
**CAMEROON PEOPLE’S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (CPDM) AND
THE RENEWAL OF ITS BASIC ORGANS: THE EXPRESSION OF
POLITICAL VITALITY VERSUS LEADERSHIP AUTHORITARIARISM**

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ABSTRACT

The Cameroon People Democratic Movement (CPDM) is among the several political parties found in Cameroon. It is a leading or closely related party in power, depending on how for intellectual reasons it can be called; and this under the initiative of his national president who was decided to renew hi grassroots braches and his specialized organizations running from 1st august to 10th December 2015, a period of (03) three years after the official expiration of the mandate of his leaders. This process was characterized by a competition among the actors in the quest of new elective mandates. The mandate was not only punctuated witch consensus but, also and were proceeded in some areas. What are the socio-political fundamentals of the grassroots branches renewal of the CPDM and his specialized organs? What can be the meaning and power that can inspire this process and sustain a socio-political view point? These are some questions that can highlight the present article. Il will also be outlined in the light of data base collections on the field, processed with strategic analysis with the help of the ruling authoritarianism theory.

Keywords: Renewal, Elective Mandate, Politic competition, Consensus

INTRODUCTION

A political party set upon Marche 24, 1985 in Bamenda, the CPDM is the offshoot of the single party: the National Union of Cameroon. The party is structured in such a way that at the top there is a policy-making committee stumbled over by a Central group made up of some members appointed or elected. In addition to this some specialized organs such as the Women of the Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (WCPDM) and the Youth of (YCPDM) complete this list. At the grass root level the party is represented by the section, sub-section, grassroots committee and a unit whose members are elected. The unit closely used to bear at a given moment the outlines of many subdivisions and, at a given time the realities of those subdivisions.

A circular letter¹ signed by the national president had as main objective extending the existing branches but the right to vote was extend to all its active members who however, needed to clarify their as effective members through activities such as the purchase of their membership card and the payment of their subscriptions². For the smooth running of the electoral process five (5) legal proceedings³ were created. Broadly speaking, how has this renewal process manifested itself through the political vitality of the grassroot actors and the authoritarianism of the ruling leader? That is the main question the present analysis will try to bring a plausible solution. It essentially leans on the ruling authoritarianism theory and the strategic analysis. The first one stipulates that the authorities have a tendency of influencing the rules put in place by politicians in their favour⁴ and the second ones abides by the theory as people say: ...Reflexion, in terms of strategy make people responsible for them to look into some organizational contexts the rationality of an actors to understand the organizational shape in the personal experiences of the actors (Crozier, Friedberg, 1982). In addition,

The relation of power within the enterprise has as objective to integrate a coherent manner special logics in order to achieve global objectives it assigns to itself, but counting on its own resources, each peculiar group has to accept the behaviours (wether passives) adapted to the defense or to the promotion related to special preoccupations and not common objectives (Crozier, Friedberg, 1982:49).

For this research work to be constructive, we proceeded with the empirical collection of data made up of some CPDM archives whose shortages were complemented with inquires in the field and investigations with some different political stakeholder. Two political parties will be taken into consideration in this article. The first one consists in analyzing the sociopolitical foundations of the renewal and the second deals with sociopolitical reach. The Mayo-Kani and Mayo-Danay are the two main geographical areas for the study.

I. The sociopolitical foundations of the CPDM grassroot renewal organs

¹ Circular letter N° 001/CPDM/NP of 27 July 2015 of the National Party to the grassroot renewal and some specialized committees.

² The purchase of the membership card was suspended following a press release signed by the communication secretary on November 10, 2015.

³ The authorities will be considered in subsequent development.

⁴ It is the point on view sustained by authors like J.M. Zambo Belinga, "Elections in Cameroon: the contribution to explain how to take part in vote in localities known as acquired to the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement and the Social Democratic Front" PHD Thesis in Political sociology defended at the University of Yaoundé I, 2004 with The theme: "Quest of notability authoritative persistence and democratization in Cameroon", Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, XLIII (3, 171,2003PP.573-589, J.A. Njock, "Political elections and democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: The case of the Central African states, PHD thesis in Public Law, defended at the University of Sciences in Lyon, 2001.

The picture below shows the CPDM grassroots renewal specialized organs in December, 2015.

Picture 1: Global view on the CPDM, WCPDM, YCPDM sections in the Mayo-Kani et du Mayo-Danay sections

Département	Formers sections	Subdivisions	Président		
			CPDM	WCPDM	YCPDM
Mayo-Kani	Mayo-Kani West	Kaélé, Moutourwa	Sadjo Koumaï	Mme. Fah	Godjé Emmanuel
	Mayo-Kani South	Mindif	Haman Tchioutou	Madam Baïbaï	Iliassa Ousmana
	Mayo-Kani East	Guidiguis, Touloum, Dziguilao	Siddiki	Damdams	Houli
	Mayo-Kani North	Moulvoudaye	Adama Modi	Maïtchang Delphine	Bachirou Halilou
Mayo-Danay	Mayo-Danay Sud	Kalfou, Tchatibalé, Doukoula, Datchéga	Djamaralourssandou	Mme. Maïraossé Djagué	Oumarou Tambouctou
	Mayo-Danay East	Wina, Gobo, Guéré, Yagoua	Makassia Jean ⁵	Manamourou épse Silikam	Hinssou Yetna
	Mayo-Danay North	Maga, Guémé, Kaï-Kaï	Abba Enock	Maïam Mbarma	Adoum Mbarma

1. The Mayo-Kani and Mayo-Danay CPDM sections: a geometric political variable representation

Before the creation of brand new sections the Mayo-Kani and Mayo-Danay divisions were respectively crammed with seven (7) sections and eleven (11) sub-divisions within which seven sections were subdivided. In fact, those divisions, within which seven (7) sections were subdivided. In fact, those divisions respectively had four (4) and three (3) sections. In the Mayo-Kani division were among others: the Mayo-Kani West with the Kaélé and Moutourwa subdivisions as headquarters, the Mayo-Kani South with the Mindif subdivision as headquarters, the Mayo-Kani East with the Guidiguis, Touloum and Dziguilao subdivisions as headquarters.

