

**NIGERIA -CAMEROON BORDER DISPUTES ON BAKKASSI PENINSULAR  
AND IMPLICATION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1999-2015**

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## DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<b>AU:</b>	African Union
<b>CNMC:</b>	Cameroon, Nigeria Mixed Commission
<b>ICJ:</b>	International Court of Justice
<b>LDP:</b>	Liberal Democratic Party
<b>OAU:</b>	Organization of Africa Unity
<b>UNO:</b>	United Nations Organization
<b>US:</b>	United States

## OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Bilateralism:** A form of collaboration between two states in areas of economic, political and social matters.
- Borders:** Political boundaries that separate countries, states, provinces, counties, cities and towns.
- Foreign policy:** A strategy of actions used by one state in respect to its diplomatic connections with other countries.
- Porous border:** A barrier that allows easy passage in and out, like the porous border between two countries that allows residents to move easily between them.
- Peninsular:** A land surrounded by water on the majority of its boundary  
While being connected to the main land from which it extends.

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## ABSTRACT

Conflict in common border areas is a major threat facing not only Nigeria and Cameroon but the world at large. The issues that shape the origin of these conflicts vary from one country to another. The impact of the Nigeria and Cameroon border conflict has been witnessed not only by the two countries but also by their neighbors. This research examined the border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon in the period 1999 to 2015. The study interrogated the changing nature of the border conflict in Nigeria and Cameroon in the period 2008 to 2015 and also identified ways of improving border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon. The study was guided by two theories: Rational choice and securitization theories. The theories analyzed the reasons why actors make claims over borderline areas as well as use the security threats to actualize their goals. The study focused on inhabitants on both sides of the disputed areas in the Bakassi peninsular. The study employed a qualitative approach to research using both primary and secondary sources of data. Thus data was collected from the field, library and archives. The data collected was analyzed thematically and chronologically. Ethical considerations were adhered to during the study. The findings established that oil discovery in Bakassi was the cause of the border conflicts. Another study finding was that since the current Cameroon and Nigeria boundary was established by their respective colonial masters, the signing of the accord or agreements was done without prior consultation of the African people. It was further noted that there was external control of Bakassi in Cameroon by her former colonial power, France. It was observed that the Cameroonian and Nigerian mixed commission helped in bringing about peace to the two countries despite the fact that the agreement was not fully implemented. The study concludes that the withdrawal of Nigerian troops from the disputed Bakassi was an indication that Nigeria was in agreement with the court's verdict therefore, Cameroonian government has no body in the disputed land. This study recommends that the two countries should embrace community participation in their discussions or agreements over the disputed border area. Also, there is potential for good relations, if the settlers/indigenes voted in a referendum. This research work Targeted 1600 out of it 100 people were selected for interview Bakassi peninsular of Cameroon 50 people and the newly created Bakassi community in Nigeria 50 peoples well as Government officials from both sides.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 Background to the Study

The international community has been experiencing several borders conflicts. It is one of the biggest challenges to maintaining peace across various regions. These border disagreements between nations could in some cases escalate to war (Fombo, 2006). Challenged by this reality, intellectuals have established various approaches for resolving border disputes and claims in the world. Numerous features of economic, political, as well as historical backgrounds have been pointed out as factors causing border crises.

Allee and Huth (2006) assert that in 1990 there were 129 border disagreements across the world. Among them, 60 had not been resolved as of 1995 and apparently, there were 21 interstate wars. 19 of these wars were taking place outside Europe. In Europe, the British and Irish dispute over the territory of Northern Ireland had existed since 1922. While the dispute finally ended in 1998, violent clashes had consumed many lives. Coakley (2017) noted that in Northern Europe, Russia and Ukraine were entangled in a border dispute around 2014 over Crimea, which was concluded based on the relations between Russia and Ukraine.

In Asia, Japan and South Korea also had a border dispute over Dokdo, Takeshima and Senkaku Diaoyutai in the Northern territories of Japan since 1952, which was resolved through the involvement of the United States of America as a mediator, thereby preventing the eruption of conflict in the region (Choi, 2009). As noted by Ali (2001), Southeast Asia's Pakistan and India have been in a longstanding border conflict over Kashmir since their independence in 1947. The dispute has often turned violent claiming hundreds of lives and causing property destruction (Ali, 2001).

In Latin America, there was a border conflict between Venezuela and Guyana over the Essequibo region for years and as of 2019, the case was ongoing. Guyana's leader was quoted to have said, the present danger, if not settled appropriately, if not settled for all time, if not settled calmly could prompt disintegration of the security circumstance within the whole of Latin American continent” (Arimateia da Cruz, 2015). Also, Chile and Bolivia have been in a border conflict over Bolivia's access to the Pacific Ocean since 1904. The case to resolve their dispute ended up in the international court of justice (Gangopadhyay, 2014).

In Africa, there have been various border disputes. The dispute over Migingo island in Lake Victoria between Kenya and Uganda for instance, has been ongoing since 2009. Disagreement over the possession of Migingo island goes into a wider form of growing disputes across African borders in recent times, representing some arguments and unsettled matters of border relations emergence (Wekesa, 2010). Besides, records show that since 1964, Tanzania and Malawi have been in a borderline conflict over Lake Nyasa. According to Fulgence (2011), if the dispute goes on, it may negatively affect the relations of the two countries and the sharing of the natural resources within the disputed area.

### **Background of the Study**

In Nigeria, there was a border dispute with Cameroon since Nigeria's independence in the 1960s. The case was taken to the world court (ICJ) in 1994 by Cameroon seeking the court's interpretation of each country's jurisdiction over the disputed border area. After the hearing of the case on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2002, the court agreed the disputed Bakassi peninsula be surrendered to the Cameroon government with no condition to pull out Nigeria's political presence and her forces (Okeke, 2010). However, Bakassi residents have since

been negatively affected by the ICJ ruling. They face a security challenge, owing to the governments' neglect. Despite the court's ruling, insecurity in the area has caused economic burden, political instability and continued border conflict. The militaries of both Cameroon and Nigeria have failed to address the lingering problem through dialogue (Ibid).

The Bakkassi border conflict has seriously affected the bilateral relations between Nigeria and Cameroon. Whereas Cameroon feels that Bakassi belongs to her and that they do not need any support, Nigeria on the other side grieves for losing Bakassi, hence, she does not render any support to Cameroon in curbing the persistent insecurity problem. This has led to the inability of the two countries to harness abundant human and natural resources present in that area. This research explored how the progress of border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon provided the opportunity of living together despite their existing differences.

Many conflicting views have been given by scholars concerning the border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon over Bakassi peninsular. Accordingly, it is significant for scholars, policymakers, diplomats and other stakeholders to examine the true conflict situation in Bakassi. This can be adequately achieved by studying the historical development of the conflict before the 1913 Anglo-German agreements, and the impact of territorial claims.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Borders should be well managed to guarantee the internal safety of nations. Protected borders ensure the economic and political survival of a country. Since border problems involve more than one country, they have to be addressed mutually between or among the

countries involved, considering that failure to do so could cause an escalation in the conflict between or among the countries involved. In Nigeria and Cameroon, their border conflict is one issue that fascinated the devotion of the African continent as well as the global community. Familugba and Ojo (2013) state that the good relations that had been in existence between Nigeria and Cameroon before and after the colonial rule were beneficial to the two states and their people because it allowed cross border activities by individuals in search of their daily needs. According to Beckly (2013), the relations broke down when natural resources were discovered along the Cameroon-Nigeria border in the Bakassi peninsula. One effect of this conflict has been the agitation for political independence by the population settled around the area. This struggle distorted efforts of governments in both countries to achieve a long lasting truce. The situations have been characterized by division, new border claims, violation of human rights and poverty, which seriously undermined the two countries' relations. Several studies (Babatola, 2012; Eboh, 2005, Eze, 2007, Raj, 2006 and Baye, 2010) have focused on the economic value of the Bakassi peninsula. According to Colgan (2009), oil-exporting states have a proclivity to both initiate and be the targets of international aggression, a phenomenon he refers to as "petro-aggression." He defines a "petrostate" as "a state in which net oil export revenues account for 10% of its gross domestic product (GDP), frequently characterized as a violent state.". The Bakassi Peninsula's zero-sum nature as a strategic territory valued for trade and oil resources makes it an important determinant of aggressive foreign policy. However, John Vasquez and Marie Henetian argue that territorial issues are insufficient in and of themselves to create the conditions for war; rather, their contentious nature increases the likelihood of war. However, few studies have been conducted on the contentious nature of

the two countries' border relations. In this regard, the current study sought to investigate Nigeria-Cameroon border relations along the Bakassi peninsula from 1999 to 2015. The study looked at the changing nature of the border conflict and ways to improve relations between the two countries.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

1. To examine the nature of border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon in the period 1999-2006.
2. To interrogate the changing border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon in the period 2007-2011.
3. To examine the possible ways of improving the border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon 2012-2015

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. What are the major trends that characterized the nature of border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon in the period 1999-2006?
2. In which ways did the border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon change in the period 2007-2011?
3. What are the possible resolutions to the border conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon?

### **1.5 Assumptions of the Study**

1. There were no significant border tensions in Nigeria and Cameroon in the period 1999 to 2006.
2. The relations between Nigeria and Cameroon have been changing significantly from 2007 to 2011.
3. There are significant strategies that can be pursued to improve the relations between Nigeria and Cameroon.

### **1.6 Justification and Significance of the study**

The purpose of this study was to interrogate the Nigeria and Cameroon border relations at Bakassi peninsula in the period 1999 to 2015, and to recommend ways of improving the relations. The study is relevant as it increases the volume of knowledge by providing useful insights into the nature of border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon. It thus enriches the historiography of border relations. The study also serves as a useful guide for those who may wish to research further on the topic. It will as well serve as prescriptive analysis for foreign and security policymakers in the African continent in their attempts to address significant issues of concern in the continent.

### **1.7 Scope of the study**

This study was confined within the contested border area in Nigeria and Cameroon specifically, the Bakassi peninsula, and covers the period between 1999 and 2015. The period was chosen because of two reasons: The border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon became intense at this time, coupled with serious security challenges owing to the discovery of oil in the peninsular. This period also covers the time that the case over the disputed area was taken to the ICJ for a decision, in the hope to settle the conflict.

The study was limited to the border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon on the Bakassi peninsular because it has been an area of concern in the recent past as far as the two countries are concerned. While the study period began in 1999, the researcher looked at the period before 1999 to lay a background upon which the topic of discussion is based.

### **1.8 Limitations of the Study**

Since the study focuses on the sensitive topic of border conflicts, the researcher and the respondents were conscious of possible victimization by security agencies and the residents. Some of them were suspicious of the study but were however assured of confidentiality.

Language barrier was another challenge encountered, as some respondents did not understand English. This was, however, countered through the use of a research assistant, who was well versed in both English and the local language, and he therefore did the interpretation.

### **1.9 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

This section reviews some relevant pieces of literature on the historical antecedents of border disputes globally, in Africa, and in Nigeria and Cameroon. The study considered the theoretical framework appropriate for the research. The literature review adopted the thematic style of organization based on the objectives of the research.

### **1.10 Border Relations between Nigeria and Cameroon**

Thus according Hein and Kenneth (2013), the historical border point of reference is critical in land dispute cases and the outcomes of border settlement. To begin with, a leader is

prone to pursue border cases of a small area where a historical boundary fills in as a point of reference. Second, when borders are drawn to settle a case, the leader draws prodigious fringes that follow historical points of reference. Third, territorial settlements based on historical precedent are far less likely to lead to future problems and armed conflict. Their work informs this study, which is based on the progression of a border dispute. Their research, however, does not provide any solutions to border disputes.

Territorial conflicts are frequently linked to interstate conflict and war. According to Hensel (2000), border disputes accounted for more than half of all interstate wars from 1816 to 1992. Vasquez (1993) and Holsti (1991) back this up by looking at interstate wars over a longer time period and discovering that 79 percent of wars from 1648 to 1990 were fought over territorial issues. Territorial wars, according to Vasquez (1993), are the most violent because conflicts over territory are much more likely to escalate to full-scale war. His research contributes to the current study on the transition of a border conflict and its potential to escalate into a full-fledged war between neighboring states, which was also the focus of this study.

However, the author fails to provide information on the changing trends, and the possible ways of resolving an interstate war, a gap that this study endeavored to fill.

In his analysis of territorial disputes, Francesco (2013) looks into what motivates border disputes by mentioning factors that trigger violence in territorial claims between countries. Additionally, he states that warring nations use a realist approach to claim borders. His study is relevant to this study as far as factors that cause border disputes are concerned.

Analyzing the border dispute between India and China on the Tibet region which is

economically and military-strategic for both countries, Shreya (2013) articulates that a resolution to the Tibetan conflict was not guaranteed owing to the Sino Indian relations that are deep-rooted with distrust and suspicion. This study is relevant to the current study because it shows how both countries engage in military build-up along the shared border to safeguard the region in question, which was one of the aspects that the current study looked into, in the case of the Bakassi peninsula.

Newman (2005) argues that the globalization idea of porous borders brings about conflict between states that are close together because it allows easier passage of people with their goods without proper checks and respect to old traditional border systems where states had absolute power over their borders. Comparatively, Newman's study sheds light on some of the possible causes of border disputes.

According to Schultz (2015), considering the rise of disputes and wars over border areas and the role of historical precedents in territorial claims, long-term decline of inter-state wars can be achieved. The idea that leaders claim territories based on historical precedents, and that these precedents make more stable and lasting new boundaries points could lead to decline in conflicts. He states that based on this, disputes constantly declined since the mid-1960s. His study informs this study as far as the strategies that could help curb border disputes are concerned, however, their applicability to the case of Bakassi peninsular is limited owing to the failed attempts to do so by the two countries.

Adejuyigbe (1989) contends that the causes of territorial disputes in contemporary nations are generally complex to explicate, though the factors inhibiting such disputes or commitment to the resolution of the same ensue in an endeavor to avoid conflict in border

relations. Boundary politics are issues in boundary and territorial disputes which affect the sovereignty of any state. This study is related to the current study because it focuses on how politics are involved in border claims, which is one of the aspects that the current study looked into.

According to Ajala (1983), approaches to managing the settlement of border crises can be associated with Robert Mandel's (1980) discernment that interstate disputes may occur with or without reference to the border question and that border conflict may happen on account of border clashes without disagreement about border divisions. While Ajala's study is related to the current study in as far as mitigating border conflict is concerned, his approaches will be examined to determine their applicability to the Bakassi peninsula border crisis.

Huth (1996) argues that borders are designed based on a militarily strategic position, and economic value. Huth's idea informs this study as the area under dispute should be under military watch. One of the endeavors of the current study, was to ascertain the explanation behind the prevailing border dispute despite the presence of the military in the study area.

According to Babatola (2012), few realized interstate borders of confinement occurred in Africa before boondocks rule. Any existing African regular borders were affected by different elements, for instance, battling, climb and tumble of African nations, trade advancement, and social effects. Contact limits among city-state and social orders, right of access, land gifts, and formation of limits were defined by celestial functions and the utilization of ordinary highlights like treaties, waterways, slopes and mountains, timberlands, and so on. While interstate cross border relations were not halted by

boundaries' partition, they have, however, been impacted by the influence associations and colonialist enthusiasm of the neighboring countries. Babatola's work is relevant to this study as it brings out the aspect of the natural features of border relations however, it does not offer solutions to border conflicts between states, a gap that this study sought to fill.

Steven (2013) expressed that the division of a region among states is a unique reason for war in the universal framework. He further recognized a territory as a sole essential capacity at the dimension of an individual citizen, because the region itself specifically influences a person's prosperity on various sizes. His work is important to the current study because he attempts to evaluate individuals' "feelings" while their state is in questionable relations with its neighbor. This informed the questions concerning the respondents' views on the disputed Bakassi peninsula.

Brierly (1963) discusses the issue affecting border dispute resolution among countries. He points out that involved parties ought to adopt two elective strategies; those conflicting countries should allow intervention by agreeing to mutually settle the dispute without third party involvement.

### **1.11 The Changing Nature of the Border Conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon**

Ivorgba (2005) asserts that contention over borders is a long-time issue. According to him, conflict is inevitable, and more often than not, it creates undesirable as well unaccommodating effects. Strife shows that in one way or another, there is a misconception that needs thought and right deed. Global clashes may happen between governments that resolve to rule and control the assets in the debated regions. This study is relevant to the current study because it tries to analyze the reason as to why land is claimed by

governments as being for economic benefit or resource control which is one of the gaps this study intended to fill.

So according Paul, Christina, and Michael (2013), Nigeria has had several conflicts with Cameroon since the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1967. Several agreements were signed in order to govern and improve conflict resolution. Among these conflicts is Cameroon and Nigeria's signing of a treaty known as "The Maroua Declaration," ostensibly to demarcate the two countries' maritime borders. During Cameroon's Presidency of Ahidjo (1960-1962) and Nigeria's Military Government under General Gowon (1966-1975), Nigeria reached a peaceful agreement with Cameroon by establishing a Boundary Commission of Professionals from both countries to investigate the issues and offer solutions.

Berridge (2005) emphasizes the criticalness of good relations. To him, mutual relations are important in the current global system, ordinarily if the game plans happen. It is paramount for influential people to talk about matters of centrality. In the same vein Althea lee and Huth (2006) elucidating advantages of good relations in disputes settlement suggest that parties in conflict shape out optimal standings to resolving the dispute. They add further that in indirect concession, the two sides of the divide can control the degree of the conflict, the evidence about dealing with method, strategies of resolving border disputes.

Brownlie (2009) asserts that conciliation can convey a settlement according to lawful measures through a combined effect of both legitimate and governmental norms, focusing on its beneficial vitality with discretion. Dinkle (2011), like Brownlie, portrays mediation as the oldest type of elective discussion objective instrument. He claims that it entails bringing social events into a discussion in order to reach a critical conclusion. The

shortcomings of the rationalist traditional and direct method of conflict justification, according to Ruther Pesinghe (1995), necessitate the use of elective instruments. As a result, proponents of multi-track carefulness verbalize, for example, improved typical than location basic explanations for current battles, fights articulated by him is progressively different, and state relations in attractiveness succeeding the passing of powerful countries of the world. Front-line battles are delicate and complex: easing should be organized along two critical tracks. What is clear in Rupesinghe's words, regardless of his suspicion near straight caution, is that negotiation, whether direct or multi-track, is required for the advancement of a solid framework for preventive action and territorial conflict/dispute resolution. Carrie Menkel-Meadow (2012), for her part, conveys to our minds how most of the major crucial dispute resolution techniques, such as reconciliation, intercession, intervention, settling, fact-finding, reunion, inquiries, multifaceted accord construction, and open technique improvement and concession, have been and are being used in conflict resolution. She believes that these methodologies are associated with private, open, and crossbred dispute and conflict resolution situations.

