

**A HISTORY OF THE CAMEROON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
INDUSTRY AND MINES 1884-1988**

BY

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to
my late father, John Halle
Mukong and to the Almighty
God for His unceasing love and
care.

SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

CERTIFICATION

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS -

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INDUSTRY AND MINES 1884 - 1968

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ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to discuss the historical evolution of the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines since 1884 and its impact on the economic development of Cameroon from 1961-1988.

A Chamber of Commerce is a voluntary non-profit making organization of merchants, manufacturers, financiers, business and professional men, organized on regional and urban basis. Two distinct categories of chambers generally exist: The Gaullist type and the Anglo-Saxon type. By virtue of its political evolution, Cameroon experienced both types. The Kamerun Chamber of Commerce had a brief spell in the economic life of German Kamerun with both German and British companies competing for commercial enterprises within the territory. At the end of the First World War, the Kamerun Chamber of Commerce ceased to exist. Cameroon passed to the British and French. The French/British condominium of 1916, modified by the Mandatory system in 1919 ensured continued European colonial rule. But the fundamental economic interests of the imperial masters did not change much. In 1921 the French promulgated a law creating the French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture, which was to be a major source of French control of the Cameroonian economy. On the British side, the economy of British Cameroon was controlled by Britain through the Lagos Chamber of Commerce in Nigeria until 1954, when some measure of autonomy was granted Southern Cameroons leading to the creation of the Southern Cameroons Chamber of Commerce in 1958. The reunification of the two Cameroon in 1961 saw the merger of this Chamber with the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce. Out of this evolution could be seen a vital experience in institutional politico-economic arrangement: the German, Gaullist and Anglo-Saxon types of chamber. This thesis focusses on this critical area of experience, believing that, despite the "type of experience" the Gaullist system promoted the Cameroon economic structure more than the rest. At reunification the Chambers of the Federated states of East and West Cameroon had their headquarters in Douala until August 1963 when a branch was created in Victoria to cater for the economy of West Cameroon. With the emergence of reunified Cameroon in 1972 the Federal Chamber metamorphosed into Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (CCIM). At every level, political changes affected the structure and function of the chambers. Provincial Delegations were created in Douala, Yaounde, Victoria, Garoua, Bafoussam and Bamenda.

President Paul Biya, on his accession to power in 1982, introduced new economic policies. Expanding on Ahidjo's "Self-Reliance Programme", Biya established new agencies such as a National fund for Rural Development (FONADER) and Cameroon Development Bank (BCD), to support his own economic programme of "communal Liberalism". Trade Missions and Industrial work shops, with the CCIM acting as catalyst, were organized both in Cameroon and abroad. Arguments have actually centred on the efficiency of the Chamber and the new economic initiatives. It is discovered that much fundamental changes have not been experienced as government intervention in the administration of the chamber has not stimulated much private sector initiative as to lift the economic performance of the country to an appreciable height.

The Provincial Delegation virtually performed on the same mood, advertising products and forming development associations. Much of what the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce could furnish in terms of infra-structural developments were lopsided and discriminatory. However, through seminars and workshops businessmen were encouraged to engage in profitable undertakings. Later experience, using the Nigerian mode, influenced the need for a new structure of the Chamber with the aim at measures to combat capital flight, elimination of patente, preservation of local agricultural produce from exploitation and taking advantage of clearing-house systems.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. LIST OF ENGLISH ABBREVIATIONS

AA	-	Agricultural Advisor.
AGP	-	African Carribean and Pacific Nations.
AM	-	Assistant Manager.
BBA	-	Bamenda Businesswomen's Association.
BCUP	-	Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers.
CACCIMA	-	Cameroon Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agricultures.
CAMSUCO	-	Cameroon Sugar Company.
CAR	-	Central African Republic.
CARE	-	Cooperation of American Relief Everywhere.
CBA	-	Cameroon Businesswomen's Association.
CCC	-	Cameroon Commercial Corporation.
CDC	-	Cameroon Development Corporation.
CCIM	-	Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines.
CEPIA	-	Centre for the Promotion of Industries in Africa.
CIS	-	Commonwealth of Independent States.
CLD	-	Chamber Library Douala.
COMEDV	-	Commonwealth Development Corporation.
C-NCC	-	Cameroon - Nigerian Chamber of Commerce.
CNPF	-	Patronat - France Employers Association.
CPDM	-	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement.
CRTV	-	Cameroon Radio and Television.
DAL	-	Divisional Archives Limbe.
DUC	-	Dynamic United Company.
ECA	-	Economic Community for Africa.
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States.
EDF	-	European Development Fund.
EEC	-	European Economic Community.
E&F	-	Elders and Fyffes.
FCCCA1	-	French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry.

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FCCCIA	-	French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture.
FCCIM	-	Federal Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines.
FRC	-	Federal Republic of Cameroon.
GATT	-	General Certificate of Education.
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product.
GNI	-	Gross National Income.
GNP	-	Gross National Product.
ICC	-	International chamber of Commerce.
IDA	-	International Development Association.
KCC	-	Kamerun Chamber of Commerce or Kumba Chamber of Commerce.
LCC	-	Lagos Chamber of Commerce.
LCCL	-	Ministry of Industrial and Commercial Development.
MINDIC	-	Ministry of Industrial and Commercial Development.
MINFI	-	Ministry of Finance.
NAB	-	National Archives, Buea.
NACCIMA	-	Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture.
NAY	-	National Archives Yaounde.
NAWCDA	-	Ndong Awing Women's Cultural and Development Association.
NPMB	-	National Produce Marketing Board.
NWCA	-	North West Cooperative Association.
NWPD	-	North West Provincial Delegation.
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity.
OGURC	-	Official Gazette of the Federal Republic of Cameroon.
OGURC	-	Official Gazette of the United Republic of Cameroon.
PAB	-	Provincial Archives Bamenda.
PMI	-	Prenatal Maternal and Infant Welfare.
PMO	-	Produce Marketing Organization.
PROL	-	Public Record Office, London.
SCCC	-	Southern Cameroons Chamber of Commerce.
SCMB	-	Southern Cameroons Marketing Board.
SDO	-	Senior Divisional Officer.

SMSE	-	Small and Medium Scale Enterprises.
SMSI	-	Small and Medium Scale Industries.
SOWEDA	-	South West Development Authority.
UAC	-	United Africa Company.
ULL	-	University of Lagos Library.
URC	-	United Republic of Cameroon.
USA	-	United States of America.
UTC	-	Union Trading Company.
VOL	-	Volume.
WAAC	-	West African Airways Corporation.
WACH	-	West African Clearing House.
WADA	-	Wum Area Development Authority.
WAPV	-	West African Plantation Company, Victoria.
WCCC	-	West Cameroon Chamber of Commerce.
WCDA	-	West Cameroons Development Agency.
WCMB	-	West Cameroons Marketing Board.
WCPMC	-	West Cameroons Produce and Marketing Company.

B. LIST OF FRENCH ABBREVIATIONS

ALICAM	-	Aluminium du Cameroun.
BCC	-	Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce.
BCD	-	Brasseries Glassier D'Indochine.
CAC	-	Crédit Agricole du Cameroun.
CAMSUCO	-	Compagnie Sucrière du Cameroun.
CAPME	-	Centre Nationale d'Assistance aux Petites et Moyennes Entreprises.
CCC	-	Complexe Chimique Cameroun.
CCI	-	Chambre de Commerce Internationale.
CFAO	-	Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale.
CHOCOCAM	-	Chocolerie du Cameroun,
CICAM	-	Cotonnière Industrielle du Cameroun.
CIMENCAM	-	Cimenterie du Cameroun.
FCFA	-	(France) Communauté Financière Africaine.
FED	-	Fonds Européen des Développement.

FONADER	-	Fond Nationale de Developpement Rural.
CFAC	-	Groupement des Femmes d'Affairs Camerounaise.
HEVECAM	-	Hévéas du Cameroun.
INTELCAM	-	Société des Telecommunication Internationales du Cameroun.
JOC	-	Journal Officiel du Cameroun.
JOCF	-	Journal Officiel du Cameroun Francais.
JOTC	-	Journal Officiel du Territoire du Cameroun.
MAISCAM	-	Compagnie Mais du Cameroun.
MIDENO	-	Mission de Developpement du Nord-Ouest.
MIDEVIV	-	Mission de Developpement des Cultures Vivrières.
NOBRA	-	Nouvelle brasseries Africaine.
ORSTOM	-	Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre mer.
PAMOL	-	Nom Commun a toutes les Plantations du Groupe Unilever dans le monde.
SABC	-	Société Anonyme des Brasseries du Cameroun.
SCA	-	Société Commerciale Africaine.
SCAO	-	Société Commerciale Ouest Africaine.
SATEC	-	Société d'Aide Technique et Cooperation.
SEAC	-	Société Entreprise Automobile du Cameroun.
SEMC	-	Société des Eaux Minerales du Cameroun.
SEMRY	-	société d'Expansion et de Modernisation de Riziculture de Yagoua.
SFI	-	Société Financière Internationale.
SHO	-	Société de haut Ogoue.
SIC	-	Société Industrielle Camerounaise du Cacao.
SIPHAC	-	Société Industrielle Pharmaceutique du Cameroun.
SNH	-	Société Nationale de Hydrocarbures.
SOCAPALM	-	Société Camerounaise de Palmeraie.
SOCOPAO	-	Société Commerciale de transit.
SOCATOUR	-	Société de Promotion Publicitaire et de Tourism du Cameroun.
SOCATRAL	-	Société Camerounaise de Traitement de L'Aluminium.
SOCAVER	-	Société Cameroonaise de Verrerie.
SOCINADA	-	Société Cinematographique nationale des Droits d'Auteurs.
SODECAO	-	Société de Developpement du Cacao.
SODECOTON	-	Société de Developpement du Coton du Cameroun.

SODEPA	-	Société de Développement et d'Exploitation de Produits Animaux.
SONAC	-	Société Nationale de Cameroun.
SOMARA	-	Société Nationale de Raffinage.
SONEL	-	Société Nationale d'Electricité du Cameroun.
SOPECAM	-	Société de Presse et d'Édition du Cameroun.
SOSUCAM	-	Société Sucrerie du Cameroun.
TANICAM	-	Tannerie du Cameroun.
UCCAO	-	Union Centrale de Coopération Agricole de L'Ouest.
UCB	-	Union Camerounaise de Brasseries.
UDEAC	-	Union Douanière des États Afrique Centrale.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The impact of Western capitalism and colonialism on Africa and Third World economies has been a major focus of study of many scholars.¹ Yet the modes and/or organs of the capitalist impact have not been fully discussed. One of the organs of control and exploitation by the colonial powers was the Chamber of Commerce established in each colonial territory and having direct links with parent bodies in the metropolis.

1.1 EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

A Chamber of Commerce is a voluntary, non-profit making organization of merchants, manufacturers, financiers, business and professional men, organized either on a regional or urban basis. More importantly, it may be defined as an association of merchants and businessmen for the regulation and promotion of business in a city, locality, or country². In this sense, it is an economic institution with various organs and infrastructures that are employed to project the interests of businessmen in a town, district or country.

A Chamber of Commerce featured in the Roman Empire as early as the twentieth century B.C. It was created to settle disputes amongst merchants and was mandated to establish embassies in the less developed countries of the Roman Empire and to organize trading missions abroad. A body instituted at Marseilles, France in 1599 may be regarded as the earliest organized Chamber of Commerce in modern times.³ It was quasi official and was soon copied in other parts of Europe and the United States of America. From the early period of European history, the nature of the Chamber of Commerce as an organ of imperial economic expansion and exploitation can thus be discerned; In the United States of America the earliest Chamber was that of New Jersey. It was set up in 1763, while the New York Chamber was created in 1768. The first of its kind in Great Britain was the Chamber of Glasgow, created in 1783 to defend and to promote the commercial ambitions of the business sector of its people. It was followed by the London Chamber in 1881.⁴

In Canadian towns, such organisations were associated with general provincial boards of trade.⁵ In many other countries including the United States of America, Belgium, Brazil, Switzerland, Cuba and Australia, national Chambers were federations of local groups. Their functions were to safeguard and to promote the trading and industrial benefits of their members, and to provide direct services to them. Such services included the organisation of marketing services to increase the retail and wholesale trade of their community.

For purposes of analysis in this study, it is necessary at this stage to distinguish the nature of the two types of Chambers of Commerce that exist in the business world. There is the Anglo Saxon type, which is organized by private businessmen⁶. It is autonomous and independent of government intervention. Its members are usually people of common interests who voluntarily enrol as members of the association. This category of Chamber is financed by members through their own subscriptions and levies. The AngloSaxon type is the model that functions in the United States of America and the rest of the Anglo-Saxon world. It pursues laissez faire policies, which lean generally towards the opposition to government intervention in its economic policies. As such, it opposes liberal, social and economic legislation that would otherwise raise the costs of goods and services, thereby reducing profitability and entrepreneurship.⁷ At national conventions of the organization, delegates propose laws that would protect their rights, and oppose those suggested by others that may otherwise jeopardize the operation of their business enterprises. Nonetheless, they would support laws that reduce wages or forbid strikes as these would enable members to reap higher profits. It is characteristic of the members of the Chamber to constitute a powerful lobby to persuade National Assemblies and high ranking government officials to ensure favourable and acceptable policies, which might be profitable to their bilateral and multilateral interactions with other commercial Chambers or business partners⁸. They would strongly oppose any changes that could put their economic interests at stake.

On the other hand, there is also the Gaullist type of Chamber, which originated in France during the sixteenth century. It is of the same model as the one found in the soviet union, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. It is founded and funded by the government with only little support from its members.⁹ The government also appoints all officials and controls the Chamber's activities. This strategy makes it impossible for members to oppose government policies.

The earliest Chamber of Commerce in French West Africa were created in St. Louis and Dakar. The Chamber of St. Louis was inaugurated in 1869, while that of Dakar was founded in 1892.¹⁰

The government consulted these bodies in regard to economic questions. In British West Africa, the Accra (Gold Coast) Chamber of Commerce came into being in 1850 and that of Lagos in 1888.¹¹ It is important to note that these institutions being the earliest on the West Coast of Africa, did a lot to influence the French and British colonial policies on the West African trade.

Since the attainment of political independence by West African countries, several Chambers of Commerce in this region have tended to influence the trade and economic policies of their countries. Another significant point to carry home is that both the Gaullist and the Anglo-Saxon types of Chambers existed in Cameroon during the mandatory period: the Anglo-Saxon type in British Cameroon from 1922 to 1960, and the Gaullist type in French Cameroon from 1921 to 1961. In 1961, the two federated as a result of the reunification of the Anglophone and the Francophone Cameroons.

The idea of Chamber of Commerce in Cameroon could be traced far back to the German colonial period. During the era of the scramble for and subsequently partitioning of Africa from 1879 to 1884, the Germans outwitted the French and the British, and occupied Kamerun. The role the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce played in this deal was quite instrumental to this occupation. Indeed, it was this commercial organization that suggested the possibility of German Colonization of kamerun.¹² Members of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce saw Cameroon as a good source of raw materials for the German industries, and the occupation of the territory was going to offer the Germans the opportunity for optimum exploitation of these raw materials for industrialization back in Germany¹³. Nonetheless, the Germans, the French, the British, and all the other colonial powers, still co-existed, but German trade flourished more in the territory than that of the other nations. In order to further monopolize the supply of certain commodities, such as peanuts, that were being sold to other traders, the German administration forbade indigenous traders from selling them either to the Africans or to foreign buyers¹⁴. This happened to the extent that the Germans put other structures for curbing the commercial advantages and rivalry of other nationals. These structures which originated as German councils in the two major commercial towns of the Colony soon evolved into the Douala and the Kribi Chambers of Commerce. Not much has been said about them probably because German rule in Kamerun was very short-lived. The Germans controlled the destiny of Kamerun's protectorate from 1884, but the idea of creating these Chambers was conceived only in 1904.¹⁵ It therefore implies that during their ten year life span from 1904 to 1914, the Chambers left only marks on the economies of their various localities.

In 1885 there were four trading companies in Kamerun. The Woermann, Jantzen and Thormahlen companies were German, while John Holt and the Amba bay company were English. By the end of the century, these companies had established thirty-six trading firms in the country¹⁶. Before 1913, there were six hundred and fourteen German traders in Kamerun.¹⁷

But all their efforts were soon shattered by the First World War of 1914.¹⁸ In 1919, all German colonies in Africa were seized by the League of Nations and entrusted as mandat Territories to other European powers. In this event kamerun was partitioned and the western part entrusted to Britain, while the eastern was given to France.¹⁹

In 1921, the French government passes a decree promulgating the creation of a French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture (FCCA) in East Cameroon to protect the economic interests of the French in the territory²⁰. This marked the beginning of what is today known as the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (CCIM), in that part of the country. It was, and still is an instrument for the economic exploitation of kamerun by the French, for even after its indigenization,²¹ members of the CCIN still directed the export of most of Cameroon's raw materials to France. As aforementioned, the CCIM was, and continues to be of the Gaullist type. Hence it is instrumental in achieving government goals in Cameroon.

In British Cameroon, no Chamber of Commerce was established before 1958. The reasons for this situation were two. Firstly, the Lagos Chamber of Commerce served the interests of the British firms such as the United Africa Company, John Holt, Elder Dempster, and others that traded there, since the Territory was part of Nigeria. Secondly, in 1954 the Southern Cameroons separated from Eastern Nigeria and subsequently became an autonomous region within the Federation of Nigeria. The new status of the Southern Cameroons made it imperative in 1958 for the creation of the Southern Cameroons Chamber of Commerce (SCCC) to cater for the interests of British firms and individuals in the territory. The creation of the SCCC was thus indirectly influenced by the Lagos Chamber of Commerce (LCC). This is so because branches of firms like R.W. King, the United Africa Company (UAC), John Holt, and Elders and Fyffes Ltd which were initially members of LCC, became foundation members of the SCCC.²²

1.2 AIM OF STUDY

The ultimate goal of this study is to discuss the historical evolution of the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (CCIM) and its impact on the economic development of Cameroon from 1884 to 1988. Such a study will serve as a guide to policy formulation in the state economic planning. A proper analysis of which would provide a better understanding of the course of events in the CCIM throughout the post-colonial periods. Thus, the study examines data from available textbooks, documents and oral tradition with a view to reconstruct the past of the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (CCIM), examine the role it played in the economic development of Cameroon and possibly periscope

its future. For reasons that will be explained in chapters three and four, from 1961 to 1971 the CCIM was known as the Federal Chamber of commerce, Industry and Mines (FCCIM) and in 1972 it gained its present name CCIM.

This topic has been chosen because there has been no comprehensive study of the history of the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce. Research into Cameroon's economic history has been done mostly on Cooperative Movements; the Cameroons Development Corporation (CDC); the Produce Marketing organisation (PMO); and the Chamber of Agriculture. What exists so far in this field of study are three disparate studies which are not detailed in analysis or wide in scope and regional coverage. They are also limited to the period 1921 to 1974. Besides, these studies are memoirs; two are undergraduate projects, while the third is a Maitrise Memoir.²³

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Sanding Beng Robert, a law student from the University of Yaounde wrote a memoir on "LaChambre de Commerce D'Industrie et des Mines de La Republique du Cameroun" in 1973.²⁴ In this memoir he concentrated on the legal obligations of this commercial institution to the government; examined its organization; and took a cursory look at the trade fairs that the Chamber organized. his work covered the period 1921 to 1955.

Another undergraduate work titled "La Chambre de Commerce et la Promotion Economique du Cameroun"²⁵ was carried out in 1975 by Emmanuel Ngoube Ndoumbe of the University of Yaounde. He attempted an examination of the role played by the organization in the development of Cameroon, using the Yaounde Delegation of Commerce as a case study. His seventy-four page work inevitably abridged all that he had to say about the establishment, from its foundation in 1921 to 1974.

Kenmogni Patrice, yet another student of the University of Yaounde, did some elaborate work in his postgraduate diploma (maitrise memoir) on "La Chambre de Commerce au Cameroun Sous L'Administration Francaise de 1921 a 1955" in 1989.²⁶ He discussed the activities of the Chamber of Commerce, alongside its development during the French administration and ended in 1955, when it split into two; the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines on the one hand, and the Chamber of Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry on the other.²⁷ His work would have been more far-reaching, had he gone a step further to find out how these twin Chambers co-existed and interacted with each other, and what impact they

had on the growth of commerce, industry and agriculture in Cameroon. Kenmogni's work, like those of Sanding beng and Ngoube, was however solely based on the Chamber of Commerce under the French administration, not touching Cameroon under the British. Neither did any of these works link the birth of the French Cameroon Chamber in 1921 with its antecedent, that is, the Kamerun Chamber of Commerce (KCC).

The appellation "Cameroon chamber of Commerce" like all other colonially named Chambers of Commerce in West Africa, until its indigenization from 1961 remained quite misleading. It tended to give readers the impression that the Chamber belonged to the nationals, whereas it was an instrument created by the colonial masters to protect their commercial activities in Cameroon.

Cameroonians deplored its activities, for it relegated them to the background in their own economy as mere suppliers of labour and other productive forces and consolidating their position as buyers of European manufactured goods. Hence, nationalists from the Southern as well as East Cameroon fought hard to bring these organizations under their control.

Furthermore, past research efforts in respect to the CCIM have been made only in French, and as earlier said concentrated only on the Chamber in French Cameroon, thereby ignoring the English-speaking population of the nation.

The literature Review of the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (CCIM), would be incomplete if nothing was mentioned about the Lagos Chamber of Commerce (LCC). In the first place, the LCC was one of the earliest Chambers to be founded along the West Coast of Africa and should have influenced the creation of other Chambers in the Nigerian neighbourhood. In Southern Cameroons this influence came from former members of the LCC which continued to have a dire need to create a chamber in this new region. Moreover, Southern Cameroons was administered as part of Eastern Nigeria between 1922 and 1954. Between 1954 and 1960, it was a separate region within the Nigerian Federation. Therefore, it became necessary to review a recent work on the LCC titled The Lagos Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines and the Nigerian Economy: 1888-1988, (1989). This work was edited by Professor O. Iyanda. Its authors Dr. A.A. Lawal and Mrs. B.O. Okuntola have narrated the course of the past of the Chamber. It was scanned through with the hopes of reading about the SCCC that existed in Southern Cameroons from 1958 to 1960, but the work ended without mentioning it. However, it might just have been due to the fact that the research on the LCC was commissioned and had to be carried out according to specifications. It is necessary

nonetheless, to mention here that since a work of this nature does not exist in Cameroon, the author by reviewing this, gained more inspiration for the realization of this study.

The LCC was created through the initiative of African merchants in Lagos in 1888, the SCCC was created in 1958. Although the SCCC was created by Europeans, it had quite a lot in common with LCC. Their objectives were the same, that is, to protect the interest of commerce as it might be affected by administrative bottlenecks including legislation. Both the Chambers and members, especially the African members had initial problems as could be the case with any new organization. By 1900 the LCC, founded 12 years back, existed only in name, as members had lost interest in it.²⁸ The LCC however, soon picked up, but in 1906 all African members were ousted. But they remained in the same environment and formed guilds and traders' associations. In the 1920 the Chamber approved the applications of S.H. Pearse and P.J.C. Thomas and in 1929/30, a curious twist of circumstances culminated in the election of the first African President, Mr. J.J. Thomas. In 1931/32, Mr. Pearse became the second African President. He convinced the Lagos commercial class that things had changed for the better to attract more Africans to the Chamber.²⁹

In a similar manner the Southern Cameroons Chamber of Commerce experienced an eclipse. Soon after its inauguration, Chief J.N. Fomenky, a Cameroonian businessman and one of the pioneer members of the Southern Cameroons Chamber alleged that by 1961 members had already lost interest in the Chamber that was founded only in 1958. This was because its activities had become ineffective. Hence, just for three years after its creation, the Chamber had dwindled into more or less a business social group but continued to serve the petty needs of its members.³⁰ While the Lagos Chamber of Commerce indigenized by 1932, the Cameroon Chamber only became localized when it federated with the French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines in 1961. An African member was appointed to head the organization. Therefore, in quite a few ways, the SCCC resembled the Lagos Chamber of Commerce, and since it had been created by members who formerly belonged to the Lagos Chamber, such as the John Holt Company, it could easily have been concluded that the SCCC was a miniature Lagos Chamber. It was strange that the LCC expanded to Kano, Port Harcourt, and to Calabar, but never reached the Southern Cameroons.³¹

The convergence of these shortcomings leaves a yawning gap to be covered in this field of study. This present study hopes to bridge the gap, to present a comprehensive work on the past of the CCIM and to examine the role it played in boosting Cameroon's economy from 1961

to 1988. Through this endeavour of examining the three chambers and reviewing Cameroon's colonial economic policy,, the present research seeks to provide a historical groundwork for this study. In the process, the aspects left untreated by the existing works will be adequately covered, thereby providing a linkage between the post colonial Chamber³² and economy and its antecedents. It is also hoped that the language barrier would be avoided and a balanced account would emerge from a judicious examination and blending of archival materials and oral testimonies to be recorded.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

Data and other vital materials for this study have been collected from primary and secondary sources. These include published and unpublished works, archival materials, oral interviews and questionnaire guides, government publications, magazines and news-papers. The use of oral testimonies illuminated the work and also added new dimension to the discovery of more evidence, especially as those interviewed were the "Living Archives". Some of the major actors like Pa V.T.Lainjo of Buea, chief J.N. Fomenky of Kumba, and Mr. Joseph Happi (one of the oldest CCIM staff members), are still alive and compose the nuclei of the living archives.³³ They elucidated the whole account of the historical development of the CCIM with important details. Background information relevant to this study has been derived from various works of diverse origins.

Writing the history of the CCIM has not been easy, owing to the translation bottlenecks that were prominent in both German and French texts. However, the normal historical methodology was used in analyzing data from reputable Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians. As stated earlier, oral testimonies of both retired and active prominent members of the Kamerun Chamber of Commerce (KCC), the French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry (FCCCAI); the Southern Cameroon of Chamber of Commerce (SCCC); the Federal Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (FCCIM) and the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (CCIM) were recorded. This had its own hitches as most informants were businessmen who were usually on business tours or who would retort that the history of the CCIM was immaterial to them. Textbooks as well as published and unpublished theses were exploited. Archival Research was done in the Yaounde, Douala and Buea National Archives; the Yaounde University and the Ministry of Higher Education Libraries and the Yaounde National Printing Press. Visits were made to the Lagos and Ibadan University Libraries and to

the Public Record Office, London. Data collected thereof were translated, analyzed and discreetly blended to reconstruct the past of the CCIM. Parallels were drawn from other national and international economic organizations, such as the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (NACCIMA), to predict the future of the CCIM and guidelines were provided. In writing this history it was difficult to avoid talking about politics, because politics and the economy of every national are inseparable.

1.5 SYNOPSIS

This study has been divided into six chapter. chapter one is the introductory part. It focuses on the definition of Chambers of Commerce and provides the analytical framework of the study. It discusses the different types of Chambers that exist in the world and their various objectives. The chapter finally outlines methodology and reviews works relevant to this study.

Chapter two is devoted to the Chamber of Commerce in Cameroon during the colonial period 1884 to 1960. It is divided into three parts: the Chamber under the Germans, the Chamber under the French and under the British. Specifically the period focuses on the creation of the KCC and the economy of Cameroon. The British period treats the economy of Southern Cameroons and the inauguration of the SCCC. After a review of Cameroon's colonial economy, the chapter is concluded with a brief comparison of the three colonial chambers.

Chapter three examines the reunification of Southern Cameroon and French Cameroon into the Federal Republic of Cameroon (FRC); the conversion of the SCCC into the West Cameroon Chamber of Commerce (WCCC); and the end of the CCIM and the WCCC in 1961. This leads the discussion to the formation of the Federal Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (FCCIM), and to the elaboration on the new structure and statute of the Chamber. It further demonstrates the role played by members of the FCCIM in involving the public in the new economic development strategy of the FRC, owing to the decline of the West Cameroon economic system. It discusses the economy of Cameroon and economic changes that emanated from the reunification from 1961 to 1971, such as the introduction of the franc (CFA) in West Cameroon and the moving of some firms and commercial enterprises to French Cameroon. It treats the indigenization of the FCCIM; its affiliations with UDEAC and finally its overall achievements.

The fourth chapter delves into the activities of the Chamber during the unitary state of Cameroon created in 1972 and the creation of Provincial Delegations. It broadly examines

political changes that ensued and their impact on Chamber activities, including problems emanating from the co-existence of Cameroonians from the two federated states with different colonial orientations and the disparity that became prominent in their regional development. This chapter also discusses the steps jointly taken by the Chamber and the Government in solving the nation's economic problems. It ends up by discussing the difficulties faced by the Chamber during this period.

Chapter five opens with the emergence of Paul Biya's era 1982 to 1988 and summarizes the expansion of Provincial Delegations; Cameroon's brewery industry and the economy of Cameroon; Problems encountered by CCIM and Pierre Tchangué's role; the organization of trade missions at home and abroad; and international cooperation between the CCIM and other national and international Chambers. The chapter is concluded by recounting the achievements of the CCIM during the period 1982 to 1988.

The sixth chapter being the conclusion, assesses the progress made by the CCIM on the economy of the territory up till 1988. The chapter elaborates on the activities of the North West Provincial Delegation of the CCIM to illustrate in the impact of the CCIM on the economic development of Cameroon. The rest of the provincial delegations are generally assessed in terms of what impact they had on the economic development of the provinces where they operated. However, comparisons are made where deemed necessary. An overall analysis of the chapter is made and finally a conclusion composed of suggestions and recommendations which could improve on the future of CCIM and the economic development of Cameroon.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Scholars such as B.A. Brett and Suret-Canale the authors of Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa 1919 - 1939 and Tropical Africa 1900-1945 respectively.
2. F.J. Meine (ed.); The American People's encyclopedia vol. 5, Chicago, Spencer Press, Inc., 1910, p. 5-088.
3. Meine, p. 5-085
4. Ibid
5. Ibid., p. 5-089
6. Ibid., p. 5-088
7. Ibid., p. 5-089
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid. There has occurred a political decentralization in the Soviet Union and it is now known as Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).
10. E.F. Etoga, Sur Les Chemins du Developement, Essai d'Histoire des faits Economique du Cameroun, Yaounde, CEPMAE, 1971, P. 348.
11. O. Iyanda (ed.) The Lagos Chamber of Commerce Industry and Mines and the Nigerian Economy: 1888-1988, Johnmof Printers, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1989, p. 9.
12. E. Mveng, Histoire du Cameroun vol. 2, CEPER, yaounde, 1985, p.73
13. Mveng, p. 73
14. R.L. Beull, The Native Problem of Africa, Vol. 2, London, Franckcass & Co. Ltd., 1928, p. 328.
15. H.R. Rudin, Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914: A Case Study in Modern Imperialism., Yale University Press, 1938, p. 219
16. E. Mveng, Histoire du Cameroun, Vol 2, CEPER, Yaounde, 1985, p. 80
17. Ibid., p. 219
18. The First World War physically affected Cameroon. Its effects on Cameroon were greatly felt. After the War, France and Britain carried out a condominium rule in the territory from 1916 to 1918. This temporary arrangement was concretized in 1919 by the Versailles Treaty.
19. V.T. LeVinet & R.P. Nye., Historical Dictionary of Cameroon, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., Metuchen, N.J., 1974, p. 74.
20. Journal Officiel du Cameroun (J.O.C.F.) (Official Gazette of French Cameroun) National Archives, Yaounde (MAY)1921. p. 162.

21. The indigenization of this institution will be elaborated upon in chapter three.
22. See pp. 50-51.
23. A Memoir may be equated to either a British undergraduate project or (Maitrise Memoir) a postgraduate diploma project higher than a B.A., but lower than an M.A. degree in this part of the country.
24. "The Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines of the Republic of Cameroon".
25. "The Chamber of Commerce and the Economic Progress of Cameroon".
26. "The Chamber of Commerce in Cameroon under the French Administration from 1921 to 1955".
27. J.O.C.F., 1955, National Archives Yaounde (NAY), p. 74.
28. O.Iyanda (ed.), The Lagos Chamber of commerce, Industry and Mines and the Nigerian Economy: 1888-1988. Johnmof Printers. Ibadan. Nigeria, 1989, p. 14.
29. Ibid., pp.15-16.
30. Personal interview on 4/3/91 with Chief J.N. Fomenky born on 15 March, 1926 in Bangwa Lewoh in Fontem sub-Division, South West Cameroon. He was the Buying Agent in the West Cameroon Marketing Board in 1954: appointed Licensed Buying Agent of Arabica Coffee in 1982. He was the proprietor of the Direct Suppliers Company Ltd., Kumba.
31. Iyanda, p. 8.
32. The word "Chamber" will be used in this work to avoid the monotony of writing "Chamber of Commerce" all the time. It should not therefore be mistaken for a lawyer's Chamber or its other connotations.
33. These were eye-witnesses to the creation of the Chamber of Commerce. Most of them are either former or present workers, officials or members who still have a good memory of the Chamber's past.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN CAMEROON DURING THE COLONIAL
PERIOD 1884-1960

During the colonial period, Cameroon was ruled by three different colonial masters. These colonial masters established commercial Chambers during their various eras to enable them achieve an optimum exploitation of Cameroon's natural resources. Through the KCC the Germans controlled the economic destiny of Kamerun from 1884 to 1914, when the First World War brought an end to German rule in the territory. A period of instability lasted from 1915 to 1921, but stability was re-established in 1922 when the western part of former German Kamerun officially became British Cameroon and the eastern part French Cameroon. The French through the FCCCA created in 1921, carried out commercial activities in the eastern part of the territory, while the British through Nigeria controlled the economy of British Cameroons until 1958 when the SCCC was created. Although these Chambers were established not for the interest of the indigenes, Cameroonians had but singular opportunity of having an experience of the working of these three colonial chambers. This chapter will examine the roles these Chambers played in the economic development of colonial Cameroon during the various periods.

A. THE GERMAN PERIOD 1884-1914

THE ORIGIN AND THE ORGANIZATION OF KCC

The Hamburg Chamber of Commerce together with German traders and planters, played an outstanding role in the German annexation of kamerun in 1884, and subsequently in the creation of a Chamber of Commerce in the colony. In the fear that the German City States might be excluded from the West African trade, members of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, in April 1883, influenced Otto Von Bismarck, the German Chancellor to protect the German commercial interests abroad. In particular, they demanded the founding of a colony in the Bay of Biafra, the establishment of a floating station in Fernando Po and the protection of German trading interests in the West Coast of Africa with warships.¹ This urge coincided with Bismarck's belief that it was the merchants from Hamburg and Bremen, with their long experience of trading in Cameroon, at Zanzibar and in Samoa who could be prepared to shoulder the responsibilities of colonial administration. This was because they alone had the necessary knowledge of the territory in which German protectorates were being established.²

The German traders, especially Woermann's agents, were a strong force behind Gustav Nachtigal, when he made his exploratory journey to West Africa, where he finally proclaimed

the German occupation of the territory along the Kamerun river. By the time Nachtigal sailed for home in April 1883, he had signed treaties with many village chiefs in Bakweriland, placing the villages under the German flag.³

The origin of the Chamber of Commerce in Kamerun can be traced back to the setting up of the first local administration under its pioneer German Governor, Julius Von Soden in Douala in 185⁴. The Governor named an Advisory Council, Gouvernementstrate, of three members, each representing a commercial firm in the colony⁵. It was meant to assist the Governor in all administrative matters. During his tenure of office, from 1885 to 1891, Soden was not Governor only in Kamerun. He was also the Imperial High Commissioner in Togo, where the actual work of administration was assigned to a Commissioner responsible to him. It should be noted that Togo was annexed alongside Kamerun. Togo and kamerun were both meant to protect the German traders from the menace of English and French competition in West Africa. In view of this, the economic development of Kamerun went hand-in-hand with that of Togo. In addition to Kamerun and Togo Germany also secured South West Africa. She considered them to be Germany's most valuable possessions from the point of securing raw materials for her industries. The principal exports were tropical products viz: ivory; rubber, copra, palm oil and kernels. By far the most important of them from Kamerun was rubber.⁶

The Jantzen and Thormahlen firms together with the C. Woermann Company were very active in generating economic activities in the colony. They set up trading firms in the towns, and were also in charge of transporting manufactured goods to their firms from the ports and in exploiting and conveying raw materials such as cocoa, oil palms, and rubber from the interior to the seaports for export abroad. In order to achieve their goals in Kamerun, the Germans instituted the Colonial Economic Committee, Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee, which was instrumental in the expansion of plantation agriculture in Kamerun⁷. It eventually introduced Kamerun into the world market economy. the Colonial Economic Committee supported members of the Chamber of Commerce, mainly planters, to carry out expansion in this sphere.

After 1897, Zintgraff in collaboration with Wohltmann, established agricultural activities which led to the creation of the West African Plantation company, victoria, West-Africkanische Pflanzungsgesellschaft (WAPV). In the process, the Jantzen and Thormahlen firms in collaboration with the C. Woermann company formed kamerun's first plantation company of which woermann was the Director in 1899. This same year the first WAPVplantation was created in Moliwe. Other plantations of the WAPV worth mentioning were: the Prince Alfred Plantation

at Misselele for the cultivation of cocoa, coffee and rubber; the German Rubber Company founded in 1907 at Ekona which had many branches founded in 1903 for rubber and cocoa cultivation; Bimbia Cocoa Plantation founded in 1906 and later sold to C. Woermann; the Idenau Plantation was founded in 1989 for the cultivation of cocoa, rubber, oil palm; the Oschelhausen Plantation, founded in 1905, and the Bai Rubber and the Cocoa Estate Limited. The last two were English companies but were managed locally by German Austrian employees⁸.

As Jesco Von Puttkamer rightly felt, the Whiteman's exploitation in the colony came before all other considerations⁹. The local traders were not members of the Chamber of Commerce, hence, they were not protected by this organization. This notwithstanding, the Chamber indirectly provided amenities useful to the local traders, such as roads, medical services, schools and scientific exploitative skills. As long as these were going to be beneficial to members of the Chamber and not to the local traders, such amenities were multiplied. Thus, in a bid to increase the economic benefits of the colonialists, the Chamber of Commerce, unwittingly improved not only the outlook of kamerun and the lot of its people, but also gave the indigenes a notion of the working of such an organization, on which they were going to build in future.

The German Advisory Councils, formed on 24 December, 1903, were inaugurated as the Douala and the kribi Chambers in 1904.¹⁰ They were strictly commercial associations created to exploit and to commercialize the natural resources of Cameroon. But indirectly, the Germans also used them to fight against their French and British competitors.

During the German colonial era, the KCC dealt with matters connected with tropical agriculture, such as plantation problems, the destruction of crop pests and the fight against sleeping sickness in cattle. It was also involved in providing transportation in the country and the construction of new ports and quays.¹¹ Although at the beginning the councils were created to advise the Governor on matters concerning trade and administration, their members used this opportunity to safeguard their individual economic interests. And since the Governor consulted the councils regarding the appointment of non-official members, there was the tendency for the Chambers of Commerce in Douala and Kribi to regard their nominees to these colonial organizations as the representatives of their special interests.¹²

The Advisory Council was made up of selected representatives of the Chamber of Commerce of Douala and Kribi and the members initially selected to advise the governor on colonial matters. Meetings were presided over by the Governor. Its duties included those

actions that required joint effort of the two Chambers of Commerce in the promotion of the sale of their products and services abroad, for joint purchases and for importation or exportation of common services and goods. Members' individual and collective problems could be presented to the imperial government. It thus helped in stimulating development by fostering their agricultural or commercial interests through the building of roads, railways, improvement of port facilities and health services, as well as the security of the white citizens and their property.

Conditions binding the councils were laid down in its final approval as follows:

- That indigenes should not be named by the governors
- That the members should be named by the governor
- And that in the selection of members, preference should be given to those colonial settlers who lived near the centres of administration.¹³

It is significant to note here that the condition binding the first administrative body in the colonial administration of the colony, became a yardstick that was employed by all other bodies that followed, including the Chamber of Commerce. In the first Chamber of Commerce, for example, there were no indigenous representatives as it was the case in the Advisory Councils. Proximity to the centre of administration was generally advantageous to colonial settlers as these centres acted as population magnets and the businessmen who settled there could more often than not earn extra favours from the administration. This is precisely why the Douala chamber of Commerce and the Imperial Government were quite intimate as they both collaborated in the economic development of the territory.

Four governors administered the colony during the period of KCC. Jesco Von Puttkamer was in office from 1895 to 1907. He inaugurated the first Chamber of Commerce in 1904 and also the plantation system of large banana and rubber estates in Cameroon in 1897. Theodor Seitze followed from 1907 to 1910; Gleim from 1910 to 1912; and Ebermaier from 1912 to the First World War period.¹⁴

The council met as often as necessary to advise the governor on administrative matters. It also examined problems of all colonialists involved in the exploitation of the colony, and as much as possible found solutions for them. The Advisory Councils from their creation had official and non-official members, all whites. The governor was not bound to accept council decisions, even when its members were unanimous. Besides, his autonomy was further strengthened by the provision that allowed him to prepare the agenda for the sessions and to execute the decisions arrived at.¹⁵

The Council received grants from the Imperial Government through the colonial administration.¹⁶ The Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, and the German Colonial Society also contributed their quotas in a bid to supporting the German businessmen abroad. On-the-spot revenue came from the members who formed the kamerun branch of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, like Adolf Woermann and the rest of his fellow businessmen.

2.2 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The setting up of the Chamber of Commerce by the Germans was not without problems. Being the first of its kind in the colony, the pioneer members of this organization encountered many problems, some of which only helped to consolidate their efforts. Adolf Woermann, was one of the first to experience these problems. He was therefore better placed to advise the others on how to face them squarely.

A prominent problem in all German colonies was that of forced labour demanded by the European farmers in their plantations, and by the government for public works. This was responsible for the discontent among the Africans who demonstrated by staging rebellions against German rule throughout all German colonies. These rebellions revealed the weakness of the German administration which needed a stronger police force to maintain order. It necessitated the immediate employment of people from Togo and even from Sudan as policemen in the German Kamerun police force. The Bakot rebellion against the Germans in defence of their trade coincided with that of the Dahomey soldiers still against the government in 1893. After this the Reichstag was obliged to create a regular colonial troop Schutztruppe in March, 1895 so that the colonial government could have a regular force to count on.¹⁷

In order to solve their labour problem, the Germans devised many ways to go about it. First of all, they sent their army to the Fon of Bali, a collaborator of the Germans,¹⁸ to enable the Fon recruit labour for the German plantations. Secondly, they recruited labour from the Bassa Land. The recruitment of the Bassa people was not only meant to augment labour supply, but also geared towards encouraging intermarriage amongst the Bassa and the Bakweri people. This was because in addition to being few in number to provide adequate labour, the Bakwerians were weaklings who as a result do not like to work. Thus, in order to produce diligent workers, the Germans encouraged the imported Bassa men to intermarry with the Bakweri women. Furthermore, with the aid of the Germans, a delegation was sent to Bassa land to bring wives for the Bakweri men. In this manner, the Bakweri-Bassa people came into being. They also

contributed in increasing the German plantation labour force in Victoria with hard-working youths.¹⁹

Other problems included those of trade malpractices which were initially introduced by the German traders themselves. They sold to their African counterparts imitations and adulterated manufactured goods such as cotton piece goods that either shrank or faded easily after washing. They even cheated African traders by paying less for their goods. They also used shorter measurements, shortened the folds of cotton goods, diluted gin and rum and used deceptive bottles to dupe buyers. When the African traders noticed this, they retaliated by indulging in similar malpractices against the whites. For example, they soaked palm kernels in water to increase its weight and sometimes added shells stones into it to increase its quantity. These malpractices have continued up till date. For example, in 1968, Mr. Mbanga sold 30 bags of coffee but recorded that he had sold 35 bags and Mr. Su the buyer was going to give Mr. Mbanga the cost of the 5 extra bags when he must have received the money.²⁰ Thus, cheating, fraud and other malpractices, prominent with the African traders today, were introduced by the European traders.

The ideas of the missionaries conflicted with those of the traders and planters who, nevertheless, praised the missionaries who taught the indigenes the virtue of hard work and trained them in a wide variety of crafts. The missionaries defended the local people against the forceful acquisition of their land and sought to have workers treated decently. As a matter of fact the missionaries preached against the oppression of the poor. For all these, the missionaries were greatly detested by the traders and planters, in fact by all those who depended on the people's labour. Nevertheless, as individuals and as members of the Chamber of Commerce, the missionaries exerted pressure on the government for various policies to be made in their favour.²¹ Besides, the work and/or activities of the European missionaries either directly or indirectly aided and strengthened the grip of the colonial authorities over given territories.

The gods of many indigenous religions were gods of justice ready to inflict pain if necessary. The God of Christianity was a God of love who nevertheless approved of suffering as a way to God's kingdom. In the end the feminine virtues of christianity - the softer ideals of love, gentleness, tenderness, forgiveness and patience were invoked in Africa in a manner which made the "pacification" of Africans easier and their submission to the imperial order speedier. Therefore, as Ali Mazrui puts it, as the missionaries paved the way by softening the minds of Africans to accept the white man's religion, the colonial exploiters came closely behind them

to impose on Africans the Western culture.²² Hence, it could safely be concluded that the role of the missionaries was full of paradox. Because the Germans were hardworking, their subjects were bound either to voluntarily emulate their examples or be forced to do so. However, their strictness in monopolizing economic activities against their rivals brought negative results. They did not open the way to competition and thus did everything almost single-handedly. This resulted to retarded progress and to inadequate diversification or both.

Another problem encountered by the Germans was British rivalry. Before the 1884 annexation, the English traders outnumbered the Germans in population. After the annexation the reverse occurred, as the Germans tried to monopolize economic activities in the colony through the use of the Chamber of Commerce. In 1881, despite the rapid progress of German commerce in West Africa, the British trade in that region was still four times as great as that of the Germans. In Cameroon alone, there were in 1885, nineteen German trading stations as against eleven British²³. Despite the pioneering activities of Woermann, Germany had to face severe competition in the West African trade in the early 1890s, particularly from the English merchants. This is illustrated by the following number of ships visiting the German colonies of West Africa in 1890 and 1892 as shown by the table below:

TABLE 1

GERMAN AND ENGLISH SHIPS IN THE CAMEROONS AND TOGOLAND 1890-1892

<u>THE CAMEROONS</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>TOGOLAND</u>
43 German Ships	(40,268 tons)	58 German Ships (69,263 tons)
40 English Ships	(51,855 tons)	52 English ships (47,890 tons)
	<u>1892</u>	
26 German Ships	(136,268 tons)	66 German Ships (69,761 tons)
38 English Ships	(51,442 tons)	63 English Ships (76,831 tons)

Source: W.O. Henderson, Studies on German Colonial

In 1892 the number of ships that anchored on the Cameroon coast were 38 British as against 26 German ships. In Togoland the number of English ships was three less than those of the Germans, but volume wise that of the English by far exceeded that of the Germans. The English brought in 76,831 tons, while the Germans had only 69,761 tons.

It is essential to reiterate here that British commercial interests on the kamerun Coast had

developed long before the German occupation of that territory in 1884. This interest was to some extent maintained far beyond this date. British trade with kamerun was by far larger than her commerce with any other German colony. In 1895, eleven years after the German annexation, only nine firms traded at Douala, which was then the only commercial centre of any significance. Seven of these were British and two German. From 1897 to 1898, fifty-one British steamers visited the colony as against twenty-nine German steamers.²⁴

When the exploitation of Southern Cameroons was started and Kribi became the colony's second port, British merchants established themselves there. Kribi's main export was local rubber, which by 1914 was the most valuable product of kamerun. In 1910 the value of rubber sent by the West African colonies was #1,000,000, but the quantity was inadequate for its demand. The Nyong Rubber Plantation company and the firms of John Holt (both British) therefore set up rubber plantations to supplement supplies from wild rubber.²⁵ Rubber supply fell short of demand because many nations needed it (for the construction of ships, vehicles, aeroplanes and weapons) especially at the advent of and during the First World War of 1914.

