

**T.C.**  
**ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY**  
**INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**INVESTIGATION ON CAUSES OF CIVIL WAR: CASE STUDY  
CAMEROON**

**THESIS**

**Awo EPEY P.**

**Department of Political Science and International Relations**

**Political Science and International Relations Program**

**Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Özüm Sezin UZUN**

**June, 2019**

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is specially dedicated to my lovely late mother Mami Dorothy Ngkanghe who had always wish to see me climb the academic ladder, and to my dear wife Violet Etona Rokende, my lovely kids Awo Dunia Rouge Nkanghe, Awo Mabel Rouge Oben, and my late junior brother Epey Cyprian Oben, for their constant moral supports.

## **FOREWORD**

Glory to God Almighty who has made this piece of work possible. Except the Lord builds for his people, the builder builds in vain.

My deepest appreciation goes to my Supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Özüm Sezin UZUN for her effort to the success of this work. “Thank you Doctor” is the supreme statement I can use to express my gratitude.

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**June, 2019**

**Awo EPEY P.**

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# **INVESTIGATION ON CAUSES OF CIVIL WAR: CASE STUDY CAMEROON**

## **ABSTRACT**

This work is an investigation on the causes of civil war precisely the November 2017 civil war in Cameroon.

Due to the ongoing nature of the Cameroon civil war, the method of collection of data had been through secondary literature put together with primary sources such as Observations, Internet, Newspapers, Interviews, Mainstream media, Magazines, Textbooks.

To what extent does the Grievance based-thesis explains the November 2017 civil war in Cameroon and also to what extent does the spatial dependence-based thesis explain the civil war of 2017 during the Biya's regime in Cameroon, are the two research questions to be answered by this dissertation.

Based on the thesis finding from available material sources, it is concluded that, the civil war of November 2017 in Cameroon is grievance induced.

## **SORUŐTURMA İÇ SAVAŐI NEDENLERİ ÜZERİNDE: VAKA ÇALIŐMASI KAMERUN**

### **ÖZET**

Bu çalıőma, iç savaőların, özellikle de Kamerun'daki Kasım 2017'de yaőanan iç savaőın gerekçelerine dair bir incelemedir.

Kamerun iç savaőının halen devam etmekte olmasından ötürü veri toplama yöntemi gazete haberleri, röportajlar, ana akım medya, İnternet, dergiler, kitaplar ve gözlemler gibi birincil kaynaklar ile ikincil literatürün bir araya getirilmesi şeklinde olmuőtur.

Bu tezin yanıtlamaya çalıőtığı iki araştırma sorusu, hoşnutsuzluk temelli tezin Kasım 2017'deki Kamerun iç savaőını ne denli açıklayabildiğı ve mekânsal bağımlılık temelli tezin Kamerun'daki Biya rejimi esnasında yaőanan 2017 iç savaőını ne denli açıklayabildiğidir.

Konuyla ilgili erişilebilen çok sayıda maddi kaynaktan elde edilen bulgular temelinde, Kamerun'daki Kasım 2017 iç savaőının hoşnutsuzluk kaynaklı olduğı sonucuna varılmaktadır.



## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Cameroon is a central African state situated on the Gulf of Guinea harboring different landscapes, varying wildlife, with a rich historical background. Cameroon's geopolitical location has secured the country a membership to the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa with a French acronym CEMAC. The political entity hosts the head quarter of the Bank of Central African States also known in French as BEAC, in Yaounde the capital of Cameroon. Due to the appearance of the qualities or aspects of all other African states in Cameroon, the country is fondly referred to as Africa in miniature. This country has played and is still playing a vital role in international affairs coupled with her great influence in the political lives of other countries in the region. The Republic of Cameroon brings together two equal and separate independent countries. The first is the British Southern Cameroon a former British colonial territory with the headquarters in Buea, having English as the main language of communication. The second is the Republic of Cameroun with its French Appellation La Republic du Cameroun or French Cameroun, having head quarter in Yaounde and French is the main language of communication.

The French Cameroun entity gained her independence from France on January first 1960. The country is termed French Cameroun due to her inseparable attachment to her colonial master France.

Whereas the British Southern Cameroon achieved independence on October first 1961 through the February eleventh Plebiscite organized by the United Nations Organization. The exercise presented just two options; by joining the already independent federal Republic of Nigeria or by joining the already independent Republic of Cameroun, to achieve her independence. Left with no third option of complete self-government, the British Southern Cameroon voted 60% against 40% in favor of joining the already independent Republic of Cameroun or French Cameroun.

Today the Cameroon territory experiencing a tremendous security problem, tearing apart by an ongoing civil war activity with no near evidence of an immediate remedy

to this lives taking activity within the country's territory. The country's unfortunate situation now is one of the most recent armed conflict in Africa and the worst condition the political entity has ever thrown herself into since the merging of both independent comrades or states. From the era of separate independence, January 1960 and October 1961 federal government dispensation through the referendum of 1972 changing the federal system to a unitary state system till November 2017 war time, the "political twins" have witnessed a series of problems ranging from morality crisis, social differences, regional uprisings, economic as well as political oppression to contend with in a unified government. When much attention not given to understand the state of the crisis on ground, a passer-by or unformed individuals would be fast to conclude that it is a scramble between Anglophone and Francophone giving way to a bloody fight. When premature generalizations are kept aside, this dissertation argues that, there are a whole lot of accumulated unsolved circumstances or hidden differences lingering the minds of the population, which have seen the opportunity to outburst as a violent armed conflict, hence language is not the problem that threw this beautiful nation into the bloody fight.

This thesis focuses on political, economic, cultural and social events that have taken place from the early quota of President Ahmadou Ahidjo's regime of 1961 to the time of the civil war proper in November 2017 during President Biya's regime. Keen attention should be taken here, though natural resources are unevenly distributed in the country's regions, 60% of the country's income or revenue is from the exploitation of natural resources in the British Southern Cameroon origin yet economic and infrastructural development remains a strong political decision with one party claiming to be highly disfavored against the other. Territorial development, redistribution of wealth, social amenities ,securing top administrative offices, gaining entrances to the top academic institutions like National School of Administration and Magistracy ENAM, International Relations Institute of Cameroon IRIC, École militaire interarmes EMIA, Centre de Formation pour Administration Municipale CEFAM has been purly political due to the highly centralized Yaounde administration. This and many more others shows traces of marginalization threats that might have contributed to the armed conflict the civilized country is facing today in the twenty-first century's contemporary politics. The long term political supression, malleable poltical protests witnessed in the two anglophone towns of Bamenda North west region and Buea South West region in

October 2016 were just other symptoms added to an already cronic disease embodied in Cameroon politics. A situation to also notice is the fact that, during the war time, social groups, cultural groups, regional groups relations with each other were not hampered and were under no pressure, but focus layed particularly to the autocratic centralised and corrupt government system of Yaounde. The combat was purely agaisnt the Yaounde authority and any Yaounde loyalist officials co-habiting the British Southern Cameroon's territory at the moment of the civil war process , making it clear that anglophone and framcophone did not have a fight against each other in the said period. Though the political aspirations of the francophones and anglophones may differ since 1972 unitary state and the right of belonging to a political party of interest ,yet their relationship as brothers and sister remain positive, the bad government was a bad seed to be uprooted, as uttered by a revolutionalist of the english speaking origin. When Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo ,President of the federal republic of Cameroon instituted a one party system in the United Republic of Cameroon, it stired the political drive of the British Southern Cameroon's counterparts who have enjoyed militating in mult-party state system in their previous federal constituent of the British Southern Cameroon. Having much love for their previous political parties, with much brilliant opportunities promised to them by their party organisations, coming to militate in a single party system will reduce their chances of holding confortable positions in party house and government offices, will not be able to contribute ideas fervently making politics a sour soup to drink. This trends has also built a contribution to the worries of the Southern Cameroon elites.

Though the Cameroon National Union party (CNU) chairman and president of Cameroon Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo favored one party system, it was also used as an instrument to foster national unity in Cameroon, embracing secular government, aside all these multi-party political system was a popular demand for the people and would play and would render an important service in strengthening the Cameroon's political culture, competitive democracy and improve on political behavior as time permits.

The syndicate of teachers and lawyers of the British Southern Cameroons led a protest action in October 2016 in the township of Buea, appealing for the government to revise the laws guiding the English speaking educational system and administration, the lawyers requesting the government to give solutions or reforms to the English Common Law system which the Southern Cameroon's Lawyers believes is being

eroded, a return to the federal state system. This call to the government through a peaceful protest was neglected, poorly managed, military brutality introduced and this also recorded red hot frustrations in the minds of the British Southern Cameroon counterpart, adding to the already mind full époque political disfavor of this part of the country.

For several decades Cameroon has been addressed as a peaceful nation by many part of the world. This conclusion has been made due to the absence of war in the territory relative to the other countries in the geopolitical region. The November 2017 violent conflict has cancelled these speculations in the thoughts of those who looked up to Cameroon as a peaceful country in Africa as a whole and the Central African Region in particular.

At this moment of the bloody manslaughter, a lot of question will ponder the mind of interested scholars and friends as well as enemies of Cameroon; what could have promoted the October 2016 protest by lawyers and teachers in Buea, why did this protest persist, why did the protest proliferated into civil unrest, what eroded the said peace in Cameroon that plunged the country into the civil war situation.

Some media houses like CNN, BBC, Aljazera as well as Non-Governmental organizations have given reports or analyzed the civil war situation in Cameroon. These reports do not have the strength to explain the civil war onset as they lack a proper insight of Cameroon politics and the activities that has transpired in the territory since the coming together of both countries in 1961 till this time of civil war in 2017.

The aim of this thesis would be to link historical dynamics to contemporary Cameroon politics so as to give a better understanding of the armed conflict outburst disrupting the peace of the territory.

In almost four decades President Paul Biya has championed the construction and reconstruction program of the Cameroon territory and economy. The constitutional provisions permitted Mr Biya to take the presidential seat on November 6<sup>th</sup> 1982 from his predecessor Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo. Both leaders of the French Cameroon origin have made voluminous contributions in the transition of the country since 1961 till 2017 nasty event.

Though classified as a false union today, as far back as 1971 President Ahmadou Ahidjo initiated a dialogue between the British Southern Cameroon and the French

Cameroun. This meeting was to discuss on the various ways for both independent countries to come and live together as one people with a common aspiration. This meeting on its final day noted the conditions of both countries to live as one and promises made to keep this pronouncement which will necessitate their living together as a people.

As early as November 1984, Mr Paul Biya the new president of Cameroon changed the country's name from United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroun. This situation was strange to the British Southern Cameroon political elites, as the federal constitution was frequently tempered on without the consent of the Southern Cameroun federal party. This was quickly criticized as a move to annexation or re-colonization of a fellow brotherly country. In another big move, President Paul Biya wiped out the post of the Prime Minister from the government administrative ranks. The same post that gave him the opportunity to become a president under constitutional demands. That post of Prime Minister was a very strong instrument of negotiation in the coming together of both independent countries to the unitary state system. It stipulated that, when the President of the Republic comes from French Cameroun, then Vice President will automatically come from the British Southern Cameroon and vice versa. The standing frustration here is that, now that the post has been abolished, do the British Southern Cameroon political elite still stand a chance to enjoy top ranking administrative position in the highly centralized government?

After ceding power to his constitutional successor, Ex-President Ahmadou Ahidjo still at the political ranks as the chairman of Cameroon National Union the lone political party in the country. Political hierarchy was contested between the new president Mr Paul Biya and the Chairman of the single party Mr Ahidjo on who to be welcomed as the political icon on public events or outings. Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo was accused of a military coup against the Biya government, he was sent to exile until death met with him. On several administrative counseling, Mr Biya quickly changed the name of the lone party from Cameroon National Union to Cameroon People's Democratic Party (CPDM) where he was designated as the chairman of the new lone party and he accumulated this function with the post of the President of the United Republic of Cameroon.

In his new position as party chairman and President, Mr Biya organized the first Presidential elections in October 1992. Though the election result was highly protested

and so many accusing fingers on the organizing commission for fraudulent practices in the said elections, Mr Biya emerge the victor of the said elections. President Biya won with 39 % against 36 % the main opposition party which could be seen as a narrow margin victory against the giant opposition party Social Democratic Front (SDF) of Mr Ni John Fru Ndi with 36% votes.

Former minister of communication and spokesman of the Cameroon government, Mr Issa Tchiroma Bakary in an interview let the public to know that, the opposition party SDF of Mr John Fru Ndi won the October 1992 presidential elections against the CPDM party of the incumbent President Paul Biya. According to the spokesman of the government, the victory was swindled from the opposition John Fru Ndi due to circumstances which could have led to a civil war. He continued by saying the civil war was saved by giving the victory to the party in power of the time. This testimony left the fellow British Southern Cameroon elites and intellectuals, doubting if this could be a political deceit and others asked similar questions whether the post of the prime minister and the president was truly too prestigious for the Southern Cameroon politicians. This situation has also increased the long time frustration of the people of the English speaking regions. Later in June 27<sup>th</sup> 2004 the spokesman of the government, Minister Issa Tchiroma Bakary in an interview with Document Radio Magic FM Yaounde made a statement that His Excellency Paul Biya has taken hostage of Cameroon's future, that the president works not for the interest of Cameroonian population but for private interest. He continued to reveal that, president Biya inherited a well-functioning economy from Ahidjo but has rendered it so miserable. In the same interview, the minister advise that the constitution of Cameroon should be changed completely because all the laws are tailored to suit the whims and caprices of President Biya. In a tricky manner to hold on to presidential seat, the Biya's government have persistently adjusted the presidential tenure from four year term later to five years, next to seven years and in 2008 the national assembly voted a law to completely abolish the presidential term limit. This political malice did not go unperturbed, the numerous opposition parties in the country stood against this decision, the main opposition party also termed the giant Anglophone party of Ni John Fru Ndi organized a peaceful protest and stormed the streets to show their disapproval to the decision of the national assembly. Though some few individuals from the British Southern Cameroon origins can be counted among the Yaounde government officials of both

Ahidjo and Paul Biya, ninety percent of the government bureaucracy is constituted by the individuals of the French Cameroon origins.

