

Cameroon Diasporas and the Evolution of the Social Democratic Front (S.D.F) Party: 1990-2018

Fombesoh Mbapeh Roland¹, Hyasinth Ami Nyoh²

¹Department of History, Heritage and International Studies Faculty of Arts,

²Professor, Department of History, Heritage and International Studies,

^{1,2}The University of Bamenda, Bamenda, Cameroon

ABSTRACT

The creation and growth of the SDF party in 1990 in Cameroon was the efforts of both political activists at home and in the diasporas. A majority of these Cameroon diasporas went out either due to political repression and were seeking asylum in different parts of the world or for further education. This paper therefore argues that despite the 1968 Law on nationality which stipulated in section 31 that, “Cameroonian nationality is lost by any Cameroon adult national who willfully acquires or keep a foreign nationality”, these Cameroon diasporas still contributed to the emergence and growth of the SDF despite the challenges.

KEYWORDS: *Cameroon, Diasporas, Social Democratic Front Party.*

How to cite this paper: Fombesoh Mbapeh Roland | Hyasinth Ami Nyoh "Cameroon Diasporas and the Evolution of the Social Democratic Front (S.D.F) Party: 1990-2018"

Published in International Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development (ijtsrd), ISSN: 2456-6470, Volume-9 |

Issue-4, August 2025, pp.576-582, URL: www.ijtsrd.com/papers/ijtsrd97264.pdf



Copyright © 2025 by author (s) and International Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development Journal. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (CC BY 4.0) (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>)



INTRODUCTION

French Cameroon and British Southern Cameroon gained independence in 1960 and 1961 respectively in a multi-party setting. But on September 1, 1966, president Ahmadou Ahidjo created the Cameroon National Union (CNU) as a single party in Cameroon. However, when Ahidjo left power on November 6, 1982, his constitutional successor Paul Biya changed the name of the single CNU party to Cameroon Peoples' Democratic Movement (CPDM) on March 24, 1985. The CPDM single party did not last for long as internal and external pressures militated for multi-party electoral democracy in Africa. Cameroon could not be isolated from this wind of change. Internal pressure in Cameroon arose mainly from people's power when some civil society actors led by Barrister Yondo Black in February 1990 decided to Launch a political party to challenge the single party system but they were all arrested and detained in Douala. This gave a leeway to Ni John Fru Ndi and his group of Think Tank 89 (study group) to file in a document in March 1990 for the creation of a party called the

Social Democratic Front (SDF)¹. The move was met with reluctance and resistance by the ruling elite and the result was a bloody confrontation between the masses and the soldiers. Despite the tense atmosphere, the SDF party was launched on May 26, 1990 in Bamenda to usher in multi-party politics in Cameroon after two and a half decades of a single party dictatorship. Six youths were killed on the launching day². Triggered by the events of May 26, 1990, multi-party-political parties became

¹ Think Tank 89 was a study group created in November 1989 under the initiative of Ni John Fru Ndi. The group was made up of people like; Professor Clement Ngwasiri, Carlson Anyangwe, Vincent Feko, Dr. Alfred Azefer, Dr. Siga Asanga, Dr. Tah Zacharias, Albert Mukong, justice Nyo' Wakai and many others. The group began to sensitize national and international opinions about the marginalization of Anglophone minority in Cameroon. In one of its meetings on February 17, 1990, members decided to transform it into a political party.

² Beatrice Annembom Monju, Martin Fon Yembe, Grace Ngwafor, "Revisiting the SDF story: Born running", *SDF Journal*, (October 2012), 8

institutionalised in Cameroon following the Law of Association of December 19, 1990³. The party was led by Ni John Fru Ndi until his demise on June 12, 2023.

The SDF party became the biggest challenger of the CPDM in the political landscape in Cameroon for over two decades. The party equally had militants out of the country in order to expand its political horizon. In Cameroon, the smallest organ of the party was the ward at the level of villages. This was followed by the Electoral District Committee at the level of subdivisions, then the Divisional Coordination, the Regional Coordination, the National Executive Committee (NEC), the National Advisory Committee and lastly the National Convention which is the General Assembly of the party and the largest organ of the party⁴.

