

Celebrating 44 Years of Cameroon's Unification: Has it Succeeded?

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Cameroon is a West African state, as far as English-speaking Cameroonians are concerned, but to their French-speaking counterparts, their country is located in the centre of Africa (1).

This squabble over the geographic location of Cameroon says it all on the dichotomy that exists in a country also known as miniature Africa, mainly amongst its citizens.

Geographic disputes on the proper location of Cameroon are just a tip of the iceberg on the profound misgivings in a nation that remains strongly divided along colonially inherited cultures and languages.

To the majority, Cameroon got her independence on January 1st 1960 from France, while the minority English-speaking, they got their own on a more complex agreement on October 1st 1961 from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Experts on constitutional matters are still giving conflicting conclusions as to whether it is plausible to admit that, the people of both North and South British Cameroon's were granted independence based on the options offered them by the United Nations and approved by Britain.

Even though Cameroon was celebrating the 44th anniversary of its unification on October 1st 2005, there were no exceptional signs of this great day, especially in the French-speaking part of the country.

On the other hand, in the English-speaking part of Cameroon, it was a mournful face put on by those who think of October 1st that would have been their independence day, as a day of their third colonisation, but this time around, by an African country they considered their 'brother'.

To the youths on both sides of the linguistic divide, the situation was not much different; the French-speaking youths in their majority consider unification as a *fait accompli* and are more preoccupied with other daily travails.

While the English-speaking youths were highly interested in the 44th anniversary of the unification day, nevertheless with different reasons, they spend time heaping blames on their parents and on English-speaking politicians for having brought them to a promise land, which has in their opinion tend out to be hell.

However, the highly militant posture put out by large wave of English-speaking youths against the unity of their country is a real preoccupation to the authorities in Yaoundé that would have wanted a different mood.

The increasing agitation of English-speaking youths against the unity between the majority French-speaking and the minority English-speaking part of their country puts in uncertainty the future of Cameroon as a single nation.

Perhaps the continuous nose dive of the economy of the country could be one of the root causes behind the increasing clamour against the unity of their country coming chiefly from English-speaking youths.

Geography, People, Religion and Economy

Unified Cameroon has an area of 475000 square km and shares its borders to the north east with Chad, to the east with the Republic of Central Africa, to the south with the Republics of Congo Brazzaville, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea and to the west with Nigeria.

Nigeria is a country with which Cameroon shares its longest border and also entertains a very controversial relationship (2). Additionally, Nigeria is Cameroon's second official trading partner after France, but unofficially, Nigeria could easily be the first trading partner of Cameroon.

Nevertheless, most of the unaccounted trade goes through the informal sector or to call things with their rightful names, trading between Cameroon and Nigeria is done and led mostly by organised smuggling bands.

This situation has adverse effects for both governments, for it denies both of substantial revenues and also breeds powerful cross border criminal gangs that are inimical to normal trades and also to citizens of both countries living on their shared borders.

The currency used in Cameroon like in most French-speaking African countries south of the Sahara or in the case of Cameroon; partly French-speaking, is the CFA Franc (communaute financier Africain).

Located a little bit above the equator, Cameroon is made up of about 240 nationalities or tribes who are mostly ethnic Bantus, semi Bantus, Neolithic and Arabs. Like most Africans, Cameroonians are very religious, and in their majority, they are Protestants, Roman Catholics or evangelical Christians with a substantial number of animists and Moslems.

Although Cameroon is a net exporter of Cotton, Cocoa, Coffee, Oil Palm, Timber, Tea and Oil, its economy is down, mostly noticed within the English-speaking region of the country.

As already mentioned, this could be the catalyst behind the general discontent in the English-speaking zone. Ironically, despite the fact that Oil and most other cash crops that are main sources of foreign exchange earner for the country comes mainly from the English-speaking region, it is still beyond comprehension why these parts are the least developed in terms of infrastructural development.

Though it should be pointed out that, there have been very little developments in other parts of Cameroon for the past two decades, nonetheless where it has registered a striking regression are in English-speaking Cameroon.

The deterioration and regression of infrastructure is visible more in English-speaking Cameroon because, prior to the unification, the region had all basic and functioning infrastructures such as roads, schools, hospitals and health centres and with an industrial base left by the British, that have either being neglected or destroyed.

