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PRESSURE GROUPS IN
SOUTHERN CAMEROONS
Executive Summary

The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL), and the Ambazonia Liberation Party (ALIP) are organizations that advocate for the right of self-determination for Southern Cameroonians. While they share this broad purpose, the organizations differ from one another on various key issues including whether to seek secession from Cameroon or remain as autonomous federated region(s) and whether to pursue their goals peacefully or through the use of force.

While reports indicate that the Cameroon government had in the past targeted and persecuted members of these organizations, it appears that this has increasingly become more selective and infrequent, and less severe. Some reasons for this change are self-evident: the continued harassment of government authorities in the 1990s has reportedly driven many key leaders of these organizations into exile, and the organizations continue to suffer from internal division, infighting, and lack of vision toward a common purpose. These issues have rendered them weaker, ineffective in articulating their cause, and less threatening to government authorities.

I. Introduction

This report was prepared in response to a request for information on the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL), and the Ambazonia Liberation Party (ALP). It seeks to provide an overview of these groups, including information on their size, popularity, and political strength; their current leadership; their stated goals; the location of the majority of their supporters and members; and whether their members face persecution in Cameroon.

A review of the limited literature available on SCNC and the other organizations leads to three mutually inclusive points: First, the groups and their members, particularly people in leadership positions, have been subjected to persecution by government authorities including mass detentions and killings. Second, the persecutions that they suffered at the hands of the Cameroon government authorities early on drove many leaders of SCNC and other similar organizations into exile. Third, the groups, particularly SCNC, have been marred by increasing internal divisions and a lack of vision, which have caused internal fragmentation. The most notable example is the split of SCYL from SCNC. As a result, it appears from the information
available that the groups have lost momentum and are becoming less of a concern to the Cameroon government, giving the government fewer reasons to target their members.

II. Historical Background

Cameroon, like most other African nations, is a colonial construction. What is known today as the Republic of Cameroon was created by Germany, which, as part of the “Scramble for Africa” European colonial project, occupied the area in 1884 after having entered into a treaty with local rulers. After Germany’s defeat in the First World War, Britain and France partitioned the territory into British Cameroons and French Cameroon, on the basis of a 1916 treaty (also known as the Milner-Simon Declaration) and added these territories to their list of existing colonies in the area.

In 1922, Cameroon was declared a “Class B” League of Nations Mandate. Britain administered its piece of the Cameroon territory as part of its Nigerian colony and in 1924 replaced laws put in place by the Germans by extending the application of Nigerian laws into British Cameroons. This British controlled Cameroon territory constituted 20% of the territory and population of the entire Cameroon and was further divided into Northern Cameroon, administered as part of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, and Southern Cameroon, which constituted part of the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria. What is today referred to as the Southern Cameroons is the latter of these two British-administered parts of Cameroon.

After the Second World War and the collapse of the League of Nations, the mandates of these regions were replaced by UN trusteeships, and the British granted Southern Cameroons, which until that point had been administered as an extension of the Nigerian colony, quasi-regional status in 1954. In a 1961 UN-sponsored referendum on the political future of British

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4 Id. at 179.


6 INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP, supra note 5, at 3; HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENCE GROUP, supra note 5, at 4, 31; Southern Cameroons National Council, Press Briefing Following Admission of Southern Cameroon into Membership of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) 3 (Jan. 6, 2005).
Cameroons, Northern Cameroonians voted to become part of Nigeria. The already independent Francophone Cameroon and Southern Cameroon then formed two federated states of the Federal Republic of Cameroon with the Southern Cameroonians renamed West Cameroon and the Francophone part becoming East Cameroon. Later, West Cameroon was further divided into Southwest Province (consisting of the departments of Fako, Koupé-Manengouba, Lebialem, Manyu, Meme, and Ndian) and Northwest Province (including the departments of Boyo, Bui, Donga-Mantung, Menchum, Mezam, Momo, and Ngo-ketunjia), which together today constitute the Anglophone Southern Cameroons, the area in question in this report.