As history has shown, the conflict flanked by Nigeria and Cameroon is based on European imperialistic plans of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly the wild adventures of the Germans, French, and British, as Anyu agreed (2007). The land dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon is Africa's resemblance of foreign rule on African borders. Cameroonian territory has been divided among her former colonial masters as a result of Germany's capture in 1946, and has since been held as a mandate of the then-world governing body (Ntamark, 2002).

Per the Martin (2001), following the fall of Germany in World War II, Cameroon was overseen as trustee Areas of the world governing body, with a Trusteeship assertion under France and Britain until December 1946. Until 1960, Nigeria, along with some parts of Northern and Southern Cameroon, was regarded as a part of the world governing body; the Southern Cameroons as a segment of Nigeria's Eastern Region until it reached partial independence in some areas around 1954, expanding to a full separate entity position in 1958. Concerning the Bakassi Peninsula, Osita Eze (2007) claims that the problem that led to the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon over the region was the discrepancy created by the countries' leaders in not obeying the agreement reaching a final resolution of the conflict. Similarly, Ate (1992) observes that the debate has captivated the minds of virtually all Nigerian governments since 1960. It is worth noting that at the time, the uncertain world had to cause strain to the point of bad relations, resulting in the loss of lives and property.

This situation would reoccur in the 1990s, as Nigerian and Cameroonian military clashed on numerous occasions, prompting the Cameroonian government to file a case with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for intervention in 1994, according to Baye (2010). Nigeria and Cameroon have had strained relations for a long time due to differences in their common border, most notably the 2,300-kilometer border limit that runs from Lake Chad to the Bakassi Peninsula, as well as the sea limit arranged in the Gulf of Guinea.

This research sought to reveal how changing the nature of the border conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon could provide the opportunity of living together despite their existing differences which is a gap that the study intended to fill.

### **1.12 The progress of border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon**

The role played by the world leaders concerning the ICJ's verdict of October 2002 related to the Nigeria-Cameroon border conflict helped both parties to agree with the final outcome of the court of judgment, which led to the cordial settlement of the clash.

Given Nigeria's initial hesitance over the court's conclusion, the world expressed excitement for witnessing the dependability of the global court's final decision. The presence of an uncovered resistance by Nigeria bore feelings of dread from various quarters, that approving the choice could display hitches (Anyu, 2007). Along the line, the Western powers including USA, France, and Britain wanted Nigeria to agree with the court order. Britain clearly, through her diplomat in Nigeria stressed that the global court's order was authentic and the solution to Nigeria's problems with Cameroon, and guarantee to maintaining peace and order. Nigeria's responsibility under the law of the international community was to accord the verdict (Agency France – Presse, 2002).

In connection to this, the British high commissioner received curtsy visit by Nigerian Ambassador to support President Obasanjo's willingness to abide by court decision on the Nigeria and Cameroon border conflict (Llamzon, 2007). Similarly, with respect to the encouragement of friendly relations among Nigeria and Cameroon, According to Eze (2005) in the year 2004 on January 31, after a Multilateral Meeting in Geneva, both Presidents of Nigeria and Cameroon, and the UN chief delivered a combined report plan of settlement of dispute to last up to 2005.

As noted above, it was imperative for the two countries to embrace a Mixed Commission to resolve the dispute. A combined delegation from the international community and its

chief and the two disputing countries met on different occasions in the years 2002 and 2007, in the capital cities of the two countries, with country delegates comprising government's officials of the two states. The commission was to guarantee: the benefits of the impacted peoples in two countries; the progression project to promote joint economic enterprise and cross border partnership.

Indeed, it is critical to examine this situation from the beginning, in 1884, when the United Kingdom's commitment to the West African Coastline had grown enormously. In the mid-1830s, following the scramble and partition for Africa, and with the goal of developing and forming her presence on her sphere of influence, Britain entered into a number of settlements through the community leaders and rulers of numerous Guinea Coast communities (Eze, 2007). This was completed in 1884: the designation of a course of action by the community leaders of Old Calabar, locating their parts under the protection of Britain.

As established by Odje (2002), by the year 1884 September, exceptional leaders of the calabar area as well as Bakassi, impressed practically identical settlements, perceiving their districts were subject to the leader of Old Calabar. In this manner, they were, as need be, under British fortification. With these arrangements, Britain joined all of these areas including Bakassi under her territory and prepared expert over the whole region around Calabar.

### **The Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission**

The aforementioned body's parathion of the two nations' territories between North and South was a significant attempt. The commission embarked on a ground official visit in

2003 to determine the territorial limit, Lake Chad's domain, and the Bakassi Peninsula. The mandate of the working group on the withdrawal of Nigerian forces from the disputed area expired in January 2004 when Cameroon took control of the Lake Chad region (The Tide Online Nigerian Newspaper 2006). In an open statement, the Nigerian National Boundary Commission confirmed that the reasons given by the two states would have an impact on the decision on the Lake Chad region, which serves as a terrestrial demarcation between the two countries from the lake to the sea, as well as their maritime boundaries. The declaration also stated that fieldwork demarcation, including mapping and recognizing evidence of sections according to the decision, had been carried out in the same manner (Llamzon, 2007). The Mixed Commission observed the development of border marketplaces and lanes connecting the two states in terms of combined regulatory border cross interest. However, despite the fact that everything appeared to be on track, the thorny issue of the oil-rich Bakassi could not be resolved as promisingly and pleasingly as interchange zones. According to Borzello (2004), Nigeria was unable to adhere to the Commission's two-division timetable because a massive number of Nigerians in the peninsula were perplexed, unsure of their citizenship, with many expecting to remain Nigerians due to their social and economic ties with the country. According to The Tide Online (2006), there were attempts by Obasanjo's administration to settle the dispute, with this school of Nigerians arguing that it was against the country's national interest, taking security and economic considerations into account, to uphold the Court's decision. Despite the unusual threat of war, advocates warned against the calls for war, citing the effects of such a movement on women and youths (Asobie, 2003). Furthermore, advocates for 'the normal of good certainty' in overall relations, requesting that Nigeria branch to the World

Court's decision and admiration regard embedded in the Diplomatic Notes of 1962. (Aghemelo and Ibhasebhor, 2006).

### **The Green Agreement and Final resolution**

As a result, the Mixed Commission re-energized the peaceful settlement between the two countries. With their impact on Bekassi's land, it took the international community, led by Kofi Annan, severe arbitration attempts to bring the two nations to a comprehensive and permanent resolution, with the ICJ presiding. The international community and superpower states encouraged it to hold a treaty and summit in Green Tree, United States of America, in June 2006. (Gambari, 2007) According to the agreement's general terms, Nigerian troops were to leave within 90 days, and the Cameroonian government would take over from the Nigerians (UN Press Release, 2006). Furthermore, the Washington Times reported that, as a face-saving measure in the understanding course of action for complete handover in June 2008, Nigeria was to maintain her pith in 18 out of a hundred of the world from 2006 to 2008, and Cameroon was to pursue a puzzle of behavior for the handling of the indigenous Nigerian masses awaiting their transfer (The Washington Times, 2006). This fourteen-year mission for nonviolent resolution of Nigeria-Cameroon territorial conflict, which began on 14 August 2006 with the signing of the Treaty of Calabar between the two, marked the total withdrawal of Nigeria's military and police forces from the Bakassi region, as preserved in the Green Tree settlement (This Day, Nigerian Newspaper, 2006). Babatola and Jadesola (2012) focus on teamwork in resolving boundary conflicts by securing involvement and other methods to a peace settlement in their research on the Nigeria-Cameroon border conflict over the Bakassi peninsula. The authors did not provide additional information on peaceful conflict resolution, such as constant contact by both parties in conflict, without

third-party intervention in the matter. This is a gap the current research sought to fill.

Aghemelo and Ibhosebhor (2006) in their work examine the interventionism and how this has been a process of boundary disagreement and struggle between African nations; the global court ruling on the Bakassi and its implication for Nigerians. The research is about how African leaders should resolve their border conflicts. According to the authors, most of the African border was created by colonial powers in the nineteenth century after the scramble for African territories, and this became a source of conflict among the African state. They further suggest that leaders of Africa should go back to adopt pre-colonial methods of resolving disputes between them, which are less rigid and much more pragmatic than what is used today. The authors did not delve into how leaders of Africa can come together to discuss their differences in border-related issues, which is also a gap that the current research sought to fill.

Yarima and Rajit (2017) also add to this debate as observed in their article *The Bakassi Dispute; people's dynamics and the rise of militancy*. They conducted their research on the current situation in the Bakassi region, focusing more on the miserable condition in which the Bakassi people lived and the reason why they joined into militancy. The researchers succeeded in the narration of the condition of life in the Bakassi community, however they did not give attention to the process of bringing the leaders to discuss their relations on the issue of the border and how to resolve the dispute amicably. This is the gap the current research intended to fill. Okere (2010) also explored other dimensions of this disputes discussed in his article. *The relations of law and morality: discussed Dichotomy or complementarily*. He asserts that some Nigerians questioned the Federal Government on the wrong approach used to resolve the conflict in Bakassi. He further elaborates that

Nigeria had the right either to appear or not to appear before the ICJ. The author did not concentrate on discussing the conflict by constant contact by the leaders of both Nigeria and Cameroon coming to the table to agree on how to bring an end to the conflict.

This research sought to explore how the boundary relationships between Nigeria and Cameroon provide the opportunity of living together despite their existing differences and as such constituted a gap which the study intended to fill.

### **1.13 Theoretical Framework**

Several theories explain border relations among communities. These include realism theory, idealism theory, resource acculturation theory, trans-nationalism theory, among others. This study employed two broad but mutually complementary theories: these securitization and rational choice theories, which were seen to be more relevant in examining the border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon.

#### **Securitization Theory**

The central tenet of securitization theory is that security is an illocutionary remark that emphasizes the pronouncement of the term security. According to these perspectives. " 'By labeling something as a security issue, it automatically becomes one' (Waever, 2004). In other words, the moment one object is defined as a threat, a securitizing actor asserts the right to take extraordinary actions to certify the existence of the one threat, it is no longer regular politics and enters backup politics, where it can be addressed quickly and without the usual democratic provide on most implication term security has no fixed meaning and that the meaning can be subjected to the discussion a securitizing actor Security is a social and intersubjective concept. That is exactly what security entails. To keep 'everything' from

posing a security risk. Three steps are required for a successful securitization. These include identifying existential threats, taking emergency action, and assessing the impact of rule violations on inter-unit relations (Buzan et al. 1998 ). To treat a problem as an existential threat means to say, "If we don't deal with this problem, everything else becomes irrelevant because we won't be here or free to deal with it in our own way" (Buzan and colleagues 1998). A securitizing move is the first step toward a successful securitization. In theory, a securitizing move is the identification of a case of securitization after an actor has persuaded their relation of the legitimate need to take extraordinary security measures based on power and capability, as well as the ability to socially and politically construct a threat. . As a result, the scope of security research remains broad, while restrictions 'that' can securitize. It is both possible and impossible to manage incoherent. In summary, securitization theory is a theoretical tool of analysis used to trace incidences of securitization and DE securitization. Securitization theory does not dictate what type of security should or should not exist. As a result, securitization theory attempts to answer the question, "What does security do?" And just a bit more Securitization theory is viewed as nothing more than a theoretical tool for addressing practical issues. This approach was developed by the "second generation" of securitization scholars in order to provide a broader and deeper perspective on security issues. Securitization theory is a multi-sectoral oral theory that deals with the issue of survival; it affects individuals, social groups, and the humanities as a whole; it also affects individuals, social groups, and the humanities as a whole (Buzah et al, 1998).This notwithstanding, the theory also has some drawbacks. It's epistemologically weak under estimating the role of contextual factors in shaping a security issue (McDonald, 2008; Stitzel, 2007). This study however, has restricted itself to studying

environment sector of security. This help to achieve a better understanding of the securitization theory. But since the outcome cannot up have a securitization because it is the state prerogative, securitization becomes a self-reference practice (Buzan et al, 1998). . This theory is relevant in this study because it allows the researcher to examine how the security issue and the various choices made by actors shape the nature of relations between states and communities.

### **Rational Choice Theory**

Any rational actor model, based on the attitude of rational desire philosophers, assumes that actors (consisting of decision makers) make decisions that the participants accept as true will result in the most pleasant possible effects for them. The pursuits of the decision-makers may or may not include advancing something known as the state interest. Rulers connect options steadily, that is, transitively, in members of the family of preference or indifference; they take limitations, as well as natural obstacles, such as where they are geographically located and the predicted movements of others, into account and act in a way that is consistent with their desires and belie

In order to understand global war selections, such models, for example, look at the past movements and expected actions of staff, constituents, generals, and governors.

According to Paternoster et al. (2017), leaders' interests may be captured by appealing to what many refer to as the national interest. Choices concerning preference or impassion are reliably associated by policymakers, that is, transitively. They record constraints, such as impediments in nature precedent where they are found topographically and the anticipated activities of others, and act in a way that is consistent with their desires and

convictions.

According to the authors, such models, for example, look at the past and anticipated activities of staff, networks, officers, and governors in an attempt to comprehend international disputes' decisions.

The rational self's concurring history with regard to the actor ensured that self-intrigued disagreement controls the invisible hand within a free market economy (Smith 1776-1999). Furthermore, he stated that in later periods, Becker (1968) stimulated this issue and propelled a neoclassical economic theory of crime that connected the conventional anticipated utility model of choice to solitary, implying that wrongdoing is the result of an operator's rational perception of the dangers and torments of punishments, just as the increases of illegal conduct (McCarthy, 2002). Individuals use rational calculations to make rational choices and achieve outcomes that are aligned with their own personal objectives, according to Lovett (2006)'s rational choice theory. These outcomes are also related to maximizing one's own self-interest. Given the limited options, it is expected that applying rational choice theory will result in outcomes that provide the greatest benefit and satisfaction to people.

Because it explains how people make decisions, rational choice theory is an important concept in social work. According to the definition of rational choice theory, every decision is completed by first considering the costs, risks, and benefits of making that decision (External link). Choices that seem irrational to one person may appear perfectly rational to another depending on the individual's desires. In terms of social interactions, rational choice theory explains why people enter or leave individual and group relationships.

. Rational choice theory is used in many fields, including economics, psychology, and philosophy. This theory focuses on how people use self-interest to make the best decisions for them. People weigh their options and select the one they believe will best serve their needs. Individual preferences influence how people decide what is best for them. For example, one person may decide that quitting smoking is the best option for them in order to protect their health, whereas another may decide that smoking relieves stress. Regardless of how diametrically opposed the options are, both individuals make these decisions in order to achieve the best possible outcome for themselves.

### **Assumptions of Rational Choice Theory**

The simulation is conducted in order to fit the criteria for rational choice theory:

1. All actions are rational and weigh the costs and benefits.
2. The benefit of a group or action must outweigh the cost of a successful outcome.
3. When the value of the incentive falls below the rate of return on investment, the person will avoid the action or leave the relationship.
4. Individuals make the best use of the resources at their disposal in order to maximize their rewards.

According to rational choice theory, individuals have control over their decisions. They do not base their decisions on unconscious motivations, tradition, or environmental factors. Rather, they use rational considerations to weigh the outcome and potential benefits.

### **Rational Choice Theory's Strengths and Weaknesses**

Individual and collective behavior can be expressed more clearly using rational choice theory. It contributes to understanding why individuals, groups, and society as a whole make decision based on specific costs and benefits.

Rational choice theory can also be used to explain seemingly "irrational" behavior. Because rational choice theory asserts that all behavior is rational, any type of action can be investigated to identify underlying rational incentives. Rational choice theory can help with inquiry.

The two theories were relevant in this study because they enabled the researcher to analyse how security issue and the various choices among actor's shape nature of relations between the different states and communities.

#### **1.14 Research Methodology**

#### **1.15 Introduction**

This section deals with the research design, site of the study, target population, sampling techniques, data collection instruments and procedures, data analysis, and the ethical considerations adhered to by the researcher.

#### **1.16 Research design**

A descriptive research design and qualitative research approach were used. The design was used because it allowed the researcher to conduct in-depth data collection as far as respondents' opinions, attitudes, and perceptions were concerned over the study topic.

#### **1.17 Location of Study Area**

This work covered the Bakassi peninsular of the Republic of Cameroon and the newly relocated Bakassi community area of Akpabuyo local government in Cross River State in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This is the disputed area between the two countries.

### **1.18 Target population**

The population targeted for this research work was 1600 persons, out of which 100 people were selected for interview. The Bakassi peninsular of Cameroon had 50 respondents and the newly created Bakassi community in Nigeria also had 50 respondents. Government officials from both sides were a target for the study.

### **1.19 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size**

Choosing a sample from a population can be accomplished using either random or purposeful sampling methods (Bamberger, 2012). A likelihood sample selects each person/substance in the general research population with equal chances of being cautiously chosen, whereas a non-likelihood sample focuses the analyst's decision on different conditions, such as whether he/she knows the individual/element, whether access or contact can be obtained, and whether the individual/element is respected as an accomplished, master, talented, or perfect case (Bamberger, 2012). This study used a non-likelihood sampling procedure, also known as the purposive sampling method, to allow the researcher to select a sample of appropriate respondents for the examination.

Purposive sampling was chosen as the best strategy for this study because it allowed the researcher to apply his knowledge of the research topic to select members from the various administrative and non-legislative offices, foundations, and districts of Bakkassi regions. Purposive sampling, according to Barreiro and Albandoz (2001), is one in which the person who selects the sample attempts to achieve representativeness in the sample, subject to his judgment, drive, or reason, in this manner being the portrayal abstract. According to Tongco (2007), The purposive sampling technique is a collection of non-likelihood sampling techniques that is most appropriate and practical when one wishes to investigate

a specific area with proficient specialists inside or individuals who witnessed or have involvement with a specific wonder. Purposive sampling, according to Sekaran (2006), is limited to specific types of people who can provide the anticipated data or fit into certain conditions set by the analyst. The center's scope was limited, and it will be critical to include government officials with significant involvement in the Bakkassi issue, which is commonly associated with Nigeria and Cameroon in the Bakassi Peninsula. As a result, the true sample size for this investigation was (100) respondents, (50) from each side (Cameroon and Nigeria), including government officials. The decision was based on the need to ensure that the results reflected the absolute involvement in the field.

