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Cameroon Unravels

By Chris W. J. Roberts

Executive summary

- In office since 1982, President Biya is feeling increased domestic and international scrutiny over his maladroitness and tone-deaf approaches to a cascade of crises.
- Yet, these crises all share a background cause: deeply neopatrimonial political institutions and governance, largely supported historically by international actors and institutions.
- Usually insulated from international criticism about domestic issues due to carefully managed diplomatic, commercial, and military ties, Biya finally started to feel the heat in 2019.
- In 2019, Boko Haram's resurgence, including a rejuvenated conventional military capability, hit northern Cameroon. In June, a major attack on security forces and civilians on an island in Lake Chad left scores dead.
- On October 1st 2017, a major anglophone group declared independence for Ambazonia, following the old borders of British Southern Cameroons (North-West and South-West regions of Cameroon). Violence escalated as security forces increased their presence.
- Ambazonian leaders, including Interim Government President Sisiku Ayuk Tabe, were arrested in Nigeria in January 2018, quickly extradited to Cameroon, charged and sentenced to life in prison under terrorism legislation originally established to deal with Boko Haram.
- Over the last three years, well over 500,000 people have been displaced from their homes in the North-West and South-West regions of Cameroon
- The growing domestic and international pressures led most recently to Biya's call for a "grand national dialogue" which took place at the beginning of October.
- Following this event, Maurice Kamto and one hundred others from his party were finally released (after over 300 anglophones were also released), but the arbitrary nature of arrests and releases does not generate much confidence that real political reform is on the horizon.



In Cameroon, a view on the Nigerian border in the far north. Credit: Flickr / [Philippe Semanaz](#)

On 5 July 2019, a chartered, VIP-configured Boeing 767 hastily departed Switzerland for Yaoundé. On it after a short but eventful stay in Geneva, Cameroon's octogenarian President Paul Biya and his entourage. His lingering stays at Geneva's plush Intercontinental Hotel, where his family, officials, and bodyguards often took over entire floors and paid in cash, are likely at an end.

Events in Switzerland spiralled out of control shortly after Biya's arrival on June 23rd. Over the previous few years, his stays in Geneva were measured in months, not days or weeks. But with his country mired in conflict, humanitarian emergencies (described as "the world's most neglected displacement crisis" in 2019¹), and fiscal crisis, Swiss politicians and prosecutors added some unwelcome pressure and nudged him on his way.²

Trouble began early. A handful of Biya's bodyguards manhandled a Swiss journalist covering a small demonstration of diaspora Cameroonians outside the Intercontinental. Cameroon's ambassador was summoned to the Swiss foreign ministry, officials were arrested, and six were handed suspended sentences. Next, on June 29th, a large, originally peaceful demonstration organized by "la Brigade anti-Sardinard" – a satirical reference to the proclivity of Biya's ruling party to hand out bread and sardines to mobilize supporters – turned into a riot control operation as the sanctioned protest moved towards the Intercontinental. Another protest was scheduled for the following Saturday, but Biya un-

ceremoniously left the day before. This all occurred while Switzerland hosted preliminary mediation efforts that included representatives of armed groups fighting for an independent Ambazonia in the English-speaking North-West and South-West regions of Cameroon (NWSW).³

This episode in Switzerland symbolized a deteriorating situation for President Biya's regime. Once simply accepted as a relatively stable country in a troubled region, Cameroon is currently facing its biggest crisis since the "Hidden War" ("*Guerre cachée*") of the 1950s-1960s⁴ and the formal end of federalism in 1972.⁵ In fact, Cameroon can be best described today as experiencing "multiple, cascading crises."⁶

In office since 1982, President Biya is feeling increased domestic and international scrutiny over his maladroitness and tone-deaf approaches to these cascading crises.⁷ Yet, these crises all share a background cause: deeply neopatrimonial political institutions and governance, largely supported historically by international actors and institutions, that have squandered opportunities to leverage the country's substantial human and natural resources.

The growing domestic and international pressures led most recently to Biya's call for a "grand national dialogue" which took place at the beginning of October, preceded by a series of preliminary meetings in Cameroon and around the world to include diaspora voices.⁸ Despite a wave of announce-

ments during and after the “grand dialogue,” the chances of this process resolving any of the various crises are remote.