In 1905 British firms had 134 trading stations in Kamerun, nearly fifty of which belonged to John Holt. The British share in the colony's trade declined somewhat in the early years of the twentieth century. This was partly because materials for building railways were imported only from Germany. By 1914 British shipping had lost the leading position that it had once held in the territory.²⁶

Douala, Victoria and Buea and the plantation areas were the commercial and political seats of Kamerun. By the end of 1914 the Allies had seized the Mount kamerun Plantation including Buea, the seat of the administration, as well as the Northern Railway to Nkongsamba and the Central Railway to Edea. Garoua was surrendered by von Gralsheim in June 1915. In February, 1916 Captain Von Raben gave up the fortress of Mora. So fell the last German stronghold in Kamerun.²⁷

2.3 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE KCC 1904-1914

In spite of all the problems encountered, the Kamerun Chamber of Commerce (KCC) through the aid of the colonial administration, was able to achieve many socio-economic goals. To start with, the German administration brought together different rival ethnic groups and regions: the Bafanji, Bangwa, Bamileke and the rest, a positive point to the birth of a new nation. The coastal region and the northern territory were all grouped into a single cohesive unit. In the

commercial realm, the Chamber of Commerce tackled problems affecting trade such as curbing the competition of its foreign and indigenous rivals by setting up prices for imports and exports, and restricting trade practices harmful to German commercial interests.²⁸

The colonial government in Kamerun was controlled directly from Germany. It formed a bridge between the Chamber of Commerce and the home government in Germany. On its own part, the Chamber of Commerce formed a link between its members and the Advisory Council, the only administrative body that existed in the whole colonial territory. It is important to mention here that members of the Chamber of Commerce had a big say in the Imperial Government, since they were the brains behind the German annexation of Kamerun. Thus, the German traders and planters, most of whom were members of the Woermann, Jantzen and Thormahlen firms, occupied important positions in the Advisory councils. This enabled them to manipulate the government to adopt policies favourable to their commercial and agricultural interests.²⁹

Through the efforts of the Chambers, commercial and agricultural activities were stimulated. For example, the improvement in the communication road network which was more advantageous to the traders and planters than to the government, was encouraged. This resulted in the use of motor-cars in Kamerun in 1905, although it was not until 1913 that an inaugural journey was made from Kribi to Yaounde. Kribi, a busy trading town, had no roads leading from it into the interior. The Chamber of Commerce petitioned to the government and in 1909 the Kribi-Yaounde road of 300km, and the Kribi-Longy road of 17km were constructed. All this was done because the members of the Kribi Chamber were angry about the fact that the government used their taxes to develop only Victoria and Douala areas. This only added to the better road condition, especially the construction of the 160km road to the opening of the Ebolowa-Lolodorf, Victoria - Bibundi, and Yaounde - YOKO roads³⁰.

The Chamber made great efforts to ensure that the territory was well linked up with its neighbours. The navigable rivers from the coast, including the Sanaga, the Wouri, the Muni and the Ndian, were instrumental to this effort. The Chari-Logone waterway connecting Kamerun to the middle and the eastern part of Sudan were of no small importance.³¹

Transport network was further widened by the construction of railroads. In 1911 the Bonaberi-Nkongsamba railway line was built.³² The Otele-Mbalmayo, and the Douala - Yaounde railways joined the extension of the yaounde-Nanga Eboko lines.

The Midland Railway of 360km was built from Douala to Widimenge. By 1914, the Mittellandbalm line of 174km which was begun in 1910 had gone right to Eseka.³³ All these efforts facilitated

commercial activities, the major objective of the Chamber of Commerce.

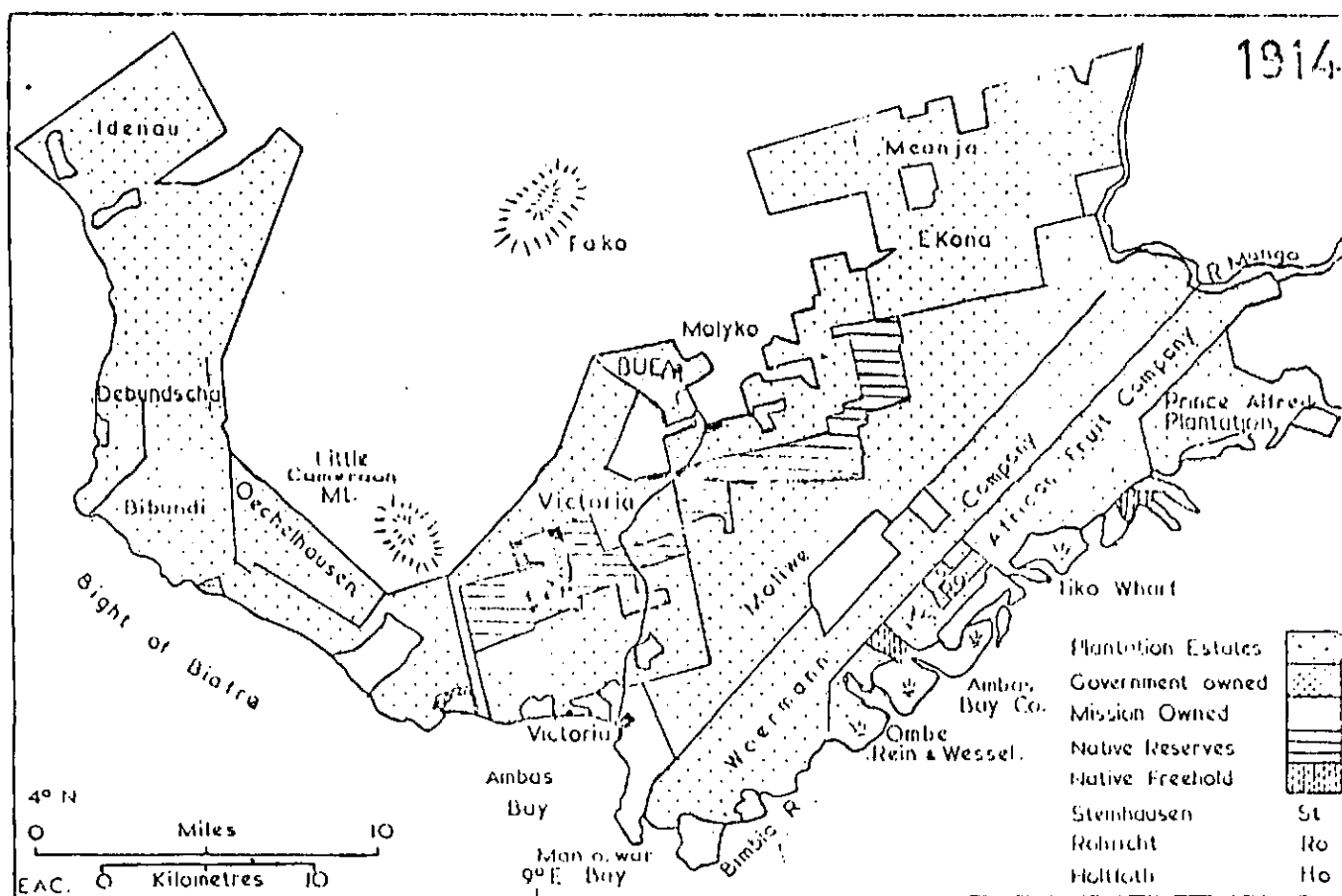
German merchant shipping dominated the international trade of Kamerun. The ports of Douala, Kribi, rio del Rey, and Campo were visited fortnightly by the Woermann Hamburg Amerika lines. It became necessary therefore to improve the berth facilities at these ports including Victoria and Tiko. Indeed, in 1912, 110 metres of berthing facility was constructed in Douala.³⁴

Agriculture was given particular attention because its products were important in the export trade of the colony. The necessity of testing important crop species and products of value in the home market was at the forefront of agricultural activity. In this direction, a Botanical Garden was established in Victoria (Limbe) around 1905, for the importation, screening, and testing of tropical crops for the future benefits of the plantation firms. Hundreds of crop varieties including cocoa, rubber, oil palm, robust a coffee, kola and tobacco, were tested at this station.³⁵ Other crops like cotton and Arabica coffee were tested later at other locations. The staff of the Botanical Gardens at Victoria also supervised some smaller gardens attached to the military posts and administrative stations in the interior where experiments on the crops were carried out in different ecological environments. At Buea, on Mt. Kamerun, the government ran a farm and a dairy. Here, experiments were conducted by experts in the breeding of cattle by crossing local stock types with those imported from Europe.³⁶ By 1911, there occurred a great boost to oil palm production when an oil mill capable of producing 300 tons of palm oil per week was installed in the Bonono plantation. Similar mills were established at Victoria, Mamfe, Mokoundange, and Ekona during the same period. As a result, the production of palm oil almost doubled from 365,603 in 1904 to 618,538 tons in 1911.³⁷

Experiments on banana and rubber cultivation were also a huge success. By 1913 over 200,000 workers were employed in rubber plantations, producing 3000 tons per year.³⁸ In all, the research stations provided the stimulus for the introduction of better seedlings of tropical crops to African and European farmers. The KCC assisted individuals and plantation companies alike to grow and to produce what had been profitably exploited elsewhere.³⁹

The Botanical Gardens also served as a seed distribution and an agricultural advisory centre. Its nearness to the fertile volcanic soils on the slopes of the Kamerun Mountain favoured the development of the agro-plantations in this vicinity. It is, however, sad to note that this initial function of the Victoria Botanical Gardens has since been relegated to that of a plant collection Museum.

PLANTATION AND NATIVE RESERVE LAND - VICTORIA DIVISION, 1914



Source: S. H. Bedermann, The Cameroons Development Corporation: Partner in National Growth, Bots-West Cameroon, 1968, p. 76.

In spite of its short life span from 1904 to 1914, the Chamber of Commerce acting as an intermediary between its members and government, attempted to look into its members' interests. In collaboration with the two, the Chamber strove as much as possible to manage Cameroon's economy. With support from both, the Chamber combatted crop pests. But all these endeavours were geared towards the benefit of the colonial authority and not that of the local people. If at all anything was done for the people, it was only to improve their way of life so that increased strength may expand output and consequently, the profits of the colonialists.

Nonetheless, by instrument of the Chamber of Commerce, the Germans were able to solve most of their commercial and administrative problems. Technical experts and special commissions were consulted on forest resources, river navigation, and road construction. The Economic Committee of the Colonial society, Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft,⁴¹ which supported the Chamber of Commerce, finally offered prizes for solutions to specific agricultural problems, and also studied problems relating to the growing of rubber, wood and cotton. This provided an incentive for more and better achievements. With all these, therefore, it would not be an overstatement to conclude that the KCC played a remarkable role in improving the economy of the colony and promoting German economic exploitation of Kamerun as the map on page illustrates.

The map above shows that by 1914 the Germans were in full control of the economy of Victoria Division. In Meanja there was a vast rubber plantation. The Ekona-Molyko plantations took charge of production and boxing bananas. In Moliwe there was an oil palm plantation. Palms were also heavily cultivated in Idenau in the West Coast of Victoria Division where an oil mill was established for the processing of palm produced. In Debundscha, Bibundi and the rest of the division there were plantations on which Woermann and other private companies variously cultivated fruits, cocoa, pepper and other crops. The land on the whole was partitioned between plantation owners, the government, the Mission, the native Reserves and native Freeholds.

The Germans surely gave Cameroon a foretaste of the working of a Chamber of Commerce and the importance of such an organization in a dynamic economy. In an attempt to set up an economic infrastructure that would serve them for time immemorial, the Germans erected such solid structures that have left an indelible mark on the economy of Kamerun. The Bamenda Station Fort⁴² the Mittellandbahn railroad constructed in 1908 and many other monuments are living testimonies, which depict the Germans as the best architects of all the colonial powers in Kamerun.⁴³

On the whole, the Germans were the first to initiate the kamerunian people into the intricacies of the exchange economy. They drew them into the cash - wage nexus through the German mark and by introducing notions of land ownership, foreign to the kamerunian societies. They inculcated into the local people the habit of submitting to their masters. This was beneficial both the Germans and later to the colonial power that succeeded them. The Germans effectively paved the way and laid a solid foundation for Kamerun's economic exploitation⁴⁴, and set the political and educational groundwork upon which their successors built. Above all, they initiated the idea and created the earliest Chambers of Commerce in Douala and Kribi, thereby paving the way in kamerun for what later became known as the Cameroun Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (CCIM).

B THE FRENCH AND THE FRENCH CAMEROON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE 1921-1960

At the end of the First World War German Kamerun, like the rest of the German colonies in Africa, came under the control of the Allies. The territory was partitioned between Britain and France. Britain received the Western zone which stretched from Victoria through Kumba, Bamenda to Nkambe. This part was named British Camerouns and included also most of the German plantations on the fertile slopes of the Kamerun Mountain. The eastern sector was given

to France. This big chunk included the parts of Douala and Kribia and stretched East to Bertoua and north through Yaounde, Adamawa to Maroua. The above arrangement which was later confirmed in 1922 by the implementation of the mandatory system, split Cameroon into two sectors, thereby creating linguistic, economic, political and other differences.

The German kamerun Chamber of Commerce (KCC) before the war, had attained some marked progress. The few foreign traders that the Germans allowed in the territory were able to realize the importance of such an economic institution. The French and the British, when they took over the territory, modified the institution and all that it stood for to suit their own different economic policies.⁴⁵

However, the new colonial powers, had a major and common problem, that of convincing Cameroonians that they were not like their predecessors, the Germans, whom they claimed, had been both cruel and hostile to the local people.⁴⁶ In this regard, the French were fast to take advantage of the situations to reorganize their territory in order to gain the confidence and esteem of the local population. They strove to avoid the criticism levelled against the German administration. But in trying to revitalize the economy, the French administration mobilized economic activities for the interest of the Metropolis, neglecting the social, moral and material needs of the indigenes⁴⁷. As a result, there was not much improvement in the economy of French Cameroon during this period. First, France feared that the Cameroonians would never be assimilated, because the country was a mandated territory and that any investment in the territory was a risky business. Secondly, after 1918, France was preoccupied with postwar reconstructions at home.

The aim of the colonialists in Africa were the same, for wherever they found themselves, their ultimate goal was to suppress the Africans and to exploit their natural resources with all enthusiasm. In order to achieve their selfish ambitions, the French needed an economic machinery such as that which had been established by the Germans, to enable them monopolize exploitation and commerce in their own part of the colony. Without such an organization, the economic rights of the French were likely to be encroached upon by any incoming colonial powers.

As the First World War broke out in 1914 the Chamber of Commerce which had made a great mark on Cameroon's economy was disbanded. Indeed, a great vacuum was created in the economy by the absence of a Chamber of Commerce. The economy carried out by the local people, mainly on the supply of basic necessities.

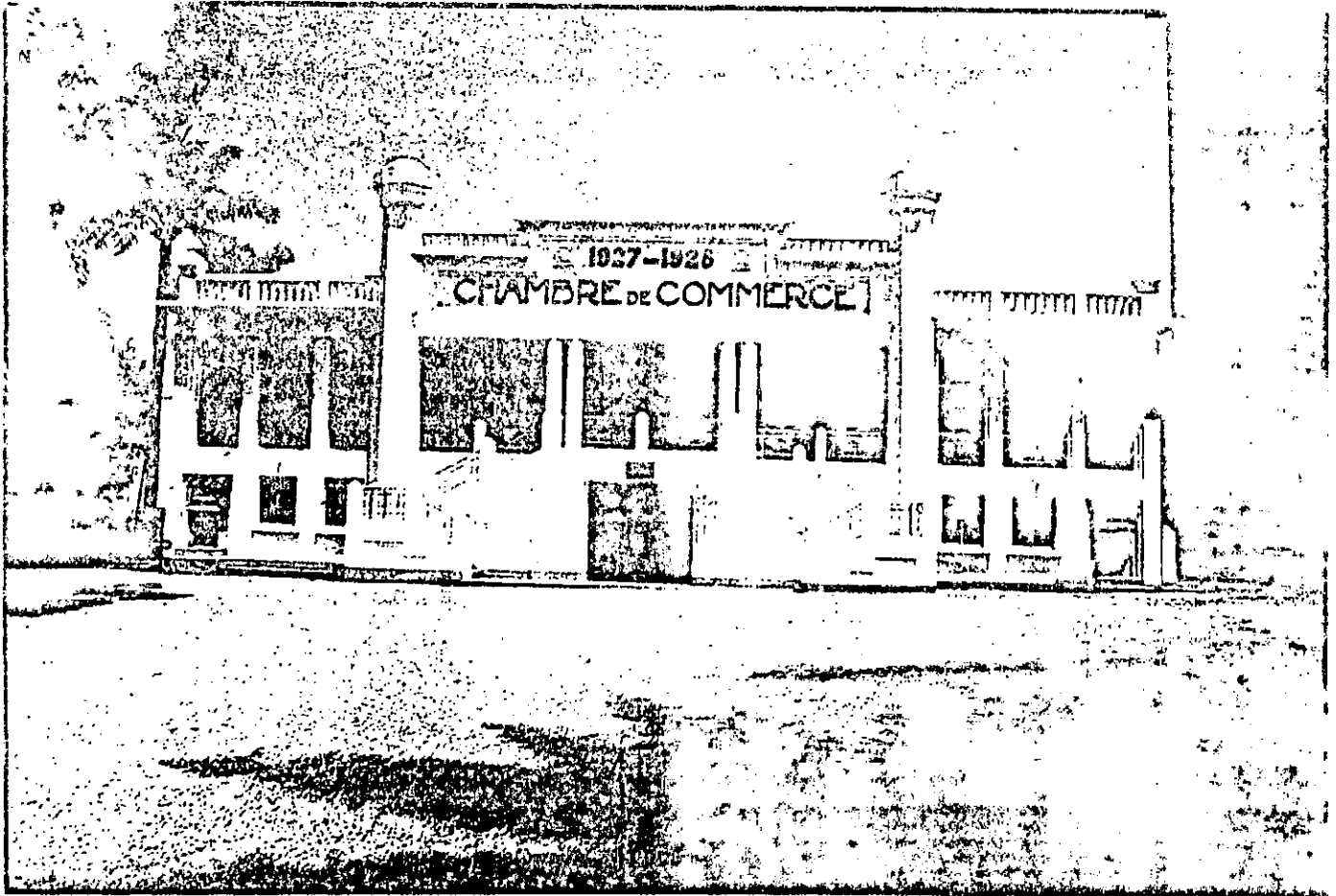
The new French administration of Cameroon however, was decidedly anti-German. It pre-empted some of the former German plantations and sold others to non-Germans. By 1925 it had liquidated 116 German firms holding 366 different properties. It auctioned part of these properties to the French, English, and Cameroonian businessmen, and part was taken over by the French colonial administration. French products substituted German products in the markets. The Franc replaced the German mark as currency. More efforts were made to prevent the return of German businessmen to their trade, and farmers to their plantations. Thus, the disposal of German property to non-Germans was a strategy designed to preclude the return of German nationals to French Cameroon.⁴⁸

2.4 INTRODUCTION OF A CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN FRENCH CAMEROON

While awaiting the confirmation of the mandatory system the Governor-General of French Cameroons, Jules-Gaston Henri Carde (1919-1923), saw the great need for a Chamber of Commerce to revive the economic activities in the territory. As a result, he promulgated, by decree, the creation of une chambre consultative du commerce de l'industrie et de l'Agriculture (a French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (FCCCIA)),⁴⁹ as it was initially named on 22 July, 1921.⁵⁰ The decree also provided for a 20 members Chamber to be appointed by the High Commissioner, for a two year period renewable. Membership was drawn from the traders, industrialists and directors of agricultural institutions in the colony. Specifically, the Chamber was composed of 8 traders, one administrator, directors of commercial societies established in the colony, three of whom could be foreigners enjoying an assimilated status; 2 industrialists one of whom could be a foreigner, a naval captain or a representative of shipping company and plantation owners, one of whom should be non-French. A chief or an African plantation owner could be co-opted. The High Commissioner could delegate an official to represent him in the Chamber's Assembly, and to participate in deliberations. The representative however, had limited powers and was not to participate in voting.⁵²

The FCCCIA was not the first of its kind to be founded in French West Africa. The French as aforementioned had earlier founded Chambers of Commerce in St. Louis and Dakar during the later part of the nineteenth century.⁵³ These Chambers greatly influenced the creation of the FCCCIA in structure and policy, more so as the French aimed at merging all their colonies in the world into France Outre-Mer.⁵⁴ Hence the FCCCIA like the Chamber of other colonies aided in influencing and maintaining the French colonial policy in French Cameroon.

THE CAMEROON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE INDUSTRY AND MINES,
BUILDING, BONANJO QUARTERS, DOUALA.



Source: Bimonthly News Magazine of the CCIM
April - May 1988 (Coverpage).

Like the KCC before it, the FCCCIA was to extend membership only to Africans who had acquired French citizenship. The idea of citizenship originated from the French ideology which stated that colonies were French territories in the same way as the metropolis and enjoyed the same position in private and public law. French citizenship was granted to Africans who through education had acquired French values, and believed, thought and acted like Frenchmen. Those who attained these requirements earned the title citoyen.⁵⁵ which entitled them to civil and political rights as persons of French origin. This process which had its roots in the French origin. This process which had its roots in the French revolutionary idea that all men were born free and equal irrespective of their origin or cultural background, paradoxically granted citizenship only to those who could be assimilated into the French culture, thereby negating its very raison d'être.⁵⁶ The French had fought hard to suppress corporal punishment and by Act. No.46.645 of 11 April, 1946 the labour code for Overseas Territories provided loopholes to recruiting forced labour. But the system of forced labour did not completely go out of existence until 1952.⁵⁷ The French to some extent granted equality and justice to citizens and educated Africans to assimilation level, to the degree that the capable ones could sit with Frenchmen alongside in the Advisory Council and in the FCCIA.⁵⁸ But all this only unveiled contradictions in the French policy of assimilation as only a few Africans were actually assimilated.

As far as membership of FCCCIA was concerned, some notable local people like Kings Rudolf Douala Manga Bell and Akwa, both of Douala, were allowed at the initial stage to sit in the Chamber during assembly meetings.⁵⁹ As Chief Sonne Dipoko explained, the Chamber at that time was exclusively for the European businessmen and only local kings or chiefs could be allowed to sit in as observers. As such they made no contributions during session debates.⁶⁰ The early full-members of this organization were mainly Frenchmen who belonged to other Chambers in France.⁶¹ They were the real active members of the Chamber who enjoyed all the benefits. The less active members were made up of the Dutch, the Greeks and other European merchants. The Chamber was not obliged to accept their suggestions, especially if they went contrary to the interest of the French commercial, industrial and agricultural classes.

By virtue of their appointments, the presidents were members of the various branches of the FCCCIA. One of the presidents Robert Thillard (who served from 1928 to 1930) was a former member of the agricultural section and therefore paid greater attention to agricultural matters. During his tenure of office as president of the Chamber, he reported on the deteriorating agricultural and commercial situations in the country to Marchand who was then

the Government.⁶² Apart from this role of Thillard, not much has been said about the other presidents, except about their routine functions, of presiding over Chamber Assemblies, and coordinating economic activities of the various sections of the Chamber.

2.5 FUNCTIONS OF THE FCCCIA

The FCCCIA played some distinct roles to the benefit of the colonial administration. Although it was created to cater for the private sector or the French business interests in the territory, it tended more to aid the colonial administration towards the achievements of its economic goals. In 1926 the Chamber had an elected assembly, which represented the European economic interests in Cameroon.

The government gave the Chamber a very substantial financial support, through the financing of most of its major projects, appointing and paying its officials and equipping their offices. Through such measures government controlled the Chamber's policies. It exercised a supervisory authority over the FCCCIA through the bureau of the General Assembly in Cameroon. In this manner, the relationship between the Chamber and the French Government in France was cordial as the government needed the full cooperation of such an economic organization to exploit the economy of the colony.⁶³ This is very unlike the Anglo-Saxon type of Chamber where members deplored and did everything to avoid government financial support so as to be independent of government control.

The Chamber was required to give advice to the General Assembly on issues related to commerce, industry, agriculture and even labour. In this way, the Chamber often influenced government policies on all economic matters in the country. Furthermore, the Chamber, opened its doors to enquiries from the local chiefs on the development of infrastructure in their areas; the creation of local markets for imports and the export of local products.

The Chamber was conversant with trade regulations and was regarded as an institution of business law, whose laws ameliorated the Chamber's smooth-running.⁶⁴ It could on its own initiative suggest plans to be submitted to the administration and influence its decisions on the setting up of economic policies, especially those concerning import quotas, to curb dumping of goods such as bananas, tea and rice that could be produced locally in great quantities. If these were allowed to be imported indiscriminately into the territory, the crops produced locally would be pushed to the background as the people would tend to prefer the imported to the locally produced products. In spite of this, it was forbidden to discuss or deliberate on political issues

in the Chamber.⁶⁵

Secondly, the Chamber furnished its members and the government with local and external information on commerce, agriculture, forestry and industry. It set up agencies to collect statistics on all aspects of the economy, both at home and abroad. Thus, it was fully armed not only to study the trend in the economic development of Cameroon, but also to make authoritative pronouncement on the standard and quality of products as they affected both the producers and consumers alike. The Chamber amongst its other duties also linked up local businessmen with foreign investors. In fact, the Chamber became a depository of archival materials relating to the economy of Cameroon in 1927 when it inaugurated its monthly bulletins printed in Togo.⁶⁶ It also published information in newspapers.

Furthermore, it opened up libraries where important information about the FCCCIA could be preserved for the public. It was for this purpose that the library attached to the Douala Chamber of Commerce was constructed.⁶⁷ Results of projects carried out by the Chamber and economic statistics on the territory were, and are still being preserved in this library. However, it was only with the permission of the High Commissioner that the Chamber could be allowed to publish the minutes of its meetings.⁶⁸ And this very rarely happened.

Finally, the Chamber provided administrative services to many private companies on economic matters. Also, some of the Chamber's offices were used for commercial transactions while the Chamber provided warehouses and general stores for European merchants. Indeed, by the order of the Governor General, the General Assembly assisted the Chamber with subventions to run administrative and even financial services.

The FCCCIA was a member of the Board of Directors of the Marketing Board. As such, it availed itself of relevant information concerning the marketing of produce for its members and contributed in the formulation of the marketing policies of the colony. The Chamber could be called upon at any time to produce the original certificate of exported products. As such, the Chief of Service of Customs had the right to participate in Chamber deliberations. Meetings were held one session per term, but the president could convoke meetings when he deemed it necessary.⁶⁹ The FCCCIA Assembly could also vote for additional meetings each time the interest and number of questions called for them.

The FCCCIA elected its members according to the various sections that existed in the Chamber: (agricultural, commercial and industrial) and also according to the number of subdivisions within the country. These members could participate in the deliberations in a

consultative capacity. The Chamber could equally invite to its sessions specialists whom it wished to consult on technical questions. Deliberations of the Chamber were not public. Their decisions were compiled in the form of monographs and occasional and periodical publications were edited and published by its agents.⁷⁰

A decree passed on 7 December, 1926,⁷¹ named members of the section of agriculture: 3 French, 1 foreigner, and 2 Africans. It is important to note that, the French and foreign members all had duty posts, while the two African members had none. Thus, the French were doing very little to inculcate good business management and spirit into the Africans. Nonetheless, some of the Africans who acquired the qualification to sit in these organizations alongside whites, felt so elevated that they did not think there was any role greater than that of being ordinary members for them. Blaise Diagne of Senegal, the first African to be elected into the French Chamber of Deputies, for example, regarded himself as the chosen one. His only apprehension was that he could be dropped out if he agitated. Obviously, he had no concern for his fellow Africans. However, the humanitarians quietly cogitated on how the status quo could be ameliorated.⁷²

The Decree of 15 December, 1926 accorded the officials named in the FCCCIA a civil personality, that is, their services to the Chamber from then onwards were to be remunerated. Although this decree sounded so promising it was going to indirectly introduce or perpetuate corruption in the Chamber as people were no more going to be recruited on the basis of efficiency, but by bonds of relationship. The Decree of 9 March, 1933, made all regular members, of both sexes, members of the electoral college. This meant that any one of them could be elected to hold any posts in the Chamber. However, to qualify for elections a person had to be 25 years old and resident in the country for at least six months from 1 January of the year of the election.

On 26 April, 1933 the FCCCIA became known as the French Cameroons Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry, (now FCCCAI instead of FCCCIA). No reason has been found for this change, but it could have been simply because the organization wanted to place more emphasis on agricultural activities in view of the fact that over 70% of Cameroon's active population at the time was quite involved in agriculture. The Chamber then had a single electoral list and fresh elections were conducted. FCCCAI was then to have an office devoted to administrative and constitutional matters.⁷³ A budget for the restructured organization was established and signed by Bonnecharrere, the High Commissioner at the time. The Chamber

was then composed of 51 members, 28 regular and 23 supplementary members. Out of this number 30 were French, 18 foreigners, and only 3 Africans,⁷⁴ although the constitution had proposed 7 African members.

In 1937, the FCCCAI was again reorganized. From then onwards, the president was elected during a plenary assembly. A President and a Secretary-Treasurer were to be chosen among the French members. The French strove hard to monopolize all the key posts of the organization for fear that their interests in decision making might be jeopardized.

The President was the administrative chief of the FCCCAI and directed the debates in both the Chamber and the plenary assembly. In the President's absence, the Vice-President (French) of the commercial section took his place. The commercial section elected two Vice Presidents, one a French and another a foreigner while the Agriculture and Industry sections each elected a French Vice-President. The President, the 4 Vice-Presidents, and the Secretary Treasurer constituted the policy making body of the FCCCAI. Decisions at the meeting of the Chamber were carried out by majority vote. Supplementary members were excluded from the bureau meetings.⁷⁵

The FCCCAI was now composed of the following: officials regular and alternate or supplementary members.

1. OFFICIALS: 1 President and 4 Vice-Presidents from Agriculture, Commerce, Forestry Industry.

1 Secretary-General

1 Treasurer

2. REGULAR MEMBERS	FRENCH	FOREIGN	INDIGENE
Commercial Section	10	8	2
Agricultural	11	3	1
Industry and Forestry	9	2	1
3. ALTERNATE OR SUPPLEMENTARY MEMBERS	FRENCH	FOREIGN	INDIGENE
Commercial	1	1	1
Agriculture	2	1	1
Industry and Forestry	3	1	1

Source: Journal Officiel du Cameroun Français (JOCF), MAY, 1949, p.369.

In 1935, members of the FCCCAI were divided into the commercial, Agricultural, Industrial and Forestry Sections. These sections were created to facilitate an efficient study of problems in the different domains. There were altogether 59 members: 47 regular and 12 alternate or supplementary members. The regular and 12 alternate or supplementary members. The regular members were from the commercial section which had 23 as against 19 in the Agricultural and 16 in the Industrial and Forestry Sections. Even though representation continued to be lopsided, the gap between the commercial section and the others was being gradually narrowed.⁷⁶

The Decree of 24 May, 1949, changed the composition of the Chamber. Group 'A' was made up of French citizens, assimilated foreigners and non-French Europeans. Group 'B' was composed of African French citizens. Members of the cooperative and of the Cameroonian Insurance Companies were also members of the Chamber. As a result of all these changes, the Industrial and Forestry Sections which were formerly together, separated.⁷⁷ In addition, each major section had a sub-section which permitted members to express their personal views in their various sub-sections during deliberations. Another change was that members of the agricultural section out-numbered those of the commercial sector for the first time: 27 against 23. But more importance was still attached to commerce rather than to agriculture which was the key sector for the first time: 27 against 23. But more importance was still attached to commerce rather than to agriculture which was the key sector of the nation's economy.⁷⁸ This disparity constituted crucial problems which negatively affected the structure of the FCCCAI in the future. A change in the proportion of members in favour of agriculture was more significant in the history of the FCCCAI. In terms of numbers, African representation by 1949 had improved considerably, 26.8% as against 8.8% in 1926. This still did not mean much because the French administration offered more seats to foreigners than to the Cameroonians whose material, moral, and social welfare they pretended to be promoting.

By 1930, there were 5 Cameroonians in the FCCCAI: Paul Penda, Bema Mouangue, Erdmann Eteki, Moundo Essoukan, and Doumbe Edimo.⁷⁹ Later on, this number was increased by Paul Sonne. Between 1949 and 1955 French Cameroonians more than ever before decided to defend their national interest. To this effect, Messrs. Otabela, Mpondo Epo4, Ephrem Mba, and Mbede Ndongu distinguished themselves by intervening in the Chamber and by urging the assembly to improve on technical matters such as appointing African members into posts of responsibility and granting them more openings into all the sectors of the economy - agriculture,

commerce and industries.⁸¹

In 1929, the number of the members in the agricultural sector in the Chamber was increased. One tends to believe that the increase would have changed the course of decisions in the Chamber in favour of the agricultural sector, but this did not happen readily. This was because European members understood fully well that agriculture actually set the tone for economic activities, but failed to compromise with the Cameroonian members, who provided labour and needed to be adequately remunerated. This state of affairs infested the Chamber with disunity, which openly manifested itself in the split of 1955.

2.6 EMERGENCE OF THE CHAMBER OF AGRICULTURE

The Ministerial decision number 8562 of 12 December, 1955, abolished the decision that created the FCCCAI in 1933 and instituted in its place the Cameroon Chamber of Agriculture which incorporated Animal Husbandry and Forestry. Its headquarters was in Yaounde, an agricultural zone, while its area of influence extended to cover the whole territory of French Cameroon. The Chamber sessions held ones every two months or when deemed necessary. The regular and supplementary members of various sections (Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and forestry) met independently to vote a vice president and a supplementary vice president.

In like manner, a similar ministerial decision number 8563, made the same day instituted the Chamber of Commerce, quite independent of that of Agriculture. It incorporated mines, and became the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (CCIM). Its sphere of influence covered the whole territory French Cameroon, but its headquarters remained in Douala, a commercial and an industrial centre. The composition of the CCIM was arranged in such a way that a regular, as well as a supplementary Vice President was elected for each section. In an earlier decision in 1933 the bureau of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry had already qualified to have a foreign Vice President.⁸²

The emergence of the Chamber of Agriculture was not a sudden affair. As earlier mentioned, since the creation of the FCCCIA in 1921, members had criticized it for giving more attention to commerce than to agriculture, which was the mainstay of the Cameroonian economy. Besides, agricultural produce made up the bulk of exports and constituted the most important export sector between Cameroon and France.⁸³

In the annual report of the FCCCAI of 1953 which was brought before the Plenary Session of January 1954, the farmers argued that there was no mention of any project realized

in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, an examination of the agenda of the Plenary Session held within the previous three years, revealed that nothing had been discussed about agriculture, except the question about cocoa. Thus, the questions dealing with agricultural interests were never discussed. Having thus noticed the neglect of the agricultural sector in the deliberations of the Chamber, the representatives of the farmer in the Chamber declared that the farmers who made up 70% Cameroon's active population could not be proud of the attitude of the Chamber towards their problems.⁸⁴ This is why they were asking in the name of all members and agricultural cooperatives for the creation of a Chamber of Agriculture with its own normal and personal status. The officers of the separate chambers could contact each other as often as they required for matters which needed to be discussed together. Organized this way, the Chamber of Agriculture could examine problems affecting agriculture. The representatives further suggested that since the CCIM was in Douala, it was normal that the Chamber of Agriculture be located in an agricultural region, for which Yaounde was deemed most suitable.⁸⁵

In 1955, the planters petitioned the High Commissioner and demanded the establishment of a separate Chamber of Agriculture, quite distinct from and not linked to the CCIM. It was to be at par with the CCIM, although having its own status and officials. However, the interests of the three economic groupings were opposed in certain respects to such an extent that they could not be managed within the same organization.⁸⁶ The farmers had all taken part in Chamber debates concerning issues in which the planters and traders, for reasons of diversity of interests, could not arrive at a compromise. By appealing to the sincerity of all members of the Chamber of Commerce, the farmers were obliged to draw attention to the fact that it was not efficiently and usefully possible to combine management of the commercial and agricultural interests in a single Chamber.

The Chamber of Agriculture from its inception collaborated a great deal with the colonial administration. It furnished the Governor with all information about, and provided opinions to many of the questions affecting agriculture including labour, land tenure, land expropriation, export crops, tariffs, taxes and transportation.

The different sections of this Chamber functioned independently in view of their various areas of interests, but came together once every two months to discuss general matters, such as transportation, labour, and tariffs. In their various sections the planters discussed agricultural problems especially those related to crop pests, and methods of improving on their farm outputs. The animal breeders discussed problems related to rearing and maintaining cattle quality and

output such as animal diseases, availability of grazing land, methods of increasing productivity in the animal world and cross-breeding, while the foresters discussed problems involving the felling of trees and forest resource conservation.

The Chamber of Agriculture had an overall President for all the three sections and a foreign Vice President, although each of the three sections had a Vice President. These officials⁸⁷ met in case of any urgent matters pertaining to the three sections. Local members of the Agricultural section in 1955 included Messrs. Dincong, Koumkang, Ephrem Mba, Noya Aboubakar, Jean Ndingun, Lea Bernard Mofoumou, Adolphe Mengue, Elie Lemi, Louis Wambo, Esengue Ondoua Abondo, Zacharie Nguetchouang, Bernard manga, David Zilly, Maurice Kamayou and Felix Koche.⁸⁸ Indeed, the number had gone up to 14 from 3 in 1933. Hence, without any fear of contradiction, it could be concluded that the split was a necessary move to increase African participation in the various chambers.

2.7 OBSTACLES FACED BY THE FCCAI IN ATTAINING ITS GOALS

Apart from the sectionalism that invaded the FCCAI, to faced many problems in the course of attaining some of its goals. The French suffered from an acute shortage of funds during the interwar period, 1914-1938. Consequently, the French government used forced labour for public works, especially as they were preoccupied with recovery from the First World War. Hence, a labour tax which became notoriously known as prestation was introduced. By prestation, all men were obliged to furnish the administration with ten days of conscript and unpaid work a year⁸⁹. With this attitude some Cameroonians were made to believe that the French were worse than the Germans who had used much forced labour only for plantation work. Forced labour was greatly detested, more so because those who needed it lost their sense of human feeling. It was greatly used for the extension of the railway line which the Germans had built to Njock. The French needed to extend it from Njock to Makak and on to Yaounde, a distance of 133 kilometers.⁹⁰

Another set-back for FCCAI came from the admission of Germany as a member of the League of Nations, in 1926. From that year on, Germany strongly campaigned to gain back Cameroon.⁹¹ This gave the French the notion and consequently instilled in their minds the apprehension that Germany might one day regain her former colony. As a result of this German phobie, the French on the whole and members of the FCCAI in particular were bound to lose the enthusiasm in undertaking more economic ventures. Hence, by 1939 only one latex plant

industry; one palm oil industry, and a few saw mills were found in the territory. Even though the French expanded on the existing communication infrastructure, the transport network remained inadequate to provide for a smooth flow of trade in the colony. Thus, the shortage of ports along the coast and good roads into the interior of the colony continued to be an obstacle to the economic advancement of the territory during the French administration in Cameroon.⁹²

After the split of 1955 discussed earlier, Francophone Cameroonians in general and the African members of the two Chambers in particular, that is, the Chambers of Agriculture and of Commerce, found it increasingly difficult to enter the export and import trade because the banks were unwilling to offer them loans. This was because the French wanted the Mandatory Territories to produce only raw materials.⁹³ Besides, the administration was fond of procrastinating in such matters as the granting of import and export licences to the local population. This was quite contrary to the French colonial policy which was out to grant equality and to exercise justice to all, in order to make the citizens of all its colonies to attain an equal social status with that of Metropolitan France.

2.8 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FCCCAI

In spite of all the obstacles that stood on the way of the FCCCAI, it did a lot to encourage economic activities in the entire French Cameroon's territory. Through its encouragement, commercial activities and plantation agriculture were expanded. The task of the Chamber from 1926 was to supervise exportation towards Bordeaux, Le Havre, Marseilles and the other commercial towns of France.⁹⁴

During a symposium held in Douala on 4 November, 1938, Pierre Boisson, the High Commissioner from 1936-1938 evaluated the achievements of the Chamber of Commerce. According to him, the Chamber had established a lot of medical facilities. Outstanding amongst them was a building constructed in Douala comprising a bacterial laboratory and a sanitary office for the coordination of sanitary activities. In Yaounde like in Douala, a hospital consisting of a sterilization room and an X-ray department was inaugurated. A similar project was carried out in Nkongsamba⁹⁵. At this juncture Boisson concluded that forced labour was France's desired practice in the territory and could not be done away with easily. The medical services offered were therefore only to enable the Africans to stay healthy enough to be able to furnish the Europeans with the adequate labour force.

New methods of stepping up agricultural production were introduced. Timber production

that had been introduced during the German era and exploited only in small quantities was now being exploited on a large scale in the forest zone of the South. Coffee became an important export crop. Arabica coffee was greatly cultivated in the western region where the climate was suitable for its growth, while Robusta coffee was grown in the equatorial regions of the South, Littoral and South West Provinces, where it thrived best.⁹⁶

The Chamber also organized Trade Fairs. The first of its kind was organized in 1932. It was of an agricultural nature, and was organized in a locality where a good collection of agricultural produce could easily be assembled for the exhibition. The population within the countryside rallied in Yaounde to admire the products of its land.⁹⁷ The Second Trade Fair was organized in Douala on 26 March, 1936. It was an exposition of Cameroon's Industrial Arts, although predominated by the Bamoun art. Artists were called upon to display freely their artistic works. These fairs were free and people discovered lots of great Cameroonian art that was hidden in the interior of the country.⁹⁸

Through pressure from the FCCCAI the department of Public Works carried out improvement on road infrastructure. With funds largely from the French national budget and from local revenue, construction work was undertaken from time to time. Old bridges were reinforced and new ones such as the Bonaberi bridge over the River Wouri, were constructed. The KribiYaounde road of 295km through Lolodorf and Olama was improved upon. The already existing Douala, Kribi and the inland port of Garoua were also innovated and railways extended. The northern railway line, for example, was extended to reach Ngaoundere the Adamawa region.⁹⁹ The international airport in Douala was modified to boost the fast transportation of perishable commodities: meat, vegetables, and bananas with the territory and abroad.¹⁰⁰

The postal, telegraphic and telephonic services were greatly expanded. By so doing, business communication was facilitated between Douala, Edea, Eseké, Yaounde, Lolodorf, Ebolowa, and Kribi.¹⁰¹ The members of the Chamber did not spare any efforts in improving any aspect of the economy which could speed up economic activities. For example, between 1952 and 1953 the Chamber devoted 94 million francs to the following projects:

Table 2PROJECTS FUNDED BY THE FCCCAI BETWEEN 1952-1953 IN FCFA

Purchase of a piece of land at Kribi	3.000.000
Construction of a Secretariat at Yaounde	37,080.669
Construction of an aerodrome in Douala	7.507.820
Built three Bd. Leclec shops	17.862.161
Construction of two bridges along Doula Yaounde Road	6.048.050
Construction of the Kribi gite stape	11.337.517
Renovation of the consular hall in Douala	3.391.252
Renovation of Pavillon De Gaulle avenue	1.986.502
Renovation of three large building of Pasteur Street	4.736.647
Source: E.N. Ngoube, "La Chambre de commerce et la Promotion Economique du Cameroun", Yaounde, 1975, (B.A. Project), pp. 22-23.	

The FCCCAI also carried out study visits to Nigeria and France. In 1949 a Chamber's delegation was sent to Nigeria. The delegation was motivated by the Chamber's desire to improve on its activities as well as on its organization. While in Nigeria, the delegation (led by Otabela) was astonished to see that the prices of basic goods were much cheaper than those of the same goods in Cameroon. This did not please them, because if the delegation had to reduce prices when it returned from Nigeria, it would be doing so at the expense of the members' profits. Next, if Cameroon had to trade with Nigeria, she would obviously have to incur losses on her commodities. The problem in the analysis was that the Nigerian products were cheaper and in effect more competitive on Cameroon's market. This implied that in Cameroon, more people were willing to buy Nigerian products and more profits realized by the Nigerian merchant, whereas the Cameroonian products on the Nigerian market and more profits realized by the Nigerian market tended to be expensive and as such repelled potential Nigerian buyers. Thus, the Cameroonian businessman would sell very little and would thus realize only marginal profit or even incur a loss as compared to his Nigerian counterpart. Nevertheless, there existed contraband trade between Cameroon and Nigeria in such items as dawns and provisions from Nigeria and palm kernels from Cameroon.¹⁰²

From 1950 onwards, as the indigenous members of the FCCAI became increasingly overwhelmed by their national sentiments, their French counterparts were obliged gradually to

abandon the suppressive measures formerly applied on the African members. Hence, visits were made abroad to Europe and to West African countries, especially those that had established their own Chambers before those in Cameroon. These visits were organized to enable indigenous members of the Chamber to acquire from abroad, better methods of running such organizations. These visits were all financed from the budget of the Chamber. Members of the 1950 mission to Europe included Otabela Hubert, Sonne Paul, and Zilly David. They were sponsored for 41 days. From then onwards, the Chamber encouraged its members to carry out trade missions abroad through both partial and full sponsorship.¹⁰³

In sum, some businessmen were not serious about their trade missions, but others learnt quite much from their experiences abroad. Some realized, for example, that there existed commercial schools where people trained on good business management. On their return home, they urged the government through the Chamber to create similar institutions for the improvement of the business lot. However, it was not easy to have this done at the time. The government was only able to open such schools in the 1960s as the one in Bouala opened in 1960. In a nutshell, the period was that of many achievements for the Chamber. It went through many changes, both in structure and in name. Although the Chamber split into two, the twin Chambers cooperated as partners in the economic development of the territory. Symposiums, industrial and agricultural trade fairs were organized at home, while study missions were sent abroad. Many development projects were undertaken and in this manner, the Chamber made a great impact on the nation's economy.

C. THE ECONOMY OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS 1922-1958 AND THE INAUGURATION OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE 1958-1961

2.9 THE ECONOMY OF SOUTHERN CAMEROONS 1922-1958

The period from 1916-1922 was an era of great uncertainty and instability in the economic history of Cameroon. This was so because the Mandatory Powers were not sure and still had to be ascertained of their possession of the Mandatory Territories handed to them by the Versailles Treaty of 1919. The Treaty partitioned German Kamerun between Britain and France.¹⁰⁴

But the British remained so sceptical about the mandatory system because the mandatory territories could be withdrawn from them at any time. They therefore cared less about the development of their portion of the territory, but utilized every opportunity to exploit its

resources. Britain saw Southern Cameroons as a territory which Germany might later re-acquire and so hardly treated it with much care as she did with her other overseas colonies.¹⁰⁵

Despite their individual differences, the Mandatory Powers in charge of directing the economic destiny of their Mandates in Cameroon, were confronted with common problems. The predominant problem was that of labour, without which the pre-war productive capacity of the territory could not be revived. To solve this problem, the administrative officers were obliged to go on recruitment tours to the villages and to urge the chiefs to supply workers of the plantation. British Cameroons in particular got labour from the grassfields¹⁰⁶ of British and French Cameroons and also from neighboring Nigeria.¹⁰⁷ But labourers from Nigerian did not only end up in Southern Cameroons, they also emigrated into French Cameroon, because of better working conditions that existed there. Other problems included the introduction of different currencies to replace the German Mark as a medium of exchange,¹⁰⁸ the introduction of the French and English languages to replace the German language and the superimposition of the British and the French administrative systems on that of the Germans in the partitioned territory.

From 20 July, 1922, Southern Cameroons was officially administered as part of Eastern Nigeria. British values were rapidly introduced into the territory to replace those of the Germans. The West African pound sterling which was the legal tender circulating in all British West African colonies began to circulate in southern Cameroons. Potential labourers who migrated into the territory from neighboring countries, including French Cameroonians who were now using Francs, were remunerated in sterling. Local workers from the vicinity of the plantations earned 4½ per day, while those from the grasslands and distant places earned 6d and 9d respectively.

