

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**NATIONAL DIALOGUE AS A STRATEGY FOR INTRA-STATE CONFLICT  
RESOLUTION IN AFRICA: THE CASE STUDY OF ANGLOPHONE  
CAMEROON**

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**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this project is my original work that has solely been composed by me and that it has not been presented or submitted, in part or whole for any academic accreditation at any university.

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## **DEDICATION**

I humbly dedicate this work to almighty God, my family, and my supervisor Dr. Ouma

Martin

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I thank God for His kindness and mercy during this academic journey. Special appreciation to my family for the support you have shown me in my life as a whole, your prayers and guidance in my career has kept me going. You have stood by me even in hard times. Special appreciation also goes to my supervisor, Dr. Ouma Martin, thanks for always giving me proper guidance and direction in my studies. I would not have done it without your direction. May God bless your future endeavors in leading and seeing many more go through your hands. I also appreciate the entire IDIS staff for always being there for me. To my classmates and friends, thanks for cooperation; through you people I learnt the importance of team work.

God bless you all.

## **ABSTRACT**

Even though National Dialogue is known to have played a significant role in intra-state conflict resolution in Africa, in Cameroon, its effectiveness was reduced due to lack of inclusivity and failure to address the root cause of the conflict. This study sought to establish the effectiveness of National Dialogue as a strategy for resolving intra-state conflict in African states, with the key focus being Cameroon. In order to attain this end, the study was guided by three specific objectives: to investigate the effectiveness of National Dialogue as a method of intra-state conflict resolution in Africa; to assess the role of external actors in the National Dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict; and to evaluate the challenges and opportunities of National Dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict. The theoretical framework of this study is premised on theory of problem solving in advancing inclusivity in conflicts resolution. This theory focuses more on changing conflicts into constructive summation that brings transitions in the society or crisis situations. This study undertakes a case study method approach that facilitates and ventilates an up-close, in-depth and comprehensive investigation of the subject study. The case study also facilitates examinations that are carried out on every phenomenon of interest in this research within its actual-life context. The study is conducted in Southern Cameroon, commonly known as Amba Land, or Ambazonia, a self-declared state of the Anglophones. This study targeted personnel who participated in the 2019 National Dialogue process in Cameroon in both Anglophone and Francophone regions, Political parties officials, University of Nairobi Academicians undertaking conflict management and International relations, Ministry of National Security of Cameroon, experts in conflict resolution and in addition to key informants from the Cameroonian embassy. The study targeted a total sample of 306 participant captured using questionnaires and interview guide. Data was analyzed using SPSS and content analysis and presented in the form of tables, graphs and through narratives. The findings to this study reflects the same state across Africa's National dialogues which were largely characterized by numerous inefficiencies and challenges in tackling the continuous intra-state conflicts. The major challenges identified are lack of inclusivity as many opposition leaders and activists of the Anglophone region are either detained or sort asylum abroad, lack of identity for the root cause of the intra-state conflict, a top down approach by government leading the entire process, and lack of involvement of external actors during the process. On the other hand opportunities identified by majority of the respondents are holding subsequent collective dialogue from the grassroots, peace transition of statehood by Anglophone region and an inclusive and sustainable human development for all, In Conclusion, national dialogue is an increasingly popular tool for conflict resolution and political transformation. It has broadened debate regarding a country's trajectory beyond the usual elite decision makers. However, it can also be misused and manipulated by leaders to consolidate their power.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

National dialogue is an increasingly popular tool for conflict resolution and political transformation. It can broaden debate regarding a country's trajectory beyond the usual elite decision makers. However, it can also be misused and manipulated by leaders to consolidate power. This research is therefore on National Dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution in the intra-state conflicts of African states with a case study of the Anglophone Cameroon. Chapter one covers background of the study, the problem statement research questions, study objectives and literature review. Others include the study hypothesis, justification, theoretical framework, methodology and finally the chapter outline.

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Globally, over the past few decades in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, national dialogue has been viewed as a critical tool for the prevention of intra-state conflicts and for managing political crisis and transitions.<sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that national dialogues have vastly been analyzed and debated by national governments, political parties, religious leaders, civil society groups, international policy makers, diplomatic community, donors as well as armed movements their popularity has to date not been matched by conceptual clarity and reality. Few studies have been undertaken to provide proper and fundamental guidance and practical support

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<sup>1</sup>Fontana, G., Siewert, M. B., & Yakinthou, C. (2020). Managing War-to-Peace Transitions after Intra-State Conflicts: Configurations of Successful Peace Processes. *Journal of Intervention and State building*, 1-23.

for those who are exploring this strategy as one possible way to move beyond political stalemate, disruptive intra-state conflict scenarios, or unrestrained periods of transition.<sup>2</sup>

The utilization of national dialogue as a strategy for conflict resolution has proven to be effective across the globe with success cases being witnessed in Europe, Middle East, Latin America and Africa. Major conflicts in the Middle East region commonly referred to as the Arab Spring have depicted a vivid picture of the population exerting pressure of legitimacy on the governing institutions.<sup>3</sup> The pressure from the population has exerted the narrative of inclusivity and participation at the heart of national dialogue. The complex nature of intra-state conflicts especially in Africa has called for application of dynamic formats of national dialogue that entail a wide range of participants in order to address the multidimensional causes of conflict in the continent

In Europe, Poland witnessed social unrest by the citizenry against poor economic conditions and political repression.<sup>4</sup> There was greater agitation for greater freedom in 1956 and this was followed by food riots in 1970 which were on the increase and continued to mount pressure against the ruling regime. By 1980 the protests gained momentum with increased strikes at the Gdansk shipyard, foundation of the independent trade union Solidarity and the forceful use of martial law from 1981 to 1983.<sup>5</sup> The talks commenced as crisis management but ultimately developed into negotiations on a new social contract.

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<sup>2</sup>Mezzer, M., Pavici, M., &Specker, L. (2009). Governance Components in Peace Agreements: Fundamental Elements of State and Peace Building?.Clingendael Institute.

<sup>3</sup>Sazzad, R. (2017). Edward Said's Concept of Exile: Identity and Cultural Migration in the Middle East. Bloomsbury Publishing.

<sup>4</sup>Rupnik, J. (1979). Dissent in Poland, 1968–78: the End of Revisionism and the Rebirth of the Civil Society. In *Opposition in Eastern Europe* (pp. 60-112). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

<sup>5</sup>Luxmoore, J. (1987). The Polish Church under martial law. *Religion in Communist Lands*, 15(2), 124-166.

In East Africa, Kenya held a National Dialogue after the disputed 2007 presidential election that led to post violent conflict, which quickly escalated to an economic and humanitarian crisis. The African Union through its chairperson mandated a Panel of Eminent African personality to initiate a reconciliation process. The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation process brought together the two opposing sides to address key issues that had emerged namely: undertaking speedy actions to stop the rampant violence and reinstalling fundamental rights and freedoms; secondly, to overcome the prevailing political stalemate; thirdly, coming up with long term solutions such as constitutional and legal reforms to prevent a similar occurrence.<sup>6</sup> The instantaneous aftermath of the process was the signing of a power-sharing agreement that would establish a coalition government and the office of the prime minister.

The Sudanese national dialogue materialized from the prolonged intra state conflict involving the South Blue Nile, South Kordofan and Darfur coupled with political instability and internal crises.<sup>7</sup> The then ongoing conflict between government and several opposition leaders reached a detrimental stalemate with neither side having an outright advantage over the other. As a result of this hurting stalemate in 2014 January, the government through the president called upon the political forces of Sudan both pro-government and opposition parties coupled with armed groups to join in the national dialogue process with the key objective of re-establishing the political and constitutional foundation of the country through an inclusive perspective involving all the Sudanese. The entire process resulted into the adoption of the national document for Sudan which acted as the foundational basis for

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<sup>6</sup>Mkangi, B., &Githaiga, N. (2012).Kenya's new constitution and conflict transformation. Institute for Security Studies Papers, 2012(232), 20-20.

<sup>7</sup>Eshete, A. (2009). Darfur and the crisis of governance in Sudan: a critical reader. Cornell University Press.

a new constitution. However, the process continued to face challenges after the withdrawal of the largest opposition parties and armed movements thus lacking adequate representation and substance to being fully effective.

Inspired by the Tunisian uprising of December 2010, massive protests took place in Egypt from January 25th, 2011 where the population was discontent with Mubarak's decades of repressive rule, accusing him of defrauding the 2010 elections and Egypt's socioeconomic conditions. Refusing to meet the population's demands, Mubarak sent army tanks and troops to impose a curfew on the population. Despite several episodes of violence, the arrest of many people, including members of opposition groups, journalists, and youths, and the death of more than 800 protesters, demonstrations continued until Mubarak eventually resigned from power on February 11th, 2011. Power was then transferred to the military; taking charge of the interim government and assuming full executive and legislative powers. Already on January 31st, the army had declared that they would not use violence against the protesters.<sup>8</sup>

In March, Egyptians adopted constitutional amendments through a referendum, which led to an election process. From the end of March 2011, the SCAF organized a national dialogue process to bring together all relevant political and societal forces into a multi-party inclusive negotiation process. The national dialogue fits into the first modality of inclusion presented in the previous section as direct representation at the negotiation table. The process had background support from the UNDP. Following decades of emergency rules preventing non-governmental political activity, the national dialogue aimed to gather

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<sup>8</sup> Durac, Vincent. "Protest movements and political change: an analysis of the 'Arab uprisings' of 2011." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 31, no. 2 (2013): 175-193.

for the first time the opinion of a broad range of political factions from all sections of the population to discuss their agenda instead of continuing the demonstrations. The national dialogue discussed the following five key themes: Democracy and human rights, social and human development, economy, media and culture, and foreign relations.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) national dialogue came into place after the prolonged intrastate conflict and the overthrow of President Mobutu Sese Seko's regime in 1997. DRC witnessed horrendous conflict involving most of her neighbors'. International pressure to end the conflict began almost as soon as the Second Congo conflict of August 1998 erupted.<sup>9</sup> Following a year of international pressure and the arrival of a military stalemate, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement was signed on July 10th, 1999 by the DRC, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Uganda, and Rwanda. Chapter V of the Lusaka Agreement provided for the Inter-Congolese political negotiations, a national dialogue tasked with structuring a new political administration during the transitional period,

The conflict in the DRC was substantially a regional phenomenon. One of the most direct causes of the war being Rwanda and Burundi's interest in maintaining political influence in Kinshasa and in combating the rebel groups staging attacks on the two states from Congolese territory. A significant reason why the Sun City agreement was greeted with renewed violence in the Eastern DRC was the marginalization of the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD), which ignored Rwanda's goals to increase its influence in the DRC.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Rogier, Emeric, O. Furley, and R. May. "Democratic Republic of Congo: problems of the peacekeeping process." *Ending Africa's Wars: Progressing to Peace* (2006): 99-114.

<sup>10</sup>Carayannis, Tatiana. "The challenge of building sustainable peace in the DRC." (2009).

The RCD-Goma desired to overthrow Kabila and was supported by Rwanda, which had the same interests.<sup>11</sup> The RCD Movement for Liberation (RCD-ML) gained support from Uganda, which desired to change the DRC's leadership. Allies of the DRC government intervened for different reasons. Angola was again motivated by security reasons regarding the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Namibia was "more or less obliged to follow the lead of its Angolan patron," and Zimbabwe intervened for economic interests.<sup>12</sup>

The escalation of violence by Rwandan and Ugandan backed forces after the partial agreement in Sun City led the United Nations Organization (UNO) to appoint two new special envoys, former prime minister and seasoned politicians from Senegal, to mediate a new process. This led to the Global and Inclusive Agreement on Transition in the DRC accented to by all parties in December 2002, and the Final Act signed in Sun City in 2003, which affirmed many of the provisions of previous agreements.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

The tension in the Anglophone Cameroon Intra-state conflict is deeply historical and has been woefully unaddressed to date. Failure to hold a genuine all-inclusive national dialogue to look into historical and to present grievances of the Anglophone Cameroon risks fueling discontent is likely to undermine the prospect of a sustainable peaceful solution. Thus this study is critical in analyzing the effectiveness of the 2019 national dialogue held in

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<sup>11</sup>Naidoo, Sagarin. "The role of track two diplomacy in the Democratic Republic of Congo conflict." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 1, no. 2 (2000): 85-104.

<sup>12</sup>Prunier, Gérard. "The eastern DR Congo: dynamics of conflict." *Open Democracy* 17 (2008).



Yaoundé Cameroon in addressing the past and current underlying causes of conflict that have been persistent since independence.

Numerous undertakings have been done individually and collaboratively in response to ending the Anglophone Cameroon conflict since independence by various stakeholders such as the national government of Cameroon, religious leaders, civil societies, private sector, regional and international actors. However, there is limited academic research undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness of the 2019 national dialogue in addressing the underlying causes of the persistent intra-state conflict in Cameroon.

Despite the 2019 National Dialogue effort, violence and loss of lives continue to prevail in the Anglophone regions which has resulted into the question as to whether the national dialogue is an effective method of resolving conflict or not and to what extent, what is it that the different stakeholders are not doing right and more so, the reason why there is still no consensus amongst the Anglophone regions and yet the National government should play the role of a unifying factor.

Cameroon has failed in its responsibility to protect and unite the Anglophones and Francophones as citizens of one country. What role would the international community play to intervene and protect the population of Southern Cameroons from genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity? The current intra state conflict escalated after the President of Cameroon Paul Biya declared hostilities against the separatists in November 2016 instead of calling for a genuine inclusive National Dialogue as recommended by the

international community. Since then the conflict has caused considerable instability and human suffering, with more than 10,000 deaths linked to the conflict.<sup>13</sup>

Despite all these, France continuous to side with the Biya's regime and the United Nations Security Council has equally failed to place this war on its agenda thus promoting a culture of impunity, which must be checked for the sake of humanity.<sup>14</sup> This raises the question of the role of external actors in enhancing national dialogue in addressing the Anglophone crisis. Therefore this study will seek to evaluate in-depth the effectiveness of utilizing national dialogue as a strategy for conflict resolution that was undertaken in 2019 in Cameroon, the role of external actors in the Anglophone crisis.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

1. How effective is national dialogue as a method of intra-state conflict resolution in Africa?
2. What is the role of external actors in the national dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict?
3. What are the challenges and opportunities of national dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict?

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<sup>13</sup>Keke, Reginald Chikere. "Southern Cameroons/Ambazonia Conflict: A Political Economy." *Theory & Event* 23, no. 2 (2020): 329-351.

<sup>14</sup>Mbatu, R. S. (2020). Discourses of FLEGT and REDD+ Regimes in Cameroon: A Nongovernmental Organization and International Development Agency Perspectives. *Forests*, 11(2), 166.

## **1.4 Objectives**

The main objective of the study is to investigate the effectiveness of national dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution in Africa.

### **1.4.1 Specific Objectives**

1. To investigate the effectiveness of national dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution in Africa.
2. To assess the role of external actors in the national dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict.
3. To evaluate the challenges and opportunities of national dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict.

## **1.5 Literature Review**

This section reviews the relevant literature used in examining the debates and views concerning the whole concept of national dialogue as a strategy for intra state conflict resolution. This will comprise of theories that have been used to examine the key debates as well as the empirical literature that has been used to examine the whole concept of national dialogue as a strategy for addressing intra-state conflict in Africa as well as how it has evolved overtime. This study employs both theoretical and empirical literature review. Theoretical review uses two theories namely Game theory and conflict resolution theory to examine key debates by different scholars. On the other hand, the empirical literature has been modeled as per the specific study objectives; To investigate the impact of national dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution in Africa; To assess the role of external actors in the national dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution in the

Anglophone Cameroon conflict; and finally to evaluate the challenges and opportunities of national dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict. All this is done with the aim to identifying knowledge gap.

### **1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review**

#### **Game theory**

This theory has been helpful in promoting the works of social science scientists in the development of conflict of interest terms. The theory was advanced by Schelling.<sup>15</sup> It demonstrates that there are different people involved in a conflict, with interests that are interdependent hence their destinies are interconnected. Game theory illustrates that cooperation and competition of interests are likely to be interlinked in conflict situations as explained further by Schelling who stated that, conflicts have a nature of mixed motives. Cooperation aspects of conflicts illustrates that there is bargaining as well as negotiation in which groups that are in conflicts can reach mutual consensus that benefits all the concerned parties. Also, competition aspects demonstrate the scenarios where a single group may use power and capacity to bargain and gain more or rather win over the other party.<sup>16</sup>

Game theory has been taken as a theory that promotes rational decision making in conflict or crisis situations.<sup>17</sup> The theory enhances the participation of various policy actors(players), with each player assigned various framework/ strategy, set of results that

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<sup>15</sup>Rapoport, A. "Review of Schelling (1960)." J. Am. Stat. Assoc 56 (1961): 433-438.