The emergence of the SDF party in the Diaspora

The organigram of the SDF has no official diaspora structure which is recorded in the statute of the party. The party had supporters in the diasporas right from the inception of the party⁵. One of its members in USA Ofon Mathias indicated that private individuals created organs of the party abroad and managed them⁶. The first organs of the SDF party abroad were created in 1991 in France Great Britain and U.S.A⁷. In London, sympathisers of the party created a branch in 1991 with Jude Ngu and later Brice Nitchu as president. Another branch was created in Manchester where mostly Anglophones held meetings. In November 1992 following the presidential elections, members of National Union of Cameroon Students (NUCS) and SDF Britain sent an invitation to the SDF chairman Ni John Fru Ndi asking him to lead a delegation of the SDF to Britain⁸. In USA, branches were led by people like Budjung James. Later on, South Africa branch was created and Anglophone political activists like Milton Taka led the branch.

³ Official Gazette of the Republic of Cameroon, Law no.90/053 of December 19, 1990 relating to freedom of Association, January 1, 1991

⁴The Constitution, Internal Rules and Regulations, Standing Orders of the Convention of the Social Democratic Front, May 27, 2006, Private Archive of Tata George.

⁵ Albert Mukong, *Prisoner Without a Crime: Disciplining Dissent in Ahidjo's Cameroon*, (Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG, 2009), 5-150

⁶ Ofon Mathias, 77 years old, Retired Diplomat, interview with author, January 20, 2024 in Bamenda

⁷Edimo Manga M.R, "La participation des diasporas Camerounaises de France et de Grande-Bretagne à la vie politique Nationale : émergence et consolidation de la citoyenneté à distance", (Mémoire de Master, Université de Yaoundé II), 2008, 100.

⁸ Ekongwe Daniel Awang, "African Diaspora: The case of Cameroonians in England, 1951-2010", (PhD Thesis, Faculty of Arts, University of Buea, 2014), 303

Therefore, the SDF from creation did not create official organs in the diaspora Ofon Mathias notes⁹. Cameroonians supported the party, came together to create branches in different parts of the world especially in Western countries¹⁰. Apart from some party members mentioned above, there were particular individuals abroad in the 1990s who helped to promote the SDF's agenda and mobilised support for the party's cause among diasporas. They played roles in organising protests, rallies, and online discussions about burning issues concerning the party and the state of Cameroon. Prominent among them were; Adolph and Kilian Asangana in Belgium. In Britain, there was Tabi Ebai, Abongwa Ndumu, Freddy Job, in Germany there was Augustine Ngegba while Sam Ekontang Elad shuttled between Britain, United States of America and Germany propagating the SDF cause¹¹.

According to Anyangwe, The SDF party leaders led by the chairman Ni John Fru Ndi in particular made trips to the diasporas to meet its militants and canvassed for support. Fru Ndi's first trip abroad was on January 20, 1993 to the United States to attend the inauguration ceremony of the U.S President Bill Clinton¹². Though invited by the U.S President, Fru Ndi was received by Cameroonian political activists in USA. Fru Ndi had discussions with militants and sympathisers of the SDF and their discussions focused on; future elections in Cameroon after the party contested what it called its stolen victory of the 1992 presidential election by the CPDM, the life of the SDF party in the United States was equally discussed¹³.

In 1996, prelude to the 1997 presidential elections in Cameroon, the chairman of the SDF party Ni John Fru Ndi traveled to Europe where he met with members of his party in Britain and France¹⁴. In Britain, the party's delegation was received in London by a large group of Cameroonians mostly Anglophones from the grass field led by its branch president Jude Ngu¹⁵. Their discussions and contributions influenced the party's decision to boycott the 1997 presidential elections according

⁹ Ofon Mathias was the part of the team for writing the speeches of the SDF party chairman, Ni John Fru Ndi

¹⁰Ofon Mathias, 77 years old, Retired Diplomat, interview with author, January 20, 2024 in Bamenda

¹¹ Carlson Anyangwe, 75 years old, Professor of Law in South Africa conversation with author through WhatsApp, June 20, 2024

¹² Carlson Anyangwe was a founding member of the SDF party

¹³ Ofon Mathias, 77 years old, Retired Diplomat, interview with author, January 20, 2024 in Bamenda

¹⁴ ibid

¹⁵ Ekongwe, "African Diaspora", 309

Acho Simon¹⁶. Members of the party in the diasporas usually support the party financially¹⁷. One its members in the USA in the late 1990s Ofon Mathias testified that, himself and Forbi, another militant of the party in the United States usually send money to the party and would receive acknowledgment receipts from the party hierarchy¹⁸.