Mixed attention toward unification within the local media

Whatever the general lack of interest observed with the unification day, there were nonetheless places where one could perceive that Cameroon was celebrating a major event, these places were the state owned media ;Electronic and Print. But the enthusiasm was not at par with the dimension of such an event for the country.

The state newspaper, Cameroon Tribune, for two weeks before October 1st, published special articles and also unearthing the living participants of the unification negotiations through special interviews, they at least gave some significance to the unification day.

As concerns the independent Press, the English nationalist ones such as the "The Post Newspaper" and "The post watch magazine", they too did their own specials, by granting running interviews with dissident English-speaking leaders.

Whereas the French-speaking independent newspapers were more interested in reporting national political stories and their staple being; the merry go round of troubles within the main opposition party, the SDF.

Brief History

Modern day Cameroon began in 1884 after the Berlin Conference handed Cameroon, and the following other African countries: Tanganyika now Tanzania, Togo land, now Togo, South West Africa now Namibia, Rwanda and Burundi to Germany.

However, German's colonisation of Cameroon never went to their desired objectives, because of the out break of the First World War, their ownership of Cameroon ended between February 28th and March 4th 1916 after they conceded defeat in the hands of the combined forces of Great Britain and France.

This situation made Cameroon the former German colony, to become by the decision of League of Nations, trusteeship territories commandeered by Britain and France. Cameroon's situation mutated again in 1946, this time around, under the impetus of the United Nations; it became the protectorates of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Republic of France.

Already de facto divided as soon as the Germans capitulated, the victorious forces eventually consolidated their division of Cameroon into two parts, namely French East Cameroon and British Cameroon's.

Great Britain further divided its Cameroonian possession into two parts, respectively British Northern Cameroon's, administered as part of Northern Nigeria with headquarters in Kaduna, while the other part called British Southern Cameroon's was ruled as part of the British Eastern Nigerian Federation with headquarters in Enugu.

Britain was not alone in fiddling with their war trophy that Cameroon became, the French on their part, tampered with the original area of German Cameroon. They chopped off parts of German Cameroon and added to their possessions of Chad, Centre Africa Republic formerly known as Ubangui-Chari, Congo Brazzaville and Gabon.

As circumstances on the field evolved to acceptable level, in 1958, the French gave some limited autonomy to French East Cameroon, partly to undercut the popularity of a liberation war wedged by the UPC. The UPC is a political party created in 1948 by a group of French-speaking Cameroonian nationalists whose popular leaders were the late Ruben Um Nyobe and late Roland Momie; who was allegedly poisoned in Switzerland by a French secret service agent in 1961 (3).

The fate and future of British Cameroonians had a different track laid for them by the British officials; they were drowned within the larger federations of Eastern and Northern Nigeria where their voices were Even though it is necessary to point out that, the people of Northern British Cameroon's were more and easily incorporated into the Northern Nigerian Federation, than the British Southern Cameroonians were in the Eastern Nigerian Federation.

The success of British Northern Cameroon's in Northern colonial Nigeria was partly because of religion, the patronage of the Sardauna of Sokoto and the feudal nature of the people of the north of both regions.

Whereas the British Southern Cameroonians fortune in Eastern Nigeria was a mixture of opinion, this is because, Southerners are more republican, individualistic, and calculating tribal gains more than regional interest.

Scrutinizing the situation of Southern Cameroonians within the Eastern Nigerian federation, the British government decided by 1958 to appoint a separate governor for British Cameroon's whose name was J.O. Field, who started to lay the basis for a local administration, and a semi autonomous regional government in preparation for either independence or unification.

Ultimately on the 13th of March 1959, the UN recommended that, two plebiscites be carried out on the territories of British Cameroon's, this in collaboration with the local administrations.

The proposed UN plebiscites took place between 11th and 12th of February 1961 and these days could be regarded as the days when the future of the people of British Cameroon's was decided and the final sharp of modern day Cameroon drawn.

Nevertheless, these plebiscites gave only two options to British Cameroonians, they had to vote either to gain independence by integrating the already independent Federal Republic of Nigeria or by reunifying with the Independent Republic of French-speaking Cameroon.

As expected, the people Northern British Cameroon's voted against unification, therefore opting for integration into the Northern Nigeria federation for reason afore mentioned, meanwhile those in British Southern Cameroon's voted for unification with independent French-speaking Cameroon in a federation signed on October 1st 1961 in the town of Foumban located in French-speaking Grassland.

