

**THE  
NEW SOCIAL ORDER**

**BEHOLD I MAKE ALL THING NEW  
-Revelation 21:5**

**DINKA & Co.  
Solicitors, Advocats  
P.O. Box 4045  
Bamenda, Cameroon  
Tel: 36-13-73  
Fongum GORJI-DINKA, B.A., B-L  
Of Lincoln's Inn London  
Solicitor & Advocate  
Ex-President, Council of the Bar of Cameroon  
Ex-Batonnier du Barreau du Cameroun**

**DATE: 20/3/1985**

H.E. Comrade P. Biya  
Bamenda Congress  
Your Excellency

Find enclosed an address which I had thought could be delivered at the Congress, and which could transform the Congress into a forum for the reconstruction of our own institutions, those of Ahidjo having been peacefully swept away by God in his mysterious way. I would suggest you read Exodus 7:3-5, 9:16-17 and also 1 Samuel 18: 10, John 12:40-42 and see how he whom God wants to destroy is first possessed buy an evil spirit sent by God to blind him or make him engage in self protectionist arrogance.

So brother, beware how you dismiss this. I am willing to discuss with you or any of the commissions on this matter.

God be with you.

Yours Respectfully,  
Fongum Gorji-Dinka.

## **NATIONAL INTEGRATION OR DISINTEGRATION?**

Our country, like many other African countries, is in reality a confederation of interdependent ethnic, religious and cultural communities. National integration of these communities is therefore a national objective, which is the duty of each and every individual or section of the component communities.

For some time now, there have been activities, which have put the entire concept of integration in jeopardy. Individuals, groups, and even the government are guilty of bringing us to the brink of total disintegration.

### **FROM FOUMBAN TO ZERO**

You will remember, in August 1961, the Republic of Cameroun entered into negotiations with Southern Cameroons for a union of the two states. This was in the ancient Kingdom City of Foumban. The Republic of Camroun delegation was led by Ahmadou Ahidjo, and the Southern Cameroons by John Ngu Foncha. The two states arrived at complete accord, which became known as the Foumban Accord. Every detail of that Accord was so important that the entire Accord took the form of, and became the constitution of the Union. This became known as the Foumban Constitution.

Under the constitution, the two states submerged their respective identities and became federated states of the union. The republic of Cameroon submerged its identity and became East Cameroon. Similarly, Southern Cameroons submerged its identity and became West Cameroon.

### **The constitution shared power:**

- (a) Territorially, i.e., between the states and the center
- (b) Institutionally i.e. between the executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature
- (c) Personality-wise i.e. the Executive power was shared by the

President and the State Prime Ministers; while legislative power was shared by State Deputies and Federal Deputies.

In this way the guarantee of security for the individual were institutionalized. Article 47 of that Fouban Constitution set out the procedure for modifying or revising the constitution. It stipulated that in order for any modification or revision to be valid it must have been introduced into the Union Legislature, (which was known as the Federal National Assembly) for debate, and must have been approved by a special majority. That special majority was defined as that in which a majority of the Federal Deputies from West Cameroon joined in voting approval, along with a majority of the Federal Deputies from East Cameroon. Consequently, if five of the ten Deputies then representing West Cameroon at that time, voted against any proposed amendment, that was enough to block the amendment.

### **AHIDJO's COUP D'ETAT**

So after the so-called Referendum of 20th May 1972, the entire country was waiting for the text of Ahidjo's proposed constitution to go before the Federal National Assembly for debate in conformity with Article 47 of the Constitution. But to the surprise of every one Ahidjo refused to obey our constitution. He feared that his proposed constitution would be rejected by the Federal National Assembly. So Ahidjo decided to stage a coup d'etat upon Cameroon.

He issued the notorious proclamation DF72-270 of 2/672 by which he:

- (a) abrogated the Fouban Accord
- (b) abolished the Fouban Constitution, and
- (c) imposed upon us his own constitution which he had secretly and unilaterally drawn up.

