director in 1980 and served in this position until her appointment as vice minister of planning and industry on 12 April 1983. In May 1988, she was appointed minister of planning and regional development, a post she held until April 1991, when she was dropped from government.

In July 2003 Tankeu was elected to the post of commissioner for trade and industry of the **African Union**; she was reelected to this post in February 2008. She has held consultancies with various branches of the **United Nations**, the **World Bank**, and bilateral agencies.

TATAW, JAMES TUBE (1933–). Tataw was one of the four generals and army chiefs of staff. General Tataw was born in Ossing, **South West Region**, on 9 May 1933, and did primary **education** in Besongabang before entering the Cameroon **Protestant** College (then known as **Basel Mission** College) from 1949 until 1953. After brief service as an agricultural officer, he studied in Ghana and then Aldershot Military Academy in England, obtaining a second-lieutenant's commission. He later attended the University of Paris, Sorbonne, did summer courses in Strasbourg, **France**, and studied at the *Ecole de Guerre* in Paris (1973–1974). In 1980 he attended the French Institute of National Defense.

Tataw's military training was done alongside professional duties first in the Nigerian army, prior to independence, and later in Cameroon. In Cameroon he has held multiple posts from platoon commander to commander of the army. In 1981, following Cameroon's

border conflict with **Nigeria**, he was named commander of the National Army. In 1983, following the severe threat to state security during the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture**, he was promoted to general. He assisted other officers in rallying the military in defense of President **Paul Biya** during the **coup attempt of 6 April 1984**. This has led to some accusations that as a reward for saving the president, Tataw and other officers are above the law in terms of **corrupt** behavior. In 1986 he commanded the relief and rescue operation for the **Lake Nyos Disaster**. In 2001 he was promoted to major general.

Tataw served as army chief of staff and has played important roles in developing better relations with Nigeria, particularly in regard to **border conflicts**.

In addition to his military service, Tataw has been head of the national tennis federation, and on 15 February 2006 he became the paramount chief of Ossing.

TCHAD, REPUBLIQUE DU. *See* CHAD, REPUBLIC OF.

TCHINAYE, VROUMSIA (1932–1982). Tchinyaye, a long-serving minister and controversial figure under the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** presidency, was born in October 1932, in Guiseye, Mayo Danai, **Extreme North Region**. After primary **education** in Yagoua, **Maroua**, and **Garoua**, he entered the renowned Public High School of Bongor in **Chad** in 1947. He obtained a metropolitan scholarship to **France** in 1953, where he specialized in veterinary and natural sciences until 1957. He was director of the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* in **Yaoundé** until 1961, when he gained appointment to higher governmental position.

In 1962, he was appointed general commissioner for youth, sports, and popular education. He served as secretary of state for rural development in 1964 and as secretary of state for finance in 1965. He became a member of the federal government in 1970, serving as minister of information and culture until 1974 and as minister of civil service from 1974 to 1978. Tchinyaye was reputed for his highly critical mind, which led to declarations and public speeches that were usually an embarrassment to government authorities. He was relieved of his ministerial post in May 1978 but was returned in December 1979 as delegate general for scientific and technical research, a post held until his death in 1982.

TCHOUNGUI, SIMON PIERRE (1916–1997). Former **prime minister of East Cameroun**, Tchoungui was born on 28 October 1916 at Nkolmending, Mefou Division, **Center Province**. He went to school there and served as a medical aid in **Yaoundé** and Mbalmayo prior to **World War II**. He was a World War II Free French soldier (1942–1945). He studied at the Dakar Medical School, returning home in 1947 as a surgeon. From 1950 to 1956, he trained in the University of Paris, obtaining a doctorate in medicine.

In 1960, Tchoungui was medical superintendent of the Yaoundé Hospital before becoming minister of public health in 1961. He was minister of national economy in 1964, then a minister without portfolio (1965) before becoming prime minister of East Cameroun in October 1965. He held on to his post until the declaration of the **United Republic of Cameroon** on 20 May 1972. From the 1960s, he served in the honorary position of president of the Cameroon Red Cross and played leading roles in the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** and the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. Dr. Tchoungui died in July 1997. *See also* HEALTH.

TEA. The Germans experimented with tea in the **Botanical Garden** of Victoria (**Limbe**) and at the site of the present-day Tole Tea Estate, and found it to be highly successful. The British later contributed to the extensive production of the crop in its **Southern Cameroons** territory. Major tea plantations at Tole (**South West**), Ndu (**North West**), and Djuttitsa (**Western Province**) are under South African ownership as the Cameroon Tea Estates (CTE). Previously, these had been owned by the **Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC)**. The **privatization** process has been accompanied by labor unrest. Unreliable data indicate that in 2006, CTE produced 4,000 tons of tea. Most production is consumed domestically, though there have been some exports to **Chad**. *See also* AGRICULTURE; FOREIGN TRADE.

TEACHERS ASSOCIATION OF CAMEROON. *See* CAMEROON ANGLOPHONE MOVEMENT.

TERRITORIAL ASSEMBLY OF CAMEROON. *See* ASSEMBLEE TERRITORIALE DU CAMEROUN (ATCAM).

TESSA, PAUL (1938–). One-time secretary-general at the Presidency, Paul Tessa, from the **Western Region**, began active governmental duties as chargé de mission at the Presidency in 1969 and later as minister of equipment, housing, and lands (1972–1975). Removed from government, Tessa remained in relative obscurity until his appointment in 1986 as general manager of the Press and Editing Company of Cameroon (SOPECAM). He became the biggest beneficiary of the 1988 postelection government when he was elevated from SOPECAM to become secretary-general at the Presidency. In 1989 he was transferred to the Ministry of Transport and Public works. He remained in this post until April 1992, when he again was dropped from government.

Tessa has continued to serve as chairman of the board of SOPECAM, and on 15 May 2007 he became the first president of the **National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC or CONAC)**. Like many in high rank, he has been accused of **corruption**, in particular that he borrowed large amounts of money improperly. It is reported that he repaid all the loans. He should not be confused with a writer of children's books, Paul Tessa. *See also* SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

THEATER. Theater is one of the more underdeveloped **art** forms in Cameroon. The performing arts in Cameroon have generally received little government support and have historically been subject to extensive censorship, particularly during the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** era. One may consider two major branches of drama within the country, the first being indigenous drama and dance occasions, which continue to thrive and hold an important place in the lives of many Cameroonians. The second consists of the more syncretic merging of European-style with Cameroonian dramatic traditions. The latter consists largely of either comic theater or theater based upon indigenous religious and legendary material.

The one troupe that does receive government support is the *Ensemble National des Dances Traditionnelles du Cameroun* (Cameroon National Traditional Dance Ensemble) formed in 1963. It has performed its repertoire of Cameroon's various music and dances internationally. However, support for this troupe waned during the 1990s.

Other drama troupes include the *Théâtre Universitaire* at the University of **Yaoundé**, founded in 1975 as the *Club d'Art Dramatique*. The Yaoundé University Theatre was founded soon afterward. As with the *Ensemble National*, these two troupes ran into difficulties surviving during the 1990s. Other supporters of the performing arts consist largely of foreign cultural centers.

The most famous Cameroonian dramatist today is **Nicole Werewere-Liking**. Other well-known dramatists include Guillaume Oyono-Mbia, who no longer writes for the stage, Sankie Maimo, Victor Musinga, and Bole Butake. There are degree-granting programs in the performing arts at the University of Yaoundé, University of Yaoundé I, and the University of **Buea**.

THONG LIKENG, JOHANNES (1914–1953). Thong Liking was an indigenous prophet and founder of the *Nyambe-Bantu religion*, an unrecognized precursor of Cameroon's cultural renovation. Born in Lipombe near Eseka in the Nyong and Kelle Division, **Center Region**, Thong went to school in Makak, Eseka, and **Yaoundé** but was expelled and never graduated. Nevertheless, he was a mass servant for the **Catholic Church** during the few years spent in school. In 1930, he escaped to **Gabon** enroute to Dakar in Senegal, where he associated with magicians and went to graveyards regularly. He joined the French Navy as a means to facilitate his entry to **France**. On arrival in France in 1938, Thong left the Navy and engaged in the sale of perfumes and beauty products in markets and public places. In July 1943, he gained authorization from the occupying German administration to form the *Oeuvre d'Entraide Africaine*, popularly known as *Mission du Soleil*. It was designed to assist Africans and others in their material, moral, and spiritual needs.

His religion, the *Nyambe-Bantu* (Creator of the Superior Race), was to serve as a vehicle for African emancipation. The *Nyambe-Bantu* emphasized the belief in religious laws and customs that were rooted in the experience and tradition of ancestors. Thong received a diploma in occult science by correspondence studies and was widely known as "Professor" by the educated African population in France.

He returned to **Cameroun** on 30 June 1945 and began practices designed to provide for greater cultural restoration. He opened a school where only the indigenous **Bassa** language was taught; he

established a church in which **Christianity** was denigrated as a white man's religion; and he set up a clinic where **women**, children, and men were treated with the use of traditional herbs at minimal costs. In 1948, Thong was imprisoned in **Edéa** for illegal practice of medicine and exiled to Tibati, **Northern Cameroun**. Following his release in April 1949, Thong settled in **Douala**, where his popularity and occult prowess grew rapidly among the youths and downtrodden in society. Thong was known to heal incurable illnesses, to turn water into wine, to shield people from danger and accidents, as well as providing luck and success for struggling workers and students. He was also known to have malevolent powers.

In 1951, Thong attempted to turn this wide appeal to political advantage. He was a candidate in the 17 June 1951 elections to the Metropolitan French National Assembly. His political platform envisaged the creation of a corporative-independent state based on reform, equality, and protection of cultural values. Thong lost in the election and later formed the *Organisation Animiste Camerounaise* (OAC), popularly known as the *Eglise Liyomba*. His last public appearance was on 12 April 1953. Thong is believed to have disappeared when another dead body was found on his bed on 31 May 1953. A territory-wide search for his body was announced with no definite clue to the circumstances of his disappearance.

Thong Likeng's legacy is controversial. His prophetic and religious activities qualify his mission as messianic and syncretic. He could also be considered a protonationalist in his fervent belief in liberation and cultural renovation based on tradition and custom. However, his message and activity neither acquired national recognition nor received the backing of the indigenous elites of the preindependence era in Cameroun. *See also* LUMIERE, MARIE.

TIJANIYYA. *See* ISLAM.

TIKAR/TIKARI. Tikar is a general classification referring to the major **ethnic groupings** of the **Bamenda** highland. These are highly centralized and densely populated settlements that moved into their present locations from somewhere to the northeast. They broke up into separate but nearly identical entities made up of the **Bafut**, Kom, Ndop, and **Nso** peoples. These entities are organized into chiefdoms

constituting a state system of marked hierarchy and authority. Power and authority reflect the rich tradition and spiritual aura surrounding the role of the *fon* at the head of each of the major Tikar groupings. There are traces of the Tikar system prevalent in many societies of the **Western Region**, particularly in terms of their patrilineality and political structure. Only the Wum and Kom groups are matrilineal. The Tikars, along with the Chamba and the Widekum, are generally referred to as **Grassfield** in view of the major vegetational feature of the area. *See also* CHIEFS; NATIVE AUTHORITIES.

TILLIER AFFAIR. This scandal in mid-1986 involving the Cameroon government and a French journalist, Jacques Tillier, led to a showdown between the French press and the Cameroon public. While public image strategies are undertaken by all governments worldwide, the Tillier Affair is particularly significant for an understanding of the post-**Ahmadou Ahidjo** strains of the government. The government employed Jacques Tillier, a writer for *Journal du Dimanche*, on a salary of 10 million CFA francs every three months, to improve Cameroon's image abroad and to spy on former President Ahmadou Ahidjo, who lived in the south of **France**.

Tillier, who was also a former secret service agent, allegedly spied on Ahidjo in France and abroad. Cameroon's main news organs gave extensive coverage to the controversy, which they considered an attempt at destabilization and machination. At nonofficial levels, Cameroon-French relations were hurt by this incident. The government apparently broke off with Tillier following the scandal.