This resulted in the creation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon with late Ahmadou Ahidjo as its first president and late Dr. John NGU Foncha as vice President and Prime Minister of the semi autonomous Southern Cameroon's, which later became known as West Cameroon.

Reasons why integration With Nigeria failed in Southern Cameroon's

Today, the two English-speaking Cameroonian provinces of the North West and South west formerly known as British Southern Cameroon's would have been part of Nigeria had the integration bid succeeded.

The latter provinces of contemporary Cameroon would have just been like the former British Northern Cameroon's who voted for integration into Northern Nigeria and upon integration, was first known as Gongola State and presently divided in the following states: Adamawa, Borno and Taraba.

There are many reasons advanced on why the people of British Southern Cameroon opted for unification with French-speaking Cameroon. Some were already mentioned above, but others allege that, it was the faults of late Dr. [Nnamdi Azikiwe](#), the successor of Herbert Macaulay the founder of the NPNC.

To those who hold this school of thought, they argue that, Dr. Azikiwe who became the first none executive president of Nigeria in 1960, never gave better positions to Southern Cameroonians within the party and even late Paul Moyongo Mokale MP a top southern Cameroonian was marginalised within the NPNC.

While others also claim that, Azikiwe wanted integration but feared that, if it succeeded, the pre-eminence of the Igbo's within the politics of Eastern Nigeria and Nigeria in general will be lost to the benefits of the Calabari people and the Efiks that were on both sides of Eastern Nigeria and in British Southern Cameroon's.

Some instead attribute the lost to the domineering behaviour of Igbo traders and other Igbo dignitaries living in British Southern Cameroon's, their compartment was dubiously exploited by pro unification Southern Cameroonian politicians such as late Dr John NGU Foncha and his KNDP party.

At the same time, others throw all the blames at the feet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France and the United States of America.

These ones declare that, because France was fighting against the UPC nationalists in French Cameroon who were regarded as communist insurgents, moreover these insurgents had bases

and were welcomed in Southern Cameroon's; there was no way that British Southern Cameroon's could have been allowed to integrate into Nigeria or be granted full-fledged independence.

More so, the sympathies that some Southern Cameroonians and people showed to the UPC that was banned in East Cameroon was so strong that, an offshoot called One Kamerun was created and headed by a certain Ndeh Ntumazah who was the only Southern Cameroonian founding member of the UPC.

The proponents of the latter theory back their claims with the assertion that, as the OK party was an affiliate of the banned UPC and was becoming too popular and labelled Communists, hence integrating its base which was Southern Cameroon's into Nigeria might make communism to infiltrate in the most populated African state.

Consequently at the plebiscite of 1961 only two options were offered to British Cameroonians, for the organisers knew that Moslem British Northern Cameroon's will vote for integration and there was no way communism could thrive in a traditionalist's West African Moslem milieu, but their fear was in the animist and Christian south.

Southern Cameroonians being more politically conscious than their Northern counterparts, the outcome of the plebiscite was too close to call, until the final results were given it was not clear whether they wanted integration with Nigeria or unification with independent French-speaking Republic of Cameroon.

That could also explain why, those who were for unification were given help by the organisers of the plebiscites for they knew that in a Unified Cameroon, the so-called Communist activists of the OK party will be under the control of the France that was in charge of French-speaking Africa under a cold war deal (4).

In any case, most of what are claimed to be the reasons why British Cameroonians were never prepared for full-fledged independence or why British Northern Cameroon's joined Nigeria and the British South opted for unification are mere speculations.

This is because, the real holders of the secret are now power holders and brokers in Abuja, Yaoundé or are at the UN in New York, London, Paris and Washington DC.

Road to Unification

It was not an easy affair for the unification of Cameroon to be achieved; there were acute opposition on both sides but mostly within the British Southern Cameroon's. This was because, there existed the conducive climate for real democracy to thrive in Southern Cameroon, but absent in the French-speaking part.

Late Dr. EML Endeley MP a die hard proponent of integration with Nigeria and a lightning rod against unification was the great symbol of Southern Cameroonians who opposed the British and UN plans in the territory and he had more weight because at that time, he was Prime minister.