<sup>16</sup>Deutsch, Morton. "Sixty years of conflict." International journal of conflict management (1990).

<sup>17</sup>Garratt, Rod, James E. Parco, Cheng-Zhong Qin, and AmnonRapoport."Potential maximization and coalition government formation." International Game Theory Review 7, no. 04 (2005): 407-429.

originates from the decisions that are made by the parties based on a specific role as well as payout that is given to each participants based on the results that are attained. This theory presumes that participants in a game are rational and the options they take are guided by the capacity of the possible return. Since every participant is seen as rational, they use other party's payout to guide the nature of strategy since this helps in understanding the way the other party's strategies are made. The payouts of the parties are different resulting into a conflict of interest and therefore for the parties to maximize absolute gain, they have to come to a consensus which leads to peace. The game theory is therefore essential in this study in that it involves rational actors and parties that can discuss key issues of concern. National dialogue can therefore only be enhanced by rational decision makers who are interested in peaceful coexistence.

### **Conflict Resolution Theory**

Conflict Resolution Theory was advanced by Deutsch.<sup>18</sup> The main principle of this theory is that conflict resolution processes is enhanced through efficient and effective cooperation. The theory also states that resolving conflicts involves competition whereby the parties involved compete in order to emerge as a winner. The result of the competition is always a loss to both parties. The guiding principles of cooperation entails respect, accountability and responsibility, trust, justice, honesty, equality as well as fairness in behavior to both friends and team members. The theory posits that mutual cooperation enhances adequate measures for managing crisis.

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<sup>18</sup>Deutsch, Morton, Peter T. Coleman, and Eric C. Marcus, eds. *The handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and practice*. John Wiley & Sons, 2011.

This theory enhances the creation of common grounds where disagreements are placed, responding to challenges in situations of differences as well as avoiding attacks on others. The theory also gives room for understanding other people's opinions so as to expand their views and to recognize their potentials. It puts emphasis on the strength of the other parties as well as the possibility laying efficient and effective conflict resolution strategy. It also limits and controls negative expressions and feelings that one is to take responsibility of the dangerous consequences directed at others hence affecting the norms for cooperation. Hence, parties must at all times be careful of their actions, to always not get involved in activities that affect others negatively and to apologize whenever there is wrong doing. It also advocates for forgiveness, reconciling with one another in case one part hurts the other instead of breeding hatred and grudges.

The theory calls for the empowerment of one another so as to enhance better participation in the cooperation process and assisting each other whenever need arises. It also calls for honesty since it advances the principles of cooperation. The theory promotes proper communication that does not promote fear or suspicion that can jeopardize peaceful coexistence and relations in the society. It calls for parties involved to maintain morality in the conflict resolution process through commitment. These are relevant in the processes of promoting both national and international dialogues in conflict resolutions. National dialogue between and amongst different groups of people requires mutual cooperation and coordination for a sustainable and lasting peace to be realized. Many studies show that conflicts must not necessarily end in a win-win situation; at some point, one party may emerge victorious or in compromise and therefore this study is guided by problem solving

approach that involves direct participation of the parties in resolving the disputes to shape and facilitate third parties that have knowledge of conflict management.<sup>19</sup>

## **1.5.2 Empirical Literature Review**

### **1.5.2.1 The effectiveness of National Dialogues as A strategy for Conflict Resolution**

The application of national dialogue as a strategy for conflict resolution has had mixed outcomes globally. Following the most recent widely covered national dialogue experiences in Yemen and Tunisia between 2013 and 2014, there has been a debate on the effectiveness of the application of national dialogue as a strategy for conflict resolution globally.<sup>20</sup> However the effectiveness of this approach has been highly debated from 2015 as a result of the dynamics surrounding the Yemen case. The effectiveness of national is anchored on several key principles in which a state undertaking the process must uphold in order to achieve the desired outcomes of a win-win basis.

Inclusivity principle is critical for an effective national dialogue to take place; the process must accommodate a broad spectrum of stakeholders without leaving any groups out of the talks.<sup>21</sup> In order to achieve the maximum dialogue's full potential to tackle the actual causes and drivers of conflict, all key stakeholders should be allowed and encouraged to participate, including youth, religious groups, women, political parties, civil society, traditionally excluded groups amongst others.

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<sup>19</sup>Sandole, Dennis JD. "Paradigm, theories, and metaphors in conflict and conflict resolution: Coherence or confusion?." *Conflict resolution theory and practice* (1993): 3-24.

<sup>20</sup>Day, S. W. (2020). *America's Role in the Yemen Crisis*. In *Global, Regional, and Local Dynamics in the Yemen Crisis* (pp. 51-68). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

<sup>21</sup>O'Driscoll, L. (2020). *The Politics and Dialogue of Transnational Courts in Europe: A Critical Legal Analysis*. *King's Inns Student L. Rev.*, 9, 54.

In the 2013-2014, the national dialogue of Yemen that was undertaken by the Gulf Cooperation Council, succeeded because of its broad inclusivity of the youth, women, traditional leaders, and political elites. This was a major milestone as the process was devoid of the typical Yemen political processes. In Tunisia the National Dialogue was termed as a success, although critics outside Tunis termed it as a political positioning process that failed to provide adequate public participation.<sup>22</sup>

The principle of transparency and public participation is key in the assessment of the effectiveness of any national dialogue. It has been noted that, despite a dialogue taking on board all the critical and essential stake holders on board, it still runs the risk of losing legitimacy if it fails to incorporate public participation. Thus it's critical that the general public is updated on the happenings of the dialogue step by step to enable them own the process and embrace the outcome. Mechanisms to involve the broader public to the national dialogue should be established so as to harness the process. Conducting public consultation should be undertaken, and media coverage should be encouraged to reach out to the masses.

In Kenya's 2004 Bomas conference on constitutional reforms, delegates were directed to hold consultative meetings with the groups that they were representing.<sup>23</sup> During Senegal's 2008-2009 National Dialogue 'Assies-Nationales', the outreach team held consultative engagements in every Senegal's governorates and subsequent consultations with citizens in the Diaspora namely France, Canada and the United States of America. These

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<sup>22</sup>El-Haddad, A. (2020).Redefining the social contract in the wake of the Arab Spring: The experiences of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia. *World Development*, 127, 104774.

<sup>23</sup>Mati, J. M. (2020). *Political protest in contemporary Kenya: Change and continuities*. Rutledge.



consultations were crucial in ensuring citizens own the process from formulation to execution of outcomes.<sup>24</sup>

Another key principle for assessing the effectiveness of the national dialogue is the respectability of the convener by majority of the citizens and opposing parties. The convener of national dialogue should be devoid of political aspirations or goals as it creates a conflict of interest even before the dialogue commences. The credibility and success of national dialogues in the recent past has been witnessed in Senegal and Tunisia were majorly attributed to the credibility and neutrality of the conveners. For instance in Tunisia, national dialogue was convened by four civil society organizations namely the Employers union, The General Workers Union, The Tunisia Bar Association, and the Tunisia League for Human rights. The four entities had a long moral standing and covered a vast base of representation of the population hence the coalition having the backing and trust of the Tunisian population.<sup>25</sup>

The Senegal National Dialogue process was convened by the former director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Amadou-Mahtar who could command respect and trust amongst the population for his outstanding leadership qualities and performance when he was a public servant.<sup>26</sup> His presence strengthened the process and gave it more legitimacy. However in Sudan and Cameroon the heads of states have played an outsized role in calling and preparation of the national

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<sup>24</sup>Nyadera, I. N., & Mohamed, M. S. (2020). The Somali Civil War: Integrating Traditional and Modern Peacebuilding Approaches. *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 8.

<sup>25</sup> Mahmoud, Y., & Ó Súilleabháin, A.. (2020). Improvising Peace: Towards New Social Contracts in Tunisia. *Journal of Intervention and State building*, 14(1), 101-118.

<sup>26</sup>Daniels, C., Pointel, S., Byrne, R., Hanlin, R., & Numi, A. (2020). Updating the case studies of the political economy of science granting councils in sub-saharan Africa: national case study report of Senegal.

dialogues in their respective countries raising the question of their effectiveness as they have an outright conflict of Interest. The Sudan national dialogue failed since not all the parties were involved leading to the ouster of the President Omar al-Bashir by opposing parties.

The other key principle that determines the effectiveness of national dialogue as a strategy for conflict resolution entails the agendas that address the causes of conflict. National dialogue should be a process that looks for viable solutions to address the contentious issues facing the nation with a view of obtaining an agreement. Thus it is vital for stakeholders to engage in in-depth consultation, pre-negotiation to identify the form of consensus on the root causes of the conflict. National dialogues should therefore provide substantive basis upon which the dialogue is anchored upon with inclusion of all key interest groups. Failure to identify all major causes was witnessed in Yemen civil conflict 15 months after a successful national dialogue when Yemen failed to address financial and political mechanism for federalism.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, one other key principle is an agreeable mechanism for implementation of outcomes reached upon from the dialogue. The recommendations from the national dialogue should be anchored through a new constitution dispensation, new policy, or other programs. This is because the resulting recommendations have both formal and informal aspects and take place through transitional justice, constitutional making and elections. Lack of a clear implementation schedule put the entire national dialogue at risk of consuming more time and resources with no tangible results in sight. The Central African Republic (CAR) 2015

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<sup>27</sup>Lackner, Helen. "The Role of the United Nations in the Yemen Crisis." In *Global, Regional, and Local Dynamics in the Yemen Crisis*, pp. 15-32. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.

dialogue risks suffering this tragedy as it lacked a clear legal mandate as the process formation was hurriedly rushed. Thus the resulting recommendations from the Bangui Forum might end up not being implemented as the implementation committee lacks a clear legal capacity or legal authority.

The Cameroon 2019 national dialogue is unique as the President did not only convene the dialogue but went ahead to outline the main themes upon which the dialogue was to be anchored. The prime minister was given two weeks to conduct consultations prior to the dialogue from various stakeholders such as political parties, government institutions, and civil society guided by the outlined themes. The Anglophones main constituents and opinion leaders such as the Social Democratic Front and the Anglophone General Conference made their submissions on the ongoing intra state conflict.

In addition, the main opposition party, Cameroon Renaissance Movement (CRM) submitted their views despite their party leader Maurice Kamto and other top officials being in prison. Despite consultations, certain aspects of the proceedings to the main dialogue were widely criticized resulting to failure of many Anglophone separatists failing to turn up for the national dialogue. Pessimists and critics view the 2019 national dialogue as a mere smoke screen to hood wink the regional and international community, while optimist see the dialogue as a step in the right direction to attaining the elusive long-term peace and security in Cameroon. This study will critically analyze the effectiveness of 2019 Cameroon National Dialogue in resolving the Anglophone crisis.

In Central Africa, Cameroon is the latest to hold a national dialogue. President Biya called for a national dialogue to be held between 30th September and 4th October 2019.<sup>28</sup> Certain proposals were made including renaming the country to United Republic of Cameroon. Separatists called the dialogue inadequate as it sidelined certain actors and did not tolerate the question of secession.

The US on 31st October scrapped preferential trade benefits for Cameroon for alleged gross violations of human rights in breach under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Thus further investigation to the usage of national dialogue needs to be undertaken by looking into opportunities and challenges it possess in actualization of conflict resolution to avert further loss of life and damage of property.

#### **1.5.2.2 The Role of External Actors in the National Dialogue in Intra-State Conflict Resolution**

During the national dialogue in Iraq in 2004, external international actors were involved in the entire process. The strong involvement was spear headed by the United States of America (USA) delegates as observers and in addition, they aided with provision of security, accommodation and logistical provision of the entire national session. The US directly influenced who was to be chosen as members to the Iraqi Governing Council which then successively drove the agenda of the national dialogue. This involvement of external actors in influencing the process and outcome rendered lack of ownership, inclusiveness and lack of legitimacy of the process. Many have termed the process as a foreign driven process thus negatively impacting the effectiveness of the process as it failed to achieve

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<sup>28</sup>Mbaku, J. M. (2002). Cameroon's Stalled Transition to Democratic Governance: Lessons for Africa's New Democrats. *African and Asian Studies*, 1(3), 125-163.

national consensus. Therefore, Iraq case is a classic example of negative interference of by the external actors.

In 1991, Colombia held a National Dialogue, with the aim to address the escalating intra-state conflict which was characterized by armed guerilla groups paramilitaries militias and drug cartel. The national dialogue also allowed external actors who were accorded observer status namely Ethiopia and Eretran delegates to be part of the process. The dialogue was facilitated and chaired by Meles Zenawi which was a strategic move to have an acceptable person agreeable to all the parties involved. Despite having mixed outcomes, the national dialogue was considered a success as it managed the prevailing conflict through fundamental change and participation of various opposing actors such as insurgency movements' engagement in negotiations with the government.

The national dialogue adopted a Transitional Period charter that brought forth the legal structure for reforming the state and devolving state power along ethno-regional lines. The other external actor that played a crucial role was the international community that provided funding support to widen and to boosts the government capabilities, for example the United Nations Funded Presidential Agency and provided the technical support.

Cameroon has in numerous occasions attempted to bring to an end the persistent intra-state conflict.<sup>29</sup> The regional and international actors have had a significant role and duty to intervene and protect the population of Southern Cameroons from genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.<sup>30</sup> In the recent past, the national dialogues has witnessed

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<sup>29</sup>Ramcharan, B., & Ramcharan, R. (2020). Inter-State and Intra-State Conflicts. In Conflict Prevention in the UN ' s Agenda 2030 (pp. 81-104). Springer, Cham.

<sup>30</sup>Fobanjong, J. (2020). Pondering France's Silence and Inaction in the Southern Cameroons Genocide. *Theory & Event*, 23(2), 416-444.

increased input from external parties' especially developmental partners who have become more engaged in variety of roles.

These roles entail safe-guarding inclusivity, enhancing trust, provision of funds and technical expertise as well as boosting the dialogue framework. External actors play a crucial role of enabler as they galvanize support for national dialogue at the international level and also urge conflicting parties towards dialoguing with each other. External actors use a mixture of pressure inform of sanctions, embargoes or public statements and incentive inform of aid, debt relief, promise to deepen ties amongst others to encourage conflicting parties to take part in the dialogue. On April 18, 2019, the European Parliament passed a resolution which recommended an inclusive political dialogue to resolve the Anglophone crisis and called for the conflict to be considered by the United Nations Security Council, and it also urged the European Union to “use the political leverage provided by development aid and other bilateral programs to enhance the defense of human rights in Cameroon.”

The regional and international communities have to actively involve the two opposing sides to hold a genuine and inclusive dialogue to resolve the Anglophone intra-state conflict. Early in January 24<sup>th</sup> 2019, the United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Cameroon stated that Cameroon could no longer be a forgotten crisis; and that there was urgency for it to be amongst the top priority of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) agenda.<sup>31</sup> In February 2019, the United States Department of State announced that it would withhold some security assistance to Cameroon, including

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<sup>31</sup> Christian, N. M. (2020). Local Integration of Nigerian Refugees as a Durable Solution to Self-Reliant in the Far North Region of Cameroon, Measures, Challenges and Perspectives.

equipment and training, citing credible allegations of human rights violations by state security forces and a lack of investigation, accountability, and transparency by the Government of Cameroon.

In June 12, 2019 Russia announced a major shift in its policy towards Cameroon which until then was against any foreign intervention to resolve the crisis.<sup>32</sup> Russia now has joined the US and other external actors to call for an all-inclusive roundtable negotiation that scrutinizes the history and long suffering of the people of Southern Cameroons while calling for an immediate Ceasefire. In September 8th, 2020, the United States Senate Foreign Affairs Committee passed a Resolution by a bipartisan group of 13 senators consisting of 9 democrats and 4 Republicans strongly condemning abuse committed by state security forces and armed groups in the North west and South west regions of Cameroon; including extrajudicial killings and detentions, the use of force against civilians and nonviolent protesters, torture, rape, kidnappings, and other forms of violence against women, and violations of the freedoms of press, expression, and assembly.