### **1.20 Research Instruments**

This study used an interview schedule for data collection owing to the qualitative approach adopted.

### **1.21 Method of Data collection**

The study used numerous data collection methods such as Oral Interviews (O.I), Key Informant Interviews (KII), and Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The research used semi-structured interview questions on the respondents. Oral interviews were used to collect data from civilians of both sides of the divide. KII and FGD were used to obtain data from both government officials and representatives from the various involved institutions like the UN.

### **1.22 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments**

To establish the validity of the research instrument used, the researcher collaborated with experts in the field of history and international relations. The instrument was also triangulated to ensure reliability. This facilitated the necessary revision and modification

of the research instrument and enhanced the validity.

### **1.23 Method of Data analysis**

Data collected was analyzed using the content method of analysis and historical analysis. Primary data were analyzed thematically as well as chronologically in line with the study objectives and timeframe. The recorded data were transcribed. Secondary data was subjected to critical textual analysis.

### **1.24 Data Management and Ethical Considerations**

The researcher adhered to ethical standards in the planning of the study, data collection, and analysis. The researcher obtained a consent letter for research from Kenyatta University Graduate School, which was sent to the National Commission, for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI), and Nigeria's relevant authority. The respondents were engaged voluntarily. They were also affirmed that the study was for academic purposes only and were assured that their identity would not be disclosed without their consent.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **BORDER RELATIONS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND CAMEROON 1999-2006**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the trends in border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon in a historical perspective.

##### **2.1.1 Anglo-German Agreement of 1913-2015**

There has been a sequence of boundary disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon before and after their independence.

Okoro (2001) observes that, by September 10, 1884, before the Berlin discussion of 1885, Britain and Germany brought out their regional areas of power throughout Africa. It was finalized on November 15, 1893. By 1914 the amalgamation of Nigeria took place. The Bakassi Peninsula was a section of Southern Cameroon before the World War II. Bakassi originated under the authority of British Cameroon as a trusted Territory. The proclamation in the year 1919, on July 10, of the Franco-British announcement, brought Bakassi and Cameroon under the British commands (ibid).

On November 15, 1893, the United Kingdom and the European nation outlined their boundaries in Africa in support of the agreement that it be completed on Christian holy day, 1906. Each colonial power did not seek the knowledge of autochthone people who had inhabited this territory prior to colonial conquest and understood the cultural and political boundaries between vastly different identity groups (Saint, 2012).

Historically, the Bakassi were part of the traditional domain of Calabar, which became one Nigeria under British rule in 1914. Nonetheless, the British ceded the territory, initially to Deutschland, and thus fell below the mandate of the League of Nations' League of Countries and Territories through a series of bilateral treaties and different legal instruments. In the meantime, British protectorates in Nigeria, including the dominion of Calabar kingdom, were incorporated with their colonies in the area, and collectively incorporated into the British colony (Tarlebba & Baroni, 2010). Another compelling reason for the conflict over Bakassi's possession was that the realm, previously the petitioning for Africa, was a portion of the traditional Calabar kingdom's territory. The Bakassi people remained loyal to the Obong of Calabar, who granted Calabar, the Efik, and Ibibio within the land the status of a British territory through a written agreement on the tenth of the Gregorian calendar month 1884, and thus the chiefs of Efik and Ibibio were co-signatories to the written agreement (Ibid) This is connected with the thought given by Udogu of World Health Organization who declared that the Bakassi land ought to have been taken to Deutschland, it absolutely was later placed below the League of countries command after the defeat of Deutschland in war and so it was transferred under the UN (Udogu, 2010).

Ngwana (2007) has the thought that the Anglophone drawback was of majestic departure, continuing for over two decades with almost all the areas riveting to the philosophy of its expatriate tradition. During that period, southern and northern Cameroonian areas were ruled under Nigeria. The struggle for independence started to achieve political momentum. In the year 1959 May, the international community agreed with Resolve 1350 recommending a vote within the southern part of Cameroon. On February 11<sup>th</sup> 1961; the

world organization administered a vote in the northern and southern areas of Cameroon to work out whether or not they would love to hold up the Federal Republic of Nigeria or the Republic of Cameroon. Southern Cameroon was to vote between the choices of attaining freedom or connection with Nigeria or Cameroon whereas the North chose to hitch the Nigerian state, in the South part nominated in the indulgence of attaining independence with Cameroonian.

### **2.2.2 Border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon during the civilian regime of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and AhmedouAhidjo, 1960**

That according Nowa (2012), after Cameroon gained independence in 1960, Nigeria began to raise concerns about the shared maritime border area with Cameroon, and each country began to demarcate their respective areas. Despite map locations depicting Bakassi's dense ground as under Cameroonian land, the offshore boundary delineations of the canal's passable percentage to the Calabar body of water remained imprecise. When Cameroon gained independence on January 1, 1960, the political instruments between France and the African nation that led to this new country resurrected all colonial boundaries as defined by previous agreements during colonial rule. Partially, the United Kingdom followed suit after the African nation gained independence on October 1st of the same year (Ibid). That after the reduction of insecurity, it was possible to hold a vote in Southern Cameroons on February 11th, 1961. Throughout that time, the people of Southern Cameroons opted for independence by changing the integrity of the independent Republic of Cameroon through several nationalism movements for self-determination, whereas a vote was a command to see Cameroonians' citizenship. The outcome of this exercise revealed that Cameroonians desired to affix Northern Cameroon, so Sardauna province was established (Etekpe, 2013).

Per the Omoigui (2006), a referendum was held under British rule to demonstrate the wishes of the people of Northern and Southern Cameroon. Cameroon sought liberation through the Nigerian state in 1959. In 1961, the people of Southern Cameroon voted to join the Republic of Cameroon through 21 polling stations, with 73 percent voting to achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of Cameroon

**Table 3.1: Results of the 1961 UN Plebiscite**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Vote for Nigeria</b>	<b>Votes for Cameroon</b>
Northern Cameroon	146,296	96,659
Southern Cameroon	97,741	233,571

Source: *Akinyemi (1974:139)*.

Aghemelo and Ibhasebhor (2006) stated that in the Ambassadorial Memorandum Number. 570 of 1962 on March 27, the Tafawa Balewa administration swapped ambassadorial records using Cameroon admitting that the disputed territory of Bakassi remained certainly, a Cameroonian region. In the year 1966 around July, the then Head of state of Nigeria, Gowon came to like the Balewa's procedure of settlement of the dispute, he agreed during their administrations.

In 1967, around May, in response to the regional government meeting's directive to fragment, Gowon formed twelve new states in Africa, including the South-Eastern State led by associate degree Ibibio Officer. The formation of the South-Eastern State from the previous Jap area rekindled interest in retorting African nations among Bakassi Efik and Ibibio residents, many of whom had previously decided not to in 1961. Nigeria's civil war began in July 1967 and lasted until the end of the Gregorian calendar month in 1970. (Ibid).

Ate (1983), belief that in the 1966 during Nigerian civil war border between Nigerian and Cameroon closed throughout Nigerian warfare. By the Ahidjo era initially licensed the

Nigerian authority to use parts of the Bakassi Riverine area in order to block militant from Nigerian Biafaran to supply weapon. This is goes with the Ikome's thoughts regarding Nigerian safety and security of its land according relied on Cameroonian state kindness that had fronted Nigeria's need to go for renegotiation in order to secure its territorial integrity concerning the invention, throughout the warfare, that Nigeria's security and territorial integrity (Ikome, 2004).

### **2.2.3 Agreement between Nigeria and Cameroon during the military regime of General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria and Ahmedou Ahidjo of Cameroon in the 1970s**

Maigari Quoting Etekpe noted that on the eve of the Nigerian difficult time i.e. civil war, the two states agreed to close the marine boundaries from where the Biafran militias got their foreign military supplies. Going forward, on June 1st, 1975, Gowon and Ahidjo concluded the Maroua Declaration that redefined and extended the 1971 maritime boundary agreement. Indeed, the official map of Nigeria in the 1970s recognized Bakassi as part of Cameroon's territory. Successive governments in Nigeria however did not commit to addressing the ensuing crisis until it degenerated into a conflict of international important and significance in the 1980s (Maigari, 2017).

The documentation of Terry Karl (2012) on the negative outcome of "petro states " that occurred from an incapability to use oil dividend in reasonable means of growth and how political instability led to low economic outcome due to oil resources and the bust cycles of 1970. In April 1971, the traveling of General Gowon the head of state in Nigeria to Cameroonian capital city as a delegation of advisers to solve the issue which leads to reaching an agreement on the border portion of the offshore of countries (Ibid).

Colgan (2009) looks into the source of global conflict due to global oil consumption by a disagreement "further down bound situations, and oil financial gain allowed leaders to remove political problems, cut back internal answerability and take their countries to war". The clear result of the behavior of a country, he maintains, depends mostly on its domestic politics. In contrast to the petro-competition, petro-aggression happens once destructive leaders start to create conflict in their effort to cut back internal answerability. To reinforce this disagreement and show the affiliation in rock oil and antagonistic policy within the situation of the Nigeria–Cameroon dispute, it's necessary to notice that till 1958, when rock oil was revealed in the Nigerian nation and afterward became a supply of export revenue, agriculture was the main source of economy. This can later amendment following the Arab oil embargo that diode to the oil crisis of the Nineteen Seventies usually observed because of the OPEC crisis.

Omoigui (2006) observed that in the year 1971, a summit was held including the two leaders in Yaoundé, Cameroon. Throughout the meeting, Gowon and Ahidjo agreed to define the navigable channel of the Akpayafe River up to Point 12. On the map Gowon sketched a line towards a point. Unfortunately, the line Gowon illustrated – on direct guidance from the director of Federal Surveys was not the true manageable canal of the Akpayafe River as documented by the colonial masters.

Omoigui, (2006) agreed that, the Coker-Ngo line which was agree by two leaders of Nigeria and Cameroon in 1970s was also called for renegotiation because Nigerian authority realize its mistake during the signing of the agreement, however, that had given Cameroonian chance of erected offshore oil rig by the Ahidjo administration government

in the late 1970s, further more and later in June 1975 Gowon approve unwilling a small portion of marine territory to Cameroon.

#### **2.2.4 Changes in Border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon under civilian Administration of Shehu Shagari and Paul Biya Administrations in the 1980s**

Nweke (1982) observes that in 1981 conflict emerged between Nigeria and Cameroon that run many lives of Nigerian security force in the disputed area of Bakassi, and that the Nigerian government was not willing engaged in conflict with Cameroon based on public interests from civil societies and military for a referendum geared toward consensus building.

Similarly, Shayari (2001) asserts that the Nigeria-Cameroon conflict generated public attention to the 1981 border problem between Nigeria and Cameroon. The problem started with the historical development of the Cameroon political era under the superpower German, French, and British with colonial instructions which affected the Nigerian boundary.

The Nigeria and Cameroon conflicts are one of the reversions, but the inconsistencies, underlining the intricate contact among historic, environmental, social, partisan, and economic factors are one of the reasons of state to state hostility. The control of Bakassi was struggled as both Cameroon and Nigeria unprofessional challenging for rights to the area. Armed hostilities developed on the Peninsula in the year 1981 (Ibid).

Prince (2005) analyzed that, the neighboring countries of Nigeria and Cameroon went to war as a result of misunderstanding in the 1980s on the issue of Bakassi land, generated by

Cameroonian broadcasting house condemning the Nigerian security force on duty for violating its territorial integrity (Prince, 2005).

### **2.2.5 Resource Discovery and Significant Role in Border Relations between the Two Countries in 1983**

Anene (1970) claims that the finding of deposits of the oil resources in the Bakassi Peninsula since 1983 increased pressure in the relations between the two countries. The presence of oil in the peninsula and fishery activities boosted the economy of the region and thus, triggered the conflicts between the two states leading to loss of lives from military hostilities and tribal squabbles.

This is connected with an oral interview with a government official from Cameroon note said;

Resources discovery in any part of the world is a very good welcome development because it has a greater impact on the economy, it increases the revenue of the country and if there is any issue over its claims then it's going to affect any form of relations, even border relations (Efficat, O.I,18/9/2019).

Tarlebba and Baroni (2010) argue that the genesis of the conflicts between Nigerian and Cameroon has different views. Some maintained that the conflicts were connected with the search of the oil resource, while for the people of Bakassi, the conflicts were as a result of a much more compounded truth to them the finding of oil resources was just one of the motives. Some also upheld that the departure of families and tribes from their homeland bonds not only created by the paraphernalia of the scramble of Africa but because of the internal war involvement.

In an interview with a retired government official from Nigeria working on the border, he observed that:

This is a vast topic. I think when you are referring to natural resources, not human resources; there is an issue of agriculture. We also do have mineral resources. If we limit ourselves to border area or disputed land extended down to the sea I will say yes okay we have oil wealth. In any community, there are the issue resources and based on the understanding between the two countries that means to formulate policies that would give good offering for the exploitation and explorer of their resources discovered. Yes! You can see from the Lake Chad we have a vast agricultural area; the area can feed the whole of this country many resources are yet be tapped because the area is still virgin because going by historical facts there are some places within the maps no human being had ever set it to foot on. We call it Gudal Mountain which means. There is some resource still untapped when you go down south are having the issue of Bakassi and the issue of hydrocarbon we call the starting resources just as it was done between Nigeria and Cameroon joint development agreement. A body was established to implement the agreement now as the working group of maritime boundaries is trying to define Nigeria Cameroon boundary. After the judgment this was done you made: (i) one yonder (ii) two is an instrument around that year than from point x down south it was determined based on British chart 33, 43, now after the accomplishing of the mandate of the working group of maritime the issue of staring resources come in. Nigeria, Cameroon Trans border security committee came up, with some instruments that would enable the two countries to exploit and export the resources to make the judgment cohesive we produced a draft that still needs the endorsement of the leaders of the two countries (Adamu, KII, 20/5/2019).

Familugba and Olabinpe (2013) believed that the state of hostility and disagreement in Bakassi could have been clearer in the boundary argument. This was not unrelated to some events and conclusions made by the Nigerian regime that Cameroon believed unsuitable. Cameroon suspect Nigerian authorities on the grounds that Nigeria used her power through the Lake Chad Basin Commission to sway Niger and Chad.

In an interview oral source with a government official from Nigeria, it was revealed:

The discovery of the resources plays a vital role particularly the discovery of oil. You need not be folding that oil plays a key role in international relations worldwide. Bakassi can't be expected to be different. Oil had long been discovered there, but Cameroon and Nigeria showed little or no interest in developing the area. No attempt was made to develop commercial activities. Only an ethnic group engaged in fishing. When I was there ELP was just there flying the flags of the two countries one after the other. The dispute arose over claiming the oil field. There was a claim and counterclaim over the area. If you closely study the treaty the area was under Calabar which was under Orum. The headquarters of the missionaries was therefore before the creation of the state (Adamu, KII, 10/9/2019).

According to Familugba and Ojo (2013), the establishment of Cameroon as a political component in this extent raised the issue of domains of influence differentiation between Britain and Germany, leading to the creation of limitations. That shift signaled the beginning of contention and battle between Britain and Germany over their colonial possessions, which the two West African countries eventually inherited even after independence.

#### **2.2.6 Border relations during Nigeria's military regime and Cameroon civilian regime of Sani Abacha and Paul Biya in 1993**

Nigeria's security force take control of the scandalous regions took another measurement in the outcome of the terminated presidential elections of the twelfth Gregorian calendar month 1993. However, because of internal crisis that intensified the danger views of the Abacha camp, and on condition that persisted the problems are often those who will be used most quickly by a nation's rivals, Nigerian rulers manipulated indebted to safe their borders. Therefore, the Nigerian state dedicated to control Bakassi, significantly at a time

once the international community was more and more uninflected by the Abacha regime as a result of its poor democratic and human rights records.

Given Nigeria's large size and economic power, the Republic of Cameroon suspected that Nigeria's strategies of managing the Bakassi area it can be a gradual process of take over the disputed land (Ate, 1983).

In 1992 and 1993, the Cameroonian authorities continued their aggression against Nigerians by killing some Nigerian citizens in Cameroon at a time when the Anglophones desperately needed independence from the Francophones. According to reports, some Nigerians were even exiled from Cameroon for harassing tax collectors (Ibid).

Between 1994 and 1996, the border dispute between Cameroonian security forces on duty and African state security forces persisted, now in increasingly serious forms. In 1996, diplomatic officials stated that many Nigerian troops had been killed and a few had been imprisoned in Cameroon. Despite the fact that Nigeria has a much larger population and military, Cameroon is said to have had no casualties during the battle. (New York Times)

Cameroon experienced a period of unrest in 1996. The southern part of Cameroon had grown tired of Cameroonian central authority control and began to demand a federal arrangement of state or sovereignty if the federation failed. This demand arose when the southern part of Cameroon realized that the French majority did not respect the ballot relationships (Mbuh, 2004).

As the southern part of Cameroon planned a request for independence and veneration of the federal constitution, a struggle over Bakassi erupted between French and English Cameroon, with the latter viewing Bakassi as its own due to its geographic location (Ibid).

Nzumbe (2007) argues that the disagreement in Bakassi John Drew civic attention in the 1990s as a result of the investigations held, showing that the mountainous region was made up of oil resources and that it was around the tenth part of the world in oil and gas reserves. However, the causes of battle continue in distinct mostly for the inadequacy of ability estimated practical strategies of search. This will increase the inquiry of what circumstances do government persuasive rulers arrange to build land problems to some extent of disagreement.

Okoi (2016) argues that the battle resumed in the disputed Bakassi territory between the two states in the year 1996. In mid-1996, an ambassador's statements observed that some security forces on duty from the Nigerian side lost their lives in a battle with Cameroonian military, and that many soldiers were taken as prisoners of war. He further noted that the sustaining of this conflict was as a result of the Sani Abacha tactics of period elongation in power.

Price (2005) argues that the absolute controlling behavior of Cameroon's government through its democratic policy was compounded by rising needs for freedom and sovereignty for Anglophone Cameroonians, that had triggered security force in Cameroon to murder of Nigerian people around 1992 and 1993 tensions erupted cause Nigerian government positioned its army personnel to the disputed peninsula.

Tarar (2006) states that national leaders may consolidate their position through creating external conflict because global dispute draws public's devotion toward an external enemy moderately than the internal paradoxes while rulers are more likely to use force as a tools policy when the incentives of holding public office remain a priority rather than focusing on domestic issues.