He hated the idea of unification to an extent that, he coined the phrase, "oil and water can never mix", widely used today in Cameroon particularly amongst English-speaking nationalists. His argument was that, the British system through which Southern Cameroonians were brought up can't co-exist with that of the French system in East Cameroon.

Just as those who were against unification were vocal and producing blistering phrases, that was also how vibrant and productive in vitriolic were those against integration with Nigeria.

The leader of the pro-unification camp was late Dr John NGU Foncha MP, leader of the KNDP and also opposition leader within the Southern Cameroon's assembly.

He had no hatred for Nigeria but he had a completely different vision, first he wanted Southern Cameroon's to remain under the crown, for he thought the region was not ripe for independence.

However, when he discovered that Britain was not interested in keeping Southern Cameroon's under the crown longer than necessary, in addition to the fact that, he felt Britain never wanted British Cameroon's to be granted Independence, he opted for unification.

Chided by his opponents for opting to join a small block that was akin to his small stature, he replied, "Being small is not a handicap, come what may Cameroon is our country". This phrase of Dr Foncha became the rallying cry of all those who were for unification in both English and French-speaking Cameroon.

The other camp in the triumvirate of politics in Southern Cameroon's was that of a man who could be described as a loner. He was late P.M. Mbile MP, he wanted the independence of Southern Cameroon's, but he had very little followings, for the unfolding of things played against him.

In spite all the eloquence of John NGU Foncha and his opposition KNDP party backed by the One Kamerun party of Ndeh Ntumazah, unification was bound to fail as long as the Prime minister of Southern Cameroon's was EML Endeley who never wanted to hear about the idea.

Nevertheless, a dramatic carpet crossing of late Solomon T. Muna MP from the CNPDP of the Premier Endeley to join the opposition KNDP of late Dr. John N. Foncha changed the course of power in Southern Cameroon's assembly. Foncha became Prime minister and Endeley took the seat of opposition leader.

This change permitted the negotiations for the unification to commence with a person who was in support at the head of the government of Southern Cameroon's.

It is primordial to note that, during the short span of the autonomy that Southern Cameroon's enjoyed, it had two chambers of parliament, the House of chiefs which was the upper House and the House of Commons the lower chamber.

But in East Cameroon, it was a different ball game, the victory of the Cameroon Union party at elections at the expense of the UPC, made things rough for late Ahmadou Ahidjo who was supported by France but despised by other French-speaking politicians.

Late Ahmadou Ahidjo MP became prime minister of the autonomous government of East Cameroon only after the French arrested late Dr. Albert Marie Mbida MP who was accused of colluding with the banned UPC.

As French-speaking Cameroon was getting ready for independence, it was only certain that Ahidjo will be the French choice for president of the new country in January 1st 1960. Nevertheless, upon assuming the mantle of power, Ahidjo did not have a field day, for he was assailed by the rebellion of the UPC who took to the bush angered for being cheated at the polls.

In order to gain some popularity within Southern French-speaking Cameroonians politicians who were either animists or Christians, Ahidjo had to carryout a political action that will endeared him in the minds of Southern French-speaking Cameroonians and their leaders, and the only action or thing that mattered was the unification of Greater Cameroon. That is, a Cameroon covering the original German colonial demarcations.

It was almost impossible an objective to achieve not only by Ahidjo, even the UPC could not in regard to the political dispensation at that time. Besides the fact that, Ahidjo was contested because his party won with the aid of France, the other main reason why he was rejected by mainstream Southern French-speaking leaders was because he was a Moslem and above all, under educated compared to them.

Unification being a campaign programme and slogan of the UPC, the dominant party in French Cameroon but a banned political party all the same, Ahidjo co-opted the programme into the manifesto of his UC party. By incorporating the UPC unification agenda, it opened the way for contacts to start between members of both governments of Independent French-speaking Cameroon and the semi autonomous government of British Southern Cameroon's.

In the official mythology of the route to the unification of Cameroon, after the above phases in French-speaking Cameroon, everything went easily, for those in English-speaking Cameroon were waiting eagerly to join their brothers.

There is no need to stress that it is not true, for a good number of British Southern Cameroonians as mentioned earlier regarded the unification with some apprehensions even during negotiations.

The above assertion putting in doubt the official line of the unification is supported in a certain way in the memoir of Pierre Messmer, the last French governor to Cameroon and later on Algeria, he writes that, the negotiations that lead to the unification was not honestly carried out by the French-speaking Cameroonians.

