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MOTIVATION SIGNATURE

Paul Biya

2nd President of the
Republic of Cameroon

A MOTIVATION MATRIX PROFILE

October 2026 · CC-BY-NC-SA



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Report Information



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the People

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FRAMEWORK

Affa Protocol, The Motivation Horizon

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1 Introduction: Why Map a Ruler's Motivation

Paul Biya has been President of Cameroon since 6 November 1982. In a country of some thirty million people, most of whom were born after he took office, he is the only head of state they have known. Public argument about him tends to circle two questions: is his rule legitimate, and has it served Cameroon well? Both are serious questions, and Cameroonians answer them differently. This report asks a third question that sits underneath them: *what moves him, and on whose behalf?*

The report uses two instruments from the same body of work. *The Motivation Horizon* supplies the theory: every drive has a **Perspective** (the gap between the world as it is and as it could be that the person feels compelled to close) and a **Seat** (the circle of concern on whose behalf the person acts). The **Affa Protocol** supplies the discipline: tiers of evidence, the Conflict Test, and falsifiability, so that a diagnosis can be checked against behaviour and not merely asserted.

The subject is unusually well suited to the exercise, for an unusual reason. Mr. Biya rarely explains himself. He gives few interviews and seldom speaks at length about motive. The analyst therefore cannot lean on confession, as in the profiles of leaders who write memoirs. What the analyst can lean on is an exceptionally long and well-documented record of *decisions*: constitutional amendments, appointments, the handling of elections and protests, and the way the state is arranged around one office. Deeds, not words, carry this diagnosis.

A NOTE ON PURPOSE

This report is a conceptual diagnosis built from the public record. It is not a clinical assessment, an endorsement or a condemnation, and it takes no position on any party or candidate. It describes where a motivational signature sits on a map. It does not rule on whether the person who carries it is admirable or blameworthy, and it does not speculate about his health or private life.

How this report is organised

The report follows a deliberate arc. It first sets out the framework and the standards of evidence that govern every claim. It then places the subject in his biographical and historical context, moves **inward** to the gaps he appears driven to close (the Perspectives) and **outward** to the circle of concern from which he acts (the Seat), and combines the two into a single signature. The signature is then tested against a ledger of dated events and against the most recent chapter of the record, the 2026 succession question. The report ends by comparing the diagnosis with the older theories of motivation and, importantly, by challenging itself: it sets out the strongest alternative readings and the observations that would force a revision.

2 The Framework in Brief

The Motivation Horizon defines motivation as the perception of a gap between an **actual state** and an **ideal state**. The great twentieth-century theories of motivation, Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Herzberg's two-factor theory and Vroom's expectancy theory, each charted the territory of the individual. The Horizon adds the territory beyond the individual by asking two questions of every drive.

- **Perspective (the “What”).** The specific dissonance between the world as it is and the world as it could be. The original catalog includes Chaos → Order, Inequity → Equity, Ignorance → Knowledge, Good → Better and Weakness → Strength. The theory is *generative*: there are as many Perspectives as there are perceivable gaps, and the original eight were illustrative, not exhaustive. This report therefore derives several new Perspectives directly from the record.
- **Seat (the “For Whom”).** The circle of concern on whose behalf a person acts. The circle widens from Self to Community, Humanity, Cosmos and Transcendence. The Seat is not the same as the beneficiary: a person can act for the Self while others benefit as a by-product, and can act for a Community while the wider world benefits as a consequence.

Two instruments from the Affa Protocol

The Conflict Test. The cleanest way to tell a Seat from a strategy is to ask what happens when the interests of two circles collide. When personal interest and the interest of the group diverge, which prevails? The test reads past behaviour, not present rhetoric.

Falsifiability. A diagnosis states in advance what observations would revise it. Section 12 does this explicitly.

One concept matters especially here. In a *personalist* system, the boundary between the Self and the institutions around it can blur. The framework describes a Self that has taken in the surrounding institutions and speaks as them as an **absorbing Self**. The question for the analyst is whether the institutions have absorbed the ruler, or the ruler the institutions.

3 Method and Standards of Evidence

A profile of a living head of state carries obvious risks: the analyst's sympathies can leak into the reading, a vivid interpretation can be mistaken for a demonstrated fact, and contested claims can be repeated as though settled. To limit these risks, every claim is sorted into one of three tiers, and the tier is stated.

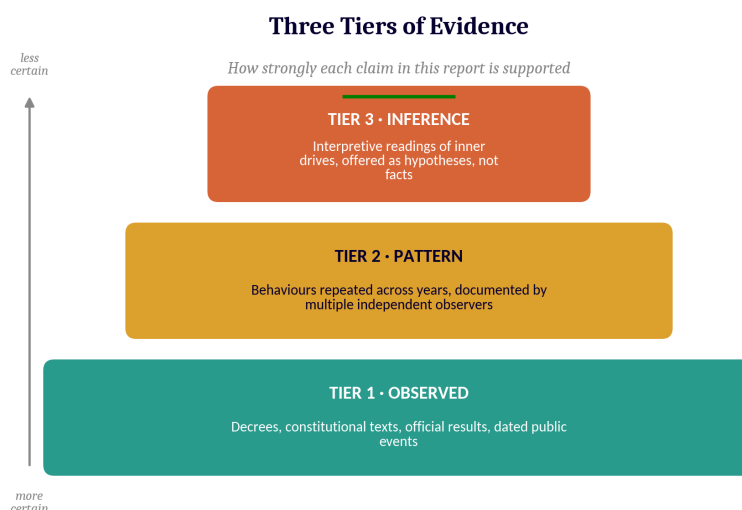


Figure 1. The three evidence tiers used throughout this report.

