



FROM CAMEROON POST TO THE POST: ANALYZING MEDIA DISCOURSE ON THE ANGLOPHONE PROBLEM IN CAMEROON, 1990-2016

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Abstract: This paper deals with the contribution of media to Anglophone nationalism in Cameroon. Through *Cameroon Post* and *The Post* newspapers, it examines media content on the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon from 1990 to the outbreak of the Anglophone crisis in 2016. By relying on New historicism theory, the paper argues that media discourse on the Anglophone problem was informed by a sociopolitical context characterized by the beginning of the democratization process in 1990 and actions undertaken by Anglophone Cameroonians to denunciate their marginalization. Since the independence of British Southern Cameroons through reunification with *La République du Cameroun* in 1961, Anglophone people complained of being marginalized by the Francophones. After its creation, *Cameroon Post*, echoed Anglophone grievances and claims through its columns. Following the reintroduction of the multiparty system in Cameroon, it supported the Social Democratic Front (SDF) that was voicing Anglophone claims in the political debate. Later on, *The Post* that rose out of the ashes of the *Cameroon Post* maintained the same editorial policy by relaying on the activities of the SDF and other news related to the Anglophone problem. Therefore, these two newspapers promoted Anglophone nationalism as demonstrated in this study which relies on text analysis of thirteenth newspapers articles published between 1990 and 2015.

Keywords: *Cameroon Post*, *The Post*, Media discourse, Anglophone Problem, Cameroon.

Résumé : Cette réflexion s'intéresse à la médiatisation du problème anglophone au Cameroun entre 1990 et 2016. À travers les journaux *Cameroon Post* et *The Post*, elle examine la contribution des médias anglophones au nationalisme anglophone. En s'appuyant sur la théorie du nouvel historicisme, l'article soutient que le discours médiatique sur le problème anglophone a été déterminé

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par un contexte sociopolitique caractérisé par le début du processus de démocratisation en 1990 et les actions entreprises par les Anglophones afin de dénoncer leur marginalisation. Depuis l'indépendance du British Southern Cameroons survenue dans le sillage de la réunification avec la République du Cameroun en 1961, les Anglophones se plaignent d'être marginalisés par les francophones. Dès sa création, le journal Cameroon Post s'est donné pour mission de soutenir la cause anglophone. Après la réintroduction du multipartisme au Cameroun en 1990, ce journal a soutenu le Social Democratic Front (SDF), un parti pro-Anglophone qui prône le retour au fédéralisme. Par la suite, le journal The Post, qui est né des cendres du Cameroon Post, a maintenu la même politique éditoriale en relayant les activités du SDF. Ce faisant, Cameroon Post et The Post ont promu le nationalisme anglophone, comme le démontre cette étude qui s'appuie sur l'analyse d'articles publiés par ces deux journaux.

Keywords : *Cameroon Post, The Post, discours médiatique, Problème Anglophone, Cameroun*

Introduction

Located in Central Africa, Cameroon is characterized by a double colonial heritage. Initially constituted and ruled by Germany between 1884 and 1915, the territory was later partitioned between France and Great Britain after they jointly expelled the Germans in the framework of the First World War. During the Partition that took place in 1916, France acquired 4/5 of the territory while Great Britain took 1/5 (Ngoh, 1996).

After the creation of the League of Nations, each of these portions of former German Kamerun became mandate territories. They were overseen on behalf of the League by France and Great Britain under the mandateship system. The French administered their portion as an independent territory from French Equatorial Africa, while the British chose to rule British Cameroon alongside their colony of Nigeria. This situation had remained unchanged during the trusteeship that was implemented after the League of Nations was replaced by the United Nations in 1945.

One of the main goals of the International Trusteeship System was to promote the progressive development of trust Territories towards self-government and independence (Singh, 1961). However, this was not obtained automatically in French and British Cameroons. French Cameroon gained independence in 1960 after a war of independence conducted by Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC). As for British Cameroon, a referendum was organized in 1961 asking Cameroonians of British Northern Cameroon and those of British Southern Cameroons to achieve independence either by integrating Nigeria or by re-joining French Cameroon. British Northern Cameroonians opted for an integration into Nigeria (Bonglo, Mansor & Enh, 2024). British Southern Cameroons chose to reunify with French Cameroon. This reunification led to the creation of a federal state rooted in the preservation of French and British colonial heritages. However, in 1972, the Federal State was dismantled and replaced by a unitary state. The Anglophone minority perceived this evolution as a threat aiming at subduing their identity. From there, they had the feeling of being marginalized, assimilated and reduced to “second class citizens” by the majority Francophones through a process of “frenchisation”. Majority of key administrative positions were devoted to francophones. Official texts and signboards were written only in French and the educational and judicial systems inherited from the British were supplanted by the francophone system. This situation paved the way to what is known as the Anglophone problem (Konings & Nyamnjoh, 1997).