TIMBER. Despite considerable **transportation** costs, timber has been a prominent Cameroon export to Europe and recently to Asia. In 1905 the Germans began the exploitation of timber resources in **Kamerun** with an unrestricted land concession to a forestry company. This same policy was followed by the French and British administrations after **World War I**. Many sawmills and plywood mills are in service, and Cameroon's timber reserves have been considerably depleted since independence. There is extensive local use of wood, especially for cooking fires and house construction, but timber is essentially an export product, especially to Western Europe and increasingly to **China** and other Asian countries. Government has encouraged the

development of small industries and artisans to make wood products rather than exporting raw timber.

In spite of the government signing numerous agreements and passing various laws to protect its **forests, corruption**, lack of supervisory staff, demands of local populations for firewood and farmland, and the involvement of military and government officials in the illegal trade are serious problems. Nonetheless, Cameroon still has large forest reserves, the second largest in Africa. In 2005 a total of almost 20,000,000 cubic meters of wood were cut for all purposes, and exports were valued at \$26 million. *See also* ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES; FOREIGN TRADE.

TOBACCO. Cameroon produces tobacco through the services of the *Société Camerounaise des Tabacs* (SCT), which is widely spread across the **Eastern Region** in **Bertoua**, Batouri, and Betare-oya. Over 10,000 planters are employed by the SCT. Tobacco production is also common in the **Western Region**, especially in **Bafoussam** and Foumbot, as well as in **Bamenda** in the **North West Region**. These production chains in the Western highlands are controlled by the SACTA company, an affiliate of the Bastos company of Central Africa. Bastos is a major producer of cigarettes in Cameroon. Another major actor is the *Société Industrielle des Tabacs du Cameroun* (SITABAC). Cameroon also produces tobacco for cigar wrapping. In 2005 tobacco leaves valued at \$2,114,750 were exported, but much of production is consumed locally. In addition, \$378,000 worth of cigarettes was exported. Overall, production has been in decline for several years. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

TOMBEL MASSACRE. This bloody slaughter of **Bamiléké** by an indignant **Bakossi** mob in the predominantly Bakossi town of Tombel took place on 31 December 1967. The Tombel massacre was a classical case of a **nation-building** problem whereby Bamiléké from what was then **East Cameroon**, who had migrated and taken up important commercial stakes in the Bakossi area, were viewed with suspicion and animosity. Although the Tombel massacre was aimed as an immediate retaliation to the Christmas robbery and murder of four Bakossi purportedly by the Bamiléké, the underlying cause was Bakossi frustration at the loss of their land and commerce to the Bamiléké

migrants. There is a deep-seated animosity between the two **ethnic groups**. Over 230 Bamiléké were reportedly killed in the massacre, and a military tribunal sentenced 140 Bakossi to various prison terms in a bid to quell the disorder. It is believed that many Bakossi died as a result of government violence. *See also* ETHNIC CONFLICT.

TONTINE/NJANGI. A variety of informal savings groups or “rotating credit associations” are widespread in Cameroon. In essence, these associations are a means for individuals to accumulate capital for large expenditures. In its simplest form, an *njangi* (**anglophone**) or *tontine* (**francophone**) might have anywhere from 5 to 20 or more members. The group meets on a regular basis, often on or after payday, and each member contributes a set amount of money, all of which is given to one member. At the next meeting the same process occurs with a different member taking the accumulated sum. This rotation continues until each member has received the payout. There are numerous variations of this plan; the number of members can be very large; huge amounts of money may be involved; and there are numerous ways to determine which member will receive the payout. *See also* VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS.

TONYE MBOG, FELIX (1934–). This former minister of foreign affairs was born on 14 May 1934 in So-Dibanga, **Center Region**. After primary and secondary **education** he enrolled in the Faculty of Law of the University of **Yaoundé** and later completed training at the *Ecole Nationale d’Administration et de Magistrature* (**ENAM**). He also earned a diploma from the *Institut des Hautes Etudes d’Outre Mer* in Paris. Thereafter he served in the Presidency for five years (1964–1969) and as secretary-general in the Ministry of Labor (1969–1972). Between 1975 and 1985, he served as minister of youth and sports, of labor and social insurance, of agriculture, of foreign affairs, and of posts and telecommunications. During the difficult period of transition from **Ahmadou Ahidjo** to **Paul Biya** and the attempted coup, he served as minister of foreign affairs (1983–1984). Beginning in 1986, he served as general manager of the **Cocoa Development Corporation** (SODECAO). He has held several important positions within the government party, the **Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement** (CPDM).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, he, along with several other officials, was accused of improperly taking large loans from banks. *See also* CORRUPTION.

TORRE, XAVIER (1910–2003). Torre was the last French high **commissioner** in **Cameroon**. His tenure coincided with the advent of the relatively pro-French self-government of Prime Minister **Ahmadou Ahidjo** to power. Torre initiated the last phase of French rule in Cameroon and was instrumental in the transition period and the signing of the preindependence **secret agreements** with **France**.

TOURISM. Tourism is a minor but growing contributor to the economy. From approximately 30,000 foreign arrivals per year in the early 1970s, more than 400,000 arrived in 2005. Domestic tourism is limited but growing slowly. Riots that occurred in major cities in 2007 had a strong negative effect. Cameroon portrays itself as “Africa in Miniature” based on its diversity of culture and geography, but there is little external publicity of this concept. Major destinations include **Mount Cameroon**, the kingdoms of the **North West** and **West Regions**, and the north. The Ministry of Tourism has repeatedly stated that it wishes to increase tourist revenues, but the government has undertaken little action to do so.

Business travelers and hunting and animal-viewing safaris are the main forms of activity, though ecotourism and mountain and beach tourism (**Limbe** and Ebolowa) are important. The **national parks** with varied plant and animal species are important sites. Sex tourism and child sex are issues that government has faced, but such activities continue. Impediments to the tourist sector include high international transport costs, poor domestic infrastructure (hotels, roads, and services), **corruption** and occasional police harassment, heavy seasonal rains, and a lack of adequate publicity in potential sending countries.

TRADE UNIONS. Trade union activity in Cameroon is governed by the labor code enacted in 1992. Workers are permitted to form unions of their own choosing when 20 or more persons so decide. Numerous unions of various sizes have arisen, such as the Cameroon Teachers’ Trade Union (CATTU), the Fako Agricultural Workers’ Union

(FAWU), and the Cameroon Union of Lorry Drivers (SNTRC). Prior to this, unions had been centralized and subordinated to the ruling party. Today, in spite of the 1992 law, unions are under strict surveillance and control by the government, though strikes do occur. However, new unions have difficulty registering to become legal. Leaders are harassed and often arrested by the authorities. And often the government ignores existing unions, establishes a puppet organization, and negotiates with it. Numerous unions are integrated under three federations—the Confederation of Cameroon Trade Unions (CCTU/CSTS), the General Confederation of Free Workers of Cameroon (CGTLC), and the Union of Free Trade Unions of Cameroon (USLC).

The National Union of Cameroon Workers (NUCW) was formed in 1972 out of an amalgamation of postindependence professional groups and worker's unions from **West and East Cameroon**. It was believed that these unions served the designs of various **political parties**. Between 30 October and 13 November 1971, three major trade unions—the *Union des Syndicats Croyant du Cameroun* (USCC), the *Fédération des Syndicats du Cameroun* (FSC), and the West Cameroon Trade Union Congress (WCTUC)—were dissolved. From the ruins of these unions was born the Union of Cameroon Workers, renamed the National Union of Cameroon Workers (NUCW) in 1972. The NUCW became affiliated to the national party and followed the political options defined by the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**. The Cameroon Trade Union Congress (CTUC) was established as the official forum for Cameroon workers in 1985 replacing the NUCW and affiliating with the new **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**.

In June 1992, the CTUC was dissolved and replaced by the Confederation of Cameroon Trade Unions (CCTU) (*Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs du Cameroun* or *Confédération du Syndicats des Travailleurs du Cameroun* [CSTC]), an umbrella for numerous smaller unions; its president in 2008 was Maximillian Ntone Diboti. In 2006 it was estimated to have 200,000 members. A smaller organization, the Union of Free Trade Unions of Cameroon or *Union des Syndicats Libres du Cameroun* (USLC), was estimated to have 50,000 members. Its president is Flaubert Moussolê. A third organization, the *Confédération des Syndicats Indépendants du Cameroun*

(CSIS), is listed by the International Labour Organization. Its president is Oumarou Mongoué. *See also* CDC WORKERS UNION.

TRAFFICKING IN HUMANS. According to the **United States** Department of State, “Cameroon is a source, transit, and destination country for **women** and children trafficked for the purposes of forced labor and commercial sexual exploitation.” Children are trafficked to, from, and within Cameroon, and the country is a transit point for various trafficking routes. In 2003 the BBC uncovered an international child **smuggling** ring bringing children from Cameroon to **France** and Great Britain, most of whom were being used for sexual exploitation. Most domestic trafficking is related to domestic work; bar, restaurant, and other forms of forced labor; and sexual exploitation. Cameroonian women are sent by sex trafficking rings to Europe, primarily France, **Germany**, and Switzerland. Cameroon is often mentioned as one of Africa’s worst countries for human trafficking. Although the government has signed numerous international conventions and passed various laws, observers claim that the government takes little action to halt trafficking. *See also* WOMEN, VIOLENCE AGAINST.

TRANS-CAMEROON RAILWAY. This important development project was completed in 1975. The rail line links the administrative capital, **Yaoundé**, in the south to the provincial city of **Ngaoundéré**, **Adamawa Region**, covering a distance of 930 kilometers. The project is of both a political and developmental significance. Politically, it ties together the otherwise isolated northern and southern geographical sectors of the country. This contributes to the much needed sense of community through integration. Unfortunately, extension of the rail line northward into the **Chad** basin and eastward to the **Central African Republic** has not been accomplished. In terms of development, the railway serves as a possible instrument for the exploitation of large bauxite deposits found in the Martap-Tibati areas in the north and the evacuation of products in the area for distribution and export. It is an important part of the railroad-highway link between Chad and **Douala**.

The Trans-Cameroon railway project was financed by an international consortium of French, American, and European Economic

Community (EEC) sources at over \$80 million. It prolonged a preexisting network concentrated in the south connecting Yaoundé, Douala, **Kumba**, and **Nkongsamba** areas. The Cameroon National Railway Authority (REGIFERCAM), which handled the railway infrastructure, was the largest **transportation** corporation in the country. It faced severe competition from highway transporters due to the newly constructed Douala-Yaoundé road. As part of the **privatization** program, REGIFERCAM has been sold. A Franco-South African company, SAGA-COMAZAR, has now taken over under the name of Cameroon Railways (Camrail). *See also* ALUMINUM; FOREIGN INVESTMENT; MINERALS AND MINING; TRANSPORTATION.

TRANSPORTATION. Transportation facilities have improved radically since independence, but they remain quite inadequate and are a major impediment to economic progress. The railway system has doubled in length, but still provides only limited narrow gauge service for passengers and cargo. Possible extensions of the lines to major **mineral** deposits will make a significant contribution to the **economy**.

Since 1999 Camrail, owned by French and South African companies, has controlled the rail system. Waterways, other than some traffic on the **Benue River**, are not important beyond very local traffic. The main port of **Douala** handles 95 percent of cargo shipped by sea, and it is the main port for **Chad** and the **Central African Republic**. Its growth is hindered by being some distance inland on a river that frequently requires dredging. Planning for development of a major deepwater port at **Limbe** goes on, but only minimal progress has been made in its development. **Kribi** has become more significant as the terminus of the Chad-Cameroon **pipeline**, a more than 1,000-kilometer connection from Chad's oil fields to the point of export.

There are only 11 airports with paved runways; three have international service. The national airline, CAMAIR, is defunct; domestic services are limited. A new government-owned airline, CAMAIR-Co, has been proposed. Another proposal, to launch Air Cemac, a regional airline, has been discussed for years.