### **2.2.7 The civilian administration of Olusegun Obasanjo and Paul Biya in 1999**

Choplin (2010) said that the Saharan presents are infrequently prepared. Though the increasing link between illegal dealing and international terrorism movement, as well as the escalating risk this poses to peace in the region and international security is fascinating developing responsiveness. The demise of Libya's Gaddafi led to instability in West Africa as unsafe arms and skilled soldiers flooded into the region, and these fears may help terrorists in the Sahara.

The court ordered Nigeria to join the expedition and withdraw its authority and security forces from the area of Lake Chad under Cameroon's sovereignty, as well as from the Bakassi Peninsula (Ebohon, 2016).

Ighodaro Quoting Vanguard, (Saturday, August 9, 2008), noted the response of the Bakassi leader, who spoke on behalf of the people on their Unger to losing their homeland to Cameroon. According to Ighodaro, on June 20, 2008, when the Upper House Joint Team on External Matters and other stakeholders led by its group leader stakeholders in Calabar on account of the Bakassi question, the paramount ruler discharged the official visit of the Upper house committee visit to the side because he considers the visit to inquire about the Bakassi situation to be pointless.

According to Onowo (2003), the governments of Cameroon and Nigeria agreed to form a joint commission to investigate the root causes of their conflicts. The Nigeria-Cameroon Boundary Demarcation Team was established. After careful consideration, they all agreed to uphold the Anglo-German 1913 Treaty and to place inter-visible beacons along the 1913 boundary.

According to Maigari (2017), the relationship between Nigeria and Cameroon was emotionless, and a mixed commission will be formed to deliberate on all matters concerning the presiding officer's operation. They couldn't communicate during the first meeting because it was so tense. Each took their place at the table, and even greetings became difficult. The meeting came to an end in a stalemate.

During the ICJ ruling, Cameroon's Minister of External Relations summoned the witness states, who reiterated their commitment to the ICJ." Although the Cameroonian government refused to acknowledge the political dimension of the Bakassi insurgency by referring to the insurgents as anything other than "armed bandits." On August 14, 2009, the decision was made to hold a ceremony commemorating the transfer of authority in the Nigerian city of Calabar (Cornwell, 2005).

Bakassi's statement was interpreted as an admission that Bakassi was far from secure. But before that, in response to all of the incidents of insecurity, the peoples of Cameroon and Nigeria decided to help one another. Cameroon's Battalion Intervention Rapides commandos were dispatched to the coast in 2007 to assist Nigeria's Delta Command in dealing with the rapidly deteriorating security situation (Ibid).

According to Omede (2006), these unpleasant conditions were not limited to the Cameroon coast. They were also introduced in northern Cameroon and Nigeria as a result of Boko Haram's activities. The Boko Haram Jama'atu Ahlis way of life Lidda'awati w'al Jihad is one of such spiritual articulates of insecurity in the African nation and its surroundings.

Nicolas and Sam (2010) dwell on the merits of diplomatic negotiations that characterize the Nigeria-Cameroon conflict, alongside the historic significance of the ICJ's resolution. The judgment proves the efficacy of the UN as an organization that handles international issues. It was also a boost to the government of Paul Biya whose high diplomacy and multilateral engagements with the international community led to the ICJ ruling. On the other hand, the acceptance of the ICJ ruling by Nigeria is a clear demonstration of the country's principled resolve to go by the rules and to demonstrate to the world that she is a conscious peace promoter.

Okoro (2001) argues that the Bakassi dispute was a checked floor for both bilateral and multilateral diplomatic decisions on the crisis. Furthermore, it turned out to be a case for the performance of international mediation as a way of settling global conflicts. Also, He observes that the Bakassi Peninsula came under British governor influence on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1884. Before the 1885 Berlin talks, Britain and Germany brought out their regional areas of influence throughout Africa and this was finalized on November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1893. Whereas by 1914 at that time current regions of Nigeria were combined, the Bakassi Peninsula was as a section of Southern Cameroon. Before World War II, Bakassi originated under the authority of British Cameroon as a trusted Territory. The proclamation on July

10<sup>th</sup>, 1919, of the Franco-British declaration, brought Bakassi and British Cameroon under British command. They were being managed in the same area as Nigeria (ibid).

A plebiscite was held in 1961 to determine Cameroonian citizenship. As a result of this exercise, Cameroonians expressed a desire to join Northern Cameroon, and Saradauna province was established. Bakassi was effectively governed as part of Cameroon from Nigeria's First Republic until the end of the Nigeria civil war. Bakassi was included on the official map of Nigeria in the 1970s as part of Cameroon's territory. Nigeria's successive governments failed to make a commitment to address the dispute until it deteriorated into a conflict of international importance and consequence in the 1980s (Etekpe, 2013).

In an oral interview with community leader from Bakassi Nigerian side, it was revealed that; In line with the Anglo-German call of 1900-1901, that stood the receiving of a replacement boundary within the south between Federal Republic of Nigeria Associate in Nursing Cameroon to a distinctive border at the stream of Akpayafe. The subsequent study was in agreement in ordered years by Brits and Germans: a) Yola to Chad together with the Arc in 1903-04 and recognized by written agreement (No.284) between the nice United Kingdom and Federal Republic of Germany of nineteenth March 1906. The demarcation was conjointly allotted by Brits and also the Germans. b) Yola to Cross stream in 1907-09 allotted initial by the United Kingdom and repeatedly by the Federal Republic of Germany in 1912-13 c) Cross stream to the road change of integrity King purpose to Bakassi purpose at the mouth of Akpayafe stream conjointly (Archibong, O.I, 12/09/2018).

Meanwhile, Aye (2003) observes that in the world court report, it was agreed that the border is defined by the Thomson-Marchand Declaration of 1929-1930, which is connected to the Henderson-Fleurinu dialogue Records of 1931 (between Great Britain and France), presenting that the limit begins in the lake from the Cameroun-Nigeria Chad tri-point (Aye 2003).

A key informant from Nigerian facet unconcealed that;

Historically, the legacy of colonialism also hunted Cameroon and Nigeria and also shapes their history. Nigeria and Cameroon were a colonial entity of Britain, Germany, and France. Most of the current boundaries between Cameroon and Nigeria were established by their colonial masters, through the signing of accord or agreements without prior consultation from the African people themselves. Some of these boundary agreements are the April-June 1885, which defined the German and British territories from the coast to the Gulf of Guinea (Adamu. KII, 20/5/2018).

Beckly (2013) asserts that the inheritance of colonialism is what started the conflicts between Cameroon and Nigeria. Nigeria and Cameroon were colonial units of Britain, Germany, and France. Most of the existing boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria were a creation of their colonial masters, through the signing of accord or agreements without prior consultation from the African people themselves. One of is the boundary agreements are, April-June 1885, which defined the German and British territories from the coast to the Gulf of Guinea.

The key informant from Cameroon side confirmed that:

Yes, there was a land dispute there was disagreement between the two states which even went to the extent of causing deploying military from both sides. Currently, as we are talking, countries in the Gulf of Guinea are shafting their maritime areas. So, Nigeria, Ghana, and the Gulf of Guinea have also made a plan. It has been discovered that the area has some large deposits of hydrocarbon-based on research development (Oku KII, 05/11/2018).

Similarly, Ikyase and Olisah (2014) work on Nigeria -Cameroon border relation, they brief that discourse in Bakassi disagreement was a parade of a border skirmish successfully determined through the use of efficient multidimensional mediation. The consequence of the predicted consequences of the mediation was jointly acknowledged by the disputing

rivalries, appreciations to the global court presiding on the tactical consequence of the world court verdict on the dispute. In an oral interview with community leader from Bakkassi in Cameroon side noted that:

There was disagreement between the two countries. The dispute is due to poor delineation of the colonial boundaries (Umoh.O O. I, 06/08/2019).

Ugwuo (2012) investigates land conflicts in Africa and concludes that Africans naturally enjoy land conflicts because it validates family or municipality allegiances. He goes on to say that border conflicts typically involve a large number of people, whereas land disputes between bordering towns occupy political consideration and local administration.

In an interview with a resident from Bakkassi, Nigerian side it was noted:

There was tension between the two states because of the conflict over land. They argue that nothing shows the boundary. (Ita.B, O.I, 15/9/2019).

Furthermore, in their article titled "Nigeria-Cameroon border relations: An analysis of conflict and cooperation," Familugba and Ojo (2013) believe that the Cameroonian authority viewed Nigeria's statement regarding the ownership of Bakassi Peninsula as an effort to take over so many lands in the hands of Cameroonian authority. As a result, Cameroonians were regarded as undesirable, and this could not be tolerated. Cameroons were prepared to use all diplomatic tools at their disposal in the future to thwart what they perceived to be Nigeria's land interventionist strategy.

In an interview with community leader from Bakkassi, Nigerian side, it was revealed that:

Since Cameroon took the case to ICJ, the territory has since been defined in a way that the land is supposed to be owned by Cameroon government, but there are some communities still living on that land and also refuse to accept that they are Cameroonian, they became mere stateless people. However, if this problem persists, then you expect future occurrences of crisis in that area (Archibong, O.I, 12/9/2019).

Furthermore, Ugwu (2012) contends that the land in dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon was given to Nigeria former European imperialism. This is why, following the global Court's decision, many Nigerians were outraged, resulting in ethnic tensions in the region.

An oral interview with a civil servant from the Cameroon side asserted that:

Negotiation between the two countries is the only tool for the non-violent settlement of the dispute and seeking solutions that rivalries can agree upon. Many security checkpoints within Bakkassi imply there were problems (Nyong, KII, 14/9/2019).

Similarly, Babatola (2017) observes that scholars of contemporary African documented that the significances of imperialism control and colonialism of Africa disordered, confused, banished, and split the African nations and disturbed her system of development and ways of their living

In an oral interview with a resident from Bakkassi Cameroon side, it was noted:

The border conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon has been in existence for some time now. Many people do not have an idea of how the problem could be solved. There seems to be no cooperation from both sides of the divide (Okon, O.I, 16/9/2019).

According to Omede (2006), believe that areas of French colonial territories' political, cultural, military, and economic compassions with France are donating to West Africa's present difficulties. Deliberately, the study contends that neighboring countries have involved in a sequences of misuses of Nigeria's natural and economic resources, as well as advance on her boundaries, over the years. As a consequence, numerous Nigerian governments have understood these violations as intimidations to the country's national security.

Quoted from a community leader from Bakkassi, Nigerian side the sentiments relate:

Before the arrival of the colonial masters who established borders for their capitalist mission, Nigeria and Cameroon had long had good relations. The boundaries established caused disagreements not only between Nigeria and Cameroon, but also between a numbers of other African countries. (Orok, O, O.I, 17/9/2019).

Since the ICJ ruling in 2002, life on the Bakassi Peninsula has become nearly unbearable, especially since the implementation of the GTA. Their basic rights as citizens, such as freedom of movement and access to rivers for fishing, were restricted, and the Cameroonian authorities levied a heavy tax on the inhabitants, who were mostly Nigerians. These non-developmental challenges bred insecurity, giving rise to piracy and kidnappings as a source of income in the peninsula. (Maigari, 2017; cited in Nigerian Information, 2015)

According to a retired government official from Nigeria in an interview, it was revealed:

So far boundary problems between Nigeria and Cameroon had ended. The main question now was the implementation of the ICJ decisions which had already determined the boundary between Nigeria and Cameroon as well as the sovereignty of Bakassi. The implementation had advanced and right now, there are few areas of disagreements that need to be resolved and for that to happen, the exercise would affect a total coordinate of 200 kilometers of land boundary (Adamu, KII, 20/09/2019).

According to Johnson-Ross (2009), the separation positions were imposed by colonial powers; the World Court did not take into account, a reflection of Bakassian safety measures, when interpreting its 2002 decision. The Green Tree Agreement's approval established the international community's capability and readiness to resolve border disputes in a peaceful and pleasant-sounding manner, but it did not heighten the Bakassi's fears.

An oral interview with a retired government official from Nigeria revealed that:

There were disputes which accounted for the deployment of troops there, for about ten (10) years; a clear indication of the existence of security problems. An attempt to discuss the factors that influenced border relations between the two states is the presence of security checkpoints. The movement of people and goods were restricted (Adamu, KII, 10/9/2019).

Okoli (2009) argues that the history of relations between Nigeria and Cameroon is based on inter-state conflicts. He quantified that 'relations between Nigeria and Southern Cameroon have been historical. This according to him has been made probable by both geographical and socio-political factors. He adds that Nigeria and the territory of Southern Cameroon were conterminous in terms of border relations.

Supporting the above statement, he notes that in traditional Africa, the idea of the political or ethnic frontier was articulated in relations of neighbors with whom the specific state or community having a common terrain and such border was regarded in terms of area or a thin sector facing the two neighbors obvious tainted through it in this intellect, the border remained the sector being two were united or join together (Fanso, 1986).

In an interview with one of the community leaders from Bakkassi Nigerian side, the respondent remarked:

Losing citizenship rights to live harmoniously in my ancestral land and benefit from the resource's nature has limited my growth and prosperity. This ager makes two sides take weapons against each other. I believe if this issue cannot have a quick solution it will be a problem even to the entire region (Archibong, O.I, 12/9/2019).

In associate degree interview with a community leader from Bakkassi Nigerian aspect, he noted note that:

There is external control of Bakkassi in Cameroon by its former colonial power France because initially, we had very good relations with Cameroon until when oil was discovered around that area. The border concern emerged, we understand that Cameroon could have been pushed to claim Bakkassi by France so that it has a place to exploit for her oil companies (Orok, O, O.I, 17/9/2019).

Eke (2009) in his analysis of boundary relations between neighboring Nigeria-Cameroon in Bakassi states that the dispute was a result of the harmful diplomatic relations between Nigeria and France because of France's influence in West Africa. However, Nigeria has had power over her international relations with the global communities, without any external control.

In an oral interview with the resident from Bakkassi Nigerian side, the respondent notes:

The issue of a land dispute between Nigeria/Cameroon and the factor influencing relations among them can be classified into two, external and internal factors that influence border relations between the two countries are on economic resources like fish ring activities that resident communities engage in which their livelihood depends on, and also the external factor influence border relations are the oil, there is a shred of existing evidence that shows the influence role made by foreign powers in the conflict area where they connived with their former colony in extracting oil in the area like France (Ita, B, O.I,15/9/2019).

However, Eke (2009), on the other hand, believes that the Nigeria-Cameroon disagreement over the oil-rich Bakassi was the result of rancorous inter-relationships between Nigeria and France, owing mostly to Nigeria's dominant power in that part of the continent. He also clarifies that Nigeria gained independence in 1960 and became a republic in 1963, with autonomous authority over her global relations with the rest of the world.

Nevertheless, in an oral interview with a resident from Bakassi Cameroon side, it was stated that;

It is just one factor that is influencing border relations between the two countries that is politics. Most of what is happening there are politically motivated issues if you look at the communities living around the two sides of the border they are a community that shares some tribes who have lived there for many years but because of the interest of those in power, divided that communities based on an imaginary line to please the mind of their former colonial masters that in turn, destabilizing the peace that was enjoyed for long by the communities. We don't fight with our Nigerian brother because of the division of line between us, you since we know that this place is Nigeria and the other side Cameroon, why sending soldiers to a particular point? Because something important has been discovered there which is oil (resident Okon, O.I, 16/9/2019).

Bakassi Peninsula's coast is projected to have large oil billions of drums (Chukwu, 2000).

Aside from oil, the Peninsula is thought to cover several trillion cubic feet of natural gas beds, which could be more profitable than crude oil reserves (De Konings, 2005).

However, in an oral source with community leader from Bakassi Nigerian side, it was confirmed that:

There is heavy taxation and life becomes difficult as health problems become more rampant due to lack of health services. In a situation where basic needs are not met, all promise that the government makes had not been implemented. One can see how life continues to become difficult for the inhabitants in the disputed land due to conflict (Orok, O, I, 17/9/2019).

The first military conflict took place in the year, 1981 on 16<sup>th</sup> of May. On that very day, Cameroonian radio service proclaimed the involvement of three Nigerian military patrol boots had violated Cameroon's territorial boundary by interfering into Bakassi and shutting Cameroonian Naval officer on duty. Cameroonian force also retaliated in bloody confrontation (Ngang, 2007)

Similarly, in an oral interview, a government official from Cameroon confirms that;

While there are so many factors influencing border relations between the two countries, prominent among them are economic and sovereignty of the state, that is why in 1994 we took the case to the international court of justice to determine the extent of the sovereignty of Bakkassi; where it was determined and luckily enough our prayers were granted by the court and we were given the right to exercise our sovereign power on Bakkassi territorial land (Efficat, KII, 18/9/2019).

Maigari (2017) maintainsthat any agreement authority involves in must require endorsement from legislators. President Obasanjo acknowledged the presiding of the world court without seeking the concert of the legislators being part of the requirements before it becomes legal treaty with the Nigerian state. Without hesitancy, the legislators banned the court orders. In Bakassi, Nigerian nationals also agitated over the giving of the Peninsula to Cameroon.

In an interview with a retired government official from Nigeria, the respondent argues:

Some surviving homogeneous communities were living there and going about their activities in the boundaries is with the amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorates in 1914, Nigeria came to exist and thereafter we got our independence in 1960 there were so many constitutions before our independence and after the independence. During the colonial period, it was determined that South Nigeria and Cameroon exist as a single entity. Initially German was controlling Cameroon then later France while Nigeria had been controlled by the British. Those colonial powers developed treaties affecting the two countries and it's these that are now used by I.C.J as the legitimate instrument for determining the land boundary between Nigeria and Cameroon the major treaties that affected land boundaries from the North exist we have the Thontan Monten declaration 1931 in some textbooks is 1930. There is also the Anglo-German agreement of 1913 in down south and in between the colonialists realized that there were some gaps and they created what they call 1914 British order in council to have a gap there are the documents that determine the boundaries and it was based on those documents that the commission was established to ensure that most of the implementations of the judgment are based on the documents (Adamu, KII, 20/5/2019)

Ivorgba (2005) noted that disputes are as old as the history of human being and therefore usually, natural and inevitable, some people argue otherwise conflict may generate bad conditions and very grave possessions, as well as consciousness, economic progress, and improvement.

However, in an interview, an oral source with community leader from Bakassi, Nigerian side said:

The conflict and disputes in the Bakassi area arose from imperialist policies of the British and German colonialists who drew agreements between themselves at the expense of indigenes (Archibong. O.I,12/9/2019)

In his analysis of the origins of Nigeria–Cameroon border contention, Mazrui (2008) believes that three factors are to blame: territorial, geostrategic, and misleading logics of hostility. The territorial logic emphasizes the causal relationship between land issues and conflict behavior, and he further argues that Nigeria's and Cameroon's historical, political, and geographical positions on the sovereignty of the Bakassi Peninsula influenced their foreign policy decisions.

