

**MULTIPARTY POLITICS, VIOLENCE AND COPING STRATEGIES AMONG  
VICTIMS IN BAMENDA, CAMEROON, 1990-1992**

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**ABSTRACT**

*This article focuses on multiparty politics and the ensued violence in Bamenda, Cameroon from 1990 to 1992. The article argues that the clamour and euphoria that came with multi-party politics in Cameroon soon became a scenario of violence in Bamenda especially after the first elections in 1992. It takes into account the reintroduction of multiparty politics and the launching of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) in Bamenda, on the 26<sup>th</sup> May 1990. This was followed by violence through to the periods of electoral consultations in 1992. This violence seriously affected the young people of the region who however, did not resign to fate but had to involve in some activities to cope with life. A range of different methods and sources have been used and from these methods the article contends that multiparty politics was followed by brute violence in Bamenda which seriously affected young people especially during the launch of the SDF party and in the first multiparty elections that followed in 1992. However, its victims decided to rise to the times by carrying out different activities to survive.*

**Key Words:** *Multiparty politics, Violence, Coping Strategies, Victims, Bamenda, Cameroon, Democracy*

**Introduction**

The re-introduction of multiparty politics in the 1990s following the ‘wind of change’ from Eastern Europe unleashed a venomous spate of conflicts which took on serious ethnic, regional and socio-economic and political dimensions in some African countries(Kah,2018). In many African Countries South of the Sahara, the leaders were reluctant to embrace multi-party politics when it was re-introduced in the 1990s. According to Bayart (2009:20), in Cameroon for instance, President Paul Biya reluctantly embraced multi-party politics only after much pressure at home and from the international community. The town of Bamenda played a momentous role in the struggle for political liberalisation in the 1990s. Bamenda was regularly subjected to

political violence and insecurity especially during periods of electoral consultations (Nyinchiah, 2016:42) largely because it was the fief of the main Opposition Party, the SDF. This violence seriously affected some young people in and around Bamenda (who actively took part in the political manoeuvres of the 1990s) but they chose to seize different opportunities to survive (Nyinchiah, 2016: 74) rather than resign to fate.

The era of multiparty politics in Cameroon in 1990 increased the youth's interests in politics in the country at large and in Bamenda in particular. This was because their political choices were widened and they could gradually be involved in the political activities of the country (Budi, 2019). Bamenda region of Cameroon is made up of a highly politically savvy youth population which began to be manifested since the colonial period and more overtly in the 1990s (Budi, 2016: 82). During the launch of the SDF party in Bamenda on May 26, 1990, Six (6) youths of the Region were shot and killed in cold blood at the Liberty square.<sup>1</sup> In fact, "after the launch (of the party), jubilant mobs of youngsters surged through the streets chanting songs of freedom. The soldiers were infuriated by the taunts of the youths" (SDF, 2015: 16, 17). These youths included, Juliette Sikod a student who hailed from Bali in Mezam Division, Fidelis Chosi Mankam (corn mill operator), Asanji Christopher Fombi (student), Nfon Edwin Jatop (tailor) Tifuh Mathias Teboh (student) and Toje Evaristus Chatum (student). It thus goes without saying that Bamenda became a melting pot of political activities in the post-independent Cameroon with a largely youthful population who are critical of government actions and politics in general. However, the ensued violence that followed the return to multiparty politics in Cameroon affected many youths who however, stood up to available opportunities to make ends meet. This forms the nub of this paper.

### **Launch of the SDF party and Violence**

The conception and launch of the SDF in Bamenda meant different things to different people. It was the sledge hammer to shatter the shackles of general oppression and it was the only reason to aspire and hope for tomorrow. Its conception was made secretive, its gestation tumultuous and its birth a calamity to the masses. This was because the administration of Cameroon was edgy about the launch of the party in spite of the great support that the Biya administration had enjoyed from this part of the country since his accession to power. The mobilization of the people during the

launch of the SDF seemed to hold the promise of a revolutionary conquest of poverty. The will, the momentum, the resources all seemed to be present and it was the break with the past. The hitherto adherence to the CPDM and Paul Biya was profoundly transformed, indeed reversed in the 1990s.<sup>2</sup> With the launch of the SDF, not only was the status quo reversed but also, violence ensued. Barrister Luke Sendze (2014) argues that arbitrary arrests and harassment of the population were rampant and the Bamenda people were forced to respond to the activities of the government... they knew the prize of their actions.