⁵ Former president of the Mayo-Danay East section, elected candidate at the helm of the Mayo-Danay East I section (Yagoua), Makassia Jean died in his native land Yagoua on the 16 August 2016 following a brief illness.

In the Mayo-Danay division, the Mayo-Danay South had as section headquarters: the Kalfou; Tchatibali, Doukoula and Datcheka subdivisions respectively; as for the Mayo-Danay East section was made up of the Wina, Gobo, Guéré and Yagoua subdivisions as headquarters and lastly the Mayo-Danay North with Maga, Guémé and Kaï-Kaï as section headquarters.

This division into sections was disproportionate with regard to subdivisional section cover. In the Mayo-Kani for instance, the Mindif and Moulvoudaye subdivisions are alone in sections whereas the Kaélé and Moutourwa as far as the Guidiguis, Touloum and Dziguilao subdivisions are covered with two sections. Consequently a question is raised to know why some sections only cover one subdivision while others cover many? What can be the sociopolitical reasons?

The reason behind all this is the anteriority and existence of those subdivisions in comparison with those created in 1990, among others the Moutourwa, Guidiguis, Touloum and Dziguilao subdivisions; hence, Moutourwa was attached to Kaélé while Guidiguis, Touloum and Dziguilao were attached to the former subdivision. But some time in 2015 and following a circular letter signed by the national CPDM President some new sections were created.

2. Some sociopolitical reasons in the creation of new sections

The creation of new sections is shown as follow:

Picture 2: CPDM, WCPDM and the YCPDM new sections

Département	Former sections	Corresponding subdivisions	New sections	Corresponding subdivisions
Mayo-Kani	Mayo-Kani West	Kaélé Moutourwa	Mayo-Kani West	Kaélé
			Mayo-Kani North -West	Moutourwa
	Mayo-Kani South	Mindif	Mayo-Kani Center	Mindif
	Mayo-Kani East	Guidiguis, Touloum,, Dziguilao	Mayo-Kani East	Guidiguis
			Mayo-Kani North- East	Touloum
			Mayo-Kani South - East	Dziguilao
Mayo-Kani North	Moulvoudaye	Mayo-Kani North	Moulvoudaye	
Mayo-Danay South	Kalfou, Tchatibali,, Doukoula,, Datchéka	Mayo-Danay Center	Kalfou	
		Mayo-Danay	Datchéka	

Mayo-Danay			South -East I	
			Mayo-Danay South - West II	Doukoula
			Mayo-Danay South - West I	Tchatibali
	Mayo-Danay East	Wina, Gobo, Guéré ,Yagoua	Mayo-Danay South II	Wina
			Mayo-Danay South - East I	Gobo
			Mayo-Danay South - East I	Guéré
			Mayo-Danay East I	Yagoua
	Mayo-Danay North	Maga,,Kaï Kaï,, Guémé	Mayo-Danay North	Maga
			Mayo-Danay North - East	Kaï- Kaï
			Mayo-Danay East II	Guémé

a. The new sections: an answer to grassroots political requirements

The opportunity in opening new sections all over the national territory made in such a way that the number of sections moved from seven (7) to eighteen (18) in our area of study. Eleven (11) new sections were created: Mayo-Kani North West (Kaélé), Mayo-Kani North (Moulvoudaye), Mayo-Kani North-West (Moutourwa), Mayo-Kani Center (Mindif), Mayo-Kani East (Guidiguis), Mayo-Kani North-East (Touloum), Mayo-Kani South East (Dziguilao). In the Mayo-Danay, eleven (11) sections were also created: Mayo-Danay Center (Kalfou), Mayo-Danay South East I (Datchéka), Mayo-Danay South West I (Tchatibali), Mayo-Danay South West II (Doukoula), Mayo-Danay South II (Wina), Mayo-Danay South East I (Guéré), Mayo-Danay East I (Yagoua), Mayo-Danay North (Maga), Mayo-Danay North - East (Kaï- Kaï) and Mayo-Danay East II (Guémé).

To every subdivision, henceforth corresponds a section. Some subdivisions used to cover many others. This situation and in the opinion of many militants was frustrating. As an example, the militants of the Dziguilao and Touloum (Mayo-Kani East section) were considering themselves as underdogs of the Guidiguis population. Those in Kaélé had difficulties in behaving that the

president of the section could from Moutourwa⁶ whereas Kaélé the headquarter. This analysis is worthwhile for the population of Tchatibali, Datchaka and Kalfou where the same situation prevailed. These subdivisions has as section headquarter Doukoula⁷. The frustration was more considerable in that the section president was from Doukoula. The creation of new sections abides by the answer to the population quest for independence, requirements and claims of the grassroots militants as well as the resolution of the question related to the otherness or the autochthony of the responsible grassroots people of the ruling party. The creation of these sections necessitated resource people for their effective functioning.

b. Legal reasons for the renewal of CPDM basic organs

In a circular signed by the CPDM national president, one can read:

To equip our political party with good leaders who can enjoy renewed and strong legitimacy, it is high time we elected new members in view of choosing new bureau at the level of the basic organs of our political party and its specialized committees. Actually and more than ever before, our party is in its specialized committees. Actually and more than ever before, our party is in diehard need of honest men, women and youths, faithful, staunch and devoted with self-sacrifice in his service within the interest of the nation, qualified leaders ready to assume with conviction and to promote a new dynamism through the new impetus shared during the ordinary congress⁸.

In fact, before 2015 the last renewal of the basic structures of the CPDM and its specialized organs took place from the 29th to the 14th March 2007. They had a mandate of five (5) years which was expected to expire in 2012. The extension of the mandates lasted after three (3) years. Substantially, the elected president became illegal and that is why the national president strongly believes that: "Time has come to renew or to reinforce the legitimacy of those leaders"⁹.