The union of Anglophone Cameroonians with the Francophone Cameroonians generated issues from the outset. It has been reported that Southern Cameroonians in fact had independence aspirations and chose to unite with Francophone Cameroon only because they were not offered the option of independence in the 1961 referendum. Their choice to join Francophone Cameroon was more a rebuke of Nigeria, under the administration of which they felt largely marginalized, than a reflection of their desire to be part of Francophone Cameroon. Internal divisions also played a part in preventing Southern Cameroonians from uniformly asserting their desire for independence.

The disenchantment of Southern Cameroonians apparently grew with time. Various reports have noted that the Cameroon government, largely dominated by people from Francophone Cameroon, took a number of actions that further marginalized the Southern Cameroonians, rekindled their independence/autonomy aspirations, and resulted in the creation of groups advocating for these causes. Among the notable moves by the Cameroon government was the dissolution of the federal arrangement in favor of a unitary state through a constitutional reform in 1972 without any involvement of the Southern Cameroonians. A 1979 constitutional amendment in which the position of the Speaker of the House of Assembly, assigned to a representative from Southern Cameroon, was removed from the position as the default constitutional successor of the head of State was another notable move that further alienated

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8 *INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP*, supra note 5, at 6.
11 Konings, supra note 7, at 4.
12 *INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP*, supra note 5, at 6.
14 *Id. at 2.; Fanso, supra note 9, at 293; Emanuel Anyefru, The Refusal to Belong: Limits of the Discourse on Anglophone Nationalism in Cameroon*, 28(2) JOURNAL OF THIRD WORLD STUDIES 277, 278 (Fall 2011).
Southern Cameroonians.\textsuperscript{15} No matter how symbolic, the 1984 change of Cameroon’s name from “United Republic of Cameroon” to “Republic of Cameroon” by the then president of the country only added to the aggravation of the Southern Cameroonians.\textsuperscript{16}

This situation did not automatically lead to the creation of groups advocating independence/autonomy. The above-noted series of actions by the government were temporarily palatable to the Southern Cameroonians in large part because in the 1970s and early 1980s, the country enjoyed relative economic stability. Advocacy was further hampered by the fact that there were tight restrictions on political activities during this period.\textsuperscript{17} The economic hardship that hit in the late 1980s, coupled with limited political reforms introduced in the early 1990s, gave rise to the groups discussed below, which advocate independence/autonomy for the Southern Cameroons.\textsuperscript{18}

III. Southern Cameroons National Council

SCNC is a secessionist movement established in the 1990s.\textsuperscript{19} Specifically, it is said to have grown out of a 1993 movement known as the All Anglophone Conference (ACC).\textsuperscript{20} SCNC is not a registered political party, nor is it a militant organization advocating for a military solution to the Southern Cameroon problem.\textsuperscript{21} It is considered an illegal organization in Cameroon.\textsuperscript{22} Membership in this organization is limited to Southern Cameroonians.\textsuperscript{23}

The group’s Constitution envisages organization at six different levels, including

- the Precinct, a grassroots unit in villages and quarters;
- the Local Government Area, organized at the Sub-Division and District level;
- the County, organized at the Division level;
- the Zone, at the Provincial level;
- the Diaspora, encompassing members in exile; and

\textsuperscript{15} Fanso, \textit{supra} note 9, at 293.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{17} BRIAN BEARY, SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS: A GLOBAL REFERENCE 58 (CQ Press, 2011).
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Id.;} Anyefru, \textit{supra} note 14, at 279.
\textsuperscript{19} Response to Information Request (RIR) CMR102788.E, The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) and the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL); organizational structures; leaders; activities; membership cards; treatment of their members by government authorities, IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD OF CANADA (Apr. 2, 2008), \url{http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca:8080/RIR_RDI/RIR_RDI.aspx?id=e&id=451809}; AUSTRALIA GOVERNMENT, REFUGEE REVIEW TRIBUNAL, \textit{supra} note 13, at 3.
\textsuperscript{20} Beary, \textit{supra} note 17, at 58.
\textsuperscript{21} IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD OF CANADA, \textit{supra} note 19, at 3.
\textsuperscript{22} U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR, 2008 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT: CAMEROON (Feb. 25, 2009), \url{http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2008/af/118990.htm}.
\textsuperscript{23} CONSTITUTION OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS NATIONAL COUNCIL § 5 (2005).
• the National Council, the highest body of the group.24