The US Senate on September 8th 2020 equally urged the US Department of State, Department of the Treasury, and United States Agency for International Development, in coordination with other relevant Federal departments and agencies, to consider imposing targeted sanctions on individuals in the Cameroon government and separatist leaders “responsible for extrajudicial killings, torture, or other gross violations of internationally recognized human rights.” Continue to limit security assistance to Cameroon and ensure

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<sup>32</sup>Funteh, M. B. (2019). Security Crises in Cameroon Coastal Towns: Bakassi Freedom Fighters’ Reaction to International Decision over the Bakassi Peninsula. *Crossing the Line in Africa: Reconsidering and Unlimiting the Limits of Borders within a Contemporary Value*, 325.

that United States training and equipment is not being used to facilitate human rights abuse in the Northwest and Southwest regions. This study will evaluate the role and the extent to which they played in 2019 Cameroon national dialogue.<sup>33</sup>

### **1.5.2.3 Challenges and opportunities of National Dialogue as a method for intra-state conflict resolution**

National Dialogue just like any other method of resolving intra-state conflict, has experienced challenges for it to be fully effective. Challenges are witnessed on various stages of the national dialogue, from the commencement to the implementation of the outcomes. The United States of America (USA) directly influenced who was to be chosen as members and delegates to the Iraqi Governing Council which then successively drove the agenda of the national dialogue. This involvement of external actors in influencing the process and outcome rendered lack of ownership, inclusiveness and lack of legitimacy of the process. Many have termed the process as a foreign driven process thus negatively impacting the effectiveness of the process as it failed to achieve national consensus. Iraq is a classic example of negative interference of external actors.

In the Poland national dialogue, one key challenge was the perception by the political class that the national dialogue process was much controlled by elites due to the reason that the crucial and weighty matters were often decided upon by top leaders who were not on the negotiation table. The All Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (APATU) tried to derail the national dialogue talks severally as they were of a contrary opinion on the intended outcome of legalizing Solidarity. The opportunity to overcome this challenge was done

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<sup>33</sup> Andrew, T. T. (2020). Decentralisation and the practice of intergovernmental relations in Mezam Division, Northwest Region of Cameroon (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch University).



through formation of effective small thematic working groups that permitted technical negotiation to be undertaken into depth.

Lack of inclusivity undermines the effectiveness of any given national dialogue even before it commences and eventually leads to non-binding and biased outcome recommendations which may worsen the already prevailing conflict. The process must accommodate a broad spectrum of stakeholders without leaving groups out of the talks. In order to achieve the maximum dialogue's full potential to tackle the actual causes and drivers of conflict, all key stakeholders should be allowed to participate, including youth, religious groups, women, political parties, civil society, traditionally excluded groups amongst others. Many of the opposition leaders and activists in Cameroon have been imprisoned while others are in exile. Failure to have the leaders of the Anglophone participate in the National Dialogue is viewed as a challenge to the effectiveness of the 2019 National Dialogue.

Lack of transparency and public participation will greatly hamper the effectiveness and local ownership of the outcomes of the National Dialogue process.<sup>34</sup> Despite a dialogue including all critical and essential interested groups on board, it still runs the risk of losing legitimacy if it fails to incorporate public participation. Thus it's critical that the general public is updated on the happenings of the dialogue step by step to enable them own the process and embrace the outcome.

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<sup>34</sup>DifoumNkongo, C. (2020). Ownership Gaps in Implementing Performance-Based Program Budgeting in Ghana and Cameroon: A DIY Process Between Mimicry, Mirages, and Mirrors (Doctoral dissertation, Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa).

Mechanisms to involve the broader public to the national dialogue should be established so as to harness the local dialogue process from the general public to the main national dialogue, conducting public consultation being undertaken, and media coverage also being encouraged to reach out to the masses.

The Cameroon national dialogue was a government driven process, which only gave two weeks to collect views from selected stakeholders. The president who is head of government outlined the themes upon which the dialogue was to be discussed<sup>35</sup> This left little to no room for the general public to debate and air their views, thus the process losing the public goodwill especially from the Anglophone who felt left out as most of their leaders were in prison and could not take part in the process. This challenge had a direct impact on the effectiveness of the 2019 national dialogue as it had little to no public participation in the creation and development of the process.

Lack of a respectable and neutral convener or initiator of the National Dialogue will cause mistrust amongst the parties involved and the process will fail to attract the goodwill from the general to majority of the citizens and opposing parties. The convener of national dialogue should be devoid of political aspirations or goals as it creates a conflict of interest even before the dialogue commences. The credibility and success of national dialogues in the recent past have been witnessed in Senegal and Tunisia which were majorly attributed to the credibility and neutrality of the conveners. However in Sudan and Cameroon, the heads of states played the outsized role in the calling and preparation of the national dialogues in their respective countries; raising the question of their effectiveness as they

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<sup>35</sup>Nwati, M. T. (2020). The Anglophone Crisis: The Birth of Warlords, the Impact of Warlords Activity on the People of North West and South West Region of Cameroon. *Advances in Applied Sociology*, 10(5), 157-185.

have an outright conflict of Interest. The Sudan national dialogue failed as not all parties were involved leading to the ouster of the President Omar al –Bashir by opposing parties.<sup>36</sup>

The 2019 national dialogue was initiated by the current Cameroon’s Head of state President Paul Biya, whose government had been criticized by the Anglophones for marginalizing them political, economically and socially.<sup>37</sup> Despite all parties to the conflict welcoming the initiative of a National Dialogue, the level of mistrust amongst the Anglophones about the whole outcome made some of them to opt out of the entire process while others requested for a neutral external mediator to oversee the process. In addition, the venue Yaoundé where the so called national dialogue was held was seriously contested by the minority Anglophones as it did not depict neutrality as they feared being arrested.

Failure to come up with a comprehensive agenda setting of the underlying issues, escalates or fuels conflict further. Ineffectiveness of national dialogue as a strategy for conflict resolution is the failure to prepare a comprehensive agenda setting of the underlying issues that escalates or fuel conflict.<sup>38</sup> National dialogue is a process that looks for viable solutions to address the contentious issues facing a nation with a view of obtaining an agreement. Thus it’s vital for stakeholders to engage in in-depth consultation, pre-negotiations to identify and form a consensus on the root causes of the conflict. National dialogues should provide substantive basis upon which the dialogue is anchored with inclusion of all key interest groups.

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<sup>36</sup>Awolich, A. (2019). The Implications of Al Bashir's Downfall on South Sudan.

<sup>37</sup>Keke, R. C. (2020). Southern Cameroons/Ambazonia Conflict: A Political Economy. *Theory & Event*, 23(2), 329-351.

<sup>38</sup>Millawithanachchi, K. S. (2020). Peace Education and Truth and Reconciliation in Sri Lanka: Assessing Policy effectiveness as panacea for Post-Conflict Reconstruction (Doctoral dissertation, HOWARD UNIVERSITY).

The Cameroon 2019 national dialogue was unique as the President did not only convene the dialogue but went ahead to outline the main themes upon which the dialogue was to be anchored. The prime minister was given two weeks to conduct consultations prior to the dialogue from various stakeholders such as political parties, government institutions, and civil society guided by the outlined themes. The Anglophones main constituents and opinion leaders such as the Social Democratic Front and the Anglophone General Conference made their submissions on the ongoing intra state conflict. In addition the main opposition party the Cameroon Renaissance Movement submitted their views despite their party leader Maurice Kamto and other top officials being in prison.<sup>39</sup> Despite these consultations, certain aspects of the proceedings to the main dialogue were widely criticized resulting into the failure of many Anglophone separatists failing to turn up for the National Dialogue. The government's predefined themes of the discussions left out the main underlying issues of the conflict, namely, federalism and secession rendering the process a smoke screen.

#### **1.5.4 Identified gaps in the Literature**

The literature reviewed has revealed that numerous studies on national dialogue as a strategy for conflict resolution mainly focused on the causes of conflict and outcomes of those dialogues. This study however focuses predominantly on analyzing the effectiveness of undertaking national dialogue as an intra-state conflict resolution mechanism in Africa, the role and effect of regional and international community in conflict resolution and challenges and opportunities countries like Cameroon face in utilizing national dialogue in

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<sup>39</sup>Agwenjang, P. N. (2020). The Tussle with Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law: The Case of Cameroon. SOAS LJ, 7, 65.

addressing the Anglophone Cameroon Crisis.

## **1.6 Hypotheses**

This study tests the following hypothesis.

**H1:** National Dialogue as a method of conflict resolution has had a great effectiveness in resolving intra-state conflicts in Africa.

**H0:** There is no significant effectiveness of national dialogue as a strategy for conflict resolution in resolving Anglophone Cameroon conflict.

## **1.7 Justification of the study**

For every academic research, the justification for it cannot be over emphasized. Consequently, the justification for this study will be viewed from three levels: policy, academic and to the general public.

### **1.7.1 Policy Justification**

In long the term, Cameroon must undertake constitutional and institutional reforms to remedy the deeper problems from which the Anglophone issues originated, rather than addressing the symptom to end the prolonged intra-state conflict. This initiative can be achieved by holding an all-inclusive national dialogue founded on main issues ailing the Central African country. This study therefore is critical to policy makers especially in Cameroon and other African countries willing to undertake an effective national dialogue that would yield a win-win outcome for all the parties involved. Policy makers may greatly benefit from this study to help understand better the key principles involved in holding a

dialogue such as inclusivity, public participation and transparency, respectability of the convener and in addition the setting of the agenda of the dialogue.

The policy makers may further understand the role of external actors in the national dialogue framework. These roles entail safe-guarding inclusivity, enhancing trust, provision of funds and technical expertise as well as boosting the dialogue framework. This study will be beneficial to policy makers as it will look into how external actors utilize mixture of pressure and incentives amongst others to encourage conflicting parties to take part in a dialogue.

Finally policy makers will understand the challenges and opportunities of adopting national dialogue as a strategy for intra-state conflict resolution for them to come up with remedies to strengthen the process. With clear policies in place, it will enable policy makers from both International and African continent to make clear decisions and guide their peace and security efforts in the region.

### **1.7.2 Academic justification**

This study broadens scope from the above-mentioned premise by critically examining the effectiveness of national dialogues as a method of intra-state conflict resolution in Africa. The study also looks into tangible solutions of strengthening national dialogues as an effective strategy for conflict resolution in pursuit of peace and security in Africa. It further aims at coming up with theories and conceptual framework that will help scholars in enhancing their debates in conflict management, especially in the African continent. The study also intends to build to the body of knowledge on national dialogue as a strategy for

intra-state conflict resolution in Africa that has become untested phenomenon to the state of Cameroon.

### **1.7.3 To the general public**

The most important question to ask in justification to the public is whether national dialogue as a method of conflict resolution is effective especially in the African continent and the stakeholders involved in the process. As public interest on participation continuous to rapidly grow, the nature and the magnitude of the intra-state conflict drastically, intensifying this continuous to spark a lot of debate to the general public. The study will be useful to the general public as they will not only be the beneficiaries, but will also be better informed of their role of public participation to enhance inclusivity and ownership of the dialogue process from the commencement to the implementation of the outcomes. The general public will appreciate the role of external actors who come in the process as key players. Finally the study will look into the challenges and the opportunities of utilizing national dialogue as a strategy for intra state conflict resolution.

### **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

This section presents the theoretical framework upon which this study was premised before linking the theory to the study. The study was premised on the theory of problem solving as expounded below.

#### **Theory of problem solving**

This study is premised on theory of problem solving in advancing inclusivity in conflicts resolution. Burton formed the theory of problem solving and it was also advanced by other scholars like de Reuck and Kelman. This theory focuses more on changing conflicts into

constructive summation that brings transitions in the society or crisis situations.<sup>40</sup> Burton argues that, solving conflicts using problem solving approach considers the awareness of the parties involved, issues as well as accommodation. It gives room for the parties to understand each other's challenges at hand, hence working on ways of promoting cooperation and coordination for mutual inclusive win.<sup>41</sup>

Rothschild argues that, solving disputes requires an in-depth analysis of what triggers conflict as well as relations.<sup>42</sup> This is in agreement with Burton in relation to problem solving since it recognizes human desires as the focal point in analyzing the disputes by third party.<sup>43</sup> Problem solving theory helps in understanding the mandate of third parties/actors in a conflict as an essential body that helps in decision making basically on needs that are not yet fulfilled. It helps parties to a conflict to understand the importance of cooperation in realizing their desires. This ensures availability of fairness and equitable use of resources by involved parties.<sup>44</sup>

Problem solving has been promoted by Makumi Mwangiri as the best mechanism for promoting Track Two Diplomacy of conflict resolution. The theory promotes various ways of conflict resolution like mediation, adjudication, peace enforcement and keeping and all these are enshrined in the theories of international relations. Conflicts have become more complex and require mutual cooperation and coordination between the actors involved.

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<sup>40</sup>Burton, John W. "„Conflict Resolution." Prevention. New York: St. Martin's Press (1990).

<sup>41</sup> Ibid

<sup>42</sup>Rothschild, Daniel. "Game theory and scalar implicatures." *Philosophical Perspectives* 27 (2013): 438-478.

<sup>43</sup>Burton, John W. "„Conflict Resolution." Prevention. New York: St. Martin's Press (1990).

<sup>44</sup>Makumi, Mwangiri. "Conflict in Africa: Theory Processes and Institutions of Management." Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research (2006): 115.



Intra state conflicts have increased in various parts of Africa hence states are not the only actors involved in the conflict.

The theory is essential for this study in that it explores the need for cooperation between and amongst actors within states to promote peace and security. States have the responsibility to protect their citizens from the scourges of war and this can be achieved through collective cooperation of the competing interest so that triggers of conflicts are mitigated. Problem solving theory gives room for negotiation and dialogue between the parties. This is also important in advancing cooperation in African security structures by mitigating governance issues, resource disputes as well as humanitarian crisis.

Problem solving has been viewed as the appropriate tool for solving conflicts. It gives room for exchanging information on issues of priority and preferences in the search for collective and fulfilling remedy to the challenges, controlling conflict conditions as well as respect to socio-economic and political relations.<sup>45</sup>

The theory helps us to understand why and what leads to conflict. It analyzes the main triggers of challenges that lead to conflicts. The theory is essential in mitigating prolonged disputes within and between states as witnessed in the African continent. This makes it relevant in advancing national dialogue for peaceful coexistence.

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<sup>45</sup>Burton, John W. ",Conflict Resolution." Prevention. New York: St. Martin's Press (1990).

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

This section focuses on the study design, the location and study population. Others include, sources of data and data collection techniques, sampling procedures adopted and data analysis and presentation.

### **1.9.1 Research Design**

This study undertakes a case study method approach that facilitates and ventilates an up-close, in-depth and comprehensive investigation of the subject matter. The case study also facilitates examinations that are carried out on every phenomenon of interest in this research within its actual-life context. This survey has got several benefits; the main advantage is that it permits a vast deal of data to be gathered simultaneously; secondly, it is less expensive and appropriate due to the short time available to gather data. Thirdly its versatility makes it the most preferred choice for collecting primary data. This design was considered more suitable because the researcher wanted to find out what exists. Hence, utilization of the case study aids the holistic approach of investigating the national dialogue's effectiveness to resolve intra-state conflict in Africa.

### **1.9.2 The Study location**

The study was conducted in Southern Cameroon, commonly known as Amba Land, or Ambazonia, a self-declared state of the Anglophones. The federation of Ambazonia was in unclear circumstance abolished between 1972 and 1984 by the majority Francophone regime. Ambazonia is a former British Mandate Territory, located in the Gulf of Guinea, southern Cameroon, bordering Nigeria to the North and West and Atlantic to the South. It covers a geographical area of 42,710 square Kilometers with a population estimate of 5 million people. Ambazonia is a crucial location in understating the genesis or root causes

of conflict in Cameroon, and it is critical in analyzing the effectiveness of the 2019 National Dialogue.<sup>46</sup>

### **1.9.3 Target population**

The target population refers to the aggregate number of persons from which the research sample is drawn from.<sup>47</sup> This study targeted personnel who participated in the 2019 national dialogue process in Cameroon in both Anglophone and Francophone regions, Political parties` officials, University of Nairobi Academicians undertaking conflict management and International relations, Ministry of National Security of Cameroon, experts in conflict resolution and in addition to key informants from the Cameroonian embassy as listed on table 1.1 below This population was chosen due to their direct involvement with national dialogue strategies and was conversant with the study topic.

### **1.9.4 Sample size and sampling**

A sample can be described as a smaller representation of a given population, depicted by similar characteristics. The primary usage of sampling is to form the phenomenon's representativeness under investigation conversely and minimized bias. Both purposive and quota sampling were applied on this study. In quota sampling, the enumerator is directed to continue sampling until the required quota is obtained in each stratum. Mugenda and Mugenda formula, when the population size is more than 10,000, was utilized to determine the sample size. The distribution of the sample was apportioned as indicated on table 1.1 below.

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<sup>46</sup> Anyangwe, Carlson. "Question Concerning the Nationality of the People of Ambazonia: A Critical Inquiry." *Theory & Event* 23, no. 2 (2020): 352-380.

<sup>47</sup> Arocha, J. F. (2020). Scientific realism and the issue of variability in behaviour. *Theory & Psychology*, 972.

According to Mugenda and Mugenda, for a population of 10,000, the under listed formula will apply. <sup>48</sup>

$$nf = n/(1+n/N)$$

Where:  $nf$  = desired sample size when the population is less than 10,000.