The country territory is blessed with huge water bodies which could serve a good purpose to the economic advancement of the nation if balance politics was to be set on the table and the general interest of all Cameroonian population was to be considered. The deep seaport project of Limbe was rejected in favor of the Douala sea port construction. Though the limbe water body has a natural and deep basin that could give a less expensive and best seaport to the country, Douala estuary that is more expensive in budget demand was the government's best choice for construction. Limbe is a town in the south west region of British Southern Cameroon while Douala is a town in the Littoral region of the French Cameroon territory

In November 2017, the state of Cameroon witnessed a bloody armed conflict that has recorded more than two thousand battled-death on both the separatist fighters and the government soldiers.

According to Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler a civil war is an internal armed conflict between identified groups with minimum one thousand related battled-death per year (Collier and Hoeffler 2004:565). There exist differences between international wars, civil wars, massacres, genocide. For this violent conflict to be termed a civil war, there must be an identified group that confronts the government military, both the separatist rebels and the government should sustain at least five percent of the battled death, capturing of territories within the territorial confines by the secessionist should be witnessed.

Decree N° 2018/719 of November 30<sup>th</sup> issued by His Excellency President Paul Biya came out at this point in time to establish a Commission for National Disarmament, Reintegration and Demobilization committees to handle the deteriorating situation of ground during this war era. The said established committee was responsible in organizing, managing, monitoring and muster out the separatist fighters as a move to bring the dreaded armed conflict to a permanent although did not use the right procedure or channels, the head of state President Biya had earlier called for peace loving Cameroonian secessionists to drop weapons and become re-integrated into the Cameroonian system. Some classified the move of president Biya to be very immature, others said the intentions of dropping down weapons was suspicious and could be at

detriment of the separatist combatants. The passing out of a presidential decree by the government to lure fighters to drop down weapon is a clear evidence that the Cameroon government recognizes an ongoing civil war occasion in the national territory. The seat of this ongoing armed conflict has been all parts in the North west region and South west region of the British Southern Cameroon territory.

In April 2019 at the Universal Peace Summit in Korea, former head of states met to have peace talks that the world needs. In this summit the ex-President of Ghana His Excellency Jerry John Rawlings presented the under reported civil war situation of Cameroon, to bring awareness to the world of the hidden manslaughter ongoing in this part of the Africa that the international community is giving deaf ears to.

The Human Rights Watch, International Crisis Group, African Commission of Human and People's Rights, African Union, European Union, the United States of America, are all non-governmental organizations, Regional Organizations and independent state whom have issued relevant reports regarding the deepening armed conflict in Cameroon. The Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa is a Cameroon based human rights group headed by its founder Mr. Felix Nkongho Agbor Balla with headquarters in Buea. On 28<sup>th</sup> September 2018 this human rights group did not sit quiet amidst the ongoing armed crisis in the territory, Barrister Felix Agbor Balla made an oral presentation in this thirty-ninth session of the United Nations Human Rights Council being the universal periodic report on human rights violation incidents. Cameroon was his focal point and he did not miss to reveal the human rights violation carried out in the country's territory by both the separatist movement and the Cameroon military.

### **1.1 Purpose of Thesis.**

This thesis focuses on the understanding and bringing to light the root causes of the Cameroon civil war that has destroyed the peace in the territory since November 2017. There exist internal as well as external forces that have contributed to the outbreak of this unwanted lives claiming rebellion act.



## **1.2 Research Question and Hypothesis**

- To what extent does the grievance based concept explain the Cameroon civil war of November 2017.
- To what extent does the Spatial dependence concept explain the Cameroon civil war of November 2017
- Without grievances of the British Southern Cameroon population there would be no November 2017 civil war in Cameroon.
- Spatial dependence was a risk tool to the Cameroon November 2017 civil war

The first two statements are the research questions to be answered by this thesis investigation, whereas the last two are the hypothesis to be tested

## **1.3 Methodology and Data Sources**

Since the civil war in Cameroon is ongoing, conflict scholars have met a pretty difficult task to exploit accredited material sources as well as appropriate scientific research methods. With the challenging situation this thesis decided to introduce the qualitative research method and rely on secondary literature and primary discussion put together such as Observations, Textbooks, Magazines, Newspapers, Internet, Mainstream media.

This dissertation is guided closely through the thorough observation and understanding secondary literature about Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya's regimes. More importantly the events during the one party system, illegal manipulation of the federal constitution and constant suspending the post of the prime minister, not forgetting the rapid changing of names of the unified country. The primary sources of data collection on this work would include the speech of President Biya in Buea during the 50th anniversary of the national day in Cameroon. On this occasion in his opening speech, Mr Biya reminded Cameroonians that, "history will not forget that Buea was the capital of Southern Cameroons, history will not forget that Buea was the capital of west Cameroon.

Another primary source of data is the studio interviews with the minister of Communication Mr Issa Tchiroma Bakary.

Other sources of primary data will include short videos of both government military and separatist fighters who come out once in a while to air-out or brief onlookers the reason they have decided to take up arms against the government. The works of activists on social media platforms has also contributed some flesh to the data collection exercise. The literatures sourcing whether primary or secondary has been a difficult task to be reached at this present point in time. This dissertation took the path way of interpretation and a fixed interval of observation will consider materials from 1961 till 2017 moment of the armed conflict outbreak. For the uprising, the starting point will be the eleventh of October 2016 when lawyers and teachers went out on strike action, the lawyers demanding the government to make an English version of state laws, complained of the common law system being eroded, disapproval of French speaking judges in Common Law Courts. Teachers too showed discontent on the appointment into Anglophone schools teachers of french speaking background who cannot mentor in accepted English standards, the attempt to dissolve the English educational system in primary, secondary and universities. End of observations in this thesis will be October first 2017, the day the people of British Southern Cameroons came out amass in both national territory and in diaspora and declared their independence after fifty-seven years of marginalization in a failed union of the Ahidjo and Biya's regime.

This declaration of independence attracted a brutal crackdown on the people of British Southern Cameroon by the occupying forces of the Cameroon military. This action of the government military forces led to the death of over two hundred and fifty unarmed civilians in both English speaking regions of the country. Before the declaration of the people's independence on October 2017, there was an outing on the 22nd September 2017 that mobilized British Southern Cameroonians living within national territory and abroad. This mass peaceful protest witnessed about 5 million protesters in the streets with peace plants, chanting songs of freedom and moving towards the head offices of government administrative heads to remind them of their plight for peace and freedom. The aggrieved Anglophone minority took to the streets with information boards, whistles, white and blue flags and enchanting the name "Ambazonia", the name of the country they will be living in when they succeed to separate from the sour union with the Republic of Cameroon. The October 2017 day of independence has been chosen the end point because after the arbitrary arrest of the British Southern

Cameroon's leaders then came the indiscriminate shooting of the unarmed peaceful protesters to a record of two hundred fifty deaths using helicopter gunships and closed range firearms.

#### **1.4 Thesis Outline.**

In chapter one this thesis will give briefing on the background of civil war and later citing the case study of Cameroon. Also this chapter will project a vivid summary of the events in Cameroon from time of protest in October 2016 till time of war November 2017.

This chapter will also numerate actors that have recognized the ongoing civil war in Cameroon.

Chapter two will be making reviews of some literatures of civil war onsets and their relation with the case study of Cameroon.

Chapter three will focus to elaborate the Mechanism, context as employed in the thesis, the time and duration of civil war.

Chapter four will link the economic, social and political transition of Cameroon from 1961 till 2017 war time.

The final part of this dissertation will be to draw a conclusion side by side the hypothesis instrument of judgment.

Attached to this final part will be the bibliography or references made in relation to the work.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

Natural resources availability in a national territory is a strong instrument of provoking rebellion outbreak. The author of econometric variant of civil war onset Collier and Hoeffler argues that, observation of civil war activity has been categorized in two dimensions namely; one part will take a keen look on the motivation that mobilizes the rebellion group, and the other part that will concentrate on the fund raising of the insurgency activity.

According to this observation the most probable way of acquiring finances for rebellion sponsor is through natural resources that easily can be put on sales. This explains that when rebels can extract and make sales of these materials or they take forcefully from those who have them by way of looting, then a rebel action can easily be sponsored.

Keen's contribution to this explains thus; in the time of cold war rebel groups obtained sponsor from their super power master, but now rebel groups can have direct sponsor through looting or from marketable natural resources.

According to Collier and Hoeffler natural resource material provides rebel groups with an extraordinary sponsor chances due to the fact these natural resources are immovable in their location of deposit and can easily be exchanged for money so doing assuring rebellion a constant source of revenue for their activities. This also enter the understanding that it will not serve long term if the rebel group decides to loot from a manufacturing industry as this industry can easily close down or be transferred to another safer location far away from war. But when funds are looted from natural resource firms, they cannot relocate because of the immovable nature, so this builds a constant funding instrument to the rebel organization. By virtue of this explanation, countries that are heavily bestowed with natural resource materials stand a risk to civil war onset.

Collier and Hoeffler maintains that, rebels do not advance a conflict in other to loot for personal benefits or private gains, but to them, rebels launch conflict attacks prior

to war to acquire funds necessary to sponsor their rebellion and hire more soldiers to fight. When well-funded, a rebel organization would be fully equipped for the confrontation with the government forces and be sure to register a victory but if not at least to prove their strength of contender hood side by side the states government.

Collier and Hoeffler did not accept that grievances through primary commodities of any sort can provoke the course of a civil war onset. Collier and Hoeffler have both put down a seminal literature in relation to greed or econometric mechanism to explain civil war causation. This work of Collier stood on concretized grounds that greed and not grievance is the sole reason for civil war onset. However, Collier had confined these investigations upon narrowly defined statistical measures; three indices which he found too tedious to evaluate. these includes making war weapons available and building a bureaucracy for corruption. He failed to see important elements like management mechanism for natural resources, the influence of charismatic leaders on guerrilla groups, governance. These points of inclusion seem to be a major flaw of Collier's great work.

If this thesis buys this argument of Collier then one could have observed in the case study of Cameroon, rebel organization generating funds prior the civil war through looting or extraction and sales of natural resources. Collier and Hoeffler have been too generalistic in the explanation of civil war onset determinants.

In another literature review Fearon and Laitin (2003) tried to elaborate on the connections between civil wars onset, ethnicity, and insurgency. Their influential article which found civil war onset as a result of poverty. According to this variant, poverty is considered as a low gross domestic product (GDP) which is heavily a characteristic of insurgency. Fearon and Laitin do not agree that ethnicity is a civil war risk but they support the explanation of civil war onset causation by Collier.

This dissertation highly deviates from the concept of civil war onset explanation by Fearon and Laitin, and focuses on how domestic and international context; grievances and spatial dependence respectively, have contributed to the civil war onset in the Cameroon civil war case study.

Geographers have and are still contributing to the contemporary study of conflict onset. O'Loughlin and Anselin (1991:31) in the early 1990s determined to bring back geography to the study of international relations. In this model a state's war could be

explained in relation to spatial or neighboring effect, domestic elements, regional effect or spatial heterogeneity. In this light, civil war onsets will be explained in relations to domestic, international and inter-regional factors.

The explanation for this dissertation to import the usage of countries and regions is that: Conflict does not occur in an empty space and there is more reason to account for surrounding context, also evidence from the diffusion of international conflict have insisted on the role played by bordering countries and regions. Ultimately violent conflict onset is manifested by a joint force of domestic context and domestic institutions.

Moreover, this dissertation has a stand point that the contribution of domestic structures such as gross domestic product, government institution, ethnic divide, and domestic context such as resources, terrain, population growth are made worst by weak state's institutions. The inability of an independent state to make policies and provide solutions to her pressing problems builds a form of weakness to these states and prones them to internal instability likewise vulnerable to violent conflict risk. The territorial closeness of states with internal or political instability and the evidence of conflict common to these group of border countries has not just been a mere accusation but just another variant of conflict outbreak likelihood. Countries with firmed international stability stands a civil war risk when their neighboring countries experience domestic instability. This is in relation with the understanding that, countries with internal instability stirs up domestic stability of their weak border countries. When the borders of neighboring countries are porous or weak it gives high chances for rebel movement in and out of the border lines. Weak states are unable to prevent the course of rebellion influx through their borders and also they are not able to manage conflict outside their border confines. This paragraph is designed to explain the domestic, international and inter-regional structures and context which jointly cause civil war risk, duration and clusters.

A review of economic, social and political literatures constitutes and over view of domestic determinant of civil war onset. A discussion of weak state and the definition of weak states, how neighboring states worsen state weakness and failure, also a regional discussion is included to understand the scope of regions and how those structures influence conflict.

## **2.1 Domestic Causation**

Geographic factors can be the missing link to understanding the inclination of countries to devolve into conflict when states with the same circumstances are conflict free. This dissertation speaks to this tradition within the civil war literature. The work of physical geography primarily includes natural resource wealth analysis and terrain. Meanwhile other scholars of conflict like Fearon and Laitin supports the influence of terrain in conflict outbreak. This dissertation does not hold hand with this argument as it is not fit to explain the Cameroon civil war situation. Human geography pay attention to the human mosaic inhabiting a country essentially its population and ethnic distribution. Collier and Hoeffler (2001) made a remark on population distribution influences conflict onset. Although some exceptions are made, work on civil war determinants is not typically presented as if it were a cause of conflict.