British commercial firms in Southern Cameroons were relatively few compared to the number of French companies in French Cameroon. The British found it more convenient and profitable to leave the exploitation of local agricultural resources to the African farmers. They considered it uneconomical investing directly in agricultural production in the territory as the Germans did, because it was cheaper for the British to buy produce cultivated by the local population.¹⁰⁹

From 1923 Nigerians arrived in great numbers to work in British Cameroons. Civil servants sought employment in government services and others in the plantations. In 1926 there were 94 Nigerian workers in the plantations and by 1936 the number had increased to 2687.¹¹⁰ The enthusiasm of the German planters who had bought back their former plantations from the British and were anxious to expand their production, coupled with the availability of labour from

Nigerian immigrants and favourable prices in Europe, made it possible for further acreage to be brought into cultivation. Total employment in the plantations rose from 11,000 workers in 1924 to 13,000 in 1928, 15,000 in 1935 and to 25,000 in 1938. The number of German planters in the territory in the 1930s was between 200 and 250. As a matter of fact, the Germans were almost virtually in control of the country's economic life until 1939 when the Second World War broke out and they were forced to leave the territory.¹¹¹ The apprehension nursed by the British about the Germans was therefore not without a basis, for out of the 21 firms and commercial company representatives meeting in 1932 in Victoria, 12 were Germans.¹¹²

The Germans introduced the earliest Chambers in the territory, and due to the apparent lukewarmness of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce towards events in British Cameroons, the Germans resumed the control of its economy during the early mandatory period. The Germans had no representatives in the Lagos Chamber of Commerce because after the First World War they and other European firms that opposed the British colonial interests in Nigeria were automatically compelled to withdraw their membership. However, the British companies in the territory including the United Africa Company (UAC), were represented in the Lagos Chamber which controlled the economy of Eastern Nigeria.¹¹³ It was therefore not necessary, structurally, to have another Chamber in the territory. But it became necessary in 1954 when the region became a separate region from Eastern Nigerian.

The economic expansion that emanated from this political change brought dramatic economic changes to British Cameroons. The port facilities of Tiko and Victoria were expanded by plantation owners and a new wharf for loading bananas on ongoing steamers was constructed. The Germans also provided social facilities to the workers in the form of camps for workers, shops, schools, health units, offices and warehouses. Overseas trade and most investments in Southern Cameroons during the mandatory period were undertaken by the Germans and not by the British, the mandatory authority. Nigeria under which the British administered Southern Cameroons was fully aware of the economic potentials of the province, but also feared investing in it because of the territory's unsure political destiny. This situation was further worsened by the enforcement of the mandatory system.¹¹⁴

After the First World War, traditional trade thrived in Southern Cameroons, while international trade dwindled. The salt trade from Mamfe to the north, east as well as to the Grassfields of Dschang, the Bamileke Highlands and to Nigeria was revived and it flourished. The kolanut trade from Nso and other producing areas to French Cameroon and Northern Nigeria,

where the kolanuts were absorbed by the Hausa and Fulbe traders also prospered. In like manner, the people of Ndop Plain, So and Oku continued to supply hunting implements: local hoes, knives, cutlasses and clay pots to the people of Mankon, Santa and other villages. Traditional trade became an essential economic activity because of the geographical distribution of the important raw materials. This called for the extension of traditional markets within Southern Cameroons and externally to Nigeria and to French Cameroon.¹¹⁵ It is however important to mention here that despite their involvement in this trade, Cameroonians were generally lacking in entrepreneurship and finances. This resulted to the mass movement of Nigerians, especially the Igbos into Cameroon to take advantage of the situation.¹¹⁶ By the 1930s the Igbos controlled Cameroon's local trade. Others who followed suit were the Efiks and Ibiobios. They could afford reasonable capital and the savior-faire and were able to contact major trade centres in Nigeria and British Cameroons. Such centres included Aba, Onitsha, Port Harcourt and Calabar in Nigeria and Tiko, Kumba, Victoria, Mamfe and Bamenda in Southern Cameroons.¹¹⁷ The Igbos of eastern Nigeria soon established themselves as sizeable minorities in the towns of Western and Northern Nigeria and in Cameroon. In much the same way, the Bamilekes of French Cameroon had increased in numbers in Douala much more rapidly than the Daulas themselves. This went to the extent that, they dominated the trade of the town.¹¹⁸ This is illustrated by the table below showing the position of labour in Douala via British Cameroons in 1948.

TABLE 3

THE PARTICIPTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE ECONOMY OF BRITISH CAMEROON 1948

	<u>% Involved in each Sector</u>	
	French Camerounians	Nigerians
Traditional Agriculture	69.6	58.4
Plantation Agriculture	5.1	5.8
Traditional Commerce and Crafts	10.4	29.4
Industry	0.9	1.2
Modern Commerce and Transport	3.2	3.1
Non-Profitable Private Sector	1.7	0.6
Domestic Servants	1.2	0.8
Public Sector (Civil Servants)	7.9	0.7
T o t a l	100.0%	100.0%

Source: J.-L Dongmo, Le Dynamisme Bamileke (Cameroun). La Maitrise de L'Espace Agraire. Yaounde, 1981, p. 293.

The table shows that out of all the immigrants into West Cameroon in 1948, 69.9% of them (East Cameroonians) were involved in traditional agriculture, while 58.4% of their Nigerian counterparts were involved in the same occupation. On the other hand 29.4% of the Nigerian immigrants were involved in traditional commerce and crafts, while only 10.4% East Cameroonians did commerce. These figures depict that the East Cameroonian immigrants made up mostly of the Bamileke people, dominated agricultural activities, while the Nigeians, most of whom were Igbos, controlled the commercial sector of the economy in the territory.

Between 1925 and 1945 active Cameroonian traders from Bangwa who plied the Calabar, Aba and Onitsha trade routes included Musa Nkengajong, Ekolaebe Fuanke, Mbenkembcha and Gopngu Fontem.¹¹⁹ They traded in livestock, poultry, tobacco, grains, ivory and kolanuts from Cameroon, and from Nigeria they brought manufactured goods to Cameroon.

Firms that facilitated trade between Nigerian and Southern Cameroons included the United Africa Company (UAC) John Holt and Pamol company. By 1930 these companies had extended their activities from Nigeria into british Cameroons and branches were established in Victoria, Kumba, Mamfe and Bamenda. The firms used the Cross and Ndian Rivers for

transportation. But by 1946 the West African AirTransport Authority was established by an Order in Council and the West African Airways Corporation (WAAC) established to provide services to British West African territories. Flights began in 1947, and Tiko was linked to Calabar and Lagos. Light imported goods could not be freighted to British Cameroons. By 1950 a wireless telephone service communication was installed between Nigeria and Southern Cameroons. And by 1952 motorable roads went from Nigerian to Cameroon through Mamfe by ferry over the Cross River to Ekok.¹²⁰ All this made it possible for Nigerians to invest in British firms, buildings and hotels in Southern Cameroons. The Harlem City Hotel in Kumba for example, was built by a Nigerian, Mr. Ezoba in 1946. Though better transportation facilities between 1952 and 1953, 2114 tons of palm kernel and 116 tons of cocoa were transported from Mamfe to Calabar through the Cross River. And a total of 6547 tons of palm oil and 2439 tons of palm kernel were exported through Ndian to Calabar by the Pamol Company. On the other hand, with the construction of the Ikom-Calabar and Kumba roads, cement and other building materials could be imported into Cameroon from Nigeria.¹²¹

There was illegal trade along the British/French Cameroons border. The Pinyin people in the Western Grassfields, in Southern Cameroons remained the most active middlemen in this clandestine trade. They smuggled kerosene, salt, tobacco, cigarettes (Craven A), beer (beaufort), matches, clothes, goats and pigs from Nkongsamba and neighbouring Babadjou in French Cameroun. These articles were taken to the Widikum, Ashong, Metta, Bali and Bamenda markets in British Cameroons for sale. On returning to French Cameroons traders took along gunpowder, drugs (Penicillin from Nigeria), palm oil and kernel to be sold in that part of the country.¹²² Smuggling continued because it was profitable. a smuggled carton of Craven 'A' cigarettes bought at 3460FCFA in Dschang in French Cameroon was sold for about £15 (10380FCFA) in Aba or Onitsha.¹²³ The SCCC was obliged to reinforce its efforts in halting the smugglers whose activities were against the legal trade practices. As smugglers sold their articles cheaper because they escaped custom duties. Thus, general export and import licences as of 20 April, 1951 were distributed to residents in Nigeria and British Cameroons as follows:

Bamenda (Cameroon)	-	8
Rivers, Port Harcourt	-	20
Ogoja, Ogoja Province	-	14
Onitsha, Onitsha Province	-	24
Calabar, Calabar Province	-	18

Source: File No. 6042 410 Q1 1958/3, Export Control West Cameroon, p. 497.

From the above statistics, it may be postulated that the level of economic activities in Southern Cameroons was either too low or that its people were discriminated against in the distribution of these licences. This is also so because nothing has been said about economic towns in Southern Cameroon such as Mamfe, Kumba and Victoria. It might also have been so because with the different currencies circulating in the British and French Cameroons movements and trade were limited. Besides, permits were obtained to export timber, petrol mac lamps, hand and foot sewing machines, gramophones, crates of plates, pans and other utensils to French Cameroon.¹²⁴ Thus, only viable permit holders could freely carry out commercial activities. Below are two separate lists of common imports and exports from French Cameroon into the rest of British Cameroons.

List of Imports into Southern Cameroons From the French Cameroun in 1958

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Stockfish | 2. Ladies' Gabadine felt hats |
| 3. Gents Gabadine felt hats | 4. Ladies' Rain coats |
| 5. Gents' Rain coats | 6. Ladies' earrings |
| 7. Ladies' neck chains and beads | 8. Motor spare parts |
| 9. Household pressing irons | 10. Table fans |
| 11. Rice | 12. Gramophone Records |
| 13. Table wine | 14. Ladies' hand bags |
| 15. Cigarettes | 16. Tobacco |
| 17. Gents' suiting | 18. Ladies' shoes and canvas |
| 19. Gents shoes and canvas | 20. Ladies' suiting |
| 21. Bandages and cotton | 22. Gents shirts |
| 23. Ladies prints | 24. Bales of velvets |
| 25. Wash basins | 26. House pails |
| 27. Enamel dishes | 28. Cutlasses |

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 29. Files | 30. Sweaters |
| 31. Sardines | 32. Smoked herrings |
| 33. Lamps | 34. Drinking glasses |
| 35. Radios and radio parts | 36. Head ties |
| 37. Babies' dresses | 38. Stationery |
| 39. Patent Medicines | 40. China plates |
| 41. Hard ware | |

Source: File No. 6042 410 Q1 1958/3 Export Control West Cameroon, National Archives Buea (NAB), p. 573.

List of Exports From Southern Cameroons to French Cameroon 1958

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Gramophones and parts | 2. Foot sewing machines |
| 3. Hand sewing machines | 4. Khaki (Government fast dyed) |
| 5. Khaki drill | 6. British long hoes |
| 7. Bicycles and parts | 8. China plates |
| 9. Enamel plates | 10. Cutlery |
| 11. Kolanuts | 12. Gari |
| 13. Cocoyam | 14. Plantains |
| 15. Yams | 16. English wax prints |
| 17. Ladies' English wax prints | 18. Small wild animals (monkeys) |
| 19. Feedstuff such as pepper. | |

Source: File No. 6042 410 Q1 1958/3, Export Control West Cameroon, NAB, p. 595.

From the above lists it can be seen that imports from French Cameroon into Southern Cameroons in 1959, more than doubled the exports. This shows that the economy of British Cameroons depended not only on Nigeria, but also heavily on French Cameroon, and that the economy of French Cameroon was waxing much stronger than that of British Cameroon, an outright trade imbalance.

Below is French Cameroon's Trade Through the River Benue from 1947 to 1958:

Table 4

FRENCH CAMEROON'S TRADE THROUGH RIVER BENUE 1947-1958

YEAR	IMPORTS IN TONS	EXPORTS IN TONS
1947	9484	7813
1948	13953	12170
1949	12140	12384
1950	10274	13754
1951	13418	13810
1952	13787	14652
1953	20962	13080
1954	20906	13911
1955	21811	17209
1956	23635	11220
1957	21111	42072
1958	15455	18058

Source: G.Atem, "Cameroon-Nigerian Relations 1884-1961 A Study in Political, Economic and Social Interaction, Two Neighbouring States" University of Calabar, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis) 1984, p. 226.

In Northern Nigeria the River Benue linked Yola with French Cameroon's town of Garoua. In early years as it is today the Garoua port had no links with that of Douala. Although the railway line went only from Douala to Ngaoundere, goods were conveyed by road to and from the river port, as the north depended on the Benue for transportation. The statistics above show that 1956 was the peak year for imports while 1957 was the peak year for exports. The statistics of 1957 especially, postulate that French Cameroon exported to Nigeria almost doubled what she imported. The production of tobacco, cotton, groundnuts, coffee and cocoa formed the bedrock of French Cameroon's industrial growth.

Meanwhile, Southern Cameroon's external trade statistics for 1956-1961 show a healthy picture indicating a prosperous future as below:

Table 5
Southern Cameroon's External Trade Balance 1956-1961
(Values in thousand Pounds Sterling)

Item	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Export	4237	5321	6913	7298	8619	8844
Imports	2011	2370	2961	2543	3442	5500
Balance	2226	2951	3952	4755	5177	3344

Source: W.A. Ndongko, Planning for Economic Development in a Federated State: The Case of Cameroon 1960-1971, Munchen: Weltforum Verlag, 1975, p. 67.

The existence of different currencies - (the pound sterling and the CFA franc) in the British and French Cameroons respectively, posed exchange difficulties. Traders were obliged to obtain permits to export the franc from its zone to the sterling zone and vice versa. In 1939 for example, complaints were made to the Divisional officer of Kumba that after selling their cocoyams at Loum and obtaining payment for them in francs CFA, the people were not allowed

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2.10 THE CREATION OF THE SCCC

The way to the foundation of the SCCC was paved by the formation of political parties which were formed by the local population to fight for independence. The people thought that it was right for them to control the exploitation of the natural wealth of their territory and also to decide their political destiny.¹²⁷

Some of the British firms and commercial enterprises decided to remain with Southern Cameroons after it became a separate region in the Nigerian Federation from 1954. Although the British generally did not show much interest in the economic development of British Cameroons, her businessmen in the territory were at least sure that they had an economic organization, the LCC, which was founded on 13 July, 1888 by African and European merchants in Lagos to count on.¹²⁸ But what is significant for this study is the fact that the Lagos Chamber had no branch in Southern Cameroons during the mandatory period. Its activities were restricted to Port Harcourt, Kano and Calabar in Nigeria. Nonetheless, like any other colonial Chamber it protected only the commercial interest of its members and of those within its sphere of influence. Since the British and consequently the LCC were not enthusiastic about the economic development of Southern Cameroons, when it was fully Britain's mandatory territory, this became even more glaring after its separation from the Nigerian Federation in 1954. At this stage, fear of a degeneration of the economic situation of the territory remained the preoccupation of the Cameroonians.

Prior to the founding of the SCCC, the territory had no Chamber of its own. the Overseas trade of the Federation of Nigeria including Southern Cameroons was handled by the Nigerian Marketing Board in the name of the Federal Government. This arrangement combined with the legal provision for common grades and standards quality, allowed produce from all parts of the federation to be exported Overseas as Nigeria's and not as those of the particular region.¹²⁹ Traces of the SCCC could be laid in 1957-1958 following the decision reached at the Nigerian constitutional Conference to demolish the Nigerian Central Marketing Board.¹³⁰ This made it imperative for the SCCC to be created in 1958.¹³¹ It is important to reiterate here that like all other colonial chambers, the Southern Cameroons Chamber of Commerce was founded to coordinate the economic sector of the British entrepreneurs who had decided to remain in Southern Cameroons after 1954. Without this Chamber the economic life of the territory would have been on a serious jeopardy. Although Southern Cameroons was separated from the Eastern Region and accorded its own House of Assembly and its own Executive Council as a quasi-federal territory within Nigeria, Southern Cameroons Government found it increasingly necessary, during this period to seek direct financial assistance as it perpetually suffered from budgetary deficits. Thus, the united Kingdom and Nigeria made grants to Southern Cameroons from 1955 to 1958, and an expenditure of 1,200,000 pound sterling on the Victoria-Bamenda road in 1959.¹³² Thanks to the colonial government for this expenditure. This example of

colonial masters needs to be emulated by the present government, with all enthusiasm, because road maintenance should be part and parcel of any developing economy. This road as a matter of fact remains the only one that goes from the south to the North West Province. The indigenous post-colonial government has never been serious about road maintenance.

The inaugural Annual General Meeting of the SCCC was held on 26 October, 1954, with the following members indicating their interests:

1. Messrs. Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers Ltd., Molyko.
2. " Bank of West africa Limited, Victoria
3. " Barclays Bank (DC & O) Limited, Victoria
4. " Cadbury and Fry (Cameroons) Limited, Kumba
5. " Cameroon cooperative Exporters Transport Union Limited Kumba.
6. " Brandler and Rylke Limited, Tiko.
7. " Cameroon cooperative Exporters Transport Union Limited, Dibanda.
8. " Coast Timber Company Limited, Tiko
9. " Costain (West Africa) Limited, Kumba
10. " Elders and Fyffes Limited, Kilomba
11. " John Holt (Nigeria) Limited, Victoria
12. " Kamerun Limited, Tiko
13. " P. Keller Limited, Ombe
14. " Pamol Limited, Bwinga
15. " Strasbury (Nigeria) Limited, Kumba
16. " The UAC of Nigeria Limited, Victoria
17. " E.M. Michaletti and Sons (Nigeria) Limited
18. " Texaco Petroleum Company Limited, Tiko
19. " Cameroon's Electrical Accessories Suppliers and Wiring Contractors Limited, Victoria
20. " Basel Mission Book Depot, Victoria
21. " Crop Culture (Aerial) Limited, Bota
22. " Mobil Oil (Nigeria) Limited, Victoria
23. " Shell Company (W.A.) Limited, Tiko
24. " Swiss Lumber Company Limited, Kumba.

Source: File No. 6040 Q1 1958/1 NR. 178 vol. 2, The Southern Cameroons Chamber of

Commerce. Presidents Annual Report, p. 116.

This list of companies and commercial enterprises was compiled after the first Annual General meeting. Others, including E.M. Micheletti and Sons (Nigeria) Limited and Texaco Petroleum Company Limited, Tiko joined the Chamber during the course of the year. From their names one can conclude that they were branches of the companies that existed, and still exist in Nigeria today, except the Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers (BCUF) formed under the leadership of Dr. E.M.L. Endeley. BCUF coordinated banana production amongst Bakweri farmers and exported it directly to the world market rather than through middlemen. The farmers thus got higher returns for their produce.¹³³ The Chamber comprised organizations operating on a commercial basis in Cameroon including cooperatives, contracting firms, plantations, trading firms, and banks. And the Southern Cameroons' Chamber of Commerce like the Lagos Chamber of Commerce in Nigeria, aided the colonial Government in maintaining the British colonial policy in Southern Cameroons.

2.11 FUNCTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SCCC

According to the minutes of the first Annual General Meeting of the Southern Cameroons Chamber held on 25 February, 1959, the declared objectives of the Chamber were not only to protect and to promote trade in Cameroons, but also to provide services to the community.¹³⁴ This was quite true, but these objectives were geared towards self-interest, for if they provided manufactured goods to the community, it was not primarily to favour the community, but out of the desire to derive maximum profit. However, notwithstanding the motives behind these objectives, the members of the Chamber did everything to attain them. The members formulated policies to guide the chamber in its functions.

To achieve the objectives of the Chamber, a council of four was set up. The day to day business of the Chamber was carried out by this council often with the assistance of coopted members. All business was dealt with at monthly council meetings and its minutes were circulated to all members who initially were mainly members of the British and of foreign business concerns. Unlike the French who were reluctant in opening the doors of their Chamber to the African members, the British were quite liberal. They advocate and encouraged the expansion of membership. As a result, African members were soon granted membership into the Southern Cameroons chamber of Commerce. Notable amongst the earliest African members were Nfon Victor Mukete, who owned large plantations in Kumba; T.E. Fonjungo, proprietor of the Fonjungo Enterprise, Tiko; M.N. Atabong, Director of Atabong enterprise,

victoria; Paul Sinju, popularly known as Paul Bamileke,¹³⁵ owner of Bamileke Stores, Tiko; chief J.N. Fomenky, proprietor of Direct Suppliers Co. Ltd., Kumba; D.A. Nangah, S.A. Kilo, R.E. Dibonge and Ajebe Sonne.¹³⁶ They were free to make suggestions and proposals, but the European members carefully turned a deaf ear to policies that could jeopardize their chances of maximizing profit, for example, reducing import taxes.

Executive members of the Chamber were elected every four years, and their tenure of office was renewable. The first president of the Chamber was Mr. Maclaurin who had retired before the Chamber's first Annual General Meeting of 25 February, 1959, and was replaced by Mr. J. Taylor. Other executive members included a Vice President, a Secretary-General, and a Secretary Treasurer.¹³⁷ Initially the Chamber met monthly, but the president had the power to schedule other meetings when he deemed it necessary.

Members of the Southern Cameroons Chamber paid dues and levies to support the SCCC. This was unlike the Gaullist type of Chamber that existed in French Cameroon, where the Government directly funded it. The President was always a member, but the Secretary-General and the other executive members could be government functionaries. One thing that was peculiar about the SCCC was that there existed stabilization funds which were built over many years. The funds were used as insurance to sustain the farmers in years when export prices were falling and the world market prices fell short of the producer's price. These funds also financed or helped to finance programmes for disease control, crop improvement and research. These stabilization funds and Marketing Boards were designed to offset the fluctuations of world market prices for the major export crops by fixing annual prices to the producer for each crop. It is essential to mention here that the SCCC had no working relationship with the Southern Cameroons Marketing Board (SCMB). But its representatives sat on the Board, and after board meetings, reported to the Chamber matters relating to prices and the procedure for marketing agricultural produce such as coffee, cocoa, and palm produce to other countries to earn for Southern Cameroons better foreign exchange. Through this the SCMB in no small way encouraged farmers to work harder to produce more export crops. the SCCC representatives in Marketing Board meeting therefore formed the only link that existed between the SCCC and the Southern Cameroons Marketing Board.¹³⁸

It is significant to mention here that when Southern Cameroons became a separate region within the Nigerian Federation, the Nigeria Marketing Board with other parastatals (organizations very prominent in Nigeria's economy before 1954) played a cardinal role in stimulating

Cameroon's economy. It established branches in Southern Cameroons known as the Southern Cameroons Marketing Board (SCMB), which boosted the economy of the region. Funds provided were to be used only for the fostering or the development of industries producing cocoa, palm kernels and palm oil and to promote the general economic development of the territory.¹³⁹

The SCMB was started on January 1955. It was charged with the following responsibilities:

- To secure the most favourable arrangements for the evacuation and the exportation of cocoa, coffee, palm oil and palm produce.
- To make grants when funds were available to expand production.
- to guarantee minimum prices for these products.
- The Board appointed and regulated licensed buying agents and suppliers and established buying stations at convenient points in the producing areas. It relied on a subsidiary organization in the United Kingdom which controlled its sales abroad.

The organization known as the West Cameroon Produce and Marketing Company (WCOMC) Ltd., was created on 12 December, 1961, to replace the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company Limited, which provided similar services prior to the independence of Cameroon. From the preceeding, it can be seen of what importance the SCMB was to Southern Cameroon's economy. The colonial masters utilized it very technically to maximize profits. There was no such organization in French Cameroon. Thus, immediately after reunification this Board was transferred to French Cameroon with the pretext of federating it.

2.12 A COMPARISON OF THE COLONIAL CHAMBERS

The German, the French or the british Chambers, wherever they were installed, sought to achieve a common goal. This goal was to help their members and the imperial government to monopolize and to maximize the exploitation of the natural resources of Africa. Kamerun is one of the countries, in fact the only one in Africa that had the singular privilege of going through these various colonial Chambers. This started with the Germans, followed by the french in French Cameroon and then ended with the British in Southern Cameroons. the French economic operation was usually backed up by the institution of high and discriminatory tariffs against non French goods imported into her territory. That of the Germans was equally harsh

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lifespan of the SCCC as a separate economic organization was just three years, its achievement were bound to be comparatively negligible to those of the FCCCAI. Besides, at the time its activities were almost ineffective because members were not yet sure of what they were up to. Thus, it became more or less a business social group.¹⁴⁴ In spite of this, it went on to foster the economic activities of this members within Southern Cameroons and Nigeria. Healthy trade relations continued to exist between Nigeria and Southern Cameroons. The volume of loading and unloading carried out in various ports is shown below:

Table 6

TONNAGE OF CARGO UNLOADED AT NIGERIA'S PORTS IN 1959 AND 1960

	UNLOADED		LOADED	
	59	60	59	60
LAGOS	1,795,179	2,171,749	1,142,181	955,164
SAPELE	64,023	104,316	293,477	
WARRI	57,283	66,434	52,850	51,303
BURUTU	61,819	58,863	64,522	81,429
DEGEMA	4,739	4,973	75,982	60,793
PORT HARCOURT	574,051	652,000	1,004,482	1,190,327
CALABAR	43,089	35,601	127,130	95,302
VICTORIA(BOTA)	31,908	40,177	42,380	159,676
TIKO	15,074	14,544	193,401	154,812
KOKO	-	69	-	562
	2,647,165	3,148,726	2,996,436	3,094,394

Source: S.N. Tita "The Evolution of the Reunited Cameroon 1961-1982", University of Lagos, Nigeria, 1991, p. 402.

While the volume of imports remained relatively the same within the two year periods, there was a marked improvement in the volume of exported goods, giving a favourable trade balance as exports in the two Cameroonian ports of Victoria and Tiko increased from 235,781 in 1959 to 314,148 tons in 1960.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. C. Weladji, "The Cameroon-Nigerian Border" ABBIA NUMBER 29-30, Yaounde, 1975, p. 164.
2. W.O. Henderson, Studies on German Colonial History, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1962, p. 11.
3. Weladji, p. 168.
4. A Treaty signed in the Southern slopes of Mt. Fako placed all Mungo villages up to Mpundu under the German flag.
5. Ibid., p. 189.
6. V.T. Le Vine, The Cameroons: From mandate to Independence, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, p. 25. Apart from Togo and Anglo-Peguana, where Nachtigal was also to proclaim German occupation, Germany's interest in West Africa was said to lie between the Niger Delta and Gabon.
7. V.J. Ngoh, Cameroon 1884-1985: A Hundred Years of History, Navi-Group Publication, University of Yaounde, 1985, pp. 49-50.
8. Ibid.
9. H.R. Rudin, Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914: A Case Study in Modern Imperialism, Yale University Press, 1938, p. 33.
10. Rudin, p. 189. These chambers were only crated on paper, because they had no permanent buildings in which to operate. Douala Chamber acquired a plot in Bonaberi in 1913 for its hostel, but all German plans were swept away by the First World War of 1914.
11. Ibid.
12. File No. FA4/S29, Letter to the Imperial Administration of Cameroun, (NAB), 24/02/13, p. 9.
13. T. Eyongetah & Brain, A History of the Cameroons, Longman's Group Ltd., 1974, p.
14. T. Eyongetah & R. Brain, A History of the Cameroons, Longman's Group Ltd., 1974, p. 90.
15. File No. FA4/829, Letter to the Imperial Administration of Cameroon, NAB, 1913, p. 9.
16. Rudin, p. 153.
17. Eyongetah, & Brain, pp. 86-88.
18. Henderson, p. 62.
19. J.-L. Dongmo, Le dynamisme Bamileke, (Cameroun), La Maitrise de L'espace Agraire, Vol. 1, Yaounde, 1981, p. 287.
20. Cameroon Express No. 10 of Tuesday 2 July, 1968, p. 4. Also Iyanda, O. (ed.), The Lagos Chamber of Commerce Industry and Mines and the Nigerian Economy 1888-1988, Jonmof Printers, Ibadan,

- Nigeria, 1989, pp.6-7.
21. Rudin, p. 221.
22. A.A.Mazrui, The African Condition. A Political diagnosis Biddles Ltd., 1980, p. 52.
Professor AllMazrui, the world acclaimed Kenyan Political Scientists is also a renowned historical analyst.
23. W.O. Henderson, Studies on German Colonial History, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1962, p. 61.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p.62-62.
27. Ibid., p. 100-101.
28. Rudin, P. 33.
29. Eily, p. 250. See Communication Map on p.1+2.
30. Rudin, p. 33.
31. Ibid., p. 92
32. F.E. Eily, Sur Les Chemins du Developement, Essi D'histoire des Falts Economique du Cameroun, Yaounde, CAPMAE, 1971, p. 267.
33. V.G. Fanzo, Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges, vol. 2, London and Basingstroke; Macmillan, 1989, p. 46.
34. Rudin. p. 240.
35. Rudin, p. 283. In 1858 the Ambas Bay town in the south West Province of Cameroon was named Victoria in honour of the British Monarch. In 1982 it was renamed Limbe. Limbe stemmed from Limberg, the name of the first German who lived along the banks of a small stream in the vicinity.
36. Eyongetah and Brain, p.92.
37. Rudin, p.218.
38. Kum'a Ndumbe III(ed.) Africa and Germany from Colonization to Cooperation 1884-1986, (The Case of Cameroon), Editions Africavenir, Yaounde, 1986, p.404.
39. Mveng, Histoire du Cameroun, p. 77.
40. Rudin, p. 175.
41. S.B. Badermann, The Cameroon Development Corporation Partners in National Growth. Bola-West Cameroon, 1968, p.14.

42. File No. B. 1470/38, Annual report on the Economics and Social Progress of the People of Nigeria and Bamende 1938.
Provincial Archives Bamenda, p. 31.
The Bamenda Fort was built in 1908 to serve as the Administrative Block of the German Imperial Government at the time. It exists even today and its still serving the same purpose, but now being used by the present government of the Republic of Cameroun.
43. Personal interview with Pa V.T.Lainjo on 9 December, 1989, He was born in 1905. He wa the first Southern Cameroons' Minister of Social Services 1956-1959. Member of the Eastern Nigerian House of Assembly and that of Nigerian Federal House of Representatives 1952-1962. He is presently the officer in charge of land disputes and chieftancy matters in the South West Provincial Governor's office. He was recalled from retirement.
44. V.T.Vine, The Cameroons: From Mandate to Independence, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 37.
45. In French Cameroon, although the Germans had not actually constructed a hostel for the Chambers founded in Kribi and constructed a heated for the Chambers founded in Kribi and in Douala, the activities of the KCC had made lots of imprints on the economy of Cameroun as a whole.
46. The Germans were harsh to the local prople, and as a result these people detested German hard rule.
47. The French followed the same colonial policy of mobilising economic activities for the interest of the Metropole while completely neglecting that of the indigenes.
48. V.G. Fanson, Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and colleges, Vol. 2, London and Basingstroke, Macmillan, 1989, p. 64.
49. National Archives Yaounde (NAY) Journal Officiel du Teffitorie du Cameroun (JOTC), 1921, p.162.
50. See page 40 for Chamber building.
51. See Appendix Decree of 22 July, 1921 on p.180.
52. JOTC, NAY, 1921, p. 162.
53. For details o these Chambers see introduction.
54. France Outre-Mar means France Overseas.
55. Citoyen means French citizen, for exclusively an assimilated indigene.
56. E. Mortimer, France and the Africans 1944-1960, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1960, p. 46.
57. V.T.Le Vine, The Cameroons form Mandate to Independence, University Fress Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964, p. 110.
58. R.L.Buell, The Native Problem of Africa, Vol. 1, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1928, p.359.
59. K.O. Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885. Oxford, At Clarendon Press, 1956, p.125.

125.

60. Personal interview on 4/4/91 with Chief Dipoke, Op.Cit.
61. The Marseilles Chamber of Commerce created in France in 1599 was the first of its kind to be created in the World.
62. Ibid.
63. Personal interview on 7 November, 1989, with M. Deumaga Victor, born 1944 at Bafang in the Western Province of Cameroon. He is the first Research Officer of the Cameroun Chamber of Commerce in Douala.
64. NAY, Journal Officiel du Cameroun (JOC), Official National Gazette, No. 146, 1926, p. 298.
65. Ibid.
66. L'Eveil du Cameroun, February 1932, p. 6. Cameroon was annexed alongside with Togo by the Germans in 1884. They both had strong economic links with each other to the extent that French Cameroons started printing its monthly bulletins in Togo's professional school in 1927.
67. P. Kenmogni, "La Chambre de Commerce Sous L'Administration Francaise de 1921 a 1955," (Postgraduate Diploma), Yaounde, 1989, p. 92.
68. Minutes of the FCCCIA's General Assemblies were strictly confidential and were supposed to be handed to the Minister of Commerce soon after they were developed. That is why even today, researchers find it a big problem to lay hands on any.
69. Personal interview with Deumago Victor, Op. Cit.
70. Ibid.
72. J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowther, History of West Africa, Vol. 2, Longman Group Ltd., England, 1974, p. 496.
73. NAY, JOC, 1933, pp. 249-244.
74. Ibid., p. 249. The decree demanded 7 indigenous members, but the local government granted only 3, since they often withheld certain rights from the indigenes.
75. NAY, JOC, 1937, p. 967.
76. NAY, Journal Officiel du Cameroun Francais (JCCF) 1949, p. 369.
77. Ibid.
78. It was a paradox that discussions focussed more on commercial than on agricultural matters for agriculture was the mainstay of a greater percentage of the Camerounians. Hence Chamber discussions should have touched more on agricultural, rather than on commercial issues.
79. E.N. Ngoube, "La Chambre de Commerce et La Promotion Economique du Cameroun" Yaounde,

1975, p. 16.

80. The Economic crisis of 1920-1931 coupled with the Second World War and the suppression of the Africans in the hardship of the colonial people.
81. These three economic groupings were of commerce, industry and agriculture.
82. Decision Nos. 8562 & 8563 of 12 December, 1955, JOCE, NAY, 1955, p.
83. Ibid.
84. Petition of representatives of the agricultural section by Messrs. Dincong Koumkan and Kocke Felix to the High Commissioner, Appendix V, p. 188.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. These four Vice Presidents were made up of the three from the sections of Agriculture, Animal Breeding and Forestry, plus one foreign Vice President.
88. They were the local members of the Chamber of agriculture in 1955; a big increase in number as compared to the only one indigenous members in the FCCCA in 1921, and 3 in the FCCAI in 1926 and 1933 respectively.
89. D.E. Gardinier, Cameroon: United Nations Challenge to French Policy, London, 1963, p. 28. Fanso, V.G., Cameroon History p. 75
90. Le Vine, p. 107. Because of the hatred Cameroonians had for pestation, they formulated their own word for it: Njockmassi". This word is a pidgin word which stems from the name of the town Njock, Njockmassi supply means "work done for free". Njock was the terminus of the German railway line which the French had to extend to Makak and to Yaounde.
91. Fanso, p. 75.
92. The French made very little efforts to construct new roads. They only improved and expanded on what the Germans had started.
93. Buel, p. 371.
94. Ngoube, p. 7.
95. Boisson, P., "Discours Prononce par Gouverneur Pierre Boisson, Commission de La Republique Francaise au seance Pleniére de la Chambre de Commerce et d'Agriculture de 4 Novembre, 1938" (A Symposium of the FCCAI, presided over by 'Pierre Boisson, the French High Commissioner on 4 November, 1938), p. 7.
96. Industries and plantations were localized where economies of scale could be gained, for example the Timber industry was located in Muyuka, in the forest zone of the South West Province.
97. Kenmogni, p. 194-194.

98. Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce, 1936, Douala, p. 124. Works of arts which people never knew could be produced in Cameroon were now discovered at these shows, so also were agricultural produce of high quality and great variety.
99. Boisson, pp. 23-30.
100. Boisson, p. 34.
101. Ibid., p. 40.
102. It is significant to note that French Cameroon traded with Nigeria. During the German era there existed the smuggling trade between Cameroon and Nigeria.
103. Since these visits were carried out prior to the split of the Chamber in 1955, members of the study mission must have gotten some of their inspiration from abroad. There were other deep-seated reasons though.
104. D. Thomson, Europe Since Napoleon, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1957, pp. 604-605.
105. V.G. Faso, Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges, Vol. 2, Macmillan Publishers, London and Basingstoke, 1989, p. 88
106. Grassfields refers to the grassland of these regions and opposed to the Forest that predominates the Southern part of the country, The people of this region are even nicknamed 'Graf'.
107. Personal interview on 20/1/91 with Pa V.T. Lainje Op. Cit.
108. The different currencies: the Franc in French Cameroon and the Pound Sterling in British Cameroon posed problems of exchange in business transactions between the two territories.
109. S.H. Bedermann, The Cameroons Development Corporation: Partner in National Growth, Bots, West Cameroon, 1968, p. 17.
110. G. Atem, "Cameroon-Nigerian Relations 1884-1961, A Study in Political, Economic and Social integration, Two Neighbouring States", University of Calabar (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). 1984, p. 231.
112. Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Representatives of Companies and Commercial Firms, 1932, NAB, p. 1. Appendix, 3.
113. O. Iyanda, The Lagos Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines and the Nigerian Economy: 1888-1988, Johnmof Printers, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1989, p. 18.
114. D. Thomson, Europe Since Napoleon, Penguin book Ltd., London, 1957, p. 853. The Mandatory Powers had to undertake specified obligation towards the inhabitants of their territories. Some of them were not easy to observe.
115. Personal interview on 23/1/91 with Chief O.S. Ebanja, born 1920 in Mokonje, He held many posts amongst which was that of the Director of National Economy, West Cameroon 1962-1972.
116. Atem, p. 233.

117. K.O. Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885, Oxford, At Clarendon Press, 1956, pp, 125-126.
118. T. Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa, New York University Press, 1956, p. 69.
119. Atem. p. 239.
120. File No. B. 2316/Vol. 2, Cameroon's Provincial Economic Committee Bamenda. 18-20 December, 1940, p. 207, Provincial Archives Bamenda (PAB).
121. Ibid., Provincial Development Committee Meeting, Buea, 16 April, 1947, pp. 234-255, (PAB).
122. I.M. Awa, "Agriculture and Economic Development in Pinyin" (Postgraduate Diploma thesis in Geography) University of Yaounde, 1988 pp. 2-4.
123. File No. 6043 410 Q1 1958/3 Export Control West Cameroon, National Archives Buea (BAN), p. 573. At the time of exchange for 6928 CFA.
124. Ibid., p. 594.
125. The French zone as a monetary organization based on the French Franc and covers monetary transactions countries using the CFA franc. CFA is a French abbreviation which stands for "Communaute Financier Africaine". this currency was used in French Cameroon.
126. The No. 6019/2657 vol. 1 Q1 1939/2, Currency Gold Security, NAB, p. 17. The French forbade the exportation of the franc from the French zone, thereby obliging foreigners to spend all they earned as proceeds from the sale of their goods to boost French Cameroon's economy.
127. Personal interview with Dr. J.N Foncha 13/2/91.
He was born on 15/6/1916 at Nkwen-Bamenda. He was member of the Kamerun National Congress (KNC) in 1955, Premier of Southern Cameroons in 1959; P.M. of West Cameroon 1961-1965; and V. President of the FRC 1966-1970.
He is a retired politician.
128. Iyanda, p. 91.
129. Report No. 341 for the year 1918. Published in the Colonial Office, London, Cameroon Under United Kingdom Administration, NAB, p. 116
130. Ibid., pp. 116-117.
131. File No. 6040 Q1 1958, The Southern Cameroons Chamber of Commerce, Nr. 178 Vol. 2 NAB, p. 7. This was the president's Report for the inaugural Annual General Meeting held about a year ago.
132. Fanso, pp. 134-135.
But this was an outright camouflage because all the investments ended up for the benefit of the colonialists. This was because they repatriated to Nigeria, their redistribution centre, most of their profits.
133. File No. 6040, op. cit., p. 8.

134. File No. 6040 Q1 1958/1, op.cit., p.9.
135. Mr. Paul Sinju was popularly known as paul Bamileke not just because he is a Bamileke, but also because he is one of those zealous Bamileke businessmen. In Cameroon the Bamilekes are regarded as the Ibos of Nigeria. They dominated and still do control the clandestine trade between Southern and French Cameroons, while the Ibos controlled that between Southern Cameroons and Nigeria. Paul Bamileke though a French Cameroonian, he decided to take up multi-purpose business in Tiko in Southern Cameroons, where he considered it to be more lucrative.
136. Personal interview on 9/3/90 with Mr. M.N. Atabong, born 1937 in fontem, South West Province of Cameroon. He is the Managing Director of Atabong Enterprises and the Provincial Delegate of the Delegation of Commerce Limbe (Victoria).
137. File No. 6040/1 Op.Cit., p.7
The SCCC was created that same year with the Southern Cameroons' Produce Marketing Board with J.K. Dibonge as pioneer Chairman of the Board.
138. Personal interview on 9/3/90 with Mr. Niba Albert, born in 1930 in Bafut, North West Province. He is the proprietor of the Niba Automobile Company, Douala and the First Vice President of the CCIM based in Douala.
139. Supplement to Southern Cameroons Gazette No.1, Vol. 7, 1961, Part B Government Press, Buea, p. C.13.
140. West Cameroon Official Gazette 1962. Government Press, Buea, pp. 125-126.
141. Rudin, p. 23.
142. "West of the Mungo" and "East of the Mungo" were expressions used after reunification to refer to former West and East Cameroons. This was first meant to avoid provoking sentiments.
143. File No. CO.554/1700/50, Suspension of Capital Works in the Cameroons, 1959, Public Record Office, London (PROL), p. 2.

CHAPTER THREE
THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND MINES
IN CAMEROON 1961-1972

In October 1961 the Federal Republic of Cameroon was born, being constituted of the Republic of Cameroon and Southern Cameroons. The new structure of the Federal Republic of Cameroon (FRC) affected the policies and the organs of the Chamber of Commerce in the Federated states.¹ By reunifying with the Republic of Cameroon, Southern Cameroons gained its independence on 1 October, 1961. The same day a new flag with two stars agreed upon between the British and French Cameroons was hoisted to begin the Federal Republic of Cameroon (FRC).² This constitutional development affected the structure, organization and policies of the Chambers of Commerce of the federated states. That is Southern Cameroons had then to be called West Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon was designated East Cameroon.

3.1 THE END OF THE SOUTHERN CAMEROONS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN 1961

After reunification the SCCC became the West Cameroon Chamber of Commerce (WCCC) with its headquarters still in Victoria.³ The change did not affect the organization physically because the Republic of Cameroon's first Five Year Development Plan of 1960-1965 was never amended after reunification to incorporate West Cameroon. Economic activities in the federated state of West Cameroon remained stagnant during the period of the first plan, and by time the plan was modified, things had already taken a different turn. The reunification of Southern Cameroons with the Republic of Cameroon in 1961, had an unexpected negative economic consequence on the former. Between January and October that year, a number of foreign firms had begun to move out of Southern Cameroons. And by 1 October, 1961, only twenty firms remained as members of the WCCC.⁴ This was a situation which the indigenous businessmen could have taken advantage of but most of them, lacked the funds, infrastructure and the know-how for carrying out business. Here below is a list of membership reflecting foreign firms that had begun to leave the territory.

BOARD MEMBERS OF THE WCCC IN 1961

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. J. Allen & Company Limited | W.Laird |
| 2. Bank of West Africa Limited | C.J. Phillip |
| 3. Barclays Bank DCO | K.H.Phillips |

4.	Basel Mission Book Depot	H. Hernhardt
5.	Brandler & Rylke (Cameroon) Limited	E.W. Smith
6.	Cadbury & Fry (Cameroon) Limited	D. Bowring
7.	Cameroon Co-operative Exporters Limited	S. Enyong
8.	Cameroons Development Corporation	W.A. Belsham
9.	Cameroon Electrical Contracting & Supply Limited	E.K. Martin
10.	Cameroon Import & Export Co. Ltd.	B.N. Vaswani
11.	Coast Timber Company (Cameroon) Ltd.	M.C. Lamb
12.	Crop Culture (Aerial) Limited	G.L. Fretz
13.	Elders & Pyffes Limited	J.A. Taylor
14.	John Holt Limited	H.A. Flin
15.	Kamerun Limited	J.F. Hailwood
16.	P. Keller Limited	E. Gloor
17.	Kingsway Shop	J.J. Bell
18.	E.M. Micheletti & Sons (Nigeria) Limited	G. Attuati
19.	Mobil Oil (Nigeria) Limited	G.I.M. Fonochio
20.	Pamol Limited	W.J.C. Veeren
21.	Shell Co. of West Africa Limited	J.E. Padgett
22.	Swiss Timber Company	G. Parry-Holroyd
23.	Texaco Petroleum Co. Limited	Mr. Monono
24.	Union Trading Co. Limited	K. Bender
25.	United Africa Co. of Cameroon Limited	H. Mc Cartney

Source: File No. 604/DS D/Q1 1960/1, The Southern Cameroons Chamber of Commerce 1958,

National Archives Buea (NAB), p. 59.

In October 1961, firms which were members of the Chamber were as follows:

1. Messrs. Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers Limited (BCUF) Molyko.
2. " Bank of West Africa Limited, Victoria
3. " Barclays Bank (DCO) Limited, Victoria
4. " Cadbury & Fry (Cameroon) Limited, Kumba
5. " Cameroon Cooperative Exporter's Union Ltd., Kumba
6. " Brandler & Rylke Limited, Tiko

7. " Cameroon's Cooperative Exporters Transport Union Limited, Dibanda.
8. " Coast Timber Company Limited, Tiko
9. " Coastain (West Africa) Limited, Kumba
10. " Elders & Fyffes Limited, Kumba

11. " John Holt (Nigeria) Limited, Victoria
12. " Kamerun Limited, Tiko
13. " P. Keller Limited, Ombe
14. " Pamol Limited, Bwinga
15. " Strasbury (Nigeria) Limited, Kumba

At least eight companies or firms had ceased to be members of SCCC and had begun to wind up their activities in West Cameroon by 1 October, 1961. These companies included Cameroon Commercial Corporation; Cameroon Import and Export Company Limited; Crop Culture (Aerial) Limited; Kingsway Shop; Mobil Oil Nigeria Limited, Shell Company of West Africa Limited, Swiss Lumber Company and the Union Trading Company Limited. These firms foresaw adverse economic conditions in a reunited Cameroon as the mandatory territories had been under different colonial masters with different cultures and currencies. While the less viable businessman of the land suffered a lot of losses, their viable comrades saw the situation as a blessing, and decided to take advantage of it. As one of them, Chief J.N. Fomenky put it, he was able to succeed then, because the John Holt Limited and Cadbury and Fry Limited companies that used to compete with him in the cocoa export business left and he was bale to control about two thirds of the total quantity of cocoa exported.

Besides, some of the companies that stayed on, only existed in name, that is, without any physical existence. As a result, the Chamber lost its enthusiasm and its activities decline rapidly. It was still dominated by foreigners. For only 4 out of the 25 Board Members as of January 1961 were Africans. And in October, the President and Secretary were Europeans: H.McCarthyney of the United Africa Company (Cameroon) Limited and G.J. Phillip of the Bank of West Africa, Victoria. The Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers Limited was the only indigenous company in the Chamber.

3.2 THE CREATION OF THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND MINES.

The Decree No. 62/FD/173 of May 1962 established the Federal Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines (FCCIM), which replaced the WCCC and the CCIM and outlined its functions. It provided for the establishment of a headquarters in Douala and branches in Yaounde and Victoria⁵. The decree also made it obligatory for the FCCIM to intervene in public policies. It participated in economic enquiries with the view to furnishing the Government with information concerning its economy. The Federal Chamber made suggestions in the domain of its competence, that is, in the sphere of commerce, industry and mines. It directed economic statistical studies to promote principal sales for members of the organization and to organize national and international trade fairs.⁶

FCCIM was as above mentioned a rejuvenation of the CCIM. Thus, it became an upshoot of the merged CCIM and WCCC. As such it was not strange that it had to inherit much from its predecessor. For example, it had 3 sections which were further divided into subsections. These were the Commercial, the Industrial and Mining, and the General Services sections. The Commercial section was subdivided into export, import, wholesale and retail sections. The Industry and Mines section was subdivided into mines, power, industry, small and medium size undertakings and public works. The General Services Section was subdivided into banking and credit, insurance, road transport, transit, air navigation, sea and river navigations, tourism, garage and licensing activities.⁷

Membership of the Federal Chamber was made up of full and acting members. Full members could also be termed the substantive members, while those acting could be classified as either supplementary or standby members. The number of acting members had to be sufficient to replace the full members absent throughout the period when the Chamber was functioning. The full members were the only ones eligible to deliberate in the course of meetings, to be mandated by the Chamber to represent it before administrative authorities or within the different working committees in which the Chamber was called upon to participate.