Then, with that constitution, which became known as the Constitution of the United Republic of Cameroon, alias Ahidjo

---

Constitution, he assumed powers o rule by ordinances as a dictator for one year. During this period, he demolished all the institutions of the Federation, that is to say:

- (a) the legislature and the government of East Cameroon
- (b) the legislature, the government and the House of Chiefs of West Cameroon
- (c) the legislature and the government of the federation of Cameroon.

He then installed his so-called United Republic of Cameroon and the system of government by which Cameroun, its people and resources became forfeited to whoever becomes Head of State. He also set up institutions and men to operate that system. And that is the system which we have today and which is now disintegrating our people.

Instead of government by dialogue, we have government by terror. Instead of legislation by debate, we have legislation by ambush. Instead of law and order by persuasion we have law and order by banditry and piracy. He Ahidjo himself has since been referring to it as "Peaceful Revolution."

A revolution of Coup d'etat, whether it be violent or peaceful, has only one result. It sets aside the constitutional government and installs a junta in its place. And a junta is defined as a government whose authority to govern, is derived from force or the threat of force. Thus from 2nd June 1972, our country passed from the era of constitutional government to that of a junta. Today's government, today's institutions, today's system and today's style of leadership were installed by a junta. And that is the junta system we must destroy otherwise it will destroy us.

That Ahidjo Constitution plus the machinery of the peculiar style of one party system, which we operate effectively, put in the hands of the President of Cameroun:

- (a) all the powers exercised by the State;
-

- (b) all the powers exercised by the center,
- (c) all the powers of the legislatures of the region, and
- (d) all the powers of the Federal legislature.

Elections of any type have become a mere ritual. In fact, it is the president who appoints people as councilors in Municipalities, appoints their chairman, appoints members of Parliament, and appoints the Speaker. And he can dismiss anyone just as easily as Musa Yaya was dismissed.

As for life itself, the system offers no security. Under the system, one could only have guarantee of personal security if he was a friend of the president or his tribesmen. And since no human being likes to live in a state of fear and insecurity, what this system has done is to make an open invitation to each ethnic group to fight to install its tribe's man in power, so as to have guarantee of personal security.

The first answer to that invitation came on 6/4/1984. Human lives in numbers were lost and much misery and seething desire for revenge remains. Yet this is only the first answer to that revenge. And it is a child's play, when compared with what will happen when the time bomb of this system explodes. And the clumsy arrogance and greed of the ethnic group now in power has already ignited the fuse leading to the bomb.

The daily exhortation of vigilance and the increased security tension mounting daily, only confirm the fact that every one, government or the governed, in uniform or not, in town or village, everyone now lives in daily expectation of that explosion.

That is the brink of disintegration to which the Ahidjo junta system has brought us and unless we change this system at once, we must expect a violent total disintegration, mass self-destruction. Is that what we want?

Then, why are we trying to prop up and sustain a system which we hate, and which God has liquidated, first by banishing the architects and then abolishing all its institutions?

### **ABROGATION OF THE FOUMBAN ACCORD**

The most disastrous consequence of the Ahidjo coup d'etat was that by abolishing the Fouban Constitution it ipso facto abrogated the Accord, which held the two states together in union. The abrogation of that accord effectively dissolved the Union. And the fact that the two states continue to camouflage as the so-called "United Republic of Cameroun" did not change the fact that the legal basis for the union had been brought to an end. From that day, the relationship between the two countries has no legal basis. It is like a marriage, which unknown to neighbors has been dissolved by the Court, but the man and the woman continue to live together under the same roof.

Now from the moment the Fouban Accord was abrogated, the junta has moved us from one illegality to another, from one constitutional act to another, and from one invalidity to another, until we have arrived at the point, where we now do not know any institutions that are legally valid, at all.