Electoral achievements of the SDF party

The SDF party from the early years of creation was the emblem of hope and change in Cameroon's political arena. From its promising debut in 1990, it began to dwindle as years went by until 2018 when the party lost its position as the leading opposition political party in Cameroon. The SDF started its first electoral democratic test by boycotting the March 1992 parliamentary elections together with another popular political party, the Cameroon Democratic Union (UDC). The outcome of the election gave; the CPDM 88 seats, National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP) 68 seats, Movement for the Defense of the Republic (MDR) 18 seats and *Union des population du Cameroun* (UPC) 06 seats¹⁹. The CPDM could not secure an absolute majority in the 180 sets of the National Assembly and therefore negotiated an alliance with the rest of the parties that won seats in the National Assembly. The boycott of the election by the SDF was highly criticised²⁰. The strength of the party was experienced in the October 1992 presidential elections where the party with its presidential candidate Ni John Fru Ndi and in alliance with other opposition political parties recorded spectacular result²¹. According to official results, Fru Ndi had 35.97% votes against 39.98% for president Biya and came second. This election was condemned as fraudulent by the opposition and violence erupted in the then Northwest province, Fru Ndi's province of origin. Fru Ndi was placed under house arrest for more than a month. After his release, Fru Ndi was invited to attend the inauguration ceremony of the United States' president Bill Clinton on January 20, 1993. The attendance of the inauguration ceremony by Fru Ndi and wife Ndi Rose was regarded as a sign

of recognition of victory in the 1992 presidential elections by the United States²².

In October 1997 presidential election, the SDF boycotted with three other main opposition parties; the UNDP, UDC and Union of African Population (UPA). They boycotted the elections on grounds that there was no independent electoral body because the previous elections were managed by the Ministry of Territorial Administration and reasons for lack of fairness in the conduct of the elections. In October 2004, the SDF party took part in the presidential elections and this time around organised by National Elections Observatory (NEO) created in December 2000 to oversee elections in Cameroon²³. According to official results, Fru Ndi, still came second with 17.40% against the CPDM candidate Paul Biya who had 70.92%. In October 2011 presidential elections, the party got a significant drop to 10.71%. This time, under another election management body Elections Cameroon (ELECAM) created by law no. 2006/011 of December 29, 2006²⁴. In 2018, the party decided to invest Joshua Osih, the first vice president of the party as its presidential candidate. The party had its worst result of 3.35% and came 4th position after the CPDM, CRM of Maurice Kamto, and the UNIVERSE party that invested Cabral Libii as its presidential candidate. This result could be partially blamed on the Anglophone crisis rocking the Northwest and Southwest Regions of Cameroon, the strong hole of the party.

In representative elections, the SDF party had also been regressing in its results. On May 17, 1997 the party returned from the boycott of the March 1992 legislative elections to win 43 seats in the National Assembly out of 180 seats against 109 for the CPDM coming second position. The party became a formidable voice in legislative debate in the National Assembly of Cameroon. On June 30, 2002, the number of seats dropped to 22 against 149 for the CPDM party. July 22, 2007 legislative elections saw another drop with 14 seats for the SDF in the National Assembly against 140 for its main challenger, the CPDM²⁵. This election saw Budjung James who

¹⁶ Achoh Simon, 70 years old, Retired teacher, interview with author March 15, 2024 in Bamenda.

¹⁷ Achoh Simon was the SDF Pioneer Mayor of Bamenda 1 Council from 2007-2013

¹⁸ Ofon Mathias, 77 years old, Retired Diplomat, interview with author, January 20, 2024 in Bamenda

¹⁹ George Ngwane, "Opposition Politics and Electoral Democracy in Cameroon, 1992-2007", *Africa Development, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, (2014), 106

²⁰ Tata Goerge, 49 years old, Court Registrar, conversation with author, January 10, 2024 in Bamenda

²¹ Tata George was SDF Secretary to Hon. Banezem, SDF parliamentary group leader at the Cameroon National Assembly.