Road transportation is the major means of moving people and goods in Cameroon. Of the estimated 45,000 kilometers of roads,

only a small portion is paved. Major cities are connected by paved highways, a major improvement—especially in the rainy season—over the dirt roads of the past. Due to poor construction, even the paved roads are often subject to closure as a result of landslides, washout of bridges, and other causes. For an example, in 7 August 2009 a portion of the main road connecting **Bamenda** and **Bafoussam** washed out in a landslide leaving Bamenda without an external road connection for several weeks. Rural areas are badly connected to the main roads causing losses and expenses for farmers. Heavy seasonal rains, especially in the south, and hilly terrain wreak havoc on the highways. The major port of Douala is connected to the western parts of the country by only one bridge, built in 1951. A second bridge is badly needed and should be completed by 2013. Cameroon's highway connections to neighboring countries are inadequate and an impediment to the export of goods, especially food crops, to those countries. Cameroon should connect to several arteries of the Trans-African highway system, but much work is needed to make this system operable. In May 2009 the African Development Bank provided a grant for construction of a road to connect Bamenda with Enugu, **Nigeria**. *See also* COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE ET MONETAIRE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE; NATIONAL PORTS AUTHORITY; TRANS-CAMEROON RAILWAY.

TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE. Held between 30 October and 13 November 1991, the talks were convened by President **Paul Biya** in response to repeated calls for a sovereign national conference. Its aim was to defuse sociopolitical tension, which had been building up in the country since the legalization of multiparty activity in September 1990. The conference was to prepare preliminary drafts for an electoral code and to define conditions for access to public media by all parties. Invited to attend the talks was a cross-section of Cameroonian society, including all **political parties**, independent personalities, elder statesmen, and representatives of public authorities. Prime Minister Sadou Hayatou chaired the talks.

The conference opened in a stormy atmosphere as bitter arguments ensued between the ruling **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)** and opposition politicians. One issue centered on the creation of an independent electoral commission demanded by

the opposition. Heckling and bickering notwithstanding, conference participants reached a consensus and on 13 November 1991 signed a declaration, dubbed the Yaoundé Declaration. The radical opposition party, the **Social Democratic Front (SDF)**, and several other groups refused to sign the declaration. Before the conference ended on 18 November 1991, it produced a draft electoral code and one on access to media by political parties, but it failed to agree on the form of government to be established. It did establish a Tripartite Committee on Constitutional Matters to draft proposals for a new or revised **constitution**. *See also* ALLIANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMEROON THROUGH THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE (ARC-SNC); ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; DEMOCRACY; NATIONAL ELECTIONS OBSERVATORY; PRESS.

TRUST TERRITORIES. Both **French Cameroun** and **British Cameroons** became trust territories of the **United Nations trusteeship system** in 1945, following the demise of the **League of Nations**. Trust territories were to be granted gradual devolution of control and power, eventually leading to self-government and independence. This was a clearer responsibility than the weak stipulations for the earlier **mandate** territories. The existence of a political option for the trust territories spurred the rise of nationalist movements in both territories. Consequently, the French and British administering authorities were forced to hasten the pace of transition to self-government and independence. Supervision of these efforts was carried out by the UN Trusteeship Council through visiting missions, surveys, and nationalist petitions. French Cameroun ceased to be a territory on 1 January 1960 and British Cameroons on 1 October 1961, at which time French Cameroun joined **Southern Cameroons** to become the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**. **Northern British Cameroons** became part of the Federal Republic of **Nigeria**. *See also* ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES; NORTHERN CAMEROONS CASE.

TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM. The trusteeship system was established under the Charter of the **United Nations** as an improvement on and successor of the **mandate system** of the **League of Nations**. Cameroon became British and French **trust territories** under the United Nations. Trusteeship was to promote the political, **economic**, social,

and **educational** advancement of the inhabitants of territories and their progressive development toward self-government and independence.

Consequently the postwar order provided a more efficient supervisory mechanism through visiting missions and their periodic on-the-spot investigations, the drafting of annual reports on conditions in the territory, and the participation of local political groupings and figures to present grievances and set demands before the world body. The Trusteeship Council eventually set the stage for independence in Cameroon. *See also* ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES.

TSANGA, DELPHINE (1935–). Cameroon's first female government minister, Tsanga was born on 21 December 1935 in Lomié, Upper Nyong Division, **East Region**. She attended primary schools in **Douala**, Yokadouma, and **Yaoundé** before entering the *Collège de Jeune Filles* in Douala for secondary **education**. On completion in 1955, she was admitted to *Lycée Jos* and then received a scholarship to study in **France**. She trained as a professional nurse at the **Catholic** Institute and at the School of Nursing and the Red Cross in Toulouse.

Tsanga returned to Cameroon in 1960, serving in various capacities in the Yaoundé and **Garoua** hospitals. Apart from her professional duties, she also became involved in politics. In 1964, she was named president of the National Council of **Women** in Cameroon. In 1965, she was elected to the Legislative Assembly and reelected in 1970. In 1969, she was elected president of the women's wing (WCNU) of the **Cameroon National Union**.

In July 1970, Tsanga was appointed vice minister of health and public welfare, and on 30 June 1975 she became minister of social affairs. She served in this capacity and as president of the WCNU until the end of the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime. Tsanga was instrumental in mobilizing women's sympathies in favor of President Ahidjo. Her sympathy for Ahidjo apparently contributed to her removal as minister in July 1984 and as president of the women's wing of the party in March 1985.

Tsanga will be remembered as a writer as well as a politician. She published at least two novels under the name Delphine Zanga Tsogo. *See also* HEALTH.

TSOUNGUI, GILBERT ANDZE. *See* ANDZE TSOUNGUI, GILBERT.

TUMI, CHRISTIAN WIYGHAN (1930–). Born on 15 October 1930 in the village of Kikaikelaki, **North West Region**, he studied in **Nigeria, Great Britain, France**, and Switzerland. In December 1979, he became the first bishop of Yagoua diocese and in November 1982 archbishop of **Garoua**. On 28 June 1988 he became a cardinal, and on 31 August 1991 he became archbishop of **Douala**. Due to his age, Tumi was replaced on 5 November 2007 as archbishop of Douala. However, he continues to be outspoken on social, political, and economic issues in Cameroon. At one time, he stated that the use of condoms in marriage was acceptable as a means to prevent the spread of **HIV**. In the past, his name has been suggested as a possible candidate to run against **Paul Biya**.

His book, *The Political Regimes of Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya, and Cardinal Tumi, Priest* (2006), presents insights into church-state relations and Cameroon politics. *See also* CATHOLIC CHURCH; RELIGION.

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UCCAO. *See* COOPERATIVES.

UM NYOBE, RUBEN (1913–1958). Ruben Um Nyobe was a nationalist leader and the main spiritual figure of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**). He was born of humble parentage in Boumnyebel, the heartland of the **Bassa** country, in the Sanaga Maritime Division, **Littoral Region**. After primary school in the area, he enrolled in the influential Teacher Training College in Foulassi, near Sangmelima. He dropped out of the training prematurely after one year for allegedly coming into conflict with the teachers of the **American Presbyterian Mission** in 1932. He educated himself and succeeded in an examination to join the lower ranks of the civil service. He served in the government finance office in **Douala** and as a court clerk in **Yaoundé** and **Edéa**.

Um Nyobe's political outlook was to change over the years. He joined other early nationalists in the pro-French *Jeunesse Camerounaise Française (Jeucafra)*, which was used to stem German propaganda in the territory. From 1944, his leading role in the formation of a local branch of the French *Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)* was well marked. He officially joined the movement of **trade unionists** in 1947 and was instrumental in channeling broad nationalist sentiments into the formation of the UPC in April 1948. The party became a branch of the interterritorial party of French Africa, the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA)*. He rose to be one of the RDA's vice presidents in 1949, before the UPC broke away from the *Rassemblement*.

Um Nyobe played a more influential role in the UPC movement, where he served as secretary-general and upstaged many other party adherents by his fierce debate and oratorical genius. He represented the UPC at the **United Nations**, taking a consistently radical nationalist stance. This led the French to block his attempts to gain electoral victories. Although Um Nyobe was exposed to Marxist thought in his early trade union days, he so perfectly internalized his Marxism that the rationality and persuasiveness of his thought clearly surpassed ideological labels.

Um Nyobe stood unequivocally for immediate independence from the French, **reunification** with **British Cameroons**, and the cultural renaissance of the Cameroonian mind. As a leading political force by 1955, he engineered an insurrection, which was crushed by the French and led to the banning of the movement. It was in the wake of this setback that Um Nyobe exercised his politics from the underground in hiding, among the *maquis*.

Um Nyobe's political activity in the *maquis* was the crucial stage of his life. His immediate followers had been reduced to essentially Bassa elements. This led to the virtual dislocation of the UPC high command of **Félix Moumié** and Um Nyobe. However, his existence in the *maquis* was in sharp contradiction to his opposition to a purely military solution to the crisis. Nonetheless, an organizational mechanism had been created around him as the Grand Maquis, consisting of his close associates like Um Ngo, Josué Bassogo, and **Théodore Mayi-Matip**. The band stayed in close collaboration, study, and

meditation despite constant attempts at infiltration by government forces. It was in hiding, on 13 September 1958, a day Mayi-Matip declared all would be fine, that Um Nyobe was assassinated by a government gendarme, Paul Abdoulaye.

Um Nyobe's death was a great triumph for the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** regime and a heavy tragedy for Cameroon nationalism. His name was taboo for two decades in Cameroonian schools, colleges, and universities, but following the departure of Ahidjo in 1982, his most ardent followers continued to interpret his predictions and await his return for an eventual liberation, or *kunde*, in the Bassa parlance. *See also* ATANGANA, CHARLES; MANGA BELL, DOULA RUDOLF; OUANDIE, EARNEST; SAMBA, MARTIN-PAUL; SAME, ADOLPH LOTIN.

UNION CAMEROUNAISE (UC). The UC was the leading **political party** of the **République du Cameroun**. It eventually became the government party and the *parti unifié* of **East Cameroun** under the federal structure. The UC was formed in May 1958 in **Garoua** to provide the political base of support and legitimacy for the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** premiership. It was organized around a northern-based parliamentary group in the *Assemblée Législative du Cameroun (AL-CAM)*. For this reason, the UC was originally considered a regional, **Muslim**, and essentially **Fulani** organization. Various northern traditional rulers, the *lamibe*, supported the movement. To boost its electoral chances, the UC leadership also courted the northern **Kirdi** for support and votes.

The UC emerged into a quasi-national party through a combination of co-optation politics, office distribution, and sheer political intimidation orchestrated by its leader, Ahmadou Ahidjo. As head of state, President Ahidjo enticed former opponents to renounce their political convictions in exchange for enhanced political office and membership in the UC. Various members of the opposition parties opposed to his idea of a *parti unifié* were arrested and imprisoned. In legislative elections between 1960 and 1965, the UC consolidated its primacy in politics to emerge as the single political party in East Cameroun. From this position of strength Ahidjo later entered into negotiations with political parties of **West Cameroon**—the **Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP)**, **Cameroons People's National Con-**

vention (CPNC), and Cameroon United Congress (CUC)—to gain consent for dissolution in favor of a national one-party structure, the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**. *See also* FRONT NATIONAL UNIFE.

UNION CENTRALE DES COOPERATIVES AGRICOLES DE L'OUEST (UCCAO). *See* COOPERATIVES.

UNION DES POPULATIONS DU CAMEROUN (UPC). This **political party**, formed in **French Cameroun** in April 1948, represented a militant nationalism that was unique in the country. The UPC was affiliated with the interterritorial party of French Africa, the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA)*, and was closely aligned to the French trade union movement and the Communist Party. Because of its domestic activism and ideology, the UPC fell prey to repression and banning. In the 1951 and 1952 national and territorial assembly elections, UPC candidates were defeated with the assistance of the French authorities. In July 1955 the UPC was banned for organizing the bloody **Douala** riots. French colonial officials perceived a threat in the UPC platform.