The crescendo of protest in Bamenda was triggered by the determination of over 80,000 unarmed civilian SDF supporters to march across Commercial Avenue which had been policed by close to 800 armed gendarmes Sendze (2014) noted. The desire by this population to force their way through this main avenue and the determination of the troops not to let them resulted to the genesis of democratic violence which was to characterize Bamenda in the age of pluralism. The presence of these troops that had erected barricades in all the major roads entering into the main avenue did not deter the determined and courageous supporters, who in their thousands came out to pay the prize of freedom and oppression. The crowd that over-powered the soldiers made them respond with the throwing of grenades, teargas and water. It was this action that drove many more people into the scene who responded swiftly with the throwing of stones at the troops and erecting their own barricades with tyres and abandoned vehicles from Sonac Street, Small Mankon, T-Junction and Hospital Roundabout.

In the midst of these squabbles, the gendarmes began firing live bullets into the crowd resulting to deaths. Victor Labia, who was born in 1976 in Bamenda, resident at Metta Quarter neighbourhood, some 200metres from Commercial Avenue, was the son of one the Police Inspectors, Labia Lawrence Gebah who had erected barricades at Commercial Avenue. Victor was among the youths, who had defied the order and insisted to march across Commercial Avenue. From an eye witness point of view he, said:

The first person shot was standing in front of me....He was Fidelis 30years old, an owner of a grinding mill located at Old Town. He migrated from Balikumbat into Bamenda to look for any job and found this one. When he heard the sound of teargas, he rushed into the scene just to see what was going on and was caught by a bullet (Labia, 2014).

The teargasing of the population had pulled in more people into the scene than was expected. This made the government media Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV) report that the people killed were not shot, but were trampled upon. The government's newspaper "Cameroon Tribune" of Friday June 1<sup>st</sup> 1990 had reported that the security forces were stationed in town to guard strategic positions against destruction and looting. The crowd that turned out for the launch of this "unauthorized party" went out of control and in the process six people lost their lives (Cameroon Tribune, 1990: 2).

However, it may be worth mentioning that not all of the six youths killed were at the scene of confrontation. Some of them were caught by stray bullets. Juliette Sikod, the only female of the six killed, was not at the scene, but was caught in the wave of gendarme indiscriminate shooting. This was testified by an acquaintance of the deceased's mother:

Juliette was not at the Commercial Avenue.... She was at home and a bullet caught her in front of the house....She was supplying stones to the men below their storey building residence behind Commercial Avenue. She was spotted by a gendarme who decided to shoot her....This made me become a very strong supporter of the SDF and to defend our children from these brutal killings from the French Cameroun soldiers.

Juliette was a 17 year old lower sixth student of the Nacho Comprehensive High School (NCHS) Mankon Bamenda. She had rushed in after the crowd storm the school campus and set part of the school compound on fire. She had made use of the footpath from Metta Quarters through to Old Town before reaching home. She was fuelled by the throwing of stone at the military around her school, that she decided to show her solidarity for the course of democracy by supplying the crowd at Commercial Avenue with stones. In front of her family house a bullet caught her (Ibid). It was along these footpaths that people were supplied with stones as their weapon against the gendarmes.

These killings contravened the President's call on his party members- the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) to "prepare for competition". Interestingly, those murdered were not in the competition or in the contest of political power; they were not duly registered with the new organization or movement that had its particular aims. Without a party card or membership number, they were not political activists. The government had nonetheless acted not

by action but by reaction to the mobilization of the people of Bamenda. It was also the manifestation of one of the indispensable ends of democracy which is the right to freely associate and to freely demonstrate.

The stories and experiences of some of the people who paid the prize for freedom in Bamenda were fascinating and emotional. Ostensibly, the human and material damages were void of political affiliations. The Opposition had enjoyed the massive support to such an extent that the people were willing to pay with their lives. This was the case with 19years old Tabitha Sirri who came to Bamenda from Bafut and started her career as a bread vendor with Nanga bakery (Sirri, 2015). Her determination for change through the principles of democracy was soon to lead her into misfortune. It was her role as a Vanguard that brought Sirri into the scene of politics which caused her to lose her second baby through a miscarriage. Sirri had been noted by security men from the early 1990s and by 1991 she became their target. She and a friend had designed their rally uniform of green and white over a white tennis shoe signifying the purity of their intentions in the course for change. Her uniform served two purposes-first the security men could easily identify her and secondly, it became the party's Vanguard uniform after the first Convention of the party that legalized the Vanguard Movement which before now was a creation of the young people.