$n$  = desired sample when the population is more than 10,000. (Which is 384)

$N$  = estimate of the population size.

Therefore, sample size will be:

$$nf = \frac{384}{1 + \frac{384}{1500}}$$

$$= \frac{384}{1 + 0.256}$$

$$= \frac{384}{1.256}$$

$$= 305.73 = 306$$

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<sup>48</sup>Mugenda, Olive Mwihaki, and Abel Gitau Mugenda. 2003. Research methods quantitative & qualitative approaches.

**Table 1.1: Sample size and population**

<b>Target groups</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Sampling technique</b>
Ministry of National Security of Cameroon	200	50	Convenient
Political parties officials	300	60	Stratified random
Academicians	750	142	Simple random
Cameroon Embassy	50	8	purposive
Religious leaders	300	46	Purposive
Total	1500	306	

**Source: (Author 2020)**

### **1.9.5 Data Tool and Collection**

The study encompasses qualitative and quantitative data collected from primary sources of data and secondary sources of data. Primary data was obtained by administering questionnaires and scheduling interviews. The questionnaires are structured and contains both open and closed ended questions. Open-ended questions were used to collect qualitative data, while the closed-ended questions were used for collecting quantitative data. The questions were formulated in very flexible and following manner that gives the respondent a chance to ventilate and express their views in-depth.

The questionnaires targeted security officials, Conflict management experts, and Cameroon ministry of national security. Secondary data was obtained from reviewing

books, journals, academic and research papers. Face to face interviews were undertaken with a few key chosen informants. The interview schedule assisted the researcher in getting more detailed and comprehensive information generated from the qualitative data.

### **1.9.6 Data Analysis and Presentation**

Suitable data analysis approaches and procedures were utilized to respond to the research questions through an analytical and critical investigation and interpretation of the attained data. After the questionnaires were received from the various respondents, they were edited, coded, and then data was tabulated. The editing is to ensure that the questionnaires are complete, consistent and readable; on the other hand-coding is to allow the transfer of the raw primary data to the computer.

The coding enables the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) analytical process to identify issues, determine the availability of relevant data, summarize and communicate the findings of the results. Data analysis results are published or summarized in formal Statistics, while results from surveys have been presented in graphical representation format, while qualitative data has been presented in narrative format.

### **1.9.7 Piloting**

This is a crucial phase because by piloting the questionnaires, the researcher gets to understand how to improve, refine and eliminate redundant information. As a result, the questionnaires was administered to a smaller group of people belonging to the Southern Cameroon's Anglophone regions. The anomalies and inconsistencies were therefore removed from the tools for data collection.

### **1.9.8 Scope and limitation of the research.**

The study is academic, and it focuses on examining the effectiveness of the 2019 Cameroon national dialogue in addressing the prolonged Anglophone intrastate conflict. The study considers the global Corona-Virus pandemic, time and limited resources to undertake an exhaustive study. As a result, there was a general limitation in collection in parts of Yaoundé, and southern Cameroon, primarily face-to-face interviews Cameroon, due to travel limitations due to the COVID-19 pandemic government regulations.

### **1.9.9 Ethical Considerations.**

Ethics in research is an essential part of the planning and implementation process. It increases consciousness of the need for strict ethical guidelines for researchers and provides procedures or perspectives for deciding how to act and analyze complex research problems and issues. As a result, it displays discipline standards for the researcher's conduct and responds to the research work.

The researcher ensured that the rights of the participants were respected. Various ethical codes and principles were adhered to. The voluntary participation principle was enhanced and no respondent coerced to participate in this research. The participants were informed of the research background and purpose to decide whether to participate or not. The researcher guaranteed the respondent that information acquired from this study would be handled with the utmost confidentiality. The researcher strived to treat the respondent with the utmost respect and courtesy.

## **1.10 Chapter outline**

**Chapter one** covers the proposal for this thesis. It introduces the topic of the research study, detailing a background for the study, the research hypothesis, research objectives, research justification, summary of key concepts, theoretical framework, literature review as well as proposed research methodology. This chapter sets the foundation and framework under which the study will be undertaken.

**Chapter two** investigated the effectiveness of National Dialogue as a method of intra-state conflict resolution in African perspective, and Western African perspective. The chapter further contains a subsection on interventions to resolve Anglophone intra-state conflict from the United Nation level, International courts Level, African Union level, and Cameroon conflict resolution Regime.

**Chapter three** on the other hand will have three main sub sections, firstly it will identify the role of external actors in conflict resolution adopted by African countries; secondly it will assess the challenges facing the implementation of the current security measures adopted by African countries and finally it will establish ways of improving the conflict resolution measures adopted by the security sectors in Africa and Cameroon specifically.

**Chapter four** will seek to establish the challenges and opportunities for utilization of National dialogue as a method of conflict resolution in Anglophone Cameroon conflict.

**Chapter five** will look at data analysis, findings, summary and recommendation of the study. This chapter will be crucial in testing the hypotheses in this study as well as give recommendations which can be utilized to enhance the effectiveness of utilization of National Dialogue as a method of conflict resolution in intra-state conflicts in Africa



## CHAPTER TWO

### EFFECTIVENESS OF NATIONAL DIALOGUE AS A STRATEGY FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

#### 2.1 Introduction

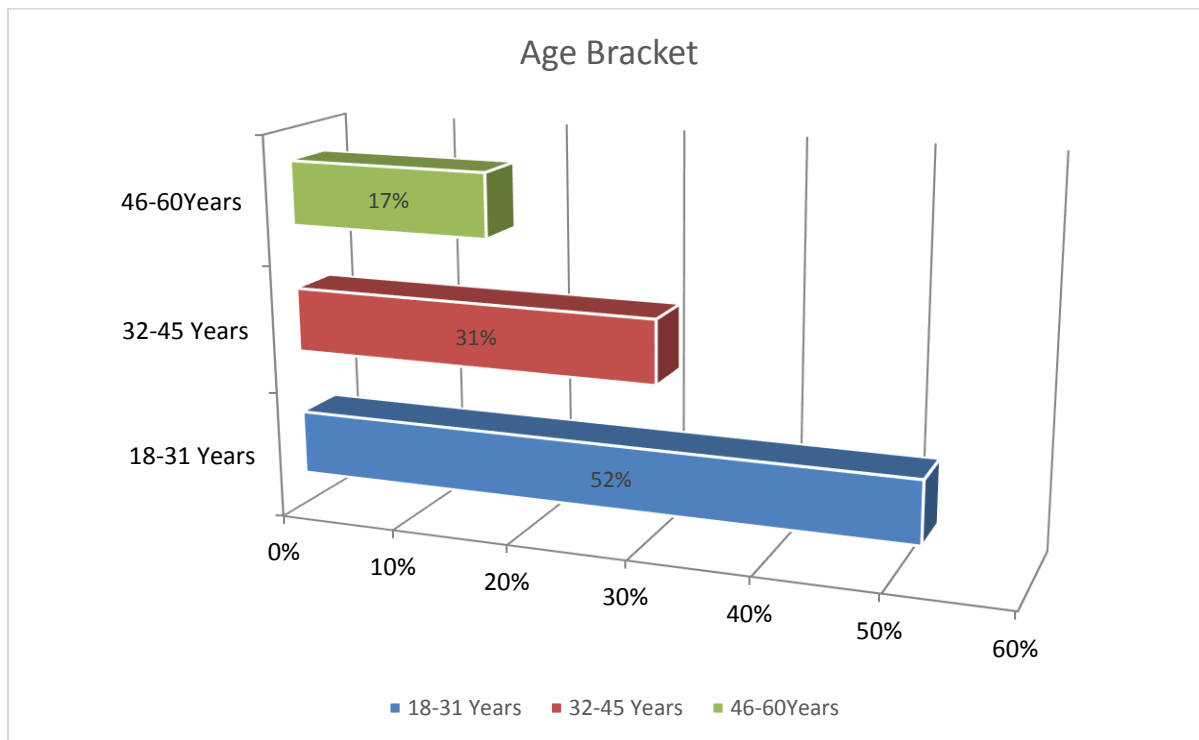
This chapter discusses the effectiveness of national dialogue as a conflict resolution strategy for the intra-state conflict in Cameroon. It mainly focuses on all stakeholders' inclusivity in the national dialogue as the significant parameters of having an effective dialogue. The chapter also examines other principles that include transparency and public participation, agenda-setting, and the principle of implementation of outcomes that promote effective national dialogue. The chapter looks into an in-depth analysis of the 2019 Cameroon national dialogue from the respondents who took part in the research. The chapter begins by looking into the demographic characteristics of the study population before delving into the key thematic areas.

##### 2.1.1 The Study Demographics

According to Vogt & Johnson in Connelly *et al.*, Demography looks into analyses of the particular population's quantifiable statistics.<sup>49</sup> This information is crucial for this study as it defines the composition of the targeted population in respect of age, gender, activities they are undertaking, and educational level.

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<sup>49</sup>Connelly, Lynne. "Demographic data in research studies." MLA 8th edition. MedSurg Nursing, 2013. Gale academic one file.

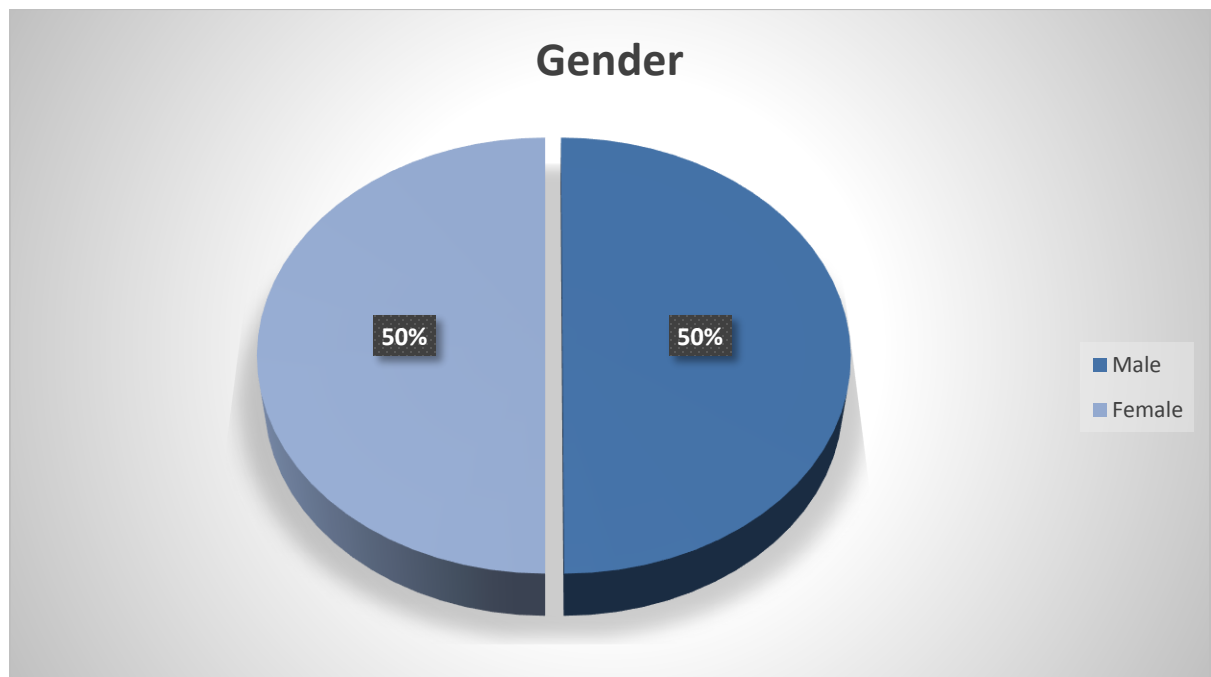


**Figure 2. 1: Respondent`s Age Bracket**

**Source: Field Data, 2020**

The analysis of the age bracket was considered in respect to this study. The research considered age factor to be important for this study since different age groups perceive the whole concept of a national dialogue differently and are affected by it differently. As a result, the study established that most of the respondents are between ages 18-31 years hence 52% of respondents; this is in line with the fact that 60% of the Cameroon population is under 25years of age. On the other hand, 17% of the respondents are between ages 46-

60 years, and finally, 31% of the respondents are between ages 32-45. This information has been summarized in figure 2.1 above.

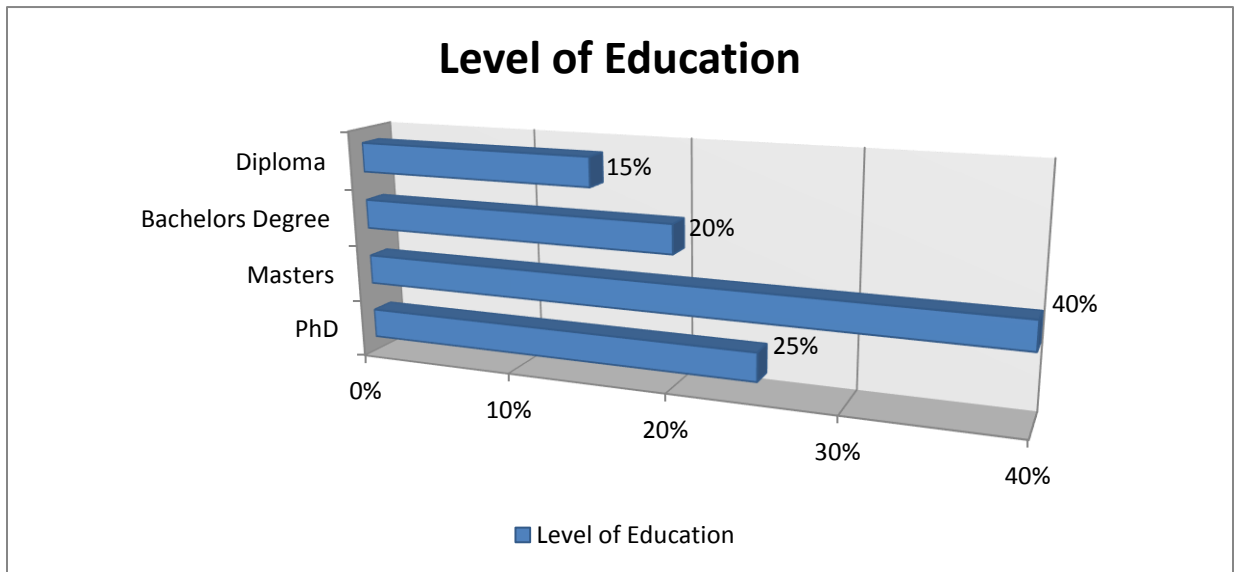


**Figure 2. 2: Gender Representation of the Study Sample**

**Source: Field Data, 2020**

Intrastate conflicts affect the entire society as a whole. However, different groups experience it differently. Gender representation of the study sample was therefore considered necessary for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation is perceived to affect different gender groups differently.. It was therefore essential to have both genders represented on an equal basis. The gender factor widens the inclusivity principle of having an inclusive national dialogue. Therefore, it is essential to get the perception, views, and possible recommendations from both genders. The reason as to why

there is a selection of an equal number of male and female is to avoid bias. According to the Becky Adda-Dontoh, genuine inclusivity occurs when all those who need to be heard have had an opportunity to participate in the overall dialogue process and articulate their needs psychologically and physically safe space.<sup>50</sup>



**Figure 2. 3: Level of education of the Study Sample.**

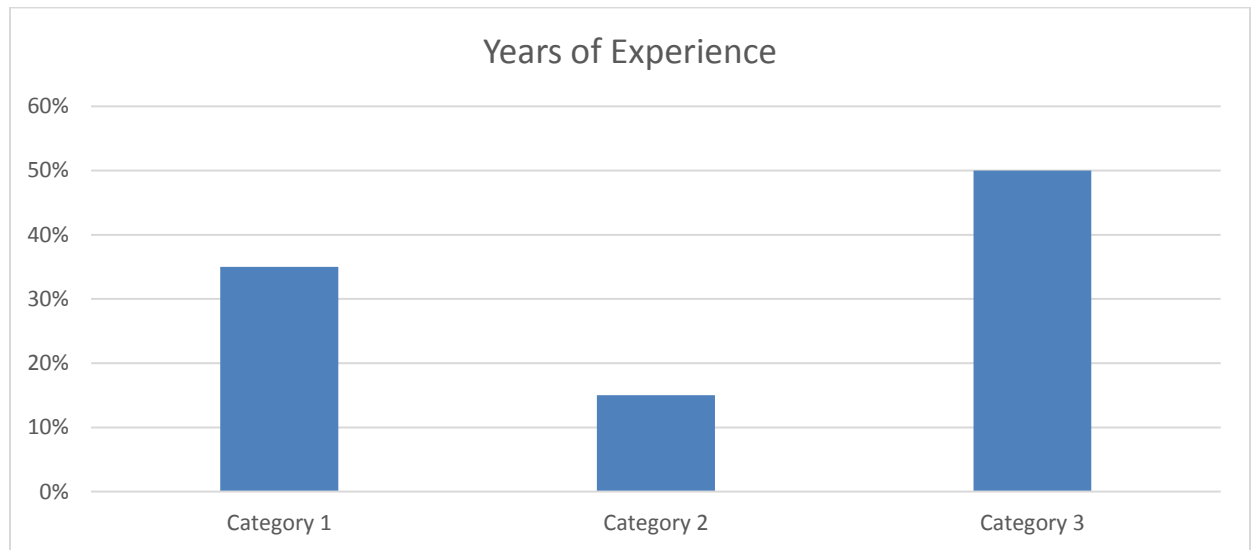
**Source: Field Data, 2020**

The respondents' level of education was considered for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation is perceived to be understood differently depending on one's level of education. It was therefore essential to get the perception and views of people with different academic backgrounds. This study comprises of people who hold various awards such as Ph.D. (25%), Masters (40%), Bachelor's Degree (20%), and Diploma (15%), as summarized above in figure 2.3. Most of the respondents in this study have a master's

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<sup>50</sup>Adda-Dontoh, Becky. "Inclusive dialogue in practice." Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2010).