The rules of the exercise

- **Dated and checkable.** Figures, quotations and events are used only where the date, setting and source are identifiable (see References).
- **Attributed, not asserted.** Characterisations by critics, supporters, analysts or opposition figures are attributed to them. Where figures are disputed, such as casualty counts, the range is given with its sources.
- **Deeds over words.** Statements are weighted less than repeated actions, and actions are weighted less than actions taken at personal cost.
- **Patterns, not episodes.** A single event is an episode. A behaviour that recurs across decades and settings is a pattern.
- **Inference is labelled.** Where the report moves from what is observable to what might lie beneath it, the claim is marked Tier 3 and offered as a reading.
- **Public record only.** Health, family relationships and private life are outside scope. Where the subject's age or absences are discussed, it is for their *institutional* consequences, not as a medical judgement.

WHERE THE WEAKEST CLAIMS SIT

The deepest layer of the diagnosis, the drive to be revered (Insignificance → Reverence), cannot be observed and is Tier 3. The primary and secondary gaps, and the dominant Seat, are supported by Tier 1 and Tier 2 evidence and carry the weight of the argument. The reading of *motive* behind the 2026 succession question is also inference, though the facts on which it rests are public.

4 Biographical and Historical Context

Paul Biya was born on 13 February 1933 in Mvomeka'a, in the south of what was then French Cameroon. He was educated in Catholic schools and then in France, where he studied law and public law, and he graduated from the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris in 1961. He returned to Cameroon and rose through the civil service under the country's first president, Ahmadou Ahidjo. Mr. Ahidjo appointed him Prime Minister on 30 June 1975, and in June 1979 a new law made the Prime Minister the president's constitutional successor. When Mr. Ahidjo announced his resignation on 4 November 1982, Mr. Biya became president two days later.

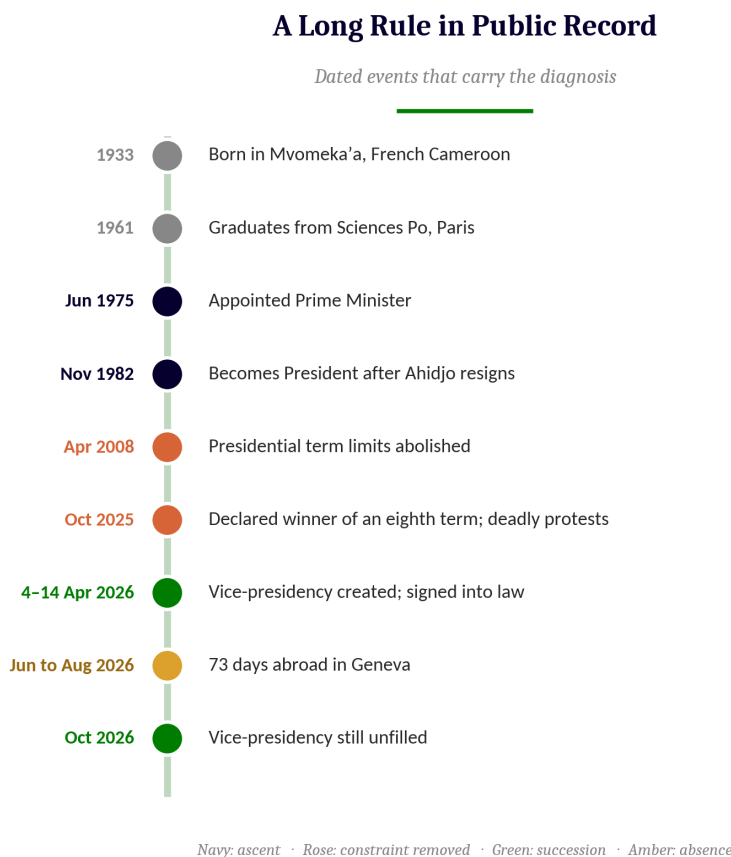


Figure 2. The dated events on which the diagnosis rests.

He has led Cameroon for nearly forty-four years. He is only the second person to lead the country since independence from France in 1960, and he is widely reported to be the world's oldest serving head of state. In April 2008 a constitutional amendment (Law 2008/001) removed the limit on presidential terms, an amendment that, Reuters notes, sparked nationwide protests that were met with a violent crackdown. In the election of 12 October 2025, he was declared the winner of an eighth term, which is due to run to November 2032, a few months before his hundredth birthday.

Why the record, not the man, is the evidence

Mr. Biya is a deliberately reticent ruler. For that reason this analysis does not rest on what he says about himself. It rests on how power has been arranged around him and on what has happened at moments when that arrangement was tested. The three most informative moments are the removal

of term limits in 2008, the contested election and its aftermath in 2025, and the question of succession in 2026.

Because the record is still being written, the analysis treats his tenure as ongoing. The signature is stated as of October 2026 and should be read as a working diagnosis that new evidence may refine.

5 The Gap: The Perspective of Motivation

The Perspective is the dissonance that will not let a person rest. Across the record, three gaps recur. They are not separate drives. They are layers of one dissonance, and they differ in how well the record supports them.

5.1 The primary gap: Disobedience → Obeisance

The *actual state* that the record suggests he cannot tolerate is defiance in any form: from political rivals, from civil society, from the press, from the judiciary or from foreign powers. The *ideal state* is obedience that goes unquestioned. On this reading his rule is organised less around order than around submission. A disorderly system that obeys him is preferable to an orderly one that does not, which would explain why dysfunction, inefficiency and patronage have been tolerated for decades as long as loyalty is firm. Disobedience is the cardinal sin and obeisance the cardinal virtue. (Tier 2.)

The pattern is documented by independent observers. Freedom House rates Cameroon Not Free, and analysts of Cameroonian politics describe a system in which public institutions, including the electoral bodies, the broadcaster and much of the judiciary, function in practice as extensions of the ruling party and the executive. Critics characterise the political order as a de facto one-man system, and supporters describe the same order as a guarantor of stability. The framework does not need to settle that dispute. It asks only what the arrangement is *for*.