Considering the cutting-edge role she played in the launch of the SDF and in the formation of the Vanguard Movement as a paramilitary wing of the party, Sirri (2014) testifies that:

I was invited at the first Convention of the party and given a vanguard uniform, the same as my rally uniform....Besides, I was taken round the country during the 1992 presidential campaign as a nurse....Our department was headed by Dr Anyangwe....When we came back I was given 15000 FCFA (US\$24.59) as compensation....This helped me to do some training in nursing.

Sirri, like other young people in Bamenda, gave their lives for the course of change. Sirri was an eye witness in one of the scenes in which a young man picked grenade instead of teargas and lost his hands. She rushed with other women to the spot of the unfortunate incident and picked the pieces and particles and what was left of the person's hand using cocoyam leaves (Sirri, 2015). Void of fear this time, they braved the soldiers and carried the young man by name Niba Charles who was unconscious to a nearby District Hospital in Nkwen, Bamenda (PMI). In fact, the

launch of the SDF part on 26<sup>th</sup> May, 1990 had launched a series of violence which continued to 1992, when the first ever multiparty elections were organised.

### **The 1992 Elections and Aftermath**

Elections represent a crucial stage for countries in the process of democratic transition. The countdown to the 1992 Presidential Election was first followed by the legislative elections of March 1992. Forty-eight (48) political parties had officially registered. The major Opposition parties that participated in the elections were the *Union Des Populations Du Cameroun* (UPC) and the *Union National Pour La Democratie et le Progrès* (UNDP). The SDF boycotted the election on the premise that, it would not be free and fair. After the election, the Minister of Territorial Administration (MINAT), Andre Tchoungui, sitting in for the Constitutional Council proclaimed the results as follows; the CPDM won 88 seats, the UNDP 68, the UPC 18 and the Movement for the Defence of the Republic (MDR) 6 seats. Following the election, the CPDM formed an alliance with the MDR and they established a narrow majority (Global Campaign for Free expression, 1997). On the 25<sup>th</sup> August 1992, in the midst of Opposition disarray, President Paul Biya called the presidential elections for the 11<sup>th</sup> October 1992. The poll initially had been expected in April 1993; Andrew Akonteh, a staunch militant of the SDF party states that;

We were still undecided to go in given that no vibrant institutions had been put in place to oversee the elections. More so, because elections are based on numbers and the peoples' desire had been demonstrated at all levels in the country not only in Bamenda, we hurriedly compiled the documents of our candidate decided to go in and participate in the first ever presidential elections in the multi-party era.

It should be mentioned that the SDF drew support from the Bamelike region (West), the Anglophone regions (North West and South West) and in Douala (Littoral). With this, the party was sure that in the event of a free and fair organisation, it will win emerge victorious.

In less than a month, the National Assembly passed a new Law on the Presidential Electoral Code which introduced a single-round vote, created residency which eliminated one candidate and retained the role of the MINAT in organising the elections. The legislation also barred electoral alliances. In Bamenda by 1992 the major political parties that participated in the election were the CPDM, SDF, UNDP, UPC and the MDR. Meanwhile, the CPDM with the SDF

parties were the major contenders for the 1992 Presidential Elections in Bamenda. The SDF became very vibrant, but soon to undergo a litmus test for its vibrancy as the Presidential Election approached. It is assumed that the 1992 Election in Cameroon was won by the SDF, the major Opposition party at the time. At the same time there were claims that the SDF had won the polls, the Electoral Law had made it in such a way that there was no second round. This meant that with a mere 25%, one could win Elections to the Presidency. Consequently, the CPDM Candidate, Paul Biya was declared victorious (Takougang and Krieger, 1998: 91).