In an effort to discuss the existing literature on the Anglophone problem, Francis Fogue Kuate (2022) opines that: “the Anglophone problem is fundamentally and intrinsically related to the problematic of crisis of identity” (p.25). It is a “perfect illustration of the implementation of identity in politics” (Ibid., p.26). He further noticed that the conceptualization of the problem is complex due to multiple

definitional approaches of the concept of Anglophone. This complexity is portrayed through the following excerpt: “most writers and discourses on the Anglophone problem wrongly defined it as one of political, social, economic and linguistic marginalization and a second-class status of the Anglophone” (Ngoh, 2019: 382). To Victor Julius Ngoh (2019), the Anglophone problem is “The non-respect and non-application of the values and culture that Southern Cameroonians took with them into the union in 1961” (p.21). For some authors, the concept of “Southern Cameroonians” used in this definition is ambiguous because it involves people from French Cameroon who have settled in British Southern Cameroons (Nfi, 2014a). Joseph Nfi considers French Cameroon immigrants as key actors of the problems faced by what he calls “ethnic Anglophones”. He thus defines the Anglophone problem as “a struggle by the ethnic Anglophones (...) to rescue their cultural identity threatened by the assimilationist policies of the majority Francophones” (Nfi 2014b:122).

Despite these conceptual disparities, it remains that the Anglophone problem deals with a struggle for political and cultural recognition of people originating and living in former British Southern Cameroons. It has to do with the discomfort and the ill-being of people originating from the two Anglophone regions of Cameroon (North West and South West regions) who consider themselves marginalized. This problem is rooted in the reunification of former French and British Cameroons achieved in 1961 and its main consequence is the development of autonomist tendencies in Anglophone Cameroon (Awasom, 1998).

From the analytical review of the literature on the Anglophone problem proposed by Francis Fogue Kuate (2022), it emerges that the role of media in the Anglophone struggle for recognition is laconically questioned. In order to fill this gap and contribute to knowledge production about what Francis Nyamnjoh (2011) calls “Anglophone liberation journalism”, this study uses *Cameroon Post* and *The Post* newspapers as entries to unveil the contribution of media to the Anglophone problem. The main research question is: how did Cameroon Post and the Post participated in the Anglophone struggle for recognition between 1990 and 2016. The year 1990 corresponds to the institutionalization of freedom of speech and the liberalisation of the media landscape in Cameroon. Many non-State media like Cameroon Post were created and were involved in political debates thanks to the 1990 law on social communication. As for 2016, it corresponds to the escalation of violence in the expression of Anglophone grievances against the Cameroonian government. The Anglophone problem was transformed into the Anglophone Crisis (Bouopda 2018) and conflict (Beseng, Crawford & Annan, 2023). This escalation followed the Anglophone lawyers and teachers strikes (see Tala & Ngange, 2019). The aim of this

work is to analyze media discourse developed by Anglophone newspapers on issues related to Anglophone grievances in the political, economic and social domains.

Theoretically, the analysis is based on the theory of New Historicism, stating from principle that a text derives meaning when it is considered within the context of the prevailing ideas and social assumptions of the historical era in which the text was produced (Bressler, 2003). The political and cultural angles that the theory provides in the interpretation of any literary work encourages literary studies to re-establish a link with the political and social world that gave rise to it (Howard, 1986). Munir and Phillips (2005) argues that the object of New Historicism is made up of texts which could be anything including written texts, spoken words, pictures, videos, or any interpretable artefacts. The theory thus offers tools for the analyses of newspaper texts by taking into consideration the historical context or background in which the text was written, its social meaning, social identity and social facts as postulated by Qiyao Yin (2016). This theoretical approach shows that news production on the Anglophone problem was informed by the sociopolitical context characterized by the blowing of the wind of democratization and the actions undertaken by Anglophone Cameroonians to denunciate their political and socio-economic marginalization. Although this argument is perceptible within the framework of the newspapers selected for this study, the structure of the news articles written in that regard presents an idiosyncrasy that cannot be dissolved in the theory. Ideally speaking, unlike the Western context where the historical context in which the text is written can be clearly identified and differentiated due to the demarcation between the politician and the journalist, the situation remains different in the African press and more especially in the context of *The Cameroon Post* and *The Post*. This is justified by the lack of professionalism that characterizes the private press. This complexity of issues has led to the adoption of the theory of “strategic interactivity” (Fogue, 2015) which refers to the possibility of exchanging skills between political authors and media men, with the view of satisfying their political interests and monetary concerns.

Talking about the political action of the media, it amounts to questioning their production in the sense of identifying facts that goes beyond the mission of the information. The identification of these facts related to the grievances of Anglophones which were mainly of political nature has been subordinated to textual and meta-discursive analysis of the articles published in *The Cameroon Post* and *The Post* between 1990 to 2016.

Methodologically, the study relies on the results of a field work conducted in Buea between 2019 and 2021. Interviews were carried out with staff of the newspapers especially the founders and journalists who wrote news articles within the defined period of the study. Thirteenth newspaper editions containing articles on Anglophone problem were consulted. This analysis allowed us to identify a number

of themes related to the political, economic and social grievances of Anglophones. But before tackling these themes, it is necessary to present the socio-political and historical setting of the newspapers which allows us to understand the issues in the study.