²² George Ngwane, "Opposition Politics and Electoral Democracy in Cameroon, 1992-2007", *Africa Development, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, (2014), 106

²³ Dieudonne N Tshyhoho, Cameroon: Electoral knowledge Network, Accessed on June 20, 2025, EMB Case study @<https://aceproject.org>ACE

²⁴ Ministry of Justice, Accessed on June 20, 2025, Minjustice.Org. law no.2006/001 of December 29, 2006 @<https://197.159.3.34>,

²⁵ George Ngwane, *Opposition Politics and Electoral Democracy in Cameroon, 1992-2007, Africa Development, Council for the*

returned from the United States and was invested as the SDF candidate for Tubah-Bafut constituency due to the role he played in the SDF in USA²⁶. In 2013, the party scored 18 seats and 14 senators following the first Senate elections of the same year while its senate seats reduced to 7 in 2018. In 2020 legislative and Municipal elections, the number of seats in the National Assembly were reduced to 5. This steady decline in the result of the SDF party in presidential and legislative elections was equally the same scenario in municipal elections.

Challenges of Cameroon Diasporas in party politics

The question of voting rights by Cameroon Diasporas

According to law no. 911/JL/AN of the electoral code of Cameroon, diasporas who have double nationality are not allow to vote or hold elective post of responsibilities in government²⁷. Therefore, since independence and reunification in 1961, Cameroon diaspora do not take part in voting out of the country as observed in many countries. The struggle for diaspora voting rights was not only the preoccupation of opposition members in the diasporas. Even CPDM militants abroad clamored for it. That was why David Mvondo Mvondo, president of the CPDM section of Northern France from 2007 stated that one of the priorities in his agenda was to obtain the right to vote by diasporas. Pierre Mila Assouté, president of the *Rassemblement démocratique pour la Modernization du Cameroun* (R.D.M.C), based in France affirmed to have written many memoranda to attract the attention of the international community on the refusal of the government of Paul Biya to grant voting rights to Cameroonian compatriots abroad²⁸.

Some of the Cameroonian diasporas organizations that fought for voting rights for Cameroonians abroad was the SDF and *Collectif des Organization Démocratique et Patriotique des Cameroounais de la Diaspora* (CODE). Since its creation in 2003, CODE worked together with the SDF in view of the Cameroon presidential elections of October 2004. Members of these organizations were more attached to mobilise Cameroonians in the diaspora towards the quest for Cameroon diaspora right to vote and an independent electoral commission and equally

sensitisation of the international community on certain situations on the violation of human rights in Cameroon. To show its desire for Cameroonians to vote abroad, CODE and the SDF placed a ballot box in Trocadero-Paris and its members voted symbolically during the presidential elections of October 2004 in Cameroon. (See picture below for clarity). Though with no impact on the results of the election in Cameroon, they showed the enthusiasm of Cameroonian diasporas to participate effectively in elections organised in Cameroon²⁹.

Cameroonians in Paris expressing their enthusiasm to vote during the 2004 presidential elections in Cameroon



Sources: Edimo Manga, 2008

Though the symbolic vote did not have any effect on the result of the presidential election of that year, the gesture showed the diaspora anxiety to take part in elections organised in Cameroon.

Diasporas constraints to political party financing

According to Section 278 of the electoral code of Cameroon, “it shall be forbidden for any political party to receive subsidies or funding from foreign persons, organisations, power and /or States”³⁰. The law further outlines other instruments put in place for private funding of political parties by candidates. This was a challenge not only to the diasporas but also to political parties. The political parties are mostly funded by the State through State funds. Funds which often come late. These political parties have militants abroad with financial power to support political activities at home but due to the strings placed on the financing of political parties, Cameroon diasporas are restricted from funding political parties in Cameroon. This law probably favours the ruling CPDM party

Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, (2014), 107

²⁶Achoh Simon, 70 years old, Retired teacher, interview with author March 15, 2024 in Bamenda

²⁷ Law Relating to the Electoral Code, National Assembly of Cameroon, Lill No. 911/JL/AN, April 13, 2012,77 Accessed on June 29, 2024, <https://www.assnat.cm>.