Acting members attended meetings in an advisory capacity and replaced the full members when absent and succeeded them automatically. This was because an acting member whose votes were obtained at the time of his election was eligible to replace a full member. Full or active members were elected for four years and could be reelected. The number of African members increased against that of foreigners after October 1961, and the two

groups continued to co-exist in the Chamber. African members took advantage in gaining the rudiments of operating or running a Chamber.⁸

Supplementary elections could be held when acting members resigned, or died or when a professional category was no longer represented. Those who became members after supplementary elections only exercised their functions for the duration of the period of the mandate of the members they replaced. Supplementary elections were to be held within two months of a date fixed by order of the Minister of National Economy. It was held under the same conditions as ordinary elections and according to the electoral list in force. Supplementary elections were not to take place during the six months preceeding the general elections. Acting members were approved by the Ministry of National Economy. They could be convoked by the Chairman to be present at its meeting and participate in its debates in an advisory capacity.⁹ Members offered their services free and were paid entertainment or travelling expenses that were backed up by documents.

3.3 ELECTION OF A NEW EXECUTIVE

After the independence of French Cameroon in 1960, it was considered necessary to transfer the powers of the expatriates to local personalities in the Federal Cameroon Chamber of Commerce Industry and Mines. Thus, by the decree of 2 December, 1961, an African President Mr. Paul Monthe was named for the FCCIM. Being a prominent businessman and a member of the Economic and Social Council and highly recommended by other businessmen, Mr. Monthe was on 9 October, 1963, acclaimed President of the FCCIM for a period of 4 years.¹⁰ After spelling out all the functions of the officials, a new executive of the FCCIM was appointed by the same decree. The Executive of the FCCIM in 1963 was made up of the following:

President	-	Mr. Paul Monthe
1st Vice President	-	Mr. Rene Meyer
2nd Vice President	-	Alhaji Bouba Bame
3rd Vice President	-	Mr. Simon Kamga Happy
Vice Presidents of the Commercial Section:		
1. Mr. Celestin Nyabe		
2. Mr. Nicolas Alexandrakis		

Vice Presidents of the Industrial Section:

1. Mr. Janvier Tagny
2. Mr. Joanes Deporte

Secretary	-	Mr. Celestin Takala
Assistant Secretary	-	Mr. Hubert Ebongue
Treasurer	-	Mr. Georges Navez
Honorary President	-	Roland Guiol

The inauguration of the new executive was performed by the Federal Minister of National Economy.¹¹ As can be seen from the above list of officials of Cameroonian nationality, the Federal Chambers did not have a single West Cameroonian. Thus, the administration had already started lopsidedly by marginalizing West Cameroon in the Federation.

The Federal Chamber of Commerce Industry and Mines was made up of 3 sections: the Commercial Section with 36 full Members, Industry & Mines with 21 Full Members; and Other Services with 23 Full Members and the rest of them acting members.

Table 7

THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND MINES IN 1962

SECTION	SUB-SECTION	West	Cameroon	East	Cameroon
1. Commercial Section	Import & Export	3	3	12	6
	Commerce	3	3	18	11
2. Industry and Mines	Industrial Extraction	1	1	2	1
	(Transformation)	3	3	8	6
	Manufacturing Industry Public Works	2	2	5	6
3. Other Services	Credit Bank				
	Insurance	1	1	3	2
	Road				
	Transport	2	2	6	3
	Transit	1	1	3	2
	Air, Ocean and River Navigation	1	1	3	2
	Garages	2	2	2	2
	(Patentes Business Taxes	-	-	1	1

Source: E.N. Ngoube, "LAChambre de Commerce et La Promotion Economique du Cameroun", 1975, p. 38, (B.A. Project).

Other members of the FCCIM were made up of selected businessmen including exporters and importers, merchants, building contractors, planters and hoteliers. It was enough for any businessman to register his business and to pay his business taxes Patente to be recognized as a member of the Federal Chamber. An informant Chief Dipoko was a trader in French Cameroon and a member of the Chamber of Commerce. Soppo Prisso, one of the oldest and most prominent building contractors and hoteliers, who is still very active in Douala, was a member. Messrs. S.P. Longla, Martin Allo and Chief J.N. Fomanky are the other active members who came from West of the Mungo.¹²

The FCCIM appointed the executive of the West Cameroon Branch of the FCCIM and laid down regulations governing and binding this organization. It also sent delegations to State Chambers to investigate problems faced and to find solutions to them. Officials were also sent to lecture members and to bring to their notice new rules introduced and new changes concerning tariffs, taxes, import and export quotas. The FCCIM also amended the proportion of the turnover tax on imports granted to Consular Assemblies. In 1970 for example, Decree No. 66-DF-82 of 28 January, 1966 was amended with effect from 1 January, 1969. By this decree, 3% of the amount of turnover tax on imports levied on the arrival of the goods in the territory of East Cameroon was granted to the FCCIM.¹³

3.4 THE CREATION OF THE WEST CAMEROON BRANCH OF THE FCCIM

On 1 August, 1963 the President of the FCCIM wrote to inform the Secretary of State for Commerce and Industry in West Cameroon that the FCCIM intended to construct a Secretariat of the Chamber in Victoria in West Cameroon. He went on to say that the economic evolution of the Federal Republic imposed the presence of a Chamber in various regions, notably Yaounde and Victoria. The installation in West Cameroon of a Secretariat of the FCCIM had therefore become an imperative, for the accomplishment of projects which were incumbent on the FRC towards the task of national reconstruction.¹⁴ In view of this, the establishment of the West Cameroon branch of the FCCIM was effected in 1963. On 20 January, 1964, a meeting was held in the Victoria Community Hall for the election of members of the West Cameroon branch of the FCCIM. It was presided over by Dr. J.N. Foncha, then Prime Minister of West Cameroon. In all, 38 members were elected: 19 full members and 19 acting members.¹⁵ On 30 September, 1964, the inauguration of the Victoria Chamber Secretariat followed. On 13 November, 1964, Mr.

Dieudonne Yougoueth was appointed officer in charge of the Federal Chamber of Commerce, Victoria by Mr. Paul Monte and was handed the keys of the office vacated by Banque Centrale.¹⁶ Mr. Dieudonne Yougoueth, (as the name indicates) came from East Cameroon. It should be recalled that during the Federal Chamber appointments, all officials came from the former French Cameroon. And when it made to its West Cameroon branch the officer in charge was still from French Cameroon. This was not a fair treatment of the West Cameroonians who also longed to be appointed to responsible Federal posts. In such positions they could have been able to suggest at appropriate fora, where the economy of West Cameroon needed to be improved upon. This move would have gone a long way to narrowing the large gap that existed between the economic development of the two federated states.¹⁷

From 13 November, 1964 onwards, all arrangements for the opening of the FCCIM Victoria branch were made. And on 28 December, 1964, the Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry inaugurated the Secretariat's building. The Chamber initially had no clear out functions,¹⁸ Hence, on 18 June, 1965, the officer in charge of correspondence in the Prime Minister's Office, Buea wrote to inform all Permanent Secretaries of the federated state of the necessary functions of the Victoria branch of the FCCIM.

The Chamber was obligatorily consulted on:

- all regulations concerning commercial usage as well as any changes of procedure relative to commerce, industry, mines and customs.
- the creation of offices to work on regulations concerning or on the closing down of stock exchange, Ship-brokers, General-Stores, Public Sale-Rooms for new and wholesale goods.
- the establishment of market prices for all produce, commodities, imported materials or raw materials with the exception of those concerning sale of local foodstuff. However, the Chamber did not have to be consulted when it was represented in committee or bodies especially charged with the establishment of these market prices.
- taxes destined to remunerate services given by the public authorities.
- taxes and fiscal dues on imports and exports, on licences, taxes on apprenticeship and in general, all taxes and dues relating to commercial, industrial or mining activities.
- the regulations concerning classification of import categories and licences,

importation and exportation, and in general concerning the system of external commerce.¹⁹

For obligatory consultations, the Chamber could delay replies, up to a minimum of forty-five days from the date the request was received by it. In urgent cases, unless it was a question of changes in the regulation concerning commerce, industry and mining, the delay could be reduced to fifteen days.

The FCCIM offered its advice on all important questions concerning the economy of the country, particularly the general orientation of long-term plans for modernization. Consequently, it greatly appealed for the cooperation of all these concerned.²⁰ Talking in terms of modernization for West Cameroon at that time was completely out of question because, as earlier mentioned the territory was not involved in the first Five Year Development Plan of 1960-1965. Besides, the Victoria Chamber of Commerce had absolutely no functions because the ports in its vicinity, those of Tiko and Victoria, at the time received only ships from the British Commonwealth of Nations. Those of other nations were diverted to anchor in Douala. For obvious reasons therefore West Cameroon maintained commercial relations with its previous partners in the sterling zones and in particular with Great Britain. There was an immediate abolition of customs barriers between former British and French Cameroons but on the other hand frontier restrictions were imposed between Cameroon and Nigeria to curb the illegal entry of Nigerian goods into Cameroon. Under the circumstances, the price of Nigeria garri rose from 5 to 10 FCFA per cup, and that of any average size yam from 150 to 300 FCFA.²¹

By now some vigilant members of the West Cameroon branch of the FCCIM were smart in perceiving that rampant and unfavourable changes were occurring in the territory's economy. Amongst the examples quoted were: the businesses that wound up and continued to exist only in name; those that merged for various reasons; and those that were transferred to Douala. For these reasons, the vigilant members suggested that a new and up-to-date list of representatives be compiled at the end of each term. As a result, Mr. M.F.M. Ngwanah, acting for the Head of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Victoria, sent out trade questionnaires to the various business houses that existed in West Cameroon during that period. Appended is a list of firms and companies that applied to the Chamber either for a renewal or for registration of membership.²²

3.5 THE IMPACT OF THE FCCIM ON THE ECONOMY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

The FCCIM from its Douala headquarters moderated the economy of the whole Federation. The Federal Chamber had grown in name and status from its miniature CCIM which had come into being after a split of the French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture in 1955, and through the reunification of the two Cameroons.

The policies and changes that were introduced after reunification in 1961, in most cases, directly or indirectly, led to the crippling of West Cameroon's economy. This could clearly be seen in the Federation's development plans throughout this period. In improving roads, seaports and airports, those of West Cameroon, such as Mamfe and Tiko were either closed down or totally neglected. Those that survived like the Bali airport was more often than not obliged to depend only on flights from East Cameroon²³. But since the arrival of planes from East Cameroon²³. But since the arrival of planes from Yaounde became rather unpredictable, passengers resorted to travelling by road. As a result, the Bali airport, the only one in former West Cameroon, remained unused for most of the time. Railway lines were constructed as long as they brought greater economic opportunities to East Cameroon and not to the Entire Federation. This was the case with the Mbaga-Ediki-Kumba line constructed in 1969. In the commercial sphere, all the giant business undertakings were moved to east Cameroon, leaving only the miniature ones in West Cameroon.²⁴ This strategy was meant to perpetuate West Cameroon's economic dependency on East Cameroon. thus East Cameroon was getting most of the benefits from the Federation, while West Cameroon bore the burden of adjustment.

The FCCIM created and directed by the same cheque had strictly to follow the policy of its creditors. It did very little to improve the status of its West Cameroon branch. When members of its new office were named, not one came from the West Cameroon Federated State. The Chamber was then dominated by French Cameroonians who could easily be manipulated by France. Frenchmen continued to dominate since they were in the majority, and as such were unshakable. Most of the businesses were then being shifted to the large commercial cities of Douala, Nkongsamba and Edea. Business was profitable in these towns, so businessmen preferred to invest their capital in such towns. Retail trade far overshadowed whole sale. As such West Cameroonians were kept away from the commercial sphere as well as from the decision making group and deprived of a forum where they could make their own proposals. Nonetheless, as a Federal economic organization, the FCCIM protected the interests of its

favoured members by making policies favourable to the undertaking of business operations. From its Headquarters the Federal Chamber solved on-the-spot problems and when deemed necessary, a delegation was sent to its West Cameroon branch to instruct, deliberate or to solve problems when they arose at special meetings. Because the powers that be did not want agitation, the FCCIM kept silent about most of the adverse decisions taken against its West Cameroon branch, such as the closure of the natural seaport at Limbe. One of the meetings held in 1968 on Home Trade Operations in West Cameroon demonstrates some of the roles played by the FCCIM²⁵. The deliberations follow in the next paragraph.

3.6 MR. JOSEPH MINKA'S MEETING WITH THE WEST CAMEROON BRANCH OF THE FCCIM

The meeting held on 20 April, 1968, was presided over by Mr. Joseph Minka. He was the then Chief of Service for International Trade in Yaounde, delegated to come and officiate during the deliberations. The following personalities of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry also attended the meeting Mr. George Epie of the Personnel Department, Yaounde; a West Cameroon delegation made up of Messrs. Oscar Ebanja, Head of Commerce and Industrial Services, Victoria; Abraham Ngossa, Assistant Secretary, Victoria; Simon Amah, Translator, Victoria; Michael Ngwana Commercial Officer, Victoria; and Michael Mbinkar, Secretary to the meeting. During the meeting Mr. Minka observed that the greatest part of the Internal Trade was exercised by foreigners. He urged that an end be put to this situation. He further disclosed;

"Cameroon has no businessmen but speculators who jump from one branch of trade to the other with the desire to obtain maximum profit. Here and there one finds a shop which opens today and closes the next day. However, this practice has been inherited from our colonizers"²⁰

In the same manner he condemned the dishonesty of traders towards the government and consumers. Mr. Minka also requested that farmers be advised to improve the quality of their produce, since some people who had travelled abroad and returned, prepared to buy foodstuff from supermarkets like the Printania shop in Victoria, rather than from the local markets.

It is important to observe that this urge had a lot of impact on the economic activities of the people of the then West Cameroon. For instance, the township taxi business, which was primarily controlled by the Igbos was forthwith taken over by the indigenes for good. The

cultivation and marketing of "Calabar Yam" formerly in the hands of the Igbos was taken over by the Ngie people. To a large extent, most Igbo businessmen folded up. The Alliance Trading Company in Victoria closed down immediately, giving rise to local trading companies such as Atabong Enterprise and stimulating indigenous entrepreneurship, as most Bamileke traders expanded their businesses²⁷. It became evident that Cameroonian businessmen needed dynamic leaders to spur to action.

Concerning the difficulties faced by traders in obtaining bank credits, Mr. Minka added that the problem could be partially solved by traders regrouping themselves into associations. It was easier, he went on, for an association than for an individual to succeed in that case. In proposing any representatives to the Federal Chamber, he admonished that the individual must be dynamic and must have been carrying out an important business.²⁸

Another problem facing the indigenous commercial sector was that Cameroonian traders sold out their import licences to foreign firms to which import quotas had been granted.²⁹ Mr. Nagambo, Manager of B.M. Nagambo and Brothers Company stated that the local traders gained more from the importation of foreign products because they did not benefit from the local industries of East Cameroon. He further stated that businessmen should be taught the techniques of creating and managing industries as well. He again pointed out that the Chamber of Commerce had not been well represented by the out-going representatives, because no members were drawn from the commercial field. This made it impossible for them to project the difficulties of the traders.³⁰

Regarding the objections of the members on the question of representation in the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Minka disclosed that, that point was a general cry amongst members all over the territory. He made it abundantly clear that the elections so much wished for by almost all traders, could not readily give the highly expected results. Nonetheless, he stressed that it was necessary to select dynamic and devoted men, who could develop bright ideas and transform the Chamber of Commerce into a living organism.³¹

West Cameroon traders insisted on the Chamber extending the flour-milling industry based in Douala to West Cameroon. Mr. Caspa, one of the participants, attacked the flour-milling policy and its monopolistic distribution and asked that citizens be permitted to buy flour and to sell it wherever they wished. Mr. Elate raised the problem of local producers of cocoyams and plantains. Mr. Minka explained that those classes of traders were not registered and that their activities were irregular. This implied that local producers were being marginalized,

a negative phenomenon of a developing economy which should give priority to the local producers. Even if their individual outputs were not encouraging enough, the local producers formed the bulk of the producers and consumers who in an economy determine the movement of the demand curve.

Mr. Minka then seized the opportunity to describe the differences between the Chamber of Commerce in Cameroon and those of Europe. The National Chamber of Commerce in Europe, he said, was the descendant of small private Chambers of Commerce. Besides, the financing of the National Chamber operations were done by the businessmen whereas in the Federal Republic of Cameroon, it was the reverse of things.³² For this reason, the Cameroon government had allocated a sum of 30 million francs for the financing of its Chamber. He also revealed that the establishment of branches of the Chamber was envisaged for some high towns like Kumba and Bafoussam. Mr. Minka in his closing remarks reiterated the fact that traders should regroup together so that they could benefit from the advantages of belonging to an Economic Association such as the Chamber of Commerce.³³

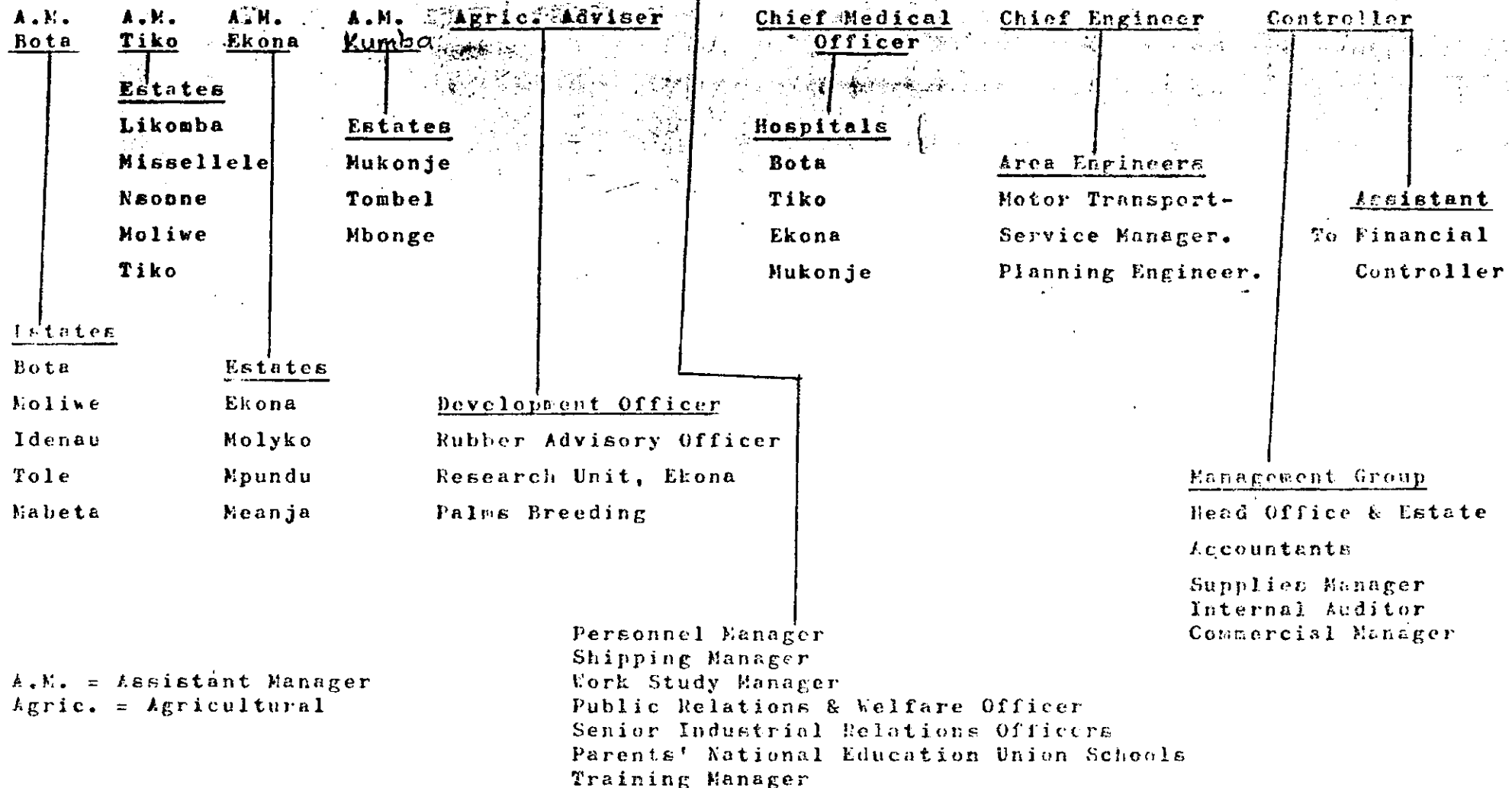
This meeting was one of the most lengthy of its kind ever held since reunification. It touched on a great range of issues and problems faced by the local traders vis-a-vis the foreign ones. It prescribed solutions for most of the problems. Traders from then were urged to put into practice all that had been discussed using the meeting regarding Home Trade Operations.

The above meeting demonstrates how the FCCIM interacted with its West Cameroon branch. Time and again an official was sent from the Federal Chamber to explain certain issues to members of its West Cameroon branch. On the other hand the branch was obliged to send representatives to the meetings of the FCCIM, even if no positive resolutions were taken in its favour. Appended is a list of FCCIM representatives of the West Cameroon Chamber of Commerce in 1968.³⁴

Although these firms represented the WCCC, those that meant much to the West Cameroon economy, such as the Cameroon Bank Limited, had their headquarters transferred to East Cameroon, because they had been federalised. Out of the 36 firms only 14 (39%) belonged to indigenous businessmen and the rest to foreigners of European, Indian, Ghanaian and of Nigerian origins. Nevertheless, there was a marked progress as compared to the statistics of WCCC Board members of 1961 of which only 4(16%) out of 25 were local members.

3.7 THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN WEST CAMEROON

One major shortcoming of the West Cameroon branch of the Federal Chamber noticeable from the onset was that it lacked local autonomy, more so as the officer in charge was appointed from East Cameroon. Before long therefore, West Cameroon began to sense and to experience side effects of this union that were going to be deleterious to its economy. It would be recalled that before reunification in 1961, West Cameroon had no manufacturing industries unlike East Cameroon already producing chocolates and aluminum. Thereafter, the Government of West Cameroon assumed the rights and obligations formerly held by the Nigerian Government. The Cameroons Development Corporation (CDC) remained West Cameroon's economic giant, with processing factories of palm oil, tea and rubber. In the meantime, Commonwealth Development Corporation (Comdev), had voluntarily surrendered one of its seatson the CDC Board of Governors to the West Cameroon Government, leaving two Comdev members. The other members of the Board of Directors of the CDC were appointed by the President of the Republic. On the page that follows is the CDC Board of Directors Chart.

Board of DirectorsPersonnel Assistant to General ManagerAssistant General Manager

A.M. = Assistant Manager
Agric. = Agricultural

Source: "Carmann, S.H., The Cameroons Development Corporation, Partner in National Growth,
Bota, West Cameroon. 1968, p. 23.

The Chairman and four members were appointed by the Prime Minister to represent West Cameroon's interest and one member was appointed by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon.³⁵

The CDC Organizational Chart on page 119⁴ shows that the activities of Cameroons were quite intensive. The Corporation had five plantations in Bota, five in Tiko, four in Ekona, and three in the Kumba district. In top personnel, it had four agricultural advisers, three chief engineers, six financial controllers, one assistant financial controller and seven assistant general managers.

By the end of 1966, the corporation's senior staff numbered one hundred and thirty-five. Its total labour force comprised 11,700 men and women. A very significant feature of the composition of the senior staff was that two-thirds were Cameroonians and forty-seven were non-Africans. It was the declared policy of the corporation to fill senior service positions with suitably qualified Cameroonians, whenever possible. Many of those on the senior staff rose through the ranks and gained their positions by way of experience. This was very unlike what obtains in Cameroon nowadays, since people may not necessarily be appointed into senior service posts by virtue of their experiences, but for nepotistic reasons. This resulted in mismanagement of economic resources, which have brought the nation's economy to its decline. To bolster the group, the corporation sent many others to study in foreign schools and universities. On their return, they were to replace those due retirement. As of then the CDC still operated 2 oil mills, four banana boxing stations and 7 rubber factories and other infrastructures that needed trained personnel³⁶. If the present leaders could emulate CDC's example, it could be hoped that some day Cameroon's declining economy would return to stability.

The CDC was followed by PAMOL which had palm plantations in Ndian Division. There was also the Santa Coffee Estate in the Bamenda region which stimulated the region's economy. But the number of these corporations were inadequate for a developing economy like that of West Cameroon. West Cameroonians therefore thought that reunification would change the situation for good. Contrary to their expectations, the economy of West Cameroon instead suffered serious setbacks, which widened rather than narrowed the gap that already existed between the development of the two federated states.

As already mentioned, during the meeting of April 1968, Mr. Minka had revealed that the establishment of branches of the Chamber was envisaged for some big towns like Kumba and

Bafoussam.³⁷ It is important to situate these commercial towns in the economy of their various federated states. As earlier mentioned Kumba was the economic centre of West Cameroon. It was the landing ground, otherwise the gateway into West Cameroon for businessmen from both Nigeria and East Cameroon. It was the landing ground, otherwise the gateway into West Cameroon for businessmen from both Nigerian and East Cameroon. These businessmen converged in Kumba either to trade their goods with those that came from the opposite direction or to meet with their business partners. Besides, most Nigerians involved in yam cultivation and fishing resided in Kumba.³⁸ Thus, the economic activities here were more intensive and diversified than in any other commercial town West Cameroon.

Bafoussam on the other hand was an important commercial centre in East Cameroon. All the big Bamileke businessmen and large scale planters were based here.³⁹

Anxious to have their Chamber officially recognized, members of the Kumba Chamber of Commerce, on 25 May, 1968, just a month after Mr. Minka's revelation, wrote a letter to the Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry, Yaounde, to solicit his consideration to approve the registration and recognition of its organization. The letter read thus:

"History has it that the Kumba Chamber of Commerce had its birth five years ago and the necessary formalities relating to registration of such an outstanding organization and documents, had been duly completed and submitted to the appropriate authorities within your Ministry. Since, Sir, there is now a permanent administration guiding the establishment of Chambers of Commerce all over the Federal Republic of Cameroon, it is good intention therefore, that we bring to your NOTICE the existence of this body in Kumba, being the seat of commerce, farming and industry in the state of West Cameroon. We therefore humbly refer the Honourable Federal Minister to Decree No. 62/DF/178 of 25 May, 1962, Article 3(b) and hereby humbly request the Honourable Minister to use his good office to create and to recognize Kumba Chamber of Commerce as a Delegation."⁴⁰

Chief J.N. Fomenky, one of the founding members of the SCCC, alleged that the application fell on deaf ears, although it is said that the letter had been delayed owing to the existence of the

various methods of administration during which the Kumba Chamber of Commerce came to birth. In the circumstance, the Kumba Chamber which had existed for over five years was now forced to go into oblivion.⁴¹ This problem, which clearly demonstrates the discrimination that prevailed against the West Cameroon businessmen in the Federation, became more glaring when in 1974 the Bafoussam Delegation was inaugurated. Until then nothing had been said about the Kumba chamber which had demanded recognition since 1968.

Amidst the economic depression that followed after reunification, especially between 1961 and 1968 some British firms such as Kingsway, John Holt, R.W. Kings Limited, and some other firms like the Union Trading Company (UTC), Hollando, and Cameroon Commercial Corporation (CCC), struggled to survive for a number of years, but folded up eventually. Printania, the only French chain store firm moved to Victoria and took over from Kingsway. Printania also managed to survive for five years after the reunification before disappearing from Cameroon's commercial scene.⁴² The Franc Zone provided three quarters of the total of West Cameroon's imports. These were tax free but those from other areas were subjected to licensing. This adversely affected West Cameroon's economy. The total export of the principal Southern Cameroons crops in 1958 millions. In addition, the work force of the CDC, the largest employer of the region declined substantially from 17,622 in 1960 to 11,698 in 1966.⁴³ The supply of foreign labour force had already started to decline from the fifties in favour of local labour. This is clearly demonstrated by the table below:

Table 8
SOURCE OF LABOUR - CDC ESTATES (1947-1966)
 per cent of Labour Force

Year	Total Number	Nigeria	Victoria and Kumba Divisions	Mamfe, Bamenda, Wum and Nkambe	East Cameroon
1947	16,267	19	64		17
1948	17,910	18	24	44	14
1949	19,456	23	17	47	13
1950	19,005	23	17	47	13
1951	22,698	21	17	50	12
1952	25,569	21	16	54	9
1953	24,970	28	15	50	8
1954	25,030	25	16	49	10
1955	21,664	27	16	49	8
1956	17,793	29	14	50	7
1957	17,809	30	13	50	7
1958	18,501	32	12	49	7
1959	16,285	30	13	51	6
1960	17,622	27	12	56	5
1961	17,236	25	13	57	5
1962	15,575	20	14	61	5
1963	12,498	7	18	70	5
1964	12,847	6	19	69	6
1965	12,785	5	19	71	5
1966	11,698	4	19	71	6

Source: M.B. Gwanfogbe, An Economic History of the British Cameroons 1916-1960, Palmout, Mass African Imprint Library Services 1980, Originally published in Yaounde University, 1975, p. 75

According to table 8, 1958 was the peak year for the supply of foreign labour force. Nigeria supplied 32% of the total labour force in the CDC estates; Victoria and Kumba supplied 12% while Mamfe, Bamenda, Wum and Nkambe supplied 49% and East Cameroon supplied 7%. From 1959 to 1962 foreign supply declined gradually while internal supply augmented in like manner until 1963 when the foreign supply dropped drastically from 20% in 1962 to 7% in 1963. The Cameroonization policy that was effected in the CDC laid off many non Cameroonians.

In 1963 a legislation was passed in British which removed the preferential tariff advantages on West Cameroon bananas.⁴⁴ From 1961 to 1966 West Cameroon and East Cameroon had different customs and fiscal policies. West Cameroon's import goods that came

from countries outside the European Economic Community (EEC) entered the Victoria Port free. These goods being cheaper, permitted West Cameroon to undersell the importers of East Cameroon.⁴⁵ But this was short lived because it only happened within that short period.

The British left West Cameroon with a very poor road network as compared to that of East Cameroon. On 10 October, 1965, Ahidjo inaugurated work of the modern Douala -Tiko road which extended to Victoria and Buea. This road popularly known as the "Reunification Road" was officially opened in April 1969. It literally wiped out the physical barrier between East Cameroon and the Southern part of West Cameroon. The Douala Yaounde railway line was also extended to the North and secondary roads were improved. The Douala railway line through Yaounde was extended to Goyum. In West Cameroon only the CDC railway existed for transportation of goods such as palm produce and rubber. In the circumstance, the Kumba-Tiko road assumed a great economic importance to the economy of the Southern Camerouns. This was because at the time Tiko was a very busy seaport, while Kumba was among others a chief-commercial and redistribution centre of not only goods that came from Nigeria by land, but also those that came from abroad through the Tiko and Victoria ports. As a result, the Kumba-Tiko road had to be in good condition to satisfy the commercial needs of the importers and the exporters.

In 1965, the first passenger railway line reached Ediki and was subsequently extended to Kumba.⁴⁶ Deep water ports remained a major problem as dredging in the riverport of Douala reduced its economic advantage because of its economic advantage because of its high cost. The Douala riverport was located 50 kilometres away from the Atlantic Ocean. It had, and still has, areas along its water-way that must be dredged always to enable big merchant ships to load fully. In addition to this, sand had to be removed daily from the ship terminus. This resulted to the government spending millions of Francs CFA annually, in order to have the riverport functional.⁴⁷ This was enough reason for the Douala port to be abandoned and the natural ports utilized. But the Victoria and Tiko natural harbours were doomed to be disregarded, because of being in the region of the minority people.⁴⁸ This was indeed the crux of West Cameroon's economic decline.

The Federal Government rather than utilize the Victoria and Tiko natural harbours to their maximum, relegated them to the background of the economy. Although the concern of the Federal Government should be to develop the interstate roads, it ought to have initially made an effort to improve on the inter-provincial roads in the Federated state of West Cameroon, since

they were already fast deteriorating before reunification. It was therefore not uncommon to see West Cameroonians from the Victoria and Kumba Divisions diverting through East Cameroon to get to Bamenda in the north of the state. Although this indirect route trippled the journey, it was preferable because using the road through Kumba and Mamfe to Bamenda was an ordeal. This road at certain points and during the peak period of the rainy season became almost impossible or took twice the time lapse.⁴⁹ It is difficult to understand why the Federal Chamber was silent about it.

3.8 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES EFFECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

In 1961 a large part of Cameroon's trade continued to be with France and the franc zone.⁵⁰ Cameroon remained the greatest consumer of France's manufactured goods, while France in return, was the highest importer of Cameroon's agricultural produce. Besides, Greeks, Cypriots, Lebanese and Syrian retailers dominated retail trade in Cameroon. This provided a barrier to the African commercial advancement, especially to those in West Cameroon who were already facing a lot of economic hazards.

The most immediate and visible change in the Federation was the replacement in West Cameroon of the Nigerian pound with the Franc Communauté Financière Africaine (CFA), as the new legal tender by the Government order of 17 January, 1962. The franc CFA officially went into circulation on 2 April, 1962. It was exchanged for the Nigerian pound at the rate of 692 FCFA to a pound. This parity exchange rate was disadvantageous to the holders of the pound sterling realizing its buying power and income power. To this effect, the President of the Republic issued a decree introducing new exchange regulations in West Cameroon. On the whole the exchange exercise went on until 16 June, 1962, when it was halted.⁵¹ The exchange exercise was hurriedly done and many people could not meet up. This rendered a lot of pound sterling that for one reason or the other could not be converted into FCF, valueless after the expiring period.

For people living in the same national territory, the replacement of the Nigerian pound was a most important exercise, because the existence of a common currency throughout the national territory would facilitate commercial transactions. But the outcome of this decree on the affected part of the nation was never taken consideration. For example, if the authorities were to be fair, they could have given a longer period for the former West Cameroonians to adjust

themselves to the new phenomenon. Besides, given that a pound sterling after conversion could not buy the quantity of goods that the pound formerly bought, one could conclude that the decree was a devaluation of the purchasing power of West Cameroonians. Exchange reduced the level of income, consumption and consequently that of saving.

In 1964 the metric system was introduced in West Cameroon. Distant measurements began to be made in metres and centimetres instead of in yards and inches as was the case before. Distances were also calculated in kilometres and non longer in miles. These changes were quite dramatic and altered the tons of the people's life style. This particular change was complementary to that of the FCFA, moreso, as most West African nations were also adopting the metric system. A judiciously thought out scheme could have aided in guiding the re-allocation of a totally planned investment between the various economic sectors. It was assumed that the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capital was to increase at the rate of 4.6% during the period.⁵² During this period it lost much revenue through customs barriers set at the frontiers of East Cameroon, and West Cameroon and Nigeria.⁵³

The Presidential decree of 23 November, 1962 which granted 60 million FCFA for the building of inter-state roads, completely excluded West Cameroon. This exclusion could be attributed to the fact that funds granted for such projects were not readily reallocated to the different provinces of the nation. This gave room for either misappropriation or for neglecting certain parts of the territory. It could also have just been because West Cameroon had be excluded from the 1960-1963 development plan.

By 1966 however, the internal custom's barrier was removed when the central African Custom's Union (UDEAC) tariffs were extended to West Cameroon.⁵⁴ That year the Second Five Year Development Plan was launched. In this plan some elements of actual investments between all sectors of the economy. This included those sectors which were not included in the 1960-1965 plan. But it was not guided by an overall strategy of balanced growth. And even though it carried out a general improvement of the system of communication, particularly between the two states, there was inflation, a general decline in economic activities in West Cameroon, besides the intensification of smuggling along the Cameroon - Nigerian frontier. The situation was worsened by the complicity of customs officers towards the whole exercise and the increasing demand of West Cameroonians for goods from the sterling zone.⁵⁵

The founding members of UDEAC were Cameroon, Chad Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Central African Republic (CAR) and Congo. These were all former French territories in

Equatorial Africa. UDEAC comprises a free trade area and enforces common tariffs and taxation policies. The member countries like those of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are attempting an economic integration through regional association. UDEAC has been of benefit to Cameroon in the following ways: It enforced the harmonization of internal customs differences between East and West Cameroon which were completed in July 1966. This measure removed lots of communication bottlenecks, thereby permitting a faster interaction between people of the federated states. The Central African Customs Union also increased trade for the Port of Douala as well as spurred the development of inland transportation facilities to the landlocked member states of Chad and Central African Republic. It also doubled the potential markets available for Cameroon's product.⁵⁶ Some of these efforts were neutralized by the fact that Cameroon was tightening up customs barriers with other neighbours such as with Nigeria, but she never and may hardly ever succeed, because smuggling has become a way of life of the Cameroonian people and that of their Nigerian counterparts.

Up till 1968, the only easy means of getting to West Cameroon was through in Tiko Airport. In 1968 it was closed down for unknown reasons. West Cameroon then depended on East Cameroon for air transportation. This greatly affected businessmen in West Cameroon and members of the West Cameroon branch of the FCCIM, who had to travel a longer distance to get to the Douala airport and to go through formalities they had not been used to. Businessmen made several trips abroad either for their personal business transactions or as members of delegations to represent the FCCIM at Trade Fairs. Chief J.N. Fomenky said he and his colleagues like D.A. Nangah and S.A. Kilo suffered this inconvenience several times without raising eye-brows. This was because they did not want to jeopardize their chances of ever being selected to attend Trade Fairs abroad, since such trips gave them better opportunities of meeting with international businessmen. Thus they could create more and better business connections and could gain more business partners. They discussed and gained better business management ability from their foreign colleagues.⁵⁷ West Cameroonians therefore had pertinent reasons for reacting calmly to the negative changes that came their way, more so as they were being sponsored by government, a privilege they never enjoyed as Southern Cameroonians.

The Mbanga-Kumba rail link constructed in 1969 linked the isolated interior of West Cameroon to the riverport of Douala. As aforementioned, this further led to the decline of the natural seaport of Tiko and Victoria in terms of cargo from the inland, since these could easily go by rail to the Douala port. The people of the region then, had to travel long distances to

convey their goods to the Douala port. This was a measure to open up new sources of raw materials for the industries of East Cameroon. In a bid to provide West Cameroon access to the Douala riverport, the modernized coastal belt of East Cameroon was united with that of West Cameroon to make the Tiko and Victoria-Bota ports sub-ports of the Douala international seaports.⁵⁸ It is significant to note that the Tiko and Victoria ports were of vital importance to the CDC, for the export of produce such as tea, banana, rubber, palm oil and palm kernels. However, through government obligation, a bulk of this produce had to be exported through Douala with a congested riverport, while these natural water ports were not being utilized.

Statistical services were in West Cameroon which made possible the elaboration of a new national plan that included developmental projections for the country as a whole. This was still to no avail as West Cameroon was only included if dividends were going to be increased by her inclusion.⁵⁹

The National Produce Marketing Board's (NPMB) headquarters was moved from Victoria to Douala. The official reason was to give it a national outlook, but in fact it was merely a strategy to place the Board under the direct control of the Federal Government. It is difficult to say if the National Produce Marketing Board in Douala improved the productive capacity of the farmers of that region and their earnings. The change however, hastened adverse effects upon West Cameroon's economy.

Another hazardous change was the introduction of Patente at reunification.⁶⁰ This tax went a long way in killing retail trade in West Cameroon. First and foremost, the people of this region had no income generating industries. Thus they had very little money to spare, especially now that business was ebbing. The introduction of Patente chased most retailers into the clandestine trade. This intensified smuggling between the West and East Cameroon boundary, as well as across the West Cameroon-Nigerian border. Smugglers' efforts were now directed not only towards total avoidance of customs duties, but also towards the evasion of Patente.

With the clandestine/smuggle trade, the smugglers quite often avoided customs posts and officials, but there were cases where the smugglers had no alternative but passing through the customs post. Smugglers on both sides of the boundary either operated as a group or as individuals. They were often armed and were ready to open fire when cornered by custom officers who would not compromise to receiving bribes.⁶¹ Most smugglers therefore, resorted to bribing when confronted by custom officials. Some of these officials succumbed to receiving bribes only for the sake of their security. Nonetheless, some clung to, and continue to demand

for bribes today because bribe-receiving has become so habitual that the recipients find the practice no longer easy to part with. In view of this, the consequences of the clandestine trade into which the introduction of Patente forced many traders cannot be underestimated.

The prevalence of smuggling, though risky and a commercial malpractice has become an indispensable form of economic activity, especially across the Cameroon-Nigerian borders. Hence despite the recent problems, there is still a large volume of unregistered trade flowing from Nigeria to Cameroon and vice versa.⁶² The reason being that smuggling became and continues to be profitable to both the smugglers and the customs officers. The smugglers made more gain as they evaded the payment of customs duties, while the customs officers used bribes in swelling up their pay packets.⁶³ All in all, the CCIM could have argued for the abolition of Patente, but it did not.

In 1968 the toll-gate on the Wouri bridge was suppressed to facilitate the easy movement of West Cameroonians to and from Douala. This was positive integrative step as it went greatly to consolidate the economy of the two federated states. It should be noted that Paul Monthe was re-elected as President of the Federal Chamber on 17 October, 1968. In his inaugural speech Monthe

persuaded the government to respect the rights of the Chamber. He made it abundantly clear that the chamber was conscious of the role which it played in the development of the economy of the nation, especially, in the transformation of its natural resources.⁶⁴ It is significant to recall here that the Gaullist type of Chamber, which the Federal Chamber was, was government controlled and was very often ignored by the government in decision making. This was strictly contrary to the points reiterated to the members of the Victoria branch of the Chamber in 1965. It was therefore necessary for Monthe to point this out, as most of the above changes and some yet to be discussed were effected the consultation of the Chamber.

It would appear that Monthe's point was accepted by the Federal Government. This is because in 1971, a branch of the Cameroon development Bank (BCD), which had been created to grant loans to the CDC, the West Cameroon Development Agency (WCDA) and other state undertakings were also established in West Cameroon.⁶⁵

Furthermore, a federal budget was promulgated in which joint East and West Cameroon enterprises were funded. But France continued the Federation's chief source of Foreign Aid. Out of a total of 44.097 million FCFA of Foreign Aid given to Cameroon by 1971 from France,

the European Development Fund (EDF), USAID, West Germany and other nations, France contributed a greater share of 19.855 million FCFA.⁶⁶

When Southern Cameroons became a British Mandatory Territory, a branch of the Bank of West Africa, an English Bank established in Nigeria, was created in Victoria (Limbe) and administered from Nigeria. When Southern Cameroons ceased being part of Nigeria, the bank was then administered from London.⁶⁷ The Bank of West African became the mainstay of West Cameroon's economy at reunification, especially when West Cameroon became isolated during the first five years of the reunification. This was due to West Cameroon's shift from dependence upon Nigeria and Britain to dependence upon East Cameroon. Hon. D.A. Atia, the then manager of the John Holt Company said that this bank was established Decree merely because Victoria was the main entry point West Cameroon, and at the same time the headquarters of important economic establishments such as USAID and John Holt Company. The Bank of West African was the sold commercial bank.⁶⁸ It was directly related to the Chamber of Commerce, but played an intermediary role between importers and exporters by the medium of letters of Credit. As a credit-worthy international institution, the bank was also in charge of facilitating exchange control formalities from a non-franc zone to a franc zone and vice versa. In addition to these functions the bank carried out routine granting of loans and overdrafts to its customers.⁶⁹

By 1968, the National State Lottery, another financial institution in the limelight, was fully in action to accumulate funds which winners could invest in profitable businesses. The National State Lottery drilled money to move, increased the investment power of investors; and helped to curb the leakage of Cameroon's income to other nations through foreign pools such as the Togo Agency.⁷⁰ It is however, necessary to mention here that willing the above lottery depended largely on chance. Besides, if the winner were a miser or one who was not business spirited, the money won might not be invested to stimulate the economy. In this wise, money might have to be withdrawn rather than to be injected into the economy. Nonetheless, these organizations for the meantime kept the economy of West Cameroon alive. But the subsequent movement of all lucrative industries and commercial enterprises from West Cameroonian commercial and industrial towns like Victoria, Tiko, Kumba and Mamfe to Douala; the neglect of the communication and other economic infrastructure of the region and the closing down of firms and agricultural under-takings, led to a rapid decline of the West Cameroon economic system from 1968 to 1971.

In contrast, East Cameroon experienced a rapid growth in its urban centres such as Douala, Nkongheamba, Edea and Yaounde. Businessmen were now forced to abandon West Cameroon and to move to East Cameroon notably to these centres, where business was booming, due to the existence of better economic facilities and potential population.⁷¹ The ships of non-British Commonwealth nations that formerly anchored in the Tiko and Victoria seaports were then diverted to the Douala riverport. Notwithstanding this, the Cameroons Development Corporation and some private buying agents continued to export and to import their merchandise to and from the British Commonwealth of nations, through these ports until 1972 when they went into oblivion⁷².

The Cameroon Bank, one of the key firms of West Cameroon's economy had its headquarters moved to Yaounde'. And R.W. King, Glomour, Emen Textiles, Cameroon Commercial Corporation (CCC), Union Trading Company (UTC), SOCOPSA, Renault Motors and the Produce Marketing Organization (PMO) were moved to Douala. In the process, the Yoke Power Station, SONAC, Standard Bank of West Africa Limited, and Santa Coffee Estate were closed down.⁷³ The closure of Power can brought an end to the only source of electricity power that West Cameroon had been prodund of Forthwith, electricity for the entire Federal Republic was supplied by the Edéa Power Station, while the Yoke Power Station that used to be quite self-sufficient became obsolete. If the price of electricity had reduced after this change it would simple have ben concluded that this change was effected because the Edea Power Station provided cheaper electricity than did that of Yoke, but V.T.Lainje alleged that this was not the case, but the contrary⁷⁴.

On the closure of the Santa Coffee Estate, a host of people in the North West Province were rendered jobless. The Coffee Estate was to that province as the CDC was to the South West province. However, some of the Estate's laid-off employees, took it as a challenge and from their humble beginnings became the bourgeoisie of the region. For example, Mr. Mathias Abanda the proprietor of the New Life Trading Company in Bamenda who was a former employee of the Santa Coffee Estate has become a business tycoon. The closure of the Estate nonetheless brought economic gloom to the people, many of whom lived, and are still living in poverty.⁷⁵

3.9 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Despite all the hurdles that laid on its way, the FCCIM as a Federal Economic

Organization did quite a lot in setting the pace for economic activities in the Federal Republic of Cameroon. Through dynamic leaders, the FCCIM sponsored Chamber delegations to represent the nation at different trade fairs organized in many parts of the world and to meetings organized locally. The Federal Chamber was represented at the Anuga Trade Fair in Germany in 1965 and 1967; at the Industrial Exposition organized in Berlin in 1962 and in Hanover in 1962 and 1964 and at the Montreal trade fair in 1967. The FCCIM was charged with the responsibility of ensuring the participation of Cameroon in the trade fairs of Milan, Paris, Kinshasa, Bari, Berlin, Cologne and Marseilles in 1971.⁷⁶ At these fairs and at the industrial expositions that were organized, the participants interacted with colleagues abroad and exchanged ideas and experiences with them. The participants also saw what they considered to be better technology displayed and acquired the savoir-faire in organizing trade fairs.

These foreign trade fairs provided the Cameroonian delegates enough variation to improve on the organization of similar fairs back at home. It was for this reason that each year a trade fair that lasted for about a month was and is still being organized in Cameroon. The aim of such fairs was usually to advertise locally produced articles and to encourage the local population to consume the locally produced articles. Foreign partners or participants were usually invited to widen participation at the fair.