## **2.2 Economic**

According to Collier (1998:563), there is a war risk when agitators anticipates a bigger benefit when they get themselves involved in rebellion as compared to when they hold to their previous jobs of occupation. In other words, when rebellion pays more than what an armed fighter previously received in other jobs as income, the willingness to indulge in fighting is possible. Global conflict geography diffusion tries to bring a connection between the periphery and civil war onset. This new literature centers on how the domestic economy of a country favors civil war onset, also to note is the fact that the domestic economy of a state is determined by the interior as well as the exterior features. Osei-Kwame and Taylor (1984) focuses on the point that the weakness of bordering countries is as a result of their weak position in the international economic sphere, as evident in the world's system trade. In the initial stage a country works at best to bring together her existing regions for the benefit of those who champions the government of the state, but the geographical position of the state in the world's economy makes the good faith become a limiting factor.

A government's policy regarding on how to make contributions to world's economy in the domain of free trade, trade policies, is highly determined by the political and intellectual competition from the outside world. In other words, peripheral governments have little contribution powers to the world economy due to their

economic inabilities, what they base for, and their geographical location. More on this is the fact that the regional intellectual involvement commonly witnessed in post-colonial government or the adherence syndrome of some states to international agreements such as trade regulations, limits the peripheral government to know their position within the world's economy. Two central models have been brought to light to explain the relationship between economies and conflict onset. First is the modernization theory which sees civil war onset as a result of the world's economic growth, secondly poverty theory which also narrates civil war onset as a result negative economic performance or development failure. Poverty as seen in the relationship between civil war and poor states is a point to be noted, meanwhile poverty gives room to speculate low economic growth, misuse of foreign aid, income inequality, absence of basic education and health facilities, opens an opportunity for rebellion. Poverty also associates with poor economic growth, poor governance and corruption which makes it a strong reason for rebellion.

### **2.3 Modernization.**

The first hand economic contributions that link economic growth and domestic rebellion was a melting pot modernization (Newman 1991). With so much influence from the contribution of Durkheim and Marks, the melting pot modernization explains that ethnic divide in a community will very fast disappear with the emergence of economic growth and development. The concept of ethnicity and belonging was flexible and malleable and this differences in the community will slowly die out in time of rising wealth.

The increase of conflicts in the 1970s gave chance to further thinking on the connections of economic performance and conflict. As politicians continues to lay claims of ethnic divide as a risk factor in conflict, researchers make further moves in explaining the situation as that of identity over structure.

Conflictual modernization theory maintains that, in a time of rising income and available access to more wealth, government officials chooses particular ethnic groups against others to benefit from a country's wealth (Newman 1991:455). When this happens, other ethnic groups have static if not declining economic situation exposed by the institutional bias against them (Gurr 1970), the literatures during this era presented the best examples of conflictual modernization theory. In this theoretical



framework, conflict emerges from intra-country differences in income and distribution of rights. In melting pot modernization theory, conflicts gradually wipe out because identities are less rigid and less conflictual. To scholars who maintain civil war proliferation as a promotion of ethnic divide, conflictual modernization model will stand the best economic explanation of conflicts in this contemporary time. In some areas globalization is seen as heightening ethnic identities through inequality while in other areas it is defunct. Hence conflict is a product of inequality produced domestically through imbalances of rights and internationally through aggravation of ethnic tension by way of economic winners or losers in globalization.

On the ideology of modernization and ethnic conflict literatures, Paul Collier refused to accept the fact that land inequality and income inequality is a source of violent conflict, but to him when already commence, a conflict can take a much longer time when there is income inequality.

Fearson and Laitin as well advances that, at any time of ethnic fragmentation and a country's income is increased the possibility of conflict onset gradually lessens; for example, a one thousand dollars decrease in gross domestic products highly increase the risk of violent conflict by forty-one percent. Inequality shown to be decreasing over time is rarely used in quantitative studies with the reasons that i) the inability to detect inequality through time and across the country, ii) an assumption that inequality and grievances are wide spread inside and across states, so much so that it is not considered enough factor to provoke a rebellion.

## **2.4 Poverty**

Current economic research employs the consideration of economist to explain the onset of civil wars. This research type is overwhelmingly quantitative because there is the need to distinguish economic performance style over space and period. Research initiatives by economists and those using rational choice explanation exposes how poverty has worsened conflict prone regions, low growth rates multiply poverty situations and material wealth dependence increases the likelihood of conflict within a given country (Collier 2000, Genicot and Skapedas 2002) and as per Collier the instrument of increasing income to reduce the likelihood of violent conflict onset remains an argument never to be dismissed.

How therefore does poverty propagate rebellion? To answer this question, poverty is seen as an economic development failure and political development failure. This brings it clear that a government is unable to provide its population with a sustainable livelihood and protection. During this period of failure government prioritize power extremes and control over its population as the only source of legitimacy. In countries with a very poor economic performance, holding strong to political power and maintaining dictatorial leadership style by the men in government, becomes the first agenda in their foreign policy. At this times government spending on military equipments surpasses spending in any other government projects. This phenomenon of government behavior goes to explain that expense on health facilities, educational provisions, portable water, electricity provision and maintenance, accessible to motor able roads will drastically drop or removed and this would be a potential cause of another conflict with declining income.

Bad economic policies and poverty are both brought into existence by ineffective governments. Economic development is particularly vulnerable to be upset, as priorities of both government and investors are swiftly shifted during trouble times and places. Growth rates and civil war have a direct proportional relationship; the lower the startup income for investment, the more discouraging the investors becomes and the small size of a market, the more unwilling an investor believes in investing. In this circumstances, more is spending on military to gain control over the territory and the population.

Elbadawi (1992:2) contributes that, during period of violent conflict, the territory becomes so risky to make investments, so funds allocated for investment that would improve on the economic development, provides more opportunities for employment and better living conditions would now be withdrawn from the system and either sent to foreign banks or investment transferred to other safer grounds .In another view , when capital is well invested it would boost the country's image against other competitors in the world economy, provides good facilities to its population, ensure future livelihood for the youths and the future of the country becomes brighter and consolidates the sense of belonging amongst the citizens.

Though this point is not able to explain the civil war situation in Cameroon, this dissertation affirms the fact decrease gross domestic product poses conflict risk in a country. The low gross domestic products reflect a country's poor governance and

weakness on the part of government and this condition is a potential war risk in this said territory.

According to Murdoch and Sandler (2002:92) civil wars create instability and disrupts the steady level of gross domestic product both in the home economy and to the bordering countries of the state involved.

## **2.5 Economic Views of Rebels and Government in War**

National economic progress is a clear indicator of government or state health. However local economies are very important to consider, because the means to promote rebellion must be as feasible as the motive to rebel. The economic perspectives and decisions by the rebel groups are a clear indication of the actual aims and logistic capabilities.

Rebel groups bring into play three understandings; that of a defense organization, administrative organization and business organization, in order to produce a successful rebellion venture. As a defense organization, insurgent groups face a difficult situation of recruitment, cohesion, equipment and survival. As for Collier, there exist an inverse relationship between income and cost of rebellion. Cost of beginning and sustaining a rebellion over time and space rises when income is higher and recruitment of rebel army lessens when income drops. When incomes are chronically below that which can support the rebel movement, the ability of a rebel army to provide income and support the struggle becomes so attractive. Collier and Hoeffler made this contribution in relation to the situation of the National Union for the Total Independence UNITA, an Angolan rebel group with a quasi-criminal activity to create wealth for the support of a continuous rebellion. Rebel organization embraces the role of ethnicity and ideology in an economic frame work. Rebel economic health is partially determined by the abilities of a rebel group to produce an attractive view point. The rebel's ability to generate a "grammar" of group grievance to justify a rebellion allows a conflict to take on an ethnic identity even in situation where an ethnic goal is not being pursued.

After the end of cold war era, rebellion was no more funded by the ability to link with an ideological giant or super power. Brubaker and Latin (1998:425) contributes that during the cold war time, rebels could easily mobilize resources by situating their domestic struggles with an ideological gradient; communism or Capitalism. In the

1990s rebels continuously marketed their struggles as ethnic as it was already internationally recognized and accepted due to diasporas support and international connections. As proven by resource rents, looting, and illegal activities, some researchers make claims that some present day rebellions have sacrificed political agendas for criminal intentions. Without a clear political program, the multiplication of groups, breaking up of control lines, and extreme attacks against civilians have generated both discomfort and confusion. Activities including pillaging; increasing soldier wages, protecting extortion, trade of illegal materials like guns, drugs, people, labour exploitation, as well as looting are some consequences of war period.

## **2.6 Political**

There are two inter-connected models put together to explain the instrument of politics as a determinant of violent conflict onset. While the feeble or unpowerful state model argues along the idea of legitimacy and territorial control of states as a great causation of violent conflict onset. The government type concept focuses on the relationship between a country's political structure and rebellion. The journal on feeble state is fully descriptive whereas the governance concept is empirical in its explanation. Both theories hold government control as the main tool of explanation. When the duty and responsibility of the government of a country becomes so complicated, setting up a strong dictatorial leadership system to implement great sanctions or threat of sanctions to any opposition group will greatly reduce the risk of violent conflict.

## **2.7 Governance Type**

In the civil war literature it is known that, stable, liberal democracies tend to be less conflictual when the income level is frequently checked or controlled. Some initiatives disagree with the fact that democratization increase reduces chances of civil war or democracy to greater extent will solve the risk of violent conflict. Other scholars are on the view that, both on the national and international level democracies are assumed to be relatively conflict free due to the space for competing parties to voice their diverse opinions and the need for coalition and compromise. The process of democracy is viewed as a product of changes in attitude, culture and the part played by citizens in re-structuring a government. Democracy supports prospects for peace, human rights, geographical stability, and also increases trade and economic development. As noted

in Lipset contributions on social requisite on democracy theory, a gross domestic product value explains that there is a growing middle class that votes, higher education and a healthy diversifying economy. Democracies are very much supported through foreign aid and increase continuous foreign investment from the west. Democracies are considerably more stable as compared to autocracies and inconsistent regimes.

Autocratic governments are usually more conflict free for quite opposite reasons than democracies. These government types engage in quite repressive leadership acts which reduce the opportunities of successful movement to challenge the power structure. Further to explain in this point is the fact that punishment for revolutionary movements are quite severe. Autocracies have shown shorter life span than democracies due to pressure from both domestic and international systems to move towards a more open system of government control. Some scholars argue that autocracies have a life span of six and half years and waves of autocratic transitions experience reversals particularly to regional level.

Inconsistent regimes of Anocracies create an environment where conflict flourishes. Inconsistent regimes find themselves in the middle of political spectrum between democracies and autocracies. Inconsistent regimes are exemplified by governing authority, weakened by confused, contradictory, inconsistent and conflicting norms, and institutional procedures. These inconsistent regimes experiences difficulties in responding coherently and decisively to petitions, provocations thus less effective in establishing norms to redress societal conflicts and uprisings. These regime types are the worst in the global world because they are partially open, yet repressive, their institutional structures necessitate protests, rebellion and other forms of civil violence. Inconsistent regimes are four times more prone to violent conflict than democracies. According to Hegel, Anocracies are transitional regimes with an average life span of two and half years making the risk of civil war to be so high after a regime change hence transitional regimes usually embody a high rate of civil war. More over the direction of change is found to have no discernable effect of the likelihood of current or future outbreak of conflict. Whether these situations produce violent conflict, or violent conflict produces anocracies is a difficult question to answer, as their very best explanations do not bring this understanding out. More empirical findings are needed to proper demonstrate whether conflict causes instability or vice-versa. Transitions

such as those occurring in Afghanistan or Iraq now provides some insights of Anocracies and conflicts.

Anocracies are the traces of a failed government and state, this thesis maintains that governments have tremendous influence on civil war onset and duration. Revolutionary as well as secessionist challenges are directed towards the government. Thus the intent or structure of a government must have a role to play in inciting rebellion. Government responses are also considered a trailing factor of civil war proliferation because lengthy civil wars in the world such as United Kingdom, Sudan, Ethiopia and Burma have different government structures and varying level of government success. This explains that democracy, autocracy and anocracy have different types of relationship to conflict proliferation.

Democracies are very able to suppress challenges through non-violent means; in spite of the fact they are limited in their abilities to use violence to smash down challengers.

Autoracies can rapidly crush combatants leading to less onset and short conflict duration but the negative part also produces more rebellion due to backlashes and repression. Autocratic government and domestic conflicts do not have a simple relationship.

Anocratic government should have a massive effect on conflict because of the disability of government to control the affairs within their territory and anocracies to change associates with increased risk of violent conflict.

## **2.8 Ethnicity**

The argument of ethnicity as a civil war causal factor is based on the assumption that, when a society is fractionalized based on ethnic identity, the community becomes disunified and makes it so easy to be manipulated as the population will have divergent elites they will be looking up to, for favor. On one hand the ethnic diversity of community will favor little conflict risk due to the fact that a huge population would not be able to be mobilized to project and uprising, whereas on the other hand, this diversity can be proudly penetrated by political elites to fight against other ethnic groups for their private economic and political gains. Both ethnic and religious identities are used similarly to mobilize populations for a protest game.

Contemporary research holds it that ethnic differences does not present a high civil war risk because this ethnic stratification of communities category have so many explanations of violent conflict onset. Using different measures of diversity; number of ethnic groups, fractionalization measures, and ethnic dominance measures, produces different relationships between ethnicity and civil conflict onset. Ethnic dominance has proved to be a salient factor of civil war onset. The assumption is that dominant ethnic groups have more power which is very important in rebellion acts, but this has not been the case as demonstrated by Iraq's Shia majority. Many countries caught-up with civil war do not have institutions that allow researchers to have reliable information of ethnic groups.

Furthermore, as Mozaffer and Scaritt (2003) noted, determining identity is contingent upon scale and agenda, both of which can change in reaction to political events. This dissertation will suggest that ethnicity; will mean taking oneself or group to be distinct and separate from others will exacerbate conflict risk and proliferation.

Many global quantitative researches had focused on the numbers of ethnic groups and abilities of government to deal with multi-ethnic societies. An incorrect perception that, increased ethnic fragmentation that is highly connected with conflict onset is exemplified by Anthony Smith (1998) who concludes that civil conflict is a byproduct of ethnicity.

The following section reviews the current work on diversity and conflict, religion and conflict, government policies and conflict.