He adds that, but on the part of the British Cameroonian politicians, there was sincerity but they were outplayed, for the French Cameroonians had legal experts from France and also the French-speaking Cameroonians were also stressing the fact that, they were senior partners in the union.

As for the British Cameroonian delegation, they were on a very weak position, pressed on all sides; they did not have the support of the UK as their French-speaking counterparts had from France.

He concludes that, when the treaty creating the Federal Republic of Cameroon was signed, in the main towns of French-speaking Cameroon, there was a joke going around that, Cameroon has become a bilingual English/French federation, with French as the official language (5).

There is no doubt that like in most French-speaking African countries, France has special relationship with Cameroon in general and particularly with the governing French-speaking elites in power in Yaoundé.

It is even alleged that, immediately after the unification treaty was signed, late Ahmadou Ahidjo visited General Charles De Gaulle, the president of France at that time, he told Ahidjo that, "now that your country has been Unified, use only French as the official language, it will help to build a strong united country" (6).

Not a jubilant union as thought

Whatever could be said about the marriage between the former British Southern Cameroon's and the French-speaking Cameroon, it has its own merits. The union is one of the successful unions on the African continent, besides that between Zanzibar and Tanganyika that gave birth to the United Republic Tanzania in 1964.

Even though, there is need to put some moderation on the success of Cameroon's unity because, this success is being evaluated on the basis that, they have not gone to war to ask for it to cease in particular, taking into consideration the condition under which it was reached that was on the periphery of duplicity.

For the leaders of British Southern Cameroon's were made to think that, there were equal partners and also that, they could quit if they felt that the union was inconvenient. But none of that ever happened. As soon as the Federal government was established, the English-speaking Cameroonians started discovering that, there were deep discrepancies between what was written and its implementations.

The majority began tampering with anything that bore the legacy of the British and also throwing into jail all English-speaking Cameroonians who opposed the dictatorial manner of governing of late President Ahmadou Ahidjo.

Ahmadou Ahidjo who has been governing East Cameroon without opposition was not at ease with the English-speaking Cameroonians who came from a democracy that demanded accountability from those governing.

Nevertheless, what brought English-speaking Cameroonians out of their gongs was the referendum that was organised on May 20th 1972 without consulting them.

It is claimed again that, because of the discovery of Oil deposit in English-speaking Cameroon, France wanted that it former state Oil company Elf, to have control over the exploitation and exploration, hence they forced Ahidjo to abolish the Federal nature of the country.

Whether France had any influence on the changes that took place in Cameroon in 1972, there is nothing official, but what is very certain is that, France entertains special relationships with Africa and its former state own Oil Company was very powerful in French-speaking Africa.

So powerful that, it could create stability in any French-speaking African state or install instability as they did in the Republic of Congo between 1992-1997, wherein they brought Pascal Lissouba to power and later replaced him with Colonel Denis Sassou Nguesso (7).

The referendum of 1972 put an end to the federal nature of the country in respect to the unification agreement and also abolished the semi autonomy and assembly that existed in Southern Cameroon's. However, a series of political gifts and other behind the scene negotiations carried out by Ahmadou Ahidjo, helped defused any smouldering tension within the English-speaking regions.

Nevertheless the reaction of English-speaking Cameroonians to the modification of the constitution and the name change of Cameroon was very surprising to the French-speaking governing elites, but they did not change the direction that had planned for the country.

Hence, after tampering with the political aspect of the union, the authorities in Yaoundé also wanted to harmonise the educational system of the country but this time around, no amounts of gifts and manoeuvres was able to defuse the opposition from the English-speaking regions(8).

Another thing that angered the English-speaking Cameroonians who had other grievances with the central government was the second name change of their country when the current President, Paul Biya came to power in 1982.

This time around the name change was from United Republics of Cameroon to simply the Republic of Cameroon. Why were the English-speaking Cameroonians angry with the new name of their country?

The answer is simple, the name Republic of Cameroon was the name that Independent French Cameroon had in 1960 and upon the unification of the two Cameroon's, and it became known as Federal Republic of Cameroon in 1961. It further mutated as stated earlier from federal republic to united republic.

To English-speaking nationalists, while violently rejecting and criticising the new name, they also regarded the new name like a sort of blessing from heaven. In their opinions and legal interpretations of the English-speaking nationalists, the union between English and French Cameroon ended in 1982 when Paul Biya changed the name of their country.