The 1990 Socio-political Context and the Historical Setting of the *Cameroon Post* and *The Post*

The history of the press cannot be separated from the political and socio-cultural evolution of societies. This postulate suggested by André-Jean Tudesq (1995) serves as the matrix for the elaboration of this section, with the objective of painting the socio-political and historical setting for the emergence of *The Cameroon Post* and *The Post* newspapers in the Anglophone portion of Cameroon. The year 1990 saw the blowing wind of democratization which swept across Europe, then to Africa and Cameroon. This new wind of change to an extent liberalized the political and media landscapes which were initially censored in Cameroon and ushered the re-introduction of multipartyism and freedom of speech through the promulgation of law No.90/052 on social communication which regulated the press for five years until its slight modification by law No. 6/04 of 4 January 1996. In this regard, several political parties like the Social Democratic Front (SDF) and over 50 newspapers sprang up (Nga Ndongo, 1993). Still in the context of the 1990 liberalization of the media landscape, some newspapers which were created in the 1960s and forced to close due to tied press censorship reopened. This was the case of *Cameroon Post* that echoed the political actions of the SDF to voice out the political frustrations, aspirations and hopes of Anglophones.

Cameroon Post was founded in 1967, by Augustine Y. Ngalim, in a context that was not favorable for the existence of non-State medias in Cameroon (Nyamnjoh, 2005). The Newspaper was known as "The voice of Southern Cameroonians people."¹ After the promulgation of the Liberty Laws in 1990, the political and media landscape of Cameroon was to an extent liberalized. This encouraged Paddy Mbawa, a trained journalist from Nigeria to revive the *Cameroon Post*.² In 1991, Nfor Susungi who was a staunch supporter of the SDF party returned from Ivory Coast where he worked as a banker, envisaging that Fru Ndi might one day become the president of Cameroon. He saw the need to widen the political base and widen the horizon of the SDF. He believed this could be achieved through a vibrant media

¹ Interview with Bouddih Adams, former journalist of *The Cameroon Post*, 53 years old, Buea, 05/03/2021.

² Interview with Charly Ndi Chia, former managing editor of the *Cameroon Post*, 64 years old, Buea, 05/03/2021.

campaign.³ With this in mind, he bought over the *Cameroon Post* newspaper from Augustine Ngalim.

Apart from Nfor Susungi's ambition to use the newspaper in influencing the public to support the SDF party, the newspaper was also revived to serve as a platform where the political frustrations, grievances, aspirations and hope of Anglophones were expressed. However, after few years of existence, the newspaper was forced to close down in 1997 due to financial crisis. In that year, the manager of the newspaper Lucy Ngege was unable to pay workers. Worst still, she decided to transfer the head office of the newspaper to her private residence in Douala in order to evade the payment of rents in Buea. The transfer of the newspapers' head office to Douala angered some staff like Charly Ndi Chia, Francis Wache and Bouddih Adams who felt that the Anglo-Saxon identity of the paper was going to be affected⁴. This caused their resignation and they later settled on a new newspaper known as *The Post* on 11th July 1997 in Buea⁵. This newspaper maintained the same editorial policy of *Cameroon Post*. This editorial policy consisted in echoing the grievances of Anglophones.

The Political Grievances of Anglophones through *Cameroon Post* and *The Post*

The 1990 Political and media liberalizations in Cameroon gave rise to an identity frenzy underpinned by the desire of different ethnic groups to conquer the national political market, with the view of gaining political power and taking part in the redistribution of state resources. This postulate made by Francis Fogue Kuate (2015) serves as the matrix for the discussion of this part. The liberalization of the political and media landscape in 1990 gave an opportunity to Anglophone elites, opinion leaders and political representatives to voice their grievances (Ewumbue-Monono, 1992). Anglophone Cameroonians through their representatives and elites raised questions about their treatment as a minority group in Cameroon. Some hardliners equated the status of Anglophone Cameroonians to that of second-class citizens within the union. (Eko, 2003). These claims were echoed by *Cameroon Post* and *The Post*. In other words, the newspapers constitute a framework for the staging of Anglophone political grievances. Analysis of news production devoted to the political grievances of Anglophones clearly shows the determination of

³ Interview with Charly Ndi Chia, former managing editor of the *Cameroon Post*, 64 years old, Buea, 05/03/2021.

⁴ Moki, "The Content and Nature", 44, Interview with Charly Ndi Chia, former managing editor of the *Cameroon Post*, 64 years old, Buea, 05/03/2021, Interview with Bouddih Adams, former journalist of the *Cameroon Post*, 53 years old, Buea, 05/03/2021.