The societal and elite manipulation of ethnicity is covered in numerous case studies on conflict. This review is to understand the environment where elite manipulations are most successful.

### **2.8.1 Ethnic fragmentation**

Ethnic fragmentation as violent conflict onset is explained by Gurr (1993), Horowitz (1998), and Brown (2001). As Horowitz noted, identity comes with hostility. A fragmentation measure is presumed to represent the number of ethnic groups whom the portion of population affiliates.

Mozaffer and Scarritt (2003), discuss how an assumption of ethnic identity being confined to one particular group does not allow for scaled identities, especially in

Africa. A litany of difficulties exists both in measuring diversity and understanding how it is created and recreated over time and space. For example, in Nigeria a conflict might be on a national scale meaning groups can represent themselves with either northerners or southerners. In southern Nigeria, a conflict between two ethnic groups could be divided as an Igbo or Yoruba disagreement. A conflict within the Yoruba area could be between Egba and Ijeba people.

Government system may also exacerbate ethnic conflict risk as ethnic diversity may be an issue within an autocratic system. The dictatorial dependence on one small ethnic group exemplified by Saddam Hussein's relationship with Sunnis in Iraq, is one example of this phenomenon. Others have found no relationship between ethnic fragmentation and increased conflict in political regime types when controlling for income; Fearon and Laitin (2003).

The dominance of an ethnic group can increase the risk of rebellion. Domination comes into play when an ethnic identity is a permanent majority typically fifty-five to ninety percent of the total population. This consideration is built based on the outcome of diversity of an ethnic community that seeks advantage of looted natural resources for export benefits by the diasporas. An outstanding ethnic majority group in a community with a potential to employ numerous followers would have a greater chance of dominance and success over all other groups in that area. Collier (1998), Fearon and Laitin (2003) recognized the major role that ethnicity plays within conflict scenarios, and acknowledged that in the creation of rebellion movement, ethnicity is powerful instrument in conflict duration and intensity. Yet their arguments are based on outcomes, and /or perceived ulterior motives of ethnic disputes. Both agree that ethnicity's function in conflict onset primarily is based on reducing the cost of coordination. When rebellion is formed based on ethnic lines the recruitment of fighters, supporters during an uprising or violent conflict will be relatively free and the struggle or revolution can be put on for a long time with a notion of what they have in common as an ethnic entity. Conflict scholars like Elbandawi has shared same views on economic factors of civil war onset like Collier and Hoeffler who submits that the root causes of civil war onset remain political and economic deficiency, pointing accusing fingers to African countries. They also contributed that bad government policies could also come from ethnic diversity that would in a serious way lead to economic or health difficulties.



Moreover, it is believed by scholars according to war termination findings that, there are great differences between wars with ethnic agendas and war with non-ethnic agendas. This suggestion moves to explain that causes of revolutionary wars are connected with economic explanations such as poverty, low growth rate, resource dependence, whereas ethnic wars onset is in connection with government type or political determinants.

## **2.9 Religious Diversity**

Reynal-Querol (2002), maintains that communities having fragmentation based on religious line are more open to violent conflict onset as compared to those communities divided based on ethnic identity. She based her argument with the concept of indivisibility and non-negotiable character of religious identification, which is drastically contested by the malleability of ethnic identities. According to her religious polarization and animist diversity are the most important factors in explaining the incidence of violent rebellion. This is logically used to as a support to Huntington's provocative literature on religious or cultural fault line as cause of violent conflict.

However, intriguing her findings are, the study itself is biased, her results are questionable due to data selection. Her codes are based on stated goals and religious affiliation of combatants and not overall religions in the country. It does however encourage a discussion on religion within civil war and which has been found by many authors to be very insignificant statistically. Many groups may be religiously persecuted and have legitimate grievances but starting a civil war is radically a different situation. In addition to motive, potential rebels must also have the means to launch an attack on the state. Although ethnic grievances do exist in states, the ability to test for ethnicity within this model are extremely limited. Most countries have people who experience ethnic grievance but only a selected few choose to engage in civil conflict to alleviate their suffering. Theoretical work has greatly focused on grievance narratives as a façade (Greed vs Grievance model) but little empirical work has been accomplished.

This dissertation will make a contribution here that, diversity is not a salient factor in civil war onset given that population growth is accounted for, opposing to Hegre and Sambanis (2006) who painted that, rapid population growth could be associated with high levels of conflict. Rebels in more fragmented countries may not be able to garner

support along ethnic lines if the goal of the rebellion is to promote one group. However, the manipulation of war situation by ethnicity could exacerbate the effect of diversity in war time.

### **2.9.1 Domestic context**

Contextual factors are those that are present in all countries but exercise impact in high risk countries, Contextual factors are neither necessary nor sufficient for war outbreak, but add and change the environment of conflict. This thesis presents these as human and physical geographies which may be similar across numerous countries. In war situations as those described above, people and their environment play different roles, some which may benefit the onset and continuation of conflict.

### **2.10 Physical Geography**

Is rough terrain beneficial to rebels? Results vary. A recent study noted a positive effect Fearon and Laitin (2003), other studies noted no effect Collier et al (2001), Buhaig and Gates (2002). As supported by Fearon and Laitin, the geographical location of a state or territory favors to a greater extent the growth of civil war onset. Insurgent conditions such as mountain, forest regions allow for small number of rebels to launch attack and hide successfully during conflict time. If insurgence organization are located in mountainous or forest regions, they are less likely to be caught by government military troops. Much better, excessive retaliation from the government troop will undoubtedly be a waste to this kind of settlement grounds, which encourages enormous recruitment for more rebels. The argument projecting the important of territorial location or terrain in connection to rebellion activities, holds a good point but until the hideout of these rebels is in those difficult places, if not then location as a factor for violent conflict onset is a mere debate. If this assumption is to be considered, then observations must be made on the movement and hide out of rebels during conflict period. The basis of this theory is surely in connection with guerrilla wars of Cuba, Nicaragua, Afghanistan amongst others.

When a state solely depends on natural material resources it exposes the country to high risk of civil war onset. This could be explained as attracting the natural resource rents to rebels, this has been exemplified in the relationship of countries with huge oil

economies and violent conflict onset. The relationship between conflicts and other commodities like Diamond, Timber, Precious metals are not well understood.

When a country's income is dependent on natural resources rent, this has a negative effect on the government structure and gradually could not be able to resolve common issues presented to the system by the population and is a clear gate way for uprising against the weak system. Countries heavily endowed with natural resource are likely to have negative economic performance, poor leadership style and likely to witness constant rebellion threats. This argument depicts that, the rents acquired from natural resource rents help the government officials to systematically consolidate power to themselves in a patronage regime, such regimes makes no domestic investment that will allow the big population benefit, but would rather make huge expenditure on sophisticated military equipments for the purpose of repression when need arises. In a positive direction when a country derives revenue from natural resource rents, comparable to income from gross domestic product, this should enable the government to provide quality services such as education, portable water, electricity, good health care, good road network, proper security for the lives of the population and should be able to give solutions to problems of her citizens and maintain stable environment suitable for habitation., this will go a long way to reduce conflict risk in the territory.

Studies that explain the relationship between geographical location and territorial instability as a civil war risk emerged in 1980s. The effect of resources on government instability and economic growth is explained through "Dutch Disease". Dutch disease is an economic condition wherein many public resources are dedicated to one particular economic activity meanwhile other sources of income are ignored.

Researchers have been able to trace the root causes of violent domestic and international conflict by paying attention to the shortages of some materials such as forest, water and natural resources. This empirical observation was able to provide explanation of the relationship between resource abundance in provoking violent conflict onset.

According to political ecology perspective, resource and conflict are a symptom of larger issues, particularly its contribution to state weakness. Natural resource rents increase the vulnerability of countries towards rebellion by weakening the ability of political institution to peacefully resolve conflicts within the state. Rebels creates

network of fragmented economies for their collective benefits. Fragmentation and peripheralization together shape new territories and extended across scales to construct aggressive symbiotic relationships in conflict. Rebel actors may therefore have an interest in perpetrating conflict in order to acquire illegal economic gains. This aggressive symbiotic relationships and economic network are a prelude to the post-modern peripheral states, where territory within is designated and ruled by local strongmen having international ties. Resource networks do shape new economies as emphasized by the greed literature, and they are responsible for the increase in secessionist claims.

## **2.11 Human Geography**

Research on the contribution of human geography in violent conflict onset is focused on population and ethnic geography. Population inequality, varying densities and rural to urban migration are very much connected with rebellion onset. A higher population in a particular community increases the risk of conflict but it doesn't increase the impact of ethnic diversity within a country. These relationships have not yet been theorized, making researchers to make potentially spurious linkages between a large population and support bases for rebel group.

Ethnic geography tries to bring an understanding between ethnic disputes and violence. A great majority of independent countries comprises of two or more ethnic groups, which are often in dispute with each other or with the state. The central concern here is territory and the importance of territory in creating and sustaining identity through the concept of "homeland". The homeland principle is very good because it determines how economic and political resources are distributed, which languages are spoken, etc.

This argument is familiar to Holsti idea of the state; which function should be to represent the community at large. Ethnic geography did not reveal how ethnic concentration aided rebels, whether these disputes were held in or concerned the ethnic homeland.

## **2.12 Domestic Conclusion**

Conflict onsets and proliferation are the result of a number of intersecting causal factors. To conclude, domestic circumstances of poverty and low economic growth

rates indicates that, a government may not be able to provide security and services to its people. When military spending takes precedence over social services, the conditions under which people lives, encourages the potential formation of opposition or challenges against the government. Low growth rates may be responsible for the attraction f rebellion.

Considering that a civil war is thrown against the government, the intent and structures of government have a tremendous impact on conflict and proliferation. State weakness is concluded to be both the lack of legitimacy and ineffective territorial control. Government weakness is also as a result of foreign dependence on military control over the territory, hence both the state and government are vulnerable to protests or uprisings.

The role of ethnic diversity on civil war proliferation is unclear, because no research yet is able to explain this dynamic. The role of elites and security in civil war situations may considerable change civil war's relationship to diversity. If a war;s discourse is based on ethnic lines, ethnicity may become a salient factor in continuing the conflict.

In civil war onset, particular human and physical context are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions, but in the correct circumstances both can have a lot of consequences on violent conflict onset and proliferation. Large populations, resources dependence, and rough terrains are domestic components which exacerbate conditions that are created by the interplay of economic, political and social circumstances. It will be worthy to note that these variables don't have same effect across countries. Within developing world, states are different in the probability to strife violent conflict.

This dissertation contends that, the cause and proliferation of civil war onset is not solely due to domestic structures and contextual factors. The strength and location of a state contributes to the effects of domestic causes which are necessary but not sufficient to explain the conflict crisis in Cameroon. State weakness contributes to the spread of conflict across national borders. The proliferation, the spread of civil conflict across border lines is a critical issue to pay attention at, to avoid the case of all border countries to burst into a huge regional war with every zone feeding each other by the neighboring effect. International conflict scholars have laid emphasizes to understand the part played by the territorial location and the closeness of borders between countries as these seems to have a continuous influence on violent conflict onset. This

would include, time prior to start of war, to spreading across borders lines and finding solutions between the states involved.

### **2.13 State and Civil Conflict**

For it to be a state, it must be recognized by its people, and the people must be willing to have their quarrels in that context. When a large population of the people seizes believing that the state is theirs and the government is their instrument of compliance, then that political unit is no longer legitimate and can no longer obtain allegiance from the population. A considerable number of weak states literature is based on African states and many reasons account for this. This research work assumes its due to the escalation of conflicts in Africa, coupled with the impression that African problems are similar. However, weak states do exist all over the world and they are responsible for an increasing trend in civil war conflict onset. Other countries like Burma, Afghanistan, Iraq may not be readily compared to each other because its believed that conflict is driven by a set of domestic circumstances. The dominant question in this section would be if sovereignty and identity theories affect the rise, proliferation and spread of violent conflict.

### **2.14 Nature of Statehood in Modern System**

Nation-states are privileged as “containers of society”, although only about ten percent of states can be described as such (Corner 1993). Within international relations and political science, the territorial understanding of space, represents the world as a collection of states, as lone blocks or Units. However, the salience of these states units is not uniform.

In theory, a basic minimum of state-like features are required for international recognition as a state. Simply because an international system dictates the structure and confines of Rwanda for example, does not mean that the identity of those living within this container identify themselves as Rwandans, or that, the territory bestowed upon Rwanda is recognized as sovereign because of its international designation. Many states today occupy this contradictory status of international legitimacy and domestic weakness. The international political system encompasses higher number of weak states who have very limited control over their peripheries. In order to understand

the nature of third world state building, we have to consider that it is not conducted within an international vacuum; that is to say external variables have tremendous influences on them. These external forces are; the absence of enough time to develop due to different methods of decolonization implemented. Secondly the unrepresentative and authoritarian behavior of some regimes, thirdly attempts at secession and social justice. Two discourse in relation to the basis of weak statehood are presented as;

i) weak statehood is based on the inability to create a nation or community, to form the basis of society and represented by valid government

ii) weak statehood is caused by the lack of terrain control by central governments, as territory represents a physical manifestation of sovereignty.

## **2.15 Identity and Social Contract.**

State weakness is the result of lack of legitimacy (Holsti 1996:97). Legitimacy is understood in two ways;

### **2.15.1 Vertical legitimacy**

This entails the right to rule through the establishment of a connection between society and political institutions

### **2.15.2 Horizontal legitimacy**

This defines the criteria and limits of the political community. weak and failed states have proved unable to represent the communities upon which the state is built on and are unable to garner support for the state as the defining political unit for the population.

Frequently an extensive military is created when either of these legitimacies is unreachable. Legitimacy not endowed to states through a representation of a national identity can be created through various state services and actions. Yet in weak and failed states this avenue cannot be pursued. Instead of growth promoting, human services related activities like education, health, failed states will by pass them in favor of complex coercion instruments in order to enforce order. Peripheral states that cannot consolidate power base on legitimate means often turn to violence and coercion.