The overwhelming popular support that the SDF had enjoyed in the run up to the presidential polls and the massive voters registration by the party, had deceived them into assuming that it would win the contest by a comfortable margin. Nevertheless, the population assumed that the level of manipulation of the results could not be so effective as to cause their Candidate to lose. They had taken for granted the role of the DOs, SDOs, Governors, Ministers and some of the Traditional Rulers (*Fons*) in the process, who were willing to give their all to secure a victory for their Candidate, Paul Biya. Moreover, the SDF was counting its victory based on the dozens of rallies it was able to conduct that were more than the CPDM. It was for this reason that in the event of the victory in favour of Paul Biya, the masses responded with violence. The greatest casualty of this was Alhadji Tita Fomunkong President of the Cameroon National Party (CNP) and supporter of the Presidential Majority. According to the Secretary General of the CNP, Chop Ngwencho Philip (2014):

The population had gone wild, everyone knew the SDF was going to win; even those of us of the Presidential Majority and the CPDM militants in Bamenda...Some CPDM people used this opportunity to settle scores. Tita Fomukong was set up by the bigwigs of the CPDM. He had received support from Yaoundé for his party.

Tita Fomukong who fired some shots in the air to disperse the crowd, with the assistance of his wife was not spared (Asonganyi, 2015). When he ran out of bullets, he rushed back into his house and did not return. Eye witness accounts reveal that his going back into the house which was in flames (**See Picture below**) was tantamount to committing suicide. Fire was set on his building and not on him. It was his wife that was paraded naked in a wheelbarrow along the streets before the police intervened.

**Picture showing the Ruins of Tita Formukong's Residence in Bamenda**



**Source:** Photo by Author: Gomgham Bamenda. 26<sup>th</sup> Decmber, 2013.

Also, George Ndikum alias George Town whose taxis were burnt was not a member of the SDF nor had he demonstrated signs of his political leanings publicly. But what was clear is that some of his taxis were used by these mercenaries in the process of the demonstrations to loot and to destroy, unfortunately it backed fired on him. He was not a full supporter of the ruling party, but had secured loans from banks to do business since he could not repay, he was forced to join in this game so that his debts would be cancelled. Tita Fomukong and George Ndikum had the same reasons for being caught in the trap. While the latter saw what happened to him as sheer wickedness, the former's son holds that his father was setup by his own friends and portrayed as an enemy of the people. He maintains that, "When the crowd approached we called the gendarmes and they came only after the incident had occurred. The shots were done in the air, but prosumably the crowd interpretered it as an attempt to kill them. This motivated the action they took" (Mohammed Tita, 2014).

Franz Fanon (1980: 89) amongst other things has argued that, violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders makes it possible for the masses to understand social truth and give the key to them. This phrase by Fanon holds true in the context of Bamenda. This is because the destrutions were organized for three reasons- Firstly, in each of the cases, the soldiers were present and only reacted after the act had been



carried out, Secondly, all the victims were present in the scenes, well-armed and ready to wade off their assailants. Thirdly, the population knew the type of weapons, bullets and the number of rounds the guns of their victims carried. Immediately, in 1992 when the election results were proclaimed in favour of the incumbent Paul Biya, the population of Bamenda went wild, and like George and Tita, party kingpins like *Fon* Angwafor lost an entire building at Fon's Street Commercial Avenue, Regina Mundi, a Central Committee member of the CPDM owned Good Samaritan Clinic along Cow Street. This and her compound were set on fire. Albert Cho Ngafor, proprietor of Nacho College, one of the biggest lay private colleges in Bamenda, situated at Atuakom that was set on fire too. Besides, this institution was deserted even after calm had returned to Bamenda. Good Samaritan Clinic was laid to rest, while Nacho College cannot boast of 300 students as by 2016.

Of relevance was the fact that a majority of those involved in these organized violence were a group of 'ruffians' in town. A cross section of the masses had identified them and concluded that all was planned and the opportunity presented itself in 1992. Even more important, was the fact that secondary school students coming back from school in their innocence were encouraged by the soldiers to add more abandoned tyres to the already existing flames. The response from the gendarmes was lucid, namely, "we are only out to protect government property" (Nsom, 2015). The fact here was that, it was a means to discredit the population of Bamenda and secondly, to discredit the Opposition. It however turned out to work in the interest of the Opposition party in Bamenda. Some members of the SDF party including the Chairman, Ni John Fru Ndi were placed under house arrest, but later released after results of the Presidential Election were made public. This was because the town had gone on flames given that Tita Fomukongs house was just some 300 metres away from that of the Chairman.