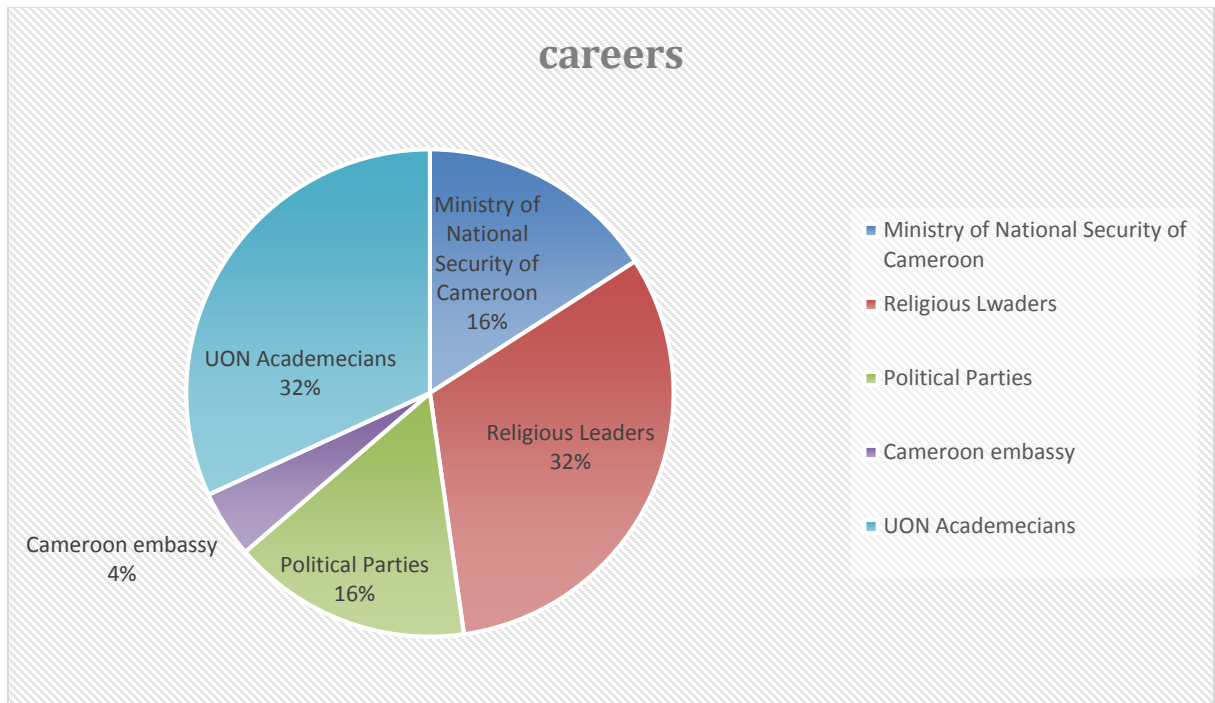
degree. The rationale for this choice is that such respondents' possess sufficient knowledge and a more in-depth understanding of conflict resolution processes, as well as the fact that the Cameroon Dialogue heavily involved elites.



**Figure 2. 4: Level of Experience Representation of the Study Sample.**

**Source: Field Data, 2020**

Years of experience as an aspects is considered important since the dialogue aspect under investigation is perceived to influence conflict management or any other given profession differently in terms of quality outcomes. Therefore, it was important to get the perception and views of different groups with different years of experience. This was reported by the respondents as outlined in Figure 2.4 Category 1: 1-3 (35%), Category 2: 4-6 (15%), and Category 3: 7-10 (50%). The majority of the respondents to this study have between 7 to 10 years of experience majorly drawn from (32-45) and (46-60) age groups bracket. The reason for narrowing down to this is to come up with more objective findings to the study.



**Figure 2. 5: Professions of the Respondents**

**Source: Field Data, 2020**

The professional aspect of the respondents was considered essential for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation involved a multifaceted approach of professionals to help address the various challenges and solutions in their different areas of expertise. It is therefore essential to get the varying perception and views of different professionals. A majority of the respondents to this study were drawn from religious leaders, the University of Nairobi (UON) academicians, Cameroon National Security, and Cameroon officials at the ministry. The reason for narrowing down to this is to come up with more objective findings to the study.

## **2.2 African National Dialogues**

South Africa underwent one of the most protracted intra-state armed conflicts in the late 1980s, which pitted the minority whites and the majority of Africans into a mutually hurting stalemate for both sides. Also, there was a great exertion of international pressure by external actors. At the time, South Africa was undergoing international isolation and economic meltdown, resulting in weakening the Apartheid regime. While on the other hand, the Soviet Union's collapse was a significant setback to the liberation movement. It had been a significant financial contributor and supporter of the South African Liberation Movement. This ushered the commencement of talks on February 2, 1990, following a proclamation from the then-president FW de Klerk to recede his earlier decision in banning public gatherings. This paved the way for the commencement of negotiations between the liberation movement and the government to search for 'a new South Africa.' Negotiation meetings were held in Pretoria and Groote Schuur regions between the two conflicting sides. This build-up negotiations paved the way for the National Peace Accord that was ratified by political parties, trade unions, and government leaders on the 27th of the same month.

The National Peace Accord spelled out the terms of reference and the code of conduct to be observed during the transitional period to give way for the inaugural multiparty forum convention for a democratic South Africa, dubbed Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) 1. After CODESA 1 and CODESA-2 flopped and stalled, bilateral talks were held by the African National Congress and the government; this led to the reviving of the National Dialogue negotiations. The outcome was the adoption of an interim constitution of the Multiparty Negotiation process. It paved the way for free and fair

elections in April 1994 that witnessed constitutional assembly operationalizing and adopting the interim constitution in 1996.

South Africa put an elaborate crisis management process to contain the eruption and continuation of violence, together with constitutional changes that led to the Rainbow Nation's creation. The South African National's success was attributed to having an all-inclusive dialogue involving top leadership, business movements, religious leaders, and deliberate elaborate efforts to ensure local and national ownership of the process through self-mediation. Both conflicting parties opposed international mediation in the mediation process.

The South African national Dialogue set out valuable lessons for other countries, especially in the African continent. Despite the initial talks stalling in the first and second CODESA, the parties established simple negotiating frameworks. The order for decision making also brought on board, and even technical experts were all involved in the conversation. They further established a trusted committee to act as guardians of the process which would anticipate and pre-empt any arising crisis, as well as stabling a comprehensive consensus mechanism to break any stalemate or deadlocks before the commencement of the process. This was critical in ensuring that the talks continued despite the setbacks as mechanisms to deal with them had been established in advance.

The Sudanese National Dialogue materialized from the prolonged intra state conflict involving the South Blue Nile, South Kordofan and Darfur coupled with political instability and internal crises.<sup>51</sup>The ongoing conflict between the government and several opposition

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<sup>51</sup> Eshete, A. (2009). Darfur and the crisis of governance in Sudan: a critical reader. Cornell University Press.



leaders reached a detrimental stalemate with neither side having an outright advantage. As a result of this hurting stalemate in January 2014, the government through the president, called upon Sudan's political forces, both pro-government and opposition parties, coupled with armed groups, to join in a national dialogue process. The key objective of the national dialogue was to re-establish the political and constitutional foundation for the country through an inclusive perspective involving all Sudanese. The entire process resulted in adopting the National Document of Sudan, which acted as the foundational basis of a new constitution. However, the process continued to face challenges after the withdrawal of the largest opposition parties and armed movements; thus, lacking adequate representation and substance to be fully effective.

In February 1990, Benin held its national dialogue dubbed 'Conférence Nationale des Forces Vives de la Nation' following a violent intra-state conflict fueled by mass agitation of democratic restoration the previous year 1989. The conflict had severe negative consequences on the economy, coupled with social unrest. In November, a joint communiqué resulting from negotiations between the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, and The National Revolutionary Assembly where the government authorized the president to call for a National Dialogue to address the ushering in the advent of a democratic renewal and development of a healthy political environment.

The inclusivity principle was exercised as the National Dialogue comprised of 520 participants. Also, it entailed the preparatory committee that had 15 sets of participants that were made public. The preparatory committee was responsible for collecting proposals submitted by the various delegates interested in the agenda. The National Dialogue was facilitated by a neutral party to the conflict, Isidore de Souza, Archbishop of Cotonou.

Benin's National Dialogue strengthened the effectiveness of National Dialogues in the Francophone Regions of West Africa. The delegates to the National Dialogue managed to alter the mandate of the conference from an advisory role. The delegates affirmed themselves as sovereign, hence their collective decision, such as suspending the constitution and dissolving all constitutional institutions that emanated from the fundamental law of 1977. The National Dialogue was significant as it successfully addressed the root cause of the intra-state conflict in that Francophone region.

The 2011 Egyptian National Dialogue started with many flaws from the onset. The first session of the Dialogue was held on March 30th, 2011, and was led by the Prime Minister's deputy, Yehia El-Gamal, illustrating the government's influence on the process. This first session drew heavy criticism, not only because of its poor planning and organization but also because of the selection of participants. Many vital figures did not participate in the first session, including Mohamed Mustafa El Baradei-then Egyptian vice president on interim basis and there was also criticism about the absence of a strong Christian presence. The process was ill-designed from the beginning. Youth coalitions and crucial political parties such as the Wafd, Nasserist, and Tagammu parties denounced the first session because it lacked any pre-defined agenda and objectives. The Muslim Brotherhood also refused to attend the first session because of its non-constructive nature.<sup>52</sup> Arguing that the National Dialogue arrived too late, many participants resented that constitutional amendments were passed before the start of the process and took it as proof of the lack of government commitment to the process of constructive dialogue. Also, the National

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<sup>52</sup> Guzman, Andrea L. "Evolution of news frames during the 2011 Egyptian revolution: Critical discourse analysis of Fox News's and CNN's framing of protesters, Mubarak, and the Muslim Brotherhood." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 93, no. 1 (2016): 80-98.

Dialogue was not well communicated at first (even though it was later broadcasted on TV), which contributed to the variable degree of public support for the dialogue.

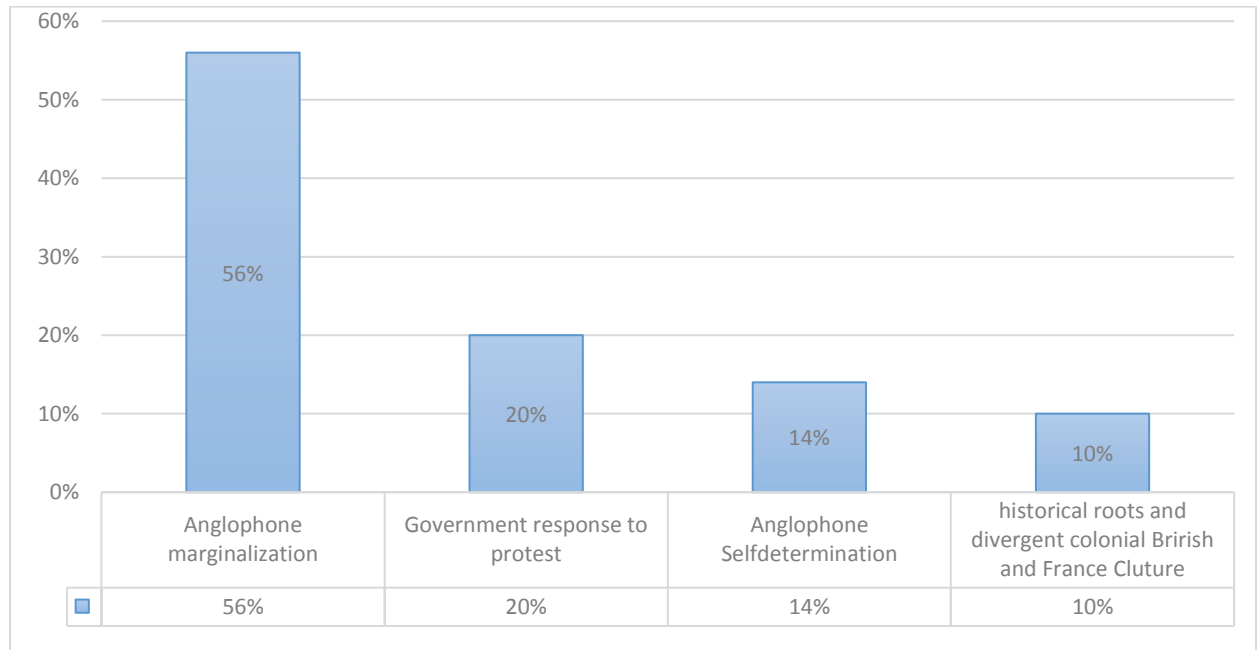
As a result of these dynamics, the dialogue's second session was postponed so that the changes could take place to accommodate the main criticisms. In April, Prime Minister Essam Sharaf replaced Yehia El –Gamal as the head of the National Dialogue and appointed Abdel as the new chair. Sharaf claimed that this move would prevent unwanted interference and limit the government's role to logistical and financial support.<sup>53</sup> Hegazy, however, did not enjoy much more trust than his predecessor. In a sense, his appointment also illustrated the disconnection between the government and the National Dialogue on the one hand, and the popular movement on the other. In the second round, which ended at the end of May after a 3-day conference, more groups agreed to participate. More than 500 people were invited, but still with minimal youth representation. On the first day of the conference, dozens of members from the April 6th movement and the Youth Revolution Coalition walked out because the NDP members were invited.<sup>54</sup> Overall, the National Dialogue was more inclusive on paper than in reality, as the old elites still controlled it.

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<sup>53</sup> El-Husseiny, Momen-Bellah Mohsen. *Compounds of Modernity: National Order and the Other in Egypt (1940-present)*. University of California, Berkeley, 2015.

<sup>54</sup> Paffenholz, Thania, and Nick Ross. "Managing Complexity in Negotiations: All-Inclusive National Dialogues: The cases of Congo and Egypt." In Conference paper for Academic Conference on International Mediation. Pretoria, pp. 2-4. 2015.

### 2.4.1 Causes of conflict of the Anglophone conflict



**Figure 2. 6: Causes of conflict of the Anglophone conflict of the Study Sample.**

**Source: Field Data, 2020**

The majority of the respondents, that is, 56 % confirmed that the Anglophone region's marginalization by the national government is a significant cause of persistent intra-conflict in Cameroon. The research further found out that 76% of women who participated in the survey were more concerned with socio-economic marginalization and cultural domination by the majority Francophone. While on the other hand, 84% of the men who participated in the survey revealed they were more concerned about governance and political marginalization of the Anglophone by the ruling regime, which is predominantly Francophones, and the undermining of their Anglophone Vice president.

Robert made observations that the Anglophone regions' dignity have slowly been eroded and destroyed by the ruling regime, which is dominated by the Francophones.<sup>55</sup> He further states that the government has been deliberate in assimilating the Anglophones to the Francophones in all sectors, including Education, Soccer leagues, and the Legal system, amongst other sectors of the society leading to further marginalization.

Elong made observations that the demise of West Cameroon Development Authority, Cameroon Bank and Powercam was blamed on the Francophone regime.<sup>56</sup> A Commission of inquiry that was set up by Augustine to investigate the decline of these corporations attributed to its failures first and foremost to the incompetence of its directors.<sup>57</sup> The Commission of inquiry found out that the appointment of board members of those corporations were not based on their capability and qualifications but more on their political affiliations.<sup>58</sup> Hence, Anglophones have been marginalized either by omission or Commission as they have failed to be appointed in government corporations in their regions, leading to underdevelopment of the area. Konings made observations that there was adequate evidence that the Anglophone Cameroon region's people had continuously raised concerns about their language and culture being marginalized due to the annexation and colonial occupation of the French and British.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Robert, Nanche Billa. "Uprising and Human Rights Abuses in Southern Cameroon-Ambazonia." In Education, Human Rights, and Peace in Sustainable Development. IntechOpen, 2020.