Military spending in developing countries particularly those in Africa and the Middle East have bulky economic burden with regards to its gross domestic product. This situation could be accounted as external security forces play an important role in South Asia and Middle East, while in Africa the acceleration in military expenditure is primarily due to domestic armed conflict and restructuring of the armed forces.

With the rise of military power, intra-state security dilemmas are likely to develop. In attempt to overcome resistance, government relies on coercive measures against local power centre and ethnic/religious groups.

Another perspective on the internal security dilemma is that, it's a reaction to states violation of the social contract. The local answer to states inability to provide solutions to basic needs is to depend on ethnic ties, which becomes the most salient political affiliation. The act of state formation in Africa begins with that transition process starting an institutional endowment of ethnic diversity. According to Borjas (1992), modern states offers to the people some quality basic necessities such as security, social insurance, education, health care services, communication network.

The prevalence of ethnic capital as an effective substitute for state services is evident in Africa (Azam 2001) and in the former Soviet Union (James 2001). The pervasive of ethnic capital and system, coupled with the diversity often assumed as a characteristic of a periphery mislead some scholars to make spurious conclusions about the role played by ethnic division and ethnic cohesion in violent conflicts. The ethnic distribution is not the root cause of internal conflict but an indication of an inability to provide a stable base and services for all people. This in another way exposes the illegitimacy of the government and the state. According to Andrew (2000:60), in medieval Europe, communities were united only by allegiances and personal obligations rather than abstract individual equality or citizenship in a geographically circumscribed territory.

## **2.16 Territories and Territorialities.**

Primarily territoriality is a geography expression that means social power and the means by which space and society are connected (Sack 1986:5). Hence territorial control is particularly powerful as a sign of a states strength, as it provides a view into understanding the production and replication of sovereignty over space. Herbst made



an attempt to connect the strength of the governments and the idea of a state, as a function of geographic control. Combining Herbst impression of the geography of sovereignty with Sacks' perspective that terrains are socially constructed forms of spatial relations and their effects depend on who controls them and for what purpose.

In an analysis of population centers in Sub Saharan Africa, the understanding of geography is at odds with the understanding of sovereignty. To Herbst, the border lines control is not a responsibility of the state or does not correspond to the geography of the state control. This lack of congruence with geography need to be well understood in the light of claims that, challenges to central rule usually come from the remote areas. Remote areas defined as those areas which effectively out off states control.

A mixture of a states economic ability, which could include lack of infrastructure, lack of concern for areas distance from central power organ, conspires to make remote areas forgotten territories.

Secessionist armed conflicts are usually coined with ethnic groups that are located in clearly defined regions of the state. These armed conflicts make minorities within a rural base to likely witness large scale violence than in the urban region. Though the state is in comparative peace, the presence of remote areas is indicative of both government strategies and a physical manifestation of whom, and where makes up the state as the division of space reflects. The geographical spread of armed conflict is directly associated with both territorial and identity weakness. In situations of permeable borders, ethnic groups moving in and out state boundaries, rebel initiates attack from bordering countries, population spreads and separatist movements all conspire to diffuse and multiply conflict beyond a single state territorial confines.

### **2.17 How Does Conflict Spreads Through and Across Weak States**

Because weak states lack territorial sovereignty, this makes way for conflict to spread into their territory from neighboring or border countries. Neighboring regions can also be used to analyze the spread of domestic conflict as they have been implemented in international conflict analysis. The salience of borders brings close the differences between nation and state. The frontiers of countries embody two serving purpose; i) a legal borderline which separates territories and joins states. ii) a zone where people negotiates meanings associated with their identities such as membership in a nation or

state. The frontier information can have a heavy influence on nation and state's sovereignty. If territory or identity is not structured and protected by the state and government, there will be no reason for conflict related movements not to cross the borders into the national territory and provoke rebellion activities in the host country. In this case, weak states stand in position of double jeopardy as they are both domestically a potential case for armed conflict and internationally surrounded by high risk inflow across border. This goes to explain that, the location of a state can be an underlying cause in domestic conflict outbreak and duration. Essentially the effects of state "A" activities (e.g wars) on state "B" is contingent upon the structures within the state "B". Whitaker (2003) makes this point referencing the flow of refugees in the early 1990s into both Congo and Tanzania (both from Rwanda) resulted in total two different outcomes. In Congo, Rwandans were an integral part in the overthrow of President Laurent Kabila. In Tanzania a relative stable and forceful government allowed for refugees to stay for a short time before demanding they leave.

Diffusion and escalation are the processes in which conflict can be internationalized. Diffusion and escalation are not mutually exclusive, nor do they exhaust the ways in which conflict is spread. These theories are based on cross border interactions of people mainly as refugees and combatants.

In diffusion, refugees flow and makes a resultant change in power dynamics or competition for resources, which will result into an unstable situation, potentially leading to conflict. A host country allowing the use of territory for increase attacks on a neighboring country can lead to conflict escalation, or mobilize ethnic groups across borders. Violence involving refugees is typically short from 1 to 4 years. Although considerable attention has been paid to the effect of refugees in political violence, both those receiving states showed an increased political violence during this time. In 1987, Africa accounted for 47 percent refugee in take, in 1997 and 1998 Africa account for 70 percent and 60 percent respectively. Together these facts show that refugee situation in Africa devolved into violence more often than other receiving states, because of state weakness.

## **2.18 Geostrategic/Political**

Geostrategic civil war theory discusses civil war onset and civil war proliferation as an outcome of global regional dynamic (Cohen 2003). This perspective is based on the

differences of heterogeneity amongst the world's regions. In this vein, the middle east is a fundamentally different region from Europe and is thus more prone to conflict by virtue of the characteristics that defines it. This phenomenon is exemplified by the proxy wars during the cold war era. When numerous civil wars within the developing world were attributed to super power competition and continuous support for opposition ideological side. The most troublesome period beginning from 1979 till 1986 witnessed a shift in super power focus from Europe to the arc of crisis; Kenya through the Arabian peninsula to Pakistan (O'Loughlin 1986:290). At that time the third world was a home for unstable regimes seeking aid and allies (Litwak and Wells 1988). Another geostrategic theory is Saul Cohen's shelterbelt concept (1963), he identified conflict prone regions with internal, cultural, economic, political diversity, coupled with existing external involvements and a precious natural resource. Shatterbelt's theory continue to be supported by spatial configuration of international involvement today, and one can extend shatterbelt theory to internal situation of individual states. Current shatterbelt includes the Middle East, South East Asia, Caucasus.

### **2.19 Economic**

Economic regions are defined by collaborations between neighboring proximate countries to maximize economic powers within the world system. As noted above these arrangements such as trading block can also constrain the choices of states within the world economy, but also provide protection from larger global economic forces. Vayrynen (1984) contend that, regions defined by economic motives become dependent and homogenous due to the similar process occurring in each. Conflict in these areas is likely to be due to external causation. Yet Veyrynen's theory applies more to inter-state wars and re-iterates that war is rare if the region is fully engaged within the world's economy. The influence, constraints, and alliances that strengthen economic relationships rarely allow for conflict.

### **2.20 Cultural**

Hungtinton's clash of civilization theory (1996), structures the world into eight civilized regions based on religious (cultural) affiliation. His main concern is he state of the post-cold war world, where wars will occur on the fault lines (borders) between

civilizations. For example, the Kashmir conflict is not an Indian civil war, but a civilization or cultures and those are based solely on region. Empirical evidence has found that inter-civilization dyads (country groups) are not more likely to be embroiled into conflict, and in fact are somewhat less conflict prone than intra-civilization dyads. Based on these regional classifications, geostrategic/political regions are the most prone to domestic and inter-state conflicts. Politically based regions have the highest risk of conflict not only because of the heterogeneity or differences among countries inside the regions, but also because of the external influence. Geostrategic regions are labeled so because they occupy a position which power can be broadcast from. Due to this positions, political regions are inherently conflictual. Certain political regions can link themselves economically and culturally to mitigate the risk of conflict through interdependence, example here is European Union. Other terrains such as Central Africa or South Asia are conflictual not because they avoid interdependence but their interdependence encourages conflict to spread through countries. Geostrategic terrains are most often highly prone to domestic conflict risk. The differences between territories inside political regions are not redressed but are exacerbated to benefit outside powers and geopolitical influences. The decisions and activities in political regions are contingent upon a number of several actors within and outside the geopolitical regions. The devolution of states into armed conflict is not always based of domestic factors, but also can be determined by enormous international and inter-regional forces. These forces are made salient through interdependence of actors within and across states.

Clash of civilization between Islam and Hinduism; Chechnya is not a civilized war but a clash of Islam and orthodoxy. Criticism of Huntington include, how he doesn't address a multitude to conflicts which do not adhere to his criteria of civilizational wars. Also, in order to entertain Huntington's theory, one must first accepts that the world is currently divided into eight distinct opportunities and willingness.

How neighboring wars will affect a civil war is determined by opportunity and willingness. Again, Siverson and Starr (1991:25) used these concepts to understand the diffusion of international wars. Opportunity is defined as the possibility available to an entity within an environment; essentially this refers to the degree of interaction. Interaction in this project is determined by borders, but assumed to exist amongst ethnic groups and international rebel alliances.

Willingness is related to the decision to take advantage of the opportunities presented by interaction. Both are built upon the concept of interdependency or collective outcomes. Collective outcomes dictates that, actions, decisions, must always be determined by a sole actor e.g a state but all members inclusive in that geopolitical core. International connections in the form of alliances, trade and inter-regional alliances such as trading blocs or political units constrain and influence the decisions of those involved. Opportunities are determined by the interaction between entities within these structures, willingness reflects the abilities to make decisions given the constraints imposed by collective outcome structures.

This these applies this concept of collective outcomes to civil wars, to understand both the process of conflict diffusion and the influences of larges forces on domestic wars. However, the unit of analysis for this thesis is not the state, the thesis assumes it is not of the state's interest to expand the theatre of conflict into another state. Instead, this thesis will focus on the diffusion of war through agents of diffusion (Rebels and Refugees). Opportunities presented by interactions, rebels and refugees willingness to engage with the interactions contribute to the spread of domestic conflict across borders. Therefore, domestic conflicts are determined by collective outcomes which are influenced by domestic circumstances and local level interactions. The state itself is constrained by its internal weakness and its position within the world system.

### **3. MECHANISM, CONTEXT AND TIME IN CIVIL WAR**

#### **3.1 Grievance Based Thesis**

The origin of the grievance model of civil war discourse is associated with the relative deprivation theory, which contends that, psychological mechanisms associated with a frustration of not meeting material expectations, are the roots of conflict initiation.

Domestic conflicts in recent times have very far outnumbered international conflicts. Grievance concept as a model to narrate civil war activities, examines keenly the inequality such as political oppression as an element of conflict threat. Grievance stands the argument that, people rebel over issues of political repression, inequality, social class, rather than over economic aspects (greed).

After the end of World War II, it could be keenly noticed that, domestic conflicts have highly taken the place of inter-states conflicts and this statement is well supported with the present days civil wars events as opposed to the long disappearance of international wars experienced far back. This has also given conflict scholars a drift in study from international conflicts to domestic conflict in order to be able to provide understandings to why they occur and make suggestion on solutions to the new world crisis.

According to Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, material motivation which they called as “Greed”, holds the only explanation for civil war onset and “Grievance” arguments have no place in civil war explanation other than an ideational position.

This dissertation critically examines the claims of Collier and Heoffler and moves forward to proof that grievance inherently remains an inseparable element of civil war risk. Broadly, the dissertation highlights the issues of power and wealth distribution in the society and argues that inequality plays a leading role in conflict as postulated in the horizontal inequality perspectives. It explains that the inclusiveness offered in the horizontal inequality model do account for group inequalities in materials, political, cultural, and social dimensions conglomerating to build up grievances, makes this model the best to explain the Cameroon civil war of November 2017.

Furthermore, in ethnic and religious divided states, there is often a majority that holds a disproportionate amount of power and can therefore create upward mobility blocks for minority groups, and from this point they are created, start mounting grievance. In this light, Desoysa summarizes that, diversity hampers ethnic mobilization due to cross cutting links within the community, but according to him it's the homogeneity that is risky. To the political economist this disagreement between concepts and data, weakens the modernization perspective's leverage as a model to explain civil war events.

With much contribution from political economy in connection with quantitative analysis, this dissertation brings to light that the so much applause religious and ethnic diversities are not the primary determinants of civil wars risk, as they have no contributions to make in Cameroon civil war of November 2017. However, this thesis does not dismiss the fact that there are ongoing civil wars in other part of the world with a different motive to their outburst.

In recent times, religion is perhaps the central force that motivates and mobilizes huge population, in this light they do not bother coming together with political or economic motives. Family, faith, belief and blood line are what people with identify themselves and what they will tremendously fight and die for in religious explanation. This is the most important embodiment of primordialist perception on religious identity. Ethnic and Religious identities will not robustly spark up civil war onset except they are politicized. When politicians use one ethnic group or religious group against the other this sprout hatred and build the course of violent conflict. At a very basic level, the veracity of ethnic or religious identities as factors of violent rebellion without being politicized is a gross assumption. Many times religious and ethnic identities have been in an instrumental manner to effect a change; this work can tag them as "identity entrepreneurs". Identity entrepreneurs are individuals or groups that use religious or ethnic identity in mobilizing population to follow a course.

The contradiction of the instrumentalist perspective is that; you will always not hear a leader to admit the manipulation of identity whether religious or ethnic. The grievance narrative functions not only internally but also externally.

In this explanation Colliers's contribution is at risk because in a conflict where the motivation could essentially be greed, the entire discourse can take place within the context of grievance.

This dissertation falls apart with primordialist views in that, in cases where religious or ethnic identities are used in an instrumental fashion to create grievances and mobilizes groups, how can we distinguish these from those groups whom grievances may be a genuine source of conflict to their case.