On the other hand, during that flexible mandate, some presidents proved their non-availability may be either because they resigned or died¹⁰. It was reasonable to provide them with ne human

⁶ The sociopolitical actors/leaders of the Kaélé subdivision hardly believe that their political leadership cannot be shared with non- indigenous people like the Guiziga, Toupouri...

⁷ Doukoula is a 1st degree chiefdom and overpowers 2nd and 3rd degree chiefdoms like Tchatibali and Datcheka but the inhabitants of those chiefdoms has dispute on the political preeminence of Doukoula over them.

⁸ Circular letter N° 001//CPDM/ NP of 27 July 2015 of the national president related to the renewal of the basic organs and specialized organs.

⁹ Idem.

¹⁰ The CPDM section of the Mayo-Kani East constituency, Siddiki, was dead.

resources. That is why “The CPDM must adapt itself to the realities of other people around them¹¹”.

The creation of new sections has a main objective bring the militants closer to the power and reinforce the capacity to supervise them. Similarly, it is promoting the recruitment of new members and it is here that the recruitment according to the CPDM is materialized and on top of its regalia function as coordinator of electoral and parliamentary games (Schwatzenberg, 1974). Therefore, the CPDM has put an end to simply being considered an elective party to become a party of active members. The expressive role played through the universal suffrage has extended. The involvement in elections being considered as the most visible aspect of activities related to political parties in a democratic system, the renewal of the basic organs of the CPDM encourages the coming into the party arena of a new political personal whose aim is to enhance and motivate polling days.

II. The sociopolitical impact of the CPDM national President signed

a. The renewal process as such

After creation of new sections the CPDM national President signed a circular letter¹² inviting his militants to massively register on the electoral lists. The circular letter sets modalities related to the conduct of the operations under the supervision of the Central Supervisory Commission (CSC). The dismantlings of that commission are found at the regional, divisional, communal and local levels. At the helm of each commission a president is found and assisted with two (2) vice-presidents some members and representatives.

At the regional level the supervision is carried out by a Regional Follow up Commission (RFC); at the divisional level, by a Section Electoral Commission (SEC) and at the local level by a Renewal Local Committee (RLC). The operation was launched in the Far North region by Gregoire Owona in Maroua on 22th October 2015, then, relayed by the authorities of the Divisional Commissions in Kaélé and Yagoua on 23th October before reaching the Section Electoral Commissions. This circular letter also sets electorate conditions whose main innovation lies at the level of all the militant voting right extensions, members of the CPDM or any of the specialized organs. They should be up to date in items of their subscription¹³. The other main innovation of the electoral process lies at the level of eligibility criteria: on top of residential

¹¹ Circular letter N° 001//CPDM/ NP, Op. Cit.

¹² A circular letter No 001//NP/, Op.Ct., sets modalities related to the holding of electoral operations which cover the period 1st to 10th December 2015.

¹³ Following a press release signed by the CPDM communication Secretary Fame Ndongo on 10th November 2015, militants were allowed to simply vote by showing their membership card.

conditions, political activism, commitment, efficiency, competence, morality, patriotism, experience, discipline and civic seniority. Candidates postulating at the post of president must have at least occupied previously a post as a section bureau member or president, vice-president, secretary or political party sub-section paymaster, expected are the members of the central committee, the WCPDM and YCPDM national board, parliamentarians and mayors¹⁴. The restriction which has considerably reduced the competition among the different actors finds expression in the will of the national president to professionalize the political activism (Offerle, 1999) within the CPDM party.

b. The constitution of the electorate¹⁵

The constitution of the electorate was the work of the local renewal commission. Made up of three members, that commission went on the field to register militants on the electoral list. The subscribing and contribution card were beforehand put at the disposal of the different section authorities. They were bought by the active members of the party. In fact, they were endowed to a large extent with by some political figures among the external and internal elites¹⁶. The membership cards were also used as a tool to influence some local party authorities. The president section as well as their pay masters in possession of the cards could put them on the disposal of militants they trust. Those who were suspected of playing the role of rivals faced difficulties in reaching their objectives. "My supporters did not succeed in buying their membership cards. I did everything possible as a parliamentarian to get them from Yaoundé"¹⁷.

c. The candidatures

The CPDM partitioning is shown as follow: at the grassroots level there are cells; two (2) rank and file committees constitute one (1) sub-section most of which two (2) constitute one (1) sub-section most which two (2) others are representative of the section. The number of active members per cell is established between twenty (20) and fifty (50).

Each grassroots rank and file structure must be adjusted with some specialized organizations such as the WCPDM and YCPDM. These different structures were refurbished but were not subjected to any form of competition as much as the section leaders of the CPDM, WCPDM and YCPDM. In this respect only the letters will be our focus as shown in the table below:

¹⁴ Circular letter N° 001//CPDM/ NP, Op. Cit.

¹⁵ It was punctuated with irregularities due to the lack of the mastery of basic texts of CPDM while the latter are mostly made up of women above 35. The reverse is however possible. A WCPDM must be registered among the member of the CPDM. And that is why the information shown in picture 1 has taken only into consideration votes legitimately expressed in favour of the different candidates.

¹⁶ The elite mentioned here is in most cases up of civil servants from different localities and some business people.

¹⁷ Source: interview with Danwé Raïdandi, former parliamentarian and the president of the North-East section (Touloum).