<sup>56</sup> Ndobegang, "The Anglophone-Francophone Divide n Cameroon," p.4.

<sup>57</sup> Elong E. E. (2012). Sovereignty in the Making: The Case of Anglophone Cameroon. In European Conference on African Studies.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Ngomba Ekali, "The Federal System in West and East Cameroon" in Ngoh (ed.), Cameroon: From a Federal to a Unitary State, p. 103

<sup>59</sup> Konings, P. (2000). Construction and deconstruction: Anglophones or Francophones? African Anthropologist, 7(1), 5-32.

Reginald made observations that the labor market has been skewed, especially in government-owned companies and institutions across the country and in the Anglophone region. The Anglophones and Sothern's have, for a long time, felt neglected and shortchanged when it comes to government appointments in decision-making positions in the government companies such as National refining company and the hydrocarbons cooperation based in the South West.<sup>60</sup>

According to figure 2.5 above, other causes of the Anglophone Cameroon conflict which were common amongst the respondents revealed that 20% of the respondent attributed the current crisis to the violent government handling of the protests where numerous Anglophones have been killed or injured, businesses and schools shut down, and also the crackdown of opposition leaders being captured and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Decalo made observation that the Anglophone pressure groups accused the leadership of annexing them. Abuse of human rights and curtailing of democracy by the government continues to escalate the crisis and widen the political exclusion of the Anglophones. The government has used excessive force to stop demonstrations in the Anglophone regions, detain its leaders and activists without trial, suppressing opposition politics, journalism, and even contravening the right of information by curtailing the freedom of the press through shutting down the internet and forms of media.<sup>61</sup>

According to figure 2.5 above, 14% of the respondent mentioned the routed cause of the conflict to be the violation of the right to self-determination and an independent nation-

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<sup>60</sup> Reginald Chikere. "Southern Cameroons/Ambazonia Conflict: A Political Economy." *Theory & Event* 23, no. 2 (2020): 329-351.

<sup>61</sup> Decalo, Samuel. "The process, prospects and constraints of democratization in Africa." *African Affairs* 91, no. 362, (1992): 7-35.

state from Cameroon. Finally, 10% of the respondents attributed the intra-state conflict to deep-rooted historical roots of the divergent setup and culture of the colonial British and French regions.

Fombad observed that the legal system in Cameroon is a relic of the colonial era.<sup>62</sup> He observes that Cameroon was divided between France and Britain as mandatory territories, both practicing two divergent colonial practices witnessed through the legal system's nature, colonial rule, and labor policies. He further observes that Cameroon's legal system is dominated by the French civil laws, which are prone to less efficient governments than those with English common law. He also observed that post-independence political leadership tended to be characterized by the same governance system. The tyranny remained the same and perpetrated by fellow blacks instead of the whites in the colonial days. He further explains that this pattern has dramatically undermined the potential political and economic institutions that would promote the post-independence development agenda.

#### **2.4.2 National dialogue and the Intra-State conflict in Cameroon**

The majority of the respondents, 72 %, confirmed that the 2019 Cameroon national dialogue was not adequate to address the ongoing Anglophone conflict. 20% of the respondents believed the 2019 national dialogue was significant as it was a positive step to identify and address the significant issues surrounding the Anglophone conflict. While on the other hand, 8% of the respondent were not sure whether the 2019 National Dialogue of

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<sup>62</sup> Fombad, Charles Manga. "Managing Legal Diversity: Cameroonian Bijuralism at a Critical Crossroads." In *Mixed Legal Systems, East and West*, pp. 120-139. Routledge, 2016.

Cameroon was effective or not as they were not aware of the process. The majority, 72%, felt that the inefficiency arose mainly due to the following reasons outlined below.

#### **2.4.2.1 Lack of inclusivity**

The majority of the respondents, 41%, believed that the national dialogue failed to include all the interested parties. It was a one-sided affair as most political leaders, separatists groups, and civil activists had been detained before the commencement of the dialogue. Thus, they hold that the dialogue lacked inclusivity, and the representation of the Anglophones lacked in the various committees. Failure to have the Anglophone leaders participate in the national dialogue is viewed as a challenge to the effectiveness of the 2019 national dialogue.

This finding is in line with similar outcomes of the Berghof Foundation analysis of the Iraq and Sudan National Dialogues. It revealed that most of the citizens in both countries had very little or no knowledge of the process.<sup>63</sup> For instance, in Iraq, the national dialogue went ahead without public debate or information campaign to the public about the process; the agenda-setting period was minimal, similar to Cameroon, where only two weeks were issued before the event. This locked out opposition parties, civil society and other key stakeholders making the entire process a one-sided affair, leading to an inefficient process.

These findings are in line with a study conducted by Paffeholz, where he analyzes the media's role in the Benin National Dialogue. His study revealed that the presence or lack of public support and involvement in the National Dialogue process could either make or

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<sup>63</sup> Hartmann, Henrik. "National Dialogues and Development." National Dialogue Handbook Background Paper No 3 (2017).



break the process's effectiveness. He further states that public information, accurate information, and media engagements are crucial elements that influence legitimacy's support and perception level. In their study, Kevin and Deirdre have got similar findings; they found out that effective media and public consultation initiatives reinforced the National Dialogue process and further public involvement and broadening of political landscape leading to alterations in power relations.<sup>64</sup>

There was a consensus amongst the respondents that the presence of a broad spectrum of stakeholders from all the conflicting regions, including youth, religious groups, women, political parties, civil society, traditionally excluded groups, amongst others, would have aided the process to achieve the maximum dialogue's full potential to tackle the actual causes and drivers of conflict, all key stakeholders should be allowed to participate.

#### **2.4.2.2 Lack of a respectable and neutral convener**

Another general concern highlighted by 11 % of the respondent is the top-bottom approach of how the National Dialogue was convened. The majority of the respondents felt their leaders, including the vice president who is an Anglophone, was a mere rubber stamp to the process. The respondents feel a need to have had a neutral party to the conflict to set up the National dialogue, collect views from all the interested parties, formulate the main agendas and form an all-inclusive non-bias committee to undertake the process. The majority feel the dialogue had a predetermined outcome which was against their interest; thus, this was the second highlighted reason for why they feel the process was ineffective.

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<sup>64</sup>Kevin, Deirdre. *Europe in the media: A comparison of reporting, representation, and rhetoric in national media systems in Europe*. Routledge, 2003.

This finding agrees with a study by Blunck's analysis of 2017 of National Dialogues in 26 selected countries globally. He recommended the credibility and acceptability of the leading convener, which according to him is more significantly proportional to the strength and effectiveness of the dialogue.<sup>65</sup> His study also highlights that mediator or convener should be devoid of influence by any party. It should be a person who should exhibit charisma, respect and credibility that can capture people's aspirations.

These findings are in line with a study conducted by Paffeholz Kaplan and Freeman 2015; that an experienced facilitator who draws respect and trust from all the stakeholders in a National Dialogue is essential in developing a credible and trustworthy give and take consensus approach.<sup>66</sup>

#### **2.4.2.3 Lack of transparency and public participation**

According to (40%) of the respondents, there was an apparent lack of public participation. In comparison, a further (8%) were not aware of any of the National Dialogue's details or happenings. Most of the respondents seemed not to be aware of the process's outcome, while those who failed to comprehend how those outcomes were to be actualized. Lack of transparency and public participation significantly hampered the effectiveness and local ownership of the National Dialogue process's outcomes. Thus, the general public needed to be updated on the dialogue's happenings step by step to enable them to own the process

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<sup>65</sup> Marike Blunck. "National Dialogues and Development." National Dialogue Handbook Background Paper No 3 (2017).

<sup>66</sup> Kaplan, Seth, and Mark Freeman. "Inclusive transitions framework," Institute for Integrated Transitions (2015).

and embrace the outcome. This feeling of being left out, especially from the most affected Anglophone regions, make them perceive the process as ineffective.

This finding is in line with Paffenholz, that the presence or lack of public support in the National Dialogue process can either make or break the process's effectiveness.<sup>67</sup> He further states that public information, accurate information, and media engagements are vital elements that influence legitimacy's support and perception level. This finding is in line with another study by Blunck; that media and public consultation initiatives reinforce National Dialogue process and further broadens the political landscape, leading to alterations in power relations.<sup>68</sup>

In line with a study by El-Battahani on the Sudan national Dialogue, he views that high media levels of censorship greatly hindered the public from understanding and owning the process of National Dialogue negotiations.<sup>69</sup> Mechanisms to involve the broader public in the national dialogue should be established to harness the general public's local dialogue process to the main National Dialogue. Public consultation should be undertaken, and media coverage should be encouraged to reach out to the masses.

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<sup>67</sup> Paffenholz, Thania, and Nick Ross. "Managing Complexity in Negotiations: All-Inclusive National Dialogues: The cases of Congo and Egypt." In Conference paper for Academic Conference on International Mediation. Pretoria, pp. 2-4. 2015.

<sup>68</sup>Marike Blunck. "Dilemmas of Ownership, Inclusivity, Legitimacy and Power." Towards Transformative National Dialogue Processes 46 (2017).

<sup>69</sup> El-Battahani, Atta. "National Dialogue in Sudan: Past Experiences and Current Challenges." Khartoum: Sudan Democracy First Group (2014).

## **2.5 Summary of Key Findings**

This chapter focused on the effectiveness of the utilization of National Dialogues in Africa, particularly the recent 2019 Cameroon National Dialogue through both primary and secondary data. Various parameters were raised as concerns regarding Cameroon National Dialogue for determining the effectiveness. Namely; Inclusivity, transparency, public participation, and a respectable convener of the dialogue. This study's findings were mirrored across Africa's National Dialogues, characterized by numerous inefficiencies and challenges in tackling the continuous intra-state conflicts. On the other hand, fewer respondents confirmed that National Dialogue was an effective and a positive direction towards ending the Anglophone Cameroon conflict.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE ROLE OF EXTERNAL ACTORS IN THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE IN INTRA-STATE CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter will entail the role of external actors in national dialogues, mainly in Cameroon. The chapter analyzes the respondents' view of national actors' role in the 2019 National Dialogue.

#### **3.1 The Role of External Actors in the National Dialogue in Intra-State Conflict Resolution.**

Fundamentally, National Dialogues are defined and regarded as national domestic led processes. However, it is worth noting that these processes don't occur in a vacuum due to nation-states' interconnectedness. National Dialogue is therefore, prone to control and manipulation by external conditions and actors. In an ideal world, the role of external stakeholders, both state and non-state actors, is to facilitate and support undertakings of the process to achieve an amicably agreeable outcome for the parties involved. However, if external actors' role is not regulated and well-coordinated, it might prove to be counter-productive.

During the national Dialogue in Iraq in 2004, external international actors were involved in the entire process. The United State of America (USA) Delegates spearheaded the strong involvement of observers, and also aided with the provision of security, accommodation

and logistics for the entire National session.<sup>70</sup> The USA directly influenced who was to be chosen as members of the Iraqi Governing Council, which then successively drove the National Dialogue agenda.<sup>71</sup> This involvement of external actors in influencing the process and outcome rendered a lack of ownership, inclusiveness and lack of legitimacy. Many have termed the process as a foreign driven process, thus negatively impacting the process's effectiveness as it failed to achieve national consensus. Iraq is a classic example of the malicious interference of external actors.

In 1991, Colombia held a national dialogue intending to address the escalated intra-state conflict characterized by armed guerrilla groups, paramilitary's militias, and drug cartels.<sup>72</sup> The National Dialogue also allowed external actors who were accorded observer status to be part of the process, namely Ethiopian and Eritrean delegations. The National Dialogue was facilitated and chaired by Meles Zenawi, which was a strategic move to an acceptable person to all the parties involved.<sup>73</sup> Despite having mixed outcomes, the process was considered a success. It managed the prevailing conflict through fundamental change and participation of various opposing actors such as insurgency movements to negotiate with the government. The National Dialogue adopted a Transitional Period Charter that brought forth the legal structure for reforming the state and devolving state power along ethnic-regional lines.<sup>74</sup> Other external actors who played a crucial role were the international

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<sup>70</sup> Benomar, Jamal. "Constitution-making after conflict: lessons for Iraq." *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 2 (2004): 81-95.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid

<sup>72</sup> Boudon, Lawrence. "Guerrillas and the state: The role of the state in the Colombian peace process." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 2 (1996): 279-297.

<sup>73</sup> Wilkenfeld, Jonathan, Kathleen Young, David Quinn, and Victor Asal. *Mediating international crises*. Vol. 34. Routledge, 2007.

<sup>74</sup>Haider, Huma. "National dialogues: lessons learned and success factors." (2019).

community that provided funding support to widen and boost the government capabilities. For example, the UN-Funded Presidential Agency provided the technical support.

### **3.2 The role of external actors Post-National Dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution In Cameroon**

Cameroon has on numerous occasions, attempted to bring to an end the persistent intra-state conflict.<sup>75</sup> The regional and international actors have a significant duty to intervene and protect Southern Cameroons' population from genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.<sup>76</sup> In the recent past, National Dialogues have witnessed increased input from external parties' especially developmental partners who have become more engaged in various roles.

These roles entail safeguarding inclusivity, enhancing trust, provision of funds and technical expertise, and boosting the dialogue framework. External actors play a crucial role as enablers as they galvanize support for National Dialogue at the international level and nudge conflicting parties towards dialoguing with each other. External actors use a mixture of pressure in the form of sanctions, embargoes or public statements and incentive in aid, debt relief, and promise to deepen ties amongst others to encourage conflicting parties to take part in a dialogue. On April 18, 2019, the European Parliament passed a resolution that recommended an inclusive political dialogue to resolve the Anglophone crisis and called for the conflict to be considered by the United Nations Security Council.

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<sup>75</sup> Ramcharan, B., & Ramcharan, R. (2020). Inter-State and Intra-State Conflicts. In *Conflict Prevention in the UN's Agenda 2030* (pp. 81-104). Springer, Cham.

<sup>76</sup> Fobanjong, J. (2020). Pondering France's Silence and Inaction in the Southern Cameroons Genocide. *Theory & Event*, 23(2), 416-444.

It also urged the European Union to "use the political leverage provided by development aid and other bilateral programs to enhance the defence of human rights in Cameroon."<sup>77</sup>

The regional and international communities actively get the two opposing sides to hold a genuine and inclusive dialogue and resolve the Anglophone intra-state conflict. Early on January 24, 2019, the United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Cameroon stated that Cameroon could no longer be a forgotten crisis. There was urgency for it to be among the top priority of the UNHCR agenda.<sup>78</sup> In February 2019, the US Department of State announced that it would withhold some security assistance to Cameroon, including equipment and training, citing credible allegations of human rights violations by state security forces and a lack of investigation, accountability, and transparency in the Government of Cameroon.

On June 12, 2019, Russia announced a significant shift in its policy towards Cameroon, which was against any foreign intervention to resolve the crisis.<sup>79</sup> Russia now has joined the USA and other external actors to call for an all-inclusive roundtable negotiation that scrutinizes the history and long-suffering of Southern Cameroons' people while calling for an immediate Ceasefire. On September 8, 2020, the United States Senate Foreign Affairs Committee passed a Resolution by a bipartisan group of 13 senators consisting of 9 democrats and 4 Republicans strongly condemning abuses committed by state security forces and armed groups in the Northwest and Southwest regions of Cameroon, including

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<sup>77</sup> Williams, Paul D. "From non-intervention to non-indifference: the origins and development of the African Union's security culture." *African affairs*, 106, no. 423, (2007): 253-279.

<sup>78</sup> Christian, N. M. (2020). *Local Integration of Nigerian Refugees as a Durable Solution to Self-Reliant in the Far North Region of Cameroon, Measures, Challenges and Perspectives.*

<sup>79</sup> Funteh, M. B. (2019). *Security Crises in Cameroon Coastal Towns: Bakassi Freedom Fighters' Reaction to International Decision over the Bakassi Peninsula. Crossing the Line in Africa: Reconsidering and Unlimited the Limits of Borders within a Contemporary Value*, 325.