It is of the benefit of groups whether influenced totally by greed or not, to project their conflict in the bold mark of grievance, but to hold it that there is no genuine grievance without religious or ethnic attachment is mentally wrong, and misappropriation of knowledge.

This thesis considers two grievances that would generate a civil war risk; Political exclusion and Vengeance.

### **3.1.1 Political exclusion**

This entails the denial of political rights. Political exclusion can be exercised by way of generalized repression or when a targeted group is being victimized.

When the population that suffers the burden of war elect their leaders, there will be no civil war. There is a clear difference in the extend of democracy that exist in conflict societies and democracy that exist in peaceful communities.

Democratic peace theory contributes that when citizens who bear the burden of war democratically elects their government's war becomes impossible and peace will reign. Peace in this context is the absence of war.

Secondly another aspect of political exclusion is when the poor that constitute that society are marginalized. There is need for the poor to use this political context to find redress to their problems which of course is economic inclined.

Evidence of a big gap between the rich and the poor in the society is an indication that poor are marginalized and it is important to know that the relation between economic inequality and rebellion is a very close one. The rage of the poor is probably the most driving force of conflict, as the ongoing case of the Biya's regime in Cameroon.



### **3.1.2 Vengeance**

Vengeance can be explained as punishment inflicted in retaliation for an injury or offense. This concept is associated with the Old Testament Holy Bible that promises “An eye for an eye” as a way of vengeance.

Vengeance is an integral part of the 21st century’s British Southern Cameroon. The call for vengeance is rooted in the country’s very formation. The Yaoundé central government has not treated the British Southern Cameroon for the past 57 years anyway different from second class citizens. With the double standard laws used in the country by the administrators, the Southern Cameroon part is only to be used, be seen and never to be heard. In the past five decades unitary government of both independent states, the British Southern Cameroon could be described as a victim of political tyranny whose punishment is a constant repression in all its most difficult forms.

### **3.2 Spatial Dependence-Based Thesis (Neighbor Effect or Geography of War)**

Within quantity analysis method of conflict studies, there are up to three distinctive models to explain spatial diffusion of violent conflict across borders in the past forty years. Analysis of international war system and the way it is spread across border countries is the first model. Second model examines how civil war is spread across the regions and their mutual relationship, the third model examines the style of the sub-national war, how it moves to other parts and their mutual connections. For a remarkable time, the work of spatial diffusion of violent conflict has been purely explanatory or ideational with situations such as sighting cluster of conflict. Some models have really witnessed short comings because they lack proper statistics or indicators to explain civil war onsets. The phenomena of the first and second model mentioned above are embodied in the spatial occurrence. The negative spatial effect of civil war diffusion is when the spread from a violent to a non-violent region do not provoke societal instability. The evidence of cluster and local indications of conflict in neighboring region is a vivid explanation of the spatial diffusion effect of civil war onset. In other words, when positive effects are witnessed it explains that the alteration of a situation in one territory has affected on the stability of another bordering countries. This diffusion effect is commonly measured by geographical auto relation statistics. This diffusion evidence of conflict is seen in different terrain such as districts, regions, countries, cities, and villages where the neighborhood usually has

resemblances in conflict or stability. When instability in a country persists, chances of the spreading effect to neighboring border countries increase.

The spatial spread of violent conflict literature has been a profound contribution of geography to international relations discussion. Particularly, scholars of international conflict have directed attention towards civil war research to investigate how war is diffused and in what form it is spread to neighboring terrain.

In a broad spectrum of qualitative analysis, taking note of conflict clusters zones as an indication of spreading effect or diffusion effect, has been the long-standing descriptive tendency of neighboring effect of civil war explanation for the past forty years. In comparative studies of war situations, Sub-Saharan Africa witnesses a high frequency of spatial heterogeneity model, but taken that focus is made in a region war patches would be seen littered at road sides. In another understanding, spatial diffusion indicator explains there is a similar war effect simultaneously in the surrounding border countries, hence a negative tendency in one country will spread same tendency to border countries.

### **3.2.1 International war patterns**

The focus of the geography of war has been the explanation of how the instability of one country affects the stability of other surrounding countries that share same border lines. More importantly the joint work of international relations and the diffusion concept has greatly eased the understanding of the geography effect as a causal factor of civil war onset.

When a spreading effect of civil war occurs, the following observations are made; a high rate proliferation of a war situation leading to a larger war situation in same territory, a decline in proliferation of war situation not making any change within same territory, and lastly a spreading positive tendency whereby a war in one country successfully diffuses across border into another surrounding border countries. For both international and civil war study, spatial dependence according to some scholars is more efficient in explaining civil war onset than domestic instrument analysis.

The surrounding territories of a country that host violent conflict, according to the geography of war have a high war risk. This related phenomenon of the likelihood of war, has helped to identify the participants in a war and the direction of flow during international wars. This study type has made very easy to classify wars and know what

war situation can bring a neighboring effect and which will not. Earlier studies of wars have argued that the spreading format and heterogeneity between border states have a direct proportional relationship. It is quickly noticed that there is a high spreading tendency of war effect in intra-regional than inter-regional dispensations.

Non democratic countries with porous or weak borderlines are more open to inflow of diffusion agent; refugees or rebels and this can generate instability of the host country and opening more chances for a future or immediate conflict.

When refugees or rebels flow into a neighboring country and meet a favorable living condition, they start to compete for material possession with the host citizens. Most at times integration of the invaders through cultural or social lines is difficult. Some would be integrated and others will form a community nuisance. When the number of this un integrated foreigners grow large they create a community in this foreign terrain and in later years they form a large block to oppose government policies that are not in their favor. When the host government is weak, this foreigner community with their extreme demands can cause instability in the host country. Where the situation of the excesses is not well handled it can burst into violent conflict.

Another variant is that, when diffusion agents in form of rebels from neighboring country finds coverage in a neighboring host country, they make a camp of rebels and start the recruitment of more rebels for their task force. When a large number is recruited and trained, they might want to attack the host country thereby causing territorial instability. They would also make some part of this host country a hideout for their hostilities, in some ways they start harassing citizens of host country for purpose of raising funds to support their rebellion. When the rebellion group is large and well-funded, they can attack their host country and their country of origin at same time.

In some case they would exist already an insurgent group in a country before the influx of diffusion agents to come make this worst. When border countries share similar characteristics instability on one country will easily affect the stability of the host country. This explanation of this effect is that countries with similar problems act in a similar manner. With this spreading effect of violent conflict, some countries have come to understand that they do not have good neighbors. It is a great pity to note that regional instability is a big problem generated by neighbors and borderlines remains

pathway for conflict factors movement. The inability of some government to control their population and border lines have weakened the security potentials those countries and pruned them to devastated porous borders permitting easy movement of armed civilians during conflict situation.

The prominence of study of states borders in civil war has given chance to understand states and their border strength.

In this thesis the definition of neighbor would be a country sharing and immediate territorial borderline with another country or countries.

Country “A” neighbors is all units that share a contiguous border with country “A”. This part of the thesis explains that the existence or non-existence of a civil war is a binary phenomenon; a state either experience a civil war at a particular time or it does not.

### **3.2.2 Duration and termination of Civil War**

Armed conflict or violent conflicts have been brought to an end through a number of means such as military conquer, dialogued settlements, suspension of hostilities

Empirical case of these method of civil war termination had been during the post-World War II era. A series of explanations have been set forth for understanding purpose. Some of the methods focused on international while others on national or actor level changes.

Efforts to explain why civil wars do terminate in the manner they do is very important to present day scholars and politicians. One contested issue within political science has been how modest to end a civil war and peace restored in a territory.

To this section this thesis stand on the grounds that, commitment problems in the construction of power-sharing arrangements, tend to make civil wars all or nothing a fight for control of central or regional government.

Most at times, civil wars are wars of regime change meanwhile only a small fraction of inter-state wars have to end. The aim of the rebel’s side in almost all civil wars is to take over the central government or take over political control of a region in the country. Rebel groups rarely say we are fighting in order to induce the government to change polices on a particular subject, once this is done we shall put down guns and leave politics.

It must be noted that civil wars take much longer time of fighting than inter-state wars. For violent conflict that played and ended by 1945. The median duration of inter states war at this times was less than three months while civil war duration at seven years.

Civil war takes a much long time when neither side can disarm the other and this will cause a military standstill. They can come to quicker termination in some cases when conditions favor a decision champion in the fight. The most likely means civil wars come to an end is through negotiated settlement else they pull on forever.

The frequency of active civil war and their consequences can be slowed down by mediating agreement that would condense the protracted crisis. The decline in many active armed conflicts after 1994 had been largely the work of the international community intervening to broker peace settlements.

During a civil war both the government and the rebels must choose between forgoing or moving ahead with the fight. That situation between the parties will lead to four results from their combine decisions

- When the rebels continue fighting and government gives up, the rebel wins the fight and the government is toppled.
- When government continues to fight and rebels give up, government wins and the revolution is conquered.
- When both government and rebels accept to give up fight at same time, the civil war come to an end in a cease fire or negotiated settlement.
- When neither decides to give up the fight, the war continues and takes longer time

The important point here is that, the duration of a civil war should vary according to whether it ends with in a rebel victory, a government victory or a negotiated settlement.

This thesis recommends a proper investigation on duration and termination of civil war.

#### **4. RECOUNT OF THE UNDERLYING CAMEROON SITUATION**

Cameroon is a central African state situated on the Gulf of Guinea harboring different landscapes, varying wildlife, with a rich historical background. Cameroon's geopolitical location has secured the country a membership to the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa with a French acronym CEMAC. The political entity host the head quarter of the Bank of Central African States also know in French as BEAC, in Yaounde the capital of Cameroon. Due to the appearance of the qualities or aspects of all other African states in Cameroon, the country is fondly referred to as Africa in miniature. This country has played has played and is still playing a vital role in international affairs coupled with her great influence in the political lives of other countries in the region. The Republic of Cameroon brings together two equal and separate independent countries. The first is the British Southern Cameroon a former British colonial territory with the headquarters in Buea has English as the main language of communication. The second is the Republic of Cameroun with its French Appellation La Republic du Cameroun or French Cameroun, having head quarter in Yaounde and French is the main language of communication.

The French Cameroun entity gained her independence from France on January first 1960. The country is termed French Cameroun due to her inseparable attachment to her colonial master France.

Whereas the British Southern Cameroon achieved independence on October first 1961 through the February eleventh Plebiscite organized by the United Nations Organization. The exercise presented just two options; by joining the already independent federal Republic of Nigeria or by joining the already independent Republic of Cameroun, to achieve her independence. Left with no third option of complete self-government, the British Southern Cameroon voted 60% against 40% in favor of joining the already independent Republic of Cameroun or French Cameroun.

The Republic of Cameroon is an amalgamation of two independent countries; French Cameroun and British Southern Cameroon. These two great countries through a gentleman agreement decided to come together in November 1972 under a unitary

government. The long talked happiness of becoming a unitary state and pursue a common goal for the equal benefit of both conjoint soon disappeared and the relationship turned sour and burst into bloody armed conflict in November 2017 during the President Biya's regime. A lot have transpired between them over the years that finally dropped them into the manslaughter exercise that has taken away the lives of more than two thousand Cameroonians of military, unarmed civilians and separatist fighters.

To sincerely explain the Cameroon civil war of the Biya's regime in 2017, close attention has to be given on the economic, social and political transition of the country from time of federal state in 1961, through unitary state in 1972 to till present moment of war outbreak in November 2017.

When the French Cameroun got her independence on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1960, the British Southern Cameroon was yet to be independent. During the United Nations decolonization program, the British Southern Cameroon administration had already withdrawn from the Eastern Nigeria House of Assembly, as they were ruled by the British colonial administration through the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Though Southern Cameroon withdrew from Nigeria and return to their original territory with a semi-self-governing body, they were yet to become independent entity with complete territorial control.

Since it was no longer colonized, and the United Nations' administration was not ready accept the territory be abandoned as a patch of land and could not give them complete independence with the excuse that they were under-populated, though endowed with all the natural resources that guarantee the people a comfortable wellbeing.

February 11<sup>th</sup> 1961 a plebiscite was organized by the United Nations for Southern Cameroon and become independent either by joining the already Independent Republic of Cameroon (French Cameroun) or the already independent Federal Republic of Nigeria. No third option was given to the vulnerable people of Southern Cameroon for the choice on independence. A 60% against 40% votes was the result of the exercise and favored Southern Cameroon's joining the French Cameroun to have their independence on October 1<sup>st</sup> 1961.

The new country was called the Federal Republic of Cameroon and the flag of the Country was carrying two stars as a symbol of two separate countries that are living

together. Though in a federal state, both parties ran their affairs smoothly and happily with a separate administration in different federal houses. The heads of administration during this time were Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo as president of French Cameroun and Mr John Ngu Foncha as head of government in Southern Cameroon. As years goes by, the passion of coming closer between the two Cameroons was rekindled and this interest set in motion working abilities of the leaders of the two federal states. After looking into many aspects of living closer, both leaders arrived at a conclusion and a Referendum was scheduled for November 20<sup>th</sup> 1972. The people voted and the result permitted them to become one country, a unitary constitution was adopted, several clauses of the referendum necessitated the coming together and the name was changed from the Federal Republic of Cameroon to the United Republic of Cameroon and the country's flag that was carrying two stars was replaced by to one star. In this unitary state, Mr Ahmadou Ahidjo became the president and Mr John Ngu Foncha was the vice President.

The transition from a federal to unitary state was highly criticized by some elites and political bench of the Southern Cameroon origin. Some said the union was illegal, changing of the country's name was not also sending a good signal.