The handling of dissent is a second line of evidence. After the October 2025 election, security forces confronted protesters in several cities. The government confirmed at least five deaths in the first days, opposition and civil-society groups claimed far higher figures, and a Reuters report drawing on United Nations sources put the number killed at 48. The range is wide and the toll is contested. What is not contested is that the United Nations human rights office, France, human rights organisations and others publicly expressed alarm at the use of force and called for investigations.

The October 2025 Result

Official figures announced by the Constitutional Council, 27 October 2025



The runner-up rejected the result and claimed victory. International observers and rights bodies voiced concern.

Contested; results are final under domestic law and cannot be appealed.

Figure 3. The official result of the October 2025 presidential election, which the runner-up rejected.

In the Anglophone regions, a conflict that began in 2016 and 2017 as protest has become a protracted armed crisis. Human rights groups report that more than six thousand civilians have been killed and many hundreds of thousands displaced, by both government forces and separatist fighters. Government rhetoric in that period described the protesters and later the separatists as terrorists, and rights groups have documented the burning of villages by security forces in the early phase. The conduct of armed separatists is also documented, and this report does not attribute the crisis to one actor. The relevant observation for the framework is narrower: the response to organised defiance has been, throughout, the response to a *challenge*, not to a grievance to be settled.

5.2 The secondary gap: Subordinate → Rulership

The *actual state* is being subordinate: to a constitution, to a term limit, to an electoral calendar, to a rival, to an international norm. The *ideal state* is rulership that answers to nothing that can bind it. The record supports this layer with unusual directness. (Tier 1 to 2.)

- **2008.** The constitutional amendment abolished presidential term limits, allowing him to stand indefinitely. Scholars have described the change as following the normal amendment procedure while amounting, in substance, to a break with the constitution's commitment to democracy.
- **Elections postponed.** Legislative and municipal elections were postponed in 2024, and in March 2026 the mandate of the existing deputies was extended again, to the end of 2026.
- **2026.** In April 2026, parliament approved a constitutional amendment reintroducing the vice-presidency. The holder is appointed and dismissed by the President, exercises only the duties the President assigns, and would complete the presidential term if the office fell vacant. Opposition figures called the reform a consolidation of power around the President (and the main opposition boycotted the vote), and the Cameroon Bar Association warned that it eroded the democratic legitimacy of the presidential office.
- **No successor named.** Across more than four decades no successor has been designated, and, as of late September 2026, nobody has been appointed to the new post (Section 9).

5.3 The tertiary gap (inferred): Insignificance → Reverence

At the deepest layer, one reading is that the drive includes a hunger to be seen as significant: a former colonial subject from a small country who now commands deference at home and abroad. The *ideal state* would be reverence, to be feared, courted and honoured. This is a Tier 3 inference and is offered as such. It cannot be observed directly.

Two features of the record are consistent with it. First, the long tenure has been accompanied by a distant, rarely seen style of rule. Second, he spends long periods in Europe, notably Geneva, while continuing to issue decrees. The first could reflect cultivation of mystique. It could equally reflect temperament, security practice or, at his age, the limits of the body. The second is explained at least as well by health and by habit as by a wish for reverence. The report therefore gives this layer the least weight, and the diagnosis does not depend on it.

Anatomy of the Drive

Three gaps, one method, one Seat

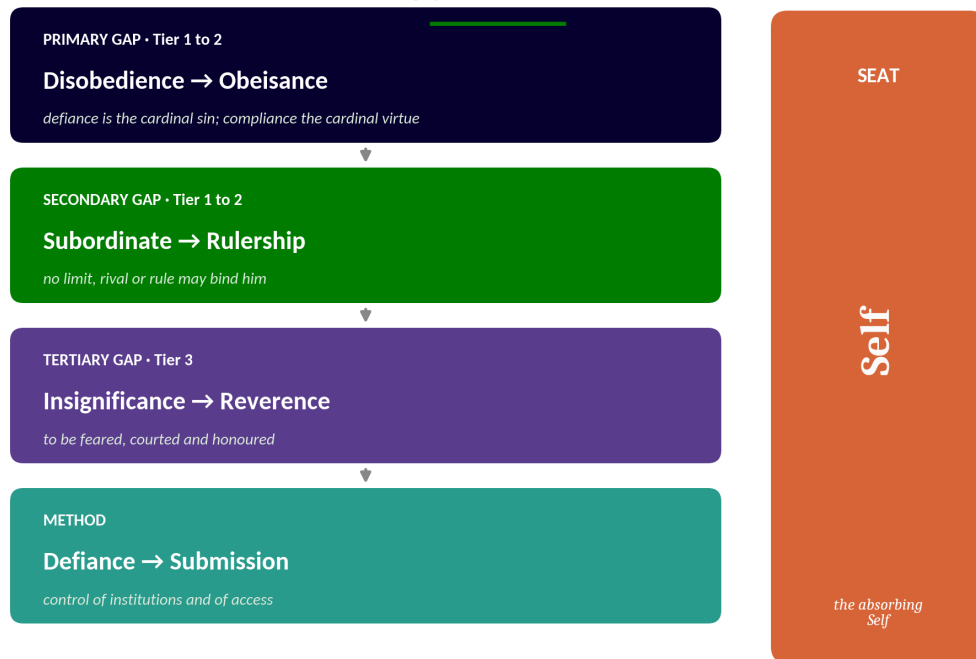


Figure 4. The layers of the drive, all ending in a single Seat.

5.4 Derived sub-lenses

Five more specific Perspectives follow from the core dissonance. They are the same gap seen from different angles.

Five Expressions of One Dissonance



Figure 5. Five expressions of one dissonance.