Another oral interview with community leader from Bakassi Nigerian side confirms the above statement that:

The historical border problem dates back to the colonial era before the independence of Nigeria and Cameroon in the 1960s. The problem started when the German wanted to have access to the area under their control in southern Nigeria that had compelled them to go for the signing of an agreement between them and the British authority who were the colonial masters of Nigeria in 1913, which was called the Anglo-German agreement. So, the problem was inherited by the states from their colonial masters (Orok, O.I,17/9/2019).

Ikome (2004) contends that during the European scramble for Africa, the two countries belonged to the spheres of the imperial influence of three important European imperial powers namely Britain, Germany, and France. Northern Cameroon came under the influence of France while the Southern part became a German Colony.

In an oral interview with a resident in Bakassi Nigerian side, it was noted:

The historical border problem between the two countries since the agreement signed by our former colonial masters was then inherited through the agreement signed by the two states. This was constructed based on their selfish interests, now it has become a problem to us and it seems to me that nobody cares about our welfare, all that they care about is the resource that we are blessed with within the area ( Ita.B,O.I,15/9/2019)

Idumange (2010), points out that the Nigeria – Cameroon imbroglio at the Bakassi Peninsula reveals three focal positions. The Bakassi problem was a conception of the imperialists, colonialists who for self-seeking reasons placed the map of Africa on a table and carved the continent for their economic interests.

Additionally, in an interview with a resident in Bakkassi Cameroon side, he revealed;

Yes, there was a historical border problem that had lasted for long, but it did not escalate to the current situation seen today. Our relations with Nigeria were quite good before the coming of the Europeans in search for oil in the region, to discover that the land has abundant oil and gas in the commercial quantity that since marked the beginning of our suffering (Okon, O.I,16/9/219).

Meanwhile, Nicolas and Sam (2010) contend that the dispute is characterized by a dichotomy between bilateral political and economic relations. This dichotomy gave the impression that the Nigeria-Cameroon dispute was unlikely to result in a positive bilateral compromise. Furthermore, France's influence made things difficult for the Nigerian government in its external relations with Cameroon.

In an oral interview with a community leader from Bakassi Nigeria side noted that;

The dispute led to the signing of an agreement between the countries in 2006, within the green tree agreement (GTA) that led to the subsequent creation of Nigeria-Cameroon border commission to ensure the demarcation of the border between the two countries which was under the court order to avoid feature clashes ( Orok, O, O.I,17/9/2019).

Okoro (2001) affirms that the Bakassi conflict was a testing ground for both bilateral and multilateral diplomatic conflict resolution. More importantly, it was a test case for the efficiency of supranational arbitration as a means of settling international conflicts.

Check (2011) examined the place of the state to state diplomatic engagements in resolving the crisis, noting that the diplomatic exploits of both Nigeria and Cameroon were critical in entrenching the platform that led to the final resolution of the border conflict. This study, however, is concerned with the aftermath of the 2006 GTA and the attendant humanitarian implications as it relates to the returnees and those who are still in the Bakassi Peninsula now under the authority of Cameroon.

### **2.2.8 The Court Judgment on the Border Issue between Nigeria and Cameroon and the Changes Brought About Within the Territorial Area of Bakassi 2002.**

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled in October 2002 that the Peninsula belonged to Cameroon based on the Anglo-German agreement of 1913, and ordered Nigerian forces to withdraw from the area (Familugba & Ojo, 2013).

Nigeria did not immediately comply with the ruling, requiring the intervention of the UN Secretary-General before a final agreement could be reached. The Green Tree Agreement was signed in New York on June 12, 2006, by Nigerian and Cameroonian leaders Olusegun Obasanjo and Paul Biya, respectively, and witnessed by UN Secretary-General Kofi

Annan, Germany, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. The agreement called for the withdrawal of the Nigerian army, followed by the handover of the Peninsula to Cameroon (ibid).

This is related to Kamto's sentiments, who stated that the ICJ ruling in 2002 should have ended the conflict, but it did not because Nigeria continued to occupy the region and refused to allow Cameroon to take ownership of the Bakassi Peninsula. As a result, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan invited the leaders of Nigeria and Cameroon to a summit in Geneva in November 2002. He obtained their pledge to honor the ICJ's decision on the boundary issues, as well as their agreement on confidence-building measures on the dispute, to agree on the modalities and mechanisms for implementation, and to determine the nature and scope of the UN's assistance to the end. Both parties concurred on the implement the ICJ ruling (Kamto, 2010)

In a key informant interview with a retired civil servant from Nigeria, it was revealed that:

There is only one court case that has been determined on the issue of Bakassi and that was the international court of justice I.C.J, the court weighed in the issue in November 2002 and not only in Bakassi but the entire boundary. Earlier on there were some meetings in Yola and others in Kano to establish how they would work out the modalities of implementing the judgment and understanding how the boundaries should be it was after the plebiscite in 1961 so many issues has been resolved (Adamu, C.KII,20/5/2019)

Similarly, Pieter (2003) observed that colonial documents supported the court's verdict. The Thomson-Marchand Declaration of 1929-1930 recognized the borders within the Lake Chad region, while the Anglo-German agreement of 1913 formed the limits as a Bakassi. With this contract, the Nigerian state was likely to withdraw its position from the

argumentative area of Lake Chad under Cameroonian sovereignty, as well as from the disputed land, which was also control of Cameroonian sovereignty.

In an interview, a retired government official from Nigeria asserted:

One such legal decision decided that Nigerian should concede the Bakassi area to Cameroon and subsequently we withdrew between 2002 and 2004. In the process, the Bakassi local government area was badly affected. It has now been relocated to Apboyo and Adikan local government area. This has created an integration issue; because the relocated people have now been seen and at least conventionally been treated as IDPs; because our constitution says we must have a reflection of 774 local governments since one local government has been removed it has to be replaced with a new one to replace the one surrendered to Cameroon. It is all about politics; they don't want to scrap the said local government and has generated yet another problem around the host community (Adamu, KII, 10/9/2019)

According to Ngong (2007), the Bakassi disputes are an example of a dispute between two states vying for land sovereignty. Despite the fact that Bakassi is only 1000 square kilometers in size and is usually unpleasant, abandoning the land to another country is always a difficult matter. Some clauses in all countries' laws nonstop addressing the matter of sovereignty over all of their own lands, as well as the accountability to protect their land honor.

In an interview with officials from the government from Cameroon noted:

After the world court verdict in 2002, the UN helped in forming the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission which was to allow for easier handing over the affected communities to their proper authorities by the verdict, it was that time that Bakkassi was handed over to Cameroonian government, consequently, Nigerian government withdrew its military force from region. , (Oku, KII, 05/11/2019)

According to Ngong (2007), scholars from political scientists discipline from both side agree that Bakassi disagreement was used to divert public attention away from issues

disturbing their countries, such as poor economic management, unemployment, poor social services, and poor human rights records.

The National Assembly of Nigeria has not ratified the agreement ceding Bakassi to Cameroon. Meeting the judgment of the international court of justice is not acceptable to the aborigines of Bakassi and the Nigerian Government. The present administration has regretted it. The issue has fueled the move for secession in Anglophone Cameroon and militancy in Nigeria. (Archibong, O.I,12/9/2019)

According to Mbagha and Njo (2009), the court ordered the immediate withdrawal of both countries' military presence in and on both sides of the Bakassi peninsula in one of its rulings on October 10, 2002, following both parties' claims of Bakassi peninsula belief to be within the control area of Cameroonian government and called for the immediate withdrawal of both countries' military presence in and on both sides of the peninsula. The judgment did not put an end to the conflict. Instead, it elicited a variety of protests and reactions from various segments of the Nigerian population.

In an interview with a community leader in Bakassi Nigerian side, one of them uttered:

Although there is still a problem, actually there is peace in both countries in terms of boundary since the judgment which led to the withdrawal of military in the disputed area( O.I, 12/9/2019).

Beseng (2009) argues that while there were tension and severe hostilities, objections, reactions and counter-reactions that ensued during the court settings, it is motivating to identify that the pressure generated by the oppositions that kept repeating between the two Nations has never led to fight.

In a key informant interview with a government official in Cameroon side, he asserted:

It has not brought any positive change, in any case, the indigenous inhabitants. It was where Nigeria used to get fish but now it is under Cameroon and Cameroon collects high taxes (Nyong, KII,14/9/2019)

Furthermore, Njoku (2012) believes that the perpetual presence of a shared historical experience and ethno-cultural stock on both sides of the alleged international boundary is one of the natural features that have blocked Cameroon and Nigeria's efforts to physically demarcate their borders.

In an oral interview, it was asserted by a resident in Bakassi Nigerian side as follows:

The judgment did not bring any change to Bakassi, the only displacement because both countries had not implemented the green tree agreement reached between them. But the actual court judgment is only one; the one that has determined the sovereignty of Bakassi, and the limit of Bakassi and then the subsequent handover of Bakassi to Cameroon. Two the ruling and the GTA If fully implemented, it will affect all most everything even the air space, the criteria the marine resources. It affects the people of that area. That is why three options were given not only in Bakassi but all that are affected by the judgment cities, villages that found themselves under Nigeria the same applied to those in Cameroon first you can remain where you are as a Nigerian or Cameroon abiding by the law of the land. Secondly, you can decide to change your citizenship or you else you leave where you are to your country of origin. The same people have opted to come back to the Nigerian side of Bakassi that was why former Governor Leyo Onoke tried to create some settlement. The federal government has also set up a presidential committee on those people affected by the judgment, so there are a lot of changes economic and other twice the price of fish has risen why? (Ita,O.I,15/9/2019)

Similarly, Ngang (2007) opines that the strategic location of, Cameroon's possession of Bakassi was view or regarded as a threat to Nigerian government port in of Calabar which Nigeria will lead to lose its eastern entry to the Atlantic Ocean notwithstanding will affect its security. Without prior approval from Cameroon, Nigerian naval ships may be denied access to southern Africa. In an oral interview, a government official has free access to the from Cameroon confirms that;

Displacement has been a dangerous consequence of the Bakassi dispute as to the aftermath of the ICJ ruling. A lot of people have been made to leave their original land. It was hoped that the agreement reached by both parties after the court ruling would adhere to by both parties, unfortunately, this did not happen; the result was the emergence of a dangerous phenomenon that's militancy (Efficat, KII, 18/9/2019).

Babatola (2012) cited (Griffiths, 1986) who asserts that more often than not, unstrung borders in Africa create problems as a result of unpredictability splits individuals and cause to illogical conditions and changeability in the use of physical features. To date, disputes have deteriorated African states by distracting little resources to military actions in the frontiers, between others.

### **2.2.9 The Geneva Summit in November 2002**

In his articles Butros (1995) observes that conflict is a difference between two Countries or sets of people. It is a manifestation of national dissatisfaction over a given problem. Disputes in his belief are an influential process having the potential for both attractive and unattractive penalties. In the history of the contemporary world, disputes sometimes have led to war while wars had brought about deep changes.

However, in an interview oral source with a government official, Cameroon side stated that:

It was throughout the Geneva meeting that the Mixed Commission thought-about the difficulty of affected communities. It praised the governments of Cameroon and African countries for his or her efforts in organizing such interaction to resolve the humanitarian desires of the disturbed populations. It united to a concept created by its Chairman to support harmonization efforts of the international organization in Cameroon and African country to boost the activities of donor-programs in support of every country's activities to at the same time contribute to relief comes everywhere Bakassi solid ground and to assist in the transplantation of the affected populations of each country. (Oku, 05/11/2019)

Osuntokun (2000) asserts that Nigeria and Cameroon relations are that of infrequent friction, unsteady. That, the diplomatic relations between them will continue regardless of disharmony. This is due to the commercial contact that had long existed between the two countries.

Similarly, in an oral interview with residents in Bakassi Cameroon side one of them revealed:

The bilateral meeting of Geneva summit in November 2002 between the two countries and some third parties has been able to bring peace within the territorial area of Bakassi. (Resident Umoh O,06/9/2019)

However, Shaibu, Azom, and Nwanze (2015) contend that there is no doubt that the fight for possession of the Peninsula, an international border between Nigeria and her neighbor, Cameroon, sparked a worrying and challenging protest of military vigor that nearly escalated to war. Another resident in Bakkassi Nigerian side disagrees with the three authors by asserting:

"Ordinarily, there should have been massive infrastructural development to resettle the displaced people; however, there is no significant physical development and growth in the area. (Resident Archibong, 12/9/2019)

Meanwhile, Ikome (2004) argues that the Nigerian government's contempt for the Bakassi Peninsula's moral value and relationship led to the establishment of military and police administrations in Bakassi to safeguard Nigeria's national interests. Both states viewed their common border as a powerful military division and defense line at the time.

According to Nyong, a government official from the Cameroon side:

“The Geneva meeting brought no change since the agreements were not met. The two governments have never been serious in implementing the agreement reached. Bakassi residents are in bad condition, so how do you expect peace to be in that region (Nyong, KII, 14/9/2019).

According to Che (2007), neither country was particularly moved by the plight of the Bakassi indigenes. Following her independence, Nigeria, then under British rule, ceded the territory to Germany; the Nigerian government made no claims to sovereignty. Nigeria, on the other hand, saw Bakassi as its own, but did nothing to develop it.

In line with that, an oral interview with a local resident in Bakkassi Nigerian side says:

“It only brought discomfort because none of them has any care about the communities that are residing there that now settling in either in Cameroon or Nigerian side”(Ita,15/9/2019)

Nigerian Marine Researchers determined, according to Ikome (2004), that the continental shelf in the conflict zone between Nigeria and Cameroon is the broadest along the whole Nigerian coastline and is rich in fish and mineral resources, including oil. Furthermore, both states have realized significant savings in the contested area, working with their multi-national exploring partners.

Further revelations were made by a local resident in Bakkassi, Cameroon side who said:

The agreement only brought in the ownership of the territory. Before it was under Nigeria and now court had ceded it to Cameroonian authority but to the ordinary person in Bakkassi nothing changed, that is why some of us are demanding self-government (Local resident Okon, 16/9/2019)

Tarlebba and Baroni (2010) believe that both states exhibited interest in the peninsula after the discovery of oil, and that the Bakassi people are suspicious of such attention,

reasoning that it is just superficial and intended exclusively at personal advantage. The governments of Nigeria and Cameroon may have stated at the time that the battle started from a race for oil, but for the Bakassi, the fight arose from a far more complex reality, though oil discovery was one of them.

Furthermore, an interview with a community leader in Bakassi Nigerian side revealed that:

The easiest way to resolve border issues/conflict is to have a clear border demarcation between the two warring countries (Orok, O.I 17/9/2019)

In general, both states saw their shared border as a strong military division and a defensive line for promoting their respective national interests. As a result, despite the fact that borders are used to create each risk and opportunity, this one created conflict rather than cooperation (2007).

In a key informant interview with a government official from Cameroon, he revealed as follows:

Obviously, there have been changes since the establishment of the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission, which was a long-term dependable to the Joint dispatch embraced at the summit held on November 15th, 2002 in Geneva between His notable individual President Paul Biya of the Republic of Cameroon and His Excellency Olusegun Obasanjo, then President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, with the presence of Kofi Annan and the executive of the global association. By section eight of the dispatch embraced at its first meeting in the national capital on two December 2002, the Mixed Commission decided to establish a Sub-Commission that would be in charge of dividing the land limit between the two nations, of which Bakkassi dry land was a region (Efficat, KII,18/9/2019).

In another key informant interview with a government official from Nigeria, it was stated:

The Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission held its Twenty-second Ordinary Meeting in Abuja on June 19th and 20th, 2008, in accordance with the Joint Communiqué signed in Geneva on November 15, 2002 by His Excellency President Paul Biya of the Republic of

Cameroon and His Excellency Olusegun Obasanjo of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the presence of Kofi Annan, then Secretary-General of the United Nations. In the presence of His Excellency Deputy Prime Minister Amadou Ali of Cameroon and His Excellency Prince Bola Ajibola (CFR) of Nigeria, who led the Cameroonian and Nigerian Delegations individually, His Excellency Ambassador Said Djinnit, Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, led the Mixed Commission consultations (Abuja, meeting, 2008)

Cameroon took Nigeria to court in 1994, the case was dragged until 2002, Bakassi was given to Cameroon. However, since the 2002 ruling, up to date, the implementation still ongoing and that some many things have happened, some economic activities happen, some United Nations country team support has been given and some understanding between the two countries is going on Bakassi (Adamu, KII, 20/5/2019).

The Mixed Commission requests that the JTT submit proposals to expedite the work so that the field assessment can be completed by the end of 2009. (Yaounde, 2008) The Mixed Commission also stated that the Joint Technical Team would arrive in the field on November 1 or 2 to complete their work on Phase 3C of the field assessment, which covers roughly 245 kilometers of the boundary, by November 3rd, 2008. The Mixed Commission has asked the JTT to propose recommendations to speed up the work so that the field assessment can be finished by the end of 2009. Yaounde, Yaounde, Yaounde, Yaounde, Yaounde.

#### **2.2.10 The Impact of Separation of Territories and the Border Relations between the Two Countries (2006)**

According to Efiang (2007), the nature of borders between Nigeria and Cameroon, particularly areas of the Bakassi region, are always part of the reason for occurring of

conflict between the two nations. Government officials in Nigeria believe that a large number of Nigerians of Efik-Oron in the Bakassi region have created a distinct condition that authorizes a renegotiation of Bakassi possession. He further added that the Nigerian state has tried to lay her claims on Bakassi for two reasons: that the inhabitants of the region are mainly Nigerian and that they are the ones who occupy along with the border towns. The Cameroonian government regarded Nigerian argument as an unsafe for Cameroonian national interest.

In an interview, an oral source with a community leader in Bakassi, Nigerian side revealed:

The separation has triggered the desire for self-determination among the Nigerian citizens expelled from Bakassi for their autonomous territory. The consequence is the growing militancy in the region and danger in the waterways (Archibong, O.I, 12/09/2019).

According to Che (2007), the nature of border construction in Africa has become much more difficult for achieving independent development as a result of colonially based economies and European state political erections. According to the author, colonialism resulted in the concentration of people from various cultures and traditions, and 'weak' borders in Africa cause problems because their arbitrariness divides people and leads to absurd situations and contradictions in the use of bodily features.