At the welcome of the unitary state, full government control was transfer to Yaounde, the country's political seat, all political parties were banned and a single party system put in place with the only political party being the Cameroon National Union(CNU). Also the House of Commons that existed in Southern Cameroon was closed with tacit reason that two house of assembly would be so expensive for the state to run. There was growing tension as politicians in the Southern Cameroon now have to drop their political parties and militate with the lone party. Also the members of the Southern Cameroon House of Commons have to travel to Yaounde during assembly sessions to represent the interest of their people. Also to note is the fact that the Mobile Police Wing that guaranteed security and protected the people of Southern Cameroon was dissolved by the central Yaounde government and immediately replaced by the National Gendarmerie French force, that were thrown all over the territory of Southern Cameroon. It was like a military take over in the eyes of the members of Southern Cameroon.

Later in 1975 few years into the unitary state, President Ahidjo appointed Mr Paul Biya the Prime Minister of the United Republic of Cameroon. This appointed did not



go unnoticed by the general public and critics wasted no time to offer their say. The post of the Prime minister was one of the strongest instruments of consideration during the unitary state negotiations. It was accepted that in the unitary state, when the president emerge from the French Cameroun, the Prime Minister will come from the Southern Cameroon and vice versa. This decision to appoint Mr Biya of the French Cameroun as Prime Minister was a total knock out from political competition to the Southern Cameroon people.

It should be noted that, the referendum question during the 20<sup>th</sup> May 1972 was fraudulent and the people were tricked. The question was “Would you vote for a Unitary government with the French Cameroon? The responses where as follows “YES/OUPI”. The translation of the answers in English all meant same thing. So the people were tricked into voting “YES’ because there was no “NO” option that is why the result of the referendum was 99.9%. This could have been the beginning of frustration for the Southern Cameroon people as they were tricked into unity.

The unitary government also dissolved many institutions of high income generating value that were of the Southern Cameroon zone, such as the Cameroon Bank, Yoke Dam, FONADER, National Produced Marketing board, Power Camp, Bessongabang airport, Tiko airport. The natural seaport in Limbe was rejected to be developed into a full functioning deep seaport; the Tiko Wharf with a port standard was abandoned. Other institutions that were not closed were transferred to Yaounde or Douala, all French Cameroun territory. It is an open secret to write that the French Cameroun party did not mean good for the unitary government they engaged the people of Southern Cameroon into. All the income generating institutions in southern Cameroon were closed down so that the English territory will remain completely dependent to the French counterpart.

A constitutional amendment in 1979 qualified the prime minister to succeed the president if the incumbent is not able to finish his term of office as president. Later in 1980 Ahidjo was re-elected as the president and he continued enjoying the double post of the party chairman and the president of the United Republic of Cameroon. Few more years, the president Ahidjo in a radio communiqué on the national station November 4<sup>th</sup> 1982 resigned as President of the country and gave way to Mr Paul Biya as the constitutional successor. This news was a big shock to the eyes of the public who could not believe the decision of the emeritus personality.

Paul Biya resumed office as President immediately and appointed on November 6<sup>th</sup> 1982, Mr Bello Bouba Maigari, a fellow French Cameroon personality, as prime minister.

This appointment of Mr. Bello Bouba was not welcomed by the Southern Cameroon politicians, who believed that the French Cameroon administrators were not adhering to clauses of agreement made before the unitary government. Later by April 4<sup>th</sup> 1984 a military coup was detected, the former president was accused and sent on exile while Mr Bello Bouba another accused of the said coup was dismissed from the office of the prime minister.

After this military coup, President Biya abolished the post of prime minister from 1984 till 1991. This was a strange decision from the office of the president to kick-out such an office from the government. Elites from the Southern Cameroon were so confused as to why the office of the prime minister is no longer fit for the English speaking people.

Same this year of 1984 President Paul Biya changed the name of country from United Republic of Cameroon to the Republic of Cameroon. This moment was considered as “full eclipse”. Before the union of both countries, at independence the name of French Cameroun was “The Republic of Cameroun” in french (La Republique du Cameroun). This complete change of the country’s name by the president was a night mare to southern Cameroon politicians who understood the meaning of national symbols. How could you draw the people of a union to answer a name that you singly answered before the union? These question came repeatedly. Others called this transition a total re-colonization from a fellow neighboring Cameroon.

In March 1985 President Paul Biya changed the name of the lobe political part Cameroon National Union(CNU) to Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM). The changing of names from country to political party made some critics contend that President Biya never wanted to see anything that could make him remember ex-President Ahidjo, who had been in exile since 1984. President Biya now had the post of President of the Republic and Chairman of the lone party CPDM.

The people of Southern Cameroun were not comfortable with the one party system, the post of Prime minister had not been given to them as earlier promised, the only way out to advance their political game was the quest for political party of the Southern

Cameroon's origin. Mr Ni John Fru Ndi launched the Social Democratic Front (SDF) Political party in Bamenda on May 26<sup>th</sup> 1990. This was the only way for the southern Cameroon people to compete for the office of the president since the post of prime minister was through appointment and was not coming to them any time soon. The creating of this party faced a resistance from the government body, the military forces stormed the venue and they were some casualties. This same year, the government of Yaounde was left with no choice but to declare multi-party politics in 1990. The coming of multi-party politics in Cameroon was a great joy to politics lovers as they can now enter full competition with their fellow French Cameroon colleagues.

The post of the Prime minister was re-established on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1991 and Mr Saydou Hayatou was appointed the Prime minister. After a long time of a non-functional office, a fellow French national was brought to the office of a prime minister. This was seen as a political mockery to the people of Southern Cameroon who have longed for this post for several years.

In preparation for the coming presidential elections, eighteen out of the twenty-one opposition parties in Cameroon request from the government a Sovereign National Conference. This plea from the opposition parties was disregarded and a National Election Observatory created to monitor the 1992 presidential. Some critics held that, the plea for sovereign organ was turned down because the government of Biya is not sure of what the results of October 1992 would be. According to some observers semi-autonomous organs will encourage the party in power to influence election results positively to their favor. Radio France International RFI a French media reported that, opposition leaders were arrested and tortured in the cities of Douala, Kumba and Bamenda, following their reaction to government's refusal of National Sovereign Conference to monitor elections. The national Coordinator of Opposition parties and Association NCOPA, called up a planned boycott of the re-opening of schools to re-affirm its commitment to dialogue.

The presidential elections of October 11<sup>th</sup> 1992 took place all political parties represented. In the election results, the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement of President Paul Biya registered 39.98%, Social Democratic Front of Mr Fru Ndi registered 35.97%, National Union for Democracy of Mr Bello Babouba Maigari registered 19.22%. The results of the elections declared Mr Paul Biya the winner of the 1992 presidential elections over other competitors.

Mr John Fru Ndi and Mr Bello Bouba petitioned the election results through the supreme court. The petition accused Mr Biya of putting ghost names to the electoral list, operating fake polling stations, withholding ballots papers of other competitor opposition parties. The court dismissed the petitions on grounds that they were basedless.

Foreign observers including the United States National Democratic Institute said that, there was serious problem, European Community expressed its concerns with the serious irregularities. Following a demonstration call by opposition leader Ni John Fru Ndi in Douala city, fifty people were held and tortured by security forces. About one hundred and fifty government military forces surrounded Fru Ndi's home in Bamenda where the chairman and other one hundred party supporters and family members were residing.

In December 1994, a constitutional consultative committee of some fifty-seven members met throughout the month of December and discussed changes to the 1972 constitution. They produced and agreed draft copy and submitted to the Biya's government who responded the constitutional revision will be possible by next year 1995. As a sign of their disapproval of the 1972 constitutional reforms, the Southern Cameroon would send a delegation to Auckland summit to seek support for a Quebec style independence referendum.

The first ever municipal elections launched in 1996, the opposition parties won 13 city councils out of 20 largest councils. The results were overwhelming by the opposition parties, as they would enjoy not only the administrative part in developing their communities, but also controlling a source of constant money flow. With this means they can also support their party's activities and assure promising future for party members and workers.

The Mayors of the opposition parties were not allowed to control the full source of funds in their municipality as the central Yaounde government appointed Government Delegates to all cities councils. The government delegates became the boss of the city councils by so doing depriving the Mayors of what they felt after elections results.

In 1997 October presidential elections, the three key opposition parties did not contest, the results of elections were out and Mr Biya was voted once more into the seat of President with a 92.6% votes.

In April 2008, the national assembly passed a controversial constitutional amendment abolishing presidential term limit thereby providing Mr Biya with the opportunity to run for the 2011 Presidential.

The 2011 presidential elections like any other was heavily contested and the party in power was accused of fraud, before the results were released, opposition groups had filed suits against irregularities common with the system. This time Biya won by 77% votes.

President Biya's grip to power was further consolidated in 2013 through the creation of a Senate body with 100 members. The ruling party of Mr Biya won 56 seats out of 70 seats at the Senate. Putting 56 seats with the uncontested 30 seats reserved for the president to appoint will make a total of 86 seats at the Senate. With this number of seats for a party in power, decision making will always be in favor of the party on seat.

Later in 2016, battled with the frustration of elections and constitutional irregularities, the combined force of the Teachers Syndicate and the Lawyers Syndicate all of the Southern Cameroon origin made an outing on October 2016. It was a peaceful protest which was asking the government to make some reforms on the English Common law system which they believe its being eroded. The lawyers also kicked against the French speaking Cameroonians who are appointed as Magistrate in the Common law courts in the Southern Cameroon's territory, the lawyers made a request for the government to reconsider the option of the 1961 federal state. The teachers also grieved on the fact that French speaking teachers were sent to English school to teach in a language they do not master. Teachers also requested for reforms in the English educational system which they believe is being hijacked by the central government in Yaoundé.

All these calls made to the political system yield no fruits as the government responded with a military approach. The lawyers were arrested, tortured and their wigs were seized. This reaction from government made lawyers boycott court sessions for 3 months consecutively.

To further make their claims heard by the government, a Cameroon Anglophone civil Society Consortium CACSC was formed. This pressure group brought together southern Cameroonians of all fields of work to project their common goal to the Yaounde government that have refused to provide solutions to their consistent demands to the system. The front line leaders included Mr Agbor Felix Balla as president, Dr

Fontem Neba as Secretary. On October 17, 2017 Consortium leaders Mr Agbor Balla and Dr Fontem were arrested and taken to Yaounde. They spent a considerable time about 8 months in the prison cells of Yaounde before their release. They were charged with crimes treason, rebellion. While the leaders were in prison, the Consortium was banned by the Yaounde government.

In light to project the Southern Cameroon's movement a new pressure group was formed, the Southern Cameroons Ambazonian Consortium United Front (SCACUF). The leadership of this pro-independent movement was Mr Sissiku Tabe Julius Ayuk as President, Mr Tassang Wilfred as Secretary. Mobilization of people in the two English speaking regions of Southern Cameroon was on a daily basis. Activism on social media also help sell out the protest. Though several factions were created in the peaceful movement, they all had a common goal which was independence for the Southern Cameroon people. The protest was constantly interrupted by government military forces but the people were more determined than ever. The voices of the diasporas made the protest gained a lot of weight and was gaining more attention in some western countries like United States of America, United Kingdom, South Africa, Germany, Belgium, France. Large group of protesters visited foreign embassies, United Nations offices and the streets were always full. A little diplomatic push to the movement was introduced by the leader Mr. Sissiku Tabe when he starts making tours in America, Germany, London, South Africa, and Nigeria talking to come head of states of representatives of governments abroad for collaboration in their plight for complete freedom. This great move was seen as great threat to the Yaounde government and the leadership of the gentleman Mr Tabe Julius saw a brief end as they were arrest with other carbonate members in Nera Hotel Nigeria and taken to the Yaounde central prison.

The movement was not destined to end abruptly though the leaders remain in jail. The Ambazonia interim government was formed by Mr Ayuk Julius Tabe earlier before he was capture and sent to prison, while in prison, Mr Sako Samuel took over as Active Interim President to proceed with the struggle for complete independence.

The movement witnessed its greatest attention during the peaceful march of 22th September 2017. The turnout was over 5 million protesters both in national and foreign territory. The request of the people changes from reforms in the educational and legal

system to total freedom as an independent country. The people of Southern Cameroon were asking for a referendum to exercise self-determination.

October 1<sup>st</sup> 2017 was the day they people of Southern Cameroon has set forth to come massively and declare their country as independent by hoisting a flag of their new country called “Ambazonia”. This day, men, women and children, abroad and home based came out massively to pronounce the country free from 21<sup>st</sup> century annexation. Those protesting in the two English speaking regions of north west and south west, marched bravely towards national day boulevards to hoist flags and chant songs of freedom. The event of marching towards the independence avenue took off smoothly, in some parts of the country flags with color blue and white where hoisted, in other parts like main town Bamenda in the north west and Buea in the south west protesters met their waterloo. Government forces formed a defense block to prevent protesters from hoisting the Ambazonian flag. The bad side of the mach past came when the government military forces could no longer bare the provocation of independence from protesters. They opened fire on unarmed civilian protesters, many were wounded, many died immediately as shooting was closed range. Some reports confirmed helicopter gunships were used.

President Biya’s military attack on the unarmed population of Southern Cameroon was a clear indication to them that the government of Yaounde is giving them room for an armed challenge. The separatists do no longer have confidence on the Yaounde government after so many years political manipulations. At this time, the separatist movement have mounted pressure on parents to keep their children away from school, ghost towns declared on every Monday of the week, to the separatist this was the begin of civil disobedience. There have been frequent report of rapes and torture of the Southern Cameroon population by the military forces, arbitrary arrest and taken to numerous prisons. Many things have accumulated in the minds of the minority English speaking regions of Cameroon. The change of the country’s name in 1984 was contested in courts by Southern Cameroon elites but the court’s decision was unfavorable. Meanwhile of the 28 million estimated population of the country, the Southern Cameroon constitutes 8 million and this number strengthened the hopes of becoming an independent country. Besides other malfunctioning of the government towards the people of Southern Cameroon those that quickly came to the mind of the minority people were;

- They change of name from the Federal Republic to the United Republic and later to the Republic of Cameroon.
- The disappearance of one star from the two stars Cameroon flag
- The disrespect of bilingualism in the public sector against the constitutional provision that made both French and English the official national languages.
- Non-compliance to the solemn promises made during the referendum campaigns.
- Failure to respect commitments to equity
- The transfer of decision making facility to Yaounde which is considered farway from Southern Cameroon people.