²⁸ Teke Collins., “Diaspora and political Alterations”, in *Time Scape magazine*, No. 008, (August/ September 2011)

²⁹Edimo Manga M.R, “La participation des diasporas Camerounaises de France et de Grande-Bretagne à la vie politique Nationale : émergence et consolidation de la citoyenneté à distance”, (Mémoire de Master, Université de Yaoundé II), 2008, 110

³⁰Law Relating to the Electoral Code, National Assembly of Cameroon, Lill No. 911/JL/AN, April 13, 2012,77 Accessed on June 29, 2024, <https://www.assnat.cm>.

with public resources at its disposal to carry out political activities to the disadvantage of the opposition parties, consequently the poor performances of the opposition political parties.

However, Teke argued that following pressure in and out of the country, on July 13, 2011, the law providing voting rights to Cameroonians with single citizenship residents outside the country was promulgated by President Paul Biya³¹. This law stated that Cameroonians in the diasporas could participate by voting abroad in presidential elections and referendums taking place in Cameroon³². This was prelude to the 2011 presidential elections. For many Cameroonians living beyond their national borders, it was a huge breath of relief: “The electoral apartheid is over in Cameroon” the words of Pierre Mila Assouté, a member of the opposition living in France. According to him, the fortress of denial of citizenship on the basis of residence has fallen. The same sense of fulfilment was voiced by Macaire Lemdja, who also resided in France. Lemdja added, however that it was a timid first step towards satisfying the demands of this portion of the Cameroonian population. According to him, the legislation called for many others.³³ This Was first because, the law did not extend to representative elections (municipal and legislative elections) and secondly because 85% of Cameroonian abroad have double nationality. However, the law permitted a section of Cameroonian diasporas to take part in voting during the 2011 presidential election for the first time. This affected militants of the SDF party in the diasporas as they were able to cast their votes in favour of their presidential candidates.

The SDF diasporas and presidential elections in Cameroon

Since the law granting voting rights to Cameroon diasporas was passed in 2011, Cameroonians in the diasporas have taken part in two presidential elections. The results of the elections actually indicated significant votes from the diasporas on the SDF ticket.

In the 2011 presidential elections, the number of Cameroonian diasporas that registered on the electoral list in view of that election of October 2011 was 24,372. Of this number, 16,192 effectively voted in the forty countries where the voting took place.³⁴ This number of voters corresponded to the rate of participation of 66.43%. The result from abroad gave the CPDM candidate Paul Biya winner of the voting abroad with 67.733% of votes against 10.729% votes for SDF candidate, Ni John Fru Ndi. This was followed by CDU candidate, Adamu Ndam Njoya, who registered 5.591% of votes. Cameroon People's Party (CPP) Candidate, Edith Kabang Walla, who was at the fourth position, obtained 4.173% of votes³⁵. The CPDM having a majority of the votes in the diasporas believed to be the hoop of opposition can be justified on the fact that voting rights were granted only to those with Cameroonian nationality who were a minority. Some of these Cameroonians with Cameroonian nationalities were in most cases diplomats who were equally sympathisers of the CPDM. However, Cameroonians in the diasporas voted in the 2011 presidential elections in Cameroon and the results equally indicated the SDF's strength in the diaspora as the party came second after the CPDM. The table below is an explicit of diasporas results in the 2011 presidential election.

³¹Law No. 2011/13 of July 13, 2011 Relating to Voting by Cameroonian Citizens Settled or Residing Abroad, July 13, 2011. Accessed on June 29, 2024, <https://www.assnat.cm>.

³² Law Relating to the Electoral Code, National Assembly of Cameroon, Lill No. 911/JL/AN, April 13, 2012, 76-77 Accessed on June 29, 2024, <https://www.assnat.cm>.

³³Teke Collins., “Diaspora and political alterations”, in *Time Scape magazine*, No. 008, (August/ September 2011)19.

³⁴ Lebe, Frédéric, “La diaspora Camerounaise de Belgique et l'exercice du droit de vote”. (Mémoire de Master, Faculté des sciences économiques, sociales, politiques et de communication, Université Catholique de Louvain, 2020), 112

³⁵Dieudonne N Tshyhoho, Cameroon: Electoral knowledge Network, Accessed on June 20, 2025, EMB Case study @<https://aceproject.org>ACE.