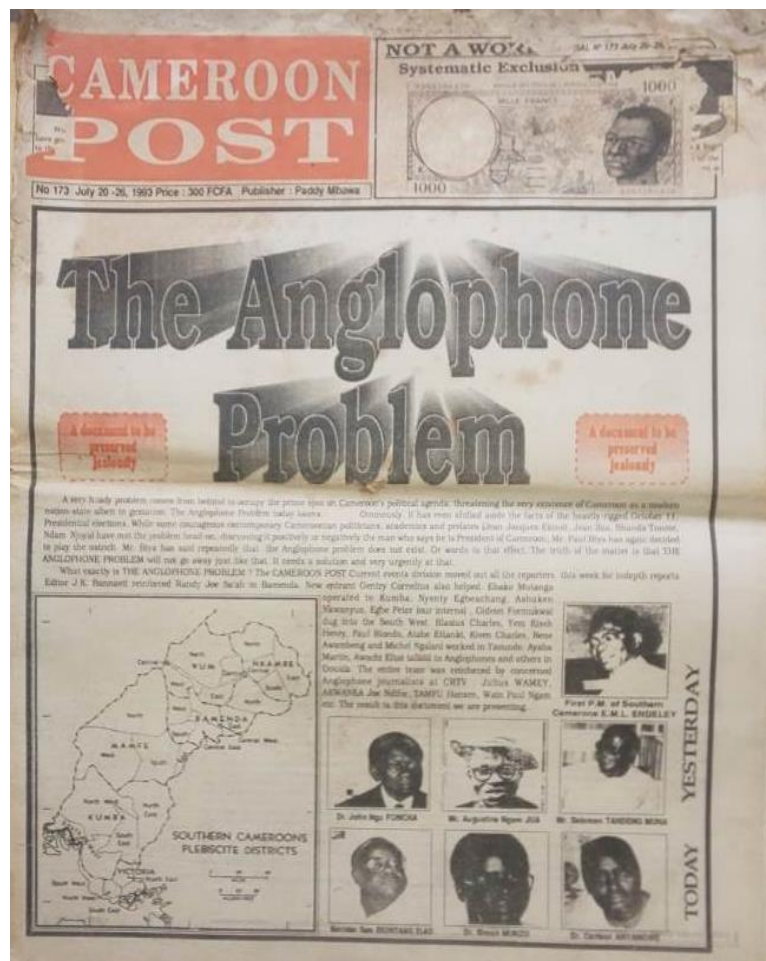
⁵ Interview with Charly Ndi Chia, former editor in chief of the *Post*, 64 years old, Buea, 05/03/2021,

Anglophone newspapers to contribute to the struggle to reinstate the federal system of government and if possible, to fight for the independence of the two Anglophone regions.

Political claims of Anglophones: a major topic in *Cameroon Post*

As a matter of fact, the 1990 socio-political environment constituted a fertile ground for the reopening of *The Cameroon Post* which had been closed due to rigid press censorship. Taking advantage of this new socio-political environment, *Cameroon Post* carried out strategic fight related to the political grievances of Anglophones while stressing on the monogeneity of Anglophone Cameroon through the highlighting of concepts within the context of their grievances like Anglophone Problem or Anglophone marginalization. The following plate serves as illustration.

.Plate 1: The front page of *Cameroon Post* with news headlines on the Anglophone problem



Cameroon Post, No.173 of July 1993

The echoing of these concepts related to the grievances of Anglophones on the front pages of the newspapers has a mobilization value and creates awareness at the national and international levels. The framing of concepts on the front page of the newspapers in a unique font size also has a functional value which allows the newspapers to discredit the president Paul Biya's regime, which they believe is trying to erase the cultural heritage of Anglophones. In order to underpin their political recriminations against the government, the newspapers have focused on the political grievances of Anglophones which were very often looked from the angle of the dissolution of the federal system of government, unequal representation in government and constitutional manipulation.

Through its news contents, *Cameroon Post* sent out clear signals about its ideological vision and political orientation as far as the establishment is concerned. Though it was reopened in 1990, the newspaper took deep commitment in relaying the political grievances of Anglophones after the first All Anglophone Conference that was held in April 1993, in Buea. The said conference stressed on the return of the federal system of government.

In this regard, four months after first All Anglophone Conference, *Cameroon Post* published an entire edition of 24 pages dedicated exclusively to the Anglophone problem with the intention of relaying the political grievances of Anglophones in the national political scene and to persuade the government to reinstate the federal system of government (see plate one above). Among the frontline contributors who wrote the various articles that were published in this special edition there are some key pro-Anglophone nationalists who actively participated in the conference like Dr. Martin Luma and Dr. Nsamenang Bame. Specifically, Dr. Luma echoed the political grievances of Anglophones in this special edition as follows:

Anglophones have been reduced to nothing but a tribe. The principles which brought us together have been violated and ignored. Francophone administrators have changed the constitution without the consent of their Anglophone brothers... who ever denies it or refuses to accept a federal system, should tell us what we shall do, but we would have a way of redemption. (*Cameroon Post*, No.174 of 27 July 1993).