Unlike other parties, the UPC called for an end to French rule, defended the need for rapid improvement in living standards, rejected the incorporation of Cameroun into the **French Union**, and advocated immediate **reunification** of French and **British Cameroons** as a condition for independence. After it was outlawed in the post-1955 period, the UPC took refuge in **Kumba** in British Cameroons. However, despite its populist and nationalist agenda, the UPC never emerged as a national party. The membership and much of its leadership and operations were within the **Bassa** and **Bamiléké** areas. Other local parties like the *Union Bamiléké, Evolution Sociale Camerounaise (ESOCAM)*, and *Renaissance Camerounaise (RENAICAM)* were established as anti-UPC groups. Moreover, the structure of the UPC was loose and dominated by two personalities: **Ruben Um Nyobe** and **Félix Moumié**. Nevertheless, the UPC did participate in the debates of the **Trusteeship** Council where it raised grievances against French rule and presented its strategy of decolonization.

After its condemnation to an illegal status in 1955, the UPC existed as an underground and an exile movement, engaging in guerrilla

action against French and Cameroon troops. These clandestine operations began in the Bassa countryside and culminated in the assassination of UPC leader, Um Nyobe, on 13 September 1958. Thereafter, the insurgency in the Bassa region disintegrated with the *ralliement* of **Théodore Mayi-Matip** to the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** government. Between 1960 and 1963, a legal UPC opposition had representatives in the **East Cameroon** Assembly. Clandestine insurgent activity, popularly known as the *maquis*, later spread to the Bamiléké regions of the country. This insurgency was crushed with the arrest and execution of UPC figures like Celestin Takala, Wambo le Courant, and **Ernest Ouandié** in 1971.

The exile wing of the UPC party operated in the early 1960s from Conakry, Cairo, and Accra. The UPC also had varying support from the Soviet Union and **China**. On 3 November 1960, the leader of the UPC exile wing, Félix Moumié, was poisoned by French security agents in Geneva. From that time on, the UPC operated from its headquarters in Paris and had a wide membership that included intellectuals and students. The UPC was headed by a Central Committee consisting of Wougly Massaga, Siméon Kuissu, and Elenga Mbuyinga. Critical studies on various aspects of Cameroonian politics, **economy**, and diplomatic performance were regularly published by the organization. The UPC was also a strong advocate of multiparty politics and the respect of **human rights** in the Cameroon.

During the transition of leadership in 1982 the UPC expressed great enthusiasm for the **Paul Biya** presidency but has since increased its criticism and disenchantment with the regime, especially after the abortive **coup attempt of 6 April 1984**. This notwithstanding, the Biya regime allowed the return of former UPC exiles to Cameroon, among whom was **Ndeh Ntumazah**. Many were, however, later arrested for political disturbances before being released. Moreover, in a Supreme Court decision of August 1986, it was ruled that the UPC had lost its legal status as a political party. A medical practitioner, Joseph Sende, had reprimanded the government for failing to recognize the UPC's right to existence on the basis of the constitution.

The situation changed with the rebirth of multiparty democracy in the country in 1990. Following the **president's** decision to accept pluralist democracy, the UPC was legalized in 1991. Ndeh Ntumazah became the leader of the legalized party in 1991 and then, after a

split, head of the UPC-N, a major branch. **Augustin Kodock** became head of the UPC-K, another major branch. A third faction is headed by Henri Hogbe Nlend. Splits and conflicts have reduced the party's significance, and its influence has largely been peripheral to government and the legislature. *See also* NDONGMO AFFAIR.

UNION DOUANIÈRE ÉCONOMIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE (UDEAC)/CENTRAL AFRICAN CUSTOMS AND ECONOMIC UNION (CACEU). This successor to the *Union Douanière Équatoriale* (UDE) was established on 8 December 1964 with headquarters in Bangui, **Central African Republic (CAR)**. The membership varied over the years as the result of political disputes between the members and attempts by competing organizations to pull members into their orbit. The purposes of the union were to promote trade between the members, to stimulate harmonious development, and to establish a common market, leading eventually to economic union.

UDEAC organs were a Council of Heads of State, a Conference of Ministers of **Agriculture** and Animal Husbandry, a Management Committee, and a General Secretariat with a secretary-general. Subsidiary organizations included the **Bank of Central African States (BEAC)**, the **Development Bank of Central African States (CASDB)**, and the Transequatorial Communications Agency. A meat and livestock community (*Communauté Économique de Bétail de la Viande et des Ressources Halieutique*), a reinsurance company (*Société Communautaire de Réassurance*), a pharmaceutical company (*Société Communautaire des Produits Pharmaceutiques en Centrafrique*), and a joint satellite project were proposed. Studies were undertaken for a unified development of railways, including the construction of a rail link between the Atlantic coast and the CAR.

UDEAC's main problem was the unfair distribution of benefits to all of its members. **Gabon** and Cameroon were economically far ahead of **Chad**, CAR, and **Equatorial Guinea**. Cameroon was not simply an ordinary member of UDEAC. About half of the **population** of UDEAC is Cameroonian. **Douala** also served as the port of entry for landlocked members. There were attempts in the UDEAC treaty to equalize the imbalances among member states. These consisted of a common taxing policy, the *tax unique*, the process of group consensus

in the distribution of new industries, and the creation of a solidarity fund for financial assistance to disadvantaged countries. However, these measures did not reduce Cameroon's dominance in UDEAC. In 1994 the members of UDEAC agreed to establish a *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEMAC) to promote regional economic integration. In 1999 CEMAC superseded UDEAC. *See also* COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE DES ETATS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE; FOREIGN POLICY; TRANSPORTATION.

UNION DOUANIERE EQUATORIALE (UDE). *See* UNION DOUANIERE ECONOMIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE.

UNION FOR CHANGE. *See* ALLIANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMEROON THROUGH THE SOVEREIGN NATIONAL COUNCIL (ARC-SNC).

UNION NATIONALE POUR LA DEMOCRATIE ET LE PROGRES (UNDP). *See* NATIONAL UNION FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS (NUDP).

UNION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS OF CAMEROON (USLC). *See* TRADE UNIONS.

UNITED KINGDOM. *See* GREAT BRITAIN.

UNITED NATIONS (UN). The UN, founded on 24 October 1945, has become a major actor in the developing countries, including Cameroon. The role of the UN in Cameroon as a former **trust territory** has special meaning. The **trusteeship system** probably hastened nationalist development and helped to bring independence sooner than would have been the case otherwise. The UN-sponsored **plebiscite** in 1961 was important in uniting the former **German** colony in the state of Cameroon.

The UN, especially its secretary-general, played a major role in the peaceful resolution of the **Bakassi Dispute** between **Nigeria** and Cameroon. However, Cameroon and the UN have not always had such a positive relationship. The UN has frequently been critical of

the **human rights** situation in Cameroon, most recently in terms of prison conditions and antigay laws in the country. In addition, the Cameroon representative strongly opposed UN support for abortion rights, claiming that abortion is murder. Cameroon has been an active participant in UN activities. Cameroonians have served three terms as president of the Security Council (October 1974, December 1975, and October 2002). Cameroon has been involved in **peace-keeping operations**, and several Cameroonians, such as **Adamou Ndam Njoya**, **Jacques Roger Booh Booh**, **Dorothy Limunga Njeuma**, and **Michel Doo Kiguwe**, have held important offices at the UN.

Today the UN continues to play a big role in Cameroon. The UN's developing country activities cover numerous subjects, but the focus is on maintaining or restoring peace and economic, social, and political development. In Cameroon, UN personnel, vehicles, and infrastructure are numerous and omnipresent. At least 18 UN agencies have offices there.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) or *Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement* (PNUD) was created in 1965 to promote environmentally sustainable human development; it has been active in Cameroon since 1972, and it oversees UN activities there. The current UNDP representative, Thierry Martens, was appointed in January 2009. UNDP programs emphasize governance, the struggle against poverty, the **environment** and energy, and the prevention of **disasters** and catastrophes and relief when such events occur. Its budget for 2008 was \$6,083,222.

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) or *Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Alimentation et l'Agriculture* has numerous programs in Cameroon focusing on strengthening **agricultural** institutions, developing farmers' organizations and enterprises, and preparing for and preventing agricultural disasters such as droughts and floods. FAO has a permanent staff of nine persons in Cameroon.

The **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** or *Fonds Monétaire International* has been important in the struggle against poverty, assisting the government in rationalizing its budget, and **debt** reduction.

The **World Bank** has been active in Cameroon for many years. Currently, it emphasizes health, **education**, the environment and **forests**, **privatization** especially in the financial sector, and **structural**

adjustment programs. The accumulated value of Bank interventions in Cameroon is about \$2.5 billion.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) or *Organisation Internationale du Travail* (OIT) has its Central Africa regional office in **Yaoundé**. Among its Cameroon activities are projects against the **trafficking** and exploitation of children and the reduction of children involved in growing **cocoa**, increasing rural employment and thus reducing poverty, and the rehabilitation of the social security system. The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) or *Union Internationale des Télécommunications* (UIT) was created in 1865 and became a part of the UN in 1947. The ITU Yaoundé office is responsible for all ITU activities in Central Africa. Its projects include developing telecommunications for **health** and medical programs, improving the National School of Posts and Telecommunications, and improving telecommunication maintenance capabilities. More generally, the ITU is working to harmonize and improve telecommunications between Central African states.

The Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) or *Programme Commun des Nations Unies sur le VIH/SIDA* (ONUSIDA) harmonizes the activities of several UN agencies involved in the struggle against **HIV/AIDS**. In Cameroon its main activity has been to assist the government in developing a national strategy for the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS. Its budget (about \$100,000 per year) and number of staff (four) are quite small.

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Central African regional office in Yaoundé began operations in June 2004. Its main involvement is with the human rights of **women**, reduction of poverty among women, the elimination of violence against women, HIV/AIDS among women, and increasing employment for women. UNIFEM also assists women in forming their own social, political, and economic organizations.

The Yaoundé office of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) or *Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Éducation, la Science et la Culture* is responsible for UNESCO activities in Cameroon, **Chad**, and the **Central African Republic**. Its main activities include counseling the governments of these countries on relevant matters and assisting them in harmonizing their cultural policies and educational policies. UNESCO is involved

in developing education projects for the prevention of HIV/AIDS and in preserving **world heritage sites** in the country.

The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) is heavily involved in efforts to protect the rights of children including the right to survival, the right to education, the prevention of trafficking and exploitation, and the right to good health. HIV/AIDS, decreasing infant mortality, discrimination against girls in education, and the eradication of the scourge of guinea worm are among specific programs in Cameroon. Between 2003 and 2007 UNICEF spent \$21 million in Cameroon, \$8 million of which was for research. UNICEF employs 33 Cameroonians. Like many UN agencies, UNICEF partners with several **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**.

The UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) or *Haut Commissariat des Nations Unies pour les Réfugiés* is responsible for the well-being of the many **refugees** who have entered Cameroon in recent years. This includes such matters as health and education but also protecting the human rights of such persons. Refugees from Chad, **Nigeria**, and the Central African Republic as well as the problems of "urban refugees" have taken most of the agency's attention. The organization maintains offices in Yaoundé and the northern city of **Bertoua** and employs 28 Cameroonians. The Red Cross and the nongovernmental organization CARE are important UNHCR partners.

The United Nations High Commission for Human Rights has maintained since 2001 a regional center in Yaoundé, the **United Nations Sub-regional Center for Human Rights and Democracy in Central Africa**. It employs 15 persons, 10 of whom are Cameroonians.

The United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) or *Organisation des Nations Unies pour le Développement Industriel* (ONUDI) began operations in Cameroon in 1970. Since then, it has spent about \$26 million in Cameroon. The Yaoundé office covers Central Africa. Employment creation for women and youths is a major emphasis of its activities. Promoting **industrial** development and the training of workers are also important.