General statistics of the results of the 2011 presidential elections with that of the diaspora included

No.	Place of vote	No. of registered voters	Effective voters	% of participation	Null votes	Total number of votes
01	Cameroon	7,497,279	4,935,242	65.82%	113,741	4,821,601
02	Diasporas	24,372	16,192	66.43%	544	15,648
03	General total	7,521,651	4,951,434	65.82%	114,285	4,837,249

Sources: Report of the supreme court of Cameroon on the proclamation of the results of the presidential elections, 2011, Accessed on May 18, 2024, <https://www.CRTV Web.com>.

According to the statistics above, total number of registered voters in the diasporas was 24,372. Diasporas effective votes considered was 15,648 votes making a percentage 0.32% of diasporas votes to the general vote casted in the elections.

On October 7, 2018 Cameroonians in the diasporas took part in the presidential elections for the second time. According to official results published by the Constitutional Council on October 22, 2018 and broadcasted live by the state media CRTV, the results were thus: Total number registered voters stood at: 6,667, 754. Total voters were 3,590,681 with 52,716 blank votes giving a total percentage of participation at 53.85%. The C.P.D.M candidate Paul Biya emerged winner with 71.28%. the rest of the results were as follows: Maurice Kamto 14.23%, Cabral Libii 6.28%, Joshua Osih 3.35%, Adamu Ndam Njoya 1.73%, Garga Hamah 1.55%, Afanwi Ndifor 0.67%, Serge Espoir Matomba 0.56% and Akere Muna 0.35%. it should be noted that a few days to the elections, Akere declared his support for Maurice Kamto which influenced some of his supporters to cast their votes in favour of the C.R.M of Maurice Kamto. However, the results of the Diasporas which is the focus of our study are presented on the table below.

As concerned the diasporas which is our focus, 13,076 actually voted in the diasporas against 16,192 in 2011. The table below analysis the results of the 1st four candidates in the diasporas in order of merits.

Statistics of the 2018 Presidential election in the Diasporas.

No.	Candidates	Africa	Europe	North America	Asia
01	Paul Biya (C.P.D.M)	49.22%	51.97%	83.85%	71.91%
02	Maurice Kamto (C.R.M)	33.33%	30.95%	8.46%	8.03%
03	Cabral Libii (Universe)	9.51%	14.41%	0.14%	10.03%
04	Joshua Osih (S.D.F)	3.71%	1.87%	1.54%	?

Source: Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), [@CRTV-web](https://www.CRTVweb) October 22, 2018, Accessed on June 20, 2024

Statistics from the table shows the SDF party coming fourth in the diasporas and reflecting the general results of the election which placed Joshua Osih Fourth. The result of the SDF party in Asia was not available at the time of our research though it could not go above 5% considering the final results. Therefore, from these statistics, the drop by the SDF in the diaspora indicated that more sympathisers were losing faith in the party as compared to the 2011 results to the advantage of the CRM party. The drop in the total number of voters in the diasporas could be justified on the unresolved political crisis in the Northwest and Southwest regions since 2016 that worked in favor of voter apathy.

Conclusion

Political stake holders in and out of Cameroon argued that the playing field in Cameroon does not work in favor of opposition political parties winning elections. With no genuine independent or neutral persons within the Independent Electoral Commission (be it the National Elections Observatory or Elections

Cameroon)³⁷. The law of 2011 granting voting rights only to Cameroonians with single nationality is considered bias while the electoral code adopted by parliament in 2012 was also considered unfair by opposition political parties and civil society³⁸. However, the SDF could equally share its blame in its dwindling results; article 8.2, has dismissed most of its influential members and lack of democracy (investiture) within the party has led to a steady decline of the SDF party³⁹.

From the analysis, the once treasured opposition party, the SDF is moving to oblivion if measures are not taken. The good will of the ruling government to collaborate with all political beneficiaries to reform or re-examine the nature of elections in Cameroon while

³⁷ Ngufor, Joseph, Ayafor, 75 Years old, Driver, interview with author, March 02, 2024 in Bamenda

³⁸ Ngufor Joseph is SDF councilor of the Bamenda III Council since 2020

³⁹ Achoh Simon, 70 years old, Retired teacher, interview with author, March 15, 2024 in Bamenda

the question of dual nationality for Cameroonians living abroad can be placed on the table to allow a majority Cameroon diasporas take part in elections in Cameroon. Within the SDF and other opposition parties, investitures could be made more democratic from the grassroots while a coalition among political parties could be given a priority. According to Ngwane, if the positive peaceful avenue fails, pro-democracy movements in civil society may throw caution to the winds and shed all party influences to flood the streets for a repeat of the 1991 Ghost town experiences that yielded some fruits with some measure political reforms⁴⁰.