Based on this excerpt, the political grievances of Anglophones, as argued by Dr. Luma, deals more with the marginalization of Anglophones, constitutional manipulation and more importantly the refusal of the government to reinstate the defunct federal structure which existed in Cameroon prior to 1972. From a sociological perspective, a tribe is a social section within a traditional society that consists of families that are connected through lines of economic, social, blood or religious ties, and also share a common dialect and culture (Sirohi Arvind, 2019). Based on this definition, Dr. Luma's argument that Anglophones have been reduced

to a tribe is not valid. This is because the Anglophone part of Cameroon is made up of several ethnic groups that consist of several families which are not related by blood nor share a common culture or dialect. For instance, the culture of the Nso people is different from the culture of the Bangwa people in the Lebialem division of Cameroon; the culture of the Mundani people in Wabane sub division is different from the culture of the Bakweri people in the Fako division of Cameroon.

Abouem A Tchoyi (2017) notes that, the unconstitutional change of the name of the country from *La République Unie du Cameroun* (The United Republic of Cameroon) to *La République du Cameroun* (Republic of Cameroon) in 1984 was viewed by Anglophones as the final action by their Francophone counterparts to assimilate them. This re-ignited and reinforced Anglophone nationalism as dissenting voices became louder within the Anglophone community. From the foregoing analysis, it is plausible to say that Dr. Lumas' write-up on the political grievances of Anglophones was in a way designed to bring consciousness about the Anglophone problem and reassert the distinct identity constructed by Anglophones within the Cameroon Republic.

Similarly, Dr. Nsamenang, points further those political grievances of Anglophones had to do with the following:

the systematic exclusion of the natives of Anglophone Cameroon from the policy and decision-making centers of national life is a fact, the subjugation and allocation of only subordinate positions in all spheres of national life, to the Anglophones, the isolation of Anglophones from international community International Community particularly the English-speaking community of the world for instance, the commonwealth of Nations [...] (*Cameroon Post*, No.173 of 20-26 July 1993, p.15).

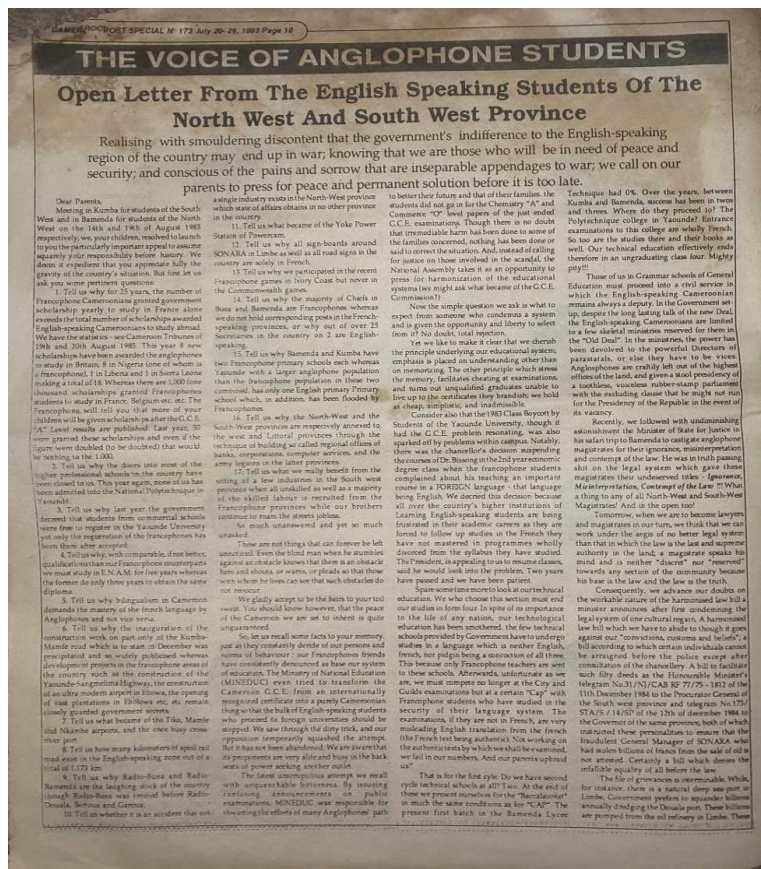
Based on this excerpt, the political grievances of Anglophones are related to the exclusion of Anglophones in decision making and the allocation of subordinate positions to them. Although it is argued by Ndi (2013) that the reunification of Southern Cameroons with the Republic of Cameroon in 1961 was done on the basis of equality, the fact remains that the French speaking part of Cameroon dominates the English-speaking part in terms of land mass and population and therefore should have more developmental projects and representation in government (Eko, 2003). After reunification, an identity crisis emerged as Anglophones began comparing themselves with Cameroonians from other French speaking regions.

The fact that this article was published four months after the holding of the first All Anglophone Conference (AAC I) in Buea shows the determination of *Cameroon Post* to echo the Anglophone problem. The newspaper gave wide coverage on the resolutions that were arrived at during the conference. In that special edition, the

problem was identified and defined in a manner that reflected the scope of this study. The publication also suggested the causes of the problem and proposed federalism as a panacea to cure it. This special issue was very reflective of the Buea declaration.