For on 21st July 1983, law No.83-11 of 21/7/83 was promulgated, amending the Ahidjo Constitution. It repealed article 12 of the Ahidjo Constitution by which the Deputies acquired their parliamentary mandate in May 1983. Elementary principles of law require that when a new law repeals an old one, but still wants to save something of the old one, then the new law should have stated that the parliamentary mandate of our Deputies who were elected under the old law, had been converted into a mandate under the new law. That would have saved their mandate from repeal.

But either by design or neglect, no such clause was included. Consequently the new law not only repealed the old law but also effectively put an end to the mandate of our present Deputies,

which rested on the old law. So law No. 83-11 of 21/7/83 effectively dissolved the National Assembly of the United Republic of Cameroon, with effect from 21/7/83, the day of its promulgation.

We pointed this out to General Semengue, who advised us to submit a memorandum, which he promptly delivered to President Biya. The Memorandum pointed out to President Biya that Law 83-11 of 21/7/83 had effectively dissolved the National Assembly and that only new elections can give him valid parliament to work with!

Yet in November 1983 the same un-mandated Deputies were convened to pass a law, which President Biya promptly promulgated, giving him the right to organize the Presidential elections of 14/1/83. Then on 21/1/84, the same un-mandated Deputies were convened to another session to enable Comrade Biya to take his second oath as President of United Republic of Cameroun. Then followed more and more amendments to the Ahidjo Constitution by that invalid assembly.

Of course, once Deputies have lost their mandate the National Assembly becomes invalid and all laws passed by that National Assembly are absolutely null and utterly void.

Now the final blow to the entire edifice of Ahidjo came on 4/2/84. On that day Comrade Biya promulgated law No.84-001 of 4/2/84 abolishing the United Republic of Cameroun whose President he was. Again either by design or by default the law failed to include a clause stating that the institutions of United Republic of Cameroun were to be retained as in situations of the newly revived Republic of Cameroun. So the law abolished all the institutions of the United Republic of Cameroun with it. Since the revived Republic of Cameroun has not yet set up its own institutions, it has neither a government nor a legislature nor any other institution of administration. So Comrade Paul Biya is neither President of the United Republic of Cameroun, which has been abolished not of newly revived Republic of Cameroun.

So not only has God taken off the tyrant Ahidjo, but has also peacefully brought down all the institutions set up by him. We thank God for this excellent work for his people.

## **SECESSION AND ANNEXATION**

We now come to the sad end of the story. By reviving the old Republic of Cameroun, which the Fouban Accord had submerged in order to create a Federation with Southern Cameroons-on-Ambas, the Republic of Cameroun has irretrievably well seceded from the union. The frontiers of the Southern Cameroons-on-Ambas are also internationally well recognized.

So, unless a new Accord is concluded so as to create a basis for the union between the two States, any claim by the Republic of Cameroun to govern Southern Cameroons-on-Ambas, would simply mean annexation pure and simple. That is international law. The fact that persons of Southern Cameroons-on-Ambas are holding positions in the so-called government of the Republic of Cameroun only corresponds to the French system of colonialism, by which people of African colonies were appointed to the government and parliament in France.

So, those who may have developed this diabolic annexationist plan want Southern Cameroons-on-Ambas to be regarded and treated as a colony of the Republic of Cameroun. Now let it be stated very clearly that no one in his correct senses will ever accept this annexation. Those who are behind this shameful plot will only succeed (in making us a colony) over our dead bodies. There is a limit to which any human being can go to accommodate insults, even from a brother. If the expression "Southern Cameroons" has exposed us to any annexationist ambitions, then we will henceforth call ourselves **AMBAZONIA**.

## **TWO OPTIONS**

There are now two options before us in this respect. One of them is a violent option, and the other I peaceful. The violent

---

option is that which persists that Southern Cameroonians-on-Ambas, alias Ambazonia has been annexed and so it should be governed as a colony of the Republic of Cameroun. Anyone who may be contemplating such a violent option should take note that if they hope to use the present forces of law and order they are mistaken. First, our forces are tired and ashamed of being made to kill their own brothers. Secondly, by this very expose any sensible man ought to know that a split along lines of nationalities will paralyze the forces. No sane Anglophone will fire at his kith and kin for refusing to accept colonial status. On the contrary, they will fight annexation on hills, on housetops, in the villages, in the air, at sea and anywhere, until that shameful monster called annexation is destroyed.