The United Nations Information Center was established in 1965 in Yaoundé as a regional center for Cameroon, Gabon, and the Central African Republic. It provides information about and publicizes the activities of the UN.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) or *Commission Economique des Nations Unies pour l'Afrique* (CEA) has five regional offices in Africa. Yaoundé is the office for the seven countries of Central Africa. The office opened in 1971. It fosters regional economic integration in coordination with the *Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale* (CEEAC). Promotion of foreign investment, increasing government capabilities, improving the situation of women in the economy, promoting new technology, and promoting the projects of the **African Union's** New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) are its major areas of activity.

The UN **Population** Fund began operations in Cameroon in 1969. Currently, it undertakes projects in reproductive and sexual health, conducts research, assists government in developing a population policy, and promotes gender equality especially with regard to discrimination against women, the employment of women, and reproductive health.

The World Food Programme (WFP) or *Programme Alimentaire Mondial* (PAM) has regional and Cameroon country offices in Yaoundé; a small office is also maintained in **Garoua**. Cameroonian activities are concentrated in the northern and **East Regions**. School feeding programs, drought relief, feeding of refugees, and **food** security are the major activities. The agency has 41 employees.

The World Health Organization (WHO) or *Organisation Mondiale de la Santé* works in all regions of Cameroon to promote primary health care; the struggle against preventable diseases such as HIV/AIDS, sleeping sickness, tuberculosis, and malaria; and the overall improvement of the country's health system. Health planning and programming receive special attention. Developing the capabilities of the Ministry of Health and the development and education of health personnel are major activities. Vaccination campaigns, provision of medicines, and development of a national health laboratory at the *Centre Pasteur* are also significant. WHO's Cameroon budget averages about \$8 million per year. *See also* ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES; CAMEROON-NIGERIA MIXED COMMISSION; GREENTREE AGREEMENT; HEAVILY INDEBTED POOR COUNTRIES (HIPC) INITIATIVE; HOMOSEXUALITY; MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS; REUNIFICATION.

UNITED NATIONS SUB-REGIONAL CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AFRICA. This regional bureau of the Office of the High Commissioner for **Human Rights** in Geneva was opened in March 2001 in **Yaoundé**. In addition to promoting human rights awareness and observance in the states of Central Africa, the center provides training and capacity-building activities, publishes a newsletter, and maintains a documentation center. The center works with national governments, relevant **United Nations** agencies, the **Catholic** University of Central Africa, and the *Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (**CEEAC**).

UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON. Upon the **reunification** of the **République du Cameroun** and **Southern Cameroons**, the **Federal Republic of Cameroon** came into existence. It had a short life, for in 1972 the federal system was replaced with a unitary, highly centralized system of government. The name of the country became the United Republic of Cameroon. President **Ahmadou Ahidjo** wished to centralize all power in **Yaoundé** and in the presidency. One step was the formation of a single **political party**, the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)**. A second step was the ending of the federation.

However, this determination to end the federation has another explanation. A strong central unitary government is a French tradition, a tradition passed on to **francophone** Africa in the colonial era. Federation is much more common in the **anglophone** experience, and this tradition is frequently employed in areas previously ruled by **Great Britain**. This difference in tradition is visible in Cameroon politics today, with widespread support for a return to the federal system among anglophones, but with little or no support among francophones. In 1984, the country's name was changed again, to the **Republic of Cameroon**. *See also* **ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; DECENTRALIZATION**.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Cameroon received quick recognition from the United States at independence in 1960. Relations between the two countries improved with **Peace Corps** assistance, foreign aid, and growing trade in raw materials. Cultural ties grew

substantially as young Cameroonians turned to the United States for their university studies. In the late 1970s United States banking and industrial interests became significant in the Cameroon **economy**, coincident with the growing export of **petroleum** to the United States. However, relations turned downward in the 1990s as the U.S. government condemned Cameroon for its poor **human rights** record and failure to become **democratic**. In the mid-1990s agreement was reached on the construction of the **Chad-Kribi pipeline**, a major project. Since then, U.S.-Cameroon relations have improved. The United States is a major trading partner.

In 2009 the U.S. Embassy defined relations thusly:

U.S.-Cameroonian relations are close, although from time to time they have been affected by concerns over human rights abuses and the pace of political and economic liberalization. The bilateral U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) program in Cameroon closed for budgetary reasons in 1994. However, approximately 140 Peace Corps volunteers continue to work successfully in agro-forestry, community development, **education**, and **health**. The Public Affairs section of the U.S. Embassy in Yaoundé organizes and funds diverse cultural, educational, and information exchanges. It maintains a library and helps foster the development of Cameroon's independent press by providing information in a number of areas, including U.S. human rights and democratization policies. The Embassy's Self-help and Democracy and Human Rights Funds are some of the largest in Africa. Through several State Department and USAID regional funds, the Embassy also provides funds for: biodiversity protection, **refugees**, **HIV/AIDS**, democratization, and girl's scholarships. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) provided a commodity grant valued at \$6 million in 2003 to fund agricultural development projects in the North and Far North regions. Similar programs were approved in 2004, 2005, and 2006.

See also FOREIGN INVESTMENT; FOREIGN POLICY; FOREIGN TRADE.

UNITY PALACE. This is the official residence in **Yaoundé** of the **president**. Construction began in the **Ahmadou Ahidjo** era, but it was completed under **Paul Biya**'s rule. The structure is also called the Etoudi Palace, the name of the neighborhood in which it is located. The structure is surrounded by wide expanses of open fields,

suggesting to some that this is to help protect against armed attack. During the **coup attempt of 6 April 1984**, President Biya reportedly hid in a highly secured section of the palace. This complex replaces the former mansion inherited from the French, for whom it was the **commissioner's** palace; it is now the National Museum of Cameroon. *See also* ART.

UNIVERSITIES. *See* HIGHER EDUCATION.

URBANIZATION AND CITIES. Cameroon's urban history begins in the northern areas where **Muslim** populations formed large urban centers such as **Ngaoundéré** and **Maroua** in the 19th century. With the advent of colonialism, urban growth moved south to **Yaoundé**, **Douala**, **Bamenda**, and **Buea**, as well as numerous smaller agglomerations. In recent decades, urbanization, the movement of rural dwellers to urban areas, has swollen these cities leading to problems of overcrowding; lack of adequate housing, sanitation, clean water, and other infrastructural problems; and crime. Most recently, "international urbanization," the movement of persons across international borders to urban areas, has become serious with **refugees** and persons seeking work.

According to the **United Nations**, in 1950, 9.3 percent of Cameroon's population lived in urban areas; in 1990, 40.7 percent; in 2010, 58.4 percent; and it estimates that in 2050, 79.9 percent will be in urban centers. This is exemplified by the growth of Douala from 95,000 persons in 1950 to an estimated 2,996,000 in 2025, and Yaoundé from 32,000 in 1950 to 2,549,000 in 2025. *See also* BAFIA; BAFOUSSAM; BANDJOUN; BERTOUA; EDÉA; FOUMBAN; KRIBI; KUMBA; LIMBE; NKONGSAMBA; RURAL EXODUS.

UTHMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817). The **Fulani** founder of the Sokoto Empire was born in Marafa near Gobir in present-day **Nigeria**. After studies in Agades, Niger, Uthman was employed by the king of Gobir to serve as governor of royal princes but was dismissed in 1802 by a new king, who detested growing Fulani influence in state affairs.

Uthman later engaged in the study and teaching of **Islamic** religion to emerge as a *modibo* (expert in Islamic sciences). Many Fulanis

organized around him to reject the oppressive dictates and perverse practices of the king. In the ensuing four-year war, Uthman also set out to convert the dominant Hausa from paganism through Holy War (**jihad**). Uthman's religious fervor led to Fulani victory and the creation of a vast empire from Masina in the Upper Niger to the **Adamawa**. The provinces of the empire became increasingly autonomous after his death in 1817. *See also* ADAMA, MODIBO.

– V –

VERDZEKOV, PAUL (1931–2010). Msgr. Verdzekov is the first **anglophone** Cameroonian bishop, archbishop, and metropolitan of **Bamenda**. He was born on 22 January 1931 in Shisong, Bui Division, **North West Region**. He received primary **education** in Sacred Heart School, Shisong (1937–1944) and a two-year teacher training in Bambui (1948–1950). From 1952 he was enrolled in **Saint Joseph's College, Buea, South West Region**. He later pursued university education in the Pontifical Urban University of Rome (1958–1962 and 1967–1969). He obtained a licentiate in theology and a PhD in social sciences from these institutions.

Under Pope Paul VI he was appointed bishop of the newly created diocese of Bamenda and the first ever anglophone Cameroonian bishop. On 18 March 1982, Pope John Paul II raised Bamenda to an archdiocese with Verdzekov as its archbishop. Since his consecration, he has held two significant offices: president of the Cameroon National Episcopal Conference (1976–1982) and appointment as a member of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1984. He retired at age 75 on 23 January 2006 to be replaced by Archbishop Cornelius Fontem Esua. Msgr. Verdzekov died on 26 January 2010.

VICTORIA. *See* LIMBE.

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS. The **economic crisis** of the 1980s caused serious economic problems in rural areas as government, under pressure from **structural adjustment programs** and related influences, withdrew much of its technical and financial support for rural development. Much needed services vanished. The

government authorized communities to form village development associations as community agents to lead self-help initiatives. While many villages formed these associations, they often did not know how to use them. In the **anglophone** areas the concept of self-reliance was already well known, and many such organizations have grown up. These are supported by local elites and by those living in urban areas and abroad. Funds are contributed—or sometimes a levy is charged—to finance water, school, electrification, and similar local developments. Substantial funds come via remittances from citizens working abroad. *See also* SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT.

VILLES MORTES. *See* GHOST TOWN OPERATIONS.

VOLLARBE (WOLLARBE). The Vollarbe (s. Bolaro) are one of the two largest **Fulani** clans most prominent in northern politics. While the Vollarbe have a less significant military tradition than the **Yillaga'en**, they are nevertheless known for having established the largest number of political units in **Adamawa** through military force and often for having maintained their economies through aggressive actions toward their neighbors. They are most renowned for their animal husbandry skills. The Vollarbe are found mostly in Adamawa and **North Regions**. Vollarbe *lamidats* include **Ngaoundéré**, Banyo, **Garoua**, Boundang (Touroua), Tchéboa, Béka, Tchamba, Kontcha, Bantadjé, Guébaké, Gounna, and Demsa. A subgroup in Tibati is known as the Kiri in recognition of their peculiar route of migration and particular history of aggression against other Vollarbe groups.

– W –

WANDALA (MANDARA). The capital of this **Islamic** state in the **Extreme North Region** is located at Mora. Wandala is known to have existed at least as early as the mid-15th century. Wandala's most important precolonial trade good was finished iron. Also important was the **slave trade**, drawing on the northern Mandara Mountains, and especially the **Logone River** basin and the **Diamaré**. The first known capital was at Keroua on the border with **Nigeria**, although some traditions record an earlier site at Ishga-Kewe. Wandala was a tributary

for much of its history of the much larger Bornu state, which referred to it as Mandara. Wandala is composed of the Wandala proper as well as a diverse group of other ethnicities.

In the 1570s, Mai Idriss Aloma of Bornu attacked the Wandala capital Keroua at least twice in order to intervene in a succession dispute. The city of Doulo was captured by *Tlikse* (King) Sankré most likely in the early 17th century and subsequently was made the capital. The state officially converted to Islam in the early 18th century under *Tlikse* Bukar Aji (r. 1715–1737) and enjoyed a period of considerable expansion in the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly during the reign of *Tlikse* Bukar-a-Jama (1773–1828). The latter finally moved the capital to Mora in the 19th century, whose more mountainous surroundings are thought to have been chosen for protective purposes as Wandala came into frequent conflict with the **Fulani** of **Maroua** in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Doulo was attacked and destroyed by **Mohamman Damraka** of Maroua in 1833, and again in 1895 by the Bornuan ruler **Rabah**. The kingdom came under German colonial rule in 1902, and was subsequently partitioned between the British and French. This partition was recognized in the postcolonial period by the boundary between Nigeria and Cameroon.