In the sphere of commerce, greater efforts were made to raise the standards of members as delegates who attended trade fairs abroad saw themselves that their standards back at home were far lower than those of their foreign counterparts. Besides, the Chamber was provided the means to assure the education of its private sector. To this effect, the Higher School of Commerce was opened in Douala to train businessmen in better methods of running their businesses in order to maximize profits.⁷⁷ It further provided and still provides them with skills in accounts and book keeping.

On the whole, the FCCIM did much to mitigate the problems that infested commercial projects of its members, although in most cases it was indirectly geared towards ruining the economy of West Cameroon to the advantage of that of East Cameroon. Prior to reunification, the French Cameroonians used the policy of "Balanced development" to precipitate integration with West Cameroon. Balanced development if carried out indiscriminately would have consolidated the bonds of unity and would have actually narrowed the gap that existed in the development of the two Cameroons before reunification. Paradoxically, the difference became more lopsided as greater efforts were made in improving East Cameroon and possibly bringing

West Cameroon to its knees. In this wise, West Cameroon was converted into a peripheral dependency of East Cameroon and as a pool for the supply of cheap labour and raw materials for East Cameroon's industries. West Cameroon at the same time served as a ready market for East Cameroon's industrial goods. The FCCIM achieved much, but not balanced development for the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

The above assertion could be illustrated by the Federal Economic Planning Schemes over the period from 1960 to 1971. These schemes show that out of 51 industrial companies and/or commercial enterprises, only two were located in West Cameroon.⁷⁸ These two were the Cameroon Development Corporation and the National Oil Refinery (SONARA). The CDC had been created in Southern Cameroon as far back as 1946 and had become so entrenched that it was difficult for the Federal Government to uproot. The CDC alone employed 15,381 workers, 37% of the total number of 40,883 Cameroonians employed by all the 51 companies.⁷⁹

Concerning the establishment of the National Oil Refinery in Limbe on the other hand, it was a big struggle between the politicians of West Cameroon and the Federal Government to come to an agreement.⁸⁰ To start with, the oil wells are a natural gift of that locality. But East Cameroonians struggled in vain to divert it by critical means, using pipe-lines to Douala. The refinery however, stands in Limbe only as a monument to remind the local people that they have the national oil source. This is because the endogenous are ignorant of the operations and volume of output. Although located in West Cameroon, most of those handling its key posts were named from East Cameroon.

The economy of West Cameroon experienced a sharp decline shortly after reunification. This situation had not improved with time. Even the FCCIM which was opposed to monitor the economic problems of the state and find solutions to them, was strongly in collaboration with the government. In the history of the Cameroon Chamber this period was that of integration and of readjustment for the two federated states which emerged from two different colonial backgrounds. Paradoxically, only one part of the nation suffered the brunt of readjustment, while the other enjoyed the fruits of reunification in the course of struggling to assimilate the other. Hence, it would not be an overstatement to assert that the FCCIM only aided the government to widen rather than to narrow the gap that existed between the development of the two Cameroons before reunification. Chamber activities expanded and a positive impact was felt in East Cameroon, but very negligibly experienced in West Cameroon. In fact, the creation of the West Cameroon branch of the FCCIM only helped to unfold the marginalization that

awaited West Cameroon in the upon as the appointment of its officials clearly demonstrated.

The Federal Republic of Cameroon was a very viable nation, quite rich in natural resources. It also had competent economic organizations such as the FCCIM and the PMO that could judiciously control the exploitation and marketing of its resources. But it would appear that the government did not mean to be straight forward in taking certain decisions. On the other hand if the nation had rallied all its forces to ensure a balanced development of the Federation, the economy of the Federal Republic of Cameroon would have flourished strongly.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. D.E. Gardinier, Cameroon: United Nation's Challenge to French Policy, New York, Oxford University Press, 1963. pp 96-97.
2. File No. WAF/844/440/01161, Federation of Nigeria/Independence of Southern Cameroons, 10 October, 1961, PROL, (Pageless file).
3. personal interview with Chief O.S. Ebanja, Op.Cit.
4. See Appendix IV p.187.
5. Decree No. 62 DF-173 of May 25, 1962, Journal Officiel du Republique federale du Cameroun (JORFC), 1962, National Archives Yaounde (NAY), pp. 536-542.
6. Letter Ref. No. p. 498.51/82 of June, 1965 addressed to all Permanent Secretaries, Buea, 1965.
7. R. Sanding Beng, "La Chambre de Commerce D'industrie et des Mines de La Republique du Cameroun", 1973, p. 13.
8. Ibid., At this stage the Chamber was gradually being indigenized.
9. Personal interview on 4/3/91 with Chief J.N. Fomenky born on 15 March, 1926 in Bangwa Lewon in Fontem sub-division South West Province. He was the Buying Agent in the West Cameroon Marketing Board in 1954. In 1962, he was appointed one of the licenced buying agents of arabica coffee. In 1975 he was the first Cameroonian to be licenced to export banana, cocoa and coffee directly Overseas. He is the proprietor of the Direct Suppliers Company Limited in Kumba and cumulatively, the traditional Chief of his village, before his death on 11th Novemebr, 1993. May his soul rest in peace!
10. Decree No. 62 DF 173 of May, 1962 JORFC. NAY pp. 542-548
11. J-F. Bayart, L'Etat Au Cameroun. Presse de La Fondation Nationale Des Science Politique, 1984, p. 89. Paul Monthe was also the leader of Parti Socialiste Camerounais
12. The expression West and East of the Mungo became popular after reunification. "West of the Mungo" became a subtle way of saying West Cameroon and "Each of the Mungo" one of calling East Cameroon. River Mungo creates a natural boundry between former West and East Cameroon.
13. Decree No. 70-DF-27 of 28 January, 1970, JORFC. To Amend the Amount of the Proportion of Turnover Tax on Imports granted to Consular Assemblies, p. 136
14. File No. 604/DSD 389/Q1 1960/1 Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, West Cameroon, NAB, p.61. There were two state chambers. That of West Cameroon based in Buea and that of East Cameroon located in Douala before the formation of the Federal Chamber.
15. Ibid, p. 91
16. File No. Q37/B3/20, Chamber of Commerce of 19/01/85. Divisional Archives Limbe (DAL), South West Province, p. 7.

17. This was precisely who West Cameroon opted for reunification with the Republic of Cameroon.
18. File No. 6047 p. 498 Q1 1963/1 Federal Chamber of Commerce. NAB, p. 153
19. Ibid.
20. Ref. No. 498/S 1/82 Letter dated 18 June, 1965 to All Permanent Secretaries, Buca.
21. File No. G37/B3/20, Op. Cit., pp. 37-38
22. Ref. No. A/532/223, Nomination to the Chamber of Commerce 1968 Ref. No. MCI/A/532/177, Renewal of the Members of the Chamber of Commerce May 1968.
23. See appendix v, p. 268
Personal interview with Pa V. ?t. Lainjo, Op. cit.
24. W.A. Ndongko, Planning for Economic Development in a Federal State, the Case of Cameroon 1960-1971. Munche: Weltforum Verlag, 1975, p. 161.
25. Minutes of the Meeting held on Home Trade Operations in West Cameroon on 20 April, 1968, 1968, in the Community Hall Victoria, pp. 102.
26. Ibid.
27. Personal interview with Mr. Mathias Abanda, Op. Cit.
28. Minutes of the meeting 20 April, 1968, Op. Cit.
29. Local traders lacked finances and business management so they sold their licenses to foreigners. This naturally increased the import quotas of the foreign traders to the detriment of the local ones.
30. Minutes of the Meeting of 20 April, 1968, Op. Cit., p. 3. The representatives of the WCCC had to be nominated by the Hon. Prime Minister of West Cameroon and not elected. Thus in certain cases the P.M. because of the lack of conversance of the rightful members could nominate less competent representatives.
31. Ibid
32. The President failed to stress the two types of Chambers that existed at the time and the period before reunification when West Cameroon had the type that was self-financing (the Anglo-Saxon).
33. Minutes of the Meeting of 20 April, 1968 pp.4-5
34. See list attached to letter No. MCI. WE/A/532/202 by Chief O.S. Ebanja on 6 July, 1968. The Alliance Trading Company and others left before the end of the year 1968. See Appendix V.

35. Bedermann, pp. 22-24. The Commonwealth Development Corporation (Comdev) was a Colonial Financing Corporation that worked in Collaboration with the Cameroons Development Corporation.
36. The Europa World Year Book (1992), Vol. 1, 33rd Edition, Europa Publication Ltd., 1926, p. 657.
37. Minutes of the Meeting of 20 April, Op.Cit., p. 4.
38. Interview with Mr. J.N. Fomenky, Op.Cit.
39. More on the Economy and the Delegation of Bafoussam in Chapter Six.
40. Letter No. KCC 49/RRC/68, Kumba Chamber of Commerce, 25 May, 1968. See Appendix VI, o. 266.
It should be recalled that at the creation of the FCCIM, it was ordered that Delegations should be created alongside at Douala, Yaounde and Garoua and that more were joint to be created as the need for them arose.
41. Personal interview with Chief J.N. Fomenky, Op.Cit.
42. Personal interview on 9/3/90 with Mr. M.N. Atabong, Op.Cit.
43. Ngoh, pp. 253-254.
44. Cameroon under Nigeria enjoyed the privilege of belonging to the British commonwealth of Nations. After separation it became automatic that this privilege be withdrawn.
45. Ngoh, p. 255.
46. See Communication Map on p. 142.
47. File No. B. 1470, Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Nigeria and Bamenda, 1938, p. 89.
48. Ibid. p. 256.
49. See communication map of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, p. 142.
50. Gardinier, pp. 30 - 90.
51. File No. 2324/62 of 3 of 14/1/62 - DF. 66 of 24/2/62, Currency, Coins and Notes, Introduction of Franc CFA pp. 62-70 PAB.
52. Personal interview with Chief Fomenky.
53. Ibid.
54. File No. G37/B3/20, Op.Cit., p. 51. In 1966 West Cameroon was obliged to join the Central African Custom Union UDEAC to which East Cameroon already belonged.
55. Ibid., pp. 51-52.
56. The Europea World Year Book, Op.Cit. p. 656. Le Vine & Nye p. 120.

57. Personal interview with Chief Fomenky, Op.Cit.
58. Personal interview with Pa V.T.Lainjo, Op.Cit.
59. V.T.Le Vine, The Cameroon Federal Republic, Cornell University Press, Ithaca And London, 1971, p. 32.
60. Patente is a French word which stands for "a business tax" that was levied by the government on all businessmen in French Cameroon. It was introduced in West Cameroon after reunification.
61. Personal interview on 23/01/91 with Chief O.S. Ebanja born in 1920 in Mokonje. He was the Director of National Economy in West Cameroon from 1962 to 1972. He was retired as the traditional Chief of Mokonje.
62. The Guardian Vol. 8, No. 5159, Monday, September 2, 1991, p. 7.
63. Smugglers through clandestine deals shifted moneys which ought to be paid as Patente/customs duties to custom officers by way of bribes. Bribes were normally lower than the custom duties that could have been justly calculated and paid by the traders. Thus, the traders and the officers gained at the expense of the government. Only free trade would have been the best solution for both parties.
64. Sanding Beng, p. 53.
65. Ndongko, pp. 152-155. The BCD was a Development Loan Agency which was opened in French Cameroon in 1961. A branch of it was opened in West Cameroon in 1971.
66. This aid was to enable the Federal Republic to continue its rate of development and to keep up with the supply of raw materials to France in return for the foreign aid. V.T.Le Vine, p. 44.
67. Personal interview on 10/09/91 with Mr. Mfonfu George Bikoma. Born 1940 at Bali Nyonga. He was the Sub-Accountant of the Bank of West Africa Limited in 1974. He is now retired.
68. Personal interview on 15/11/91 with Hon. D.A.Atia. Born in 1924 in Mankon. He was the company Manager of John Holt Company from 1960-1964, and is presently a member of Parliament in the National Assembly.
69. Personal interview on 20/11/92 with Mr. P.N. Tembunde, born in 24/13/38 at Awing, Bamenda. He was the Provincial Chief of Service, Exchange Control, South West Province, Limbe, 1981-1985 Chief of Customs House Yaounde, Parcel Post Yaounde and Lobe in the South West Province.
70. Personal interview on 21/11/91 with Mr. Awa Samuel Nchifor, born 1932 in Pinyin. He was the National Director of State Lottery 1968-1972 and Delegate for State Lottery in North West Province 1980-1985. The Togo Agency is a world wide financial pool which has members even in Cameroon.
71. Ndongko, p. 88.
72. Personal interview on 9/3/90 with Mr. M.N. Atabong, Op.Cit., British goods were not only duty free. Consumers also found them to be more durable and more competitive on the West Cameroon market than those of other nations.
73. Powercam was the headquarters of the Yoke Electricity Power Station which was located in Victoria.

the Yoke power station located in Muyuka, provided electricity for the whole of West Cameroon before reunification.

74. Personal interview with Pa V.T.Lainjo, Op.Cit. Pa lainjo who lived through the system alleged that he paid less for electricity when the Yoke Power Station was operational than now that it is supplied from Edea.
75. Cameroon Express No. 7 Tuesday, June 25, 1963, p. 3.
76. Sanding Beng, p. 13.
77. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
78. S.N. Tata. "The Evolution of the Reunited Cameroon 1961-1982" University of Lagos, Nigeria, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis) 1991, pp. 437-439.
79. Bulleting Quotidien d'Information (BQI), Daily News Bulletin, No. 107 of 11 May, 1978, p. 26, SOPECAM, Younde.
80. See Table 11, p. 115.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CAMEROON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND MINES AND THE ECONOMY OF CAMEROON 1972 - 1981

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, between 1961 and 1971 when Cameroon was a federation, the CCIM had already started to decentralize its activities.

When it was realized that the federation had become too expensive to run, President Ahmadou Ahidjo, after a referendum on 20 May, 1972, introduced a unitary constitution. As a result of this new arrangement, the Federal Republic of Cameroon from 20 May, 1972, became the United Republic of Cameroon (URC). Forthwith, the FCCIM became known as the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce Industry and Mines (CCIM)¹. The country was repartitioned into seven provinces: The Central South, East, Western, Littoral, North, South West and North West Provinces. Each of these provinces was later to have a branch of the CCIM. Although the Chamber was brought closer to the people, this had adverse effects on the former West Cameroon which was divided into the North East and South West Provinces.

The external services of the CCIM created delegations with jurisdiction over one or more provinces. These delegations were to represent the CCIM with regard to receiving businessmen; providing information concerning the economy of the nation to members; collecting statistics; carrying out economic surveys and promoting and providing assistance to the industrial, mining, commercial and the services sectors.²

There are altogether six Provincial delegations in the United Republic. The Douala, Yaounde and Maroua Delegations were inaugurated shortly after the founding of the FCCIM in 1962. The Victoria (now Limbe) Delegation was created in 1972 and later Mr. Michael N. Atabong was made Delegate.³ That of Bafoussam was inaugurated in 1974 and that of Bamenda much later. In fact, branches of the CCIM were created in other provincial headquarters to monitor and to oversee generally, the progress of economic development in the country.

4.1 CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CREATION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

After the creation of the Unitary State, President Ahmadou Ahidjo propounded the

concept of Self-Reliant development. It was going to be based on the creative efforts of the Cameroon people. President Ahidjo asserted that there was no genuine development, except that where the motivating force came from the people themselves. To this end, the government marshalled all the country's resources: human, material and financial to enable effective development. The government efforts were to aid the people to attain self-sufficiency in food production. This in turn redeemed the people from disease, hunger, and malnutrition.⁴ The CCIM did collaborate with the government in the execution of this policy.

In order to reinforce the policy of self-reliance development, President Ahidjo further launched the "Green Revolution" campaign and organized the first Agro-Pastoral show in Buea in 1973.⁵ From then on, the Agricultural shows have become a four-yearly event, attracting farmers, livestock breeders and craftsmen from all the provinces. They form forums in which extension as well as research workers and industrialists engage in agricultural chemicals or machinery, display the latest techniques and practices in agriculture, forestry and food sciences. This interaction is aimed at improving the farmers' techniques and productivity, thereby raising his standard of living.⁶ In effect, the "Self-Reliance Development" and the "Green Revolution" policies helped to enhance the development of the resources of the country. The quantities of produce increased and the quality also improved. It is essential to mention here that this development programme was quite considerable, although, in the long run people became so self-reliant that the programme instead led to a self-centred development strategy, and a complete neglect of the use of concerted efforts towards nation building.

In order to promote the agricultural sector, the government through the CCIM further encouraged local industrial production to replace imports. Some of the industrial complexes that were set up included Société Sucrerie du Cameroun (SOSUCAM), a sugar company located at Mbanjock, and Chocoterie du Cameroun (CHOCOCAM), a chocolate company in Douala. Tea was produced in Ndu, Njutesia and Tole, and a coffee processing company was established in Bafoussam. The government also established development missions vis: Mission de Developpement des Cultures Vivrières (MIDEVIV), Food Development Authority; Wum Area Development Agency (WADA) and Mission de Developpement de Nord-Ouest (MIDENO) or the North West Development Authority. The CCIM had an input in the running of these organs of economic development, because it received their annual reports and deliberated upon them at some of its meetings.⁷

The encouragement of the self-reliance development programme also led to an increase

in cash crop production and, consequently to rural development, research extension, and the emergence of marketing and credit facilities. These in turn brought about the conversion in 1974 of the West Cameroon Marketing Board (WCMB) into the National Produce Marketing Organization (PMO), which became the body in charge of marketing agricultural produce for the entire nation⁸. In the process, decree No. 74/737 of 19 August 1974 created another Delegation of the CCIM in Bafoussam in the Western Province. This Delegation like that of Victoria was headed by a delegate who was appointed by the officers of the Chamber.⁹

4.2 CHANGES IN THE CCIM 1975-1981

By Presidential Decree No. 75/267 of 19 April, 1975, all previous decrees on rules and regulations of the FCCIM were repealed and replaced by new provisions. These new provisions were precipitated by changes imposed by the new constitution which Cameroon adopted after it changed from Federation into United Republic. Henceforth, the Chamber was administered by the following officers: The President, the Secretary-General, and the Assistant Secretary-General.

The Chamber comprised 3 sections: the commercial, the industrial and crafts, and the mines section. Officers were to be appointed under conditions laid down in Articles 39 and 40 of the Decree. Under Article 39 the President of the Chamber was appointed by Decree and his duties could be terminated by Decree. The President was, therefore, a nominee of the government and not elected by the Chamber as before. This decree was meant to oblige the president to submit to the whims and caprices of the government that appointed him rather than to that of the Chamber. Thus the government rivalled with members of the CCIM over the control of the Chamber.

The President conducted the proceedings of the Chamber and represented it in civil matters as a defendant. However, in order to appear in court, the president was obliged to obtain the prior agreement of the government officers, except in urgent cases. Articles 40 provided for the succession of any officer who died or resigned before his term expired.¹⁰

The officers were made up of a President, 1 Treasurer, 3 Section President; and 3 Vice Presidents. The Section Presidents were elected from amongst the substantive members of the Chamber of Commerce.

At its first session, the full assembly elected from among its members a Treasurer and 3 Vice Presidents, the first of whom was resident in Douala. Each of the sections also elected

a President and a Vice President. The election of officers was done in a full assembly by secret ballot and by an absolute majority. However, in the event of a second ballot in the course of the same election, a relative majority was sufficient. New officers were elected every 4 years and were eligible for re-election.

The Chamber comprised 100 members: 50 substantive and 50 alternate. As stated earlier substantive members constituted the effective members of the Chamber, and were the sole persons qualified to hold offices and to deliberate at meetings. They were also the representatives of the Chamber, mandate to appear before administrative authorities, in working committees or at gatherings and ceremonies in which the Chamber was called upon to take part.¹¹ During the era of the United Republic, the Chamber's composition enlarged, but functions of officials were same as during the federation period. An increase in the number of officials could lighten the burden of former officials, but could also lead to the running down of the Chamber's finances and could multiply administrative bottlenecks.

The electoral committee was made up of a Chairman and the Minister responsible for commerce or his representative. Other members of the committee were the President of the Yaounde Magistrate or Court of First Instance, the Director of Taxes, the Director of the Chamber of Commerce or his representative and 4 members of the Chamber of Commerce, being one per section, plus one member of the bureau. Elections were held 2 months before the term of the outgoing members expired.

All members of the electoral body were of either sex. They were not to be less than 21 years of age at the date of polling and able to read and write French or English. They were eligible to be elected as substantive or alternative members. Voters opted for a single candidate in two successive ballots. After the final count, the committee announced the final results which were published in the official Gazette of the Chamber. The elected who obtained the highest were alternate members.¹²

The new Chamber was installed within 30 days of the publication of the results in the Official Gazette and was signed by the President of the Republic.¹³ By a joint Order No. 72/349 MINDIC and MINFI of August 1974, the Minister of Finance, Charles Onana Owona, and the Minister of Industry and Commercial Development, Youssoufa Daoudu, jointly signed the order approving the Ordinary Budget of the CCIM for the Financial year 1974/75 to the tune of 261, 930,00 FCFA.¹⁴ This large sum of money gives the impression that the government had the concern of seeing the Chamber actively at work, but it is difficult to know where the government

had its priority, because the government did not specify the amount allocated for each section of the Chamber. Leaving the money in this lump sum could also have incited officials to indulge in embezzlement.

The President of the CCIM and the Director of the Treasury were responsible each in his own sphere, for the implementation of this order which was registered and published in the Official Gazette in French and English.

By the Decree of 24 May, 1975 Mr. Francois Djapou was appointed President of the Chamber to replace Nfon V.E. Mukete who had been interim President for six months. This has been the highest post ever occupied by a West Cameroonian. The topmost ranking post in the Chamber were, and are still reserved for East Cameroonians, because they are in the majority nation where, everybody should be given equal opportunity to prove his worth. In the circumstance, the differences that exist between these people with divergent cultural backgrounds ought to be sunk and they individually be granted equal opportunities to exhibit what they are capable of doing. It is possible that as it was assumed, Nfon Mukete might not have been conversant with the francophone set up of the Chamber but what was wrong with letting him also introduce the anglophone set up into the system to bilingualize it? Mr. Andre Konna another francophone was appointed the Secretary-General of the Chamber to replace Jean-Marie Tadjong.¹⁵ If a francophone had been appointed to replace Nfon Mukete, then an anglophone could then also have been appointed to replace Jean-Marie Tadjong to fill the gap created by the removal of Nfon Mukete.

Another decree No. 76/148 of 10 April, 1976 ordered that 50% of the substantive and alternative and alternate members who constituted the Chamber, that is, 25 substantive and 25 alternative members be elected and 50% be appointed by Presidential decree. The term of office was 4 years and the Minister in charge of Commerce was responsible for the execution of the decree. This strategy was meant to cut down costs on the part of the government, but it instead strengthened the government's hold on the control of the Chamber. Subsequently, decrees signed by the President of the Republic, demonstrated a stronger design of the government to control the Chamber. For example, decree No. 78/31 of 23 January 1978 stipulated that the Chamber be administered by officers comprising the President, 3 Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, 2 Secretaries, 3 Section Presidents and 3 Section Vice Presidents, elected from the substantive members of the Chamber. The President was the head of the services of the Chamber. He was assisted by the Secretary-General appointed by decree. The Secretary-General attended

Chamber meetings in an advisory capacity. He coordinated the activities of all the services of the Chamber. The organization and functioning of these services were fixed by an order of the President of the Republic. The Minister of Economic Affairs and Planning was to be responsible for the implementation of the above decisions.¹⁶

The Decree of 21 August, 1978 also spelt out detailed administrative and clerical duties of the Chamber. The central administration comprised: 1 Secretary-General and 3 Divisions namely: an Administrative and Financial Affairs Division; the Studies Division and the Promotion Division. The officials named into these Divisions were introduced to the various government services and financial bodies. The officer were responsible for keeping index cards of the Chamber. The Library and General documentation section stored information for future use by researchers and other people. All previous decision repugnant to this order were repealed.¹⁷ From the preceding, the CCIM had lots of changes. Personnel wise, some officials were replaced, and structure wise, the CCIM was reorganized. And to this end the number of officials increased as many more offices were created.

To crown it all membership of the CCIM was greatly enlarged as the next paragraph explains, but this was not totally to the advantage of the Chamber. This expansion experienced in the Chamber, brought about may administrative complications which were instrumental in creating disorder and a low output of the Chamber during this era.

In 1981, the rules and regulations of the CCIM were further amended. Articles 3 of Decree No. 81/478 of November 1981 increased membership of the Chamber to 120, that is, 60 substantive and 60 alternate members. The Chamber which was formally administered as a single unite was divided into three subsections, namely: the sections for commerce; industry, crafts and mines, and services. The table that follows shows the membership of the Chamber and the distribution of Substantive and Alternate members per section and per subsection.

TABLE 9

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBSTANTIVE AND ALTERNATIVE MEMBERS

SECTION AND SUB-SECTION		SUBSTANTIVE MEMBERS	ALTERNATE MEMBERS	TOTAL PER SECTION AND SUB-SECTION
I. COMMERCE				
1.	Export Sub-section	4	4	8
2.	Import sub-section	6	6	12
3.	Wholesale Trade sub-section (Class 1-5)	5	5	10
4.	Retail Trade sub-section (CC. 6-10)	6	6	12
Section Total		21	21	42
II INDUSTRY, CRAFTS & MINES				
1.	Mines sub-section	1	1	2
2.	Power sub-section	2	2	4
3.	Industry sub-section	3	3	6
4.	Small & Medium size undertakings sub-section (Below 50 KVA)	5	5	10
5.	Public Works sub-section	4	4	8
6.	Crafts sub-section	3	3	6
Section Total		18	18	36
III. SERVICES				
1.	Banking & Credit sub-section	2	2	4
2.	Insurance sub-section	2	2	4
3.	Road Transport sub-section	2	2	4
4.	Transit sub-section	2	2	4
5.	Air Navigation sub-section	2	2	4

Table 9 cont.....

SECTION AND SUB-SECTION		SUBSTANTIVE MEMBERS	ALTERNATE MEMBERS	TOTAL PER SECTION AND SUB-SECTION
6.	Sea & River Navigation sub-section	3	3	6
7.	Tourism sub-section	2	2	4
8.	Garage sub-section over 10 workers	2	2	4
	under 10 workers	1	1	2
9.	Other licenced activity sub-section	1	1	2
Section Total		21	21	42
TOTAL MEMBERS		60	60	120

Source: Official Gazette of the United Republic of Cameroon (OGURC) NAY Decree No. 81/478 of 19 November, 1981, p. 2668.

4.3 THE CCIM THE ECONOMY OF CAMEROON 1972-1981

From the foregoing, it appears clear that the government sought to control every sector of the economy through the CCIM. This became more evident in the period 1972 to 1981. Agriculture formed the basis of the principal processing and manufacturing industries. Sixty percent of Cameroon's total export in 1980 was made up of agricultural production. There were two sectors of farming - the highly developed plantation agriculture carried out by companies, corporations and individuals.¹⁸ Individuals formed the bulk of farmers as there was intensive peasant farming. Peasant farmers grew cocoa, coffee, palm produce, cotton and groundnuts at their various levels as cash crops. Rubber, tea and palm produce were more of plantation crops. The Chamber of Agriculture catered for the interest of peasant farmers, foresters and livestock breeders. It supplied them with information on the most useful agricultural inputs needed for their farms. Except for the established plantations, it is difficult to assess accurately the extent of the impact of the Chamber on the peasant farmers, who as it will be shown below, successfully innovate the means to solve their own problems.

Both individuals and companies carried out plantation agriculture. Nfon Mukete, a one time Interim President of the CCIM, was the typical example of a high level plantation farmer. When he was Chairman, he

represented Cameroons Development Corporation in both the Chambers of Commerce and that of Agriculture. Nfon Mukete is a B.Sc. degree holder in Agriculture. And having held the above posts, this background expanded his experiences in plantation management. Nfon Mukete owns four large estates of oil palms and rubber, covering about 566 hectares of land. They are located in Kumba, in the South West Province.¹⁹

In the North West Province, the Santa Coffee Estate, owned by the Weste Cameroon Development Agency (WCDA), kept alive the economy of its vicinity. Its activities declined at the collapse of WCDA and the Estate was abandoned in 1976. But the Ndu Tea Estate owned by Cameroons Development Corporation was a member of the Chamber. It contributed to survive the test of time, while the agricultural infrastructure installed at the Santa Coffee Estate laid in waste.²⁰

The Chamber of Agriculture, like the Chamber of Commerce, provided for its members current information concerning agriculture. It influenced the government to create amongst other facilities, credit-providing institutions such as Société Nationale d'Investissement (SNI) or the National Investment Corporation responsible for carrying out studies to promote development; providing land to potential investors and investing capital in companies in a bid to stimulate the economy of the nation. Centre Nationale d'Assistance aux petites et Moyennes Entreprises (CAPME), took care of Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMSE) by negotiating loans for them from banks. the reason for creating CAPME was that people who had so far shied away from opening their own enterprises would now be able to fit conveniently at the Small and Medium Scale level. However, it would appear that Cameroonians have a tendency of confining themselves to sectors which are already saturated, such as small shops, beer parlours, hairdressing saloons, which give very little room for industrialization, but provide quick money. Fonds de Garantie aux Petites et Moyen Entreprises (FOGAPE), an Aid and Loan Guarantee Fund for small and Medium size undertakings, including Fund for small and Medium Scale Industries (SMSI) were also encouraged to expand.²¹ Some of these capital investment companies were so carried away by their obligations that they granted loans indiscriminately. That is, they did not draw a line between who could and who could not stand the test of time. Consequently, some of these enterprises concerned could neither continue with their business nor could pay back their loans.

Fond Nationale de Developpement Rural (FONADER), locally known as the farmers bank or the National Fund for Rural Development was set up by Presidential Decree No. 73/24 of 29 May, 1973. This development fund was instituted to assist the Green Revolution. FONADER has a working budget of 2,849 FCFA set aside for development projects in rural areas during the 1973/74 financial year. It guaranteed loans made by credit bodies to cooperative societies and farmers, amongst other objectives. It was hoped that FONADER was going to draw its experience from errors committed by similar loan granting organizations that had gone bankrupt for lack of foresight, but it still fell victim of the same circumstances and wound up in 1990.²² It must be said here that people appointed to direct these loan granting organizations are either so involved in embezzling funds themselves that they turned a blind eye to other embezzlers, or were too incompetent to handle the situation. Otherwise, they should be able to tender such credible accounts of their financial transactions to dismiss the spell

of doubt that would always loom around. This is because the rate at which these organizations wind up is too rampant, and is quite detrimental to the nation's economy. FONADER was to aid food production to redeem Cameroon from food importation which, as can be seen from the table below, was deleterious to agricultural development in Cameroon.

Table 10: FOODSTUFF IMPORTED INTO CAMEROON 1973

Produce	1972/73 (in tons)	Cost in Millions FCFA
Rice	17,552	73
Potatoes	191	7
Fruits, Vegetables, Juices	219	20
Groundnut oil (refined)	202	23
Spices	689	26
Wheat, Flour	14,697	356
Fresh Vegetables	109	27
Apples, Pepper	359	10

Source: Adopted from Cameroon Tribune Vol. 0. No. 0, Saturday to Sunday 9-10 March, 1974, p. 6

As can be seen in the table above, in 1973 Cameroon was drained of 542 million FCFA through the importation of foodstuff which could be grown locally if available funds were judiciously utilized. At the closure of FONADER, Banque Camerooniase de Developpement (BCD), continued for some time to furnish farmers with loans to boost peasant agriculture. Credit Agricole du Cameroon (CAC) was before long created to replace FONADER.²³ With the dire need for attaining food self-sufficiency, Crédit Agricole, like all its predecessors does not possess a genuine means of determining which farmer will or will not be able to survive the future economic challenges. Hence, the nation risks losing funds spent in this economic endeavour for time immoral.

During the nineteen seventies, through the intervention of the Chamber of Commerce, more societies and companies were created to augment output in the local manufacturing sector. In 1971, Société d'Expansion et de Modernisation de Riziculture de Yagoua (SEMRY)

was created to promote production of rice to meet the demand of the local population Mission de Developpement des Cultures Vivrières (MIDEVIV), a Food Development Authority, already mentioned, was created in 1973 to promote foodstuff production by the production and distribution of improved seeds and planting materials. MIDEVIV also extended its services to include the supply and the selling of surplus foodstuff from the suburbs in large commercial towns such as Yaounde, Garoua and Douala at reasonable prices. Consumers in these towns were happy and did scramble for the MIDEVIV supplies. In addition, this government institution helped the local farmers in marketing their produce.²⁴ But despite its services to the society, it was premature for a developing nation like Cameroon to create such a parastatal in its economy. Since it was non-profit making, MIDEVIV soon ran out of funds and wound up its activities.

The CDC in the meantime remained the greatest generator of revenue among the corporate members of the Chamber. It established large plantations of banana, palm oil, tea, rubber, cocoa and pepper. Formerly, the CDC concentrated its activities in the South West Province, but gradually, it moved out to the North West Province, where it established the Ndu Tea Estate. The CDC established rubber plantations in Mokonje in Kumba and Palm Oil Mills in Mondoni, Idenau and another oil palm plantation in Edea, particularly in Mbongo, Edea, Song-Ndog, Dibombari and Eseka run by Société Camerounaise de Palm (SOCAPALM), the Cameroon Palm Oil Company.²⁵

In Northern Cameroon mixed farming was highly practised. Cotton and grains were largely cultivated by peasant farmers, so also was livestock breeding. Livestock farming was left in the hands of peasant cattle farmers who applied basically their traditional grazing methods. The north suffered from poor climatic conditions for agricultural production, but paradoxically the sandy soil there favoured the growth of such grains as groundnuts and rice.²⁶

Farmers in the grassfields hitherto were mainly engaged in coffee farming. In the eighties, the world market experienced a drop in the price of coffee. As a result, many farmers drifted away from coffee cultivation. This happened mostly in areas where alternatives were available, just to make ends meet. In Pinyin, a village in Bamenda, for example, men abandoned or converted their coffee farms into vegetable and Irish potatoes (*solanum*) farms, because market gardening had become more lucrative.

In the forest zone, cassava, cocoyam, sweet potatoes, plantain and maize thrived. White yam was cultivated for subsistence as well as for local trade. Bananas and palm produce, cultivated in family plantations, at the time of the decline of the price of cocoa in the world

market, flourished in Kumba and Victoria Divisions.²⁷ It is worth noting that the economy of the forest zone and of the plantation areas of the South West Province was dominated by non-indigenes of the region. In an earlier chapter, it was mentioned that because of the laziness that was prevalent amongst the coastal people, the Germans imported labour from outside the area. Most of the labourers came from Ngie in the North West Province, where people are particularly industrious. After plantation work, most of the Ngie people utilized their leisure in cultivating the above listed crops for local markets. Most of the Ngie people have become rich not from their plantation earnings, but because of proceeds earned from the supply of local foodstuff in the markets.

As earlier mentioned, the Bamileke people controlled the economy of the Western Province.²⁸ In the area of business they could be termed the "Igbos" of Cameroon because of their dynamism in business. The Bamilekes constituted a majority of the autochthons of this province, but are spread all over the country and are engaged in various economic activities. Amongst them are building contractors, transporters, wholesale and retail traders, hoteliers, school proprietors, importers, exporters and planters. They are the sole proprietors of most commercial houses in the various urban centres including Bafoussam, Mbouda, Dschang, Bafang and Bangate. In other commercial towns such as Douala, Yaounde, Tiko, Kumba and Bamenda, they are found quite busy carrying out commercial transactions.²⁹ Prominent amongst the businessmen of the Western Province from the late fifties onwards were Messrs. Fotso Victor, resident in Bandjoun, West Province; Paul Bamileke based in Tiko; Ndemfac Pierre operating in Dschang; Ndziko-Yaounde; Kenfac Serverin in Mbouda and Nsete Emmanuel, and importer of building materials and hardwares based in Bafoussam.

Foto Victor, a multi-millionaire, carries out a wide range of business undertaking to this day. He is the proprietor of Collège Polyvalent de Bandjoun, a Comprehensive Technical High School. He has a share in PILCAM, a Battery Company; and runs a whisky manufacturing company in Douala.³⁰ Fotso Victor is more than just an active member of the CCIM. In his Comprehensive Technical High School of Bandjoun, he trains Grammar, Commercial and technical students, thus producing middle level trained manpower to fit into the society. The others are equally engaged in profitable economic investments of their choices. Generally, they tend to engage in multi-business undertakings so that in case of failure in one, they cannot be completely grounded.

Mr. Ndemfac Pierre, an informant based in Dschang in the Western Province, is a full

fledged farmer, but trading and butchering are his major preoccupations. In this wise, when livestock prices fall, he relents his efforts in trading livestock concentrates on butchering and farming activities. This keeps him busy round the year.³¹

It is important to state here that most of these businessmen are often members of the CCIM. In a bid to pressurize the government to make policies that would facilitate their business operations, they directly do the less privileged businessmen a favour. Renowned businessmen like Soppo Priso of Douala and Chief Fomenky of Kumba have attended and continue to attend trade missions abroad. On return they furnish members of Chamber with the recent changes that have taken place in the industrial, commercial, and agricultural fields during the plenary Chamber session.³²

Like in the other provinces, agriculture is the backbone of the economy of the Western Province. Because there were many coffee farmers, growing both Robusta and Arabica coffee, an Integrated Development Project of the High Plateau was established in this province in 1979. It was sponsored by the Chamber of Agriculture in collaboration with the CCIM. The objective of this project was to ameliorate the agricultural productivity and consequently, the revenue and the level of life of the people of the Western Province. In 1976/77, 83,268 tons of coffee were exported in 1975/76 for 34,001 million FCFA. This was due to the fact that the price of coffee had increased from 135 FAFC per kilogram in 1975/76 to 175 FCFA per kilogram in 1976/77. With the progress realized in the production of coffee in the nation generally and in the Western Province in particular, the Union Centrale de Cooperative Agricole de L'Ouest (UCCAO), was established still under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce in 1979. UCCAO serves as a collection and processing centre for coffee in the Province. UCCAO executes the project with the technical assistance of experts of French firms.³³ In the late seventies coffee production realized a boom in price followed in the eighties by contraction due to a general fall of price in the world market.

In Foubot in the same Province, heavy industrial agriculture was practised. The high fertility of the land attracted foreign planters who carried out integrated projects with the indigenes of the province. In the early eighties, there were about fifteen European plantations established there. These plantations employed about 15,000 Cameroonians, about 40% of whom were Bamileke, the most industrious ethnic group of Cameroon.³⁴ In most of the plantations, vegetable crops such as lettuce, tomatoes, parsley, celery, cabbage, beetroot, carrots and green beans were cultivated in large quantities. With the massive cultivation of such

perishables, such of the harvest was lost through poor storage. This necessitated the establishment of a consortium for growing and canning tomatoes and other vegetables. This consortium was, and is still charged with the responsibility of collecting and processing the tomatoes produces in the area by small holders. There were at the time, over 1000 small holders in the entire region of Foubot. On the whole, mixed crop cultivation was carried out in this part of the province. thus, alongside the vegetables, Irish potatoes were also intensively cultivated.³⁵

4.4 THE LOCATION OF INDUSTRIES IN THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

Industry in Cameroon was mostly of the traditional type. It catered for local needs. There were nevertheless a handful of modern industries, but located more in the big towns east of the Mungo. Apart from the Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC) and the National Oil Refinery (SONARA), both located in the Southern part of West Cameroon, all the others were located at the sources of their raw materials.

Through efforts of the CCIM, the mining industry in Cameroon came to the limelight of the economy in 1977. This was the year when the exploitation of petroleum in the nation was begun with the following companies. ELF-Sercepeca, Pectin-Cameroon, Gulf, Mobil and Total. In 1981, Société Nationale Hydrocarbure (SNH) was created to supervise petroleum exploitation, but paradoxically SNH was not qualified for prospection. Thus prospection remained a monopoly of the above foreign companies. The main oil deposits were discovered at Kole in 1976; Ekoundou north, south and centre in 1978, Bekita in February 1979, Edoundou Marine and Tendat in 1980. The foreign companies owned 60% and the Cameroon government 40% of the total production of each company.³⁶ It is said that proceeds of the nation's quota are deposited in an extra budgetary account and that only the General Manager of SNH, Jean Assoumou and the Head of State understand what it is used for.³⁷ This state of affairs clearly illustrates how ineffective a government-controlled Chamber could be to its members. The CCIM could have pressurized the government to account for this extra budgetary account. Nonetheless, these companies added to those listed in the table below, created employment for the people of their various vicinities. But some companies demanded more labour than was available around their localities, thus, it was recruited from far and near as mentioned before. Table 11 below depicts the employment strength of each industry and consequently its contribution towards the development of the nation's economy.

TABLE 11

MAJOR INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES

COMPANY	HEADQUARTERS	No. OF WORKERS
1. Les brasseries du Cameroon (SABC)	Douala	3,200
2. SCOA - Cameroon	Douala	334
3. Societe Industrielle Camerounaise du Cocoa (SIC)	Douala	343
4. S.A. des Ets kritikos (AEK)	Douala	785
5. SONEI	Douala	2,100
6. CFAO - Cameroon	Douala	13,000
7. SHO - Cameroon	Yaounde	647
8. Cameroon Motors Industries (CMI)	Douala	280
9. Cameroon Airlines	Douala	820
10. ALUCAM	Edea	736
11. UCCAO	Yaounde	700
12. SOCATRAL	Edea	199
13. Railway Corporation	Douala	5,004
14. CICAM	Douala-Bassa	1,479
15. Total - Cameroon	Douala	161
16. CHOCOCAM	Douala	303
17. SODECOTON	Garoua	1,657
18. CACEP	Douala	432
19. Societe Commerciale Africaine (SCA)	Yaounde	71
20. CIMENCAM	Douala	277
21. Societe Portugaise du Cameroon (SOPOCAM)	Yaounde	555
22. SEAC	Yaounde	343
23. Shell - Cameroon	Douala	94

	COMPANY	HEADQUARTERS	No. OF WORKERS
24.	Bastos	Yaounde	426
25.	Cameroons Development Corporation	Victoria	15,381
26.	Reneault - Cameroon	Douala	474
27.	DEFCAM	Douala	47
28.	Guiness Cameroon	Douala	680
29.	B.P. Cameroon	Yaounde	1,273
31.	Complexe Chimique Cameroon (CCC)	Douala	468
32.	R & W King	Douala	181
33.	Commerciale M. Gatche et Cie	Douala	54
34.	COGEFAR Trasnfam S.A.	Yaounde	531
35.	TEXACO Afrique Cameroon	Douala	51
36.	Grands Travaux de L'Est (GRE)	Bertoua	1,478
37.	CIACAM	Douala	259
38.	Societe Camerouniase de Monoteriers (SCMI)	Douala	78
39.	AGIP - Cameroun	Douala	96
40.	Dragages Cameroun	Yaounde	1,081
41.	Campagne Soundanaise	Yaounde	164
42.	SOSUCAM	Mbanjock	2,920
43.	Union Camerounaise de Brasseries (UCB)	Douala	426
44.	DACAM	Douala	225
45.	Hollando - Cameroun	Douala	211
46.	Peterson Zoch. Cameroun	Douala	221
47.	Bota Cameroun	Douala	811

	COMPANY	HEADQUARTERS	No. OF WORKERS
48.	COGEFAR Construction Gen.	Younde	219
49.	SONARA	Victoria	454
50.	CAMSUCO	Mbanjock	2,052
51.	HEVEACAM	Kribi	1,500

Source: S.N. Tata "The Evolution of the Re-United Cameroon 1961-1982",
Ph.D. Thesis) University of Lagos, 1991, pp. 437-439.

The CCIM being an advisory body, directed new companies to sites that were most suitable. It was as a result of this that the Cameroon Aluminium Company (ALUCAM) was located in Edea, quite near the Edea Electricity Power Complex. ALUCAM produced aluminium articles such as pots, bucket, basins and cooking spoons. Cotonière Industrielle du Cameroon (CICAM), produced cloth from local cotton. The shoe industry (BATA), produced both leather and plastic shoes. In Maroua and Pitoa local groundnut oil was produced and cotton oil, Diamador, Was produced in Garoua. All these items were produced to satisfy local demand, but through the advice and aid of the CCIM, some of these products were exported to the neighbouring countries. The table that follows illustrates the Provincial distribution of industries in the nation.

Table 12

PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIES 1980.

S/N	PROVINCE	HEADQUARTERS	NUMBER OF INDUSTRIES	PERCENTAGE
1.	Centre-South	Yaounde	109	24
2.	East	Bertoua	3	0.6
3.	Littoral	Douala	262	58
4.	West	Bafoussam	20	4.4
5.	North	Garoua	36	9.9
6.	North West	Bamenda	4	0.9
7.	South West	Buea	19	4.2
	Total		453	100.0

Source: Adapted from Annuaire National de La Republique Unie du Cameroun 1982, pp. 443-445.

The table above clearly states the number of industries found in each province by 1980. Although all these industries were directly represented in the Chamber, the CCIM did not seem to have an overall control on their location in the country. This was done by the Ministry of Industry and the Presidency. North West and South West are two provinces that made up the former federated state of West Cameroon. These two provinces had only 23 industries as against 429 in the five provinces of the former federated state of East Cameroon, whereas Littoral alone had 262, more than the number of industries found in the other four provinces put together. This is probably why Douala, the provincial headquarters has been called the economic capital.

The following government companies created to bolster the economy of the nation were also represented in the Chamber.

Table 13:

GOVERNMENT COMPANIES AND THE INVESTMENT CAPITAL 1976

	SOCIETY	HEADQUARTERS	CAPITAL INVESTED
1.	Société de Développement et d'exploitation des Produits Animaux, SODEPA	Yaounde	250,000,000
2.	Société de Promotion Publicitaire et de Tourisme au Cameroun, SOCATOUR (S.A.)	Yaounde	40,000,000
3.	Société Nationale D'Electricité du Cameroun, SONEL, (S.A.)	Douala	4,574,300,000
4.	Société Industrielle Pharmaceutique du Cameroun, SIPHAC (S.A.)	Yaounde	100,000,000
5.	Société de Développement du Coton de Cameroun, SODECOTON	Garoua	100,000,000
6.	Société de Développement du Cacao, SODECAO (S.A.)	Yaounde	300,000,000

Source: E.N. Ngoube, "La Chambre de Commerce et La Promotion Economique du Cameroun" Yaounde, (Licence Project) 1975, p. 66.

These companies control the supply of raw materials right from the grassroots. Thus, SODEPA supervised the raising of livestock. It was also in charge of solving problems associated with meat production. It had branches in Ndumboh.

SOCATOUR, Tourism Company is in charge of the development of hotels and transportation for tourists. It also advertises Cameroon's tourism industry to foreign nations. SONEL, an Electricity Corporation, caters for the development and distribution of electricity in towns, especially the industrial towns. SIPHAC, a Drug Company, imports and distributes drugs to Pharmacies in all provinces of the nation. SODECOTON, a cotton company, is responsible for the development of cotton in the northern provinces, but recently it expanded its activities to include the caring and processing of all crops that thrive in the region. In the Benue Valley, a development in the production of sugar cane, soja, maize and diverse crops was carried out. Meanwhile, SODECAO, a national cocoa development company was established in the south, central and the littoral provinces, but not in the south west province, which is the heaviest cocoa

producing region of the nation.³⁸ CDC was profit minded, it never achieved its objectives of carrying out major developments in the south west province, which today remains disenclaved. Realizing the situation, the government recently created the South West Development Authority (SOWEDA), charged with the development of the province.

4.5 PROBLEMS FACED BY THE CCIM 1972-1981

The above period was typified by numerous political changes whose effects on the structure and the administration of the Chamber could not be averted. Worth noting here is the fact that the problems which infested the CCIM throughout its existence were basically of the same nature. There was also a rampant change of officials.