To further expose the grievances of Anglophones, *Cameroon Post* published a memorandum addressed to parents by English speaking students. This Memorandum written was the first Memorandum published by *Cameroon Post* in light to popularize the political grievances of Anglophones in the national and international political scenes. The following Plate presents the memorandum.

Plate 2: Open Letter from Anglophone Students of the North West and South West Province



Cameroon Post, No.173 of 20-26 July 1983, p.10

This letter was written in the context of a meeting held by Anglophone students. The meeting took place in Kumba on the 14th and 19th of August 1985. The aim of the meeting was to discuss the problems faced by English language students in Cameroon. Going back to the opening of the University of Yaounde in 1962, Anglophones requested for the creation of an Anglo-Saxon university that will take

into consideration the English culture of education. In 1983, President Paul Biya gave instructions to the minister in charge of education to reform the Cameroon General certificate of Education (GCE) (Ngoh, 1996). This order angered Anglophone students and led to the “GCE crisis” (Nyamnjoh and Fontem, 2008). Anglophone students felt that the government wanted to erode their educational system. Students reacted by boycotting classes in major towns like Buea and Bamenda. They organized demonstrations in urban centers in Anglophone Cameroon notably Bamenda, Buea and Kumba. The content of the letter discussed the grievances of Anglophones in the political, economic and social domains. In view of the political grievances of Anglophones, the letter notes that:

[...]Majority of service Chiefs in Buea and Bamenda are Francophones whereas they do not hold corresponding posts in the French speaking provinces, out of 25 secretaries in the country only two are English speaking...the North West and South West are respectively annexed to the West and Littoral provinces through the technique of building so called regional offices of banks, corporations, computer services, and the army legions in the latter provinces [....] (*Cameroon Post*, No.173 of 20-26 July 1993, 10.)

On the basis of this extract, the political grievances of Anglophones are looked from the angle of unequal representation in the government. The reality is that Francophones constitute 8 out of the 10 regions that make up Cameroon and thus cannot have equal representation state management with Anglophones who make up only two regions of the country (Eko, 2003).

The fact that this letter was written in 1985 and published 8 years later, shows the determination of the newspaper to use its platform as a medium to expose the Anglophone marginalization to its audience and the Cameroonian public at large. Also, the fact that the editor of the paper Muma Wanki Clement framed a headline titled “The voice of Anglophones students on the letter written in a different font size compared to other headlines as depicted in plate 3 shows the emphasis attached by the newspaper on the problem. It also shows the determination of the newspaper to act as political defenders of Anglophone students in their struggle for equal opportunities in Cameroon. What is amazing is that the publishing of the letter on page 10 of the edition was only to confirm what they titled in page 8 and 9 of the same edition: “The telltale signs of marginalization”. From this analysis, it is conveniently concluded that *Cameroon Post* was a pro-Anglophone nationalism media. Having analyzed the political grievances of Anglophones through *Cameroon Post*, it is important to identify and examine the said grievance in *The Post*.

Political grievances of Anglophones in *The Post*

This part of the work presents and discusses the grievances of Anglophones through *The Post*. It contextualizes the grievances and proposes a retrospective analysis of the content and perspective of news articles published in that regard.

Plate 3: The front page of *The Post* with news headlines on the Anglophone problem



The Post, No.0066 of May 1998

After *Cameroon Post* was closed in 1997, *The Post* came into existence in order to continue the struggle. The content of the *The Post* was largely dominated by issues related the Anglophone problem and activities of the SDF as seen on plate 3.

In 2000, the newspaper headlined an article entitled: "Why the Anglophone Problem won't go away". In view of the political grievances of Anglophones, the article explains that:

The AAC produced the Buea Declaration, a terse, cogent and pungent diagnosis of the state of Anglophones in Cameroon. According to the declaration, our union of accord has been violated, at the time of the union in 1961, it was agreed that the two partners would, *mutatis mutandis*, be treated as equals. It was believed, naively it turned out, that the union would evolve a bicultural society in which the distinct heritage of each of the partners...Anglophones are treated like second class citizens...our participation in national life has been limited to nonessential functions...Anglophones have been appointed mainly into subordinate positions to assist Francophones, even where the latter have been less qualified or less competent [...] (*The Post*, 2000:4).

From this excerpt, their political grievances are referred to the appointment of Anglophones to subordinate positions in government. Though it is argued that Anglophones reunited with *La République du Cameroun* in 1961 on the basis of equality (Ndi, 2013), the reality remains that Anglophones who make up two out of the ten regions in Cameroon cannot have equal opportunities like their Francophone counterparts who constitute eight out of the ten regions. This claim upheld in this article shows that its publication was politically motivated. History records that the first Vice president of the Federal Republic of Cameroon was an Anglophone (John Ngu Foncha), the first and second Speakers of Cameroon's National Assembly were Anglophones (S.T Muna and Fonkang Shang Laurence), about six Anglophones occupied the position of Prime Minister and many other top government positions. This is another proof that the newspapers controlled by Anglophones served as advocates and platforms on which the grievances, political frustrations and aspirations of Anglophones were expressed (Eko, 2003:89)

The mentioning of AAC I in the excerpt above as the basis to which the article was written shows the desire of the newspaper to bring the plight of Anglophones to the national political scene. It is argued that the English language press has persistently presented the Anglophone problem as the most important problem in Cameroon. It also contributed towards the differentiation of Anglophone identity from Cameroonian identity (ibid).