The Southern Cameroon diaspora took over control of the revolution following the arrest and detention of the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC) leaders. The Southern Cameroon's diaspora abandoned the call for restoration of the two federal states, and replace it with the demand for a complete separate state called "Ambazonia". Numerous factions pursuing same goal erupted, those noted were; Southern Cameroon People's Organization (SCAPO), Southern Cameroon South Africa Forum (SCASAF), Movement for the Restoration of Independence in Southern Cameroon (MoRISC), Southern Cameroonians in Nigeria (SCINGA), Southern Cameroon National Council(SCNC), Ambazonia Governing Council (AGC), Southern Cameroon Youth League (SCYL). The southern Cameroon Broadcasting Corporation (SCBC) television station was created, as an information media to keep the Southern Cameroon people with current events and it also worked as a propaganda medium to sell the struggle worldwide. Demonstrations at embassies and High Commissions in Africa, Europe and America, hiring of international legal team to help pursue the objective of the English speaking people. These measures have been very useful for mobilizing and sustaining the genuine journey of the Southern Cameroon population worldwide. This protest was the biggest work of the Ambazonia Interim government to enable them reaches soonest their quest for independence.

The decision to restore the independence of the Southern Cameroon "Ambazonia" was among the settlements arrived at, in a conclave of SCACUF that took place in Buea July 10<sup>th</sup> 2017. In this conclave a Southern Cameroon Ambazonia Education Board(SCAEB) was formed to prepare the school curriculum that would be consistent with the Anglo-Saxon educational system. The conclave also creating a ruling body



comprising of Executive, Legislative and Judiciary arms of government including a powerful self-defense organ to protect the lives and properties of the unarmed Southern Cameroonians. Prior to the declaration of independence by the Ambazonia population in October 2017, the Yaounde government had arrested and incarcerated over 130 Southern Cameroonian activists labeling them as terrorists. A lot of them facing serious charges including treason, terrorism crimes under the military courts all over the national territory.

The peaceful protest turned sour as many civilians died. The people became very bitter with the reaction of the government military troops. Internet network was shut down in the Southern Cameroon region over 4 months in 2017. All strategy to call government attention for a long lasting solution were exhausted and the government was still repressive in their response. The pro-independent movement created a military branch and recruitment of soldiers was immediate. At this time the peaceful movement change to a military challenge. With the help of diaspora's funding, contributions in the two English speaking zones and a large population of young boys and girls willing to defend their home land from invaders; as they were told by their recruiters. They had no more strategies to prosecute a peaceful demonstration, and they fear of losing many more Southern Cameroonians in the attacks of the Republican military, they took up arms and decided to face the government's military forces. This decision opened the way to the armed conflict in Cameroon that took off as of November 30<sup>th</sup> 2017.

## **5. CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY**

### **5.1 Conclusion**

This dissertation addressed the research questions; the root causes of the November 2017 Cameroon civil war. The thesis also aims to link historical research to the contemporary understanding of the situation in Cameroon.

Collier and Hoeffler painted a brilliant literature on the civil war causation using the economic model of Greed concept. They made an erroneous generalization that, only greed concepts have space to analyze civil war onset and also that grievance concept was only a theory with no empirical backings, hence would remain an ideational concept.

The main contribution of this dissertation is to make corrections to Collier's generalization of the determinants of civil war onsets, and move forward prove that the grievance theory has empirical backings as evident in the case of the Cameroon civil war of November 2017 in the Biya's regime. This thesis rejects Collier's generalization because, what causes civil war in country "A" might not necessarily cause civil war onset in country "B" or country "C", and this dissertation recommends a case study approach to be able to trace the root causes of different civil war cases.

In chapter one, this dissertation made a vivid introduction of the Republic of Cameroon from the 1960 to 2017 that witnessed just two presidential regimes. The dissertation in this same chapter brought to light what civil war is all about; definition, characteristics and differences between civil wars, genocides, massacre and political conflict. Nevertheless, this chapter mentioned those that recognized the crisis in Cameroon as a civil war case.

Chapter two outlined broad based literature reviews of civil war onsets. Among all the literatures, this dissertation supported the contribution of Collier and Hoeffler, but this dismissed its generalizations.

Chapter three tackled two mechanism of civil war onset, briefed on the context used in the thesis. The grievance based mechanism, also termed as frustration is connected

with the relative deprivation theory stipulating that, when an individual or group of individuals do not meet material expectations because they have been deprived of them, they become psychologically frustrated and this stands as the root of violent rebellion.

The second mechanism employed is the Spatial Dependence or Geography of war theory. This theory explains international, civil and sub-national war patterns and diffusion. As per war diffusion in the context employed, Spatial effect will be associated with the movement of Spatial agents; refugees or rebels, across borders from one country to another country. For instance, movement drift from country “A” experiencing instability to countries “B” or “C” with a stable environment.

From a thorough investigation, it was realized that there had been no ongoing instability in any of the countries sharing immediate territorial boundaries with Cameroon, so there was no evidence of rebel influx to stir up the Cameroon present instability hence the Spatial dependence does not stand a chance to explain then Cameroon civil war of November 2017. Though the dissertation dismissed the Spatial effect in the context of movement into Cameroon territory, the dissertation cannot completely reject the movement of ideas from

ex civil war countries that entered the country territory to help mould the minds of the rebel groups towards the tactics in persecuting rebellion movements. Hence civil war tactics were copied from neighboring countries to help the Cameroon fighters.

Chapter four laid foundation of the thesis’s investigation; recounting the Cameroon events from 1960 political, economic and social transition till November 2017. Within 57 years work frame, this dissertation found accumulated relative deprivation of the British Southern Cameroon people they had pushed them to violent rebellion against the Cameroon government, and its concluded that the civil war on November 2017 in the Biya’s regime was Grievance induced.

Upon a thorough analysis of several approaches, this thesis confirms grievance mechanism is the best concept to explain the November 2017 civil war in Cameroon.

## **5.2 Summary**

The study is an investigation on the causes of civil war onset and the case study is Cameroon November 2017 civil war. This dissertation aims to answer the research

questions and have to properly observe, understand and bring out in a scientific model the root causes of the civil war.

With the standing difficulty to exhaust all material sources, the data collection method used for this scientific investigation is put together secondary literature with primary sources such as Observations, Textbooks, Newspapers, Magazines, Press releases, Internet, Mainstream Media.

Amongst all literature presented, this thesis accepts the eloquent work of Collier and Hoeffler put forward to explain civil war onsets, same time this dissertation could not agree with the gross generalization made by Collier and Hoeffler, of the only determinant of civil war onset to be greed driven.

This study recommends case study approach for civil war onset investigations. Though Spatial dependence or geography of war analysis theory do not have strength to explain the Cameroon civil war, its traceable ideational contribution cannot be undermined.

Upon a thorough examination of several approaches of civil war onset, this dissertation finds grievance mechanism the best concept to explain the Biya's regime November 2017 civil war in Cameroon in the following light;

The systematic violation of article 76(b) of the United Nation's charter which provides clearly self-government and independence to all trust-territories, making this be considered an international conspiracy against the people of British Southern Cameroon.

The consistent unilateral adjustments of the federal constitution by the Yaounde centralized government was seriously contrary to Union of both countries' agreement which had stipulated that, the federal constitution can only be amended by 2/3 simple majority in the federal assembly.

The illegal merging of the two countries through a fraudulent referendum with no treaty backings in 1972.

The appointment of Mr Biya as prime minister in 1975 was very contrary and a violation of the federal constitution which outlined that, when the president comes from the French Cameroon, the prime minister will automatically come from Southern Cameroon and vice-versa.

Also unconstitutional was the 1984 President Biya abolishing the post of Prime minister in the government, the illegal unilateral changing of the country's appellation from Federal Republic to United Republic and finally to the Republic of Cameroon.

The inexplicable reason to close down many of the Southern Cameroon's income generating institutions like the Cameroon Bank, National Produce Marketing Board, Yoke Dam project, the airports of Bessongabang, Tiko and Bali.

The 2008 National Assemble law to abolish presidential term limits.

The October 2016 brutal torture, arrest, rape and incarceration of Southern Cameroon's civil society leaders and civilians, who were on peaceful demonstration asking for solutions to be provided to their problems, to amend the English Common law system, the Anglo-saxon educational system and better living conditions.

All these put together meant the British Southern moved from trust-territory to annexation by a fellow neighboring La Republic du Cameroon (The French Cameroun).

### **5.3 Özet**

Bu çalışma, iç savaşın başlamasının nedenleri üzerine bir araştırmadır ve örnek olay da Kamerun Kasım 2017 iç savaşıdır. Bu tez araştırma sorularına cevap vermeyi ve iç savaşın temel nedenlerini bilimsel bir model içinde uygun şekilde gözlemlemeli, anlamalı ve ortaya çıkarmalıdır.

Tüm maddi kaynakların kullanılması zor olduğundan, bu bilimsel araştırma için kullanılan veri toplama yöntemi gözlemler, Ders Kitapları, Gazeteler, Dergiler, Basın bültenleri, İnternet, Ana Akım Medya gibi birincil kaynaklar ile ikincil literatürü bir araya getirmektedir.

Bu tez, sunulan tüm literatür arasında, Collier ve Hoefler'in iç savaş başlangıçlarını açıklamak için ortaya koyduğu anlamlı çalışmalarını kabul etmektedir; ancak bu tez, iç savaşın başlangıcındaki Collier ve Hoefler tarafından tek belirleyici olarak ileri sürülen açgözlülük tahriki genellemesine katılmamaktadır.

Bu çalışma, iç savaş başlangıçlı araştırmalar için vaka çalışması yaklaşımını önermektedir. Savaş analizi teorisinin mekansal bağımlılığı veya coğrafyası Kamerun

iç savaşını açıklama kabiliyetine sahip olmasa da, izlenebilir fikinsel katkısı da yadsınamaz.

Bu tez birkaç iç savaş başlama yaklaşımının incelemesiyle, aşağıdakiler ışığında Biya rejiminin Kamerun'daki Kasım 2017 iç savaşını açıklamak için en iyi kavram olarak şikayet mekanizmasını görmektedir;

Birleşmiş Milletler Tüzüğü 76 (b) maddesinin sistematik ihlali, tüm British Güney Kamerun halkına karşı uluslararası bir komplo olarak kabul edilmesini sağlayarak, tüm güven bölgelerine açıkça özerklik ve bağımsızlık vermektedir.

Yaounde merkezi hükümeti tarafından yapılan federal anayasanın tutarlı tek taraflı düzeltmeleri, federal anayasanın federal mecliste yalnızca 2/3 basit çoğunluk ile değiştirilebileceğini öngören her iki ülkenin Birliğine ciddi biçimde aykırıydı.

İki ülkenin hileli bir referandum yoluyla 1972'de anlaşma destekleri olmadan birleştirilmesi.

Sayın Biya'nın 1975'te başbakan olarak atanması çok aykırı bir hareketti ve cumhurbaşkanı Fransız Kamerun'dan olduğunda başbakanın otomatik olarak Güney Kamerun'dan olacağını ya da cumhurbaşkanı Güney Kamerun'dan olduğunda başbakanın otomatik olarak Fransız Kamerun'dan olacağını belirten federal anayasanın ihlal edilmesiydi.

Ayrıca 1984'de Cumhurbaşkanı Biya'nın Başbakanlık görevini hükümetten kaldırması, ülkenin Federal Cumhuriyetten Üniter Cumhuriyete ve son olarak Kamerun Cumhuriyeti'ne illegal olarak tek taraflı olarak değiştirmesi de anayasaya aykırıydı.

Güney Kamerun'un Kamerun Bankası, Ulusal Ürün Pazarlama Kurulu, Yoke Barajı projesi, Bessongabang, Tiko ve Bali havaalanları gibi gelir getirici kurumlarının çoğunun açıklanamaz nedenle kapatılması.

Cumhurbaşkanlığı görev süresi sınırlarını kaldıran 2008 Ulusal Meclis yasası.

Problemlerine çözüm, İngiliz Ortak hukuk sisteminin değiştirilmesi, Anglosakson eğitim sistemi ve daha iyi yaşam şartları talebiyle barışçıl gösteriler yapan Güney Kamerun'un sivil toplum liderleri ve sivillerine yapılan Ekim 2016'daki, acımasız işkence, tutuklama, tecavüz ve hapis.

Tüm bunlar bir araya geldiğinde vesayet altındaki bölge İngiliz Güney'in komşu dost ülke La Republic du Kamerun (Fransız Kamerun) tarafından ilhakı anlamına geliyordu.

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## **RESUME**

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### **Academic Background:**

Enrolled in the Government High School (G.H.S) Limbe/Lyceé Classique Limbe-Cameroon from 1992 to 2000. Obtained the General Certificate of Education G.C.E Ordinary Level Certificate in 1998. Also obtained the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level Certificate in the year 2000.

Enrolled in the prestigious Anglo-Saxon University of Buea- Cameroon, from 2002 through 2005 and obtained a Bachelor of Science in Political Science and Public Administration.

Attended the Agric and Fishery Administration School of Bonamatoumbe Douala-Cameroon in the year 2008, obtained a Diploma in small scale Fishing Administration.

In 2015 enrolled in Oasis Spanish Language School Mexico, obtained Diploma in Spanish Language.

In 2017 through 2019, enrolled in Istanbul Aydın University Turkey and obtained a Master of Arts degree in International Relations.

### **Employment History:**

From 2005 to 2008 was recruited as Public Relations Officer for Bakura Oil Mill, Cameroon.

From 2009 till 2014 operated a Common Initiative Organization (G.I.C PAC) as chief executive officer.

In 2018 to 2019, worked as Liaison officer for Apex Global Limited

**Interests:** Intra-States Relations, Conflict Resolution, Humanitarian Services.