When the Federal Republic of Cameroon became a unitary state in 1972, the Chambers in the two federated states of East and West Cameroon were obliged to be administered together. Some members of the West Cameroon Federated State agitated against the decision, by the particular decisions in question were irreversible. In this wise, the people were forced either to acquiesce or to abscond. Mr. P.V. Boyo alleged that some of the businessmen in the former West Cameroon, he inclusive abhorred these changes and were forced to boycott the Chamber of Commerce.³⁹ West Cameroonians, he went on, had yet to get used to the system whereby the government controlled the Chamber of Commerce to achieve its own ends, rather than those of the members.

Through the creation of the CCIM delegations in the various provincial headquarters, the services of the CCIM previously located at Douala were then brought nearer to the people, especially the businessmen, industrialists, craftsmen, garage owners, hoteliers and butchers all over the country.⁴⁰ However, by so doing, this created problems. Initially, it was apparently advantageous, but in the long run its disadvantages outnumbered its advantages. the creation of delegation dis-integrated the Chamber that had been merged in 1972. This had started shortly before the inauguration of the Victoria delegation in April 1972. This was the beginning of some sort of disunity in this short-lived mammoth organization. Although each delegation sent delegates to Douala each time the plenary session of the CCIM had to hold, the oneness of its members had been shattered. However, this was counterbalanced by the fact that the provincial delegations called for a more active participation of members during Chamber sessions. There was also the advantage that each delegation could then concentrate on solving its own problems. For, as will be seen in the next chapter, the various delegations had quite different

problems to solve. This implied that the plenary assembly of the CCIM was to concern itself more on finding solutions to the general problems affecting the Chamber at the national and international levels.

The Chamber in Cameroon modelled on the French pattern, otherwise known as the Gaullist type, was different in composition and was government controlled. This left a lot to be desired by those who had been used to the Anglo-Saxon type that was under the aegis of its members. Former members of the Anglo-Saxon type of Chamber considered the CCIM as having no credibility and an appropriate raison d'être since the CCIM was apparently an instrument to be utilized by government to attain government goals. It was also shocking to realize that the personnel of the CCIM was appointed on the basis of who could be best manipulated to achieve certain objectives of the appointers and not on the basis of which appointee was the most capable to handle the post. In this wise, round pegs were fitted into square holes, simply to satisfy the personal interest of either some officials or that of the powers that be.

Another problem, which became quite serious, was that concerning the development of the North West and the South West Provinces, classified as the most deserted areas of the Republic. The North West and the South West Provinces had long been known to constitute a depressed zones of Cameroon in the sense that they were never included in national development projects.⁴¹ With a view to identifying the causes of the depression, businessmen, industrialists and those concerned with the financial and general economic affairs of these provinces had, during the month of September 1972, held talks under the auspices of the Victoria Delegation of Chamber of Commerce. A more detailed report on the deteriorating economic situation in the two provinces as well as in the whole country was debated at the Chamber's plenary session and recommendations were made to the Minister.⁴²

The Chamber identified the following factors as contributory to the depressed state of the economy: lack of capital, managerial and business know-how, and of skilled manpower; the need to balance production with demand; unfair competition; problems of land tenure; lack of adequate infrastructure and a continuous waste of funds on the Douala riverports vis-à-vis the Victoria natural ports which could receive boats of any sizes.⁴³

Many enterprises in the North West and South West Provinces had been ruined by the lack of finances. Although the problem of inadequate finance for Cameroonian businessmen and entrepreneurs was common throughout the country, it was definitely more serious in these two

provinces. The conditions which the BCD and SNI had agreed to adopt earlier that year to improve the financial support given to Cameroonians, had remained a dead letter.⁴⁴ Moreover, the above banks did not meet the existing needs of the people, for neither of them could provide long-term soft credit. The poor treatment Cameroonians had received from foreign banks, led one to the conclusion that Cameroonians west of the Mungo had been discriminated against vis-à-vis their foreign colleagues. This discrimination had placed the West Cameroonian entrepreneur at a serious disadvantage and had tended to create the impression that Cameroonians in this part of the country were basically incapable of owning and running successful industrial and commercial enterprises. The Chamber of Commerce recommended that financial aid could be obtained from the International Development Association (IDA), Fonds Européen des Developpement (FED) - European Development Fund, and other aid finance sources.⁴⁵ This was because these bodies were less stringent in granting the CCIM its request.

Another problem was that although there was a fair amount of production in the North West and South West Province, the economic benefits and capital creation resulting therefrom, were not commensurate with the effort and finance expended. If such projects had been subjected to feasibility studies before launching, many of them would not have been started in view of the vast numbers engaged in farming were profitable, the benefit to the economy could be considerable. Feasibility studies could very well establish that the energy and finance expended on cocoa production under the condition of heavy rainfall obtained in the South West Province would be far more profitably devoted to oil palm and rubber production. To this the Chamber of Commerce recommended that the Centre d'Assistance aux Petites et Moyennes Entreprises (CAPME), and Société d'Aide Technique et de Corporation (SATEC),⁴⁶ be asked jointly conduct surveys and studies designed to identify the products whose local manufacture or processing could be feasible. But examining the situation critically, it was better for the CCIM to set up similar financial institutions of Cameroonian origin which could mobilize themselves towards solving the people's problems. Foreign experts ended up being expensive besides the fact that they concentrated on what their own countries would gain before thinking of Cameroon. Among other recommendations, the Chamber proposed that active steps be taken to attach suitable Cameroonians to CAPME and to understudy the experts in these organizations. This was a most important recommendation, because Cameroonians needed to learn how to develop their own means of carrying out feasibility studies beneficial to Cameroon, to curb the increasing economic blunders of the nation.

It is generally agreed that some of the business failures which occurred in the said depressed zone had been due to bad management and lack of right business practices. While advanced countries recognized the benefits of business training, such is still regarded with great skepticism in certain circles in the Republic of Cameroon. Such training could be beneficial to the executives of big enterprises as well as to small or medium scale entrepreneurs running various personal businesses such as retail stores, service or manufacturing industries or artisanal craft shops. It was the desire of many that such training be provided for, not only at University or higher Technical College levels, but also at the level of high schools and in secondary schools, in order to prepare students for the General Certificate of Education (GCE) and the International Baccalaureat or their equivalents. It was further recommended that there should also be more practical crash courses. These should be extended over periods ranging from a few weeks to a few months. The courses should be designed for adults and young people who had left school and were entering or about to enter business or industry.⁷ It is worth stating here that this plea did not fall on deaf ears for measures were taken and things have changed tremendously since then.

With regard to the rest of the problems raised in the memorandum, the CCIM made adequate recommendations for the solution of the problems which had to be looked into.⁴⁸ In a nutshell, the problems faced by the Chamber of Commerce during the 1970s were more those of integration and readjustment by members of the two federated Chambers initially created by their French and British colonial masters. The overall achievements of the CCIM will be discussed in the next chapter. However, it is necessary to stress here that the Chamber, although at this stage, made a great impact, it was lopsided on the economy of the entire national territory. This was because its activities were diffused from Douala, its headquarters, into the interior of the nation through the creation of Provincial Delegations.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The Economist Intelligence Unite 1978-1988, Cameroon, CAR, Chad, 40 Duke Street, London, 1987, p. 8 London Chamber of Commerce's Library (LCCL). The CCIM came into being in 1955 when the FCCA split into the Chamber of Agriculture and that of Commerce. In 1972 when Cameroon became a Unitary State it assumed a higher status.
2. See organizational chart of CCIM on p. 129⁴
3. Bulletin d'Information Special No. 40-46, CCIM de la Republic du Cameroon (CCIM) Chamber Library Douala (CLD) July 1986, p. 35.
4. S.N. Tata, "The evolution of the Reunited Cameroon 1961-1982", University of Lagos, (Ph.D. Thesis) 1991, p. 427.
5. "Green Revolution" was a programme that launched the campaign for the intensive cultivation of foodstuff to meet up with the Self-Reliance Programme. It called for a rational use of natural resources and awakened the need for optimum development of the soil. See File No. G37/J.4/8, Green Revolution, p. 2.
6. File No. G. 37/J.4/1, Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition, DAL, p. 438.
7. Personal interview on 15/05/91 with Mr. J.B. Ndeh, Born in Njong-Santa on 05/02/45. He was the Director of Credit for FONDAER from 1980-1983. He is presently the General Manager of the North West Development Authority (MIDENO).
8. Interview on 18 October, 1990 with Mr. J.G. Mallett (British). He was the Chief Produce Marketing Officer in West Cameroon by 10 October, 1970. This was the first time when East Cameroon had a forecast of the operation of Marketing Board.
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12. Ibid.
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17. Order No. 78/192 of 21 August, 1978, OGURC, NAY, pp. 1693-1698.
18. Personal interview of 07/03/89 with Mr. Deumaga Victor, born in 1944 at Bafang in East Cameroon. He was at the time the first Research Officer in the Douala Chamber of Commerce.
19. Personal interview on 9/3/90 with Nfon V.E. Mukete, born 1918 in Kumba. He was one time interim president of the CCIM and is presently Chairwoman of INTELCAM, Yaounde.
20. Personal interview on 05/01/91 with Mr. Mathias Abanda, OP.CIT.
21. President Paul Biya's speech on Cameroon Television, 19 February, 1987, Ministry of Information and Culture, Department of Information and Press. pp. 16-17.
22. Cameroon Tribune Vol. O, No. O Saturday to Sunday 9-10 March, 1974, pp. 6-7.
23. Personal interview with Mr. J.B. Ndeh on 15/05/91.
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26. Ibid
27. Personal interview on 8/6/91 with Mr. E.M.T. Awa, born 1940 in Pinyin. He is a Pedologist by profession and was the Deputy Director of MIDEVIV from 1982-1990. He is presently the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Yaounde.
28. Ibid
29. Notre Explicative Carte Pedologique du Cameroun Occidental, Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer (ORSTOM), Yaounde, 1968, p. 21.
30. Personal interview on 29/03/91 with Mr. Severin Kenfac born in 1939 in Bacham, Western Province. He is a nurse by profession but carries out commercial Market Gardening.
31. Personal interview on 29/03/91 with Mr. Pierre Ndemfac, born in //Dschang, West Province. He is a farmer, livestock trader and butcher.
32. Ibid
33. L'Economie Camerounaise, p. 26.
34. Ibid
35. Ibid
36. P. N. Njawa, Le Messager No. 022, Monday April 8, 1991, pp. 1 & 5.
37. Ibid

38. L'Economie Camerounaise, p. 26.
39. Personal interview on 18/02/91 with Mr. P.V. Boyo born in 1935 at Big Babanki. He worked with the Nigerian Daily Times from 1956-1962. He was a petrol dealer and transporter with Texaco Company, Bamenda. He is presently a Hotelier.
40. Ibid.
41. Memorandum on the Economic Situation of the North West Province of the United Republic of Cameroon 1972, p. 1.
42. Ibid.
43. Kamerun Times, Vol. 15, No. 5 of Saturday February 1976, p. 5. In 1976 the Canadian government spend 29 million Dollars (2 milliard FCFA) for the extension of the Douala Riverport. This port could at the time receive only boats with a draught of 6.5 or 6.80 metres, whereas the Victoria Seaport could receive boats of all sizes.
44. Memorandum on the Economic situation of the Depressed Provinces.
45. Ibid.
46. CAPME and SATEC were Parastatals that were established to grant assistance to SMSE and to technical and corporation aid companies.
47. Memorandum of 1972, pp. 2-3.
48. Ibid., pp. 4-9.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CCIM AND THE ECONOMY OF CAMEROON 1982-1988

Paul Biya succeeded Ahmadou Ahidjo as President of the United Republic of Cameroun on 6 November, 1982. This event was a turning point in the economic history of Cameroun. Although there were no major changes in the structure of the CCIM, Paul Biya's economic policy was different from that of Ahidjo and he used the CCIM to achieve his economic goals.

During President Ahidjo's era, he created many agencies and agricultural organizations in order to encourage the expansion of his self-reliance economic policy. These agencies were meant to enable people to fully embrace the Green Revolution and to reinforce the practicalization of the Self-Reliance policy.¹ FONADER, BCE, WADA, MIDEVIV and CAPME were financial and agricultural parastatals created in the 1970s to that effect. In addition to all these efforts, Ahidjo had left behind a healthy economy. To confirm this, President Biya, in an exclusive interview over the Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV) network in 1983, boasted that the economy of Cameroon was flourishing.² Biya had truly inherited a healthy economy from his predecessor. It was because of this that during the early years of his rule, the government in collaboration with the CCIM was able to record great achievements.

When President Biya acceded to power, he immediately expanded Ahidjo's Self-Reliance programme to embody what he called "Communal Liberalism". Contemporary politicians hold that Communal liberalism was, and is still a mere political slogan, in fact, a farce to hide the reality of things. Communal Liberalism aimed at providing the state and the people of Cameroon, the freedom to carry out whatever form of economic undertaking they desired, but on the country it has never done so. Besides, this slogan had a weakness in that Communal Liberalism gave the Cameroonian people no exclusive economic relationship with any foreign nation. To crown it all, during his early years in office, President Biya made many blunders which have since been reflected in most of his decisions. In establishing the Fertilizer Plant at Douala and a Meat Canning Factory in Maroua, for example, Biya failed to consult the CCIM, the appropriate body for technical advice. And in view of this, the undertakings before long failed woefully.³ Coupled with mismanagement, even the development banks and the financial agencies created to sustain the economy during Ahidjo's era started winding up to demonstrate the failure of the New Deal Regime. WADA and FONADER were closed down in 1989, MIDEVIV, CAPAME, BCD and Cameroon Bank followed in 1990, all because of the rampant

mismanagement of the nation's funds and other national resources. This situation ended up in a lack of bank liquidity.⁴ It is therefore sad to note that because of failure to seek advice from the CCIM, most endeavours of the Biya regime flopped disastrously.

Despite these failures, the CCIM continued to function and changes were made in its administration. By Decree No. 82/397 of 2 September, 1982, Mr. Samuel Bateki, an administrative officer, previously the Director of Commerce, was appointed to the post of Secretary-General of CCIM to replace Mr. André Konna.⁵ The decree was signed by Ahidjo who was soon going to resign his post as Head of State. At this juncture one would wonder if Bateki's appointment was not just to satisfy some personal interest before Ahidjo's resignation or it was absolutely called for at that point in time. The CCIM went on disseminating information on economic matters and making feasibility studies, not only for its members, but also for members of the public at large. The CCIM carried out surveys on the economic trends in the country and kept statistics as they related to the economy; it dispatched and received trade missions to and from abroad. As a matter of fact, Paul Biya greatly utilized the CCIM to make contacts with the outside world. This could be seen in the numerous trade missions made abroad and those sent to Cameroon. Indeed, the CCIM remained, and still remains a coordinator between the government and the private sector by informing the private sector about the economic decisions taken in the public sector.⁶ On the whole, the CCIM created more links with the outside world than during the period of Ahamdou Ahidjo.

Mr. Noucti Tchockwago was appointed the President of the CCIM by Decree No. 83/212 of 11 May, 1983 to replace Mr. François Djapou. By Decree No. 83/213 El Hadj Aminou Dama was appointed as an alternate export subsection member.⁷ Ahidjo, by a unilateral decision handed over power to Biya on 6 November, 1982, but still remained the Chairman of the then only national party. Because of the way by which Biya came into power, he continued to retain Ahidjo's policies until when the trend of things turned against Biya in the 1984 attempted Coup d'Etat. Meanwhile, in the preceding decree he gradually replaced some of Ahidjo's former appointees in the CCIM in order to strengthen his hold on the Chamber and also to foster the pace of Communal Liberalism. It was natural that changes should come to reflect the presence of a new Head of State. Consequently, by Order No. 86/115 of March 1986, the administrative service of the CCIM were replaced under the authority of its president. These services comprised the President's cabinet, a Central Administration and External Services.

5.1 THE NEW PHASE OF THE CCIM

The Chamber President's cabinet was made up of the private secretariat and the reception and ceremonies bureau. The private secretariat was under a head, who was responsible for special matters and granting audiences for the President of the Chamber. He had the rank and prerogatives of a service of head of the Central Administration of the CCIM.

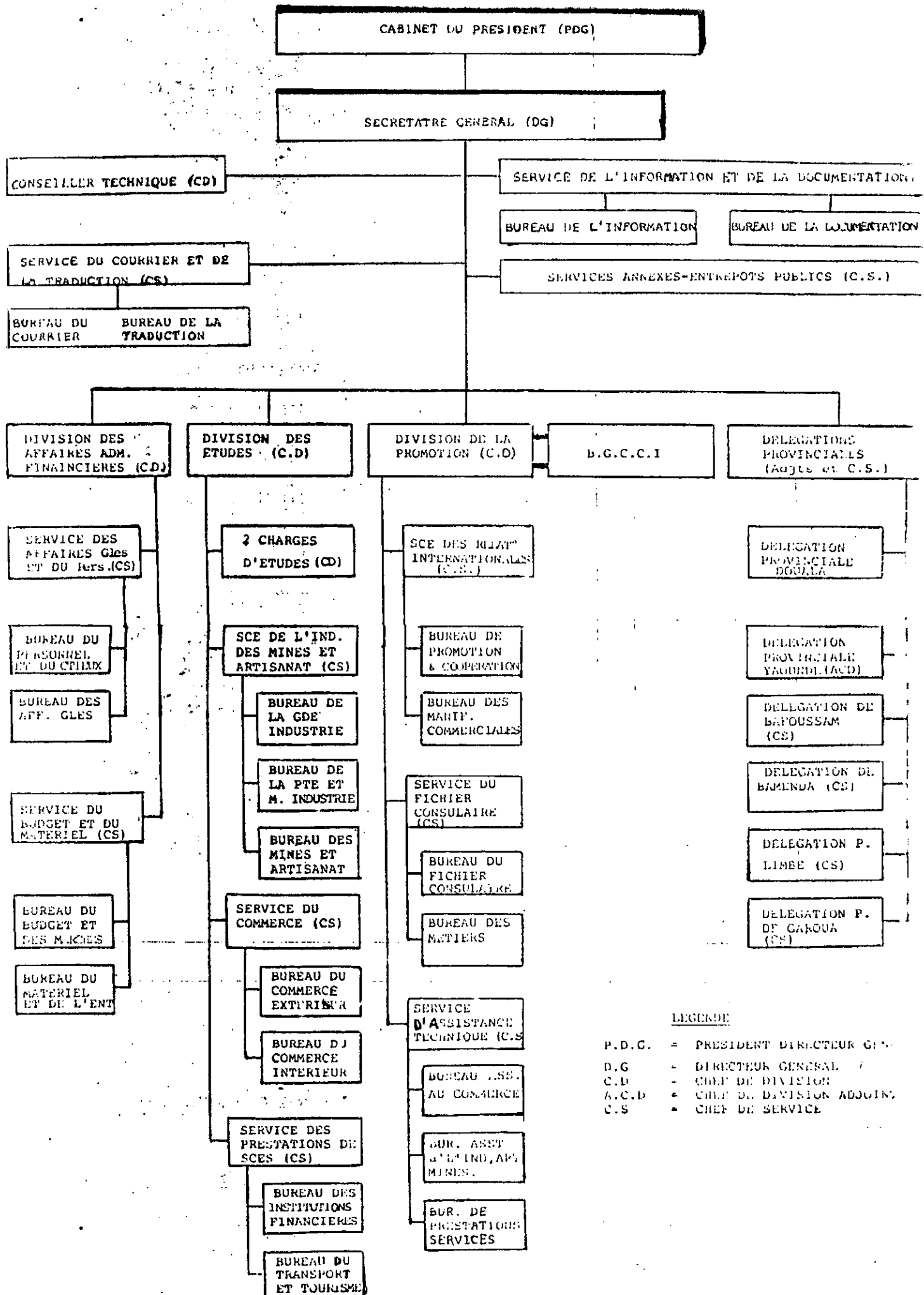
The Central Administration was comprised of the General Secretariat and the Administrative and Financial Affairs Division headed by a Secretary-General. The Secretary-General was the principal assistant of the President who was responsible for administering the affairs of the Chamber.⁸ He ensured the implantation of the decisions taken by the Plenary Meeting of the bureau of the Chamber. He coordinated the activities of divisions and meetings for this purpose and sent reports to the President. The Secretary-General was responsible for discipline and for the continuous training of personnel. To that effect, he organized seminars, refresher courses, further training and special courses under the auspices of the President. The Secretary-General was also directly responsible for defining and systematizing the internal procedures of the Chamber and for the practical organization of its services. In the absence of the Secretary-General the President appointed one of the Divisional Heads to act.

The following were under the Secretary-General: the Technical Adviser; the Mail and Translation Service; and the Information and Documentation Services. The Service Head handled all secretarial duties including the translation of mails from French to English and vice versa. The Administrative and Financial Affairs Division, like the section under the Service Head, was concerned with personnel and equipment and the preparation of budgets.⁹

By decree No. 86/231 of 13 March, 1986 the CCIM was placed under the supervisory authority of the Minister in charge of trade and it became a representative organ of the commercial, industrial, crafts, mining and services interests. It acted also in an advisory capacity along with the Economic and Social Council to other Government bodies.¹⁰

5.2 THE CCIM ADMINISTRATIVE BUREAU AND PROVINCIAL DELEGATIONS 1972-1986

The CCIM Administrative Bureau from 1972 up to October, 1986, was made up of fourteen executive members. Be that as it may, it is essential to point out here that these members or any one of them could be replaced whenever the government deemed it necessary. The then President was Mr. Noucti Tchokwago; First Vice President was Mr. Alber Niba Che; Second Vice President - Mr. Catche Mohamadou; Third Vice President - Mr. J.B. Ndongo



Essomba; Treasurer - Mr. Lucas Tchatchou; Secretary Member - Mr. Henri Jong; Assistant Secretary Member - Mr. Moise Yimgna; President of the Commercial Section - Mr. Maurice Sienche; Vice President of the Commercial Section - Mr. A. Mohamadou Abbo Ousmanou; President of the Industrial Section - Mr. David Wafo; President of the Service Section - Gustave Tchetchen (Mr.); Secretary-General - Mr. Samule Bateki.¹¹ Considering the fact that the Chamber had undergone a complete indigenization, the Anglophones were still being discriminative against. For out of the 14 members of the Chamber's administrative bureau only Mr. Niba Albert Che was from former West Cameroon. This implied that the political goals of national integration were still far from being attained as far as West Cameroonians were concerned. As the West Cameroonians found it increasingly difficult to make their way, French Cameroonians were having greater opportunities to aspire to higher heights. Discrimination against West Cameroonians did not end in the Chamber of Commerce, it featured prominently in other aspects of the economy and the socio-political life of the nation.

The Administrative Bureau of the Chamber was further enlarged to include the posts of the minutes secretary, his assistant and three Vice-Presidents - posts that never existed before. After October, some members of the above bureau were replaced while others, like Mr. Albert Niba Che, stayed on.

The Bamenda Delegation was created in January 1985 with Mr. Abanda as its pioneer President. In 1986, Mr. Kuissu Martin was the Provincial Delegate in Douala; Mr. Nomo Ebode in Yaounde; Mr. Nassaourou Malam in Garoua; Mr. M.N. Atabong in Limbe, Mr. Noutchongouin Jean Samuel in Bafoussam and Mr. Abanda Saya Mathias in Bamenda.¹² The said delegates were chosen to head these delegations because they were quite conversant with the commercial and economic activities as well as the politics of their provinces. And as can be deduced from their names, almost all the delegates were the autochtons of the various provinces. They therefore constituted better coordinators of the businessmen therein.

By Presidential Decree No. 86/1409 of 22 July, 1986, Pierre Tchanque was appointed and installed president of the CCIM on 22 November, 1986, by Biya.

Mr. Saidou Abdoulai Bobby, previously Management Controller at Cameroon's Urban Transport Corporation, was appointed Secretary-General of the Chamber of Commerce by Decree No. 87/1096 of 12 August, 1987, to replace Samuel Bateki.¹³ In a nutshell, CCIM experienced many changes in both structure, leadership and organization during the indigenization period, even though the pioneer African President Paul Monthe had been name

as far back as 1961.

Nonetheless, out of the five Presidents: Paul Monthe (1961-1974); Nfon V.E. Mukete (1974-1975); Djapou Fangois (1975-1983); Nouchi Tchokwago (1983-1986); and Pierre Tchangué (1986-1991), who managed the affairs of the CCIM from 1961 to 1991, only Nfon Mukete came from West Cameroon. Ironically, he was only qualified to be an interim president. For reasons already mentioned, the authorities of the Republic of Cameroon marginalized West Cameroonians in the appointment of people into key political posts. From Jean-Marie Tedjong to Saidou Abdoulai Bobby, all the Secretary-Generals were French-speaking. None of them was biligual enough to have merited the exclusive right of being Secretary-General as opposed to the English speaking elite.¹⁴

5.3 TRENDS IN AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

As explained in the previous chapter, agriculture thrived in all the nation's provinces, especially in the south West, the West and the North West Provinces. The CCIM was actively at work in all spheres of economic life. It provides fertilizers to member farmers and advised them during the depression period on what economic activities to keep to, on order to avoid pangs of the depression. Coffee farmers, for example, could be advised to by and stock produce during such periods and to bring it out to when the depression was over.¹⁵ As a result of price fluctuations in the world market, in the 1970s farmers were advised to drift away from cultivating crops that the depression affected to producing new ones. In the 1980s the difference in quantity and revenue between those who shifted to cultivating other crops and those who clung to annual crops was becoming more and more evident. This will be illustrated by the analysis that comes towards the end of this section.

Animal breeding also contributed a very important economic activity in the Bamenda grassfields. The savana vegetation and suitable climate facilitated the rearing of cattle, sheep, goat and horses. Besides, in the early 80s, experts introduced guatamala and Kikiyu grasses, which in most areas, survived the harshness of the dry season. This improvement helped breeders to continue in the field rather than switch over to other activities as was the case with agriculture. During the 1983/84 period, the livestock situation of the North West Province was as follows:

Table 14

ANIMAL BREEDING IN THE BAMENDA GRASSFIELD 1983/84.

SPECIES	MOMO	MEZAM	BUI	D/MANTUNG	MENCHUM	TOTAL
Cattle	36,080	74,092	60314	142,641	125,485	438,612
Horses	1,061	1,485	1,895	1,550	2,311	8,302
Sheep	12,101	27,562	28,791	96,733	10,881	176,068
Goats	18,488	14,460	25,908	18,074	11,818	121,748
Pigs	30,095	23,795	421	1,127	2,496	59,934
Donkey	-	-	387	192	-	581
Poultry	286,518	405,866	131,461	397,010	40,895	1,22,855
Rabbits	400	390	159	237	-	1,186

Source: A Monograph on Economic, Social and Cultural Activities 1983/84 - 1984/85; Published by the Provincial Delegation of the Plan and Regional Development, Bamenda, 1985, p. 36.

The above table shows that Momo led in the production of pigs and rabbits, Mezam in poultry, Bui in goats and donkeys and Menchum in horses. The table reveals that the province specialized in livestock raising on a competitive basis among its various territorial divisions. The CCIM helped breeders who were members of the Chamber in supplying them with drops to stamp out animal pests and when necessary aided in marketing their products.

One of our aims in this study is to examine how the twin Chambers: the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Agriculture cooperated since their split in 1955 in developing the economy of the nation. While the CCIM urged the government to create industries such as CICAM, BATA and ALUCAM to stimulate the industrial sector, the Chamber of Agriculture on its part demanded the creation of agriculture corporation such as SOCAPALM, SODECOTON, UCCA, SODECA during the 1970s, to bolster the exploitation of primary produce in the agricultural sector.¹⁶ Hence, it is but essential to pause and glimpse at the general trend of agriculture during the first four years of the Six Economic Development Plan, to discover that impact it had on the economic expansion of its period, especially in the Agricultural Sector.

Table 15
MAJOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS 1981-1985

Production (in tons).	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85
Cocoa	118,345	105,153	106,050	120,081
Robusta Coffee	84,210	105,250	47,000	120,000
Arabica Coffee	25,079	22,812	17,000	19,000
Cotton	79,819	72,368	94,580	97,502
Paddy Rice	73,429	94,964	103,065	111,113
Palm Oil	70,512	71,423	64,897	82,240
Rubber	18,639	19,428	20,250	21,107
Tea	2,131	1,801	2,102	2,300
Banana for Export	47,581	50,851	56,548	59,000
Pineapples	2,500	2,200	4,800	5,260
Sugar	65,259	67,700	58,746	71,000
Tobacco	1,707	1,727	1,814	2,044

Source: Sixth Five Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan, 1986-1991, Ministry of Plan and Regional Development, p. 57.

According to table 15, cocoa ranks first in tonnage of production, robusta coffee second and cotton third. The first four years of the Sixth Plan were marked by rainfall that was by far below average with two periods of more severe drought: that of 1982/83 which hit the whole country and another in 1984/85, which was particularly severe in the Far North region. This resulted in cocoa production dropping from 118,343 in 1981/82 to 105,153 tons in 1982/83, the severe drought year. Even though the drought of 1982/83 was nation wide, robusta coffee, paddy rice, banana and sugar instead experienced a rise in their production. This was probably due to the fact that the drought did not have the same effect on all crops.

In 1985/86, while farmers who continued with coffee farming realized only 1 to 50 jute bags of coffee, those who had switched over to Irish Potato farming, in Pinyin for example,

realized 60 jute bags for the first harvest and 50 during the second period. This brought the total to 110 jute bags of potatoes a year as against 50 jute bags of coffee per year.¹⁷ From the above analysis, coffee was harvested annually while Irish potatoes were harvested twice a year. This meant that Irish potatoes like market gardening, provided a more regular source of revenue and was consequently more rewarding to produce than coffee. A bag of coffee cost more than a bag of Irish potatoes, by then, coffee became less sustaining because it was a perennial crop and at the same time, it was more expensive to nurture.

During the 1985/86 harvest season, a jute bag of potatoes was sold for 8,000 FCFA and a jute bag of coffee for 19,000 FCFA. If a potato farmer harvested 110 jute bags of potatoes, then his income for the period was 880,000 FCFA, while the coffee farmer realized 950,000 FCFA from his 50 jute bags of coffee. Therefore, coupled with the fact that coffee was more expensive to nurture, the reason why farmers drifted away from farming coffee to cultivate potatoes stands out clearly from this analysis.¹⁸

Concerning communication infrastructure, only 2671 kilometres of road was tarred in 1982 covering the Victoria - Douala, Victoria - Kumba, Douala - Yaounde and Yaounde - Bafia roads. The construction of the Kumba - Mamfe road was launched in 1985. Meanwhile the Ngaoundere - Garoua, Bafoussam - Bamenda, Douala - Bafoussam and Belabo - Bertoua roads had been widened and excellently tarred in 1972. By 1985 Cameroon had two international airports at Douala and Garoua. There are 4 sea and river ports including the Douala - Banoaberi, Tiko, Victoria, Kribi - Campo and Garoua River Ports.¹⁹

With regards to infrastructure, the CCIM pressurized the government relentlessly for the improvement of all economic infrastructure since this was, and continues to be the life blood of any economy.

5.4 THE BREWERY INDUSTRY IN CAMEROON

In the previous chapter, the location of industries and the establishment of a few of them was given cursory attention. In this section, breweries set up during the period 1982 to 1988 will be mentioned, and Brasseries du Cameroun (the Cameroon Brewery Company) will be examined as a case study to illustrate the role the breweries have played in the economy of Cameroon. The breweries ranked second to agriculture in the number of persons employed and they influenced major decisions in the Chambers.

By 1982, Brasseries du Cameroun; Nouvelle Brasseries Africaine (NOBRA); Guinness

Cameroun; and Union Camerouniase de BRasseries (UCB), produced beer and assorted soft drinks.²⁰ All these breweries were represented in the Chamber of Commerce, especially the Cameroon Brewery Company which at one time held an executive post.

5.5A. THE CAMEROON BREWERY COMPANY

The Cameroon Brewery Company, (Brasseries du Cameroun) was founded in 1948. By 1950, the Koumassi-Bali Brewery as it was known, turned out its first products - beers, fizzy drinks and industrial products and made its cold stores available to importers. In 1952, production reached 30,000 hectoliters of beer and 26,000 of soft drinks. In the same year, two new depots were opened in Yaounde and Nkongsamba and in 1954 others were opened in Ebolowa, Mbalmayo and Mbanga. A new brewery unit for soft drinks was opened in Douala in 1955. Within 17 years (1955 - 1972) other new branches were opened in Yaounde, Bafoussam, Garoua and Ombe.²¹

The company made progress in many areas, putting itself amongst the leaders, if not ahead of all Cameroonian businesses. Despite the opening of new breweries by Cameroonian businessmen, the company held a firm ground and thus, played a major role in the food industry sector.

The Brewery Company had a work force of more than 4,000 employees including 198 executives, 140 of whom were Cameroonians. However, it needed to apply the Cameroonization policy. In this wise, the Brewery Company opened a training centre in Douala in the late sixties. This centre trained more than 800 workers for all the company services including managers, mechanics, electricians, sales drivers, other takers, brewers, bottlers and the general maintenance staff.²²

5.5B. CAMEROON'S BREWERY AND THE ECONOMY OF CAMEROON

During the 40 years of its existence, Brasseries du Cameroun has continuously made its mark on the economic and social life of the country. Diversification led the Brewery Company to take interest in activities related to its main line of business. In so doing, Cameroon's Brewery provided more job openings for the Cameroonian people. In 1966, the Cameroon Glass making Company (SOCAVER), specializing in the manufacture of bottles and glasses with an output capacity of 25,000 tons, was founded.²³

In cooperation with the National Investment Corporation (SNI) in 1979, the Brewery

Company again founded the Cameroon Mineral Water Company (SEMC), which bottled mineral waters at Mbanga. Through the Cameroonization of the Brewery, local brands such as 'Beaufort' and 'Top' feature prominently along with other licensed products such as Coca Cola, Schweppes, "33" Export and Slavia.

In 1978, the company was going to create citrus fruit farms with a view to setting up an agro-industrial complex which was going to efficiently contribute to Cameroon's agricultural development. Brasseries du Cameroun initially owned by BIG (France); SNI (Cameroon) and Private subscribers up till May 1991, has now been bought over by GROUPE CASTEL, its sole proprietors.²⁴ This company is highly represented in the Chamber of Commerce, more so as its members have held important executive posts in the Chamber, and may still do so in the future. The company contributed greatly in swelling up the government treasury as it pays 32 billion francs CFA as taxes and other charges each year.²⁵

Brasseries du Cameroun is also the first local purchaser of maize, 10,000 tons annually. It is also the prime sugar purchaser, 11,000 tons annually.²⁶ As a result of its heavy consumption of maize and sugar, the cultivation of maize and sugar cane and the production of sugar in CAMSUCO and SOSUCAM (both sugar companies) was expanded. Thus, economic activities were rapidly generated in many directions, particularly in the primary and secondary sectors.

Besides being a member of the CCIM, the Cameroon Brewery Company created subsidiary companies such as the Glassmaking, Mineral Water Companies and expanded the cultivation of maize and sugar cane. These companies embedded in the Brewery company became full members of the CCIM in their own right and contributed in running the Chamber.

Brasseries du Cameroun, as shown in table 11 on page 16 ranked fourth in terms of the number of workers it employed amongst the industrial complexes of Cameroon. The employment strength of the four top companies was as follows: Brasseries du Cameroun 3,200 workers; Railway Corporation 5,004; CFAO (Cameroun), 13,000; and CDC 15,381 workers.²⁷ It should be noted that members of the above companies were co-owners of the Brewery Company. They collaborated with the CCIM in boosting Cameroon's economy.

The company also increased the production of both alcoholic and soft drinks, which in turn raised consumption, especially of alcoholic drinks, which may be regarded as deleterious to the morals of many people. Besides, the role shareholder, CASTEL may repatriate more profit, thereby causing a great drain of Cameroon's foreign exchange.²⁸

In addition to other activities of the Cameroon Brewery Company, its socio-economic plan has also been to develop a policy of sponsoring and patronizing sports, thereby helping to develop the Cameroonian youth. Through the celebrated Brasseries Football School, players are trained and groomed as the "Millas" of tomorrow. The company sponsored the live broadcast of the World Cup, Italia 1990 through the Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV) network.²⁹ These sporting activities breed healthy and more competitive individuals who unfortunately do not contribute effectively to national development because they are more concerned with bringing home sporting victories from abroad. At any rate sports' earnings abroad do introduce foreign exchange into Cameroon's economy. In addition, Cameroon's fame in sports might attract tourists and investors into the nation. Despite its short-comings, the Brewery Company has on the overall contributed tremendously to the development of the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of Cameroon's economy.

5.6 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The problem of funding the CCIM had been a life-long issue. When Paul Biya came to office it started rising gradually before it suddenly degenerated after the President predicted "Hard-Times" over the CRTV network on the eve of 1987.³⁰ From henceforth, the trend of hardship was on the nation began to suffer from the effects of the economic crisis. But the businessmen felt the pangs of the crisis more than everybody else, because some of them became more or less grounded as their money were held in government bonds.

As for the CCIM, everything just had to come to a stand-still. Pierre Tchangué has never been able to conduct another meet-the-members tours again, neither has he been able to fulfill any of the promises he made the people during his maiden tour. Even the junior personnel could not move around due to lack of funds. While the problem of the Chamber in the 1970s was that of structural adjustment, that of the 1980s was more that of lack of liquidity. The personnel of the Chamber needed funds on which to operate, while the government owed, and still owes businessmen especially building contractors and landlords huge sums of money.³¹ This state of affairs strained the relationship between members of the CCIM and its personnel on the one hand and the government on the other hand and Cameroon at large. The condition has continued to degenerate as businessmen who were aspiring to move into the rank of bourgeois find themselves instead moving towards a state of abject poverty. This phenomenon seriously affects the core of the Chamber as businessmen who constitute the nucleus of the

Chamber were rendered inactive and the Chamber officials could no longer carry out their obligations because of shortage of funds.³²

5.7 THE ROLE OF PIERRE TCHANQUE AS PRESIDENT OF CCIM

The election of Mr. Pierre Tchanque as President of the CCIM in November, 1986, prior to the 1987 economic crises, launched a new era in the life of the Chamber. During Mr. Tchanque's tenure of office, the CCIM made many achievements as will be discussed in the following paragraphs. A number of things were instrumental to this. To start with, Mr. Tchanque is a dynamic leader, full of zeal and was determined to make his mark in the life of the CCIM. Next, Cameroon's economy was viable and the new boss could avail himself of the funds with which to execute CCIM's programme.

His maiden engagement as President of the CCIM was to lead a delegation to the Twenty-Ninth Congress of Chamber de Commerce Internationale (CCI), the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) Congress held in New Delhi, India in February, 1987.³³ This congress brought together participants from 110 countries including Cameroon. The Cameroonian Delegation also included Mr. Lucas Tcatchou, the Treasurer of the CCIM and Miss Janine Kewang Anwal, the Director of Studies at the Chamber and the Executive Secretary of the ICC.

The objectives of this congress were to institute a dynamic force of universal progress through the creation of an international economic machinery of the international trade community; the amelioration of the international monetary trade system; the acceleration of private enterprise and technology and to reconcile economic growth and ecological progress. Through this congress India and the participating nations hoped to benefit from industrial experiences and international commerce.³⁴

The next item on Mr. Tchanque's programme of activities was to make contacts with members of the CCIM all over the Republic of Cameroon. To that direction, he organized a Meet-the-Members' Tour, from 23 January to 7 March, 1987. He visited all the Provinces; the South West, North, Far North, Adamawa, Centre, South, East, West and North West Provinces. His entourage was made up of David Wafo - Vice President; Henri Jong - Secretary; Nassourou Mallam - Delegate CCIM, North; Samuel Bateki - Secretary-General; Sengoua David - Technical Adviser, Deumaga Victor - Provincial Secretary, Douala; Eno Mbei Emmanuel - Provincial Secretary, Limbe; and Edouard Nitcheu - Provincial Delegate Bamenda.³⁵

The main aim of Mr. Tchanque's tour was first of all to know the team and the people with

whom he was going to work and their various problems. The next step was to find solutions to those problems that were within his competence. Throughout his tour, he deduced that there were both general and specific problems prevalent in all the provinces. For example, traders all over complained bitterly about Price Controllers who were a menace to their commercial activities.³⁶ They also blamed the banks and Public Aid Funds which refused to grant them loans. Another general problem was that banks everywhere did not collaborate with the traders and refused to support the Small and Medium size Enterprises. People attacked the absence of economic activities and poor financial circulation and the slow rate at which goods moved out of the Douala Riverport. Limbe - based importers frowned at clandestine importation (smuggling), especially about the Nigerians who evaded custom duties. This was exactly what obtained in Bamenda and in the Northern Provinces.³⁷ Cement, iron rods and drinks (such as "33") were smuggled out for sale in the neighbouring countries: Nigeria, Gabon and Fernando Po. This reduced the quantity available for the local market and was bound to cause inflation in price back at home. This was a dreaded situation because it hit the local consumers hardest.

The people of the Far North, North and Adamawa Provinces complained of distance from the seat of the Chamber and also of the fact that their members hardly sponsored abroad to attend Trade Fairs, nor invited to attend local Chamber Board Meeting. This was due to the fact that mails took a long time to arrive in these provinces. Hence, the people petitioned that the situation should in future be simplified in such a manner that information could get to them in time to broaden and to facilitate their members' chances of being selected to travel abroad. Moroua and Ngaoundere in the Far North and Adamawa Provinces respectively, advocated the creation of their own delegations.³⁸

In the East and South Provinces, economic activities were regressing. At Ebolowa in the South Province, businessmen suggested that the banking system should be reformed, because banks loans were being dished out to the Lebanese traders, but not to the Cameroonians. On their part, the people of the North West Province lamented that craftsmen lacked marketing facilities and industrialists had no industries in the province.³⁹ It is essential to state here that at that point in time the pangs of the Economic Crisis were actually looming large all over the Republic, and was severest in Bamenda where the workers of most parastatals had been retrenched. This deprived many people of their only source of purchasing power. And coupled with the fact that no industries were created to absorb them, there was bound to be menial poverty and suffering. This was why craftsmen could no longer sell their articles, many tenants

could not longer pay their rents and resorted to abandoning their houses. As a result, the desire to build for commercial purposes, which used to be a major preoccupation of the people of this region, ceased from being prominent. The people of the North West Province demanded that bilingualism be applied in business communication, for business correspondence suffered from translation bottlenecks and consequently, retarded business transactions in the area.⁴⁰

In the Western Province, businessmen were upset with the sluggishness with which the Ports Authorities delivered their merchandise because of customs formalities. Consequently, the people implored the Chamber of Commerce to intervene. In the South West Province, the people of Limbe did not want to build a warehouse at the Douala Riverport.⁴¹ This was obviously because they were bitter about the fact that their natural port with all its facilities wasted in Limbe, whereas they were being obliged to build one in Douala which was never going to be a match of the one already existing in Limbe.

Indeed, everybody was excited to see the new President of the CCIM, Mr. Pierre Tchanque, because none of his predecessors had ever carried out such an elaborate tour. He encouraged the people throughout his visit to ask questions where they nursed doubts. Mr. Tchanque on his part, enlightened people on issues they had been ignorant of, and assured them of positive changes in Chamber procedures and of the economic situation as a whole where possible.⁴² In Limbe for instance, Mr. Tchanque reassured the businessmen of the future reopening of the Limbe Port. But up till date the port has never been reopened. It is hard to say, but it is probable that Mr. Tchanque's efforts might have encountered unavoidable hurdles. He must have been instructed from above about what he should yield and what he should not succumb to.

To the people of Adamawa and Far North, he promised to improve the road infrastructure to facilitate commercial exchange between the North and the South. He went on to guarantee the creation of industries such as the Fruit Industry; the Lagdo Dam Project on the River Benue;⁴³ the establishment of TANICAM in Maroua and MAISCAM in Ngaoundere, became his major preoccupation in that region.⁴⁴ Industry was very low keyed in the East, Adamawa, and the South Provinces, because businessmen were very few in number and commercial activities negligible there. To this, Mr. Tchanque urged that people should be aided by the CCIM from the neighbouring provinces to create business concerns in the East. In the West Province where business was booming, he encouraged the businessmen to share their business experiences, and strategies with the other provinces, since a nation could not progress rapidly if only one part

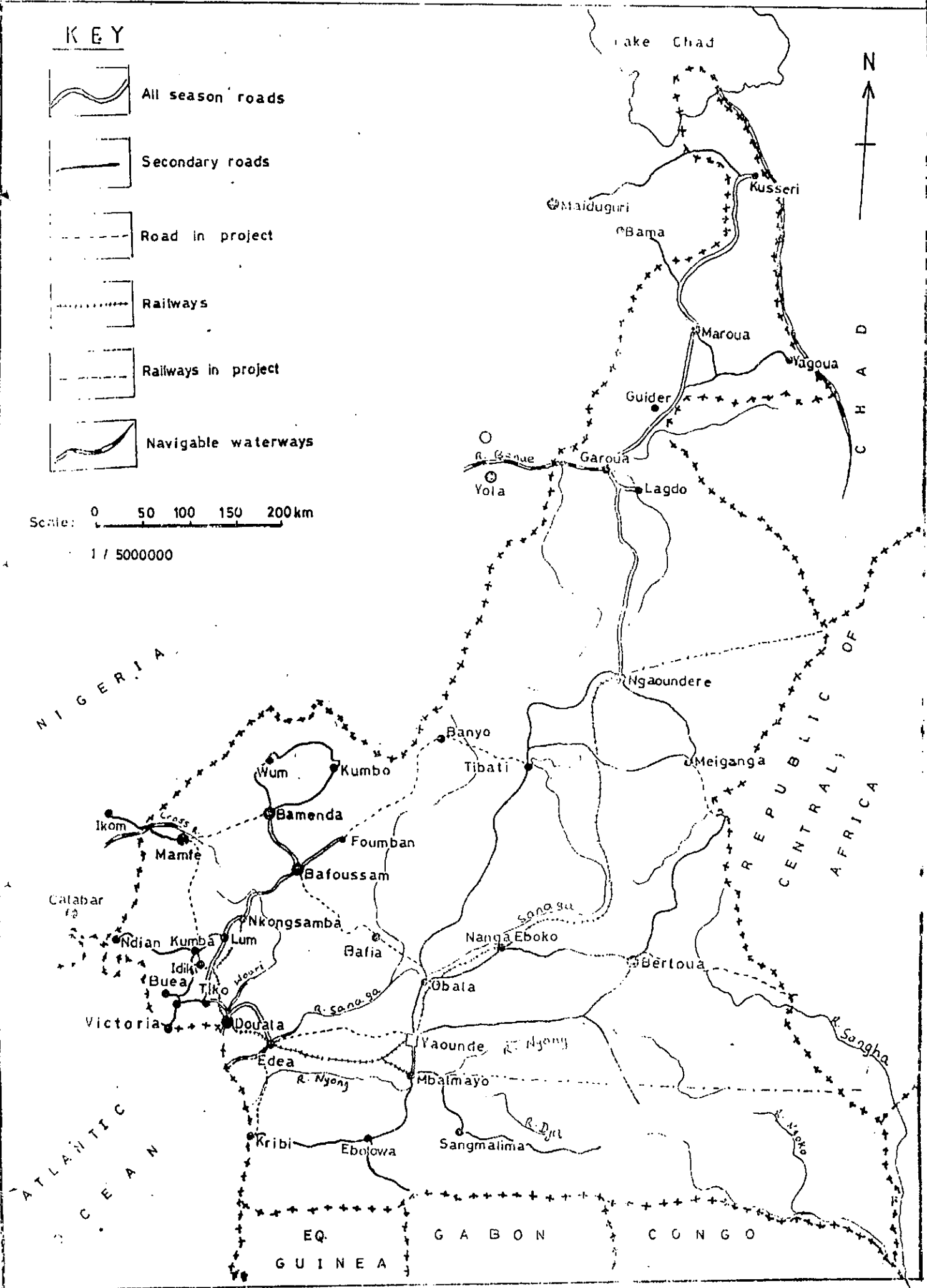
of the nation was progressing in business.

Concerning the above proposition, it was neither easy for businessmen to plunge into business ventures where risks were more obvious, nor was it feasible for the prosperous businessmen to dish out their business secrets and ideas to their counterparts, who could very easily become their rivals. People prefer to invest only when and where business opportunities are brighter and to retain their business secrets only within their business circles and Provinces.⁴⁵

Appealing for the engagement and goodwill of everybody, Mr. Tchanque encouraged the regular attendance and full participation of all members in Chamber activities. He further pledged his availability in solving problems, coordinating and consolidating the activities of the Chamber.