Reports indicate that Cameroon authorities have a history of persecuting members of SCNC. For instance in 1997, the Cameroon government blamed the group for attacks made on government installations that claimed the lives of government officials in parts of Southern Cameroons.25 The government instituted a crackdown in which it arrested over fifty people, many of whom were subjected to torture, starvation, rape, and lengthy detentions.26 Many died.27 This forced most of the leaders of the organization to flee the country to avoid persecution.28

The confrontation with the government is said to have reached its peak in the late 1990s and early 2000s. At the end of 1999, some alleged members of SCNC took control of a radio station and broadcast a declaration of independence of Southern Cameroons.29 In April 2000, some of the members of the group raised the stakes by naming Frederick Ebong Alowbwe the first president of the Federal Republic of Southern Cameroons.30 These actions increased the risk of a government crackdown.31 Police began indiscriminately rounding up and detaining people on suspicion of their membership in SCNC.32 Members of SCNC reported various forms of harassment and institutional discrimination they suffered at the hands of the government, ranging from denial of access to schools and jobs, to detention and criminal trials in military courts, to killings—most notably an incident in December 2002 in which the government authorities are said to have killed six Southern Cameroonians who were celebrating their self-declared “Independence Day.”33

More recently, harassment of SCNC and SCYL members by government authorities appears to have dramatically decreased both in scale and frequency. Harassment, although it exists, appears to be geared more towards disrupting meetings and group activities than being punitive in nature; the government typically conducts raids and temporarily detains members of the group around the time it celebrates its “Independence Day.”34 Other than these types of

24 Id. § 7.
25 BEARY, supra note 17, at 58.
27 Id.
28 BEARY, supra note 17, at 59.
29 Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), THE PRS GROUP (Dec. 1, 2010).
31 Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), THE PRS GROUP (Dec. 1, 2009).
32 Dicklitch, supra note 26, at 156.
34 IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD OF CANADA, supra note 19, at 3.
disruptions, the groups are reported as being largely tolerated in Cameroon. In addition, government actions appear to be limited to individuals in leadership positions and “mere membership, involvement with, or perceived involvement in the SCNC or the SCYL” no longer appears to be cause for being targeted by government authorities. One United Nations source indicated that activists from these groups have not served jail terms since 2001.

This decrease in government harassment could be attributed to the diminishing influence of the various groups, including SCNC, in large part due to crippling internal divisions. The increasing militancy of certain factions within SCNC caused a rift among the leaders of SCNC in the late 1990s and early 2000s. An illustrative example is the public feud between two top SCNC executives—Henry Fossung, the group’s leader, and a fellow member, Esuka Ndoki Mukete—following the above-mentioned independence proclamation and demonstrations that followed in which Fossung publicly admonished Mukete for provoking violence for an illegal campaign. The internal divisions eventually led to the fragmentation of SCNC into at least four factions under the leadership of [Frederick Alobwede] Ebong, who was the chairman of the High Command Council of SCNC in 1999; Nfor Ngala Nfor and Ayamba [Ette Otun]; [Henry] Fossung; and Ebenezer Akwanga, the leader of the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL). There continues to be infighting and a constant power struggle among various personalities within the organization aspiring to lead the different factions.

The questions that divide the movements (and the factions within them) advocating for self-determination of the Southern Cameroons go much deeper than tactical issues and individual power struggles. The two parts of Southern Cameroons, Southwest Province and Northwest Province, mistrust one another and hold animosities that go back to the colonial era. The various active groups apparently also have differing views on what their goals should be and how to achieve them, including whether they should be pushing for total independence from Cameroon or for the restoration of the federal arrangement that existed before 1972 and whether they should pursue their goals through a peaceful means or armed struggle. There are divisions even within the camp advocating for the reinstatement of the federal arrangement on questions of whether to go back to the two-state system of the pre-1972 structure or whether there should be

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35 UNITED KINGDOM HOME OFFICE, supra note 33, at 2.
36 AUSTRALIA GOVERNMENT, REFUGEE REVIEW TRIBUNAL, supra note 13, at 4.
37 UNITED KINGDOM HOME OFFICE, supra note 33, at 10.
40 Anyefru, supra note 14, at 287.
41 Dicklitch, supra note 26, at 172.
42 PRS GROUP (Dec. 1, 2010), supra note 29.
further decentralization. All of these divisions have contributed towards weakening the unity and effectiveness of these groups.