The following provides an update about Cameroon’s contemporary unravelling within the context of deeply neopatrimonial governance and cascading crises. It begins with a brief overview of the foundational governance crisis and economic malaise, shifts to examine the Boko Haram (Far North) and “Anglophone” or Ambazonian (ex-British Southern Cameroon) crises, the 2018 politics and elections crisis, and then examines the political economy of regime survival. The political and financial costs of regime survival undermine the long-run economic health and stability of the country as it exacerbates all the other crises. The analytical conclusion suggests that, despite the national dialogue process and apparent concessions towards political reform by the Biya regime, Cameroon’s unravelling is likely to continue, though at an incremental pace which keeps Cameroon mostly off international radar screens.

The Governance Crisis

Since independence in 1960, Cameroon has only had two presidents and, taking into account party mergers and name changes, one party (the Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM) or *Rassemblement démocratique du Peuple Camerounais* (RDPC)) has dominated the political landscape. Multi-party elections since 1992 have been flawed – at times blatantly so but also through more subtle forms of manipulation⁹ – allowing only limited political mobilization and elected opposition. This is not to say that the CPDM is without a partisan core of supporters but the governing strategy in Cameroon has always been through broad-based clientelism (variously described as neopatrimonialism¹⁰ or a more organic “rhizome state” in Bayart’s terminology¹¹). Incorporating many traditional leaders, civil servants, senior district officers, teachers, professors, the judiciary, appointed governors, the security services, and management and employees across a wide range of state owned enterprises (SOEs), the extensive patronage network links the presidency and the party to nearly every village and facet of society.

Besides its nominally bilingual character –with 80% of the population living in previously French-ruled regions and 20% in previously British-ruled regions – Cameroon is one

of the most ethnically diverse countries in Africa. With 250 ethnic groups, neopatrimonial strategies of regime maintenance are conceivably rational to stitch together both a concept of nation (“fatherland” or “patrie” is typically used in Cameroon) and a ruling coalition. This holds, however, only in terms of a political system that is highly centralized around the office of the presidency: federalism or decentralization would divide power and authority and create opportunities for regional political competition and improve administrative responsiveness. This would interfere with formal and informal presidential powers, undermining the well-entrenched patronage

system that has kept the CPDM in power since independence. Not everyone can be an insider in such a system with limited material and other types of rewards. In any case, the near future is one of schisms within the CPDM over any post-Biya succession, with northerners asserting that they have waited patiently since 1982 when Ahidjo transferred power to Biya, a southerner representing Bulu-Beti-Fang interests.¹² That cleavage ignores the economically powerful western Bamileke who have faced the option of either limited cooptation or opposition since 1960.

While such a system can appear relatively stable for long periods, especially with the support of external benefactors, it is apt to make mistakes and manage crises poorly. When cooptation fails to work, coercion swiftly follows. For decades, the coercive elements of the state – from economic levers to the security forces – managed the occasional flare-up. This was the strategy from 2014 as well, first with Boko Haram in the Far North and then the Ambazonia protests and resurgent independence movement in the NWSW after October 2016. Managing two violent insurgencies and an insecure border with the Central African Republic has caught up to the regime. The resources available to invest in cooptation and coercion are constrained due to the economic pitfalls of the centralization of power based in neopatrimonial governance. A quick check of economic growth figures between 1960 and 2015 tells a not-surprising story: in constant (2010) US dollars, Cameroon’s GDP per capita has been effectively flat since 1960, moving from less than US\$800 at independence to still under US\$1400 in 2015. The multidimensional poverty ratio is nearly 37% of the population (as of 2014)¹³.

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The Boko Haram Crisis

Since 2011, the Boko Haram insurgency (and a later splinter group called the Islamic State West Africa Province or ISWAP) has predominantly impacted Nigeria's national security in its three northeast states. But all the countries around the Lake Chad basin have felt the effects of this Islamist movement as it waxed and waned. While there were kidnappings in 2013, the first major attack in Cameroon occurred in March 2014 (with up to 400 "attacks and incursions" over the next two years¹⁴). This threat led to a rapid build-up of Cameroon security forces in the north, including deployment of new armoured vehicles from South Africa and China. Cameroon joined the Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram to coordinate military operations of the Lake Chad Basin Commission governments.¹⁵ In December 2014, the government passed a sweeping anti-terrorism law that would allow Boko Haram insurgents to be tried in military courts. In 2015, President Obama announced increased military assistance to the Biya regime and deployed American Special Forces and surveillance UAVs (drones) to the airport at Garoua. The increased Cameroonian security presence, backed by US intelligence, helped to reduce the frequency and severity of Boko Haram attacks by late 2016 and into 2017. The threat was not completely defeated, with occasional suicide bombings and border raids, but it substantially receded.