Mandara is also the name of the mountain range that constitutes much of the domains of the Wandala Kingdom. A significant mountain structure in north Cameroon, the volcanic Mandara Mountains are located north of the **Benue River**. The highest peak, Zelediba Mountain, rises to over 1,450 meters. The area holds many exciting **tourist** sites, with strange peaks at Rhoumsiki and unique villages, such as Djingliya and Tourou on the Nigerian border, and Koza. Today, the Wandala capital Mora is best known for its large market, which attracts numerous people from the surrounding mountainous area. *See also* MUSLIM POPULATIONS.

WEREWERE-LIKING, GNEPO NICOLE (1950–). A well-known contemporary dramatist and novelist, Wéréwéré-Liking (née Eddy Nicole Njock) was born in the **Bassa** village of Bondé in 1950. She moved to Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, in the late 1970s, where in 1984 she founded the Ki Yi Mbok village, a cooperative of persons associated with the **theater**. Her plays include various rituals from Cameroon, usually concerned with society initiation, death, and healing, for cathartic effects.

Her work often incorporates marionettes. She has published several novels; the most recent in 2004 was *La mémoire amputée*, which was later translated into English as *The Amputated Memory: A Novel*. This received the Noma Award for Publishing in Africa in 2005.

WEST CAMEROON. The former **British Southern Cameroons** became West Cameroon as one of the two federated states of the **Federal Republic of Cameroon**. West Cameroon became a political reality on 1 October 1961. It ceased to exist following the referendum that gave birth to the **United Republic of Cameroon** on 20 May 1972. West Cameroon was headed by a government led by the **prime minister**, a House of Assembly, and the **West Cameroon House of Chiefs**. West Cameroon prime ministers included **John Ngu Foncha**, **A. N. Jua**, and **S. T. Muna**. West Cameroon should not be confused with **West Region**, a **francophone** entity.

WEST CAMEROON HOUSE OF CHIEFS (1961–1972). This was a political institution in the bicameral **West Cameroon** legislature. **Democracy** in the House of Chiefs was limited by the nonelective nature of seats. Membership was open only to leaders of the most important chiefdoms, and these were usually paramount **chiefs**. Their number varied over time but remained around 22 to 26. Although the House of Chiefs had paid members and regular sessions, it was not a powerful institution. It could only advise, deliberate, and handle limited issues of local administration. Because its consent was necessary for certain measures, the House of Chiefs could paralyze the process on some quasi-legislative issues. This and other federal institutions ended at the formation of the **United Republic of Cameroon** in 1972.

WEST PROVINCE. *See* WEST REGION.

WEST REGION. This **francophone region** covers an area of 14,000 square kilometers; it consists of eight divisions. There are two principal relief features: the plains and the high plateaus and mountainous chains of the west. Its tropical climate consists of four seasons, two dry and two rainy, with an average temperature of 22°C. Vegetation consists of savannah in the south and north and a **forest** gallery along internal lakes. The smallest in area of the **provinces**, it is the

most densely populated with almost two million inhabitants (2001 estimate). In addition to the headquarters city **Bafoussam**, there are several other important population centers: Dschang, Mbounda, Bafang, **Foumban**, Foubot, and Bangangté. Commerce and trading are significant activities as is **agriculture** with **food** (especially **maize**) and cash crops (**coffee, cocoa, rice, tea, and tobacco**). Beer and instant coffee are produced, and **mining** (bauxite) is growing in importance. **Tourism** centers on the palace, crafts, and museums of Foumban. The province was established in 1972 and became a region in 2008. The West Region, which is francophone and inhabited mainly by **Bamiléké** and **Bamoum**, should not be confused with the state of **West Cameroon**. See also ARTISANAL INDUSTRIES; INDUSTRY.

WHEAT. Local cultivation dates back to the early 20th century in the fertile lowlands across the **Logone and Chari Rivers**. Wheat-growing possibilities have not produced encouraging results in Cameroon. Government stepped up interest in wheat with the establishment of the *Société de Développement pour la Culture et la Transformation du Blé* (SODEBLE) in 1975. Wheat production under this initiative was poor, and SODEBLE has been frustrating. Bread made from wheat flour was introduced via colonial rule and is very popular in Cameroon today. In 2004, Cameroon imported 270,569 metric tons of wheat and wheat flour (plus 11,096 tons of corn flour) at a value of \$73,269,000. The value in 2005 was \$73,000,428. Price increases in wheat and thus bread led to substantial discontent in urban Cameroon in 2008.

WILLIAMS, JOHANNES MANGA (?–1959). Chief Johannes Manga Williams worked with German and British administrations in the **Bakweri** area. His powers and the extent of his rule expanded greatly as a result. Williams, along with **Fon** Galega II of **Bali**, represented **Southern Cameroons** in the **Eastern Nigerian** House of Assembly under the 1947 Richards Constitution. Their experience was to be a factor in the later development of the **West Cameroon House of Chiefs**.

WOMEN. The roles and position of women have evolved from the precolonial to the colonial and to the independence periods, and the

situation of women varies from one **ethnic group** to another, from one area to another, and one **religion** to another. While the traditional view has been that women have been in a subordinate position to men throughout history, increasing evidence suggests that this has been overstated for the precolonial period, and that a powerful effect of colonial rule was the deterioration of women's position in society. While there has been a struggle to rectify this situation in the independence era, women in many respects still do not receive equal status or treatment in Cameroon today. *See also* ANLU; HUMAN RIGHTS; MINISTRY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN AND THE FAMILY; WOMEN, VIOLENCE AGAINST; WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

WOMEN, VIOLENCE AGAINST. Violence against **women** in Cameroon is perpetuated at both the government and personal levels. The inferior socioeconomic status of women resulting from a high illiteracy rate and low representation of women in political activities leaves women more vulnerable to violence.

At the state level, it is reported that women in detention centers experience gender-specific forms of torture such as rape and other forms of sexual violence by prison guards and other inmates, compounded by the fact that men and women are placed in the same cells. At the family level, women are subjected to verbal, psychological, and physical abuse especially from their husbands. Many societies still engage in paying bride price, which allows the husband to regard the wife as a "personal property." Other forms of violence include spousal rapes, harmful traditional practices such as **breast ironing** and **female genital mutilation**, forced wife-inheritance, and widowhood rites that cause physical and psychological suffering. Domestic violence in the form of physical abuse is the most common form of violence against women.

The laws do not impose effective penalties against men who commit acts of domestic violence. There are no gender-specific assault laws, though women are the predominant victims of domestic violence. Spousal abuse is not a legal ground for divorce. Pressure from women's groups and international organizations is yielding results as the government is making progress in revising the family code, meant to protect **women's rights**, including the right to live free

from violence. *See also* MINISTRY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN AND THE FAMILY.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Law No. 96-06 of 18 January 1996 to amend the **Constitution of 2 June 1972** affirms that "all persons shall have equal rights and obligations. The State shall provide all its citizens with the conditions necessary for their development." The law was adopted and enacted by the **National Assembly** and the **president** of the republic. However, in practice **women** do not have the same rights as men. The country's richness in **ethnic groups** reflects negatively on women in general. The multiplicity of groups also means a variety of customary laws that are interpreted to the disadvantage of women and girls. At home, women are beaten and girls are sexually abused, and violence linked to the dowry and bride price are rampant.

What is most disturbing and embarrassing is that a good number of men are in favor of beating women. There is also marital rape. Various reports conclude that women's rights in Cameroon are in an unfavorable condition. Reports indicate that at least one-third of women are raped, beaten, or forced to have nonconsensual sex. Published reports indicate that in the community, women are harassed; at work and educational institutions they are intimidated. The **trafficking** of women and children for forced prostitution and domestic work is increasing, and three-fifths of school girls are victims of violence.

Civil laws and customary laws are both prejudiced and discriminatory against women. For example, under these laws, polygamy is permitted for men, but polyandry is prohibited for women. Forced and early marriages are rampant, especially in the rural areas despite the 15 years legal age for marriage under the law. There are reports of girls being forced to marry at age 12. **Female genital mutilation (FGM)** is also practiced though the government has recently been pressured by women's groups to make FGM illegal. Law and custom discriminate against women in land ownership, property inheritance, credit, skills training, and advancement at work.

In the areas of **education** and employment, women are discriminated against. Women consistently experience the highest levels of unemployment, but in the **agriculture** sector women account for about 80 percent of the labor force. Women are underrepresented in education at all levels and especially in **higher education** (both

as students and teaching staff). Women who are employed in the public and private sectors are unequally compensated for the same work performed. In Cameroon, although women's rights are grossly violated both at home and in the society at large, the government has done little to reverse the situation. *See also* HUMAN RIGHTS; MINISTRY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN AND THE FAMILY; WOMEN, VIOLENCE AGAINST.

WORLD BANK. Also known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the World Bank was established after World War II to assist in European recovery. Much of its attention is directed today to the Third World. Cameroon joined the IBRD on 10 July 1963 and joined the affiliated International Development Association (IDA) on 10 April 1964, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) on 1 October 1974, and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) on 7 October 1988. Since 1975 Yaoundé has housed the IBRD's regional mission. The Bank has provided support for many projects including palm plantations, port structures, railways, and **education**. *See also* DEBT; ECONOMIC CRISIS; INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND; PIPELINE; PRIVATIZATION; STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM.

WORLD HERITAGE SITES. The **United Nations** Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established this program to encourage the identification and protection of the world's cultural and natural heritage in 1972. Cameroon has only one place on the accepted list (Dja Faunal Reserve), but another 14 are on the tentative list awaiting approval: **Bafut** chiefdom; **lami-dat** of Rey-Bouba; an archaeological site at Shum Laka; megaliths at Saa; **national parks** at Korup, Campo Ma'an, Lobeke, Waza, Boumba Bek, and Nki; Lobé waterfall; the Cameroon portion of **Lake Chad**; Diy-Gid-Biy villages with stone **architecture**; Mandara Mountains; and etchings in marble at Bidzar (near Guidar). *See also* ART.

WORLD WAR I (KAMERUN CAMPAIGNS). From 5 August 1914 until 29 February 1916, **Kamerun** was a battleground for World War I, which had begun in Europe two days earlier. Allied forces

(French, British, Belgian) launched a series of campaigns against German Kamerun after successfully encircling the territory. The Northern campaigns penetrated from **Chad** under French command and from Northern **Nigeria** under the British. In the South, French troops struck from **Gabon** and received reinforcement from Belgian militia. The allied contingent on the Kamerun coast was a Franco-British creation of indigenous African soldiers from Nigeria, Gold Coast (later Ghana), and Sierra Leone as well as elite French troops from Dakar, Senegal.

The German forces were eventually overwhelmed by the numbers and coordination of the Allied command. They lost control of their political capital (**Yaoundé**) on 9 January and the stronghold of Mora on 20 February 1916. By that time the remainder of German forces had fled to the island of Fernando Po in defeat. Allied forces were stationed in a fashion that determined the political division of post-war Cameroon. The French occupied much of the south and heartland regions of the territory, and the British remained in fringe areas near Nigeria. *See also* DOBELL, CHARLES M.

WORLD WAR II (CAMEROON PARTICIPATION). Nazi **Germany's** swift overrunning of **France** and the imposition of the puppet Vichy regime had significant implications for **French Cameroun**. The recovery of France needed both the cooperation of allies and the participation of the colonies. From London, General Charles de Gaulle made a passionate broadcast to the French empire to “win the war after losing the battle.” General **Philippe Leclerc** was to accomplish this in French Africa. He landed in **Douala** on 27 August 1940, and stripped civilian and military powers from Governor Richard Brunof, who was more sympathetic to the Vichy regime. Leclerc also commanded an attack to cut off **Gabon** from its Vichy attachment and lobbied for **Chad's** return to Charles de Gaulle's “Free French Africa.” The landing of de Gaulle in Douala in 1944 en route to Brazzaville was a great boost to African troops. Thousands of Cameroonians enlisted under Leclerc in military campaigns to fight in North Africa, France, and Germany.