The next achievement of Pierre Tachanque was the organization of an enlarged International Committee for the private sector. It held its annual meeting for the 1987 session on 5 March, just timely enough for the Committee to have a privilege forum for dialogue and concentration to which government attached a good deal of importance. This was due to the fact that it permitted the high public economic policy makers to know and to understand the problems confronting the private sector. The Head of State in his New Year Message made it abundantly clear that the year 1987 was going to be a difficult year. To that end, Mr. Tchanque hoped that through the harmonization of decisions taken by different ministries affecting trade, the Enlarged Committee was going to come out with means with which to fight the Economic Crisis.⁴⁶ As such, it was necessary to bring new measures to improve the lives of people in the social sectors, most of whom were members of the CCIM. Hence, the business community had a certain number of points to present to the government representatives. It wished among other points to emphasize that the CCIM had an important role, that is, to reconcile the differences between the government and the business community and also that the decline of the economy disturbed the activities of all other socio-economic actors. Consequently, big companies scrambled for small contractors formerly reserved for small companies.⁴⁷ In addition, the contractors suffered from the government's inability to pay for contracts already completed. Thus, the head of companies made requests to the government for appropriate regulations such as:

COMMUNICATION IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC UP TO 1972



Source: Map drawn by Awa, I-M (cartographer), using information collected by author

1. The protection of national markets from dumping of foreign products and stimulation of the consumption of local products to make it possible for people to be able to generate additional incomes sufficient enough to pay debts as well as interest and service charges. For, as was spelt out in a special memorandum issued by the Economic commission for Africa, increased protectionism is also a great concern for African countries. Imposition of quotas as well as other protectionist policies including tariff barriers especially on agricultural products and such non-tariff-barriers as trade restrictions, blockades and embargoes have also contributed to stagnation in the volume of the region's exports between 1981 and 1983.⁴⁸
2. Less government control on economic activities, especially the separation of activities of protection, commercial, price homologation, access to bank credit and also the reinforcement of general exchange programmes.
3. A more consistent extension service to the farmers, that is, better provision of inputs, better research and marketing facilities.
4. Special attention to aspects that laid within company finances, that is, delayed payments for jobs already done, as well as false Posts and Telecommunication bills which crippled the incentive to invest.
5. To complete the list of inexhaustibly requested reforms, the business community implored the government to adapt a revision of the investment code and the creation of an institute of moralization. They estimated that these were of the nature to give to the economy the means to efficiently fight the crisis. Some people as aforementioned tended more to consume foreign products, consequently, thwarting local production and stimulating importation. Better inputs coupled with improved research and marketing facilities were going to improve outputs and lower productivity costs and raise the consumption of the locally produced goods. The delay of payments for jobs already done and the imposition of false Telephone bills contributed in reducing purchasing power, which was going to escalate rather than reduce the economic crisis.

Another significant item on Pierre Tchanque's programme of activities was the meeting which lasted two days from 9-10 May, 1988. It took place in Douala in the Conference Hall of the CCIM head office.⁴⁹ At the opening of the session Pierre Tchanque reemphasized the need for team spirit and work well-done by fighting obstacles to the development of institutions and economic progress. After a lengthy but enriching address he concluded in a word by saying:

"The corporate image of our institution will be henceforth enhanced by means of field day events, especially publications, folders, short films, fairs and exhibitions".⁵⁰

It is commonplace for journals and other periodicals to be so verbose when talking about people's achievements, but when it comes to failure, very little is said. Nevertheless, for all that Pirre Tchanque did as President during his tours, he needs to be praised.

5.8 ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CCIM 1982-1988

The CCIM sent some trade missions to foreign countries. From 8-17 May, 1985, a seventy-man strong Cameroonian Trade and Investment Mission, comprising four Cabinet Ministries, Senior Government Officials, Directors of Parastatals and businessmen visited Canada and organized economic seminars in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. Beginning from 8 May, 1985, seminars were organized in the Canadian cities on:

Cameroon's Energy Policy by Mines and Power Minister, Kima Tabong Michael. The Cameroon economy, its mechanisms of venture, financing, as well as prevailing measures aimed at protecting foreign private investments by Trade and Industry Minister, Nomo Ongolo Edouard, assisted by Finance Minister, Etienne Ntsama. All the seminars were followed by the projection of the film "Cameroon Panorama", a highly successful documentary.

From 1982 to 1986, Canada carried out a rural electrification programme in the Centre-South Province of Cameroon worth 20 million Canadian dollars, which was directed by the Minister of State in charge of Planning and Regional Development, Mr. Youssoufa Daouda.⁵¹ This was the first trade mission organised during Paul Biya's reign. The offer of 20 million Canadian dollars was no doubt to create stronger diplomatic relations with the new regime.

Through discussions and negotiations the following positive results were obtained in Canada:

The approval of further credit line of 80 million Canadian dollars. The promotion of a credit line of 5 million Canadian dollars in favour of small and medium scale enterprises. The approval in principle of 100 million Canadian dollars of a further line of credit by the Export Development Corporation. The signing of a cooperation agreement between the Centre for Assistance to Small and Medium Scale Enterprises and the

Canadian Export Development Corporation.⁵²

These positive results were very much in keeping with the demand of the Memorandum of the North West and South West provinces of 1972. But the question remains as to whether or not some of these credits were going to be directed towards the development of the depressed zones. This apparently did not take place, for the depressed zones are still as underdeveloped as they were in 1972. Very little or no change has taken place.

Another mission was the one made to the United States with a membership of thirty-three businessmen. The excellent manner in which the trip was organized from 1-16 November, 1985, made fruitful contacts possible. During this mission organized with the assistance of CCIM's Supervisory Ministry, emphasis was laid on individual contacts for the businessmen in the cities visited: Washington, Houston, Philadelphia and New York.⁵³

The Industrial Forum for the Central African subregion organized in Libreville from 4-8 December, 1985, was another important event which the Chamber supervised. About 17 promoters, mostly of the small and medium-sized category industries participated in the forum. Considering the significant presence of African and European partners (350 Delegates)⁵⁴ and also the number of letters of interest signed during the forum, it could be concluded that the event was successful and that some concrete results were soon going to come out of it just as it was for the Dakar forum.

From 18-21 March, 1986, a strong delegation of Cameroonian businessmen visited the Leipzig Trade Fair organised in an excellent manner by the East German Chamber of Commerce of External Trade. The cooperation agreement aimed mainly at facilitating and increasing direct contacts between East German and Cameroonian businessmen; and promoting the exchange of trade and economic information.

The CCIM also organized exhibitions. From 26 to 31 May, 1986, the fifth "International exhibition took place at the Party House Bonanjo, Douala. It brought together 60 exhibitors: 49 mainly from France and 11 from Cameroon. This was probably a very closed exhibition, because it drew foreigners to animate the show nor to enhance the variety of exhibits. About 600 local professionals however, visited this exhibition. Various manufactured products were offered to local buyers. During this occasion conferences were organized for the benefit of this exhibitors and that of the public.⁵⁵ It is important to note that these fairs were sponsored by the government as most of them were meant to create not only economic contacts, but also to strengthen diplomatic relations.

The Chamber of Commerce also received trade missions from abroad. There was the Algerian Trade which took place on 31 May, 1985 in Douala. A mission from the State of Ohio followed on 22 June, 1985. It was led by William G. Sykes, former Deputy Director of the U.S. Peace Corps. The mission comprised of Ms. Helen Berke, Ralph Frazier, Don Scott, Leroy Shannon, Machi D. Nethelo, Herber N. Byers, Dr. Andrew H. Johnson, Al Sanche and Allen L. Patrick, all American businessmen and two officials wished to maintain contracts with Cameroonian businessmen.⁵⁶ The aim of the mission was to explore the needs and trade opportunities with Cameroon and the other African countries, so as to establish mutual beneficial relationships: some seeking for sales-outlet agents and distributors. Others included people interested in licencing and joint ventures with local partners. The mission also aimed at enabling Ohio strengthen its trading ability.

The reception of trade mission entailed that those businessmen who might have been interested in meeting foreign counterparts be linked up with reputable business partners. The Chamber also needed to define areas of interest with regard to specific trading priorities.⁵⁷

In the field of trade, for example, general contact meetings organized during the stay of the trade missions showed a greater participation of small and medium-sized enterprises than of those firms which were considered to be known and to have a strong financial background or experience in international trade. In addition, like in the past, firms run by non-nationals rarely accepted invitations because of a certain grantee of sources of supply and other foreign contracts. Most people who enrolled in trading missions from abroad were partners interested in marketing equipment or offering engineering services. (A list of some of the missions received during the year 1985/86 is provided in Appendix VII, p. 272 below). During the above period twenty trade delegations visited Cameroon - nine from Europe, five from North America and four from Africa. The most important of these missions were the Patronat-France Employers Association (CNPF) investment mission. It visited Douala, Bafoussam and Younde. It was a follow-up of the Cameroon Investment Mission to France organized in November, 1984. It was also special in the sense that many trade associations in Cameroon were involved in the organization and the local businessmen also participated significantly. The areas of interests of members of the missions were agro-industry, building, public works and other industries, while that of the government was to create international economic links with the above nations.⁵⁸

Another important mission received was that organized by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a United States Organization responsible for promoting and

guaranteeing American private investment abroad against political and other risks. This mission was also a follow-up of the Investment Mission which the Cameroonian businessmen had just undertaken to the United States, precisely to Washington, Houston, Philadelphia and New York at the end of November 1985.⁵⁹

In this manner, the CCIM members acquainted themselves with the foreign businessmen. Through these Missions Cameroonian businessmen created relationships with foreign businessmen in the United Kingdom and the United States.

Apart from successes attained in carrying out trade missions at home and abroad, the CCIM also assisted individuals from abroad who needed one type of assistance or the other. In this respect the Chamber linked people to businessmen searching for partners and supplied documents or information as the case might have demanded. The Chamber made great efforts in settling trade disputes arising from the breach of trade contracts between Cameroonian businessmen and those of foreign nations belonging to other Chambers.⁶⁰

Including all other achievements, the CCIM organized evening classes for private sector employees. Similar classes had been organized since 1979 but were suspended for the purpose of restructuring in 1982. These classes started off again in Douala in February 1986. They were intended for training the private sector employees preparing the professional examinations such as Brevets Professionnels. Courses offered included electro-technics, mechanics of tooling and related courses in Industrial Training, while for commercial courses Book-keeping and Secretaryship were taught. Preparations for the reopening of these classes were jointly carried out by the CCIM services and the management of both Lycée Technique, the Technical High School and the Bonadoumbe Secondary School.⁶¹

With the spirit of solidarity, the CCIM cooperated with the Chambers of all other countries and in addition it participated regularly in the forum for the North-South and South-South dialogue. The CCIM participated within the conference of Chambers of Commerce and other Business Organizations of the ACP States whose Liaison Bureau is at the moment held by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Kenya. It is a member of the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and exchanged goods with its Head Office in Karachi, Pakistan. It is a member of the Federation of African Chambers of Commerce with its Head Office in Cairo. The CCIM also belonged to the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of Central Africa. The CCIM was a member of the Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations. As such it gave priority to South-South matters, for example, discussing issues concerning trade between

Cameroon and Nigeria or other developing country.

Furthermore, the Chamber was invited and it did participate in the seminar organised by the Council for Customs Cooperation that took place in Bangui (CAR) and the seminar on the Role of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), organized by the International Trade Centre in Yaounde in October 1985.⁶² In addition to cooperation units attached to the Chamber and belonging to friendly countries were the German-Cameroon Office for the Promotion of Private Sector Cooperation acts as a link between Cameroon businessmen and their German counterparts. The Branch Office of the French Centre for the Promotion of Industries in Africa (CEPIA) operated with the support of the French Cooperation Mission towards the same goals.⁶³ The Chamber of Commerce also carried out other activities through the National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce, for instance from 23 May - 2 June, 1986, through this organization, the CCIM took active part in the Seventh Conference of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), held in Barcelona. It had as its main theme: "International Cooperation aimed at reducing the problem of indebtedness of the third world".

In conclusion, it can be said that the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines in collaboration with the government gained some stability and stronghold in the economy of almost the entire Republic of Cameroon. However, there still existed some depressed zones in the North West, the East and the South West Provinces of Cameroon. Even though delegations exist here, the lack of economic infrastructure was still very pronounced. However, through these Provincial Delegations, Chamber activities penetrated into the provinces and engendered prosperity where the facilities were available. In such areas economic activities expanded in various directions.

The appointment of Mr. Pierre Tchanque, a very dynamic and renowned person, as President of CCIM in November 1986, highlighted the whole story, introducing a totally new epoch in the history of the Chamber of Commerce, as the Chamber intensified its interaction with other Chambers abroad and created relations with international organizations. Many more trade fairs were organized both at home and abroad. Foreign Trade Envoys were received, more business contracts were created and more commercial exhibitions organized. The CCIM as never before was active in the International economic scene. Through international economic organizations CCIM channelled its activities worldwide. The Cameroonian nation, through the Chamber, became more involved in the formulation of international economic policies and could now dialogue and negotiate other economic issues with other nations in a greater measure. The

government assigned the CCIM to improve and to facilitate the carrying out of business transactions at home and abroad.⁶⁴ As Mr. P.N. Tembunde puts it, the CCIM performed an intermediary role between the Mining, Industrial and Commercial Sectors of Cameroon and those of its foreign counterparts.⁶⁵

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. The New Deal Message Speeches and Interviews of President Paul Biya, November 1982 - November 1983, SOPECAM, Yaounde, p. 23.
3. Personal interview on 15/5/91 with Mr. J.B. Ndeh born 5/2/45 in Njong-Santa. He was the Director of Credit for FONADER from 1980-1983. He is presently the General Manager of MIDENO, Bamenda.
4. Ibid.
5. Decree No. 82/397 of 2 September, 1982; Official Gazette of the United Republic of Cameroon (OGURC), NAY, p. 684.
6. Le Relect: Bimonthly Magazine of the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines April-May 1988, No. 1, p. 24.
7. Decree Nos 83/212 and 83/213 of 1955, OGURC, NAY, pp. 1379-1383.
8. Order No. 86/115 of 13 March, 1986, Journal Officiel de la Republique du Cameroun (JORC), NAY, pp. 578-583.
9. See Organizational Chart on p. 124^a
10. Ibid.
11. CCIM Progress Report 1985-1986, June 1986, p. 11.
12. Bulletin d'Information Special No. 40-46, Chamber de Commerce, d'Industrie et des Mines de La Republique du Cameroun (BIS, CCIM), Chamber Library Douala (CLD) July 1986, p. 35.
13. Compiled by author from data collected in the Chamber Library Douala.
14. Decree No. 87/1096 of 12 August, 1987, UGURC, NAY, p. 1832.
15. The author personally witnessed a member of the Bamenda Delegation of Commerce advising his fellow cooperators of the Santa Cooperative Union to take advantage of the low prices due to a depression that occurred in the late 1970s, to buy and to stock as much coffee beans as possible. Many months later, when the depression was over these members sold their piled up stocks and realized very handsome profits.
16. A synthesis drawn by author from data collected.
17. Men were engaged in coffee cultivation, while women carried out subsistence farming in crops such as Irish potatoes corn and vegetables. When the price of coffee fell in the world market, men switched over the farming Irish potatoes, and market gardening, which then became more sustaining than coffee as a cash crop.

18. personal interview on 27/07/92 with Mr. D.A. Apongpo, born in 1952 in Awing. He is the Chief of Bureau Produce of the North West Cooperative Association Ltd. (NWCA), Bamenda.
19. V.J. Ngoh, Cameroon 1884-1885: A Hundred Years of History, Navi-Group Publication, University of Yaounde, 1985, p. 274.
20. Le Reflet: Bimonthly News Magazine of the CCIM, April-May 1985, No. 1, p. 12.
21. Ibid., p. 18.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. P.N. Njawe, Le Messenger, No. 241 of August 16, 1991, p. 16. Group CASTEL is a borrowed name for the Central African Heads of State including Paul Biya, Benard Bango, Denis Sassou Nguesso, who are now the main shareholders of the brewery company. Up till then BGI, a French Financial Corporation had amongst other shareholders owned the lion's share of the company.
25. Cameroon Post No. 65, Thursday April 22-2 May, 1991, p. 14.
26. P.N. Njawe, Le Messenger No. 025, Monday 6 May, 1991, p. 15.
27. See table 11 on p. 145.
28. The more profit the foreign firms realized, the more of it they tended to repatriate.
29. Njawe, p. 15.
30. President Paul Biya's Television Interview of 19 February, 1987, Ministry of Information and Culture, Department of Information and Press, p. 12.
31. Personal interview on 5/5/91 with Bobe Leonard John Akong, born 4/4/44 in Kom-Fundong. He is a building contractor and carries out general commerce. He alleged that as of May 1991, the government still owed him many millions of France CFA, which he was then holding in the form of government bonds. In addition, Bobe Akong is grounded because of scarcity of contracts and finances.
32. Personal interview on 15/5/91 with Mr. Eriko Koben, born 1956 in Kom. He is the Provincial Secretary of the Bamenda Delegation of the CCIM.
33. Bulletin d'Information Special (BIS), CCIM, CLD, June 1987, p. 22.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 25.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., p. 23.

38. Ibid., p. 24.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. See Communication Map on p. 142.
44. TANICAM was a Tanning Industry, while MAISCAM was a Corn Processing Industry, both located in Northern Cameroon.
45. Bulleting d'Information Special du CCIM, CLD, June 1987, p. 25.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., pp. 8 - 9.
48. E/ECA/CM. 10/37/REV. 1, Special Memorandum by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Conference of Ministers on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, May, 1984, p. 12.
49. See picture of Chamber building on p.27.
50. Le Reflet; Bimonthly News Magazine of the CCIM, July - August, 1988, No. 2, p. 13.
51. BIS No. 32-40 of CCIM, January 1986, pp. 29 - 30.
52. Ibid.
53. Progress Report of CCIM 1985/86, June 1986, p. 11.
54. 'Delegate' here refers to Representatives of the Chamber either abroad or at local Chamber Sessions. It should not be mistaken for the Head of the Provincial Delegation of the CCIM, the Provincial Delegate.
55. Progress Report of CCIM 1985/86, June 1986, p. 11.
56. BIS, Nos. 31-32 CCIM, April/May 1985, p. 46.
57. Progress Report of CCIM 1985/86, June 1986, p. 7.
58. Progress Report of CCIM 1985/86, June 1986, p. 9.
59. Ibid., pp. 9 - 11.
60. Ibid., pp. 12 - 13.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

63. Ibid.
64. Ibid. pp. 15-16.
65. Personal interview on 6/10/91 with Mr. P.N. Tebunde born 24/12/38 at Awing Bamenda: He was the Chief of Service Exchange control 1981-1985 South West Province and Chief of the Custom House-Parcel Post Yaounde and Lobe 1985 - 1991.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF THE CCIM ON THE ECONOMY OF CAMEROON

6.1 A PROGRESS ASSESSMENT

In this chapter an attempt will be made to examine the impact of the CCIM on the social and economic development of Cameroon. The activities of the North West Provincial Delegation of the CCIM will be elaborately used in illustrating the impact of the Chamber on the economy of the province and what generally obtained in the other provinces in their varying circumstances. However, summaries and/or brief comparisons where necessary, will be made for the rest of the Provincial Delegations (Garoua in the North, Bafoussam in the West, Yaounde in the Centre, Douala in the Littoral and Limbe in the South West Province). Trade Fairs, Study Tours and seminars organized both at home and abroad will further explain the socio-economic and political repercussions of the activities of the CCIM in the national territory.

In Cameroon, the North West Province is likened to "Africa in Miniature" in terms of vegetation and climate because of its diversified natural environment, which stretches from the tropical rain forest in the south to the arid north. With the exception of its mineral resources, which are yet to be fully explored and exploited, these diversities gave the CCIM in this province, greater opportunities for development. Amongst some of its economic multiformities were: cash crops made up of: rubber, cotton coffee, oil palms and tea; subsistence cropping of multiple type: maize, yam, plantains, rice, cocoyams, beans and a variety of vegetables; livestock rearing: cattle, poultry, goats and pigs. Tourism was facilitated by the availability of a rich culture, topography and volcanic lakes. These natural conditions and endowments were instrumental to the enormous impact the CCIM made on the economic development of Cameroon in general and that of the North West Province in particular, as elaborated here below.

The CCIM, like the Lagos, Accra, Togo and St. Louis Chambers of Commerce, played a significant role in the evolution of Cameroon's commercial and industrial policies and the expansion of the nation's international trade. The composition of the Chamber and all that it stood for was, and is still, geared towards the expansion of trade based on the exchange of the primary commodities from Cameroon, for manufactured goods from the metropolitan countries overseas. The CCIM encountered the establishment of the Edea Power Station to improve the pace of industrialization. The Chamber was, and continues to be, instrumental in the expansion of French imperialism. Douala as seen through out this study became Cameroon's commercial centre. From there, the French expanded into the hinterland.

The Southern Cameroon's Chamber, like that of Lagos was self-financing while CCIM was highly subsidized by the French colonial administration. France's greatest quota of the revenue was derived from taxes on trade, especially from duties on imports as the French administration tended more to impose high rates of import duties on goods in order to be able to meet up with their financial expenditure. This seriously contradicted the perceived interest of members of the Chamber as high tariff rates were an impediment to the growth of the import trade.¹ In this regard, the Chamber pressurized the government to reduce import duties, and also discouraged members who were involved in the malpractice of adulterating produce to desist from such bad habits. This move was in keeping with the Chamber's objective of ensuring high quality export produce, although some members clung to adulteration as it was more lucrative. This state of affairs was bound to result in the need for the recruitment of produce examiners and inspectors, the first of whom were appointed in 1960.² Consequently, the quantity of adulterated goods exported abroad was greatly reduced.

The Chamber searched for market outlets and business partners in all European Economic Community (EEC) countries and Canada. In this way, it promoted the exportation of Cameroon's products abroad. It also assisted in the transfer of technology by inviting experts with considerable experience from highly industrialized nations to come and instill new technological know-how through the supervision of identified projects such as it was the case of industrial farming in the Santa coffee estate. Furthermore, the dissemination of the latest information on industrialization enabled producers to come out with the latest results.³ This was only possible in cases where the projects in question had a good market and a reasonable financial backing, otherwise it would have been risky for foreign investors to undertake such projects. One of the projects worth mentioning was the Agricultural Tools Manufacturing Project in Bamenda. With feasibility studies carried out by CCIM research officers, business operators were counseled through the media of telexes, conferences, radio messages and periodicals. They were also directed to potential buyers and direct sources of supply where they could reap maximum profits. This contributed to the progress of the businesses of those who consulted the Chamber. Individuals like Mr. A.C. Ngafor, for example, earned more profits which ended up in higher turnover taxes for the nation.⁴

In 1978, the Ministry of Agriculture placed priority in small and medium size agriculture projects that could easily be managed with little know-how and capital. Noteworthy are the Ndop, Bafut and Tingoh Rice Farmers' Cooperatives, the Wum Area Development Authority

(WADA) Wood Work (WADA), and the Handicraft Traditional Cooperative, Nkwem, which were all created in rural milieu.⁵ These projects had a two-fold impact in that they were beneficial to the local populations of their various vicinities as they provided employment to youths, thereby curbing the influx of youths into the urban areas in search of employments. They brought gradual supply of social amenities, like electricity, pipe-borne water and improved roads to such remote areas.⁶ This ushered in socio-economic developments, as some of these small projects developed into medium size undertakings while social amenities improved the standard of living of the people.

Through the influence of the CCIM, the Cameroon Government signed a Protocol Agreement in 1978 with the Cooperation of American Relief Everywhere (CARE) by which CARE allocated 86,000,000 CFA to fund development projects in the country. These funds were granted to give a push to small and medium size projects like those named above. But because the money was not immediately allocated to the various provinces, the end result was that all of it was directed only to the East and to the North Provinces, the neglected parts of French Cameroon.⁷ This was outright unfairness to Southern Cameroons which had also been grossly neglected. However, the experience of working towards political independence which the people of Southern Cameroons had gained from their former British administrators, coupled with the self-reliance programme slogan launched by President Ahidjo, gave the people of the North West Province the impetus to embark on small and medium size development projects.

To boost its efforts, the North West Provincial Delegation organized meetings and seminars during which both male and female members were oriented towards engaging in gainful small and medium size undertakings. They could enhance the pace of industrial and commercial development in the Province such as the vegetable cooperative and the Traditional Handicraft Centre in Mankon Town. It is therefore not surprising to see that despite the fact that the North West Province was one of the depressed zones of the nation, CCIM harnessed the might of its local population in order to attain economic progress worth commending as compared to those of other depressed provinces of the nation.

As a result of its self-help efforts, some observers have asserted that Mezam, a division in the North West Province has progressed and has gained significantly from the fruits of the reunification.⁸ However, this was an overstatement because as far as the province is concerned, it instead lost some of its communication infrastructure such as the Bali airport. This was a lamentable economic loss to the entire former West Cameroon, to which the North West

Province belonged before reunification. Even farm-to-market roads, feeder roads from the rural areas to cosmopolitan towns for the evacuation of food were not constructed. Besides, politically, the territorial entity of West Cameroon was shattered. And socially, a seed of discord was sown. Up till date, this seed is still flourishing like the mustard seed amongst the people of the North West and South West Provinces. All these coupled with the fact that the achievement of the said people were through their singular effort, nullifies the assertion that Mezam division reaped any good fruits from the reunification of the federated states of West and East Cameroon. If at all any advantages came the way of these depressed people it was only in the social and never in the economic realm. Bilingualism, the only one that could be thought of now, was meant to frustrate, but surprisingly hardworking anglophones have gained from it, because they have become more bilingual than their francophone colleagues.

The Businesswomen's Association of the North West Province was founded in September 1986. Among other objectives, it aimed at discussing problems faced by women in business and at finding solution to them. The Bamenda Businesswomen's Association (BBA) forms a branch of the Cameroon Businesswomen's Association (CBA) with its French acronym GFAC. The CBA has its headquarters in Douala, while the BBA is based in Bamenda, the North West Provincial headquarters, with divisional branches. Members of the BBA are automatically members of the CCIM. As such, they individually, as well as collectively, make business trips abroad to create business contacts with both male and female counterparts.

Furthermore, through the influence of the CCIM, the women's wing of CPDM Political Party Section Committee on economic and financial affairs in Mezam, organized seminars to orientate the businesswomen of the province towards better and modern methods of business management. Some of the founding members of BBA already engaged in small size investments included Mrs. V. Sambong, a building contractor; Mrs. M.K. Bongadu, a textile and multi-item trader and Mrs. L. Ayafor, a seamstress. They were spurred by the seminars to expand their business investments. Their examples motivated other women to take to business.¹⁰ Mrs. L. Ayafor who started off business with only a single sewing machine, now has over ten machines with about twelve apprentices. These efforts contributed in keeping a number of young Cameroonian ladies busy, thereby giving a push to the province's economy.

The BBA constituted a reference point, for as Mrs. Julia Ndumu, its president, put it, BBA advertize available products both to local and foreign consumers. The inauguration of this association had an overwhelming impact on the economic activities of the womenfolk of the

province. It provides and impetus for the rural women to form seminar movements. The Bui Women's Cooperative, like those of Oshie and Mantung, as well as Ndong Awing Women's Cultural and Development Association (NAWCDA) Yaounde, got their inspirations from the BBA.¹¹ Initially, members of the Bui Women's Cooperative put together their resources to market local items such as palm oil from the Lobe Oil Mill and Soya beans, which they retailed not only to their members, but also to those of the community at large. They made only marginal profits from members, but from non-members of the cooperative their profits were maximized. Members of these cooperatives also sought to market produce such as beans and other grains cultivated in the various localities through the cooperatives at high prices.¹² It is worthy noting that the cooperative union like a Chamber of Commerce was an economic association. Business people were free to belong either to one or to both.

On the whole, the BBA influenced the further creation of other businesswomen's organizations, such as NAWCDA; sensitized women on their role in the economic development of their provinces, and urged them to expand their business undertakings to maximize profits.

The North West Province Delegation of the CCIM carried out sensitization programme geared towards the creation and launching of Small and Medium Size Enterprises (SMSE) all over the province to enable small holders indulge in small business undertakings. As a result, more projects were initiated and launched by the Bamenda Delegation of CCIM. The delegation teamed up with other companies which had similar attributes in order to effectuate a sensitization tour of the province. Before his departure for Lagos, Mr. Henri Konan, the Special Adviser of Societe Financiere Internationale (SFI), was presented with six agro-industrial projects - 2 forestry, one textile and others in the sectors of small and medium size enterprises.⁵ Most of the businessmen of the province were not conversant with the functions and importance of the CCIM. In view of this, in 1988, the Minister of Industrial and Commercial Development enlightened the businessmen of the respective functions and importance of the different companies in the province and different sources of raw materials in the division. He urged that other such undertakings be spotted out and converted into small and medium size projects.¹⁴ The venture by the North West Delegation of the CCIM was quite successful as will be seen in the following paragraph.

A meeting was convened on 27 September, 1988, by the Bamenda Provincial Delegation including the provincial chiefs of FOGAPE and CAPME as follow-up of the minister's efforts. The aim of the meeting was to encourage the cooperation of all who were involved, in order to

project the business activities of the North West Province. Discussions focused on the existing natural resources such as clay deposits in Babessi, Ndop and Mbengwi, pasturaization activities in the province; the establishment of honey manufacturing industries in Mbengwi and Oku; devising a means of preserving corn surpluses in the province and surveying the possibility of utilizing it for brewing; bottling and commercialization of palm wine; the creation of a special meat scheme and the encouragement of palm oil production in Metta. Schemes that were of industrial proportions inevitably enhanced and rendered respective tasks easier and more fruitful. During a staff meeting in 1988, members were urged to work together as a family in order to project the good image of Bamenda and to instill the spirit of diligence into the people.¹⁵ These projects steadily created jobs and revitalized the economy of the province. However, it is necessary to note here that the handicaps faced by CCIM in this province were the shortage of staff in the delegation and irregular staff meetings due to the operation of the two shift duty schedule and the non-payment of outstanding bills by the government.¹⁶

Another impact of the CCIM on the nation's economy can be explained by the effect of resolutions taken during the development committee held in the conference hall in Bamenda on 17 and 18 October, 1988. This committee aimed at harnessing all members of the above groups to work in close collaboration with people of the province and the government in ameliorating the development of the province. The meeting emphasized the effects of the economic crisis; the sharp drop in the prices of export goods; the unfavourable terms of trade agreements; the assessment of investment and development projects and the abandonment of those that were not profitable to the development of the province.¹⁷ The CCIM meetings therefore served as an eye opening forum whereby economic problems or decisions were tabled for critical and objective examination, so as to advise businessmen against venturing into non-lucrative business undertakings. This exercise had positive impact as it guided people towards engaging in gainful ventures such as the establishment of the Bamenda vegetable cooperative and the Bamenda Handicraft Centre already mentioned. The CCIM research officers also carried out more far reaching investigations useful to members, such as securing markets abroad.

On 14 November, 1988, a meeting organized and coordinated by Mr. Komben brought together experts from the German Society of Technical Corporation and Craftment of the province. These experts included Mr. Goelliner Adrain, a wood specialists, Mrs. Claudia Richter, a project designer and a Cameroonian craftswoman, Mrs. Ngumawah Margaret. The main objective of the meeting was for the experts to enlighten craftsmen on commercial activities vis-a-

vis the demand for such goods in the European markets.¹⁸ The experts stressed on the urgent need for a storage and an artificial drying house; a ready supply of wood and clay; an association for brass and woodworks, where large numbers could work together and share ideas. The experts also advocated for the construction of showrooms in strategic areas in the towns for a display of produced articles; a conglomeration of artists working together in well organized units to boost their activities. The Chamber's representatives transmitted the problems of craftsmen to the government for assistance, while Mr. Komben pointed out that the Provincial Delegation of Commerce and Industrial Development and the CCIM Delegation took charge of organizing these projects.¹⁹ This meeting profoundly sensitized the need for industrial activities to the people. The Bamenda Community Hall was from then partially converted and used as a museum for the display of industrial works. More handicraft centres have been created to serve the needs of the people in Bali, Bafut, Nso, Bamungo and Babar.

From 18 to 20 November, 1988, a Reuen-France Trade Mission was held in Bamenda. This mission dismissed the misconception that visiting French businessmen did business only with their francophone brothers as Mr. Rochebouet, spokesman of the French visiting businessmen pointed out. The French delegates discovered a lot to be explored in the agricultural and crafts sectors which are flourishing enough to call for an attractive market.²⁰ Industries that were exploited included the Ndu Tea Industry; local fishing in the Bamenjun dam; Dr. Founche's soap factory, the Teze oil mill and Mr. Ngafor's Tree-Bark Export industry.²¹

6.2 CCIM AND ECONOMIC POTENTIALS OF OTHER PROVINCES

All the CCIM Provincial Delegations had a common goal to achieve in the economies of their various provinces notwithstanding their individual differences. In the following paragraphs, a gist of it will be given.

The three northern provinces, Adamaoua, North and Extreme North have one delegation located in Garoua, the capital of the North Province. This vast area is almost land locked, but for the seasonal watering on the River Benue, which goes through Nigeria. Although the Major urban centres are linked by good motorable roads, the entire hinterland is very lacking in communication network, especially farm-to-market roads. The single rail line from Douala fails to serve the region as it terminates far south at Ngaoundere in the Adamaoua Province.

As in many parts of the country, economic activity in the area is mainly agricultural. This part of the country is quite rich in livestock farming which is dominated by cattle, sheep, goat,

horse and donkey rearing. Apart from the modern livestock centres at Faro and Wakwa in the Adamaoua Province, livestock and fishing activities in the region are traditional. Traditional fishing goes on along the Logone River and in the Lagdo Reservoir.²² Cash crop farming in the area is concentrated in the two northern provinces of North and Extreme North and is dominated by cotton, rice and groundnut cultivation. Food crops are limited to millet/sorghum, yams, rice and cassava.

Local industries are centred around the tanning of hides and weaving. From these, articles like leather bags, slippers, sandals, carpets and local textile wears are produced. Cooking oil with the trade name diamar is produced from cotton seeds in Maroua. Other industrial activities in this area include the cement factory at Figuil and food processing factories at Ngaoundere, Garoua and Maroua. The rich culture and diverse topography also make this part of the country an important touristic area.²³

Tourist activities in the three northern provinces are quite diversified. Generally, there exists a rich cultural variety. In the Adamawa Province there are natural features such as volcanoes and waterfalls. In the North Province are found natural reserves for wildlife hunting at Bouba, Faro and east of Benue. There are also hunting camps and tourists localities where cultural plays are performed and traditional dances and handcraft displayed. In the Extreme North, there exists natural parks such as Waza, Benue, Bounbandjidah, Kalamaloue and Faro. The Waza Park being the most popular, realized about 15 million FCFA (70%) of the 21,320,000 FCFA collected as fees for visits to game reserves in 1983. Prominent among other features are traditional handicraft centres, chieftainships and tourist centres, where traditional dances are staged. Natural features of interests here include the following volcanic peaks: tooth of Mindif, Kapsiki and Roumsiki.

Tourism has taken an increasing importance by both number of tourists and its effect in the nation economy since 1981: With continuous improvements in communication infrastructures, hotel services and tourist attraction sites, this is expected to continue to gain in importance in the national economy. There has been a steady increase in number of visitors and in the amount of taxes paid at the national parks. Number of visitors increased from 101,400 in 1981 to 116,000 in 1983, while fees for visits to Waza, Benue Bounbandjidah and Kalamaloue parks increased from 16,180,800 to 21,320,000 FCFA during the same period.²⁴ The north is indeed a most important tourist region of Cameroon. Any tourist who visit Cameroon, but fail to reach the northern provinces would not boast of having visited Cameroon.

The Garoua CCIM delegation like that of Bamenda, watches out for opportunities, and directs businessmen to potential buyers and to sources where they could buy cheaply. It coordinates the exportation of products like fish, meat, hides and skin, cotton and rice appropriate means of transportation. Bulky goods such as rice are conveyed by road from Ngaoundere, and moved down to Douala by rail and finally either freighted or shipped abroad.²⁵

Bafoussam, the capital of the West Province is the seat of the CCIM provincial delegation. This region has some of the very fertile soils in the country. Economic activities here are therefore dominated by agriculture. The province is rich in both export and subsistence crop cultivation which is favoured by the volcanic soils and a conducive climate. It produces among other crops plantains, maize, beans, yams cocoyams and a variety of vegetables. The main cash crop here is coffee (robusta and arabica). Tobacco is produced on very small scale. With the coordination of the CCIM, the West Province supplies food to almost all the urban centres in the country, and also to neighbouring countries like Gabon and Chad. Many industrial activities are carried out, especially in the domain of local crafts; for example, the brass and metal works in Foumban, wood carving in most of the surrounding villages. The UCCAO coffee factory produces coffee for local and foreign consumption. The province is also rich in culture and has a dynamic human resources, highly engaged in trading and other economic activities.²⁶ Tomatoes, potatoes and temperate vegetables are cultivated in a large scale.

The central delegation of the CCIM is found in Yaounde. It caters for the economic interests of the Centre and South Provinces. Being nearer the CCIM headquarters, Douala, members of the delegation have access to enjoy more opportunities such as being called up to participate in trade missions abroad or to host those organized at home. Economic activity in this region is centred around agricultural production with cocoa, robusta coffee, tobacco, sugar, cane production as the main cash crops. These have given birth to the sugar industry at Mbandjock, the tobacco industries at Batanga and Yaounde (Bastos Cigarette Company). Other industrial activities include the timber industries at Belabo in the East Province and Mbalmayo and the Brewery (Brasseries Company) in Yaounde.²⁷

The Littoral Delegation is found in Douala, the economic centre and capital of the Littoral Province. Douala has a good communication network which links it to most of Cameroon's hinterland. It is also the country's international sea and air port. The single track rail line links it to the South West Province, Centre Province, Eastern Province and the Adamaoua Province. With such a good communication infrastructure, Douala is the boiling pot of all economic

activities in Cameroon. It has a variety of industries, metallurgy, chemical, mechanical construction, rubber and leather works, textile, cement, food processing and wood works. Douala is also the seat of most foreign companies in Cameroon and a great marketing centre. The city of Douala has a very dynamic and expanding population. This, coupled with the buoyant economic growth, there is the apprehension that the town may soon become unable to accommodate all the increasing institutions. Due to the lack of cultivated land, the town is dependent on its hinterland and on its foregoing imports of raw materials for its industries.²⁸

The South West Delegation is based in Limbe, a coastal town with much the same economic facilities as has Douala. Besides being the seat of the only oil refinery yet in exploitation in the country, Limbe possesses a natural deep seaport. Its immediate environs are quite buoyant in agricultural activities (notably the CDC plantations). The rich volcanic soils of the South West Province make this part of the country the economic core of Cameroon whose economy is more than 80% agro-based. It produces such important cash crops as oil palms, bananas, rubber, tea, pepper (in plantations owned by CDC and locally by individual villagers), and cocoa.²⁹ With the rich tropical forest, timber exploitation is also important in this area.

Industrywise, the South West Province has oil mills at Mondoni and Edenau for processing palm oil, a tea factory at Tole (Buea), brewery (Brasseries) at Ombe, banana boxing units at Ekona and Lysoka and a salt processing unit at Batoke.³⁰ Traditional fishing goes on along the coast. It would be agreed that Limbe has got natural economic facilities not found anywhere in the Republic, not even in Douala. Some of these are: the beautiful beaches, the Botanical Gardens, the tropical rain forest (all of which offer good opportunities for touristic development) and the natural seaport which is not being utilized. The closure of the deep seaport further dealt a deadly blow to the economy of the province by diverting everything to Douala, thus depriving Limbe of even an annex to the economy capital, Douala.³¹

The South West CCIM Delegation, having such natural port facilities ought to be bustling with export/import and other economic activities, but there it stands like a ghost Chamber void of any such developments and with no concern from the powers that be.

Because of ecological and cultural diversities, the aspirations of the various provincial delegations are bound to differ from each other. Whatever their approaches, businessmen variously made their demands through the CCIM. In the Far North, businessmen asked for the creation of a Chamber in that province, but the general cry throughout the rest of the northern provinces was for the improvement of the communication network. The North West and West

Provinces needed a better communication infrastructure, especially the construction of farm-to-market roads. The South West needed a total revamping of its economy through the reopening of the Victoria and Tiko natural seaports, while the Yaounde and Douala delegations need raw materials to be provided locally or through importation. Hence, apart from the provision of similar services throughout the delegations the provincial delegations had little in common.

6.3 AN OVERALL ANALYSIS

All in all, the CCIM delegations have deep seated impacts on the economy of their various provinces. And as earlier mentioned, the CCIM has continued to play a paramount role in determining Cameroon's foreign policy. It has stimulated the inflow of foreign investments into Cameroon through the organization of trade fairs. Since the CCIM organized and sponsored Chamber representatives abroad to attend the trade fairs and hosted delegations of foreign businessmen at home, it therefore served as a useful venue where contacts could be established between foreign investors and local entrepreneurs. This facilitated the undertaking of joint ventures as was the case in other developing countries. An example of worth citing is the Foubot tomato consortium, where Europeans are specialized in the tinning, while the indigenes intensified the growing of tomatoes. There was also the UCCAO collection and processing centre carried out by the Bafoussam indigenes and French technical experts.³² As regards foreign trade missions, the government selects at least one delegate from each Provincial Delegation of the CCIM. To this effect, the Trade Mission to the United States of America in November, 1985, headed by Ministers of Trade and Industry, Plan, Finance, Mines and Power, had other businessmen included. The following members of the different delegations were also in the team: El Hadje Lawan Bako of Bamenda, Mrs. Foning Francoise of Douala, Atabong Michael of Limbe, Belibi Onana of Yaounde, Noutchogouin J.S. of Bafoussam and Adamou Soule of Garoua.³³ This was in a bid to make the impact of the CCIM felt nation-wide.

El Hadje Lawan Bako of Mankon, Bamenda, had this to say about the impact of the CCIM on his business:

"As a member of the 17-man business delegation sponsored by the government to the USA, in November, 1985, I gained a world of experience. We were able to visit American Businessmen and women in Washington D.C., Houston, Philadelphia and New York. During this mission, besides, joining the other members of the delegation to negotiate for the building of the Hilton Hotel in Yaounde, I was able to discuss business with other international businessmen in

Houston. The knowledge and experience so gained has since aided me immensely in expanding and modifying my own business".³⁴

The impact of the CCIM on business has tended to be on the upward trend, but this to a greater extent depends more on the dynamism of the individual businessmen.

In order to promote industry, the CCIM pressurized the government to pay more attention to providing better economic and infrastructural facilities. This led to the construction of the Yaounde-Maloume rail link, which was inaugurated in the early eighties. This line constituted the first realignment between Douala and Yaounde.³⁵ As a result, the new line reduced the distance between Douala and Yaounde from 99,205 to 83,394 kilometers. The new line was built at the cost of 13.5 milliard FCFA. Railway station facilities and multiplex transmission equipment costing 1.72 milliard FCFA were installed in all stations, except Edea.³⁶ The Chamber also initiated useful industrial programmes like the construction of the Edea Electricity Power Station. Although this was a very important project to the economy of the Federal Republic of Cameroon as a whole, it ended up crippling and finally precipitated the closure of the Yoke Electricity Power Station on which the entire West Cameroon had so far solely relied on, for the supply of electricity.

Members of the CCIM on the whole posed as a pressure group that was enthusiastic in making its contributions to the formulation of the nation's economic policies. Various sectors sent their suggestions through and forwarded to the government as memoranda. If members for example, complained that they lacked the means of acquiring investment loans, the government could create more banks. If they deplored bad roads and high taxation, the government in making its economic policies focussed on amelioration in the said areas. The Federal Government created BCD, while the West Cameroon Government opened Cameroon Bank to meet the needs of the businessmen. It is however, necessary to mention that these banks are now defunct.

Also the government organized seminars and industrial workshops, during which it encouraged and promoted domestic production by inviting foreign experts who fostered the transfer of technology to the local manufacturers. In this manner, the production of commodities such as honey and woodwork were improved to meet both local and overseas demands. But it should be noted that foreign experts were, and are still reluctant in orientating the local people on the transformation of raw materials, especially those needed by their home industries. This was, and is still meant to consolidate their stand as the sole dictators of the prices of such

produce, so as to make our dependence on them obligatory or a condition sine qua non.

With pressure from the CCIM the government maintained and extended the road networks; improved ports and their facilities thereof; ensured a regular and an adequate supply of water and electricity; provided telephone lines and improved on the services provided by the Railway Cooperation and the Cameroon Shipping Line. Nevertheless, it is necessary to reiterate here that there was no fairness exercised in the distribution of the said facilities and improvement of the economic infrastructure as they were limited to certain areas of the nation.³⁸

The major impact of the CCIM on the economic development of Cameroon is that the Chamber set the pace for the Cameroonization by appointing a Cameroonian President in 1961 who understood the problems and needs of the local people.³⁹ Focusing on the advantages of indigenization, the Chamber advised and urged Cameroonian members of the administrative sector to emulate the Chamber's example. Members of the CCIM constructively criticized government's economic policies, especially high tax levies that negatively affected their economic interests. For example, the interest of importers and exporters was defended. To reiterate this point, the importers and the exporters were advised to refrain from indulging in trade malpractices in which they were often caught red-handed.

During the course of its existence up to 1955, the Chamber was essentially an imperialist organization serving exclusively the interests of the colonial masters. To the ordinary public, it pretended to cater for the material and social well-being of the local people who were being marginalized in the Chamber. The Germans, the French and the British administrations each cooperated with one another in satisfying their exploitative desires in Cameroon. The various European governments and their Chambers were unanimous in the zeal to protect their interests. However, missionaries for humanitarian reasons gave the Africans a backing, although still with the hidden intention of quickening the pace of both political and economic assimilation. The CCIM has made an immense contribution towards the socio-economic development of the nation. Realizations in the commercial, industrial, agricultural and in the infrastructural domains are relatively far-reaching, although lopsidedly located.

As aforementioned, colonial Chambers catered more for the interests of the whites, while the post-colonial Chamber was, and is still under the auspices of the autochthons. This is the Neo-Colonial ploy that has been deployed in most Third World countries. It is still being maneuvered upon by their former colonial masters to direct natural resources to the foreign metropolis. With this state of affairs, it is difficult to categorically state that Cameroon is

independent in controlling the destiny of its economy. Nonetheless, like the Chambers of all other developing nations, the CCIM has precipitated the pace for the economic development of Cameroon. This has tremendously aided in providing the basic needs of the local population, but has on the other hand sped up the draining of the natural resources of the nation. This phenomenon has also created jobs and has established a base for the development of other economic sectors and the modernization of the Cameroonian society on a global basis. Peasants for example, have established Small and Medium Size undertakings, after amassing wealth. Such businesses may include provision stores, salons and carpentry workshops. Similarly, bigger investments would expand to employ more workers. This has been the case with Mr. Abanda who was mentioned in an earlier chapter.

Politically, the CCIM through the carrying out of trade missions abroad, broadened the scope of its diplomatic and international relations with other nations. In the economic plane, the CCIM has in collaboration with the government given the Cameroon nation a near modern outlook and through improved resource management made it possible for the Cameroonian people to improve on their standard of living.

Socially, better amenities have motivated strain and stress amongst the Cameroonian people, thereby furnishing them with a better and more comfortable way of life. But the fact that this modernization process has been haphazardly carried out, leaves much to be desired by the inhabitants of the less favoured areas of the Republic of Cameroon. Nonetheless, the Chamber of Commerce has been of cardinal importance to Cameroon's economy.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The CCIM has played a significant role in the evolution of Cameroon's trade and industry. It has been the brain behind the creation of appropriate financial institutions and necessary infrastructural facilities and the improvement of others such as the railways, roads and communication in the Republic of Cameroon since 1960.