Sub-lens	The pain	The relief	Where it appears in the record
Defiance → Submission	Open resistance	Compliance secured	The method: control of institutions and of access to office
Challenge → Compliance	A rival or critic who must be answered	Dissent neutralised	Handling of rivals, the press and protest, in 2025 and earlier
Dependence → Autonomy	Reliance on another power or institution	Self-sufficient authority	Term limits removed; successor's powers set by the President
Anonymity → Eminence	Being unseen or overlooked	Being commanding even in absence	Rule by decree from abroad; a presence defined by distance
Mockery → Deference	Disrespect, real or perceived	Deference restored	Tier 3: inferred from the rhetoric of authority, not from any single act

5.5 The method: Defiance → Submission

Defiance → Submission is not the core gap. It is the *method*. Control of appointments, of the party, of the security apparatus and of the electoral machinery is how he moves from a world containing defiance to a world containing submission. The distinction matters because it predicts behaviour. A ruler who valued order for its own sake would repair dysfunction when he could. A ruler using control to secure obedience will often preserve a dysfunctional arrangement that keeps the network loyal.

6 The Seat: On Whose Behalf?

If the Perspective explains what is felt, the Seat explains who benefits. This is where the diagnosis is most distinctive, and where the public language is most easily misread, because a ruler who speaks constantly of the nation can sound as though he speaks from the Community seat.

6.1 The dominant Seat: Self, and the absorbing Self

The record points to the Seat of the Self. But this is not an ordinary Self. It is an **absorbing Self**: one that has taken in the state apparatus, the ruling party, the security forces, the judiciary and media, and, in effect, the nation. In such a system the institutions are not independent circles of concern that a leader serves. They are extensions through which one will operates. Critics make the point in their own terms: the political order has been described as a de facto one-man system in which institutions answer to the executive, and the 2026 amendment was described by opposition figures as a monarchic drift. Supporters describe the same arrangement as the continuity that keeps the state together.

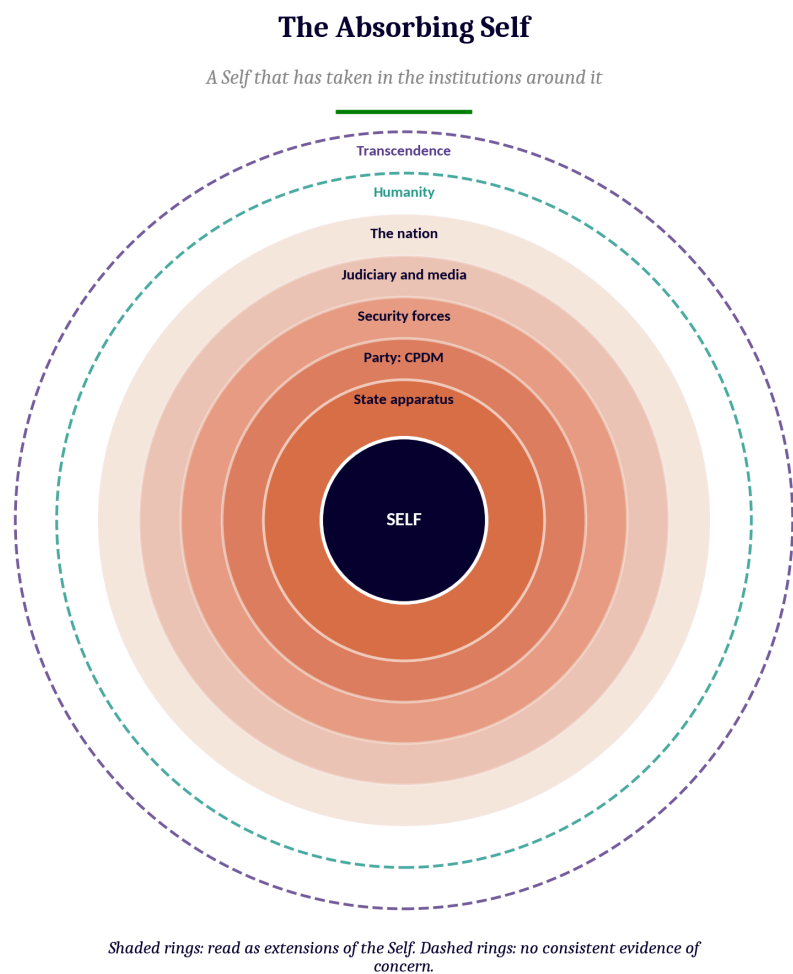


Figure 6. The Absorbing Self: the shaded rings are read as extensions of the Self; the dashed rings are not.

The nation, the people and the party are not his Seat. They are his *instrument*. His public language stresses national unity and warns of chaos. After the October 2025 election, for example, he called for “a peaceful, united and prosperous Cameroon”, and the state presents him as the guarantor of peace. Supporters sincerely hold that view, and the report does not dismiss it. But the decisive test is the Conflict Test: when personal control and the shared interest diverge, which prevails?

Personal control versus the shared interest, graded by evidence



#	Moment	What collided	What prevailed	Grade
1	Removal of term limits, 2008	Personal tenure against a constitutional limit	Tenure	Tier 1, strong. The facts are documented and undisputed; the motive is read from the outcome
2	Vice-presidency left unfilled, 2026	An orderly succession against personal control of the choice	Control, so far	Tier 1 for the facts, Tier 3 for the motive. The post has been vacant since the amendment passed
3	Response to the contested election, 2025	A contested mandate against civilian safety	The mandate, defended by force	Tier 1 for events, contested for the toll and for responsibility

6.3 The loyalist network

The relationship between the ruler and his loyalists deserves its own attention, because it is where the Community seat genuinely appears. The network of ministers, party officials, regional notables and security chiefs is a real community, with real interests. It sustained government through his long absence in 2026, and observers describe a system of appointments and patronage that rewards loyalty. From the network's side, the arrangement is a Community-seat bargain: stability, access and protection in return for order. From the ruler's side, it is the machinery of obeisance.