Let who ever thinks of a violent option remember that he is inviting foreign intervention from mercenaries, from the notorious international gendarmes who usually supply arms to both sides, whose hands we see behind this shameful gambit. Finally, any hostilities here will certainly invite intervention from neighboring countries, such as Nigeria.

Nigeria's tight program of economic recovery is of such vital national importance that the government of Nigeria will not sit idle and watch a meaningless annexationist war here flood Nigeria with thousands of Nigerian residents and English Speaking Cameroonian refugees-who together number more than two and a half million. So that is what the violent option implies. It there anyone here in favor of the violent option? If there is any such person, let him stand up and be counted. So the option now left is the peaceful one. The peaceful option admits the facts as they have been stated.

(a) That the Ahidjo system has been dissolved and abolished by its own laws.

(b) That there is no legally valid system of government now neither for the Republic of Cameroun, nor for Southern Cameroons on-Ambas alias Ambazonia, nor of the union of the two states.

(c) That our task now is to set up a machinery for bringing about a new system of administration for our people.

The truth about life is that each and every one of us is a mere tool in the hands of God. As you can see, we may think we are in full command of a situation. But indeed it is God who indeed is using us.

When Comrade Paul Biya and Ahidjo initiated the law L83-11 of 21/7/83, did they know that they were initiating the liquidation of the institutions of Ahidjo whom God had quietly overthrown? When Comrade Paul Biya initiated the Law L84-001 of 4/2/84 did he know that he was signing his own exit from power? That is the work of God.

Today we are answering the call, which as Comrade Paul Biya ably declared—"History has been inviting us since 6/11/82 to bring about a profound change in our national life style." He specially invited the elite when he said: "The elite must become the architect of the profound change—and bring about a new social order."

God has heard the prayer of our people and has raised up the architects to build the new order.

We have here with us the pillars of reconstruction and we are laying them down in a foundation created by God.

"For except the Lord builds, they toil in vain who say they are building."

## **CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY**

We now have to fall back on natural law.

The people here present represent each and every part of the two states. As natural juristic persons they can make any arrangements and conclude any accord to keep the day-to-day

administration functioning while the detail system of government I being worked out.

So this Assembly by natural law becomes what legal and constitutional lawyers would call a Constituent Assembly of the "Confederation of Two States." By doing this we are assuming that we can agree on at least a confederal type of Union.

While those of West of the Mungo become the Constituent Assembly of Southern Cameroons alias Ambazonia, those of the East of the Mungo River become the Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Cameroun.

### **INTERIM ARRANGMENT**

Now pending the arrangement on the exact terms of the union between the two states we can at least agree on certain guide lines.

(a) Ethnic groups shall be carved into provinces and each province shall have a government and a legislature to deal with subjects to be assigned to provincial competence under the new constitution.

(b) The constitutional arrangements that operate in each of the States before the Fouban Accord was concluded, would be harmonized with necessary modifications, and would serve as interim constitution of each state.

(c) On the Confederal level i.e. the union of two states-we propose that the present administration continue as an interim set up, under the supreme authority of this joint constituent assembly. The authority of the assembly, for practical purposes will be vested in a Council of Reconstruction of the Confederation (CORECO) which will consist of nine persons from each side of the Mungo River.

(d) Three members of the forces of law and order will be added as advices to each delegation.

## **THE FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CONFEDERATION (CORECO).**

(1) To assume with effect from here and now all the executive powers and functions of the government, so that all Ministries and Para-public bodies now operate under its authority and become answerable to the CORECO.

(2) To set up interim administration for each state in accordance with the interim constitution we have proposed.