One of the victims of the 1992 house arrest, Relindis Akuma who was 21 years old by 1992, narrated how it was like being locked up in the Chairman's compound:

I was in the Chairman's compound when the results were proclaimed. I went there with my father who had gone there to sympathize with his chairman for his stolen victory....Two days later, gendarmes and other security officers surrounded the compound and confine every one that was inside the compound. Even though, within the first few days, there was some sort of free entering and

exit of people. By the third day, movement in and out was completely forbidden. As the soldiers took control from the gate, a group of elderly women, who had advanced in age had also taken up position at the main gate of the Chairman's compound....A group of North West elite without political limit visited the Chairman and advised him, to leave the country. He left, but came back the same evening. He told us that he could not go and abandon us innocent people in his compound (Akuma, 2015).

The “winning candidate” was barricaded by the regime in his Ntarinkon Residence to which he had withdrawn (Asonganyi, 2015) together with some people to whom “power was to have been given” were also blocked inside the compound. Without due consideration of the status of the people inside the compound in terms of age, sex and political awareness, mostly more women among the 149 people that were blocked on the 25<sup>th</sup> October 1992, was a demonstration of the determination of the government to resist any form of demonstrations to the letter while the people underestimated the ability of the regime to forestall any form of demonstrations.

### **Victims of Violence and Coping Strategies**

Many of the victims of the 1990s violence in Bamenda have risen to face the tragedy with positive optimism and enthusiasm. This is the case with Charles Niba, who lives in Nforya-Bafut, near Bamenda. He sees what happened to him not as a misfortune but as something designed and destined for him. It was a mixed blessing to him in the sense that the fortunes he has made now probably would not have come without this incident albeit the fact that he lost his arms in the violence. Born in Bafut from a polygamous rich farmer, Charles Niba was not given an opportunity to be educated in school. While in Primary four, he took charge of paying his own school fees by doing petty jobs during the holiday and also working in the farm from 7am to 5pm. After a strenuous day, he passed the night in a room leaking roofs so much so that in the raining seasons he hardly had a good sleep. He shared six bamboos for a bed with a cousin. His work in the farm a day earned him 125FCFA (US\$0.179) daily. After his primary seven studies, he was sent to Bamenda where he became an apprentice and later the Proprietor of mechanic garage. Life moved on slowly and by the 1990 he saw his breakthrough in the advent of multiparty politics.

Charles Niba recounts his sojourn into militancy and the eventual loss of both of his arms as follows:

From the beginning, I served as a town crier in my Ntamulung neighbourhood, rallying my friends for rallies and other political events and bringing my peers together to act as security men for the party leaders. This group formed the nucleus of the Vanguard movement. Even the death of my friend from Kom in 1990 during the launching of the party did not deter me. We played the role of primary movers of the population. My quest was for a life I believed was to come through the new political wave. On October 2, 1991 referred to as “black Wednesday” in Bamenda was the day I met my Waterloo. At Foncha street junction, I was running away from the gendarmes like others, and putting on a sport shoes which were some few inches longer than my foot or to say they did not size me well. The left side was smashed. As I was running, I fell. In the course of falling and struggling to protect my face from touching the ground, I fell with hands stretched across my face protecting it from the hard tar. This happened coincidentally just when a grenade was dropped and I lost my both hands as you can see. I got married just after this incident. It was my brother who helped me to have a wife. It was a girl I had loved before now, but I also think God intervened for her to still accept me as a husband in my state. We have five girls, two compounds, a provision store and a piggery. All these secured after the incident from 1995. The party and the chairman is part of my new life and success story. My uncle who was a CPDM sympathizer laughed and mocked at me. I think this made the party officers in Bamenda and Bafut to come to my aid. I still believe in the cause for change and the SDF. It is the party that will bring that change needed by the Bamenda people and Cameroonians (Niba, 2015).

Charles’ ordeal in Bafut and his father’s unwillingness to send him to school left him with no other option, but for him to move to Bamenda and enrol as an apprentice in a garage at the Ntamulung neighbourhood. The difficulties associated with learning a trade with no support encouraged him to see the coming of the multi-party politics and the quest for change by the SDF as a means to overcome these problems. In course of this, he lost his arms. This event was the price he paid for his struggle to change his life for the better. However, instead of resigning to fate, Charles Niba decided to join the Pig Farming business (**See Picture below**). He has a piggery of about thirty (30) pigs including piglets, which he is supplying to buyers in Bamenda and Bafut. This piggery is located behind his compound. At the far end there’s a small plantain and banana farm which during the planting season, maize, bean, cocoyam and sometimes groundnut are cultivated for home consumption. As part of his Charles enterprising ventures, Charles Niba also decided to transform his living room into a provision store in which he sells

items needed by his community such as salt, kerosene and palm oil. In this store, he operates a small off-license (Beer House). In the evenings people converge on his store where they drink and discuss topics which ranged from national and local politics, rumours and other local social and economic issues.