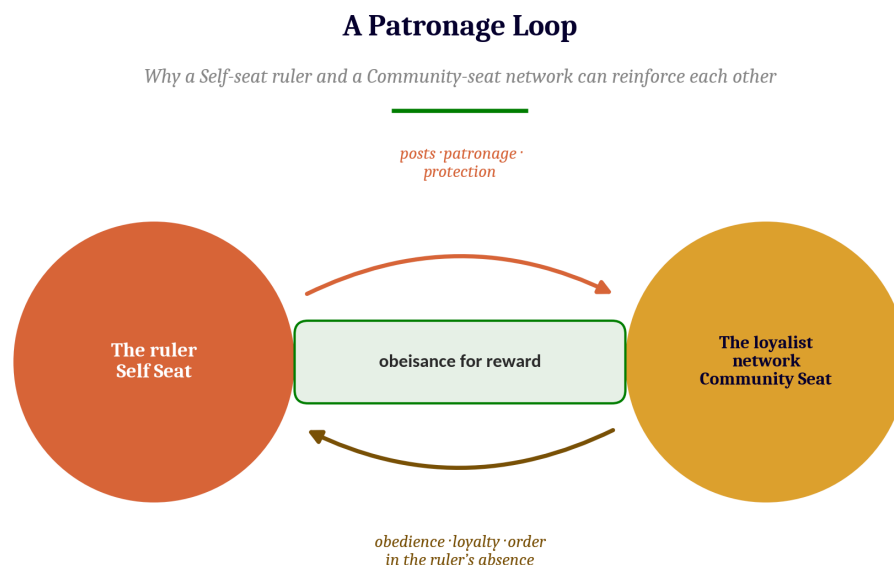


Figure 8. A patronage loop: obeisance exchanged for reward.

6.4 Not Humanity, not Transcendence

There is no consistent evidence in the public record of a circle of concern widening to humanity as a whole, or to principles above the self and the state. International engagement has been real and long-standing, but it has served the standing and security of the regime. This does not mean there are no moments of expansive rhetoric. It means that in the cases where wider and narrower interests collided, the narrower prevailed.

7 The Signature

Bringing the two dimensions together gives the signature in a single line.

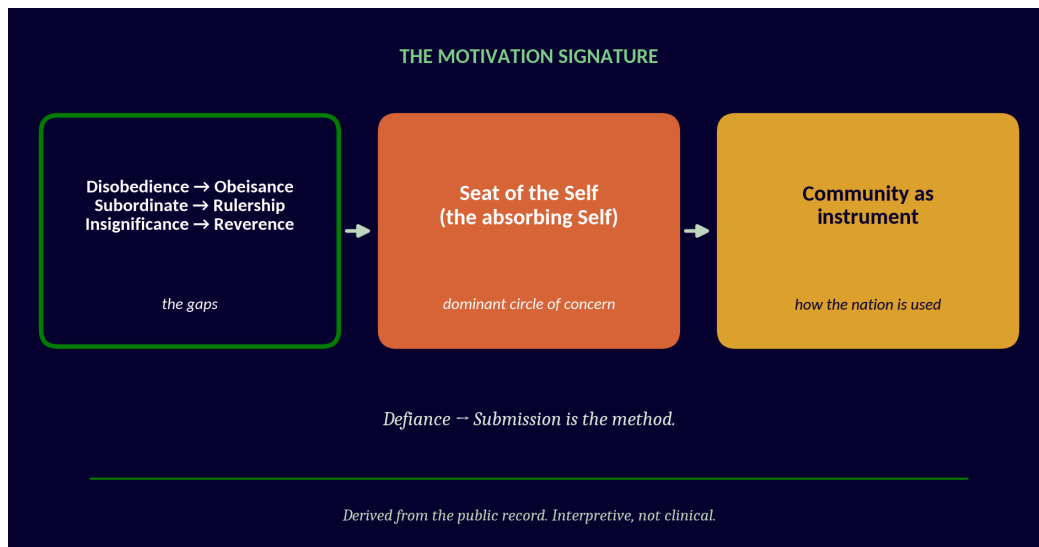


Figure 9. The motivation signature, derived from the public record.

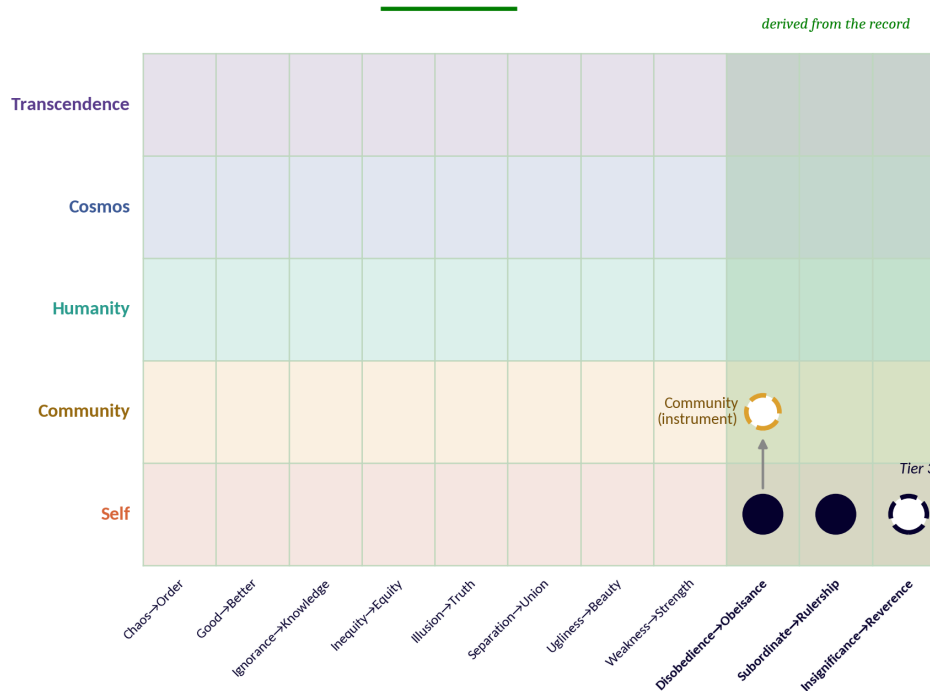
*Disobedience → Obeisance, Subordinate → Rulership and Insignificance
→ Reverence, from the Seat of the Self (the absorbing Self), with
Community as instrument and Defiance → Submission as method.*

The Motivation Signature of Paul Biya

On the Motivation Matrix, the signature sits in the Self row, but in columns that do not exist in the original catalog. That is the point. The older maps would place a long-serving autocrat in the Self row and stop. They have no name for the specific gaps that fill the row, nor for the way the Community seat is used as an instrument without being occupied.