In **British Cameroons**, enlistment was done through the services of the **residents** in the **provinces**. Cameroonians were integrated into the **Nigerian** forces and had experience in East Africa, the Middle

East, India, and Burma. Wartime participation widened the horizons of many and accelerated the growth of nationalism. A cemetery in the **Botanical Gardens** memorializes **anglophones** killed in the war.

WOURI RIVER. This river is formed by the joining of the Ykam and Makombé Rivers near Yabassi. It then flows to the Atlantic Ocean. **Douala** is located on the Wouri River some miles inland from the ocean. Containing many swamps and sandbars, expensive dredging is needed to maintain navigation. It had been named the Rio dos Camaroes (Rivers of Prawns) by the Portuguese in 1472. A bridge over the river connecting Bonaberi and Douala was completed by the French in 1955, thus connecting Douala by road and rail with much of its hinterland. Today, even with extensive reconstruction since 2004, the bridge is not adequate for the traffic involved. Until 1975 a toll was charged for the use of the bridge. *See also* LAKE CHAD; LOGONE AND CHARI RIVERS; MUNGO RIVER; NATIONAL PORTS AUTHORITY; SANAGA RIVER; SANGHA RIVER.

– Y –

YAKUM-NTAW, FOSI (1933–). Traditional **chief** or *fon* of Ndop since 1968, criminal lawyer, former **governor** of the **South West** and **North Regions**, Yakum-Ntaw was born on 12 October 1933, in Bambalang, Ndop, **North West Region**. He attended the government primary school there (1942–1949) before proceeding to the Cameroon Protestant College, **Bali** (1950–1954). He later pursued law at the University of London and Inns of Court (1965–1968) obtaining the bachelor of laws and barrister at law degrees. He joined the police department as head of the **Bamenda** service (1968–1969) and then as chief of criminal investigation in **Buea** (1969–1972). In 1972 he moved to **Yaoundé** as head of criminal investigation for the country and director of general administration for national security (1973–1974).

In the wake of the **destabilization plot** announced by Biya, Yakum-Ntaw was appointed **governor** of the North Region, a rather sensitive post during the **Ahidjo-Biya Rupture** in August 1983. Yakum-Ntaw was the first non-**Fulani** governor of the region. His

strong personality and long experience were vital in the situation of crisis and fear leading to the foiled **coup attempt of 6 April 1984**. He retired in 1994, but in May 2007 he was appointed to the new **National Anti-Corruption Commission**.

YANG, PHILEMON YUNJI (1947–). On 30 June 2009 Yang became **prime minister**, replacing **Ephraim Inoni**. Born 14 June 1947 in Jiketem-Oku, **North West Region**, he has held numerous government posts including a period as minister of mines and energy (1979–1984) and a long term as ambassador to Canada (1984–2004). His position prior to appointment as prime minister was assistant secretary-general in the Presidency (2004–2009). *See also* SECRETARIAT GENERAL AT THE PRESIDENCY.

YAOUNDÉ. Yaoundé became the capital of **Cameroun** in 1922 and at independence continued as capital of the country as well as headquarters of the **Center Region**. It was founded in 1888 by the German explorer Georg August Zenker, who led a scientific exploration into the **Kamerun** interior following initial settlement on the coasts. Zenker lived in Yaoundé for almost three years without any direct contact with the indigenous people of the area. It was the German soldier and administrator Hans Dominik who encouraged the transformation of this hilly area. Yaoundé is in the **Ewondo** area, with subgroupings occupying the many hills of the town on which their villages are established: Mvog-Ada, Mvolye-Mvog, Beti, and Effoulan. In original indigenous parlance, Yaoundé is known as “Ngolla” reflecting the hilly nature of the city.

Administrative offices are the hallmark of the city, and this received a substantive boost in 1972 under the unitary structure that brought about increased bureaucratic centralization. Civil servants all over the country make long pilgrimages to the capital to follow up the progression of the documents in various ministries. The city is an important transportation hub and services a rich **agricultural** area. Some small **industries** have located here. Yaoundé’s importance is enhanced by the establishment of the Universities of Yaoundé, the **Catholic** University of Central Africa, and multiple professional institutions for medicine, diplomacy, journalism, **education**, and engineering, popularly known as the “*grandes écoles*.”

The **population** of the capital, estimated at about 1.4 million in 2008 (in 1987, 649,000 and in 1976, 314,000), has grown far beyond the narrow dimensions of an Ewondo settlement. The country's major **ethnic** and linguistic groupings have taken up residence: the **Fulani** in Briqueterie, the **Bamiléké** in the Mokolo area, as well as scattered pockets of **anglophones** who came in as civil servants. A large international community is present. Until the **economic crisis**, government and municipal authorities spared no efforts to give Yaoundé a look and character deserving of a national capital. Due to the crisis, by the mid-1990s, the city had a tired, rundown appearance. However, in recent years improvements have been made, restoring the city to an attractive appearance. *See also* FANG; HIGHER EDUCATION; RURAL EXODUS; URBANIZATION AND CITIES.

YAOUNDÉ AGREEMENTS. Various international agreements on association between the European Economic Community (EEC) and 18 newly independent countries of Africa were signed in the 1960s. The agreements were signed in the Cameroon capital of **Yaoundé** and comprised various articles on trade, preferential treatment, aid, and financial cooperation. The Yaoundé I Agreement was signed in 1963 and after prolonged negotiations renewed in 1969. In 1975, the Yaoundé Agreements were replaced by the **Lomé Agreements**, which were replaced in 2000 by the **Cotonou Agreement**.

YAOUNDÉ DECLARATION. *See* FORESTS AND FORESTRY.

YAOUNDÉ PLAN OF ACTION. *See* GHOST TOWN OPERATIONS.

YAYA, SARKIFADA MOUSSA. *See* MOUSSA YAYA, SARKIFADA.

YILLAGA'EN. One of the two largest clans of the **Fulani** in Cameroon, the Yillaga'en (pl., s. Yillaga) have a long-standing military tradition demonstrated by extensive conquests of neighboring groupings of north Cameroon and resistance to the central control of Yola. Their main rival for dominance in the north is the **Vollarbe**. Component subgroups of the Yillaga'en include the *lamidats* of **Rey**,

Mindif, Bibemi and Bindir, Mayo-Loué, Miskin, Gawar, Agorma, Woubawo, Lagdo, Bâmé, Gamsargou, Basséwo, Golombé, Basséwo, Dembo, and Bé.

– Z –

ZAMBO COMMISSION. This high-powered commission of government and party officials was entrusted with soliciting ideas and suggestions for the realization of President **Paul Biya's** projected **New Deal** society of **rigor and moralization**. The members were appointed by the **president** in 1983. A one-time adviser to Biya (and briefly a **cabinet** minister), Joseph Zambo, headed the commission. Zambo has held positions in various parastatals and in 2008 was chairman of the board of directors of the National Civil Engineering Equipment Pool (MATGENIE).

ZANG NGUELE, ROSE (née ABADA ASAMBA ROSE) (1947–). Cameroon's minister of social affairs from 1984 to 1988 was born in **Yaoundé** on 12 May 1947. She did primary **education** in Abong-Mbang and Lomie, in the **Eastern Region**, before returning to the capital for secondary education at *Collège de la Retraite* and *Lycée Leclerc* (1961–1968). She later enrolled in the University of Yaoundé, graduating with a *licence* and a *Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies* in modern languages in 1974. Between 1975 and 1982 she was employed as a teacher in secondary schools, and from 1982 to 1984 she worked as national inspector of education. In July 1984 she became minister of social affairs. Prior to and after entering the government, Zang Nguéle was active in party affairs. From 1976 to 1981, she was secretary of the **women's** wing of the **Cameroon National Union (CNU)** in Mfoundi Division and later president of the same section (1981–1985). From 1985 she was vice president of the National Bureau of the **Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)**. In March 1992, Zang Nguéle was elected to the **National Assembly**, where she served until March 1997. She remains active in Yaoundé party politics, holding various positions in the Mfoundi branch. Her position as first assistant of the Government Delegate to the Yaoundé Urban Council may not sound important, but she is

close enough to the center of power to be among the small group of officials to greet President **Paul Biya** upon his return from a visit to **France**.

ZERO OPTION. The various strands of **anglophone** political thought range from inclusion and cooperation with the existing governmental structures to separation and independence. There is equal variation in method and approach. Zero option is the term used by those who propose independence for the anglophone areas through armed struggle. *See also* ALL ANGLOPHONE CONFERENCES; ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM; CAMEROON ANGLOPHONE MOVEMENT; DE-CENTRALIZATION; SOUTHERN CAMEROONS NATIONAL COUNCIL.

ZIMMERER, EUGEN VON (1843–1918). The second **German governor** of **Kamerun** (1891–1895), he began a ruthless penetration into the interior and faced resistance from local populations including the **Bakweri**, **Bassa**, and **Bulu**. Many plantations were established under his tenure, and he laid down the principles guiding land policy despite heavy opposition from the indigenous population and the **Basel Mission**.

ZINTGRAFF, EUGENE (1858–1897). This German explorer played an important role in the exploration into the interior, especially during the governorships of **Julius von Soden** and **Eugen von Zimmerer**. He made a detailed study of his exploratory missions, which were generally considered too costly by the German administration. After explorations around the coast between the Cameroon River and the Rio del Rey, he traveled north into the **Tikar**, **Bamiléké**, **Bali**, and **Fulani** areas. He developed more amiable relations with his new hosts after each conquest. He died in December 1897 in the Canary Islands on his way home on sick leave.

ZOA, JEAN (1924–1998). A former archbishop of **Yaoundé**, Jean Zoa was a powerful political figure because of his religious following. He was born in Sa'a, **Center Region**, and educated by missionaries for much of his life, first at the parish school in Efofok, the *Petit Séminaire* at Akono, the *Grand Séminaire* at Mvolye, and the *Collège*

de Propaganda file, Rome. Ordained priest in 1950, he served in various posts as vicar in Ombessa until 1957, as parish priest in **Yaoundé** (1957–1958), and as director of operations for the Archdiocese of Yaoundé (1958–1961), until he was named archbishop of Yaoundé in 1961.

Beginning then, Zoa became an important figure in Cameroon politics, particularly under the reign of President **Ahmadou Ahidjo**, a **Muslim**. Despite the relative fairness of Ahidjo's stance, **Christians** looked on Zoa as a symbol of their religious dissatisfaction. He was implicated in some of the many conspiracies against the government. The state-church relationship suffered a severe strain in the heated 1970–1971 trial of opponents of government, including Bishop **Ndongmo**.

Under the presidency of **Paul Biya**, the archbishop was even more powerful. He was alleged to have initiated the drive to create a wedge between Ahidjo and his successor by calling ethnic meetings in his residence in the guise of Christian gatherings. Zoa's period of greatest celebrity was in 1986 during the long-awaited visit of Pope John Paul to Cameroon. By making the government incur heavy expenses for the visit, the **Catholic Church** sent a strong message. As leader of the biggest **religious** bloc in Cameroon under the presidency of Biya, a former Catholic seminarian, Jean Zoa's profile remained at the peak of glory until the time that a junior archbishop, **Christian Tumi**, was appointed Cameroon's first cardinal in May 1988. Zoa died on 20 March 1998 in Yaoundé.

ZONE DE PACIFICATION (ZOPAC). This was a critical zone of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (**UPC**) insurgency between **Douala** and **Yaoundé**. The **André Mbida** government utilized a strategy of **population** resettlement in order to isolate the UPC from the shelter provided by the local masses. The resettled population received weapons and various signals to inform government troops of insurgent activity. The ZOPAC operation began in 1957 and was commanded by a French colonel, Jean Lambertson. By 1958, the strategy forced hundreds of UPC guerrilla fighters to take refuge in the **forests** and begin the *maquis*. The ZOPAC strategy was operated in the **Edéa** area of the Sanaga-Maritime Division, **Littoral Region**, and later in the **Bamiléké** countryside.