Geographic distance is another challenge. Many leaders of the organizations, including SCNC’s leaders, left the country in self-imposed exile in the 1990s at the height of the groups’ confrontations with the government. As discussed below, the leader of SCYL and many SCNC leaders continue to live abroad. Their involvement with Cameroon is by and large limited to the Internet through the various websites they run from abroad. Nonetheless, they do strive to make the best of their situation by taking their case to regional and international forums in an attempt to gain visibility. For instance, SCNC in 2002 instituted a case before the Nigerian Federal High Court in Abuja to, among others things, compel the Nigerian government to bring the Southern Cameroons case before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as well as the United Nations General Assembly. Another example is the group’s case before the Banjul-based African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights. Yet another notable example is the admission of the group into the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization in 2005.

One recent source consulted indicated that the current leader of the faction of SCNC that advocates for a peaceful resolution of the Southern Cameroons issue is Ayamba Ette Otun. Another slightly dated source provides an aggregated list of leaders within SCNC with no specific indication as to the particular faction within the group that they belong to, as follows:

- Nfor Ngala Nfor, National Vice Chairman
- Frederick Alobwede Ebong, Chairman and President of the self-declared Federal Republic of the Southern Cameroons
- Charles Mbide, Vice National Secretary [Ebong faction]

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43 Dicklitch, supra note 26, at 173.
44 BEARY, supra note 17, at 59, 60.
45 Id. at 59.
47 INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP, supra note 5, at 22; see also Marcel Fomotar, A Tale of Nationalism and Dissonance, PEACE AND CONFLICT MONITOR, http://www.monitor.upeace.org/archive.cfm?id_article=431 (last updated June 7, 2007).
48 IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD OF CANADA, supra note 19, at 4.
52 PRS GROUP (Dec. 1, 2010), supra note 29.
- Henry Fossung, leader of a faction opposed to the independence declaration by the Ebong faction
- Ayamba Ette Otun, National Chairman
- Andrew Azong-Ware, Secretary General
- Stephen Kognsco, County Chair, Bui
- Henry Lamnyam, County Secretary, Donga Mantung
- Achu Njei David, Organizing Secretary, Mezam County
- Nguemo Clement, Financial Secretary, Santa
- Mbi Ann-Rita Eyong, Vice Chair, Kumba
- Ngiewih Asunkwan, National Communication Officer
- Hitler Mbinglo, Northern Zone Chairman
- James Sabum, National Organizing Secretary
- Sylvester Taku, Southern Zone Chairman
- Anderson Ebai, Chairman for Fako County
- Thomas Acha, Chairman for Meme County
- Mathias Esambi, Chairman for Ndian County
- Nso Tabong, Chairman for Manyu County
- Joseph Mbejunjang, Chairman for Lebialem County
- Henry Forsung Fondeck, Chairman for Kupe Muanenguba County

IV. Southern Cameroons Youth League

SCYL is another secessionist movement. Established in May 1995, it seeks, according to its stated motto, a “total and unconditional independence” of the Southern Cameroons. Although generally depicted as a splinter of SCNC, the group vehemently opposes this characterization. On the front page of its website it has a flashing message in three colors that states “[t]he Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL) is not, and has never been and will never be the youth wing of the Southern Cameroons National Council.”

One of the key features that distinguish this group from SCNC and some of SCNC’s factions is its commitment to the use of force. In its platform, SCYL declares as follows: “[t]he Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL) was created with the unique mission of using all

53 IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD OF CANADA, supra note 19, at 1–2.
55 IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD OF CANADA, supra note 19, at 3; see also INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP, supra note 5, at 22.
56 About the SCYL, SCYL, supra note 54.
available civilized means including force to bring freedom to the suffering and persecuted people of the Southern Cameroons.”57 As noted above, SCNC or the factions that comprise SCNC do not seek to use force to further their cause. This is reported as being the main sticking point that led to the split of SCYL from SCNC.58