Where the Signature Sits on the Matrix

Three derived Perspectives, all in the Self row



Obedience and rulership rest on Tier 1 and 2 evidence; reverence is an inference.

Figure 10. The signature on the Motivation Matrix.

What the signature predicts

- Any rule, limit or institution that could bind him will be removed, softened or captured, especially when it is capable of subordinating him.
- Succession will be shaped to remain an extension of his own authority, not an independent source of it.
- Dissent will be treated as a challenge to be answered, before it is treated as a grievance to be heard.
- Dysfunction will be tolerated when it keeps the network loyal, and loyalty will be rewarded over competence.
- Where national and personal interests collide, the personal will tend to prevail.

8 Evidence and Retrodiction

A framework is validated when it explains what its predecessors cannot. This section sets out a ledger of dated public events, then examines recurring behaviours and shows how the signature accounts for each.

8.1 The evidence ledger

Date	Public record	Reading	Tier
30 Jun 1975	Appointed Prime Minister by President Ahidjo	Ascent through loyalty to the incumbent	1
6 Nov 1982	Becomes President after Ahidjo's resignation	Rulership attained	1
14 Apr 2008	Constitutional law abolishes presidential term limits	Subordinate → Rulership	1
2008	Nationwide protests and a violent crackdown, as reported by Reuters	Challenge → Compliance	1
Jul 2024; Mar 2026	Legislative and municipal polls postponed; deputies' mandate extended to end of 2026	Subordinate → Rulership	1
12 and 27 Oct 2025	Election; Constitutional Council declares Biya winner with 53.66%; runner-up rejects the result	Disobedience → Obeisance	1
26 to 28 Oct 2025	Post-election protests; deaths reported, with estimates from five to 48	Challenge → Compliance (contested toll)	1
6 Nov 2025	Sworn in for an eighth term, to November 2032	Rulership extended	1
4 and 14 Apr 2026	Parliament approves the vice-presidency 200 to 18; signed into law ten days later	Succession as instrument	1
7 Jun to 20 Aug 2026	About 73 days in Geneva; governance by decree and by network	Anonymity → Eminence (or health)	1
As of late Sep 2026	No Vice-President appointed	Control of the choice retained	1
1982 to date	Control of institutions; patronage; no designated successor	Disobedience → Obeisance	2
Across the record	The drive to be seen as significant and revered	Insignificance → Reverence	3

8.2 Eight behaviours, one logic

Behaviour	What the older theories struggle with	What the Horizon explains
A 93-year-old continues to rule, governing for weeks from abroad	Maslow would say self-actualisation; Vroom would see an impossible calculation	Subordinate → Rulership: to step down would be to become subordinate. To rule is to exist

Behaviour	What the older theories struggle with	What the Horizon explains
Dysfunction tolerated, dissent not	A Chaos → Order drive would want efficiency	Disobedience → Obeisance: a dysfunctional system that obeys is preferable to an efficient one that questions
Term limits abolished	Esteem needs, achievement	Any limit is a form of subordination. He cannot be subordinate to a constitution
Vice-presidency created, filled at the President's discretion, and left empty	Succession planning, legacy	The post is an instrument of his rulership. A named successor would identify a rival centre of authority
A rarely seen, distant style of rule	Health, retirement	Anonymity → Eminence, read cautiously (Tier 3). Distance can command deference, though age offers an equally good explanation
Firm response to the Anglophone crisis	Federalism, marginalisation as policy debates	Challenge → Compliance: organised defiance met as a challenge, with concession treated as weakness
A patronage network	Corruption, inefficiency	Obeisance requires reward. The network is the machinery of rulership
A wish for international recognition	Esteem needs	Insignificance → Reverence (Tier 3): to be seen as a statesman, not a despot

9 The Succession Question

The most recent chapter of the record is also the most revealing, because it tests the signature against facts that are still unfolding.

9.1 What the amendment did

On 4 April 2026 a joint session of the National Assembly and the Senate voted 200 to 18, with four abstentions, to reintroduce the post of Vice-President, which had been abolished in 1972. The main opposition boycotted. Mr. Biya signed the amendment into law on 14 April. Under the new text the Vice-President is appointed and dismissed by the President, serves no longer than the President’s term, exercises the powers the President assigns, and, on a vacancy, completes the presidential term. The Vice-President may not amend the constitution or stand in the next election.