Picture 3: Distributing of the different candidates at the section presidencies and specialized organs

Sections	President		
	RDPC	OFRDPC	OJRDPC
Mayo-Kani Center (Mindif)	Haman Tchiouto	Yane Naïna	Sali Haman
Mayo-Kani East (Guidiguis)	Banmou David	Aminatou	Toubogbé Désiré
	BoubaTchaossala	Maïyanda Julienne	Tchopwé Emmanuel
	Fatoing Houlibélé		
Mayo-Kani North (Moulvoudaye)	Manga Abba	Maïtchang Delphine	Manga Abba
Mayo-Kani Nord-Est (Touloum)	Danwé Raïdandi	Fanta Jacqueline	Wangsso
	Temwa	Maï Doctor	Atiryang Major
Mayo-Kani Nord-Ouest (Moutourwa)	Boulou Nguizi Joseph	Boulaï Vagaï	AnisouDagaï
	Kaélé Malloum		Djanatou
Mayo-Kani West (Kaélé)	Waloubé Jean	Mme. Maïna	Hamadou Sadjo
	Danzabé Gabriel	Mme. Kidvou	
	Ousmanou		
Mayo-Kani South-East (Dziguilao)	Maga Ernest	Yanpelda	Kosga Dieudonné
	Gonra	Tchahtiga	Siddi
	Dr. Yingyang		
Mayo-Danay Center (Kalfou)	Kaossiri Brekmo ¹⁸	Astadjam Tamboutou	Oumarou Youssafa
	Blaowé Martin	Maïssiri Jeannete	Dayang Paul
	Ladga Dangnamou		
Mayo-Danay East I (Yagoua)	Makassia Jean	Manamourou épse Silikam	Tapssou Baïlopssou
	Irassou Justin	Foulta epse Lawane	Ousman Valla Victor
Mayo-Danay East II (Guémé)	Rodo Marcel	Haïdamta Cathérine	Ngayam Pascal
	Djafsia André	Fanga Odette Pauline	Djia Abdoulkarim
	Wakna Paul	Dimissia Claire	Abdoulaye Ndjidda
Mayo-Danay North (Maga)	Ibrahim Boukar	Mdarma Mariam	Margaza Adogaye
	Dairou Hamadou		
Mayo-Danay North -East (Kaï-Kaï)	Amrakaï Martin	Kaltoumou Ndjidda	Sali Atchoufgaïni
	Abba Enock	Djara Oumar	Nkono Joël B.
Mayo-Dana y South-West II	Kidmo	Jacqueline Maïkaoulari	Hourayang Nestor

¹⁸Waga Martin, section general secretary, became president in replacement Kaossiri Brekmo who died and at the determinant of the vice-president who turned down the exigencies of the party texts.

(Doukoula)	Mbraougué		
	Djamara Lourssandou	Woga Madeleine	Ndi Ndouwé Jacques
Mayo-Danay South I (Datchéka)	Gaoussou Martin	Bahané Clarisse B.D.	Mando Sadoulam Marcel
Mayo-Danay South II (Wina)	Toubakbé	Hinkaydoudi Héléne	Mouroussou Hira
	Molgom	Maïgama Kaogamla	Binyang Rodrigue N.
Mayo-Danay South-West I (Tchatibali)	Hinma Norbert	Gonwa Sidonie	Djaowé Kidari
	Mando Fourtoing	Konda Delphine	Dan-Ngah Nkame Roger
Mayo-Danay South-East I (Guéré)	Moussa Guinitna David	Mounounda Marie	Voudissou Simon
Mayo-Danay South-East II (Gobo)	Moussa Lississou	Hapkansou Agnès Tchiouda Badoumou Haou	

Altogether, ninety-seven (97) candidatures were recorded. Thirty-seven (37) within the Mayo-Kani division and, sixty (60) for the Mayo-Danay division.

No female candidature was recorded at the helm of the CPDM sections, but it is no peculiar to our study area¹⁹. The sections are like political structures whose prerogatives exclusively recorded for the Mayo-Kani and Mayo-Danay divisions against eleven (11) and twenty (20) for the WCPDM²⁰, while the YCPDM registered respectively eleven (11) and nineteen (19).

The Mayo-Kani CPDM sections East, West, South-East had a total of the great number of candidatures; a total of three (3) likewise of the Mayo-Danay Center, East II. Those of the Mayo-Kani North-East, Mayo-Danay East I, Mayo-Danay North, North East, South-West II, South II and South West I registered respectively two (2) candidatures while the others sections registered three (3) candidatures that is those of some ladies like Maïna, Kidvou and Djanatou. Two (2) candidacies were supposed to be registered. The third, that is Madam Kidvou's was aroused and cheered by Mrs Zakiatou²¹ who displayed the "winning strategy" by withdrawing from the competition was part and parcel of the electoral game. In fact, by arousing Mrs Kidvou's candidacy, her objective was to reduce Mrs Maïna's chances to win as she was considered as a political threat.

¹⁹ This remark is valid I the whole national territory.

²⁰ This figure would have reached twenty-one (21) if Mrs Tapita's candidacy in the Mayo-Danay East I constituency had not been disqualified because of its sympathy to the renewal local committee.

²¹ Source: Field investigation done in Kaélé in December 2015.

Candidate at the head of the WCPDM sections have a low-level in terms of scholarisation as compared to their male counterparts. Most of them are either teachers or council workers. Some of them have poor level of education. It is the case of Maïtching Delphine, a Mayo-Kani North WCPDM section candidate as far as Yanpelda Julienne and Tchatiga who are candidates at the Mayo-Kani South East WCPDM section are illiterate. They can neither express themselves in French, nor English, and can neither read nor write the two official languages. This is a clear proof of the evidence of the disparity in terms of scholarisation between the men and women in our area of study. The women in those areas are politically marginalized at the determinant of the man and there is a kind of social exclusion which appears through scholarisation.

All the former presidents manifested their will to once solicit the suffrage of the militant in view of being reelected with exception of people like Adama Modi (the former president of Mayo-Kani North section), Temwa, Haman Tchiouto, Fatoing Houlibélé, Boulou Nguizi Joseph, Makassia Jean, Djamara Lourssandou and Abba Enock. Among those candidates, one has the impression that many have the tendency to come back at the basis of the deposed political actors like Danwé Raïdandi (a former member of parliament (2007-2012) in the Mayo-Kani East electoral constituency; Fatoing Houlibélé, former mayor of the Guidiguis council and former CPDM section president of the Mayo-Kani East constituency , permanent member of the CPDM central committee; Ousmanou, former mayor of the Kaélé council for 2007-2013 mandate, Kaélé Malloum, former mayor of the Moutourwa council (1996-2002), Blaowé Martin former mayor of the Kalfou council (2002-2007), Banmou David former mayor of the Guidiguis council (2002-2007), Abba Enock former mayor of the Kaï-Kaï council (207-2013), Kidmo Mbraougué former mayor of the Doukoula council. In seeking to put in place some strategies for the renewal of their respective mandates the various candidates put in place the reality that "... the interest for the power in place and the positioning seem to take control over practical behaviors of political leaders" (Gaxie, 2003:94). That is absolutely true that the section in the Cameroonian context has a certain political scale²² for the straightforward reason that the president has a first-rate position in choice of candidates to run the different elective mandates (parliamentarians, municipal councilors).