At any rate, from the presentation in the various chapters, many things stand out clear. The CCIM was highly pyramidal with a controlling head office in Doula and provincial branch offices (delegations) in six chief towns. The Provincial Delegations were not permitted to interact with the outside world or take major decisions without the approval of the Douala head office and the Minister of Commerce and Industry. These procedures were highly checked with measures which slowed down business transactions. The example of other nations demonstrate that the various Provincial Delegations be given some autonomy in the transaction and execution of most

businesses including trade missions abroad, organization of seminars and learning from foreign technical experts. This is the case with the Lagos, London and New York Chambers of Commerce.

Drawing a parallel from the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA),⁴⁰ a similar apex organization is recommended. This organization which could be named the Cameroonian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (CACCIMA) would replace the CCIM (head office in Douala) and would serve as a coordinator between the Provincial Chambers and the Chamber of Agriculture based in Yaounde. If this idea is acceptable, CACCIMA could then encourage the Provincial Chambers to specialize in producing and marketing the best products of their areas. By so doing, optimum production could be realized. This would enable the nation to enjoy the economies of scale as the various provinces would merely have to produce goods over which they derive a comparative cost advantage, rather than those they could not produce cheaply. It is however, prudent that CACCIMA should call for collaboration between member Chambers, because there is the apprehension that, the association might sooner or later run into the same problems as did the French Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (FCCCCIA), before its split in 1955.⁴¹

In view of the fact that Cameroon's economy is facing a depression, because it is being choked by the influx of goods from Nigeria among other reasons, it would also be advisable to take some precautionary measures. The Nigerian fuel, popularly known between the smugglers and their Cameroonian customers as Funghe, has flooded the streets of Limbe, where the national refinery is located to the extent that the petrol stations are merely struggling to service, to say the least. Funghe sells at 50F CFA per litre, while the locally refined fuel sells at 195F CFA per litre. This further explains why the petrol filling stations in Limbe and neighbouring towns remained almost closed throughout the day. Detergents such as the elephant powder soap from Nigeria cost 100F CFA per kilogramme, while a packet of OMO powder soap of the same weight produced in Douala costs 1500F CFA. Nigerian textiles are also so cheap on the Cameroonian market that the local textile industry (CICAM) is presently suffering a depression. These, amongst other cheap goods that flood the Cameroonian market from the Nigerian neighbourhood, greatly help to export Cameroon's currency to Nigeria.⁴² The dominance of Nigerian products in the Cameroonian market has been caused by the availability of cheap labour and materials in Nigeria which have resulted in a very unfair competition in

prices. the Cameroon mushroom industries require protection and encouragement. The trade imbalance between Cameroon and Nigeria provides food-for-thought as every passing day widens the gap of disequilibrium. It should be emphasized here that with the great disparity in the cost of goods between Cameroon and Nigeria, smuggling becomes very rife.

However, Nigeria provides technical know-how to Cameroon. Besides, Nigerian universities and other institutions of higher learning account for the education and the training of thousands of Cameroonians. The fees paid in Nigeria institutions further swell up the amount of Cameroonian money flowing into Nigeria every year. Hence, a Consular Cameroon-Nigeria Chamber of Commerce (C-NCC) meant to bring together the business sectors of the two countries was proposed during a joint convention held on 5 July, 1991. The three parties, namely the President of the CCIM, the Nigerian Ambassador and the Cameroon Minister of Commerce, sitting in Douala came to a consensus that it was necessary for the two countries to make more concrete agreements on terms of trade favourable to businessmen of both countries. Feasibility studies to that effect are still going on, but as the Economy Counsellor in the Nigerian Embassy puts it, arrangements have already been made for the Cameroon Minister of Commerce to visit Nigeria by the end of 1992 to effect firmer arrangements.⁴³ Such a move might favour Cameroon since she has so far been suffering from deficits.

Furthermore, in the drive for the New International Economic Order, the countries of the South could form a federated Chamber of Commerce to cater for the interest of traders in the region. Such an organization could also strengthen the South against the North during North-South negotiations. Precisely speaking, an organization such as a UDEAC Chapter Association might counterbalance the power of the European Economic Community (EEC).⁴⁴

The creation of the above mentioned organizations could be quite lucrative, but it would necessitate the availability of a conducive atmosphere for the mutual integration of these economic policies especially, because of differing tariff barriers. It would for example, strongly require the political will and accord of the various governments to actually establish such an institution. Such a move would provide and consolidate the autonomy of member nations and would thus redeem them from depending solely on the developed countries for their commerce, trade and economic development.

On the whole, stress should be put on the need to establish links between the agricultural, industrial and the commercial sectors as well as between various industrial sub-sectors, so as to promote interdependence among them. This would aid the harmonization of

industries and an overall economic development.⁴⁵ In connection with agriculture, a critical examination of the failure of agricultural loan-granting organizations should be seriously reconsidered. It is not enough that the government creates one institution today and because of its blunder, it is readily replaced with another without warning against the failures of its predecessor. Cameroon should also guard against blindly imitating developed countries by creating organizations such as MIDEVIV. The marketing of produce should not be a major concern of the government. Rather, the government should improve on the commercial infrastructure and should both in the local as well as in the external markets.

Efforts towards a Cameroonian economic integration and industrialization must be pursued with renewed determination in order to create a nation-wide framework for the much needed cooperation for the indiscriminate development of the entire nation based on collective self-reliance. Among other things, Cameroon should seek to modernize its agricultural base in order to achieve self-sufficiency not only in food production, but also the production of an adequate supply.⁴⁶ Emphasis should in particular, be placed on an adequate production of those cash crops, which now serve Cameroon as its major source of foreign exchange importation. And since recently, about thirty to forty percent of the food in African countries is wasted due to lack of appropriate handling, storage, transportation and marketing facilities, there is need for an integrated programme embodying the production, the procession and the marketing of agricultural products. There is also the need to train farmers in the use of improved techniques such that would enable them preserve some of the food harvested. An adequate transportation network, notably farm-to-market roads should be provided to facilitate the movement of goods.⁴⁷

Cameroon's economy suffers from low demand and consequently, low return on investment, low production, low prices and above all the problem of importing cheap food. The government should ensure the stability of the agricultural industry by providing farmers with reasonable income from the sale of their produce; protect them against foreign competition and grant them subsidies on agricultural imputes (fertilizers, pesticides, buildings, machinery) Farmers should be granted preferential taxes and credits. Financial assistance more than ever before should be given to cooperatives or farmer groups, agricultural education, extension and research organizations aimed at developing more efficient methods of producing food.⁴⁸ So far, government's policy towards agriculture has been ameliorated but only caters for the immediate

needs of the people. It fails to think of the rainy days (wars, economic embargoes, long droughts, ghost towns operations etc.). The recent ghost town operation in Cameroon which lasted only for about eight months, almost brought Cameroon's economy to its knees. It is high time the government does something to avert such a situation from repeating itself.

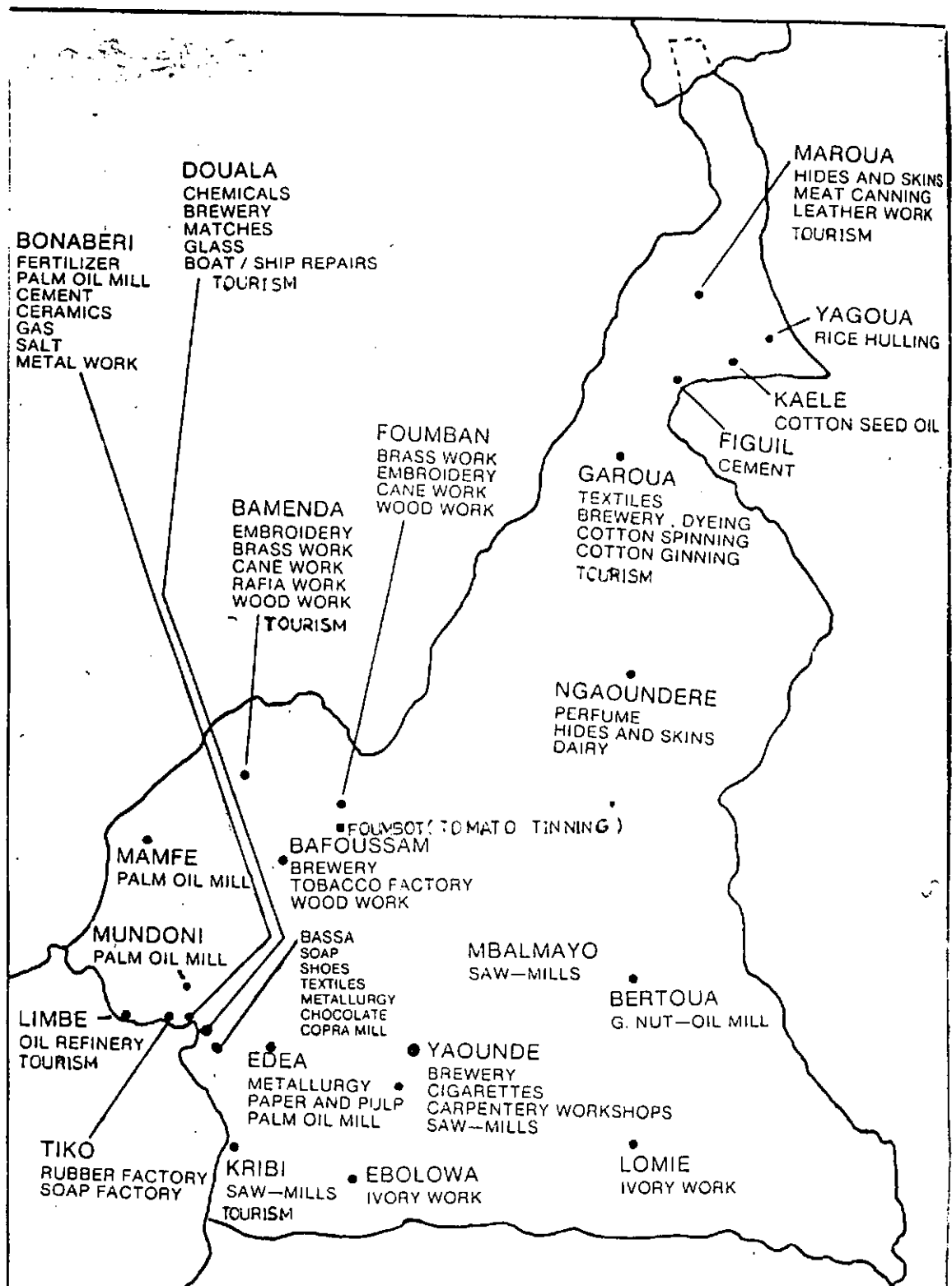
There is also a need to convert primary products into semi-finished, if not finished products before exporting them. Our timber for example, would fetch more money if exported as furniture. Instant coffee and chocolate would in like manner be more remunerative in the world market than coffee and cocoa beans respectively. In addition, another step of transformation could be carried out in factories which will create employment. Hence, it is imperative for the CCIM to consolidate the links between the primary, secondary and tertiary industries as this could generate more economic activities and consequently, more income which would in turn improve the nation's balance of payment. On the whole, Cameroonians should be advised to exert more efforts in producing goods and commodities they can consume locally and to improve on their natural resources such as on the refinement and preservation of palm wine and to reduce the consumption of the foreign beers.⁴⁹ Efforts to produce tea and coffee whose prices are dictated by foreign consumers should be reduced. Bitterleaf, cabbages and carrots, egusi, beans and garri could be scientifically preserved and marketed abroad. Mrs. Bongadu, and a few other women are already doing this, but at very small scales. They should be encouraged by the CCIM to form a cooperative and be able to produce these items in a large scale for exportation.

In addition, it would be advisable for Cameroon either to eradicate patente and some of the taxes levied on traders that serve as deterrents to investment, or to relax the emphasis placed on taxes.⁵⁰ Mr. Obideke Benedict, a Nigerian Bamenda based dealer in electronics, in comparing and contrasting business in Cameroon and in Nigeria said that business in Cameroon is played with taxes. In order to legalize his business Mr. Obideke added, he is obliged to settle the following taxes: patente, stamp duty, poll tax, turnover tax, CRTV tax, price control, rents, and a business tax known by its French acronym SOCINADA, whereas in Nigeria a trader pays mainly his "premise", business registration, and sign board. Besides, he went on in Nigeria security officers do not control the movement of merchandise.⁵¹ Checks are carried out only to control the trafficking of contraband goods.

But for the favourable exchange rate of the FCFA in the Naira zone, these taxes would bring Nigerian traders in Cameroon to their knees. Thus, these taxes bring negative

repercussions not only to foreign traders, but moreso to their Cameroonian counterparts, who are less viable on the very little money with which prospective Cameroonian entrepreneur could either start business or in some cases expand it, whereas, his Nigerian counterpart could very easily rise to the rank of "prosperous businessman" from a heavy humble beginning. This is so because taxation is minimized and the movement of commercial goods are not restricted. Even though taxation could bring revenue to the government, it would be comparatively smaller than what the businessmen could realized by way of profits. And although these profits would remain in private offers, they could go a long way to stimulating the national economy. Thus it is suggested that the strict border checks be relaxed to facilitate the free movement of traders and their merchandise locally and across the border. Border checks should be geared towards controlling the circulation of contrabands. In addition, the government should reexamine its taxation policy and amend it in such a manner that willing investors could be allowed to start off business without taxation. Though an indispensable exercise, taxation should initially be suspended and possibly effected only at a mature stage of a business undertaking.

Finally, the CCIM could work in concert with other UDEAC Chambers to influence their governments to form a clearing house which could facilitate easier import and export business transactions within the subregion. This proposal takes cue from the example of the West African Clearing House (WACH) established in 1976. For UDEAC, things are made even easier because of the convertibility of the FCFA, unlike in the West African subregion where a diversity of currencies exist. Since import and export business is vital for a healthy economy, all avenues must be harnessed.⁵² On the whole, there is a dire need for a change in Cameroon's present economic development strategy which is still awfully lopsided. The cocoa and plastic industries all concentrated in Douala for example, could be moved to Limbe, where raw materials are abundant so as to realize the economies of scale, revamp Limbe's economy and to decongest industries in Douala.



Source: Adapted from Aaron S. Neba, MODERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON, 1987, Page 112.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. CCIM Report of Activities for the year 1988/89 Financial Year, Noremac Press, Bamenda, p. 17. the CCIM North West Provincial Delegation (CCIM, NWPD).
2. Southern Cameroon Official Gazette (SCOG), Government Printing Press, Buea, 1960, p. A43 (PAB).
3. CCIM Report of Activities..., Op.Cit., p. 17.
4. Personal interview on 29/2/92 with Mrs. M.K. Bongadu, born 1940 in Nso. She is a Bamenda-based businesswoman and a member of the CCIM.
5. File No. DBA 1552/S. 1, Vol.4, Re-Unification and Independence Celebration, 1961, PAB, p. 925.
6. Interview on 30/10/91 with Mr. E.M.T.Awa born 1940 in Maamben-Pinyin. He was the Deputy Director of MIDEVIV from 1982 to 1990 and is presently the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Yaounde.
7. File No. 106 of 10th May, 1978, Cameroon and Cooperative for American R. lief Everywhere (CARE) Signed Protocol Agreement, PAB, p. 25.
8. 34^e Congress Mondial Des Femmes Chefs D'Entreprises Au Cameroun du 1^{er} au 8th November, 1986 (CCIM Library Douala). Groupeement des Femmes d'Affairs Camerounaises.
10. Personal interview on 15/11/91 with Mrs. Julias Ndumu, born 1/1/46 at Bafut, Bamenda. She is a Pharmacist and also the President of the Bamenda Businesswomen's Association.
11. Ibid.
12. Personal interview on 14/11/91 with Mrs. Margaret Bame, born 1946 at Nso, Bui Division. She is a Midwife at P.M.I. Nkwen.
13. Bulletin Quotidien d'Information, SOPECAM (Daily News Bulletin) of 5th May, 1978, No. 102, CARE, p. 25.
14. CCIM Report of Activities for the 1988/89 Financial Year, Noremac Press, Bamenda, North West Provincial Delegation of the CCIM, p. 5.
15. Ibid. pp. 6 - 7.
16. The CCIM originated from East Cameroon and was therefore bound to follow the two shift system which prevailed throughout the French Community Countries. Fomer West Cameroonians had to adapt to this system which was new to them.

17. The CCIM Report of Activities...; Op.Cit., CCIM, NWPD, p. 14.
18. Ibid., p. 20.
19. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
20. Personal interview on 15/11/91 with Mr. Abanda Saya Mathias born in 1945 at Tiben-Batibo. He is the proprietor of the New Life Enterprise, Bamenda and President of the Bamenda delegation CCIM.
21. Ibid.
22. See map on p. .
23. Personal interview on 12/12/91 with Mr. I.M.Awa, born 1956 in Pinyin-Bamenda. He is a Geography lecturer in Lycee Classique de Bafoussam.
24. Statistique du Tourisme 1981 - 1983, Secretariat d'Etat du Tourisme, Cameroun, p. 16, p. 57.
25. A.S. Neba, Modern Geography of the Republic of Cameroon. Second Edition, Temple University, Philadelphia, 1987, pp. 139 - 145.
26. Personal interview on 15/11/91 with Mr. Akum.
27. Personal interview on 12/12/91 with Mr. Awa.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. File No. G. 37/J.3/24, Cameroon Salt Society, 23/6/79, DAL, p. 24. See Map on p. .
31. A cultural and Historical Guide: Introducing Limbe. Environment and Tourism, DAL, p. 7.
32. Personal interview on 15/9/91 with Mr. Eric Komben born 12/8/57 in Kom. He has been the secretary of the North West CCIM Provincial Delegation since 1988.
33. Adopted from CCIM Meeting of Evaluation of the Investment Mission to the USA in November. 1985, 30 January, 1986, Douala.
34. Personal interview on 12/11/91 with El Hadje Lawan Bako, born in 1954 at Bobong, Menchum. He has been a Building Contractor and Transporters since 1977 and proprietor of El HadjeL. Bako and Sons Company Bamenda. Like all other Cameroonian businessmen he complains that the Economic Crisis has almost crippled his business.
35. This was the Trans-Cameroon Railway line which up tilldate is still in prospect to go right to the Central African Republic (CAN).
36. Bulletin Qotidien d'Information, No. 108 of 12th May, 1978, SOPECAM, pp. 23-24.

37. Personal interview on 15/11/91 with Mr. Akum Alfred born 16/9/56 at Tiben, Batibo. He is the Finance Clerk of the Bamenda CCIM Delegation, but is also in charge of the documentation department.
38. Personal interview on 15/11/91 with Nfon V.E. Mukete, born 15 November, 1918, in Kumba. He was in 1975, Interim President of the CCIM. He is a large scale farmer, and the Chairman of INTEL CAM, Yaounde.
39. See pp. 70-71.
40. O. Iyanda (ed.), The Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Nigerian Economy: 1888 - 1988, pp. 82-86. NACCIMA was founded early in 1960. At its inception it was known as the Association of Chambers of Commerce in Nigeria and the Southern Cameroons". Its founding members were the Chambers of Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Port Harcourt and Calabar. In 1961 the Association decided to delete "and the Southern Cameroons" from this title and thus became known as "Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Mines (NACCIM) and finally in 1974 it took the present name "Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture". Amongst other objectives, it was established to promote, protect and to develop all matters affecting Commerce and Industry in Nigeria by all lawful means.
41. See pp. 34-35.
42. Personal interview on 6/10/91 with Mr. Patrick Tebunde born 24/12/38 at Awing, Bamenda. He held the post of Provincial Chief of Service, Exchange Control Transfers from 1981 to 1985 in the North West and South West and Chief of Customs Ekondo-Titi from 1986-1991.
43. Compte-Rendu de la Rencontre du President de la Chambre du Commerce, Industrie et des Mines du Cameroun avec L'Ambassadeur du Nigeria 5/7/91, pp. 1-2, Ministry of Commerce Yaounde. Interview on 11/11/91 with the Economic Councillor, Economic Division, Nigerian Embassy, Cameroon.
44. EGM/ECO (XIV) Rev. 1, The Role of the West African Chamber of Commerce in the Formation of ECOWAS, University of Lagos Library (ULL), p. 2.
45. Ibid., p. 22.
46. S. Hayatou & H. Adjoudji (eds.), Food Self-Sufficiency in Cameroon, Printed at Agro Pastoral Show Bamenda, 1984.

It is significant to note that while other parts of Cameroon such as the North West and

Western Provinces come out with surpluses of foodstuffs some areas of the nation like the Far North are perpetually on the margin of starvation.

47. ECM/ECO, Op.Cit., p. 113.
48. J.B. Yorke & H. Adjoudji (eds.), Mastery of the Environmental and Food Security. Printed on the occasion of Agro-Pastoral Show, Maroua, 1988, p. 25.
49. Personal interview on 29/2/92 with Mrs. M.K. Bongadu, born in Nso in 1940. She is a Mankon-based business woman and a member of the Chamber of Commerce.
50. See p. 89.
51. Personal interview on 19/11/91 with Mr. Obideke Benedict, born 1955, in Onitsha - Nigeria. He is a dealer in electronics based in Bamenda; and with Mr. Emeka Anayo Okeke, born 1962 in Abangang - Enugu. He is a trader in motor spare parts based in Bamenda.
52. A.M. Adejo, "The Challenge of Political and Economic Leadership of Nigeria in the West African Subregion 1914 - 1988", (Ph.D. Thesis) University of Lagos, 1991, p. 336.

GLOSSARY

Cameroon: The name Cameroon evolved from a Portuguese word Cameroes. When the Portuguese reached the Cameroon coast towards the end of the fifteenth century, they saw the Wouri River very rich in prawns. As a result, they named it Rio dos Cameroes, meaning "River of Prawns".

When the Germans colonized the country in 1884 they called it "Kamerun." After the First World War of 1914, temporary arrangements later confirmed in 1919 entrusted the entire territory to Britain and France. The British and the French have since then called it "Cameroon" and "Cameroun" respectively. the anglicized visersion "Cameroon has been adapted throughout the Post-colonial period.

Diamoor: Trade name for cooking oil produced from cotton seed in Diamare in North Cameroon.

Funghe: It is the most popular name for fuel smuggled from Nigeria into Cameroon.

Grafi: A Pidgin word denoting Grasslanders. But it must be noted that the grasslanders regard Grafi as a derogatory slang.

Par: An accepted standard or level used for comparison.

FRENCH

Baccalaureat: The French equivalent of the General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level.

Brasseries du Cameroun: Cameroon Brewery Company.

Brevet Professionnel; A Technical Certificate (Equivalent to Ordinary Level General Certificate of Education).

Citoyen: Citizen.

France Outre-Mer: France Overseas.

Groupe Castel: It is a borrowed name for all the Central African Heads of State who are the sole proprietors of the Cameroon Brewery Company. They include Paul Biya, Benard Bongo, and Denis Sassou Nguesso.

Laissez-faire: The theory advocating that the state should exercise as little control as possible in trade and industrial affairs.

Lycée Technique: Technical High School.

Maitrise Memoir: An equivalent of a Postgraduate Diploma.

Patente: Business tax levied on all business operating in the entire national territory after

1966, reunification.

Prestation: A labour tax which entailed offering labour without compensation for a number of days. This obtained in French Cameroun during the Mandate Period 1922 - 1946.

Sine qua non (Latin): That which is or becomes indispensable, a must.

Savoirfaire: Know-how.

German

Gouvernementstrate: Advisory Council.

Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee: Colonial Economic Committee.

West-Afrikanische Pflanzungsgesellschaft: West African Plantation Company.

Reichstag: German National Assembly (Parliament).

Schutztruppe: Regular colonial troop.

Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft: The Economic Committee of the Colonial Society.

APPENDIXESAPPENDIX 1

Arrête portant Creation du'une Chambre consultative du commerce de l'Industrie et de l'Agriculture.

LE COMMISSAIRE DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCEISE AU CAMEROUNOFFICIER DE LA LEGION D'HONNEURArrêté:

Article premier.-Il est cree au Cameroun une chambre Consultative du Commerce, de l'Industrie et de l'Agriculture dont la composition, les attributions et le fonctionnement sont ci-après determine's.

Article 2 - Les membres de la Chambre Consultative sone choisis par le Comissionaire de la Republique parmi les Commerçants, les Industriels et les Directeurs d'exploitations agricoles de la Colonie. Ils sont nomme's par arrêté pour une periode de deux années: leurs fonctions sont renouvelables.

Article 3 La Chambre comprend:

Huit commerçants, ou administrateurs, directeurs de Societes Commerciales établis a la Colonie, jouissant du status europe'en ou asssimile's. Trois d'entre eux peuvent être de nationalité étrangère.

Deux industriels dont un peut-etre de nationlite étrangere.

Un capitaine au long course ou un représentant de Compagnie de navigation. Deux colons ou directeurs d'entreprises agricoles. L'un d'eux peut etre de nationalité étrangère. Un Chef ou notable indigène propriétaire de plantations importantes.

Le Commissaire de la Republique délègue pour le représenter au sein de la Chambre un fonctionnaire, qui participe aux deliberations. Il n'a neanmoins que voix consultative, et ne participite a aucun vote. Il s'ège en face du president.

Article 4 - La Chambre Consultative est appelée a délibérer sur toutes les questions d'ordre économique qui lui sont soumises par le Gouverneur, et à donner à leur sujet des reenseignements et des avis. Elle peut en outre presenter spontanément sous la forme de voeux ses vues sur les moyens d'accroître la prospérité de la Colonie.

Article 5 - Elle peut être appelée à délivrer les certificats d'origine des products exportés.

Article 6 - Elle est obligatoirement consultée pour l'établissement des mercuriales prévues par l'article 1er du décret du 3 avril 1921, relatif aux modalités de perception des droits de douane.

Lorsque la Chambre Consultative fonctionne comme Commission des mercuriales

mercuriales, elle se complete par l'adjonction des membres suivants:

Le Chef du Service des Douanes;

Le Chef du bureau principal des Douanes

Le Chef du bureau du materiel ou fonctionnaire chargé du materiel;

Ces fonctionnaires ont voix délibérative

La Commission composée évalue, en s'entourant de tous les renseignements commerciaux utiles, la valeur locale moyenne des articles soumis aux droits à l'exploitation. Elle fixe la valeur de l'unité et, s'il a lieu le coefficient de progression.

La mercuriale est en principe annuelle. Toutefois, au cas de modification grave et durable dans les cours, la Chambre Consultative peut par un vœu motivé, demander en cours d'année une révision.

Article 7 - La Chambre se réunit à Douala ou elle choisit le lieu de ses séances. Elle élit annuellement son Président et son Secrétaire. Elle tient obligatoirement une séance par trimestre. Le Président peut en outre la convoquer et la Chambre peut voter des réunions supplémentaires toutes les fois que l'intérêt et le nombre des questions à l'ordre du jour leur paraissent justifier une délibération spéciale.

Article 8 - La Chambre élit des membres correspondants à raison d'un par catégorie (commerce, industrie, agriculture) et par circonscription dans l'intérieur du territoire de la Colonie. Ces membres correspondants peuvent assister aux délibérations avec voix consultative.

La Chambre peut également appeler à ses séances les personnes qu'elle désirerait entendre sur des questions techniques en raison de leur spécialisation.

Article 9 - Les délibérations de la Chambre ne sont pas publiques. Leur compte rendu peut être publié, et édité par ses soins de même que toutes monographies et publications occasionnelles et périodiques.

Article 10 - La Chambre peut disposer des ressources produites exclusivement par des cotisations éventuelles de ses membres et les subventions qui peuvent lui être accordées.

Ces ressources ne peuvent être affectées qu'à la documentation, au fonctionnement matériel de la Chambre et à des dépenses d'intérêt économique rentrant dans le cadre général de son activité.

L'état de prévision de ses recettes et dépenses est soumis au début de chaque année au Commissaire de la République pour approbation, ainsi que les comptes en fin d'exercice.

Article 11 - Le présent arrêté sera enregistré et communiqué partout où besoin sera.

Yaounde le Juillet 1921.

CARDE

APPENDIX IIPETITION DES MEMBRES DE LA SECTION AGRICOLE

M. MBA donne lecture de la pétition:

Monsieur le Haut Commissaire.

Nous avons l'honneur de soumettre le rapport ci-joint a votre bien-veillante attention afin que après un juste examen des motifs qui y son invoqués votre claivoyance veuille bien fair dorit a ces legitmes revendications.

Les signataires de ce rapport n'ont eu pour but que le souci de faire une large place qu'elle comporte a l'Agriculture. Celle-ci étant la base du développement écono mique notre pays.

Cela est tellement vrai que chaque Commissaire est avant tout cultivateur avant meme d'embrasser le commerce raison pour laquelle certains de nos collegues de la Section Commerciale ont cru de leur devoir d'émarger cette pétition.

De méchantes langues y verront pour leur part, un geste de sectarisme, mais nous croyons être restés dans les normes de nos attributions et avons fait en conscience ce que nous devons faire pour assurer la défense des cultivateurs et des planteurs que nous représentons.

Très reconnaissants pour ce que vous voudrez bien ordonner afin que satisfaction nous soit accordée, nous vous prions d'agréer, Monsieur le Haut Commissaire, l'expression de notre considération distinguée.

POUR LES PETITIONS SOUSSIGNES, LE RAPPORTEUR:

E. MBA

NECESSITE ET ROLE IMPORTANT DE LA CHAMBRE D'AGRICULTURE AU CAMEROUN

Après la faute originelle, le Verdict Divin a condamné le genre humain a manger son pain d'amertume a la sueur de son front".

L'Univers tout entier était réduit à gratter le sol pour en tirer le moyen de sa subsistance. Seuls les troubles atmosphériques ont fait que certains gens s'adonnent à des activités derivant du travail de la terre afin d'établir l'harmonie. Le Commerce par exemple, a choisi la carriere de ecommissionnaire pour distribuer le fruit de la terre aux zones défavorisees, établir un mode d'échange et de distribution. Cependant il est établi que 62 de la population du globe cultivent la terre. Ramenant les chiffres sur le plan territorial, 70% des, Camerounais vivent du travail de la terre. Il est éminent dès lors de doter la profession agricole de la panoplie de protection fatale de metier.

HISTOIRE

L'idée d'une représentation de l'ensemble de la profession agricole par des Chambres d'Agriculture est très ancienne et a été réclamée à maintes reprises par les Ministres de l'Agriculture qui se sont succédés depuis 1837. Alors que les professions commerciales étaient représentées depuis longtemps déjà par les Chambres de Commerce. Il a fallu attendre la loi du 3 Janvier 1924 qui instituait enfin les Chambres départementales et, à titre facultatif, les Chambres régionales d'Agriculture.

La loi du 2 décembre 1940 qui organisait la Corporation paysane supprimait les Chambres départementales d'Agriculture. N'étaient maintenues dans ce régime que les Chambres régionales avec des attributions nettement précisées, et limitées.

La loi du 12 mars 1946 prévoyait le rétablissement de plein droit et sans autorisation préalable des organisations agricoles publiques ou privées supprimées par la loi du 2 décembre 1940, s'appliquant aux Chambres d'Agriculture.

Ce n'est pourtant qu'en Novembre 1949 que cette activité légale a été effectivement reprise en France.

DEFINITION ET RÔLE DES CHAMBRES D'AGRICULTURE

Les Chambres d'Agriculture instituées par la loi du 3 janvier 1924 ne sont pas des groupements privés autorisés par la loi, mais des institutions professionnelles agricoles, créées, par la loi et dotées du statut des établissements publics. Les deux attributions essentielles qui sont fixées par la loi 3 janvier 1924 sont les suivantes:.....

QUE VEUT LE CAMEROUN

Le Cameroun ne réclame pas la transposition servile, de toute pièce du système métropolitain. C'est pourquoi nous ne songeons pas à la multiplication des Chambres d'Agriculture. Nous demandons l'existence d'une Chambre d'Agriculture qui ne soit pas "citoyenne-née" de la Chambre de Commerce, mais qui ait son statut personnel: d'une Chambre d'Agriculture qui ne soit pas vassale de la Chambre de Commerce, mais son collègue.
.....

C'est pourquoi notre requête, loin de créer un malaise ou de donner lieu à des commentaires desobligeants, nous accusant de sectarisme, doit faire voir le souci que nous avons de voir organiser notre Section, qui mérite toutes les garanties d'avenir pour l'unique raison qu'elle représente 70% des ressources du territoire et 70% de la population qui tire ses ressources de l'Agriculture.

LES MEMBRES DE LA SECTION AGRICOLE:

MMDINCONG KOUMKANG, MBAEPHREM NJOYA ABOUBAKAR,

APPENDIX III

SECOND MEETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PLANTATION COMPANIES AND COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN VICTORIA DIVISION AND THE MANAGER OF BARCLAYS BANK, HELD AT THE DIVISIONAL OFFICE, VICTORIA, AT 10 A.M. ON 20TH DECEMBER, 1932.

PRESENT:	MR. F.B. CARR,	ACTING PRESIDENT,	CAMEROONS.
	" P.M. RILEY,	DISTRICT OFFICER,	VICTORIA
	DR. P.H. RAWSON,	MEDICAL OFFICER	"
	MR. C.R. MILES,	COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS,	"
	" H. ROEBUCK,	SUPERINTENDENT OF AGRICULTURE,	KUMBA
	" F. ZIEGLER,	WEST AFRICAN PLANTATION COMPANY.	
	" EBERHARDT,	" " " "	
	" C. WOERMANN,	LI KOMBA PLANTATION COMPANY	TIKO.
	" H.C. LEAVER,	BARCLAYS BANK	VICTORIA
	" GUTHER,	EKONA PLANTATION COMPANY	
	" ZILHARDT,	AFRICAN FRUIT COMPANY	
	" C.W. TRIMNELL,	UNITED AFRICA COMPANY	VICOTIRA
	" RABEN,	AFRICAN FRUITS COMPANY	VICTORIA
	" C.W. TRIMNELL,	UNITED AFRICA COMPANY,	VICTORIA
	" RABEN,	AFRICAN FRUIT COMPANY	
	" CROKER,	JOHN HOLT AND COMPANY,	VICTORIA
	" O. HOLTFOOTH,	HOLTFOOTH PLANTATION COMPANY	TIKO
	" LUPPE,	MOLIWE PLANTATION COMPANY	
	" KOPPEHEL,	AFRICAN FRUIT COMPANY	
	" REID,	OECHELHAUSEN PLANTATION	
	" HOHENHURST,	WORMANN LINIE,	VICTORIA
	" REIN,	OMBE PLANTATION COMPANY	
	" HOHENSEE,	DEBUNDSCHA PLANTATION	
	" BERRIGE,	BWENGA PLANTATION (UNITED AFRICACO.).	
	" R. NEWTON,	ASSISTANT DISTRICT OFFICER,	BUEA.

The following question were dealt with:

1. "The lack of adequate apparatus in the Government Hospital, Victoria makes it extremely difficult for the medical officer to deal with serious cases necessitating operations.:

The Resident said that there was now a definite improvement over the conditions of 2 or 3 years ago. He pointed out that there is now a medical officer at Buea and a medical officer and

nursing sister at Victoria.

VI. "The necessity for plantation lorries taking out a licence when run within the estates only".

The Resident said that it was down by law that lorries which used the highways should be licenced and that "highway" includes any road which the public has access. Since this question covered practically every road the question was not pursued. With regard to the Bibundi road the Resident said that no permit was now necessary while the road remained in its present condition.

Two other questions were brought up too late to include in the agenda. One of these was the question of a road from Three-Corners to Bwenga. Mr. Woermann said that the Likomba plantation Company was not interested though of course Government could take the land needed according to the deeds of conveyance. It was agreed that the native Authorities should be consulted but it was pointed out that little money was available. The other question concerned the European grave-yard in Victoria. It was suggested that flowers should be planted and that assistance might be forthcoming from the Botanical Gardens. The District Officer stated he would supply a few labourers and request the Conservator of Forests to supply plants etc., and such supervision as he may be able.

APPENDIX IVMEMBERS OF THE SCCC IN 1961

- | | | |
|-----|--------|---|
| 1. | Messr. | Bakweri Cooperative Union of Farmers Limited (BCUF) Molyko. |
| 2. | " | Bank of West Africa Limited, Victoria. |
| 3. | " | Barclays Bank (DCO) Limited, Victoria. |
| 4. | " | Cadbury & Fry (Cameroon) Limited, Kumba |
| 5. | " | Cameroon Cooperative Exporter's Union Ltd., Kumba |
| 6. | " | Brandler & Rylke Limited, Tiko |
| 7. | " | Cameroons Coopertive Exporters Transport Union Limited Dibanda. |
| 8. | " | Coast Timber Company Limited, Tiko |
| 9. | " | Costain (West Africa) Limited, Likomba. |
| 10. | " | Elders & Fyffes Limited, Victoria |
| 11. | " | John Holt (Nigeria) Limited, Victoria. |
| 12. | " | Kamerun Limited, Tiko |
| 13. | " | P. Keller Limited, Ombe |
| 14. | " | Pamol Limited, Bwinga. |
| 15. | " | Strasbury (Nigeria) Limited, Kumba |
| 16. | " | The UAC of Nigeria Limited, Victoria |
| 17. | " | E.M. Micheletti & Son (Nigeria) Limited. |
| 18. | " | Texaco Petroleum Company Limited, Tiko |
| 19. | " | Cameroon's Electrical Accessories Suppliers & Wiring Contractors Ltd.,
Victoria. |
| 20. | " | Basel Mission Book Depot, Victoria. |

Source: File No. 6040/Q1 1958, Nr. 178 Vol. 2, The Southern Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, NAB, p. 116.

APPENDIX VLIST OF FCCIM REPRESENTATIVES1. FULL MEMBER REPRESENTATIVESA. COMMERCIAL SECTION

	<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMPANY/FIRM</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
1.	H.R. RAM	Emen Textiles International	Victoria
2.	M.N. ATABONG	Atabong Enterprise	Ombe-Tiko
3.	B. AHLIAH	Alliance Trading Company	Victoria
4.	V.B. THADANI	Interocean Commercial co. (ICC)	Victoria
5.	T.F. FONJUNGO	Fonjungo & Sons	Tiko
6.	A.J. OKWUCHI	Utility Trading Co. Ltd.	Victoria
7.			

B. INDUSTRIAL SECTION

1.	J.C. WHITE	Pamol Cameroon Ltd.	Victoria
2.	V.E. MUKETE	Cameroon Dev. Corporation	Victoria
3.	GENERAL MANGER	West Cameroon Elect. Corp.	Victoria
4.	D.A. NANGAH	Nanga Company Limited	Buea.
5.	A.P. VASHI	Emen Industries	Victoria
6.	J.I. MAHOP	Electrical Enterprise	Victoria

C. PRESTATION SERVICE SECTION

1.	J.C. DYE	Barclays Bank DCO	Victoria
2.	J.C. HAMPTON	Royal Exchange Assurance	Victoria
3.	E.L. WOLETA	Wholemon's Customs & Clearance Agents	Victoria
4.	E.E.J. PACE	Allens Motors Ltd.	Victoria
5.	S.A. ARREY	West Cameroon Motors Transport Co. Ltd.	Bmenda
6.	H.R. THOMSEN	West Cameroon Hotels Ltd.	Victoria.

II ACTING MEMBERS REPRESENTATIVESA. COMMERCIAL SECTION

1.	D.R. MATHANI	Cameroon Commercial Corp.	Victoria
2.	H.O. ONUO RAH	Coference Trading Company	Victoria
3.	O.R. OFFIONG	Rainbow Chemist	Victoria
4.	B.M. NAGAMBO	Nagambo & Sons	Victoria
5.	A. AJIKE	Ajike & Sons	Victoria
6.	P. SANJO	Bamileke Stores	Tiko

B. INDUSTRIAL SECTION

1.	J.N. NGANDO	Modern Furniture Co. Lt.	Victoria
2.	L.G. CHULANI	Brintind Industry	Victoria

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|--------------------------|---------|
| 3. | G.M. AVSIS | Shoe Industry | Tiko |
| 4. | G.M. AVISI | Kilo & Brothers Ltd. | Bamenda |
| 5. | J. NONE KEMBIWE | Dynamic United Co. (DUC) | Kumba |

C. PRESTATION SERVICE SECTION

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|--|---------------------------|
| 1. | KURTKANKIRCHENSHIN | Cameroon Bank Ltd. | Victoria |
| 2. | C.N. NGU | Cameroon Trdaing Centre | Kumba |
| 3. | C.B.B. VEGA | Cameroon Air Transport | Victoria |
| 4. | A.J. RYLKE | Brandier & Rylke Motors | M u t e n g e n e
Tiko |
| 5. | R.J. RICH | West Cameroon Employers
Association | Victoria |
| 6. | J.N. FOMENKY | Direct Suppliers Co. Ltd. | Kumba |
| 7. | B. TAMO | Heidy Tamo | Tiko |

Source: List attached to letter No. MC1 WC/A/532/202 by Chief O.S. Ebanja on July 6, 1968.

APPENDIX VI
KUMBACHAMBER OF COMMERCE

All Communications to the
 General President & Quote Number
 CABLE & TABLES. KACHOC

Head Office - Kumba,
 P.O. Box 9, Kumba,
 West Cameroon.
 Federal Rep. of Cameroon.
 25th May, 1968

Bankers.....

Our Ref:- KCC 49/RRC/68

Your Ref:-.....

Through: The Director,
 Economic Services,
 Victoria, West Cameroon.
 : The Honourable Federal Minister,
 Commerce and Industry,
 Yaounde.

Honourable Sir,

RECOGNITION AND REGISTRATION OF KUMBACHAMBER OF COMMERCE

We are directed by the entire member of the Kumba Chamber of Commerce to address you on the above topic and to solicit your consideration to approve the Registration and Recognition of the above ORGANISATION.

2. History has it that the Kumba Chamber of Commerce had its birth five years ago and the necessary formalities relating to Registration of such an out standing Organisation and documents had been and were duly completed and submitted to the appropriate authorities within you Ministry. Similary, the same documents were submitted to the Prime Minister, West Cameroon and the Registrar of Companies respectively for endorsement. These documents have been delayed owing to various methods of Administration during which the Kumba Chamber of Commerce came to birth.

3. Since, Sir, there is now a permanent Administration guiding the establishment of Chambers of Commerce all over the Federal Republic of Cameroon, it is our good intention therefore that we bring to your NOTICE the existence of this body in Kumba being the seat of commerce and farming industry in the state of West Cameroon.....

.....

8. We hereby urge the Director of Economic Services, Victoria, West Cameroon to forward to you for your perusal, approval and recognition of the documents mentioned at paragraph 5.

9. It is now our intention to crave your indulgence for consideration, approval and recognising the Kumba Chamber of Commerce as any other such Organisation in the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

We have the honour to be

Honourable Sir

Your Humble Citizens,

(SGD):.....

F.C. Bisong

(SGD):.....

Prince P.T.

Chomason

PRESIDENT

SECRETARY

(SGD):.....

N.A. Benyong

VICE PRESIDENT

(SGD):.....

C.N. Ngu

TREASURER

APPENDIX VII**SOME TRADE MISSIONS RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR 1985/86**

COUNTRY	PERIOD	PURPOSE OF VISIT
1. U.S.A.	7-11/9/85	Michigan Trade Mission
2. I.F.C.	12/9/85	Visit of the International Finance Corporation (IFC)
3. Mr. W. Ryirc (U.S.A.)		
4. Cadana	2-09/10/85	Quebec Trade Mission
5. Holland	11-15/11/85	
6. Great Britain	17-25/11/85	Westminister Chamber of Commerce Trade Mission
7. Finance	28/11-4/12/85	CNPF (Patronat-France Employers Association (Investment Mission to Doula - Bafoussam - Yaounde
8. Finland	2-4/3/86 prospecting	
9. U.S.A. (OPIC)		Trade and Investment Mission.
10. Equitorial Guinea	19/3/86	Buying Mission
11. Rep of China	21/3/86	Journalist.
12. Tunisia (2)	16-18/1/86	Trade and Investment Mission.
13. Canada	21-25/3/86	Trade Mission followed by Investment Mission to Canada.
14. Hungary	25/24/3/26 4/4/86	Surveying Possibilities of Opening Trade Office
15. Algeria	4/4/86	Market Research
16. Birmingham (G.B.)	8-17/4/86	Trade Mission to Doula
17. Sweden	5-7/5/86	Trade Mission to Douala and Yaounde
18. German Democratic Republic	11-14/6/86	Follow-up of contacts made at the Leipzig Trade Fair.
19. Senegal	23-26/6/86	Market Research

Source: Cameroon Chamber of Commerce Industry and Mines, Douala, Progress Report, 1985-1986, June 1986, p. 8.

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II. ORAL INTERVIEW

	Names	Age	Place of Birth	Date Interviewed	Occupation
1.	Pa. V.T. Lainjo	86	Nso	9/12/91	Civil Servant.
2.	Chief Song Dipoko	91	Douala	9/12/91 (died 1993)	Retired Trader.
3.	Chief J.N. Fomenky	65	Bangwa-Lewoh	4/3/91 (died 1993)	Importer/Exporter
4.	Mr. Joseph Happi	70	Douala	7/11/89	CCIM Staff-Douala.
5.	Mr. Deumaga Victor	47	Bafang	7/11/89	CCIM Staff-Douala.
6.	Mr. P.V. Boyo	56	Big Babanki	8/2/91	Hotelier.
7.	Chief O.S Ebanja	71	Mokonje	23/1/91 (died 1992)	Retired Director of Economy.
8.	Mr. M.N. Atabong	54	Fontem	9/3/90	President of Limbe CCIM Delegation.
9.	Mr. Albert Che Niba	61	Bafut	9/3/90	1st Vice President of CCIM Douala.
10.	Bobé Leonard John Akong	48	Kom	5/5/91	Building Contractor/School Proprietor.
11.	Mrs. Martha K. Bongadu	52	Nso	29/2/92	Trader in assorted items.
12.	Mr. Isaih A; Mbohli	36	Pinyin	12/12/91	Geography Lecture.
13.	El Hadje Lawan Bako	38	Bobong	12/11/91	Building Contractor.
14.	Dr. J.N. Foncha	75	Nkwen	13/2/91	Retired V. President of FRC.
15.	Mr. Mathias Abanda	49	Tiben	15/11/91	President, Bamenda Delegation.
16.	Mr. J.G. Mallett	52	Great Britain	18/10/90	Retired Director of Marketing Board.
17.	M. Kenfac Severin	51	Bacham	29/3/91	Nurse/Gardener. Ltd, Victoria.

NAME	AGE	PLACE OF BIRTH	DATE INTERVIEWED	OCCUPATION
18. M. Ndemfac Pierre	53	Dschang	29/3/91	C a t t l e Trader/Farmer.
19. Mr. Fonfu George Bikoma	52	Bali-Nyonga	10/9/91	Retired Sub- Accountant Bank of West Africa
20. Hon. D.A. Atia	68	Mankon	15/11/91	Former Company Manager of John Holt Ltd, Victoria.
21. Mr. P.N. Tembunde	54	Awing	20/11/91	Former Provincial Chief of Exchange Control.
22. Mr. Awa Samuel Nchifor	60	Pinyin	21/11/91	Former National Director of State Lottery.
23. Mr. E.M.T. Awa	52	Pinyin	20/11/91	Deputy Director of Agriculture.
24. Mr. J.B. Ndeh	47	Njong	8/6/91	Deputy General Manager of MIDENO.
25. Mrs. Julia Ndumu	46	Bafut	15/5/91	P h a r m a c i s t / President of BBA.
26. Mrs. Margaret Bame Nkwem.	46	Nso	14/11/91	Midwife P.M.I.,
27. Mr. Eric Komben	35	Kom	15/5/91	N.W. CCIM D e l e g a t i o n Secretary
28. Mr. Akum Alfred	32	Tiben	15/11/91	N.W. Delegation Financial Clerk.
29. Nfon V.E. Mukete	80	Kumba	9/3/90	Planter/ Former President of the CCIM.
30. Mr. Obideke Benedict	37	Onitsha	19/11/91	Electrical Dealer Bamenda.
31. Emeka Anayo Okeke	30	Abangang	11/11/91	Motor Spare Parts Dealer.

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