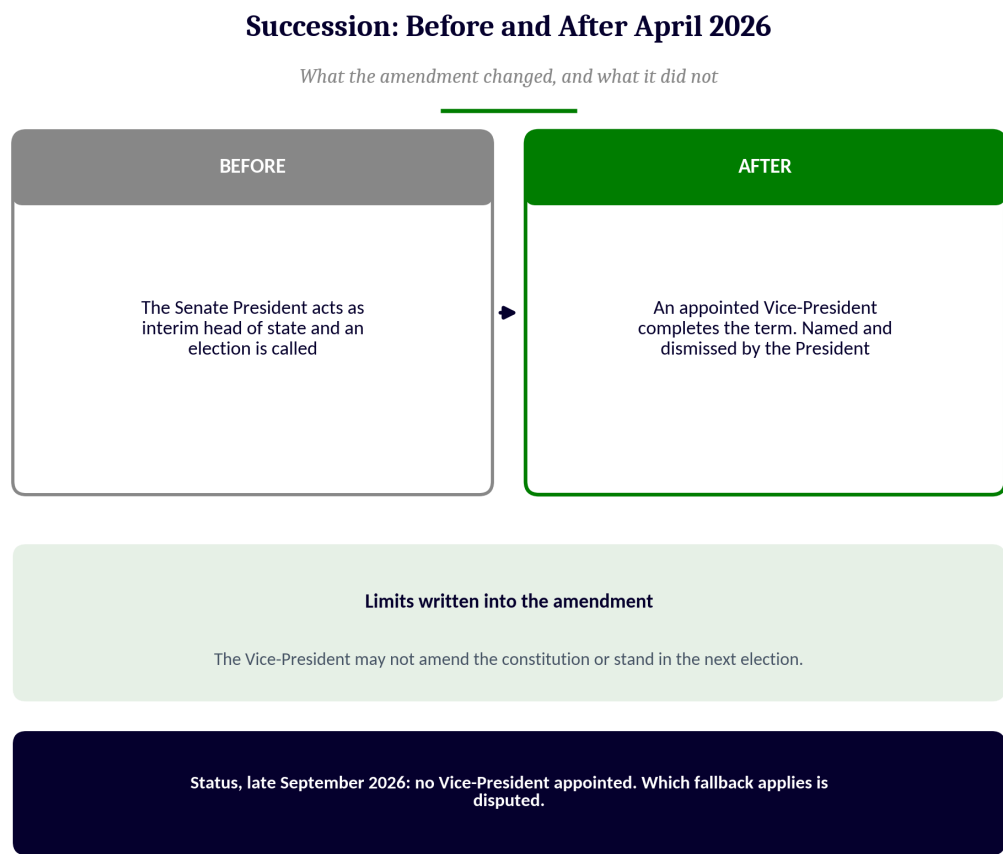


Figure 11. Succession before and after the April 2026 amendment.

9.2 What has happened since

Mr. Biya left Yaoundé on 7 June 2026 for what his office called a brief private stay in Europe. He returned on 20 August after about 73 days, the longest recorded absence of his tenure, much of it at a hotel in Geneva. During that time the ruling party insisted that he remained fully in charge, decrees continued to be issued, and opposition parties said the country was on autopilot and urged the Constitutional Council to consider declaring the office vacant. The Council declined to intervene. As of late September 2026, no Vice-President has been appointed.

A CLAIM THAT IS FALSE

Reports in April 2026 that Mr. Biya had appointed his son, Franck Biya, as Vice-President and a defence minister circulated widely. The government denied them, and a decree purporting to make the appointment, which circulated on social media, was dismissed as false. No such appointment has been made, and this report makes no claim that it has.

9.3 What it shows

Seen through the framework, the vice-presidency is a textbook instrument of Subordinate → Rulership. It answers the question of succession in a way that keeps the answer entirely in the hands of the incumbent: he decides whether there is a successor, who it is, what powers the person holds, and when the person may be dismissed. Leaving the post empty extends the same logic. A named Vice-President would identify an heir and create a second source of authority. An empty post keeps authority single. Observers close to the situation reached the same conclusion. Analysts have noted that an appointment would reveal the heir, and for that reason remains unlikely while he lives.

Two cautions apply. First, the unfilled post is also consistent with ordinary indecision, with caution about rivals within the ruling coalition, or with the health considerations that make any appointment delicate. Second, the amendment contains limits on the Vice-President, who may not amend the constitution or stand in the next election, which critics and defenders alike have read as a firewall against dynastic ambition. The report treats the limits as evidence against a purely dynastic reading, and as evidence consistent with a reading in which the successor is designed to be *a custodian, not a rival*.

The uncertainty itself is part of the system. Lawyers disagree over whether the older fallback, under which the President of the Senate would serve as interim head of state and call an election, still applies. Until the post is filled or the disagreement is settled, the rules of succession are ambiguous, and ambiguity is a resource for whoever controls the outcome.

10 Comparison with the Old Theories

The classic theories are not wrong. They are partial. Each can be applied to Mr. Biya, and each leaves a significant part of the pattern unexplained.

Theory	What it can say	What it cannot explain	What the Horizon adds
Maslow (1943)	Esteem and self-actualisation needs; a drive for status	Why a man of such age and standing keeps accumulating control, and tolerates national stagnation	Names the gaps (obedience, rulership, reverence) and the absorbing Self that never feels secure enough to let go
Herzberg (1959)	Motivators: achievement, recognition, responsibility	Behaviour that is isolating and appears to damage the institutions through which he rules	Shows why institutional decay can be acceptable: obedience, not performance, is the measure
Vroom (1964)	Expectancy: effort leads to performance, reward and valence	Courses of action that risk legacy, stability and the state itself	Valence is set by the gap and the Seat: closing the gap can outweigh the cost

Seen through the Motivation Horizon, the behaviour is not irrational. It is rational *within a specific motivational frame*. Once the gaps and the Seat are named, the apparent contradictions, such as stability rhetoric alongside institutional hollowing, long rule alongside no successor, and national language alongside personal control, become what a Self-seat Obeisance and Rulership signature would be expected to produce.

11 Implications

11.1 For leadership

A Self-seat leader with an absorbing Self tends to create a culture of deference, caution and stagnation. Talent that wants to build rather than to please finds the system hard to work in, and often leaves. Institutions are valued for the obedience they deliver and not for the work they do, so they decay. The state becomes an extension of the ruler's own authority. This is the opposite of the Humanity-seat leadership the book prescribes, in which the leader's ceiling for impact is raised by widening the circle of concern.

11.2 For followers

The loyalist network operates largely from a Community seat. Many members experience the arrangement as protection, stability and belonging, and project their own need for order onto the ruler. The relationship is symbiotic: they receive patronage, access and security, and he receives obedience and an apparatus of reverence. Neither side needs to be insincere for the loop to work. Among ordinary Cameroonians the picture is likely to be different, and this report has no survey evidence on it. What can be said is that more than seventy percent of the population is under thirty-five, and has never lived under another head of state.