However, in 2019 Boko Haram's resurgence, including a rejuvenated conventional military capability, hit northern Cameroon. In June, a major attack on security forces and civilians on an island in Lake Chad left scores dead.¹⁶ A national day of mourning shortly followed. During the first half of September, over twenty incidents were reported leaving both soldiers and civilians dead, with more families displaced.¹⁷

The "Anglophone" Crisis

While outsiders may have a rough conception that Cameroon was once the German colony of Kamerun, allied occupation after the First World War established French and British colonial mandates and thus divergent language, legal, and even developmental trajectories since the 1920s. French *Cameroun* became independent on 1 January 1960 amidst the "Hidden War" against the radical nationalists of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) rooted within the Bamileke community. The following year, British Southern and Northern Cameroons held plebiscites about their futures: autonomous independence was not

on the ballot. Instead, the choice was either to join Nigeria or Cameroon. Northerners chose Nigeria (effected on 1 June 1961). Southerners chose Cameroon. After rushed and rather incomplete constitutional negotiations, the Federal Republic of Cameroon was launched on 1 October 1961. To some degree both the Boko Haram and Anglophone crises afflicting Cameroon today have their roots in this flawed independence process.

Despite a nominally federal system between 1961-1972, the centralization of power in the presidency of Ahmadou Ahidjo and early moves towards a one-party state undermined federalism nearly from its launch. A snap referendum on "reunification" in 1972 formally ended the experiment. Over the decades since there have been many manifestations of resistance against the unitary vision of *La République du Cameroun*. The first All-Anglophone Conference (AAC) was held in 1993 shortly after the return to multi-party elections, calling for greater autonomy for what had been British Southern Cameroons. The following year, however, the second AAC led to growing demands for separation, spearheaded by the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) formed in 1994. Since then, members of the SCNC have been regularly arrested and charged with sedition.

Fast forward to late 2016, and peaceful protests by lawyers and students in the minority English-speaking regions were met by severe repression and arrests of civil society leaders and journalists. Within months, local self-defence groups, mostly using traditional firearms, sprang up to protect local communities from national security forces.¹⁸ On 1 October 2017, a major anglophone group declared independence for Ambazonia, following the old borders of British Southern Cameroons (NWSW regions). Violence escalated as security forces including elements of the elite Israeli- and American-trained BIR (Bataillon d'intervention rapide) increased their presence. Ambazonian leaders, including Interim Government President Sisiku Ayuk Tabe, were arrested in Nigeria in January 2018, quickly extradited to Cameroon, and charged under terrorism legislation originally established to deal with Boko Haram. In August 2019, Ayuk Tabe and nine others were sentenced to life in prison by a military court.¹⁹

Over the last three years, well over 500,000 people have been displaced from their homes in the NWSW regions, likely 50,000 have fled over the border to Nigeria²⁰, and anywhere from 2,000 to 5,000 civilians and Ambazonian "restorationist" fighters have been killed as well as perhaps 500 members of the military, gendarmerie, and associated

"Within the francophone majority, the ongoing arrests of political opponents and journalists have only increased general disaffection with the regime."

vigilante groups.²¹ Thousands have been arrested, with many held for long periods without trial. Hundreds of villages, schools, and hospitals have been razed, with schooling and economic activity severely disrupted in the NWSW regions. The difficulty gathering accurate data remains an ongoing element of the information war between Ambazonian activists and a government that tries to minimize both the extent of the crisis and the actions of its security forces and associated vigilante groups.²² Similar to insurgencies elsewhere, the regionally autonomous Ambazonian armed groups (with names such as the Lebialem Red Dragons, the Manyu Tigers, and the Southern Cameroons Defence Forces) cannot defeat well-armed and armoured security forces in conventional battles, but they know their terrain and conduct ambushes in both rural and urban locations. War crimes have been perpetrated by both sides in this asymmetric conflict, but the security forces' frustration is too often taken out on civilians as catalogued in Montreal's Raoul Wallenberg Centre report on extensive "crimes against humanity".²³