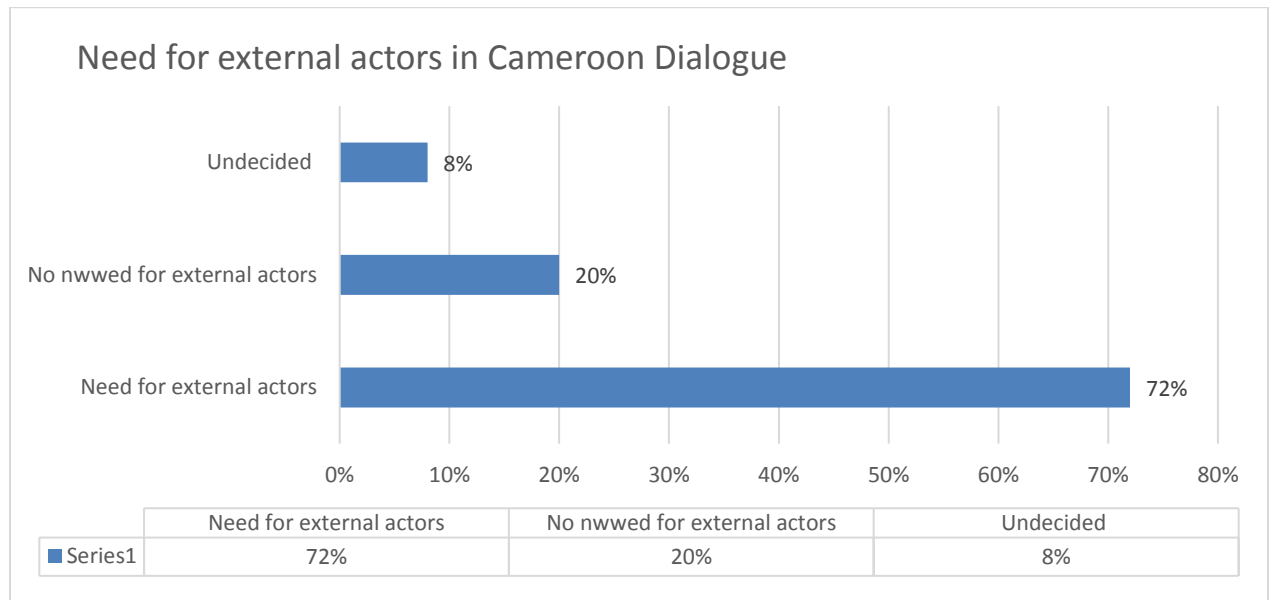
extrajudicial killings and detentions, the use of force against civilians and non-violent protesters, torture, rape, kidnappings, and other forms of violence against women, and violations of the freedoms of press, expression, and assembly;

The US Senate on September 8, 2020, equally urged the Department of State, Department of the Treasury, and United States Agency for International Development, in coordination with other relevant Federal departments and agencies, to consider imposing targeted sanctions on individuals in the Cameroun government and separatist leaders "responsible for extrajudicial killings, torture, or other gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." Continue to limit security assistance to Cameroon and ensure that United States training and equipment is not being used to facilitate human rights abuses in the Northwest and Southwest region. This study will evaluate the role and the extent to which they played in the 2019 Cameroon National Dialogue.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Andrew, T. T. (2020). Decentralization and the practice of intergovernmental relations in the Mezam Division, Northwest Region of Cameroon (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch University).

### 3.3 The role of external actors Post-National Dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution In Cameroon



**Figure 3. 1 Role of external actors as mediators in Cameroon National Dialogue**

**Source: Field Data, 2020**

The majority of the respondents (72%) indicate a need to have included neutral actors in the dialogue to act as mediators. However, minority of the respondents (20%) did not support the external actors' role in the process. They would prefer the process to be purely domestic owned. They further claimed that there is no mechanism to control external actors' biases coming into the national talks. Another small percentage (8%) of the respondent did not have any opinion on the external actors' role as they were not aware of the National Dialogue's happenings.

This finding is in line with Hartmann's study of Colombia National Dialogue, where the success of the National Dialogue was brought about by trust-building and neutral external

actors who were accorded observer status to be part of the process as the Ethiopian and Eritrean delegations.<sup>81</sup> The National Dialogue was facilitated and chaired by Meles Zenawi, which was a strategic move to an acceptable person to all the parties involved. Despite having mixed outcomes, the National Dialogue was considered a success. It managed the prevailing conflict through fundamental change and participation of various opposing actors such as insurgency movements to negotiate with the government.

These findings contradict Levite *et al.*; that external actors negatively impact the outcomes of National Dialogues.<sup>82</sup> They observe that the USA delegates spearheaded the strong involvement of external actors in the Iraqi process as observers. Also, they aided with the provision of security, accommodation and logistics for the entire National session. The USA directly influenced who was to be chosen as members of the Iraqi Governing Council, which then successively drove the national dialogue list. This involvement of external actors in controlling the process and outcome rendered a lack of ownership, inclusiveness, and legitimacy. Many termed the process as a foreign driven process, thus negatively impacting the process's effectiveness as it failed to achieve national consensus. Iraq is a classic example of the malicious interference of external actors.

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<sup>81</sup> Hartmann, Henrik. "National Dialogues and Development." National Dialogue Handbook Background Paper No 3 (2017).

<sup>82</sup> Levite, Ariel, Bruce W. Jentleson, and Larry Berman. Foreign military intervention: The dynamics of protracted conflict. Columbia University Press, 1992.

### **3.3.2 Sanctions and pressure From External Actors**

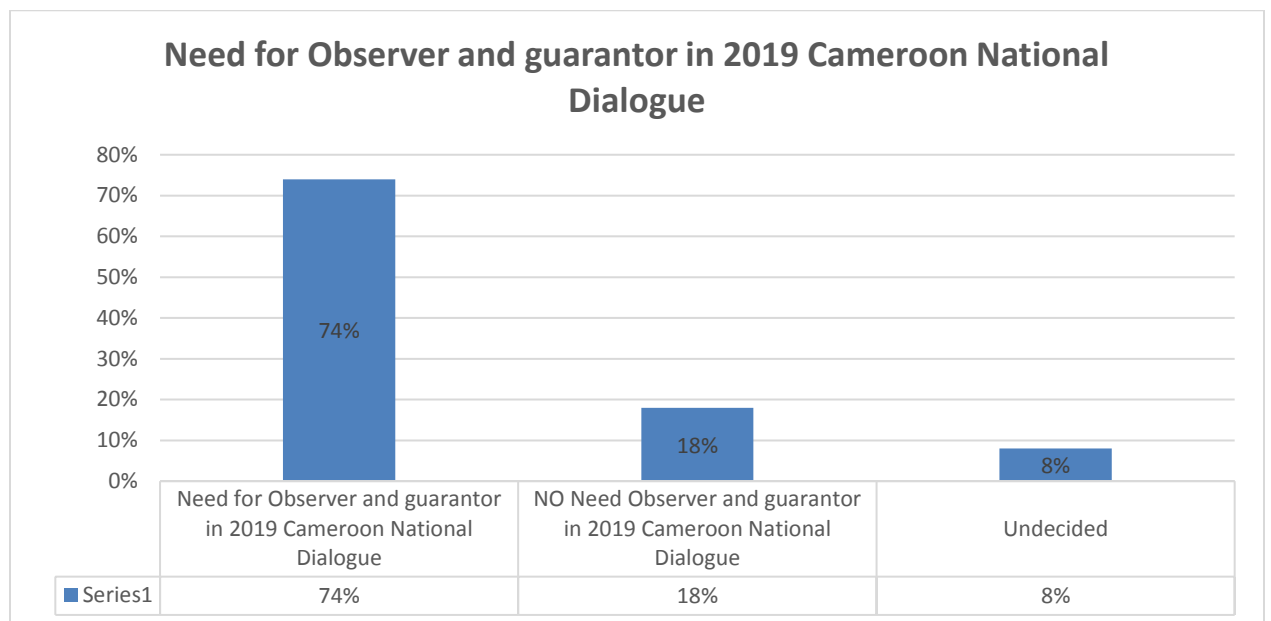
A majority of the respondents (65%) support the external actors' role, especially the international community post the 2019 National Dialogue. They believe that the International community, more so the development partners, applied smart sanctions to put pressure on government and oppositions to have all-inclusive dialogues. Some of the measures that they put forth were travel bans and halting of aid to the country. While (27%) of the respondents hold the view that any pressure such as sanctions by the external community would negatively impact the country; hence the National Dialogue was to be left in government institutions' hands. 8% do not have any opinion on the role of external actors as they were not aware of the national dialogue's happenings.

These findings are in line with the study of the National Dialogue of Poland by Kożuszniak, where external actors played a critical role in pushing for the ripe moment for the dialogue to take place.<sup>83</sup> He observes that the involvement of Perestroika assisted in creating favourable conditions upon which reformers were agitating for a National Dialogue. On the other hand, Western Leaders led by the United States put considerable pressure on the Polish government by utilizing threats to withhold funding if genuine reforms were not undertaken. Through this, the Polish government agreed to a roundtable process. These findings are also in line with the South African case study where the international community and the development partners put economic sanctions to compel the then Apartheid government to hold talks with the African National Congress party, which led to a successful and peaceful transition of power. However, these findings are in

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<sup>83</sup> Kożuszniak, "Mediation and Conciliation in Collective Labor Conflicts in Poland." In *Mediation in Collective Labor Conflicts*, pp. 145-160. Springer, Cham, 2019.

contradiction from the Ukraine National Dialogue study by Fylypovych, in which the involvement of external stakeholders put off the conflicting parties from proceeding to undertake a National Dialogue.<sup>84</sup> He observes that the increased levels of geopolitical competition between the West and East in Eastern Ukraine have propelled and fuelled conflict rather than embracing National Dialogue.



**Figure 3. 2: Observer and guarantor in 2019 Cameroon National Dialogue**

**Source: Field Data, 2020**

In this study, (74%) of the respondents express the need to have regional and international observers and more preferably suggest that the United Nations be incorporated as observers. While on the other hand, 18% of the respondents were against the process and

<sup>84</sup> Fylypovych, "Interdenominational Dialogue in Contemporary Ukraine: Correction in War and Pandemic Conditions." Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe 40, no. 5 (2020): 4.

preferred an exclusively internal approach. On the other hand, 8% were unaware of the process hence lack an opinion on the issue.

These findings were in line with a study undertaken by Jonas on the National dialogue of Guatemala, where the United Nations' involvement in the process created a foundation of trust upon which all the parties agreed to dialogue.<sup>85</sup> He further states that the United Nations or external actors help build confidence and lending support for the process and ease the perceived risk and tensions of engaging in the process.

These findings are in line with the study of the Lebanese National Dialogue of 2008, where the external actors Emir and Qatar's prime ministers jointly with the Ministerial Council and the Secretary-General of the League States played a crucial role of observers. He observes that their involvement in the process helped to boost confidence amongst the Lebanese. These external actors' presence was broadly supported by the Lebanese and aided in a successful National Dialogue.

### **3.4 Summary of Findings Chapter**

This chapter was about the role of external actors in Cameroon National Dialogue; various roles were considered in this regard. These were mediator, guarantor or observer, enabler or funder. The findings of this study were that most of the respondents confirmed the need for external actors in the National Process. On the other hand, a few of the respondents endorsed the use of the National government to run the process and avoid external interference solely.

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<sup>85</sup>Jonas, Susanne. *Of centaurs and doves: Guatemala's peace process*. Routledge, 2018.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF NATIONAL DIALOGUE AS A METHOD FOR INTRA-STATE CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN CAMEROON**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter will entail the challenges and opportunities of the National Dialogue in Cameroon. National Dialogue, just like any other method of intra-state conflict resolution, has experienced challenges for it to be fully effective. Challenges are witnessed on various stages of the National Dialogue from the commencement to implementing the outcomes.

#### **4.1 Challenges Facing National Dialogue as a method for intra-state conflict resolution in Cameroon**

National dialogue as a means of resolving conflict faced several challenges in the Cameroon 2019 National Dialogue. This section will look at the bottlenecks that hampered the effectiveness of the process's outcome right from the agenda-setting of National dialogue, inclusivity of stakeholders, and convener of the dialogue. Identifying these challenges and how they impacted the effectiveness of the dialogue is critical for improving subsequent dialogues.

#### **4.1.1 Detention of opposition political and civil society leaders**

The majority of the respondents at 60 % believe that The 2019 Cameroon National Dialogue failed to include all the interested parties. It was also a one-sided affair as majority of the political leaders, separatists groups, and civil activists were on detention during the Dialogue. Hence, they hold the view that the dialogue lacked inclusivity and the representation of the Anglophones in the various committees. The main opposition party Cameroon Renaissance Movement (CRM) submitted their opinions despite their party leader Maurice Kamto and other top officials being held in prison.<sup>86</sup> Despite these consultations, certain aspects of the proceedings to the main dialogue were widely criticized, resulting in many Anglophone separatists failing to turn up for the National Dialogue. Failure to have the Anglophone leaders participate in the National Dialogue is viewed as a challenge to the effectiveness of the 2019 National Dialogue.

There was a consensus amongst the respondents that a broad spectrum of stakeholders from all the conflicting regions, including youth, religious groups, women, political parties, civil society, traditionally excluded groups, amongst others. They would have aided the process to achieve the maximum dialogue's full potential to tackle the actual causes and drivers of the conflict; all key stakeholders would have participated.

#### **4.1.2 Top-Down led National Dialogue by the Government**

A major challenge highlighted by an overwhelming majority of 64% of the respondent is the top-bottom approach of how the National Dialogue was convened. The government leader who is the president, initiated the process of the National Dialogue. He set the

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<sup>86</sup> Agwenjang, P. N. (2020). The Tussle with Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law: The Case of Cameroon. SOAS LJ, 7, 65.



agenda to be discussed. Besides setting out conditions to the opposing side for them to participate, most of the respondents feel their leaders, including the vice president who was an Anglophone, were mere rubber stamps to legitimize the process. Also, they feel the Dialogue had a predetermined outcome, which is against their interest; thus, the second highlights why they feel the process was ineffective. The respondents feel there was a need to have a neutral party to the conflict to set up the National Dialogue, collect views from all the interested parties, formulate the main agendas of the Dialogue and form an all-inclusive non-bias committee to undertake the process. The government's predefined themes of the discussions left out the conflict's main underlying issues, namely, federalism and secession rendering the process a smokescreen.

This finding is in line with a study carried out on the Poland National Dialogue.<sup>87</sup> It identifies the key challenge was the political class's perception that the National Dialogue process was much controlled by and by elites as the crucial and weighty matters were often decided upon by top leaders who were not on the negotiation table. The All Poland Alliance of Trade Unions tried to derail the national dialogue talks severally as they were of a contrary opinion on the intended outcome of legalizing Solidarity.

#### **4.1.3 Lack of external actor involvement in the National Dialogue**

74% of the respondents express the need to have involved regional and international observers more preferably; the United Nations to be incorporated as observers, while 18% of the respondents are against the involvement and would prefer an all internal

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<sup>87</sup> Kahancová, Marta, Monika Martišková, and Carl Nordlund. Enhancing the Effectiveness of Social Dialogue Articulation in Europe: Conceptual and Analytical Framework in a Multi-Level Governance Perspective. No. 55. 2019.

approach. On the other hand, 8% were not aware of the process hence lacked an opinion on the issue.

These findings are similar to the study undertaken by John on the National Dialogue of Guatemala, where the United Nations involvement in the process created a foundation of trust upon which all the parties leveraged to take part in the dialogue. He further states that the United Nations or external actors help build confidence and lending support for a Dialogue and ease the perceived risk and tensions of engaging in the process.

These findings are in line with Seul's study on the Lebanese National Dialogue of 2008, where the external actors Emir and the Prime Minister of Qatar together with Ministerial Council and the Secretary-General of the League States played a crucial role of observers.<sup>88</sup> He observes that their involvement in the process helped to boost confidence amongst the Lebanese. These external actors' presence was broadly supported by the Lebanese and aided in a successful National Dialogue.

These findings contradict the findings by a study carried out by Christopher; where the USA directly influenced who was to be chosen as members and delegates to the Iraqi Governing Council, which then successively drove the National Dialogue agenda. This involvement of external actors in influencing the process and outcome rendered a lack of ownership, inclusiveness and lack of legitimacy. Many have termed the process as a foreign driven process, thus negatively impacting the process's effectiveness as it failed to achieve national consensus. Iraq is a classic example of the harmful interference of external actors.

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<sup>88</sup> Seul, Jeffrey. "Inclusion of Religious Actors in Peace and National Dialogue Processes." *Journal of Interreligious Studies* 27 (2019): 5-34.