From this, emanates one of the roles played by any political party: the one that has to do with the selection of candidates at the local and national elections (Braud, 1998: 378). It is more obvious that "The political parties set aside, as a whole, their best constituencies or the eligible for office positions on the lists intended and to those who are already full in exercise as far as their elective mandates are concerned" (Gaxie, 2003:86).

²² The observance of the CPDM scene shows that invested candidates to local elections (legislatives and municipal elections) emanate from the basic organs of the party.

A flash-back attempt finds its way in a revenge position and gives, so as to say, the full meaning of the fight on the political arena a genuine field of battle to take up Pierre Bourdieu (2000) “The fight for a political position is therefore is an essential element for any representation that can, at its level postulate to people willing to devote themselves for the various profits they expect to make” (Gaxie, 2003:9). The CPDM is a real “political business (...) a competitive arena or, better to say, an arena of competitive arenas” (Gaxie, 2003: 110).

The candidates come from the different social and occupational categories and range from primary to University educational levels. They can be primary school teachers, secondary school teachers, Universities lecturers, medical doctors and are devoted their best to be elected through electoral campaigns.

2. Electoral campaign

Elections in view of selecting the renewal of the CPDM basic organs and its specialized organs hold two (2) years after the legislative elections coupled with the municipal elections on 30th September 2013. The nomination of the candidates was carried out on the trick that the leaders of the political party agreed to vote by consensus to the detriment of the primaries which, in fact, are the “pointers of the putting in place of a partisan dictatorship leaned against discipline” (Kaptchouang, 2016:39). Generally, that way of investing was not appreciated by all. So, the election campaign took place in revenge and challenge atmosphere; a revenge for those who thought that their legitimacy was cheated and a challenge for those who were invested and elected.

In the Mayo-Danay South West II constituency, Kidmo Mbraoué called upon militant votes because for him it was high time to revise the defects orchestrated by the parliamentarian Djamara Lourssandou: “He did nothing and has failed, he hammered out”²³ during an interview granted to him. As for Djamara Lourssandou, his objective was to challenge those who were not for the investiture of his electoral roll on 30 September 2013. “They will see, I am back on top of the section”²⁴. In the Mayo-Danay South II constituency, it was a campaign whose objective was to take revenge on Toubakbé, former mayor (2007-2013) of the Wina council against Molgom, mayor on duties at the helm of that council; “Let’s stand in the way of those impostors who have robbed our council” that is the slogan chanted by his partisans²⁵ appealed for the toupouri community mobilization²⁶ in view of benefiting from the political advantages. In the Mayo-

²³ Source: Field investigation done in Maroua, December 2015.

²⁴ Source: Interview carried out in Doukoula with the concerned on 3 November 2016.

²⁵ Source: Interview carried out with Dr Kaïmangue Mathias, a political actor in Wina council in July 2017 in Ngouandéré.

²⁶Toubakbé belongs to the majority ethnic group unlikely to the Massa, an numerically one according to available statistics in the Wina council archives.

Danay East I (Yagoua) constituency, manipulation played a vital role in the structuring of the CPDM basic organs renewal process.

In fact, unlikely to the obligations of the party which has entrusted the organization of the elections to the section electoral commission, Makassia Jean and Manamourou Elisabeth candidates appropriate to be elected at the helm of the CPDM and WCPDM respectively, have taken drastic measures to choose the presidents of the polling station on behalf of the people in charge of the section commission. That interference sparked off Yaksia Silina²⁷ reaction through a letter delivered to the divisional coordination commission²⁸. As for the Member of Parliament Manamourou she charged Yetna for having knocked her off balance, and the latter on the other hand corroborate that she despised her by splitting on her; the fact remains that she subtly went into the Yagoua regional hospital; a hospitalisation at the end of which a legal medical certificate was issued to her. She ended up by lodging a complaint against Yetna for committing violence and assaults on a political personality²⁹.

In the Dziguilao constituency, the campaigns were conducted on a clan background. Djaowé Albert³⁰ invited his brothers³¹ to vote for Maga Ernest who transformed his campaign into a fight against qualified civil servants described as incompetent people and impostors³². According to the latter, the “political-administrative elite have shown their inability to conquer the Dziguilao council. Therefore, it is high time farmers took the control of things hammered Djaowé to militants while touring some villages during the electoral campaign.

The Mayo-Kani West constituency (Kaélé) witnessed the deployment of three (3) diametrically opposed groups: the first group working in favour of Danzabé Gabriel, a political protégé of Tikela Kemoné; the second one as leader Waloubé Jean, a new political actor dubbed by Hélé Pierre and the last group headed by the former mayor of the Kaélé council Ousmanou.

Elections in view of renewing the CPDM basic organs and its specialised organisations equally witnessed tense moments among the protagonist. In Touloum, brawls between the former member of parliament Danwé Raïdandi and the current one Temwa were rife. “I was attacked in

²⁷ He is the member of the Mayo-Danay I (Yagoua) section member of the electoral commission.

²⁸ Source: Circular letter sent to the coordination president of the divisional commission on the 2nd December 2015.

²⁹ The matter is still pending at the level of the examining magistrate at the Yagoua court.

³⁰ He was elected deputy mayor on behalf of the MDR political party in 1996 and mayor of the same party in 2002 before joining the CPDM political party in 2009.