The 2018 Politics & Elections Crisis

With the backdrop of the end of presidential term limits and growing displacement and violence in the NWSW regions, the country held a presidential election in October 2018. Turn-out was low after the short, official two-week campaign period. The Biya-appointed Constitutional Court finally confirmed his victory with over 71% of the vote, but main opposition candidate Maurice Kamto had already declared victory from unofficial poll results. After continuing claims of victory and peaceful protests, Kamto and many of his organizers and supporters were arrested in January 2019 and charged with sedition.²⁴ Within the francophone majority, the ongoing arrests of political opponents and journalists have only increased general disaffection with the regime. Legislative and municipal elections scheduled for late 2019 have been delayed yet again. Growing protests against Cameroon officials and embassies outside the country (including in Canada) are usually led by francophone, not Ambazonian, diaspora groups. After the national dialogue in October Kamto and one hundred others from his party were finally released (after over 300 anglophones were also released), but the arbitrary nature of arrests and releases does not generate much confidence that real political reform is on the horizon.²⁵

The Political Economy of Regime Survival

Usually insulated from international criticism about domestic issues due to carefully managed diplomatic, commercial, and military ties with France, Britain, the US, the UN (related

to peacekeeping in Central African Republic), China, and lately Russia, Biya finally started to feel the heat in 2019. In February the US reduced though did not end military assistance. On May 13th, the UN Security Council held an informal, Arria formula²⁶ discussion about Cameroon. Even in Canada, a House of Commons subcommittee held hearings on the human rights situation in June.²⁷ The US House of Representatives introduced a resolution with the toughest language yet on the Cameroon crisis. Biya's Swiss interlude then followed. Swiss and German parliamentarians became increasingly vocal. In early July, an American congressional delegation visited the country. On July 9th, the US State Department put travel restrictions on the inspector general of the national gendarmerie. By early September, in an effort to regain some control, President Biya announced le grand dialogue national.

While some outside politicians and humanitarian observers tracked the deteriorating situation, international financial institutions seemed to assess Cameroon through a different set of lenses. In a 2015 report, the IMF grouped Cameroon with other African states that had made important political and economic reforms and "achieved resiliency".²⁸ By the middle of 2017, however, in the midst of a deteriorating security situation, growing debt, and a shortage of hard currency to fund imports – pressures also driven by a failed attempt to host the 2019 Africa Cup of Nations²⁹ – IMF executive directors approved a three year Extended Credit Facility worth \$666 million.³⁰ Disbursements are periodic, following IMF mission reports that gauge how well the government is tracking towards mutually agreed economic reforms and conditions. Invariably, these reports highlight progress and recommend disbursements. But those interim IMF reports are increasingly detached from the reality of Cameroon's dire economic situation as outlined most recently in the September 2019 edition of Business in Cameroon magazine.³¹ Those tranches, however, are financial lifelines for the regime and for the international firms, including Canadian crown corporations, which continue to overlook the regime's political and human rights record. The IMF continues to bail out the regime from its own economic mismanagement, reducing fiscal pressures that might otherwise contribute to substantive political and economic reforms.

Conclusion: No solutions without international engagement

For Biya, the happier times when international actors left Cameroon alone and he could leisurely manage state affairs from Geneva are over. However, he remains adept at buying time through high-profile policy interventions mostly designed for international consumption, such as the national

dialogue, and a web of important global commercial and geopolitical relationships, mastering strategies of extraversion³². The regime employs high priced Western public relations firms to manage and shape its messaging.³³ Still, it remains unclear how he can substantively overcome any of the multitude of interlinked security and economic crises currently afflicting what was long considered an ocean of stability in a difficult neighbourhood. The economic crisis prevents his usual strategy of enhanced cooptation and coercion. The IMF emergency package is a lifeline, not transformative.

Yet, as long as he keeps his various domestic opponents off-balance and the international community more worried about instability than political reform or human rights, Biya will linger on and millions will continue to face violence, displacement, political exclusion, and economic hardship. But the regime's intransigence may have pushed even federalism off the list of viable solutions, with recent surveys putting secession (or "restoration of independence") as the only option for 40% to 69% of anglophones polled.³⁴ The last-ditch attempt at the national dialogue – unfortunately coming across as a grand monologue – to offer "special status" for NWSW and elections for governors³⁵ is likely too late and disingenuous: how does special status get entrenched in a constitutional order that is secondary to neopatrimonial imperatives?