#### **4.1.4 Lack of identifying the major causes of Intrastate-conflict in Cameroon**

The respondents point out the failure to include the actual causes of conflict to address the session as proposed and propelled by the separatists was a critical failure from the onset as the intra-state conflict would continue if left unaddressed. National Dialogue is a process that looks for viable solutions to address the contentious issues facing a nation with a view of obtaining an agreement. Thus, stakeholders need to engage in in-depth consultation and pre-negotiation to identify a consensus on the conflict's root causes. National Dialogues should provide a substantive basis upon which the dialogue is anchored, with all key interest groups' inclusion. A study by Berfong found similar findings, that the failure to identify all significant causes was witnessed in Yemen civil conflict 15 months after a successful National Dialogue. Yemen failed to address financial and political mechanisms for federalism; hence the fighting continued after that.<sup>89</sup>

#### **4.2 Opportunities for National Dialogue as a method for intra-state conflict resolution**

##### **4.2.1 Collective and Inclusive national dialogue**

The majority of the respondent (40%) point out that having a collective National Dialogue is a significant opportunity and element for promoting mutual coexistence in societies. Dialogue enhances democracy in a community since it gives room for people's participation in presenting their grievances to the authorities. It should be a long term process that should involve all stakeholders, the citizens and other non-state actors in the

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<sup>89</sup> Lackner, Helen. "The Role of the United Nations in the Yemen Crisis." In *Global, Regional, and Local Dynamics in the Yemen Crisis*, pp. 15-32. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.

society. Cameroon initiated a National Dialogue in 2019, and this is a process that was driven by the government, which only gave two weeks to get the views from selected stakeholders. The president developed the areas of focus in the discussions, excluding others.<sup>90</sup> This move denied the general public an opportunity to participate in the process as the appointing authorities could influence the selected stakeholders. This led to the loss of public goodwill, more so from the Anglophones who felt ignored as most of their leaders were arrested in prisons and had no opportunity to take part in the negotiations. The unjust representation in the 2019 Dialogue yielded minimal results as citizens' involvement was not put into consideration.

It creates an avenue through which challenges of the opposing factions can be communicated, and possible solutions that meet the parties' needs are enhanced. Collective National Dialogue is an effective mechanism for promoting human security for significant, sustainable development in Cameroon. It creates room for the state and non-state actors to submit their opinions on governance issues from the national to the grass-root level. This ensures an adequate representation of the people and equal sharing of the national resources. This finding is in line with a study undertaken by Onyango on the Kenyan National Dialogue. Where he highlights that he is continuously engaged in the National Dialogue and collecting people's opinions at various levels in the society. This has been seen as a mechanism for enhancing national cohesion, restoration of peace, and fair

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<sup>90</sup> Nwati, M. T. (2020). The Anglophone Crisis: The Birth of Warlords, the Impact of Warlords Activity on the People of North West and South West Region of Cameroon. *Advances in Applied Sociology*, 10(5), 157-185.

distribution of national resources to the communities.<sup>91</sup> The National Dialogue has ensured a fair representation of the people from different ethnic groups and backgrounds.

#### **4.2.2 Inclusivity and sustainable human development for all**

The majority of the respondents have called for equitable distribution of resources and development in both the Francophone and Anglophone regions. The increased economic and sustainable development experienced in various parts of Cameroon recently, in very minimal instances, has led to inclusive, sustainable human development for every citizen. The development models that have been employed are for example, perceived to be advancing more economic growth as opposed to making it democratic and sustainable. This has a long-term impact, which includes the degradation of the environment and social unrest since citizen's desire a lot from democracy beyond just economic development.

Minimal equitable and inclusivity in the society have jeopardized the democracy and systems of governance in Cameroon.<sup>92</sup> The mere presence of democracy without implementing the principles of democratic governance has led to unrest in the society, social movements amongst the francophone and Anglophone speaking Cameroonians.<sup>93</sup> The increased demonstrations in the country result from the need for inclusive and mutual collective development for all. Inclusivity is essential for promoting sustainable development in Cameroon, since all groups of people will be given equal opportunity to participate in the decision making processes.

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<sup>91</sup> Onyango, Moses. "Successes and lessons from mediation in the Horn of Africa." (2011).

<sup>92</sup> Essien, Essien D. "Manifestations of bad governance on the threshold of African democratic process and development." *Ghana Journal of Development Studies* 9, no. 2 (2012): 22-42.

<sup>93</sup> Romaine, Suzanne. "The impact of language policy on endangered languages." *Democracy and human rights in multicultural societies* (2007): 217-236.

### **4.2.3 Peaceful Transition of Statehood of the Anglophone Regions**

The majority of the Anglophone respondents (63%) have indicated that the Anglophones need to be independent of Cameroon. Anglophone activists hoisted the Southern Cameroonian flag in one of the military bases of the Southwest's regional headquarters, Buea. They took over the Cameroon Radio Television (CRTV) Buea for a few minutes but failed to make their Declaration of Independence due to the Central government's rapid intervention.<sup>94</sup> Apart from this incident, their activism has been mainly in demonstration, petitions, litigations and propaganda. The question of why the Anglophone clamour for statehood is non-violent has been driven by several factors abound. As already noted above, the deep divide between the two Anglophone provinces impairs any efforts to use violence as a secession weapon. The Northwest region is more enthusiastic about a Southern Cameroons than their brethren in the Southwest. Moreover, backstabbing and conspiracies have also dented the chances of organizing a secessionist movement's military wing.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, the central government has been very active in deepening the fault lines of division between Anglophone elites by constantly co-opting some of the most active members of The Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC). The central government's secret service has been very active in gathering intelligence on the Anglophone movement and sympathizers. Most of the leaders of the secessionist movements reside in the Diaspora or neighbouring Nigeria. This, in essence, has weakened the appeal for a new state.

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<sup>94</sup> Konings, P. and Nyamnjoh, F.B., 2000. Construction and deconstruction: Anglophones or Francophones? *African Anthropologist*, 7(1), pp.5-32.

<sup>95</sup> Elong, Eric Eboho. "Sovereignty in the Making: The Case of Anglophone Cameroon." In *European Conference on African Studies*. 2012.

A series of obstacles have marred the attempts at self-determination by the Southern Cameroonians. The main challenge of the new state idea is that its leaders are in the Diaspora.<sup>96</sup> If the idea of an independent state has to succeed, the struggle apparently must be from within. The central government has little to worry about because attempts to juridical statehood by Anglophones cannot come from without. Moreover, violence at times helps to internationalize a people's plight; if the Anglophones are in dire need of a state, they should start preparing for an arm confrontation with the central government. This is the most viable option if they want their voices to be heard.

### **4.3 Summary of Chapter**

This chapter looked into the challenges and opportunities of the 2019 Cameroon National Dialogue. Various challenges were pointed out by majority of the respondents. The significant challenges identified are lack of inclusivity as many opposition leaders and activists of the Anglophone regions were either detained or sort asylum abroad. Lack of identifying the root cause of the intra-state conflict, a top-down approach by the government leading the entire process, and lack of involvement of external actors during the process. On the other hand, opportunities identified by majority of the respondents are holding subsequent collective dialogues from the grassroots, peaceful transition of statehood by the Anglophone regions and an inclusive and sustainable human development for all.

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0. Introduction**

This study sought to establish the National Dialogue's effectiveness in resolving intra-state conflict in African states, focusing on Cameroon. To attain this end, the study was guided by three objectives, and these were to investigate the effectiveness of National Dialogue as a method of intra-state conflict resolution in Africa; to assess the role of external actors in the National Dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict, and to evaluate the challenges and opportunities of National Dialogue as method of intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict. Moreover, two hypotheses also guided the study, and these were, H1: National Dialogue as a method of conflict resolution has had a great effectiveness in resolving intra-state conflicts in Africa, H0: There is no significant effect of National Dialogue as a method of conflict resolution in resolving the Anglophone Cameroon conflict.



## **5.1 Summary**

National Dialogue has played a significant role in intra-state conflict resolution in Africa; however, in Cameroon, the effectiveness was reduced due to lack of inclusivity and failure to address the conflict's critical causes. The latter did not benefit from resolving the dispute as the conflict intensified after the process was concluded. This summary will go by analyzing the objective by objective that guided this study.

The first objective was to investigate the National Dialogue's effectiveness as a method of intra-state conflict resolution in Africa. In this case, it was out that various parameters were raised as concerns in regards to Cameroon National Dialogue for determining the effectiveness, namely; Inclusivity, transparency, public participation, and a respectable convener of the dialogue. This study's findings were mirrored across Africa's National dialogues, which are characterized by numerous inefficiencies and challenges in tackling the continuous intra-state conflicts. On the other hand, fewer respondents confirmed that National dialogue was effective and a positive direction to ending the Anglophone Cameroon conflict.

The second objective was to examine the role of external actors in the Cameroon National Dialogue. Various roles were considered in this regard; these were mediator, guarantor or observer, enabler or funder. The findings of this study were that most of the respondents confirmed the need for external actors in the National Process. On the other hand, a few of the respondents endorsed the use of the National government to run the process and avoid external interference solely.

The third objective was to assess the challenges and opportunities in the 2019 Cameroon National Dialogue. Various challenges were pointed out by majority of the respondents.

The significant challenges identified were lack of inclusivity as many opposition leaders and activists of the Anglophone region were either detained or sort asylum abroad, lack of identifying the root cause of the intra-state conflict, a top-down approach by government leading the entire process, and lack of involvement external actors during the process. On the other hand, opportunities identified by majority of the respondents were holding subsequent collective dialogue from the grassroots, peace transitional of statehood by Anglophone region and an inclusive and sustainable human development for all.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

National dialogue is an increasingly popular tool for conflict resolution and political transformation. It has broadened debate regarding a country's trajectory beyond the usual elite decision-makers. However, it can also be misused and manipulated by leaders to consolidate their power. Globally over the past few decades in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, National Dialogue has been viewed as a critical tool for the prevention of intra-state conflicts and for managing political crises and transitions.<sup>97</sup> Even though National Dialogues vastly been analyzed and debated by national governments, political parties, religious leaders, civil society groups, international policymakers, diplomatic community, donors, and armed movements, their popularity has to date not been matched by conceptual clarity and reality.

The utilization of National Dialogue as a conflict resolution method has proven to be effective across the globe, with successful cases been witnessed in Europe, Middle East, Latin America and Africa. Major conflicts in the Middle East region, commonly referred to

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<sup>97</sup> Fontana, G., Siewert, M. B., & Yakinthou, C. (2020). Managing War-to-Peace Transitions after Intra-State Conflicts: Configurations of Successful Peace Processes. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 1-23.

as the Arab spring, have depicted a vivid picture of the population exerting pressure on the governing institutions<sup>98</sup> The pressure from the population has exerted the narrative of inclusivity and participation at the National Dialogue's heart. The complex nature of intra-state conflicts, especially in Africa, has called for the application of dynamic formats of national dialogue that entail a wide range of participants to address the multidimensional causes of conflict.

Finally, there have been various challenges in the utilization of National Dialogue as a method of conflict resolution that has hindered a binding consensus in maintaining peace and security. For instance, the top down approach by the president in undertaking the National Dialogue, where he set the timelines and set out the agendas to be discussed during the Dialogue. These acts by the head of government who are party to the conflict demonstrate a conflict of interest and biases; thus, the process lacked trust among the conflicting parties. The increased arrests of opposition leaders, lawyers and civil society leaders from the Anglophone region before the National dialogue excluded them from participating in the process. However, opportunities identified as ending the intra-state conflict held subsequent collective dialogue from the grassroots, peace transitional of statehood by Anglophone region and an inclusive and sustainable human development for all.

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<sup>98</sup> legitimacy. Sazzad, R. (2017). Edward Said's Concept of Exile: Identity and Cultural Migration in the Middle East. Bloomsbury Publishing.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Cameroon's government utilizes the first National dialogue they held in 2019 as a learning basis upon which they should. National Dialogue enhances democracy in a society since it gives room for people's participation in presenting their grievances to the authorities. It should be a long term process that should involve all stakeholders, the citizens and other non-state actors in the society. The Cameroon government should explore track 1.5 and track two diplomacy methods rather than use force on the Anglophone region. Trust and consensus building to put an end to the continuous cycle of destruction and loss of lives. This will entail the two conflicting sides: the Anglophones and the current government of the day to engage in an all-inclusive manner directly. Both sides must restart the National Dialogue with both parties to the conflict, making mutual concessions from their hard-line positions to break away from the prevailing violence and destruction of property and loss of lives. To build trust and consensus, the head of government President Biya should take a reconciliatory approach, acknowledge the prevailing Anglophone crisis and the atrocities committed by security forces to the Anglophone people, and put into consideration demands for autonomy put forth by the Anglophone.

Police reforms should be put into place to investigate claims and allegations of police brutality and extrajudicial killings, enhance policies that make provision for reparations to victims, and rebuild affected areas of the Anglophone region. There should be significant reforms in the education sector and judicial sector that ensure the rights of the minority Anglophone and Anglo-Saxon language and features are well preserved and protected.

On the other end, separatists from the Anglophone side should conduct grassroots internal dialogues that directly or indirectly bring people affected by the intra-state conflict. The

Anglophone leaders should educate the members on the significance of the National Dialogue and why different movements and political groups within the Anglophone should have one unified opinion and position before engaging the national government. The Anglophone should initiate peace processes within their region, exhibit good faith by abandoning school boycotts as part of their strategy.

Another key recommendation is having substantive institutional reforms and governance structure. The government should undertake constitutional amendments to enhance the legal framework significantly to encompass the acceleration of decentralization and direct regional elections of regional presidents and council.

Institution reforms should promote regional administrators' establishment, scrapping of government delegates, and empowering the regional administrators with administrative and autonomy to ensure. Tax collection reforms, the regional administrators and local authorities should possess powers to collect and broaden the taxation bracket. The central government should also enact policies to increase the revenue share from the current 1% to 30% to ensure equitable revenue share.

Finally, the Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission must be given more independence and include all Anglophone tendencies. Once a consensus has been arrived upon, the disarmament process and social and economic reintegration of the militias could lead to combatants' demobilization. The government should issue a specific decree on DDR for ex-separatist combatants.

There is a need for external actors, both regional and international, to initiate a second National Dialogue. Given the occurrence of the first national dialogue that lacked the

inclusivity of all the parties involved in the conflict, it is within the interest of the external actors to promote peace and security as the intra-state conflict indirectly affects regional stability and fight against terrorist groups such as Boko Haram in the region. The talks should take place in the presence of a neutral external actor to boost trust among the participants. Most of the respondents have pointed out the most unbiased and credible mediators in the eyes of both parties are the UN, AU, Switzerland, Catholic Church or even the Vatican, in addition to the fact that they have offered to mediate.

These recommendations will only have a chance of being followed if intense internal and international pressure is brought to bear. If this does not happen, the most likely scenario is a prolonged conflict lasting several years, ending in a Pyrrhic military victory for Cameroon's security forces without resolving the Anglophone problem.

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## **Appendix**

### **Questionnaire:**

#### **PART A: Demographic characteristics**

**Tick as appropriate**

**i. Age**

**a) 18-31**

**b) 32-45**

**c) 46-60**

**ii. Gender**

**a) Male**

**b) Female**

**iii. Level of Education**

**a) PhD**

**b) Master**

**c) Bachelor's Degree**

**d) Diploma**

**iv. Years of Experience**

**a) 1-3**

**b) 4-6**

**c) 7-10**

**PART B: IMPACT OF NATIONAL DIALOGUE AS A METHOD OF INTRA-STATE CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA**

- 1. What do you find as causes of intra-state conflict in Africa, precisely Cameroon?**

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- 2. When it comes to conflict resolution, has the successful utilization of National dialogue strategy effectively addressed Intra-State conflict in Africa?**

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- 3. In your own view, do you think National Dialogue has a place in resolving intra-state conflicts in Africa? If so why?**

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**4. Do you think Africa has other methods of resolving conflict? If Yes which ones?**

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**PART C: 1. What is the role of external actors in the National Dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict?**

**1. . To what extent do external actors influence the effectiveness of National Dialogue in intra-state conflict resolution in Africa?**

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**2. Do use of threats and promises by external actors positively impact on the effectiveness of National Dialogue in Africa?**

**a.** \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**3. Does the 2019 Cameroon National Dialogue initiative help in stimulating social cohesion in achieving peace and reconciliation in Cameroon?**

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**4. What impact did the colonial country of France and Britain have on the National dialogue have in resolving the Anglophone conflict?**

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**5. Does the African Union have a role to play in resolving the Anglophone Cameroon conflict?**

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**PART D: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF NATIONAL DIALOGUE  
AS METHOD OF INTRA-STATE CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE  
ANGLOPHONE CAMEROON CONFLICT**

- 1. Has the pursuance of National dialogue as method of intra-state conflict resolution in the Anglophone Cameroon conflict increased the risk escalating the conflict more?**  
a) Yes      b) No
  
- 2. Were all the parties affected by the conflict represented in the Cameroon 2019 National Dialogue I n the formation, agenda setting and the actual forum?**  
a) Yes      b) No
  
- 3. Is Cameroon more imposed to National Dialogue in pursuing conflict resolution of the Anglophone conflict as a strategy?**  
a) Yes      b) No
  
- 4. Has the peace and security situation improved in the Anglophone region on the implementation of the 2019 National dialogue strategy?**  
a) Yes      b) No.