In an interview, with a civil servant from Cameroon note;

It restricts movement and disturbs the normal function of a business; therefore people cannot be able to go to the market or go fishing (Nyong A, KII, 14/09/2019).

According to Ikome (2004), Nigerians occupy many places in Cameroonian territories, and he also believes that they are the most numerous. As a result, he agrees that if Nigeria is

going to use the absorption of her citizens in towns to lay claim to neighboring states' border areas. This has been interpreted as an attempt to extend Nigeria's borders to all neighboring territories with a high concentration of Nigerians.

Another oral source with a local resident in Bakassi Nigerian side revealed;

That I can say is not on the interest of the states on there, but on the interest of France that will take charge of exploration of mineral resources that was discovered in the peninsula, so they are playing politics with our lives (Ita, B, O.I 15/9/2019).

Tarklebba and Baroni (2010) belief that Western Imperialism and administration in Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries were regarded as an expansion of western power influence to other nations and support the development of their capacities increasing their market and reorganized world system.

In an interview oral with a local resident in Bakassi Cameroon side, one of them stated;

That will never bring peace to the territories because you cannot force someone to relocate to another area that he did not have an affiliation to unless one chooses to do so (Okon, O.I, 16/09/2019).

According to Babatola (2015), borders are the razor's edge that holds the present problems of conflict or concord, life or death to nations, because the security of one's home is the most important concern of the private inhabitant, and the honor of boundaries is a complaint for the modern nation. As a result, it is evident that a border has substantial political, economic, and social repercussions, as well as implications for the contemporary state's survival.

Another interview with a community leader in Bakassi Nigerian side oral source reveals:

The social-economic assets should be shared between both countries by the world court. If that can be done truthfully, I believe that it will create a new era of good relations among the disputing nation but if they fail to do so, therefore, they should wait to see the consequence of not doing (Orok, O.I,17/9/2019).

Nonetheless, Babatola (2015) observes that border clashes in Africa are a new age of anti-colonial self-rule ideas, citing (Jackson and Rosberg, 1987). He argued that weak African presidents engage in boundary disputes in order to control external problems to their power.

In an interview with a local resident in Bakassi Cameroonian side, it was revealed:

The impact of territorial claim is heavily felt by the native people in the territory who were separated just because of some individuals' personal motives and foreign governments who want to take our resources (Okon, O.I,16/9/2019).

Babatola, (2015) notes that Nigeria and Cameroon as modern African states is a creation of western supers' powers inventiveness, which leads to partitioning of lands to both sides of colonies. Frontier disagreements among the two countries after the achievement of their liberation commenced from the economic and agricultural angles in terms of location of water and farmlands while the finding of oil in the Bakassi area activated the concluding stage. This was reiterated by one respondent in an interview with a local resident in Bakassi Nigerian side who noted:

The conflict of a territorial claim that exists between the two countries in the border relations is caused by the crude oil in the area of Bakassi (Orok, O.I, 17/9/2019).

### **2.2.11 The Description of Border Relations between Nigeria-Cameroon Border Relations and the Economic Value of Bakassi Peninsula in 2006**

Boundary disputes, according to Fombo (2006), are a major source of conflict between many governments today. The possibility of a border clash devolving into a war still exists. As a result of this global reality, academics have evolved a range of ways for resolving disputed boundary claims.

In an oral interview with a government official from Cameroon, it was revealed:

The relations between Nigeria and Cameroon in regards to border relations were quite good but the economic value of the Bakassi area was discovered by France, but France had no legitimate right to grab the resources unless they used their former colony to achieve their selfish interest. If you look at the role played by the two states on Bakassi you may see that they both neglected the area for a long time until when the superpower nations were in search of energy around the world, it was then that claims over the territory started. They tried it elsewhere in some areas across the world most especially in the Middle East but they failed. Having failed there, they now decided to do the same in their former colonies, and that is when the conflict started between Nigeria and Cameroon (Oku, KII, 05/11/2019).

Similarly, Familugba and Ojo (2013) argue that the border dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon, which began many years ago as a result of an unclear demarcated borderline, can be traced back to the pre-colonial period, when European imperialists sat in Berlin in 1884 to divide the African continent amongst themselves. However, the border dispute has remained a source of contention in Nigeria-Cameroon bilateral relations.

In an interview with a civil servant from Cameroon, it was stated that;

The Cameroon and Nigeria mixed commission helps in bringing peace to the two countries despite the fact that the agreement was not implemented (Nyong, KII, and 14/9/2019).

Kille (2007) contends that UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan played a critical role in establishing the Mixed Commission, on the directive of the two countries' leaders, to determine how to implement the ICJ ruling and move the process forward. It is, however, insufficient to argue that Annan's personality alone was sufficient to persuade the leaders of the two opposing states to accept a mutual nonviolent compromise.

In an oral interview with a Cameroonian civil servant, it was stated: "The possible mineral deposits such as oil, gas, and fish in Bakkassi are the major predisposing factor that has intensified the dispute in Nigeria's South Eastern border with Cameroon." That territory contains more than 90% of Cameroon's oil deposits. Cameroon, on the other hand, is a country that is surrounded by water but lacks access to international waters. Because of the presence of some countries in the Gulf of Guinea, this occurred. Cameroon desired access to international waters at all costs, and the claim of ownership of Bakassi provided them with that opportunity. This would provide them with unrestricted access to international waters. In the case of Nigeria's most populous state, most of the oil wealth there was not officially recorded. This was deliberately done because the elite and the local leaders were using the resources for their personal use (Efficat, KII, 18/9/2019).

According to Akinyemi (2014), one unsettling result of the two countries' bad faith is the crisis and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) intervening as a third party on issues related to their 1600-kilometer land border.

In an interview with a retired Nigerian civil servant, it was stated:

We have gathered that some facts on the issue of Bakassi were kept under the carpet; the major prayer of Cameroon in the I.C.J was initially to determine the ownership a Bakassi sovereignty that was between March 1994 and June 1994. The same year the application of the judgment was extended to cover the whole country. The judgment was based on some document and the court decided to give the territory to Cameroon on the grounds that were some scientific evidence that shows their existing oil wealth whatever be the case the major point is to avoid war even if we go to war at the end of it we will still come back to table to settle. All wars, even it is world war you still come back to table but we have succeeded in avoiding which is a good step for creating, boundary reaching between the two countries from and with that we can easily export all the resources available in the area (Adamu, KII,20/5/2019).

Yerima, (2014), citing (Okoro 2001), argue that colonial masters did not create the maritime border on the Calabar estuary. It is only that deceptive methods used on the Anglo-German Treaty of 1913, abortive to visibly describe the manoeuvrable sphere of the waters.

Another oral interview with a civil servant in Nigeria revealed:

Relations between the two countries date back to the colonial era. Initially, Cameroon was a German colony. When Germany was defeated in World War II, all her territories were shared between France and Britain. In the process, Cameroon became bilingual, both English and French, and that Northern Cameroon was predominantly Hausa Muslims; while down south was majority Christians and traditional religious believers. Just before independence, there was a plebe cite. The northern Nigeria regional authority rigorously campaigned to persuade the northern Cameroon to join was no such efforts by southern Nigeria and had succeeded. But there were no such efforts by the southern Nigeria Regional Authority to win southern Cameroon because the area was not accessible to them. As a result, the south decided in favour of remaining in Cameroon. Despite this, English remains their official language (Adamu, B.KII, 10/09/2019).

## **2.2.12 Conclusion**

In this chapter border disputes and factors that influence border disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon were discussed. In so doing, various interpretations that explain the reasons

that brought about the land dispute and led to the border dispute between the two countries were discussed. It was established that the separation of the territory aroused the desire for self-determination among the Nigerian citizens expelled from Bakassi for their autonomous territory. The consequence was the growing militancy in the region and danger in the waterways. However, the historical border problem it was date back to the colonial era before the independence of Nigeria and Cameroon in the 1960s. The problem started when the German's wanted to have access to the area under their control in southern Nigeria that had compelled them to go for signing of an agreement between them and the British authorities, who were the colonial masters of Nigeria. Additionally, there are other believes that indicate the discovery of oil is the main cause of the dispute between the two countries. It also causes insecurity and human displacement in the countries. Had it been there is not oil in Bakassi nobody would care about that place so the presence of oil in the disputed area now becoming.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **CHANGING BORDER RELATIONS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND CAMEROON**

**2007-2011**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the changes that have been ensuing in as far as the Bakassi territory is concerned. The chapter gives insights into the current manifestations on the borders between the Nigeria and Cameroon. In so doing, it examines the impact of globalization ideas and the impact of strategic security of border relations between the two countries.

#### **3.2 Handover of the disputed lands to Cameroon Authority in 2007 under the Umar Musa and Paul Biya civilian administrations.**

The two governments engaged in lengthy border clashes for ownership and jurisdiction over the Bakassi Peninsula in the 1990s, attracting widespread attention, according to Sama and Johnson-Ross (2006) In 1998, Cameroon filed a complaint with the International Court of Justice, which resulted in a positive ruling for the government. Nigeria has chosen to disregard the final judgment of the International Court of Justice. As a result of this action, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan held prolonged diplomatic consultations with both parties. As a result of these events, in 2006, a four-year resolution procedure was started to clearly define borders and create territorial sovereignty.

However, in an interview with government officials reveal that;

After the judgement there was green agreement in 2006 which was signed we agreed to transfer the territory to Cameroon in order to ensure it has done amicably there was a body Bakass, observer personal group to make sure complete withdrawal of Nigeria a troop in the disputed area of Bakassi, although Cameroonian policy will be implemented and Nigerian had some sort of fear that it will not orgur well when Nigerian security withdraw and take over by Cameroon security force gendarme (expert Chindo,20/5/2018).

Similarly, as previously stated, the October 10, 2002 ICJ ruling demanded that Nigeria withdraw its armed and police forces, as well as its administration, unconditionally and immediately from Cameroonian territory. In keeping with Cameroon's peace policy, President Biya of Cameroon accepted without hesitation, on November 15, 2002, from Geneva, the establishment of an ad hoc institutional mechanism, namely the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission, chaired by the UN and responsible for the implementation of the ICJ judgment of October 2002. This Mixed Commission devised a detailed work program, complete with a timetable that included the following points: In the Lake Chad region, authority has been withdrawn and transferred.

.In an interview oral source with government officials reveals that,

yes the troop has already withdraw since 2002 that is why there is peace in Bakkassi between the two states and After then Bakkasssi local government which was occupy by Nigerian troop was handed over back to Cameroonian in the case of people that are originally inhabiting the land they were given option those that want to leave in Cameroon control side should stay there those that they wanted to go to Nigerian side they were relocated to newly created Bakkassi land in Apobiyo local government. In our constitution stated that we have 774 local governments so we still want to maintain the same number of local governments in our constitution. The creation of local government came to be in order to serve the interest of local elite because there is monthly revue allocation to each local government and state in Nigeria by the federal government, so if federal government created yet another local government for the local elite at least it will cool their tension, in fact the all issue is about politics (expert Adamu,10/09/2018).

The withdrawal and transfer of authority at the land border; The withdrawal and transfer of authority at the land border; The delineation of the maritime border; The resolution of the issue of the nationality of the populations concerned;(Pacific settlement of border disputes, 2008)More so, in an interview source with government officials belief that,

Yes if all parties to the conflict agree to abide by the implementation of agreement reach between themselves otherwise there going to pay the consequences of not implementing the agreement. I think this had already been conducted and has been done 33 villages affected has been transfer to the authority of Cameroon then 2 villages in Borno no Indanbagura and Lenide has been transfer from cameroon to Nigeria and there is one another village in ad amaira Bura bango has been transfer to common this thing has done. So is not the issue of the wishes of the people is the issue of the government it is the decision of the court (expertOku, 05/11/2018).

'A republic has been declared by the people!' Tony Ene added his two cents. Ene claims to speak for the entire peninsula's inhabitants, despite the fact that just a few hundred people attended the special ceremony. 'Many inhabitants have stated their desire to escape to mainland Nigeria, citing anxiety about the future under Cameroonian control,' notwithstanding the poor turnout (IRINnews.org, 25 November 2006)

.Also, in an interview oral source with government official reveals that,

yes withdrawal of Nigerian troop from the disputed Bakkassi is an indication that they had agreed with the court verdict therefore Cameroonian government has no body to fight in the disputed land peoples had nothing to fear (expert Nyong,14/9/2018).

Bay Area (2010) bilateral negotiations have been attempted in the past to resolve the dispute, but the crisis nearly escalated to war in 1981, and again in 1993, 1994, and 1996. The International Court of Justice heard the case in The Hague from 1994 and 2002. The International Court of Justice made a judgement on the topic in 2002, which the Nigerian government vehemently opposed. Despite this, Nigeria completed its military,

administrative, and law enforcement withdrawal from the Bakassi Peninsula in August 2008, following UN-facilitated negotiations between the two countries that culminated in the June 2006 Green-tree Agreement in New York and subsequent instruments in African conflict resolution. In an interview with government officials reveal that,

Yes, but a lot need to be done in the area of welfare of the people occupying that land. I think we need to put more effort in attempt to raise their standard of living (expert Efficat,18/9/2018).

According to Sama and Johnson-Ross (2006), Eno-Abasi (2008) conducted a number of activities with the goal of providing adequate information to the Commission on the current situation of the displaced people; the experiences of the host local government areas who bear the brunt of mass returnees; the current experiences of displaced returnees in their host communities; and the nature of the maritime border communities, which serve as the gateway to the host communities.

it has serve because Nigeria government has not challenge the case in court again, if you look at Nigerian state we have different interest group every group has it interest over that Bakkassi but actually Nigerian government has no time for that case, since we accepted the court judgment, we were given time to re-open the case we could not do that we want to be respected by the international communities (Local resident Umoh,06/9/2018).

All of these occurrences have very clear ramifications. The Bakassi agreement is one of four signed over a year by Cameroon and Nigeria to clearly delineate the 2,300 km border that stretches from Lake Chad in the north to the Atlantic coast (IRIN, 14 November 2007).

In addition in an oral interview with local resident reveal that,

yes it will if it added with the provision of infrastructural development to the affected communities and if government fail to do that people within that community will resort to other solution of which they think is best for their existing as a community because they have surfer a lot they lost their land and again now they have no place to call as theirs both countries and even the third party to the conflict settlement has not done justice to Bakassi people(local resident Archibong, 12/09/2018).

According to Gumne, separatist struggles occur when oil is produced or presumed to be produced in an area primarily populated by an ethnic minority, and the majority of oil revenues go to or are expected to go to government officials in the national capital (2006).

In this context, members of the ethnic minority frequently perceive a strong incentive to secede and establish their own ethnic state in order to receive the entirety of the oil revenue.

This type of conflict is taking place in Sudan's southern region, where a predominantly Christian population is fighting for independence, as well as in Cameroon, where the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) sympathizes with supporters of the Bakassi Peninsula's independence as the Republic of Ambazonia').

In another oral source stated that;

after the court ruling in 2002, before than both side has bad impression over his neighbor like if you talk to Cameroonian they have the believed that Nigeria wanted to take over their land likewise if you talk to Nigerian they look at Cameroonian greatest enemy who is envious on Nigerian resource through it colonial master.I think it will, but I still emphasise the issue of improving the welfare of the people there (local resident Ita, 15/09/2018).

States have been involved in many sorts of border conflicts, according to Sorenson (2006), and the origins of these disputes are often difficult to identify. Some of these wars may have occurred as a result of the states' shared colonial ties, for political reasons, or as a

result of the natural riches available along such a border that will benefit their economies. Furthermore, he believes that the border dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon was the catalyst for the matter being brought to the Court of Justice to be resolved.

### **3.3 Handover and complete withdrawal of Nigeria military from Bakassi, 2008**

Kamto, (2010) argues that Nigerians were very unhappy by the conclusion of handing over Bakassi to Cameroon; therefore, the media went wild with all sorts of theories on the issue of the handover. The Nigerian Senate was most vocal in condemning the President on the decision of handing over the Peninsula. They accused him of making a unilateral decision of giving the Peninsula to Cameroon without bringing the matter to the Senate for approval as it is a case that affected the whole nation and was therefore unconstitutional.

In an oral interview oral source with government officials from Nigeria, it was revealed:

Yes the troop has already withdrawn since 2002 that is why there is peace in Bakassi between the two states and after then Bakasssi local government which was occupied by Nigerian troop was handed over back to Cameroonian in the case of the people who were originally inhabiting the land they were given option those that want to live in the Cameroon control side should stay there those that they wanted to go to Nigerian side they were relocated to newly created Bakkassi land in Apobiyo local government. In our constitution it is stated that we have 774 local governments so we still wanted to maintain the same number of the local governments in our constitution. The creation of a local government came to be to serve the interest of local elite because there is monthly revenue allocation to each local government and state in Nigeria, by the federal government, so if federal government created yet another local government for the local elite at least it will cool their tension, in fact the whole issue is about politics (Adamu, KII. 10/09/2019).

According to Sama and Johnson-Ross (2006). Nigeria has decided to ignore the World Court's final ruling. This act necessitates intensive diplomatic discussions between Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, and both parties. These eventually

resulted in the 2006 implementation of a four-year resolution process to clearly define borders and thus ensure each state's territorial sovereignty.

In an interview source with a civil servant from Cameroon, it was stated:

It is not about the wishes of the people of Bakassi but the wishes of those in government; and this is where another problem lies, because it is the residents who feel the pinch (Oku.M,KII,05/11/2019/).

This is indeed related to the notion that the people of Bakassi have declared their republic! 'Ene claimed to speak for all of the peninsula's residents, despite the fact that only a few hundred people attended the special ceremony. Despite the low turnout, this ceremony represented the Bakassi people's rejection of the world court verdict. Several residents expressed their desire to leave for mainland Nigeria during the handover, expressing concern about what the future held under Cameroonian rule.

Also, in an oral interview with a government official from Cameroon, it was revealed:

The withdrawal of Nigerian troops from the disputed Bakassi indicates that they have agreed with the court's decision, and thus the Cameroonian government has no one to fight in the disputed land (Nyon, KII. 14/9/2019).

Bay (2010) contends that challenges remained completed in the historically to successful border resolution using diplomatic tactics, nevertheless towards the end of twentieth, the disagreement closely deteriorated to a serious conflict. Between 1994 and 2002, the problem was taken to international court and a verdict was decided before the court in 2002 on the issue after which Nigerian state delivered a declaration refusing to accept the court decision.