As the truth trickles out of Cameroon, however, questions will be asked of external actors, including the Canadian government³⁶, about why they ignored the human rights abuses and violent political oppression for so long. Some of the extremist language by regime officials and supporters mirrors that from pre-genocidal Rwanda.³⁷ Worse, however, is evidence that various countries and international organizations (including the IMF and World Bank) continued to enable this regime through loans and military exports despite the regime's refusal to acknowledge the political nature of the crises, the extent of suffering, or the human rights abuses by its security forces.

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- ¹ Norwegian Refugee Council, 2019. The world's most neglected displacement crises. 5 June. URL : <https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/nrcs-list-of-the-worlds-most-neglected-displacement-crises/nrcs-list-of-the-worlds-most-neglected-displacement-crises.pdf>
- ² Paula Dupraz-Dobias, 2019. Cameroon's president Biya has become a hotbed of conflict. Quartz Africa. 4 July. URL : <https://qz.com/africa/1658958/cameroon-paul-biya-geneva-getaway-marred-by-growing-protests/>. A Swiss parliamentarian, Sylvain Thevoz, started an online petition to demand Biya leave Switzerland, see Parliamentarians sign petition to oust Biya from Switzerland, 2019. JournalduCameroun.com. 3 July. URL : <https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/cameroon-parliamentarians-sign-petition-to-oust-biya-from-switzerland>
- ³ Frédéric Burnand, 2019. Comment Genève a cristallisé la crise camerounaise. 5 juillet. URL : https://www.swissinfo.ch/fre/etat-h%C3%B4te_comment-gen%C3%A8ve-a-cristallis%C3%A9-la-crise-camerounaise/45078060. See also Nina Larson, 2019. "Swiss initiative hopes to ease Cameroon crisis," AFP. 4 October. URL : <https://news.yahoo.com/swiss-initiative-hopes-ease-cameroon-crisis-050619599.html>
- ⁴ See Thomas Deltombe, Manuel Domergue, and Jacob Tatsitsa, 2011. Kamerun ! Une guerre cachée aux origines de la Françafrique, 1948-1971. Paris, Éditions La Découverte. See also Meredith Terrata, 2012. Nation of outlaws, state of violence: nationalism, Grassfields tradition, and state building in Cameroon. Athens, Ohio, Ohio University Press.
- ⁵ Frank M. Stark, 1976. Federalism in Cameroon: The Shadow and the Reality. Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines 10 (2) : 423-442.
- ⁶ Jeffrey Smith, 2019. The U.S. Should Bid Biya Goodbye. 10 July. Foreign Policy. URL : <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/10/the-u-s-should-bid-biya-goodbye-cameroon-security-foreign-policy-yaounde/>
- ⁷ See, for example, the 28 May 2019 Cameroon Government Statement on the Socio-Political Situation Prevailing in Cameroon, directed at the international community. URL : https://www.diplocam.cm/images/Government_Statement_28052019.pdf.
- ⁸ Le Monde, 2019. Crise séparatiste au Cameroun : Paul Biya « convoque » un « grand dialogue national ». 11 septembre. URL : https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2019/09/11/crise-separatiste-au-cameroun-paul-biya-convoque-un-grand-dialogue-national_5509043_3212.html
- ⁹ Erikca A. Albaugh, 2011. An autocrat's toolkit: adaptation and manipulation in 'democratic' Cameroon. Democratization 18 (2) : 388-414.
- ¹⁰ On neopatrimonialism, see Jürg Martin Gabriel, 1999. Cameroon's Neopatrimonial dilemma, Journal of Contemporary African Studies 17 (2) : 173-196. See also Daniel C. Bach and Mamoudou Gazibo, eds., 2010. Neopatrimonialism in Africa and Beyond. London : Routledge.
- ¹¹ J.-F. Bayart, 1989, L'État en Afrique: La Politique du Ventre. Paris, Fayard.
- ¹² Yuhniwo Ngege, 2019. Cameroon's three deepening divides all have one thing in common, African Arguments. 13 August. URL : <https://africanarguments.org/2019/08/13/cameroon-crisis-three-deepening-divides/>
- ¹³ Data from World Bank, Poverty & Equity Data Portal. URL : <http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/CMR>: The "Multidimensional Poverty Measure" provides a more comprehensive measure of relative poverty than simply looking at average monetary income per day.
- ¹⁴ Hans De Marie Heungoup, 2016. Q&A: Boko Haram in Cameroon, International Crisis Group. 6 April. URL : <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/q-boko-haram-cameroon>
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- ¹⁸ Gareth Browne, 2019. Cameroon's Separatist Movement is Going International. Foreign Policy. 13 May. URL : <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/13/cameroons-separatist-movement-is-going-international-ambazonia-military-forces-amf-anglophone-crisis>
- ¹⁹ France24, 2019. Au Cameroun, un leader des séparatistes anglophones condamné à la perpétuité. 20 août. URL : <https://www.france24.com/fr/20190820-cameroun-justice-leader-separatiste-anglophone-prison-perpetuite-session>
- ²⁰ See Norwegian Refugee Council, 2019. NRC's Operations in Cameroon. May. URL : https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/fact-sheets/2019/q2/factsheet_cameroon_may2019.pdf. The actual number of Cameroonian refugees in Nigeria is unknown, but likely well above the official figures.
- ²¹ Based on averages of various reports. Accurate casualty figures for civilians, Ambazonian fighters, and government