ZONES D'ACTION PRIORITAIRES INTEGREES (ZAPI). This regional integrated rural development project of seven selected areas of the **East, South, and Center Regions** was implemented in 1967, under nongovernmental independent companies charged with boosting farmer organizations and providing extension and credit and opportunities for social development. The various ZAPI projects included approximately 175,000 people and were financed by the *Fonds d'Aide de Coopération* and the Cameroon government.

Integrated rural development was a fad of the late 1960s aimed at providing a wide variety of economic and social amenities to a population to increase **agricultural** production and slow the movement of rural dwellers to urban areas. ZAPI were liquidated as part of economic reforms in the 1990s. *See also* RURAL EXODUS.

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INTRODUCTION

The number of publications about Cameroon continues to increase, but with the development of the Internet, searching for and actually finding these materials has become much easier. An online site that is very helpful is African Studies Abstracts from the University of Leiden (www.ascleiden.nl/Library/Abstracts/Asa-online/). Readers may also use the annual *Africa Bibliography* published by the International African Institute under the direction of Terry A. Barringer. Although the latter is not available free online, it may be available online via some of the libraries that subscribe to it. Various libraries and organizations maintain up-to-date bibliographies of Cameroon online. For examples, see www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/camer.html and <http://vlib.iue.it/history/africa/cameroon.html>. Specific to Cameroon is <http://condor.depaul.edu/~mdelance/CamerounBibliography.html>. The Africana Periodical Literature Bibliographic Database at www.africabib.org/ is especially useful. These sites contain a variety of information and links as well as listing recent publications. The African Books Collective (www.africanbookscollective.com/) is the best source for items published in Cameroon. Older materials are well covered in the standard Mark and Virginia DeLancey, *A Bibliography of Cameroon*. For German-language publications, see Max F. Dippold, *Une bibliographie du Cameroun*. Previous editions of the *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon* also contain many references not included here. Journal articles can often be found through a search on the Internet using the title of the article.

Regular coverage of events in Cameroon is now much easier to locate. Several Cameroon newspapers are listed below with their websites in the section "Media and Publishing." Also, several websites bring together Cameroon news from many sources. One of the best is <http://allafrica.com/>, which reprints

materials in French and English from several Cameroon newspapers daily. Other useful sites include www.cameroononline.org/index.php?newlang=eng, www.camerounlink.net, and <http://crtv.cm> (the site for Cameroon Radio and TV). Annual surveys of political and economic events are available in *Africa Contemporary Record* (New York: Africana, biannual) and *Africa South of the Sahara* (London: Europa, annual). The monthly editions of *Africa Research Bulletin* are good news sources. This comes in two editions, one for economic matters and one for political and social affairs.

The classic work on Cameroon history is Englebort Mveng, *Histoire du Cameroun*. An interesting perspective is presented in Alain Marliac, *De l'archéologie à l'histoire: La fabrication d'histoires en Afrique subsaharienne et au-delà*. Important general works on the precolonial era are rare, but Adamawa is well covered in Martin Njeuma, *Fulani Hegemony in Yola*, and the numerous works of Eldridge Mohammadou based on intensive study of oral history.

German rule is analyzed in Karen Hausen, *Deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Afrika*, the various volumes by Helmuth Stoecker, and the more recent Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt, eds., *Die (koloniale) Begegnung: Afrikanerinnen in Deutschland (1880–1945): Deutsche in Afrika (1880–1918)*. The classic work in English is Harry Rudin, *Germans in the Cameroons*. Official versions of French rule include Pierre Chauleur, *L'oeuvre de la France au Cameroun*. A very different view is expressed in Dieudonné Oyono, *Colonie ou mandat? La politique française au Cameroun de 1919 à 1946*. William B. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, and Robert Delavignette, *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*, present analysis of and a theory for French administration. More critical of that administration are the excellent works by Richard Joseph, *Radical Nationalism in Cameroun*, and J. Achille Mbembe, *Ruben Um Nyobe*, which analyze the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC). Marthe Mounié, *Victime du colonialisme française: Mon mari Felix Mounié*, offers a very personal study by the wife of one of the UPC's leaders.

British rule is less thoroughly studied, although P. M. Kale's *Political Evolution in the Cameroons* and Alexandre Marc, *La politique économique de l'état britannique dans la région du Sud-Cameroun, 1920–1960*, are important contributions. The volume by Victor Ngoh, *Cameroon, 1884–1985*, provides valuable information, particularly on the British sector, but is worthwhile for both sectors. Martin Njeuma, *Introduction to the History of Cameroon in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, brings together good material from several sources. The annual reports to the League of Nations and the United Nations produced by the French and the British are important, although biased, sources on this period. Victor Levine, *The Cameroon from Mandate to Independence*, is an excellent overall view of the political history of the period from 1916 to 1961. A Cameroon perspective is available in Ngoh, *Southern Cameroons*,

1922–1961: *A Constitutional History*. Some insight on the effects of colonial rule on the status of women is provided in Melinda Adams, “Colonial Policies and Women’s Participation in Public Life: The Case of British Southern Cameroons.”

Analysis of more recent political events is found in the various works of Jean-François Bayart, Nantang Jua, Piet Konings, Milton Krieger, Joseph Takougang, and Emmanuel Vubo. Krieger and Takougang, *African State and Society in the 1990s*, is an excellent study of the politics of the late 1980s and 1990s. The political crisis of these decades, democratization, and the move to a multiparty state are well covered. Krieger’s recent book on the Social Democratic Front, the major opposition party, has received excellent reviews. Mongo Beti, *Main basse sur le Cameroun*, is a stinging attack on the Ahidjo administration. On the Biya years see Michel-Roger Emvana, *Paul Biya: Les secrets du pouvoir*, and B. P. Kamé, *Cameroun: Les crises majeures de la présidence Paul Biya*. Government websites such as www.prc.cm/ (the president) and www.spm.gov.cm (prime minister and parliament) also contain news, announcements, and some history.

There is no up-to-date survey of the Cameroon economy; in-depth analysis of the economy is available only in articles concerned with specific aspects of the economic system. Agriculture has received much attention, although more recent studies focus on women in the economy, poverty and the millennium development goals (MDG), microfinance, and rural/community development. The World Bank, “Cameroon: Country Brief” and “Cameroon Country Data Profile,” available online, are good sources of current economic data. Trade data can be found at International Trade Center at www.intracen.org/menus/countries.htm. Florence Charlier and Charles N’chooguie, *Sustaining Reforms for Inclusive Growth in Cameroon: A Development Policy Review*, a World Bank publication, presents a positive but also realistic view. Also refer to Aloysius Amin, ed., *Developing a Sustainable Economy in Cameroon*. A shortage of energy, hydroelectric and other, is a major hindrance to development. See Y. D. Wandji, *Le Cameroun et la question énergétique: Analyse, bilan et perspectives*. Although minerals, such as petroleum, bauxite, iron, and several others, should be the foundation for substantial growth, they have so far failed to live up to the promise. See Isaac Tamba, Jean-Claude Tchatchouang, and Raymond Dou’a, eds., *L’Afrique Centrale, le paradoxe de la richesse: Industries extractives, gouvernance et développement social dans les pays de la CEMAC*.

Cameroon contains numerous and quite varied ethnic groups. No single source provides description or analysis of these many societies. Many groups have not appeared in published works, and those that have been frequently reported on are not necessarily the largest or most significant politically, eco-

nomically, or in other respects. In the available literature there are several excellent studies by both Cameroonian and foreign scholars. These are organized by geographic area in the bibliography, but this does not signify that the groups described in any section are necessarily similar or “related” to each other. A recently republished work of outstanding value is *Women in the Grassfields* by Phyllis Kaberry. Sultan Njoya, *Histoire et coutumes des Bamum*, is one of the earliest studies of Cameroon society written by a Cameroonian. The Center for African Area Studies at Kyoto University has published numerous studies relevant to Cameroon. Much of the work is on the Baka. See Mitsuo Ichikawa and Hirokazu Yasuoka, eds., *Ecology and Change of the Hunter-Gatherer Societies in the Western Congo Basin*, as an example. Several ethnic groups now have websites, such as www.mandaras.info/, a site produced by scholars and devoted to the peoples and cultures of the Mandara Mountains. Other sites are produced by members of the ethnic group, such as this on the Bamoun kingdom: www.royaumbamoun.com/. These sites often contain news as well as history, culture, folklore, and other relevant materials. Usually, many photographs are included.

Studies of religion in Cameroon relate mainly to Christianity, although more works on Islam have appeared recently. For example, see Hamadou Adama, *L’islam au Cameroun: Entre tradition et modernité*. Louis Ngongo’s *Histoire des forces religieuses au Cameroun* presents detailed analysis of the Christian missions and churches. Newer publications are also important. See Jean Paul Messina and Jaap van Slageren, *Histoire du christianisme au Cameroun: Des origines à nos jours: Approche œcuménique*, and Roger Etaba, *Histoire de l’église catholique du Cameroun de Grégoire XVI à Jean-Paul II: 1831–1991*. Analysis of Cameroon religions is found in many of the anthropological works. Bitoto Abeng, *Afrikanische Mythen, Riten und Lebensformen in der Begegnung mit Islam, Christentum und Moderne: Das Beispiel Kamerun*, presents a valuable overview of Cameroon religious traditions. Nwel R Titi, *Thong Likeng*, examines the Nyambe-Bantu religion, an example of a Cameroon syncretic movement, and its founder.

The work of Phyllis Kaberry was a pioneer study of women in Cameroon. In recent years much research has been undertaken, and many publications on women in Cameroon have appeared. Women’s studies programs such as that at the University of Buea have been influential in this respect. Recent studies include Miriam Goheen, *Men Own the Fields, Women Own the Crops: Gender and Power in the Cameroon Grassfields*; Penda Mbow, *Hommes et femmes entre sphères publique et privée* [Men and Women between the Public and Private Spheres]; Rebecca Mbuh, “African Women’s Quest for Equality: The Case of Cameroon”; and Pamela Feldman-Savelsberg, *Plundered Kitchens, Empty Wombs: Threatened Reproduction and Identity in the Cameroon Grassfields*.

The African Women Bibliographic Database at www.africabib.org is an excellent resource for those wishing to do further research. In the bibliography below, although there is a section on women, relevant materials are located in just about every section of the collection.

Although comprehensive studies of the arts in Cameroun are uncommon, several significant publications are available on selected aspects of the arts. Much of the publication on art consists of museum catalogs. However, the art of particular ethnic groups receives special attention, as in Claude Tardits, *L'histoire singulière de l'art Bamoum: Cameroun*. The most recent study of Cameroon music is William D. B. Moya, *L'envol de la musique africaine moderne: Kin-Brazza-Douala*. Still useful is the older Sean Barlow and Banning Eyre, *Afropop! An Illustrated Guide to Contemporary African Music*. Bikutsi music receives special attention at www.africasounds.com/history_of_bikutsi.htm.

A recent study of Cameroon literature is Pierre Fandio, *La littérature camerounaise dans le champ social: Grandeurs, misères et défis*. Richard Bjornson's *The African Quest for Identity and Freedom* is a very important study, worth reading by political scientists and historians as well as students of literature. Francis Bebey, Mongo Beti, and Ferdinand Oyono are well-known writers of Cameroon fiction, but more recently two women, Calixthe Beyala and Gnepo Nicole Werewere-Liking, have been most popular. Several studies of Cameroon film and films about Cameroon have been published. See, for example, Alexie Tcheuyap et al., *Cinema and Social Discourse in Cameroon*. Research on and collections of folklore, such as Makuchi, *The Sacred Door and Other Stories: Cameroon Folktales of the Beba*, have appeared recently. For a listing of earlier studies of folklore, refer to Mark W. and Virginia DeLancey's general bibliography. Hilarious Ambe, *Change Aesthetics in Anglophone Cameroon Drama and Theatre*, and Martin Banham, ed., *A History of Theatre in Africa*, are among several studies of drama published in the past few years.

GENERAL

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