The main governing body of SCYL is the Revolutionary High Command Council, which consists of five members. The national chairman is Ebenezer Derek Mbongo Akwanga Jr.59 He is forty-two years old and currently resides in the US, in the State of Maryland.60 The other members of the Council include Lucas Cho Ayaba, Secretary-General; Benedict Nwana Kuah, Strategic Commander; Fuachaleke Charles Taku, Technical and Legal Adviser; and the Spokesman, a position that appears unfilled following the death of Christopher Fomunyoh Bah-Tangoh.61 Other notable positions include Public Relations Officer, Treasurer, Spiritual Leader, External Bureau Heads, Chief of Protocol, and Head of the Legal Department, all of whom report to the Secretary-General.62 The Southern Cameroons Defense Forces (SOCADEF), the military wing of the organization, reports to the Strategic Commander.63

SCYL appears to have some international reach. The following individuals are among its most prominent members residing outside of Cameroon:

- Wesley Angoni Tiku, West Africa Bureau
- Anthony Jong, West Africa Bureau
- Thomas Achoa, West Africa Bureau
- Martine Chiakissiah Wango, West Africa Bureau
- Agnes Akwanga, America Bureau
- Magdelene Ngassa, SCYL/SCNC Treasurer, Germany
- Julius Che, Head of the International Secretariat of SCYL, Germany
- Edwin Mekanya Kamara, Personal Assistant to the National Chairman, American Bureau
- Prince Lawrence Ayamba, Belgian Bureau
- Mua Obadiah Tegha, Belgian Bureau
- Sakem Lucas Sakem, Belgian Bureau

57 Id.
58 IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD OF CANADA, supra note 19, at 3.
59 About the SCYL, SCYL, supra note 54.
60 About Our Leader, SCYL, supra note 46.
61 Id.
62 About the SCYL, SCYL, supra note 54.
63 Id.
The organization claims to have around 700,000 registered members and millions of sympathizers.\(^{65}\) The group does not limit membership to Cameroonian of Southern Cameroons origin; it is open to “people of every race and nation who understand and accept our struggle for freedom and to any freedom lover around the world.”\(^{66}\) The Secretariat issues all membership cards.\(^{67}\)

Like SCNC, SCYL’s presence in Cameroon is tenuous at best. As indicated above, many of its leaders, including the national chairman, live abroad. Although there was a report on the arrest of around thirty members of SCYL suspected of recruiting members for SOCADEF in 2006, the group has remained relatively dormant in Cameroon since that time.\(^{68}\)

V. Ambazonia Liberation Party

Sources discussing the Ambazonia Liberation Party (ALIP) are not widely available. What little information is available indicates that ALIP is a political party formed in 2004 by Southern Cameroonians in exile.\(^{69}\) Like SCYL and some SCNC factions, it seeks full independence of Southern Cameroons from what it calls “the occupation and subjugation by the Republic of Cameroon.”\(^{70}\)

ALIP’s proposed Manifesto provides information on various issues, including its organizational structure and membership policy. It consists of the following five organs:

- Cells, grass roots-level units of the party each of which consists of at least twelve members;
- Spokes-Council, the main decision-making body of the party constituted by delegations from each cell;
- The Congress, a gathering of the entire party held every four years or whenever the Spokes-Council calls an emergency Congress;
- Four-person Party Committees, formed by the Spokes-Council for a two-year period to work on “development and sustainability of the party”; and

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\(^{66}\) Id.

\(^{67}\) Id.

\(^{68}\) IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD OF CANADA, supra note 19, at 4.


\(^{70}\) Id.
• Working Groups, bodies formed by the Congress or the Spokes-Council to perform specific tasks in a defined time period.\textsuperscript{71}

While anyone who agrees with the party’s platform “in conscience and in practice,” regardless of their citizenship or ethnicity, is free to seek membership, the ultimate authority regarding questions of membership in the Cells resides with the members of each Cell.\textsuperscript{72}

Information concerning the names of individuals in leadership positions, the presence of ALIP within Cameroon, and whether and to what extent ALIP members or sympathizers are persecuted by the Cameroon government could not be located.

Prepared by Hanibal Goitom
Foreign Law Specialist
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\textsuperscript{71} \textit{Id}; Proposed Manifesto for the First Congress of the Ambazonia Liberation Party (ALIP) art. 6 (undated), \url{http://www.freeambazonia.org/files/manifesto2.1_0.pdf} (last visited Nov. 6, 2012).

\textsuperscript{72} \textit{Id}. arts. 3, 4.