security forces are not available. Ambazonian sources rarely admit when fighters are killed, claiming only civilian victims of the security forces. As of mid-2018, about 120 military and gendarmerie personnel were confirmed killed in NWSW, but the intensity of operations have increased since then and some of the Ambazonian fighters are better equipped now than previously. Government has an incentive to underestimate both civilian and security force fatalities; Ambazonians have an incentive to exaggerate the same figures.

²² For example, see the BBC report (including BBC Africa Eye documentary), Cameroon Burning: Images you're not meant to see. June 2018. URL : <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-44561929>

²³ Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights and Cameroon-based Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa, 2019. Cameroon's Unfolding Catastrophe: Evidence of Human Rights Violations and Crimes Against Humanity. June. URL : <https://www.raoulwallenbergcentre.org/newsfeed/2019/6/4/release-of-landmark-report-on-unfolding-catastrophe-in-cameroon>

²⁴ Le Monde, 2019. Au Cameroun, huit chefs d'accusation contre l'opposant Maurice Kamto. 31 janvier. URL : https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2019/01/31/au-cameroun-huit-chefs-d-accusation-contre-l-opposant-maurice-kamto_5417166_3212.html

²⁵ Geoffrey York, 2019. Cameroon releases opposition leaders from prison after peace dialogue. The Globe and Mail. 6 October. URL : <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/world/article-cameroon-releases-opposition-leaders-from-prison-after-peace-dialogue/>

²⁶ The "Arria formula" allows members of the Security Council to hear, during informal meetings outside its chambers, individuals whose expertise could likely enlighten the Council in matters that concern it. Source: <https://onu.de-legfrance.org/Glossaire-onusien-a-l-usage-des-neophytes>

²⁷ Canada, House of Commons Subcommittee on International Human Rights of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, 2019. News Release: Subcommittee on International Human Rights Holds Hearings on the Human Rights Situation in Cameroon. 4 July. URL : <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/SDIR/news-release/10592031>.

²⁸ IMF, African Department, 2015. Building Resilience in Sub-Saharan Africa's Fragile States. URL : <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2015/afr1505.pdf>.

²⁹ Moki Kendzika, 2019. Conflicts and corruption in Cameroon drain the economy. Deutsche Welle. 23 January. URL : <https://www.dw.com/en/conflicts-and-corruption-in-cameroon-drain-the-economy/a-47202553>

³⁰ IMF, 2017. IMF Executive Board Approves US\$666.2 Million Arrangement Under the Extended Credit Facility for Cameroon. 26 June. URL : <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2017/06/26/pr17248-imf-executive-board-approves-arrangement-under-the-extended-credit-facility-for-cameroon>.

³¹ Business in Cameroon, 2019. The outstanding cost of the Anglophone Crisis. September (79). URL : <https://www.businessincameroon.com/pdf/BC79.pdf>.

³² Jean-François, Bayart, 2000. Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion. African Affairs 99: 217–267; Cédric, Jourde, 2007. The International Relations of Small Neauthoritarian States: Islamism, Warlordism, and the Framing of Stability. International Studies Quarterly 51: 481–503.