#### **Charles Niba in his Piggery in Bafut, Cameroon**



**Source:** Photo Taken by Author, During Field Work at Nforye-Bafut, 25<sup>th</sup> April, 2015.

Another victim of the 1990s violence in Bamenda who is struggling to cope and make ends meet is Khisey Simon Kum. In an attempt to throw back the grenade at the gendarmes both of his arms were amputated by the explosion of the grenades. Simon Kum lives in Chuaku-Elemighong in Anyajua, Belo Sub-Division Kom, North Region of Cameroon. He was born there and from where he was taken to Bamenda by an uncle who enrolled him as an apprentice in a garage in Sisia Quarters, Nkwen. That same day, Simon Kum picked up a grenade at Hospital Roundabout and lost both of his hands. Simon is managing with hook to assist him carry on with his activities. He is not married and had no children to assist him. He is in possession of a small provision store and also runs a piggery. Unfortunately, he lost all his pigs because of diseases. Simon confirmed that the party has helped him. According to him,

Before leaving the house I had overhead my uncle saying that all rallies in town had been banned but one was scheduled in Mile Three Nkwen. I went to the garage and realized that my colleagues together with my master were preparing to attend the rally. Before we could arrive mobile Nkwen people were already

running to different directions. I only realized that I had arrived hospital roundabout. As I bent to wash my face from the toxic smell from the tear gas another one dropped. I miss took it for tear gas since throughout this period in town people had been picking up and retaliating by throwing them back at the gendarmes. I pick it up and only realized I was in the hospital without hands. I cannot say how I got to the hospital. After my treatment at Mbingo Baptist Hospital, I decided to resettle in the village (Kuma, 2015).

However, the nagging difficulty he faces is that of limited Capital to expand the scope of his petty business. His store is largely under stocked but for a few items including kerosene, packet of cigarettes, garri packaged in small plastic bags and sponges used to wash cooking pots (See **Picture Below**).

**Khisey Simon Kum posing inside His Provision Store**



**Source:** By Author in Chuaku-Elemighong-Anyajua, Belo (Kom), 27 April, 2015.

Each ‘misfortune’ seemed to inspire hope, robustness, resilience and tenacity, such that the outcome of the first ever Presidential Elections in the multiparty era presented another catalogue of problems to the people. As the 1992 elections drew near the people were more than ever to see free and transparent elections. Most importantly, the victims of the violence of the 1990s remain hopeful as they struggled to move on in life by adopting coping strategies that have kept them afloat.

## **Conclusion**

This paper sought to highlight the political violence that befell Bamenda, Cameroon following the reintroduction of multiparty politics in the 1990s. The reintroduction of multiparty politics in Cameroon was characterised by much violence in Bamenda which had a direct incidence on the enthusiastic youths of the region. Following the launch of the SDF party, jubilant young Cameroons in this region staked their lives for the new found democracy. Many of the people responded to the birth of the SDF with positive optimism but this eventually cascaded into political violence in which some youths lost their lives, arms and fortunes. As if this was not enough, the spate of violence continued into 1992 when the first ever multiparty elections were organised under the Biya administration. The declaration of the Paul Biya as the victor in this election met with violence once again in Bamenda which led to much material and human losses. The violence and confrontations between the population and the armed gendarmes invariably produced victims who had to live with the scare in the years after this period. However, some of them who lost their arms and hands in the course of the violence chose not to resign to fate but to seize opportunities to cope with life by involving in petty enterprising activities. This has kept them afloat economically and enabled them to be self-dependent.

## **NOTES**

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<sup>1</sup> The Liberty Square is a popular square in Bamenda Town, Capital of the NWR. It is known within the SDF circles as the Liberty Square because the six youths who were killed are considered to have used their blood to pay for the liberty in the country. That is why during all SDF Anniversaries, the party militants in the Region usually march to the Square where they say prayers before processing to the ceremonial grounds. However, the Junction is commonly known in the region as City Chemist Roundabout (See Budi, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> In June 1990, the government announced that it was planning a number of democratic reforms and declared that the CPDM would soon compete in multi-party elections.

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