Nevertheless, in an interview oral interview with a community leader from Bakassi, Cameroon side stated:

Nigeria has different interest groups and every group has its interest over that Bakassi but the Nigerian government has no time for that case, since we accepted the court judgment, we were given time to re-open the case we could not do that we want good reputation in international community (Resident Umoh. O.I, 06/9/2019).

Gumne (2006) states that history indicated that whenever a community shows evidence of oil presence there is tendency for the emergence of the element of nationalist movement based on ethnic orientation which challenge the unpacked of oil profits drive to state bureaucrats. Moreover, the indigenous community may decide to discontinue with the existing federal arrangement. They may agitate for the create of an ethnic nation in order to exclusively benefits of the oil revenue. However; same people guess the movement leaders they simply want to score points and promote their interest. They blame the problem on the two countries failure to address infrastructural challenges and promote peoples welfare. To them the only solution to the problem is improving people's welfare. In an oral interview a government official from Bakassi Cameroon side believed that; frequent meeting by two countries leaders to close communication gap may go a long way in bringing much needed peace between the two state (resident Ita, O.I, 15/09/2019).

Similarly, Klare (2004) submitted that the disagreement between Nigeria and Cameroon is traceable to the first half of the twentieth century. The dispute was attributed to the boundary which the two nations shared but fundamentally it was about the abundant resources which the Bakassi area was reported to possess. Both the two nations were striving to have an absolute control of the resources. This led to the deployment of weapons

and military men by both countries in the closing years of the twentieth century threatening the region's security.

### **3.4 Bilateral Meetings by the Heads of States on Bakassi Peninsular 2009**

This is similar to Issaka and Kapinng's belief that there should be agreement on the structure of the negotiation process. Participants noted that time and patience had also played a role in the outcome of the negotiations, and that more of both would be required for successful implementation (Issaka and Kapinga, 2008)

Moreover, in an interview with a government official from Nigeria, the following was revealed:

Bilateral meeting describes interaction among experts coming from different countries. As far as I am concerned, the only summit that was held after the meeting organized by the United Nation between the countries was the one that took place in 2015 between president Muhammadu Buhari and president Paul Biya. During the meeting, a multilateral force was constructed to ensure that there was security in the entire boundary, in land boundary and maritime boundary (Adam, KII, 20/5/2019).

Consequently, the Lake Chad Basin Commission conducted an extraordinary meeting in Abuja on June 11th, 2015, to discuss "The Security Situation in the Lake Chad Basin, the Immediate Operationalization of the Multinational Joint Task Force, and the Adoption of an Emergency Development Plan." It was preceded by a preliminary meeting of Defense Ministers, Chiefs of Defense Staff, and Heads of Security and Intelligence Services from the LCBC member states. Benin and Juillet (2015)

Furthermore, in an oral interview a government official from Bakassi Cameroon side believed that; frequent meeting by two countries leaders to close communication gap may go a long way in bringing much needed peace between the two states (Efficat, E, KII, /09/2019).

Ivorgba (2005) states that battle over any control of resources is an old phenomenon in human history and consequently, natural and inevitable, despite the fact that produces undesirable effects and hinder economic development in another word, conflict is inevitable in any form of social existence, especially if it involves exercise of power and control of resources. What is needed however is amicable resolution of such disputes and improving bilateral relation.

In an interview, a community leader in Bakassi Nigeria side, revealed that,

Yes, it was in 2015 our president Paul Biya hosted newly elected Nigerian leader to strengthen our relations on the area of security and economy (Archibong, O.I, 12/09/2019).

Onuoha (2014) noted that since colonial era Nigeria and Cameroon engaged both in socio-economic relations in order to secure protect and preserved their security. Moreover, before the colonial era, many people living in Nigeria and Northern Cameroon were engaged in terms of economic relations as a result of ethnic ties, historical, geographical closeness and socio-cultural among others. Likewise, Nigeria and Cameroon are part of maritime regions, has been one of the frontiers of large trading activities for long period of time. He further revealed that Bakassi area has been a fishing industry base for people living in Nigeria and Cameroon.

However, in an interview source with a resident from Bakassi Nigeria side, revealed that,

Despite the two leaders meeting, no positive developments have been made to promote peace settlement in Bakassi and also the people occupying the disputed land they were not included in the discussion, only government officials since each one of them was just protecting the interest of his government (resident Ita, O.I, 15/09/2019).

Asobie (2003) noted that one of the major contributions in the international conflict is oil income which enables antagonist leaders to reduce the political problems, eliminate

domestic accountability of their people. It is also makes a significance contribution to international conflict because it support the relationship between international security and petroleum. Nevertheless, the state behaviour is seriously influence for the internal politics. Some of the political leaders are aggressive and self-centred they can easily wage war against any state to achieve their national goal.

In an interview a community leader from Bakassi Nigerian side,

Many community leaders in the area were optimistic about efficiency of dialogues in improving relation between two countries and The dialogue between the two countries will provide efficient and consequent promotion of peace as security in Bakassi (resident Orok, O.I, 17/09/2019).

Moreover, Baye (2010) notes that the disputes among neighboring Nigeria -Cameroon over Bakassi peninsular had been recorded as the most disputed territorial conflict in the region. Historically efforts were made to settle the matter by using diplomatic channels. However, the efforts have left much to be desired. This has not been unconnected with level of sincere implementation of agreement by the two parties.

In the same vein, Olumide (2002) established that the relationship between war and politics promote the culture of peace within the conflicting parties. He also arguing that war must serve as a policy instrument and a means to an end.

Another community leader from Cameroon in an interview noted:

Bilateral meetings and dialogue can tone down conflicts but truth and justice are the panacea for lasting territorial peace (Resident Umoh, O.I, 06/09/2019).

Meanwhile, the Peninsula's residents, according to the press, have found life nearly unbearable since the implementation of the GTA. The Cameroonian authorities took away their basic rights as citizens, such as freedom of movement and access to rivers for fishing,

and imposed a heavy tax on the inhabitants, the majority of whom are Nigerians. These non-developmental challenges bred insecurity, giving rise to piracy and kidnappings as a source of income in the peninsula. Bakassi Freedom Fighters attacked Cameroonian soldiers in 2011, killing two and leaving eleven people missing.

### **3.5 The Impact of Strategic Security of Border Relation between Nigeria and Cameroon**

The Bakassi land dispute, according to Weladji (1975), was the most significant border issue between Cameroon and Nigeria in the years after independence. This part of the disputed boundary is garnering greater attention as it becomes more apparent. Because of the abundance of natural resources stored in the disputed territory, the area is very important to both countries' economy. The violent war between the two countries has resulted in the loss of lives and property.

However, in an oral source with government official stated that;

supported the statement, he mention in terms of border relation between Nigeria and Cameroon after their independence was quit good there were no any problem much the evidence of that can be seen during Nigeria's most difficult time that is the Nigerian civil war, during that time Cameroonians gave security cover to Nigerian territories to give it the ability to overcome the security challenges in the Southern part of country where Biafrans were smuggling weapons in to their control territories. So that contribution set by Cameroonians gave offer hand to Nigerian soldiers against its enemy. However, when petroleum product became an issue in the global market, so many countries were looking for means to get that product in order to enhance their revenue that has made both countries including the Cameroonian former colony to join in the fight to control the territories where the oil had been discovered, no body care about the lives of the communities residing in the oil areas who were deprived of their means of livelihood. Furthermore, it has created a new trend, the militant groups whose activities have negative effects on the strategic security of the borders: both countries are now paying the price of their actions. (Expert Oku, O.I, 05/11/2018).

Similarly, Babatola (2015) noted that international terrorism is Nigeria's largest concern today, which is supported by religious extremism, border penetrability, cross-border security issues, and criminality. For a long time, the presence of porous borders and cross-border and boundary events in Nigeria has contributed to a rise in the prevalence of crime and security problems that have remained unsolved across Nigerian boundaries.

Furthermore, in an interview with government official noted that;

The Strategic security of the border helps to check illegal migration. In terms of security cooperation Bakkassi peninsula has a lot of significant importance to both countries, if they do not agree to have better ways of managing that disputed land which they have common interest indeed they will share the consequence insecurity in their territorial area of control (expert Nyong, O.I,14/9/2018).

Mbaga and Njo (2000), on the other hand, highlight in their study a declaration by a member of the Bakkassi freedom movement who asserted emphatically that "we will fight Nigeria and Cameroon tooth and nail." The putative Ambazonian state's secretary general made this observation. Furthermore, the present aggressive claims made by a Nigerian handover committee to the Bakassi contradict the Bakassi's decision that the Peninsula would only be given over to its lawful owners, Cameroon. These have raised major concerns about the situation. Meanwhile another oral source with government official reveals that;

Border strategic security plays an important role in relation to border relation between countries for ensuring country's safety from external attack. Any good government will not joke with safety of its internal environment. However, as the area was not adequately covered by security agents suspected armed deal had long been taking place at border point so both countries had shown indifferent attitude over this issue. As a result, there were fears of armed smuggling along border areas, that has caused a lot of problem to government and peace-loving communities (expert Efficat, K.I.I,18/09/2018).

In a similar vein, Maigari (2017) notes in her thesis that "on the Nigerian side in particular, we have a crew that consists of not only people like us who work in the boundary commission, but also Nigerian Customs, Immigration, and in some areas even Task Force has formed a committee that is working on such things." Security has tightened, especially in the face of the Boko Haram crisis, and it is being taken more seriously than it has ever been. That I am aware of and wish to believe, but I cannot say for certain, but it is the same on the Cameroonian side. We're aware of their gendarmes, and we're also aware that their immigration department has put together a squad

Furthermore, in an interview oral source by the government official reveals that;

How does state exist? A state exists when you have an authority over apes of land. There can never be two authorities in a piece of land it is boundary that determine the limit of your authority. So, this relation can argue well if there is cooperation between the two countries otherwise so many problems are bound to emerge, therefore the two countries to live harmony and achieve development security issue have to be adequate tackled. On the issue of boundary management, it is the immigration policy other factors that affect movement of goods are services that can consider control illegal activities and this is one of the mandates of Cameroon and Nigeria a mixed commission the emerged of Boko-Haram insurgency further reinforced the need for joint security effect between the two countries example joint patrol by their security outfit more over since Boko Haram issue attracted the attention of the international community efforts had been extended to include all countries around Lake Chad.(expert Chindo, O.I,20/09/2018)

However, according to Babatola (2015), the downfall of Gaddafi Libya has contributed to the creation of insecurity in some parts of Africa such as Niger, Cameroon, Chad, and Nigeria, due to the lack of weapons. Boko Haram, as a dreaded group, has led a terror movement in the turbulent region, causing chaos and cruel destruction of lives and properties in various parts of Northern Nigeria and neighbouring Cameroon.

Similarly, in an interview with government official oral source notes that;

Border is very important to any sovereign state and its significant role in nation building effort. The present border structure was the product of 1885 Berlin conference before that was stateless societies, a situation in which nations explored and captured land. But now, we had developed the concept of nation statehood. You must show evidence of owning the land. And state has the duty of protecting their territorial integrity particularly the water. Land, from Riodele through Biafran to hinterland is strategically important to both countries. For example, to the, it was the issue of having access to land from Atlantic Ocean to the hinterland in the Bakassi that cause dispute that let to Anglo Germany treaty in 1913, when Germany tried to penetrate the area without permission from Britain. The I don't care attitude of both countries on the life of citizen living in the disputed territory was the result militancy in the region, therefore for peace to be maintain in the area both government need to adopt ways to will carry the inhabitancy together by allowing to have more access to means of their livelihood that will bring effective security cover., (expert Adamu,O.I,10/09/2018).

However, in his cited work, G. Aforika Nweke, Fah (2006) mentions a higher ranking military officer on the Nigerian side who admires the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon and reports that, Nigeria state had to analyze its positions on the Bakassi primarily because of its strategic importance in the security of Nigeria's Southern water and access to the Calabar Port Esiemokal.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter on the changing dynamics of border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon, suggestion has been given on how to resolve the border dispute. Various interpretations that explain how to resolve the border dispute and how they will lead to peace in Bakassi were discussed. It was established that Nigeria's most difficult time was the Nigerian civil war; during that time Cameroonians gave security cover to Nigerian territories to give Nigeria the ability to overcome the security challenges in the Southern part of the country where Biafrans were smuggling weapons in to their control territories. So that contribution set by Cameroonians gave offer hand to Nigerian soldiers against the

enemy. The withdrawal of Nigerian troop from the disputed Bakkassi is an indication that they had agreed with the court verdict therefore Cameroonian government has no body to fight in the disputed land.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **WAYS OF IMPROVING BORDER RELATIONS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND CAMEROON, 2012-2015**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

Many conflicting views have been expressed by scholars regarding the improvement of border disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon. Bilateral meetings by heads of state on how to resolve the conflict, as well as the withdrawal and transfer of authority of Bakassi to Cameroon by the Nigerian state, have been some of the means of undermining peace. As a result, It is critical for international relations academics to investigate the bilateral interactions between Nigeria and Cameroon on the Bakassi Peninsular, charting their evolution and progress. From 2012 to 2015, this chapter presents an outline of the difficulties and potential solutions in Nigeria-Cameroon border relations. Furthermore, the chapter discusses ways of resolving Nigeria-Cameroon border relations, a solution to the border dispute, bilateral meetings of heads of state on the Bakassi peninsular, handover of disputed land to Cameroon's authority to promote peace in Bakassi, a socio-economic joint commission for the resolution of the conflict between the two countries, demarcation of the Nigeria-Cameroon border dispute, and conclusion

#### **4.2 Challenges to Border Relations between Nigeria and Cameroon (2012-2015)**

According to Asobie (2003), after the World Court's decision on the topic of border clashes between Nigeria and Cameroon, people in Nigeria demanded authority in Nigeria to get into border fights with Cameroonian states because of the Bakassi conflict. However, the reactions and responses of certain Nigerians and event representatives did not reflect the specific nature of the case's principal subject matter:

I believe that we are all brothers and we can table our differences together with the view of offering a solution. After Nigeria handed over the area to Cameroon, the security officials from Cameroon side claim they don't receive cooperation from their Nigerian counterparts as far as tax collection is concerned, this often brings violence as many residents from Nigeria claim the land is theirs, and that they are not supposed to pay tax (Oku, KII, 05/11/2019).

Meanwhile, Fombo (2006) believes that the persistence of these conflicts and their origins will lead to more inquiries into the source and nature of border clashes, as well as the best rule devices for resolving them. Its sequence enhances the crucial investigation into the efficacy and competency of tactics for anticipating or capturing conflicts in fresh growth. Also of importance are concerns about what causes some arguments to be quickly resolved while others cause tension, and why some disputes persist for a long period.

An oral interview with a community leader in Bakassi, from the Nigerian side stated that:

We can surely achieve the solution for the settlers/indigenes to vote in a referendum where they should belong to whether Nigeria or Cameroon. However, a section of Nigerians is of the opinion that we should agree to take the ICJ ruling and by so doing peace could be reached through diplomatic negotiation (Efficat, I O, 17/9/2019).

Similarly, according to Fombo (2006), the ultimate border preparations between the territories occurred during independence in the 1960s, when the split British Northern and Southern Cameroons shifted routes to independence. The animosity sparked by the results of the UN-led referendum has lingered in the nation as long as a standard mechanism for resolving disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon. However, in 1963, Nigeria and Cameroon appeared to take steps toward a more pleasant-sounding living as neighbors, as evidenced by incoming sequences of bilateral cooperation agreements, as well as other multilateral deliberations in the run-up to the

In an interview with a community leader in Bakassi, from Cameroon side, it was revealed:

Both parties in conflict agreed to have a dialogue with each other because it is the only way that each party's interests could be achieved. But it is obvious, Nigerians do not respect government officials on duty but Cameroonians do and they even normally pay taxes to their authority (Umoh, O.I,06/9/2019).

So according Akinyemi (2014), Starr and Most (1976) believe that borders can bring about the most solid stages of global relations, as well as wars. Major records of border interactions yield more immediate objectives, which aggressive governments might target at their leisure. Borders also create uncertainty, which states can put to the test by going to war.

A key informant in Bakassi, from the Nigerian side said:

Our initial prayer was granted by the court and as a result of that, we took charge of the area, and now at least normal peace has returned (Arhibong, KII, 12/9/2019).

In to three categories: cost savings, international credibility, and cross-border activities. According to Baye (2010), the Bakassi Peninsula conflict resolution most likely resulted in paybacks for all parties involved, but costs may have also been incurred. The advantages of submitting the Green Tree Agreement effectively are peace-related and can be classified. Similarly, in an oral interview oral with a resident of Bakassi, from the Nigerian side, the respondent stated:

If two countries can agree to settle their differences that can yield defiantly a permanent solution to peace (Ita1 O.I, 5/9/2019)

According to them ( Achankeng 2009). Despite the fact that the global court verdict, the Mixed Commission, and the Green Tree Agreement have all been hailed as successful examples of a negotiated solution to an ostensibly intractable conflict, the Bakassi Peninsula region has seen conflict and violent outbreaks two years after Nigerian troops withdrew, according to reports ( Achankeng 2009).

In an interview with a resident from the Cameroon side, he stated that:

Every problem has a solution, peace can be achieved in Peninsula, unless there exist interests of powerful nations who are known to use any possible means to safeguard their interests (Okon, O.I, 16/9/2019).

According to Che (2007), the environmental arrangement of the borderline side between disputed land in Nigeria and neighboring Cameroon, particularly the oil-rich Bakassi area, is the environmental arrangement. According to Nigerian officials, the significant migration of Efik-Oron stock Nigerians in the Bakassi peninsula creates a grave situation that needs a renegotiation of the region's ownership

Another official from the government of Nigeria however noted:

I believe we have resolved the issue because we agreed to abide by the court judgment and implement it; the federal government of Nigeria has gone to the extent of establishing a presidential committee for the settlement in Borno state where facilities such as schools and hospitals have been established. All these have provided a solution to the problems. (Adamu, KII,20/5/2019).

This is related to Ikome's idea that, on March 29, 1994, Cameroon commenced proceedings by filing her application at the ICJ registry, which was presented as a dispute "relating essentially to the question of sovereignty over the Bakassi Peninsula and its maritime boundary with Cameroon" (Ikome, 2004).

Furthermore, in an interview with a government official from Bakassi Nigeria side established;

It is the character and the interest and the people who influence the important character, otherwise, if you look at the Cameroonians and Nigerians with all the border dispute we still go about normal trade business; when we are there we see ships coming from Calabar harbor in our side to Cameroon and vice versa. The conflict thus, has not prevented social interaction because they even they speak the same language; they do fishing together however, there is an element of politics because the natives is not fighting anybody ( Adamu, KII,10/09/2019).