³¹ Source: Field investigation carried out in Dziguilao in November 2015. The brothers here refer to ethnic clan Gouyouri, large in number in a small village known as Padé.

³² Source: Field investigation in Dziguilao, November 2015.

Bizili by the militants of my rival. They assaulted me tearing my clothes. During the assault I lost my phones”³³.

Every campaign is “not only the matter of full showing off but a deaf-mute situation or not to say hidden agendas which, to be under a shadow are non-determinant factors” (Wiessman, 1992: 6). The silent practices highlighted here focus on the circulation of money and whose objective is to bribe the militants. The case of Maga Ernest remains rampant. In fact, he was a candidate at the Dziguilao section and disbursed in Golonguini a village established to the benefit of the candidate Gonra. Some militants received some cashes from him³⁴.

Nigh meetings were held at the residence of Minister Hélé Pierre. Here, the vote-catching politic prevailed (Medard, 2000). Actually, Hélé Pierre’s partisans are mostly constituted of civil-servants who have received benevolent services in the ministries he has managing, the Ministry of Tourism³⁵, Town Planning and Housing and the present Ministry of Environment, Protection of Nature and Sustainable Development. Those customers had the responsibility to support the militants in view of insuring a victory over Waloubé Jean, the candidate of the Minister.

3. The renewal of the CPDM basic organs: the expression of democracy on the move, slow but reassuring

The contribution to elections relating to the renewal of the CPDM basic organs and its specialized organisations led to some results³⁶ as the information in the picture below show.

Picture 4: Distribution of votes per candidate at the end of elections related to the renewal of the CPDM basic organs and its specialized organisations³⁷

Section	RDPC		OFRRDPC		OJRRDPC	
Mayo-Kani Centre (Mindif)	CVRV		CVRV		CVRV	
	Haman Tchiouto	C ²	Yane Naïna	C	Sali Haman	-
Mayo-Kani East (Guidiguis)	Banmou David	3 003	Aminatou	1104	Toubogbé Désiré	643
	Fatoing Houlibélé	413	Maiyanda	845	-	-
	Bouba Tchaossala	1	Julienne		Tchopwé	582

³³ Source: Interview with the person concerned, Guidiguis 2015.

³⁴ Source: Field investigation in Golonghini, November and December 2015.

³⁵ This Ministry changed its denomination and his known now as the Ministry of Tourism and Leisure. That one of Town, Planning has changed into the Ministry of Habitat and Urban Development.

³⁶ These results were published by SN N° 004/EN/CPDM/RBOB/SG/PCCS of 5 January 2016 published the results of the section bureau elections o CPDM, WCPDM, and YCPDM renewal of the basic organs.

³⁷ These data result from the transcripts received from the members of the divisional commissions of the CPDM renewal of the basic organs.

		781			Emmanuel	
Mayo-Kani North (Moulvoudaye)	Manga Abba	C	Maïtchang Delphine	C	Bachirou Halilou	C
Mayo-Kani nord-Est (Touloum)	Danwé Raïdandi	3 081	Fanta Jacqueline	1217	Atiryang Major	
	Temwa	2 365	Maï Doctor	1045	Wangsso Nathaniel	
Mayo-Kani Nord Ouest (Moutourwa)	Boulou Nguizi Joseph	2175	Mboulai Vagai	C	Anissou Dagai	C
	Kaélé Malloum	730				
Mayo-Kani South (Kaélé)	Waloubé Jean	6815	Djanatou	2991	Hmadou Sadjo	621 9
	Danzabé Gabriel	4800	Mme. Kidvou	1141	-	-
	Ousmanou	2717	Mme. Maïna	2202	-	
Mayo-Kani Sud East (Dziguilao)	Gonra	967	Yanpelda	384	Kosga Dieudonné	445
	Maga Ernest	1545	Tchatiga	369	Siddi	394
	Dr. Yingyang	319	-	-	-	-
Mayo-Danay Center (Kalfou)	Kaossiri Brekmo	1 554	Astadjam	-	Oumarou Youssoufa	-
	Blaowé Martin	672	Maissiri Angeline	-	Dayang Taga Paul	-
	Ladga Dangnamou	1 216	-	-	Dayang Taga	-
Mayo-Danay East I (Yagoua)	Makassia	8634	Mme. Silikam	4083	Tapssou Bailopssou	227 2
	Irassou	8604	Foulta Epse Lawane	3426	Ousman Valla	287 4
Mayo-Danay East II (Guémé)	Rodo Marcel	4375	Haïdamta Cathérine	15	Abdoulaye Ndjidda	116 6
	Djafsia André	4191	Mme. Fanga Odette	1461	Ngayam Pascal	130 2
	Wakna Paul	456	Dimissia Claire	273	Djia Abdoulharim	91
Mayo-Danay Nordth (Maga)	Haman Ndjidda	C	Mariam	C	Margaza Adogoye	C
	Daïrou Hamadou	-	Mdarma			
Mayo-Danay Nord-Est (Kaï-Kaï)	Amrakai Martin	6849	Kaltoumé	2793	Nkono Joel	122 6
	Abba Enock	6055	Mme. Djara Oumar	1876	Sali Atchoufgaini	190 9

Mayo-Danay West (Doukoula)	Kidmo Mbraougué	3721	Maïkaolaré	-	Hourayang	-
	Djamara Lourssandou	3333	Mme. Nendobé	-	Nagam	-
Mayo-Danay South I (Datchéga)	Gaoussou	C	Bahané Clarisse	C	Mando Soudalam Marcel	C
Mayo-Danay South II (Wina)	Toubagbé	2 372	Hinkaidoudi	1358	Moureïssou	406
	Molgom	735	Maïgama	366	Binyang	115
Mayo-Danay Sud Ouest I (Tchatibalé)	Hinma Norbert	4 470	Mme. Gonwa	1945	Djaowé Kidari	127 6
	Mando	2 244	Konda Delphine	950	Tanga Roger	602
Mayo-Danay Sud Est I (Guéré)	Moussa Guinitna David	C	Mounounda Marie	C	Djoussia Etienne	C
Mayo-Danay Sud Est II (Gobo)	Moussou Lississou	C	Haoua Hapkansou Agnès	-	Tchoupssia Etienne	C
			Tchiouda Badoumou	C		

CVRV: Candidate Valid Recorded Vote ; 2- C : Consensus

At the end of elections of the leaders presiding at the helm of the CPDM sections and the specialized organizations the following conclusions can be drawn: all the section presidents elected embraced on the reconquest of their position in power with diverse fortunes. It is the case of the members of parliament Haman Tchiouto in the Mayo-Kani Center, Boulou Nguizi Joseph in the Mayo-Kani North-West who succeeded to elect themselves contrary to Temwa³⁸ who was defeated by Danwé Raïdandi in the Mayo-Kani North East constituency.