11.3 For society

The phenomenon is not only a feature of one man. It is also a symptom. A society in which many people feel powerless, unseen and dependent is one in which obedience is a survival strategy, and in which a ruler who offers order in exchange for obeisance can endure for a very long time. The framework diagnoses this as a motivational pattern as well as a political one. A succession that merely replaces one absorbing Self with another will leave the underlying pattern intact. A transition that widens the Seat, by making institutions accountable to the people they serve, would change it.

12 Alternative Readings and What Would Change the Diagnosis

A diagnosis that cannot be challenged is not a diagnosis. This section presents the strongest alternatives fairly, and then states the observations that would revise the reading.

Alternative A: a narrow Community seat

In a personalist system the ruler and the governing coalition can be hard to separate. One could argue that his Seat is not the Self but a narrow Community: the ruling party and the network of regional and institutional elites who share in power. On this reading, many of the behaviours attributed to the Self serve the coalition’s survival, and he is its guardian.

Alternative B: stability as a sincere aim

Supporters argue that his central aim is to preserve peace and unity in a country with deep linguistic, regional and religious divisions, and in a region with neighbours that have suffered coups and civil wars. On this reading the Perspective is Chaos → Order, and the control that critics see as obeisance is the price of stability.

Alternative C: rule by network, not by will

At his age, a good deal of day-to-day government is plainly carried out by others. One could argue that the system now runs on the interests of the network, and that attributing a single motivational signature to the ageing ruler overstates his agency.

Alternative D: constitutional form

The 2008 amendment followed the constitution’s own amendment procedure, and the 2026 amendment was adopted by parliamentary supermajority and includes limits on the successor. On this reading, the reforms are legal choices made within the constitutional order, and their motives are not the analyst’s business.

RESPONSE

The report does not claim these alternatives are false. They are plausible, and in places they overlap with the signature. The difference is one of ordering under pressure, which the table below makes explicit. Alternative C is the strongest challenge to the *attribution* of motive, and the reason the diagnosis is stated as a working hypothesis. Alternative A is the strongest challenge to the *Seat*, and is addressed by the Conflict Test.

If the record showed...	Then the diagnosis would move toward...
A Vice-President appointed with real powers and a credible path to succession, accepted by the ruling coalition	A weaker Subordinate → Rulership gap; a genuine concern for orderly continuity

If the record showed...	Then the diagnosis would move toward...
Repeated choices in which he accepted personal loss of control to preserve the coalition	A genuine Community seat (Alternative A)
Independent institutions, such as courts, electoral bodies or regulators, acting against his stated interest without sanction	A weaker Disobedience → Obeisance gap
Credible evidence that major decisions are made by others, against his wishes or without his knowledge	Rule by network, not by will (Alternative C)
Free and competitive elections, with results accepted when unfavourable	A Chaos → Order or stability aim (Alternative B)
A voluntary, orderly transfer of power	A different Seat and a different gap, which would require a revised diagnosis

The vacant vice-presidency, the removal of term limits and the response to the 2025 protests cut against Alternative B on the evidence so far. The remaining alternatives would require evidence not present in the public record, and several of them cannot be tested while the principal events are still unfolding.

13 Caveats and Limits

- This is a public-record diagnosis, not mind-reading. It does not claim to know his private intentions or his inner life.
- The deepest layer, Insignificance → Reverence, is an interpretive hypothesis (Tier 3). The conclusions about the primary gap, the secondary gap and the Seat do not depend on it.
- Casualty figures, the legitimacy of the 2025 result and the conduct of armed groups are all contested. The report gives ranges and attributes characterisations. It does not adjudicate them.
- The report does not use health speculation as evidence. Age and absence are discussed only for their institutional consequences.
- It does not excuse or condemn. It locates gaps and a Seat; it does not assign moral worth.
- The theory is generative. Other valid configurations may exist. This is one coherent diagnosis that fits the evidence available as of October 2026, and it will date quickly if the succession question is resolved.
- Quotations and figures are cited to the date and source of the original public statement or report. Readers are encouraged to consult the primary documents and to judge context for themselves.
- This report is not clinical, not legal, not investment advice, and not advocacy for or against any person, party or policy.

14 Conclusion

The question this report set out to answer was not whether Paul Biya has ruled well or badly, but what moves him, and on whose behalf.

The evidence supports a distinct answer. He is not a Chaos → Order leader whose methods happen to be strict. He is a leader whose drive is best described as:

*Disobedience → Obeisance, Subordinate → Rulership and Insignificance
→ Reverence, from the Seat of the Self (the absorbing Self), with
Community as instrument and Defiance → Submission as method.*

The older theories can point toward parts of this picture. They cannot explain the whole of it: the tolerance of dysfunction but not of dissent, the removal of every limit that could bind, the architecture of a succession that leaves the decision in a single hand. The Motivation Horizon can, because it asks the two questions they never asked. The Affa Protocol can, because it supplies the Conflict Test that separates a Seat from a strategy.

The framework also offers something beyond diagnosis. A signature is a coordinate and not a verdict, and it can move. The gap that fills a ruler and the gap that fills those he rules are both gaps between what is and what could be. In a country in which most citizens have never known another president, the most useful question is not only who will come next, but what the next arrangement will be *for*. The older question remains, and it belongs to every Cameroonian and to all of us: *on behalf of which world will we act?*

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Notes on derivation and limits

The Perspectives Disobedience → Obeisance, Subordinate → Rulership, Insignificance → Reverence, Defiance → Submission, Challenge → Compliance, Dependence → Autonomy, Anonymity → Eminence and Mockery → Deference are not in the original catalog of *The Motivation Horizon*. They are derived in this report from the generative core of the theory, which treats any perceived gap between an actual and an ideal state as a potential Perspective. The reading of the 2008 amendment, the 2025 response and the unfilled vice-presidency as Conflict Test cases is likewise derived here. Casualty figures and electoral claims are contested and are reported with their sources.

This report is a public-record motivational diagnosis. It is not a clinical psychological assessment, and it does not claim to know any person's private intentions.