Anglophone Grievances in the Economic Domain through the Newspapers

The liberalization of the media landscape in the early 1990s increased the wave of nationalism and consciousness in the Anglophone part of Cameroon. The English language print press used the advantage to voice out the grievances of Anglophones on their platforms. This part of the paper therefore investigates the economic grievances of Anglophones by the newspapers.

Economic Grievances of Anglophones through *Cameroon Post*

This sub part of the work analyzes the contribution of *Cameroon Post* in promoting Anglophones in the economic domain. *Cameroon Post* used its platform as a medium to expose the Anglophone marginalization to its audience and the Cameroonian public by publishing news discourses on the economic grievances of Anglophones. For instance, in 1993, *Cameroon Post* headlined an article on the destruction of the economy of West Cameroon. The article accused President Ahmadou Ahidjo (who ruled Cameroon from 1960 to 1982) and President Paul Biya's regime for the destruction of the economy of former West Cameroon. The following quotation provides an overview of the article:

The destruction started just after the Southern Cameroon Economic Advisory Panel, which was an economic planning body was dislodged...during the British reign, many companies were operating in West Cameroon that has been destroyed by the French led East Cameroonians. The West Cameroon Marketing Board, West Cameroon Development Agency, the West Cameroon Water and Electricity Corporation (POWERCAM), The West Cameroon Co-operative and Finance Saving Society, Cameroon Bank, Cameroon Public Works Department (PWD) and the West Cameroon Air transport has all been destroyed [...]'(*Cameroon Post*, No.173 of 20-26 July 1993, 2).

From this excerpt, the economic grievances of Anglophones include the liquidation and closure of companies that existed in Southern Cameroons during the British administration like The West Cameroon Marketing Board, West Cameroon Development Agency, the West Cameroon Water and Electricity Corporation (POWERCAM), The West Cameroon Co-operative and Finance Saving Society, Cameroon Bank, Cameroon Public Works Department (PWD) and the West Cameroon Air Transport.

Contrary to this view, some scholars argued that Anglophones were responsible for the destruction of some vital projects in West Cameroon. For instance, Ngoh (2004) opines that the collapse of the Cameroon Bank was due to mismanagement. The bank was entirely managed by West Cameroonians (Anglophones). The financial difficulties in which the bank found itself led the West Cameroon government to set up a commission of inquiry in March 1966 with Joky Manga as Chair (Ngoh,2019). At the end of the inquiry, the commission reported that loans amounting to 326,000,000 francs CFA were considered definitely unrecoverable and the total loss was 450,000,000 francs CFA. The reckless nature of granting loans and overdrafts by the bank accounted for a total of 1,115,654,360 francs CFA in outstanding debts to the bank by 30 June 1965. In 1966, Victor E. Mukete, then Chairman of Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) was refused authorization by Prime Minister Jua to

travel to America on the ground that he had not repaid his loan of 13 00 000 francs CFA to the Cameroon Bank. (Ngoh, 2019). It took the intervention of President Ahidjo for Mukete to travel. By 1972, the bank still owed salaries to West Cameroon civil servants of 1966. Apart from *Cameroon Post*, the economic grievances of Anglophones are also mentioned in *the Post*.

Economic Grievances of Anglophones in *The Post*

This sub part of the work presents and analyses the economic grievances of Anglophones as discussed in *The Post*. In 2000, *The Post* published an article titled "Anglophonising the Anglophone problem: How effective is the Biya solution?" The article notes that the economic grievances of Anglophones deal with the perception of neglect in the economic and infrastructural developments of Anglophone Cameroon. The following excerpt provides an overview of the article:

It is the perception of neglect in the economic and infrastructural development of Anglophone Cameroon (Roads, railway, airports, seaports etc.) as well as the systematic destruction of the region's pattern of development and its own developmental institutions like the West Cameroon Development Agency, the Cameroon Bank, the West Cameroon Marketing Board, the POWERCAM and even the CDC [...]
(*The Post*, No.0169 of 01 May 2000, p.8).