By reverting to the name which represented the French component of Cameroon before 1961, Biya has inadvertently excluded the English –speaking part from the union, claim the English-speaking nationalists.

Moreover all the constitutional debates raging on, English-speaking Cameroonians nonetheless have founded complains to put forward that might even justify their current reactions.

According to their claims, during the negotiations that Unified both countries, it was stipulated that, in any major posts; if the head was French-speaking, the deputy must automatically be an English-speaking Cameroonian vice versa.

However, not only have the majority French-speaking renege on the agreements, there are some major ministerial and government functions that since the unification of 1961, no English-speaking Cameroonians has assumed the headship.

Some of them are the ministries of defence, territorial administration, finance and full-fledge education minister.

Above and beyond ministerial appointments, in the elite schools such as the lone Polytechnique, the military and police academies and the school of magistracy, English is seldom thought to students, the language of the elite schools and administration in Cameroon is French and not both English and French as the constitution requires.

Everything is done to present Cameroon as French-speaking country rather than a bilingual English /French speaking state, even in the revised January 1st 1996 constitution of Cameroon, which is written in both official languages of the country, it is mentioned that, in case of any doubts, the French version remains the most authentic.

Rise of Anglophone or English-speaking Nationalism

With all the frustrations founded and unfounded that has been left unattended to within the people of the former British Southern Cameroon's now constituting the English-speaking minority of Cameroon, the country has become very polarised.

Even if it was only in the 90s with the wind of democracy blowing from Eastern Europe and across Africa, which the smouldering resentments of the Anglophones burst into flames that really shock the foundation of the country, observers had long noticed the malaise.

The first phase was the creation of the SDF party by mostly English-speaking Cameroonians that is today the largest intra and extra parliamentary opposition political, a creation that raised a lot of false hopes within the English-speaking population of the country.

Nevertheless they became quickly disillusion with the SDF because it stood for a united Cameroon and not to what most had dreamt of, hence the disgruntled nationalists responded by creating almost during the same period of 1991, the CAM, which went on to hold two conferences tagged All Anglophone Conference (AAC1) in Buea in 1993 and in 1994 the held a second one called AAC2 this time around in Bamenda.

From the ashes of these meetings emerged a pressure group called the SCNC which has as plan to regain the independence of the two English-speaking provinces through none violent means.

However, the government of Cameroon has responded violently by arresting several SCNC activists and some are currently in jail serving varying jail terms. Even so, the nationalists are not a united group, currently, there exist a plethora of groups all claiming to be fighting for the independence of the two English-speaking provinces out of the ten that Cameroon have.

The plethoras of pressure groups have not helped the course that they all profess to defend since 1994 besides the jailing of the most radicals amongst them. That perhaps explains why, on the 31st of July and between the 2nd and the 3rd of September 2005 they met respectively in Buea and Bamenda to resolve their differences and also to federate all the various factions.

What will be the outcome of the reorganisation of the Cameroonian English-speaking nationalists? Will it cause the unity of Cameroon presently or in the future? These are some of the questions about a country that is complex to understand and that is just celebrating its 44th unity anniversary with all its complexities, it will be preposterous to forecast or attempt to give an answer on what Cameroon will look like in the future.

Notes:

- 1- Look up for the authentic location of Cameroon in The Times Atlas of the World, reference edition, Times Books Group 2005
- 2-read the article Bakassi: why joint administration offers the best solution published in the journal African renaissance of May/June 2005 N°3
- 3-Ndeh Ntumazah: A Conversational Autobiography 2001 Patron publishing House
- 4-read the article: Paul Biya and the need for the economic transformation of Cameroon published in the October 2nd 2005 edition of Holler Africa magazine
- 5-Pierre Messmer Les Blancs s'ent vont: Recit de la decolonisation 1998 Edition Albin Michel
- 6-Pierre Ela Dossier Noirs sur le Cameroun : politique,service secrets et securite nationale 2002 Editions Pyramide Papyrus Presse
- 7-Loik Le Floch-Prigent Affaire Elf affaire d'etat 2001 le cherche midi editeur
- 8-Read the article entitled Les menace secessionnists written by Dr. Aboya Endong Manasse published in Le Massager N°1272 of Wednesday October 3rd 2001