On the other hand, Banmou David, the former and current mayor of Guidiguis council consolidated his posture after beating his rivals Bouba Tchaossala and Fatoing Houlibélé in the Mayo-Kani East constituency. The former president of the Mayo-Kani East constituency and permanent member of the CPDM central committee, Fatoing Houlibélé, has not succeeded his political come-back. The former mayor of the Kaélé council, Ousmanou also lost at the detriment of Waloubé Jean who rose in social status as well as Maga Ernest in the Mayo-Kani South East

³⁸ The latter was installed at the detriment of Pr Danwé Raïdandi for 2007 legislature and was elected in the Mayo-Kani South electoral constituency.

constituency in Dziguilao. Maga Ernest won the elections vis-à-vis Dr Yinyang and Gonra, Candidate who rather received the anointing of the local political elites.

In the same vain, Djamara Lourssandou lost to Kidmo in the Doukoula constituency. Other political actors emerged victorious, for instance the former Member of Parliament and current senators Amrakai Martin in the Kai-Kai constituency. But his candidacy was contested by the partisans of Abba Enock who had no doubt to assault his. The brawl between the two (2) protagonists let to the physical clash causing the judicial questioning of about fifteen (15) militants on each side. They were temporary remanded in custody at the Yagoua prison.³⁹ Rodo Marcel also made his presence felt in front of Djafsia André in the Guéré constituency. But, his election was qualified as “stolen and forced”⁴⁰. In fact, the transcripts from the various polling stations established in his case were destroyed as well as the ballot boxes containing the ballot papers. The official report transcripts for questioning stipulate that:

That day and for non-founded reasons, the partisans of Rodo Marcel who, publicly, perpetrated acts of violence and vandalism on the scene burned three ballot boxes, tore two transcripts filled with voting papers, damaged a vehicle belonging to one of the members of the divisional supervision of election present and molested the president of the polling station of Guéré, Dapsia Olivier, after destroying his transcripts and taking along with them his phone⁴¹.

In Maga, Haman Ndjidda was chosen at the detriment of Daïrou Hamadou who wanted to be elected in a consensual manner: “Friendship played on may favour. I am a CPDM member since 1991, unlikely to my rival who is still young member of the party. That is why i was designated by the section electoral commission president”⁴².

In Wina, the mayor on duty and on the other hand the protégé of Minister Gounoko Haounaye has lost in the duel opposing him to Toubakbé whose list to run the municipal elections was rejected by communal commission”⁴³. It was a political revenge on behalf of actors established for him, as reported by an investigator: “We wanted to show to Molgom and his gang that they are imposters and we will defeat them”⁴⁴. The revenge in question was materialized during the municipal elections on 30th September 2013 where the partisans of Toubakbé failed to sanction

³⁹ These freely appear in court. Meanwhile the case remains unexamined with the judges of the Yagoua court.

⁴⁰ Source: Interview with Djafia André in Yagoua 10 September 2018.

⁴¹ Source: Official report containing questioning established by Barrister Soudebne Benjamin, cherif bailiff at the 2nd notary’s office at the Far North Court of appeal and the Yagoua Court on the 10th September 2018.

⁴² Source: Interview with Haman Djidda in Yagoua on 10th September 2018.

⁴³ Application for annulment with the list under the leadership of Molgom was not successful.

⁴⁴ Source: interview with Sobé in Ngaoundéré on 30th May 2016. He is a political actor of that constituency and lives in Ngaoundéré.

the CPDM by voting against it through substantial votes reaching 46% to the National Union for Democracy and Progress (NUDP)⁴⁵. “Officially, we campaigned for our party but unofficially, we asked our partisans to vote in favour of the NUDP. Moreover, we think that the NUDP has won that election rigged by the CPDM”⁴⁶.

To the analysis above, it clearly appears that there are two (2) types power synopses in the CPDM: the absolute election through the competition among the different candidates and the consensus within the two (2) sides that are the authoritarianism consensus through a real concertation.

The completion here refers to the participation of many candidates during the election. The authoritarianism consensus hangs on the electoral process and the influence here has an objective promoting the victory of their partisans. These political leaders are the image of what Zambo qualifies of “electoral competition constructive elites” (Zambo, 2004:157).

One would have witnessed the distrust vis-à-vis the way political leaders are forcefully chosen. In fact, candidates invested to preside at the destiny of the Mayo-Kani South East, Mayo-Kani South East, Mayo-Danay North East, Mayo-Dany West, Mayo-Danay South II sections received political benediction of some CPDM resource personalities. However, they failed in their project and that failure can be interpreted through the disapproval and the political emancipation of the militants. If Ion Jacques (1997) asks himself about the death of militants we are rather thinking of their rebirth. It was a question of questioning the political leader’s crisis, the survival of monolithic era through the collapse of the consensus principle praised by the party leaders with the reason to maintain cohesion within the party. One witnesses, so to say the bird of democratic culture through troubles related to the rhetoric consensus.