(3) To gradually phase out the present system as the new systems comes into operation.

(4) To set up a body to work out a detailed system of government based on four steps:

The Municipal

The Provincial

The State

The Confederal

(5) To see to the installation of all these by electoral process that is reasonably democratic.

(6) To hand power over to the institutions and withdraw, within six (6) months from now.

## **PROPOSAL FOR A NEW SYSTEM**

### **REGIONAL STRUCTURE**

1. The Two States shall each be divided into Provincial Governments. The State of Republic of Cameroun shall have not

---

less than Eight nor more than Thirteen Provinces. The State of Southern Cameroons alias AMBAZONIA shall have not less than Two and not more than Five Provinces.

2. The two States shall together form a Union. The details of this shall be the subject of negotiations and accords. Opportunity shall be made for the admission of any neighboring state to the union. Any modification necessary to preserve the identity of any such states seeking to join the Union shall be so made.

## **INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE**

### **3. PROVINCE**

A Province shall have:

Legislative Council-LEGCO

(a) Executive Council-EXCO

### **4. THE STATE**

A State shall have:

(a) Parliament-Legislature

(b) Government-Executive

### **5. CONFEDERATION**

The Confederation shall have:

(a) Congress-Legislature

(b) Confedium-Executive

## **POWER STRUCTURE**

### **6. PROVINCE**

The following subjects shall be within the competence of the Province:

Rural and Community Development

Co-operative and Mutuality

Agriculture and Animal Breeding

Vernacular & Nursery Education

Rural Health and Preventive Services.

And such other subjects as the state may find more suitable to devolve on the Province. The subjects under provincial competence shall not exclude the responsibility or intervention of the State for the purpose of harmony and efficiency of the services.

### **7. THE STATE**

All matters which do not fall within the Exclusive Competence of the Confederation-Are within the competence of the State.

### **8. THE CONFEDERATION**

#### **(a) Exclusive Competence**

Nationality, Monetary System, weights and measures, Customs, Post and Telecommunications, Penitentiary Administration, External Defense and Security, Inter-State Services and Conflicts, Judicial Organization and Administration of Justice (except Customary Courts), Aviation, Confederal Civil Service, and Skeleton Legislation co-ordinatory and harmonizational in nature for guidance of State and Provincial authority.

**(b) Concurrent with State Competence**

Public liberties, State and Inter-State Defense and Security, Media, Information, Commerce, Industry, Banking, Insurance, Roads, Transport, Ports, Higher Education, Research, Public Accountability.

**DESIGNNATIONS**

The following designations shall carry the meanings herewith attributed to them:

**CONFEDERATION**

9. (a) The President-Head of State

(c) The Chancellor-Head of Government

(d) Minister-Minister of State in the Confederal Government

(e) Chancellor-President of the Congress.

**10. STATE**

(a) The Prior: Ceremonial Head representing the President

(b) The Prime Minister-Head of Government

(c) Secretary of State: Minister in the Service of the State Government.

(d) The Speaker: President of State Assembly.

**11. PROVINCE**

(a) The Delegate General: Head of the Province representative of Head of State.

(b) The Commissioner-General: Head of the Provincial Government

(c) Commissioner-Minister in Provincial Government

(d) The Co-coordinator-The President of the Provincial Assembly.

There must be a question in your minds about what role Paul Biya is to play in the new social order. The answer is simple. The principles we have already adopted will decide a role for each of us. All of the two states and us are placed at the disposal of the Constituent Assembly of the Confederation whose Executive is the CORECO. CORECO will certainly find a fitting role for every one willing to serve. To be sure, either by discrete silence or by action, Paul Biya and each of us have played the role God has given us. So will each of us be given a role in the new order by God? We thank our Father God for His Mercy. It imposes on us mercy on each other and love for each other. So let us first constitute the Council for the reconstruction of the Confederation (CORECO).

Note: An Organigram containing the above stipulations on the structures of the Confederation was then attached to the New Social Order as its last page.