The excerpt above shows an overview of an article written by Churchill Ewumbue-Monono and published by *The Post*. The article was written amidst rising arguments over the Anglophone course in Cameroon following the visit of the United Nations Secretary General, Koffi Annan. In some cases, the claim of the newspapers regarding the destruction of vital economic projects in West Cameroon by the government to an extent is faulty. Another glaring example is the case of the Cameroon Development Agency which existed from 1956-1973. The activities of Robert Jebea and William Lebaga, first and second chairmen of the agency respectively contributed to the fall of the agency (Takor and Yufenyuy, 2018:42-53). They paid more interest to politics at the expense of the Agency. Worst still, it is alleged that by 1967 Lebaga embezzled funds belonging to the agency and bought a sophisticated car for himself thereby bankrupting the agency (Ibid). The last part of this paper presents and examines the social grievances of Anglophones in the lenses of the newspapers.

Social Grievances of Anglophones in the Newspapers

This part identifies and interrogates the social grievances of Anglophones through the newspapers. The main social grievance of Anglophones expressed in the papers is related to education. However, it is important to remark that the social grievances of Anglophones are reflected more in *Cameroon Post*. From the early

1960s and particularly after 1976 when the General Certificate of Education Examination (GCE) was "Cameroonised", Anglophone nationalists expressed fear that their educational heritage would be suppressed and eliminated by the government (Ngoh, 1996). In 1993, *Cameroon Post* published an article entitled "Anglophone Education System: What future?" The paper highlights the educational grievances of Anglophones in the following words:

The story goes back to 1983 when, as if to confirm the assimilation theory, the ministry attempted to change the structure of the GCE from a single subject to group certificate examination...the fact that the presidential commission set up in 1984 to study the problems related to the GCE after the 1983 attempt at reform has never submitted its report, more than justifies once again, Anglophone fears about the various attempts at reform has never submitted its report, more than justifies, once again, Anglophone fears about the various attempts to undermine the nature of this examination, in 1985, another attempt to reform the GCE was nibbed in the bud [...] (*The Post*, No.0169 of 01 May) 2000, 8).

In 1983, the government wanted to reform the Cameroon GCE. This envisioned reform angered Anglophone students who decided to boycott classes (Ngoh, 1996). The English language press which was and remains the "watchdog" of Anglophones in Cameroon (Eko, 2003) reacted by publishing articles on the issue. In July 1993, four months after the holding of the historic All Anglophone Conference (AAI), *Cameroon Post* dedicated an entire issue to the Anglophone problem. It was aimed to interrogate the government for attempting to reform GCE examination which was looked by Anglophones as the destruction of their educational heritage as already mentioned above (Ngoh, 1996).

Analysis of Some Headlines related to the Socio-cultural Grievances of Anglophones in the Social Domain

This sub part presents and discusses titles framed by *Cameroon Post* and *The Post* Newspapers on the social grievances of Anglophones. The two newspapers dedicated several news titles in view of the socio-cultural grievances of Anglophones as demonstrated in the following table.

Table: Some Headlines Related to the Socio-Cultural Grievances of Anglophones

No	Newspaper	Title	Issue & Date	Pages
1	<i>Cameroon Post</i>	"As Francophones mark Anglophone examination scripts"	No.187 of 26, May 1993	2
2	<i>Cameroon Post</i>	"Government plan to dismantle GCE board uncovered"	No.0039 of 7-13, January 1997	3
3	<i>Cameroon Post</i>	"How government frustrated the GCE board"	No.257 of 11-26, June 1995	7

Compiled by authors on the basis of data collected from the field

The table above shows some news headlines framed on the socio-cultural grievances of Anglophones. Based on this table, *Cameroon Post* developed three headlines on the socio-cultural grievances of Anglophones. *The post* on its part did not develop any news headline in the socio-cultural grievances of Anglophones. As already indicated in the course of this study, the liberalization of the political and media landscape by 1990 provided room for pro-Anglophone nationalists who had yearned to bring the plight of Anglophones in the national political scene to create newspapers aimed at discussing the issue.(Eko,2003) The publishing of news headlines on the issue has a functional value aimed at legitimizing the political actions of Anglophones.

Conclusion

The paper was hitched on three main parts, the first part discussed the political grievances of Anglophones, the second part identified and examined news discourses developed on the economic grievances of Anglophones through the newspapers while the last part interrogated the social grievances of Anglophones in the lenses of *Cameroon Post* and *The Post*. Findings based on the exploitation of newspaper articles revealed that *Cameroon Post* and *The Post* were founded with the objective of mediatizing the Anglophone Problem. The two newspapers perceived the problem as that of marginalization. Regarding the political grievances of Anglophones, findings further revealed that Anglophones have been subjected to subordinate positions in government. In the economic sphere, findings revealed that vital economic structures in West Cameroon like the West Cameroon Marketing Board, the West Cameroon Development Agency, The Cameroon Development Bank and a host of other structures were destroyed by the government. Concerning the social grievances of Anglophones findings revealed that their main social grievance was related to education. Therefore, *Cameroon Post* and *The Post* have greatly

contributed to voicing the Anglophone problem. Many articles pointing out Anglophones' grievances were published, not only by journalists, but also by Anglophones political leaders. This portrays the existing nexus between the media landscape and the Anglophone struggle in Cameroon. Such a nexus contributed to maintain vivid the struggle during and after the escalation of violence in 2016.

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