For all that, it appears illusory to believe in the end of the leaders authoritarianism. In Mindif as far as in Moulvoudaye the section presidents were elected through a consensual manner. In fact, “It was a kind of an electoral hold-up or a contested consensus⁴⁷” according to a political observer in Mindif⁴⁸. Another one goes one step further qualifying the consensus process of “orchestrated”⁴⁹ deceit mentioning the election of the Moulvoudaye president section as being the influence of Adama Modi, the former president of the Mayo-Kani North constituency. The electoral hold-up also punctuated the electoral process in Guidiguis as far as the election of

⁴⁵ Source: Official report of municipal elections at the Wina council, ELECAM Regional Delegation, Far North, Maroua.

⁴⁶ The latter conscripted anonymity during the interview we granted him sometime in June 2016 in Ngaoundéré.

⁴⁷ Source: Field inquiry carried out with a political actor who did not reveal his identity in Maroua, September 2016.

⁴⁸ Source: Investigation carried out on 28th July 2017 in Maroua with a political actor who did not reveal his identity.

⁴⁹ Source: Interview carried with Dr Fendjougé Houli, political actor in Moulvoudaye council, Maroua, December 2015.

WCPDM section president is concerned Aminatou. For Maïgonwa who withdrew her candidacy: “The Lamido of Guidiguis threatened her using his position as a Lamido to influence the election. In fact, she continues, Aminatou did not win the election”⁵⁰. It is the same viewpoint expressed by another candidate has-been: “We saw the Lamido exercising the demonstration of power to favour the election of Aminatou”⁵¹. This viewpoint goes in the same vain as that one of a member of the section electoral commission. He access: “The Lamido used authoritarian methods. He unilaterally misplaced some polling stations”⁵². That situation was similar to that one in Yagoua. The election of the CPDM president sections, Makassia Jean and Manmourou Elisabeth respectively was a result of an authoritarianism orchestrated by them as many people in charge of section electoral commission say⁵³. Whatever the case, the results were published.

These results gave way to a litigious political ballet made up of applications for annulment at the level of the leading authorities of the party in the May-Kani West constituency. In fact, the candidate has been, namely Danzabé Gabriel and the former mayor, with the help of Tikela Kemoné, in addition, the vice-president of the regional investiture commission and Mrs Maïna as far as the WCPDM is concerned complained to the investiture regional commission to cancel the elections. The elected candidate Waloubé Jean, as for him, wrote to the CPDM national president to uphold his election. “My opponents complained to the regional renewal commission to cancel my election. For me, I have directly upheld the national president of the party to confirm my election”⁵⁴, he revealed it to us in Kaélé in an interview granted to him. These practices “... relaunch the authoritative reality of the running of affairs by the state and the freedom eras in Cameroon” (Zambo, 2003:576) but above all “the need for political parties to be democratic as well as a greater rationalization part played the electoral systems” (Vlachos, 1996: 245).

CONCLUSION

As Philippe Braud (1997) believes, the eternal order of the fields was doubted. One would have noticed a closest association of the citizens to the decent management of their local affairs. Local autonomy is the school to democracy. The merit of the CPDM basic organs and its specialized organizations will be the lesson we would have drawn that the local political field is a real counterbalance to possible authoritative drifts of the local and national political elite. That renewal process would have participated to the putting in an embarrassing situation a local feudal system. One can conclude with Zambo Belinga that:

⁵⁰ Source: Interview carried with Maïgonwa in Guidiguis, December 2015.

⁵¹ Source: Interview carried with Bouba Thaossala, Guidiguis, December 2015.

⁵² Source: Interview carried with Bouba Wanribélé, Guidiguis, member of the commission, October 2016.

⁵³ Source: Field inquiry, October 2016.

⁵⁴ Source; Interview with Waloubé Jean in Kaélé, October 2016.

The lack of democracy Cameroonians are facing is founded on the difficulties distressing the leading categories to rebuild their behavioural universe so as to bind it to the principles and obligations of democracy (Zambo, 2003:573).

The creation of the permanent delegations⁵⁵ at the regional and divisional followed with the appointment of permanent delegate at the helm of its structures known under the terms the permanents of the party (Denquin, 1985:330) contribute to a political will whose objective is to take control of the actions of those who, though, hold elective mandates. It is the result of partisan and immutable oligarchy (Denquin, 1985: 282; Michels, 1984 (inquisitive invention, the adjective permanent is a clear testimony). One witness, so to say, to the bureaucratization of the functioning of the party, though genuine. But the bureaucratization allies with authoritative planned economy which is a hindrance to a democracy which leans on the principle that people are ruling. It is in that vain of a governance attempt of the political arena that the leaders are appointed, not elected. The enlightened elite theory expanded by Pareto bears its full meaning. The basic organ renewal and the specialized organizations without extinguishing the political dinosaurs would have encouraged and emerging new political elite at the basis. It would have also laid down the problem of the actors competence, id est the ability to have access to political discussion compared with the sociological profiles of the elected representatives. Can one do politics once he-she is elected? In any case, the CPDM president, by initiating the renewal of the basic organs and its specialized organization through the election of the leaders by all the militants would have highlighted the election of the leaders by al the militants would have highlighted the election as a devolvement way of ensuring power and, beyond this, power and the role played by partisan organizations in the democratization process. This article on the CDPM renewal of the basic organs and the specialized organizations would have helped us to open reflexion ways on the political culture within the structures of the party as a change factor and the counter-change:

To identify the stratification which are, at times, controversial among the militants from generation, to put together the among the militants from generation to generation, to put together the sociological setting up of the embers to the definition to the evolution of the program, to assess the influence of the way the party is organized to control the game the authorities are playing with the powers that be within the managing personnel (Audiger, 2007:123-124).

This renewal process has given the opportunities to the leaders to assess the enrollment of the members and the power of the CPDM, both at the local and national plan. One would have also

⁵⁵ Decision N° 001/CPDM/NP/ of 19 May 2016 appointing the permanent members of the divisional delegations of the central committee of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement.

noticed the politicization of ethnic groups and the ethnicisation of politics; a situation that needs to render the militants capable to of identifying legal and ideological resources.

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