References

- [1] ACE, Electoral knowledge Network, Final Report, Presidential Elections of October 9, 2011, Accessed on June 10, 2024, <https://www.Aceproject.org>.
- [2] Anyangwe, Carlson, 75 years old, Professor of Law in South Africa, conversation with author through WhatsApp, June 20, 2024
- [3] Awang, Ekongwe Daniel, "African Diaspora: The case of Cameroonians in England, 1951-2010", PhD Thesis, Faculty of Arts, University of Buea, 2014
- [4] Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV), [https://www.CRTVweb\(@CRTV-web\)](https://www.CRTVweb(@CRTV-web)) October 22, 2018, Accessed on June 20, 2024
- [5] Collins, Teke, "Diaspora and political Alterations", in *Time Scape magazine*, No. 008, (August/ September 2011)
- [6] Frédéric, Lebe, "La diaspora Camerounaise de Belgique et l'exercice du droit de vote". Mémoire de Master, Faculté des sciences économiques, sociales, politiques et de communication, Université Catholique de Louvain, 2020
- [7] Law No. 1968-LF-3 of the June 11, 1968 to set up Cameroon Nationality Code, Accessed on May 31, 2025, <https://www.refworld.org>.
- [8] Law No. 2011/13 of 13 July 2011 Relating to Voting by Cameroonian Citizens Settled or Residing Abroad, Accessed on June 29, 2024, <https://www.assnat.cm>
- [9] Law Relating to the Electoral Code, National Assembly of Cameroon, Lill No. 911/JL/AN, April 13, 2012, Accessed on June 29, 2024, <https://www.assnat.cm>.
- [10] Manga, Edimo M.R, "La participation des diasporas Camerounaises de France et de Grande-Bretagne à la vie politique Nationale : émergence et consolidation de la citoyenneté à distance", Mémoire de Master, Université de Yaoundé II, 2008.
- [11] Mathias, Ofon, 77 years old, Retired Diplomat, interview by author, January 20, 2024 in Bamenda
- [12] Ministry of Justice, law no.2006/001 of December 29, 2006, Accessed on June 20, 2025, @<https://www.Minjustice.Org>.197.159.3.34
- [13] Monju, Yembe, Ngwafor, "Revisiting the SDF story: Born running", *SDF Journal*, (October 2012)
- [14] Mukong, Albert, *Prisoner Without a Crime: Disciplining Dissent in Ahidjo's Cameroon*, (Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG, 2009)
- [15] Ngufor, Joseph, Ayafor, 75 Years old, Driver, interview by author, March 02, 2024 in Bamenda.
- [16] Ngwane, George, *Opposition Politics and Electoral Democracy in Cameroon, 1992-2007*, *Africa Development, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, 2014
- [17] Official Gazette of the Republic of Cameroon, Law no.90/053 of December 19, 1990 relating to freedom of Association, January 1, 1991
- [18] Report of the Supreme Court of Cameroon on the proclamation of the results of the presidential elections, 2011, Accessed on May 18, 2024, <https://www.CRTV Web.com>.
- [19] Simon, Achoh, 70 years old, Retired teacher, interview by author, March 15, 2024 in Bamenda.
- [20] Tata Goerge, 49 years old, Court Registrar, conversation with author, January 10, 2024 in Bamenda
- [21] The Constitution, Internal Rules and Regulations, Standing Orders of the Convention of the Social Democratic Front, May 27, 2006, Private Archive of Tata George,
- [22] Tshyhoho, Dieudonne N, "Cameroon: EMB Case study, ACE Electoral knowledge Network", Accessed on June 20, 2025, @<https://www.aceproject.org>.
- [23] United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, December 19, 1966, Accessed on May 31, 2025, <https://www.treaties.un.org>.

⁴⁰George Ngwane, *Opposition Politics and Electoral Democracy in Cameroon, 1992-2007*, *Africa Development, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, (2014)