³³ Robbie Gramer and Jefcoate O'Donnell, 2019. African Governments Rush to Hire Trump-Linked Lobbyists. Foreign Policy. 6 August. URL : <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/08/06/cameroon-biya-fara-african-governments-rush-to-hire-trump-linked-lobbyists/>

³⁴ See Claire Hazbun and Ken Opalo, 2019. Cameroon Must Make Concessions to End the Anglophone Crisis. Foreign Policy. 27 September. URL : <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/09/27/cameroon-must-make-concessions-to-end-the-anglophone-crisis-paul-biya/>. See also Crux Staff, 2019. Cameroon's cardinal: Anglophone independence must be on agenda. Crux: Taking the Catholic Pulse. 25 September. URL : <https://cruxnow.com/church-in-africa/2019/09/25/camerouns-cardinal-anglophone-independence-must-be-on-agenda/>.

³⁵ Ngala Killian Chimtom, 2019. Cameroon's conflict: Will the National Dialogue make any difference? BBC News. 5 October. URL : <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-49931662>

³⁶ Chris W. J. Roberts, 2018. Amabazonia: Justin Trudeau's Biafra? Canadian Global Affairs Institute / Institut canadien des affaires mondiales. September. URL : https://www.cgai.ca/ambazonia_justin_trudeaus_biafra

³⁷ See, for example, Cameroon News Agency, 2017. Over 40 Bitter Anglophone Journalists Petition NCC Over Hate Speech Of Vision 4 Journalist On Anglophones. 2 October. URL : <http://cameroonnewsagency.com/40-bitter-anglophone-journalists-petition-ncc-hate-speech-vision-4-journalist-anglophones>. See also AFP, 2019. Cameroon apologizes after official says 'arrogant' Jews brought on Holocaust. Times of Israel. 5 February. URL : <https://www.timesofisrael.com/cameroon-apologizes-after-official-says-arrogant-jews-brought-on-holocaust/>



The city of Garoua, capital of the North Region of Cameroon, near the Cameroon-Chad border.
Credit: Flickr / [Guillaume Colin & Pauline Penot](#)

News and announcements

- The Organisation internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) has renewed its support for the Centre FrancoPaix in conflict resolution and peace missions of the Raoul-Dandurand Chair for the academic year 2019-2020. The OIF thus continues to support research, thinking and analysis in French on peace and security issues.
- The Raoul-Dandurand Chair is very proud to offer you "The Chair Podcast". The first episode "Conflicts in a Changing Climate Era" is now available online. On October 1st, Diego Osorio and Bruno Charbonneau discussed the impact of climate on conflicts and the resilience needed to adapt during a lunchtime conference proposed by the Centre FrancoPaix of the Raoul-Dandurand Chair. You can listen to this episode on your favorite platform: [iTunes](#), [Spotify](#), or [Google Podcast](#).
- Yvan Conoir has been appointed Director of programs for the [International Bureau for Children's Rights](#).
- Jonathan Sears has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor, International Development Studies, at Menno Simons College, within Canadian Mennonite University, University of Winnipeg.
- Bruno Charbonneau has published "[It is Not About Peace: UN Peacekeeping and Perpetual War](#)" in the forum organized by the journal International Peacekeeping on the theme of "Peacekeeping and Multipolar Global Order".
- Niagalé Bagayoko presented "Contributing to Mali's development through security system reform" at the conference "[Security and development in the Sahel. From concept to reality](#)", organized by the Thémis Institut at UNESCO, Paris, France, on October 1st. She participated to the conference "Security Infrastructure in Africa" at the 19th edition of the Rhône Economic Forum (REF), "Digital and Societal Change in Francophone Africa", in Marseille, France, on 4 October 2019. She also facilitated the workshop "[Launch of the Index on Security Governance in Niger](#)" with the ASSN team in Niamey, from 7 to 10 October 2019. Finally, she spoke at the [International Forum for the African Continent](#) (IFAC) of the *Institut des Hautes études pour la Défense nationale* (IHEDN) in Dakar on 10 October 2019. She was interviewed by "[L'Évènement Niger](#)" and "[Business Day Nigeria](#)" on October 13, 2019.
- Elisa Lopez Lucia participated to the conferences "International military interventions in the Sahel" at the Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark, from 21 to 22 October 2019, and to "Mobilizing Multinational Military Operations in Africa: Quick Fixes or Sustainable Solutions?" at Chatham House, London, United Kingdom, on 25 October 2019.
- Adib Bencherif was interviewed by the online journal [Deutsche Welle](#) on the issue of the sustainability of the 2015 Algiers Agreement of the Malian conflict, on 30 September 2019.

The Centre FrancoPaix in Conflict Resolution and Peace missions aims to promote scientific research, academic training and the development of conflict resolution research in the Francophonie.

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