According to Mbagha and Njo (2009), the World Court's ruling in 2002 that the Bakassi region belonged to Cameroon and called for the withdrawal of both countries' armies from both sides of the peninsula did not inevitably end the disputes; rather, it elicited numerous complaints and reactions from various segments of the Nigerian public, taking into account all parties' rights.

#### **4.3 Solution to the Border Dispute 2012 to 2015**

According to Baye (2011), African countries are capable of resolving their differences without resorting to violence in order to resolve their differences. He also believes the mixed panel was formed to ensure that land and maritime boundary issues were properly handled in order to maintain regional peace.

Furthermore, in an interview with a government official from Bakassi Nigeria side belief that;

Things have been the way they are because of lack of cooperation, while Cameroonians cooperate, Nigerians, on the other hand, do not; but if they give the security forces cooperation things will go well, (Adamu, KII,10/09/2019).

The Bakassi land dispute, according to Weladji (1975), was the most important border conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria in the years following independence. As it becomes increasingly visible, this section of the disputed boundary is gaining more attention. The area is crucially significant to both countries' economies since it is rich in natural resources deposited in the disputed territory. Lives and property have been lost as a result of the armed conflict between the two countries.

In an interview with officials from the government of Cameroon, it was established:

There is a connection between the type of people in power and conflict and a tendency to resolve global disputes. Because when you look at the military period, the dispute between the two states became worse due to poor consultation and the ego of being powerful believing they own the country and one had the right to say anything. This caused the conflict to persist until around 1999 (OKU, KII,05/11/2019).

Ugwuowo (2012) discussed the significance of the May 1981 war, as well as Nigeria's response to the event that resulted in the killing of Nigerian military personnel on duty in Bakassi territory. He agrees that Nigeria's decision not to go to war with Cameroon went against public sentiment, as voiced by politicians, military, and civil society deterrents in the country, as well as the country's national interest and foreign policy.

A community leader from Cameroon stated that:

The solution is for the settlers/indigenes to vote in a referendum where they should belong whether in Nigeria or Cameroon. Because if you could recall in the 1960s it happened when southern Cameroon was allowed to choose where they wish to be and has been done successfully with the concrete agreement, therefore, we also need the UN to do the same if they want to see peace within the region of Bakassi.(Umoh.O,O.I,06/9/2019).

Molem and Debora (2009) investigated how powerful countries of western exploitation on Africa create misunderstanding and dispute over clearly defined borders between Nigeria

and Cameroon as two contemporary nations, preciously fixed out of several racial races, autonomous of one another prior to colonialism's appearance. Nigeria and a portion of Cameroon were combined and administered as a single entity during colonization.

#### **4.4 Ways of Possible Resolution 2013**

As according Uffot (2008), the night before the historical war, the level of antagonism, as well as the conditions of the people of the peninsula, were dread, wrath, and doubt. Regardless of the global court's decision, the Nigerian high court decided that the judgment's stance for the Bakassi Peninsula should be kept. While several Nigerians in Bakassi criticized the government's decision to comply with the high court's judgment and postpone the handover, President Umar Musa Yar'Adua insisted on presenting the global court order, which recognized Cameroon's claim to the disputed Bakassi area.

One of the interviewees, a government official from Nigeria argued as follows:

The only problem is a sudden change in cultural affinity hence, culture shock. You were living in Nigeria and you are asked to change to Cameroon. You would naturally be shocked (Adamu C20/5/2019).

Nigeria has made many sacrifices for Africa, however most African countries are unaware of the sacrifices Nigeria has made to assist them in getting out of their shackles. According to some political observers, Nigeria's peaceful disposition has pushed her to be zealous in maintaining her sovereignty and territorial dignity in the Bakassi Peninsula and Cameroon. Nigerians who live and work in Bakassi are protected, defended, and provided for by the Nigerian government (Vanguard, 26 October 2006).

Since the judgment, Nigeria was given ten (10) years to implement the legal judgement, which concluded in 2012, and nothing has transpired, despite the fact that persons may

have been psychologically impacted administratively. The government the two countries had agreed on the matters based on administrative.

Another respondent, a government official from Nigeria added that;

The court judgment affected communities within Lake Chad. Have you heard any complaints from them in the northern part of Nigeria? We were called to National Assembly several times on the issue of Bakassi when the issue was raised by Eda Eyam farmer Senate leader in 2014. He said Cross River was going to lose & local government to Cameroon. There were rumours in southern papers saying o Nigeria was going to lose eight local governments to Cameroon. But they were only four local government bordering Cameroon from Cross Riverside. Some of the issues had political or economic underpinning (Adamu, B, KII, 10/05/2019).

As per Ebeghulem (2008), the Global Court, the world's largest jurisdictional organ, granted the disputed land to Cameroon, much to the delight of most Nigerians. The international court's ruling was based on an application and was binding on the two countries. In the name of "becoming a good, honest, and accountable global citizen," Nigeria unleashed her terrain and people in Bakassi.

Similarly, a government official from the Bakassi Cameroon side revealed that a further summit was decided during the meeting on how the issue of exploration of hydrocarbon agreement is going to be reached between the two countries, but the document is still in the process of being accomplished. Maybe after the finalization, there is going to be a summit to determine what is going to happen (Oku KII, 50/05/2019).

Furthermore, the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission, which was established in Geneva in 2002, convened influential people from Nigeria and Cameroon, as well as the UN Secretary-General, and another Summit was held in Abuja in 2008. The report of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Working Group on the Maritime Boundary, which took place in Abuja on June 18 and 19, 2008, was reviewed and approved by the Mixed Commission. (Abuja, 20 June 2008)

Meanwhile, in an interview with a government official from Cameroon revealed:

We should go to a dialogue which is the best form of settling the dispute; the two states have to keep on discussing their problem to find a solution. After the judgment, there was a green agreement in 2006 which was (signed we agreed to transfer the territory to Cameroon to ensure it has done amicably. There was an observer group to make sure complete withdrawal of Nigeria's troop in the disputed area of Bakassi (Nyong, KII, 14/09/2019).

The report of the Observer Group Team's Seventh Field Visit to the Bakassi Peninsula.

While praising the team, the Commission reminded all parties to keep the needs of the affected peoples of both nations in mind and to defend their rights. The Mixed Commission requests that its chairman carry out all necessary procedures in consultation with concerned revelers in order to devise practical methods for the diplomatic withdrawal and transfer of authority from the Bakassi Peninsula Zone, which is scheduled to take place on August 14, 2008, in accordance with the Green Tree Agreement of June 12, 2006.

Similarly, in an interview with a government official from Cameroon, it was revealed:

The provision of social amenities to all communities in the affected conflict areas is a good solution in searching for peaceful resolution of the conflict. We acknowledge that we have even received financial and moral support from some countries to see to the implementation of the judgment for example Germany donated three million Euro in their response (Efficat KII, 18/09/2019).

In his study, Ugwuowo, (2012) articulates the negative costs of Nigerians refusal of a court order over Bakkassi by indigenes of Bekasi's violent departure. That it was clear Nigeria lost one of her regions as a result of the western world benefits of that land. The inexperienced treatment and allocation of Bakassi peninsular to Cameroon seem to have motivated the pro-autonomy offer of the Nigerians be present in the disputed territory. However, that had continued to fuel the crisis over time within the border area.

For example, noted by one community leader from the Nigerian side;

There should be a demarcation between the two countries because if it is demarcated properly there is no way any country will start claiming territory that does not belong to it and after that, each state should try to show its presence within on its border by providing structures on the ground like schools, hospitals, and administration buildings to indicate the ownership of the area (Archibong, O.I, 12/09/2019).

There was a prevalent notion, according to Olomola (2012), that there was little interstate fighting on African boundaries prior to the introduction of colonial overlords. Prior to colonialism, however, a variety of causes shaped African borders, including conflict, the rise and fall of African nations, commerce development, and cultural influences. Divine services and the utilization of natural features such as trees, rivers, hills and mountains, and forests delimited border treaties between nations and communities, rights of access, land concessions, and border creation.

An interviewee from the Nigerian side established:

It was in 2015 our president Paul Biya hosted Nigerian newly elected Nigerian leader to straighten our relation on the area of security and economy with that I believe it helped in increasing good relations because our head of state Paul Biya was complaining that there was known phone calls he received from Nigerian leaders (Ita, O.I,15/09/2019).

Meanwhile, in the year 2016, on security issues the two presidents were delighted at the triumph which their national forces witness over the terrorist attack activities that bedeviled the countries around the Chad basin. They however, express their displeasure for the savage attack which insurgents often make against the citizen.

In an interview with a community leader from Cameroon side, it was revealed:

The possible way of resolving this conflict is only by giving us the freedom to take charge of ours appears because we lost fate on both countries as a result of their I don't care attitude toward our welfares, just look at the communities living in newly relocated Bakassi in Nigerian side and the one that is living in Cameroon side none of them lived comfortably (Okon, E.O.I, 16/09/2019).

Similarly, Babatola (2015) believes that the Nigeria-Cameroon border dispute and its implications for national security can be addressed easily here. Nigeria and Cameroon emerged as modern African nations as a result of British and French colonial initiatives, which resulted in the division of many ethnic groups and territories between the two colonies. Border clashes between the two countries began shortly after their independence in terms of economic and agricultural perspectives in terms of water and farmland location, with the discovery of oil in the Bakassi region triggering the final phase.

One community leader from the Nigerian side proposed the following:

I think the best way to ensure peace exists in the disputed area of Bakassi an order should be placed on the two countries not to trespass into the border demarcation by the UN (Orok, O, O.I,17/09/2019).

According to Akinyemi (2014), numerous boundary disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon have strained relations. It not only instilled doubt, disbelief, and violations, but it also left unwanted captions in the records of a border region's lessons. However, border incidents have persisted to the point of necessitating bilateral relations between the two countries since independence. This difference has undoubtedly resulted in border clashes between both countries, resulting in the loss of lives and property.

Another oral interviewee, an official from Cameroon side interjected by asserting:

We should go back to Green Tree Agreement both countries are signatory to. That agreement signed by the countries' leaders witnessed by the international community. So if we can still stick to that agreement believe we can achieve good relations and resolve our differences (Efficat, 18/09/2019).

#### **4.5 Socio-Economic Joint Commission for the Settlement of Conflict between the two Countries Good Luck Jonathan and Paul Biya Administration 2014**

A closer examination, according to Asobie (2003), may reveal that international conflicts are, at their core, clashes between primary social classes that transcend national boundaries. In this regard, the true actors in international conflicts are social classes (for example, the ruling elite), which mobilize and use various state institutions to further their goals in their conflicts.

The majority of contests are related to the control of productive resources, according to an oral source from Bakassi Cameroon:

If there was something tangible on the ground, people could see and testify. For instance, the provision of basic social amenities to the communities affected by this dispute (Resident Umoh.O, O.I, 06/9/2019).

Territorial disputes, according to Sango (2002), arise in border zones and offshore areas that were previously deemed to be worthless but have suddenly become very lucrative due to the finding of oil. Neither the Nigerian nor the Cameroonian ruling elites were particularly interested in the Bakassi Peninsula for decades. The majority of Bakassi citizens live in horrific conditions of mass poverty, squalor, and destitution, and neither expressed concern nor began any measures to relieve these problems.

The oral interviewee from the Nigerian side stated: Peace can be achieved if parties to the conflict agree to abide by a court judgment and ensure the provision of social amenities to the displaced communities affected by the conflict (Resident Cameroon (Resident Archibong. E, O.I, 12/9/2019).

Nigeria demanded control of the crisis region Bakassi, according to Emit and Bassey (2002), not because of the necessity to safeguard Nigerians fleeing the crisis zone, but because of the oil issue. As a result, many Nigerians want the Nigerian state to declare war on the Republic of Cameroon as a means of ending the conflict. According to the researchers, "there is no ethics in global friendship," and that agreeing with the world court ruling in its totality is against Nigeria's state interest in terms of security and development. According to one Nigerian reply, as quoted below::

The agreement cannot work because all of them are very good in making statements on paper but very bad in implementations. People cannot tolerate that anymore because it appears like deceptive strategy by the two states in conjunction with third parties UN and the former colonial powers of Nigeria and Cameroon at the detriment of the community living in Bakassi (resident Ita,O.I, 15/09/2019).

According to Baye (2010), the nonviolent resolution of the Bakassi conflict has benefited the international reputations of Cameroon's and Nigeria's presidents, as well as their economy. This newly discovered trustworthiness will serve as a stimulus for both local and foreign investors to invest und create jobs, hence enhancing income-generating activities that are sorely required to alleviate the majority of both countries' communities' awful socioeconomic situations.

Similarly, in an interview with a resident from the Cameroon side revealed that,

As far as I am concerned, this economic joint commission is just a deceptive because, it deceives the world that the two countries have good relations (Resident Okon, O.I, 16/09/2019).

According to Baye (2010), border crossing events will improve if Cameroon and Nigeria improve their goals of pledging a number of political and economic events, as well as reflecting acceptance of an alliance and non-aggression agreement between them. To top it all off, the Bakassi story exemplifies the critical role of multidimensional actions, such as the possibility of negotiation and battle resolution through recourse to the International Court of Justice. The Mixed Commission also exemplifies exceptional resourcefulness and can be regarded as an exceptional classic for defensive diplomacy as well as a valuable tool for transitioning from a hostile to a peaceful culture.

#### **4.6 Demarcation of Border and Relations between Nigeria and Cameroon 2012 - 2015**

Maigari, (2017) believes that Nigeria was not prepared to let go of the strategic and economic benefit of the Peninsula, and so it made panicky efforts to grasp on to Bakassi notwithstanding the GTA by making suggestions to Cameroon such as a complete sale or hire of the Peninsula. Cameroon defied all the suggestions and regained its position on the non-negotiability of its region. As a result, the tensed relations sustained with the steady meetings of the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission being on hold for a long period. An oral source from Nigerian side revealed that;

This has already been conducted and 33 villages affected have been transferred to the authority of Cameroon then 2 villages in Borno Indanbagura and Lenide have been transferred from Cameroon to Nigeria. So it is not the issue of the wishes of the people but the governments. Socio-economic and political relations will flourish (Resident Archibong, O.I, 12/9/2019).

In the meantime, according to Okoli (2009), "relations between Nigeria and Southern Cameroon have been a long period." Both geographical and socio-political variables, he claims, have contributed to this. In terms of border ties, Nigeria and the area of Southern Cameroon, for example, were contiguous. Citizenship is particularly ambiguous along the borders of these territories, as both territories have relatives on both sides of the territorial boundary.

More so, in an interview source with resident reveal that;

Border demarcation between Nigeria and Cameroon it is an indication that all parties to the conflict had agreed with the court judgment passed in 2002, once if it has done, it going to reduce the tension and bring about cooperation between two states (Resident Ita, O.I,15/9/2018).

However, in 2002, the ICJ awarded the Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroon, whose ownership has been in an argument for more than three decades. Firstly, the Obasanjo government was unfriendly to take the ICJ resolution in good faith. This led to tension and military build-up in the area. The enormous oil deposit in the area, as well as the perceived strategic position of the area in the Atlantic Ocean, accounted for the devolved interest that the conflicting parties held in respect of the disputed territory (Idumange, 2010).

Similarly, in an interview with a resident from the Cameroon side, he stated that;

Some areas have not demarcated an agreement as not met (Okon, O.I, 16/09/2019).

Furthermore, Babatola (2012) cited; (Mandel,1980) who asserts that the influence inequality between two states, the stages of technology of these states, the type of difference involved, the international alignments of these states and the size of each set of mutually contiguous states are aspects to be looked at.

#### **4.7 The Impact of Strategic Security on Border Relations between Nigeria and Cameroon during Jonathan Paul Biya civilian administration in 2015**

Fombo (2006) in his investigation of the disputed region of Bakassi asserts that the early declaration by Cameroon contrary to the effects in the year 1961 referendum in Northern region of Cameroons, Nigerian neighbor Cameroon many scholar beliefs that they continued their usual relationship or toward the end of 1960s. In place of such good relationship the disagreement among them is connected to around precise important areas located within their.

In an oral interview government official from Cameroon, it was stated;

Nigeria's most difficult time was the Nigerian civil war, during that time Cameroonians gave security cover to Nigerian territories to give her ability to overcome the security challenges in the southern part of the country where Biafrans were smuggling weapons into their control territories. So that contribution set by Cameroonians helped Nigerian soldiers against her enemy. However, when petroleum product became an issue in the global market, so many countries were looking for means to get that product to enhance their revenue that has made both countries including the Cameroonian former colony to join in the fight to control the territories where the oil had been discovered, nobody cares about the lives of the communities residing in the oil areas who were deprived of their means of livelihood. Furthermore, it has created a new trend, the militant groups whose activities have negative effects on the strategic security of the borders: both countries are now paying the price of their actions (Oku, KII, 05/11/2019).

Babatola (2015), on the other hand, backed up the previous assertion. He feels that international terrorism is Nigeria's most severe threat today, and that it is supported by religious extremism, border penetrability, and cross-border security and crime difficulties. Nigeria's porous borders, as well as cross-border and boundary occurrences, undoubtedly contribute to an increase in the prevalence of crime and security concerns across Nigerian borders, with no clear solutions in sight. As a result, he identified some of the concerns that

could lead to or prevent an increase in border conflicts on Nigerian soil, as well as any infiltration from neighboring states targeted at curbing guerilla growth and a steady influx of unlawful asylum seekers from neighboring nations.

In an interview with a government official from Cameroon, it was that;

The strategic security of the border helps to check illegal migration. In terms of security cooperation, Bakassi peninsula has a lot of significant importance to both countries, if they do not agree to have better ways of managing that disputed land in which they have common interest, indeed they will share the consequences of insecurity in their territorial area of control (Nyong, KII,14/9/2019).

Mbaga and Njo (2000) cite a statement made by a member of the Bakassi freedom movement in his article, in which he categorically states, "We are going to fight Nigeria and Cameroon tooth and nail." The statement was made by the secretary-general of the proposed Ambazonian state. Furthermore, the current provocative declarations by a Nigerian handing over the Bakassi dispute committee that they would only hand over the Peninsula to its legal owners, Cameroon, are concerning.

Meanwhile, another oral interview with a government official from Cameroon revealed that;

Border strategic security plays an important role in border relations between countries, ensuring a country's safety from external attack. Any good government will not joke with the safety of its internal environment. However, as the area was not adequately covered by security agents suspected armed deal had long been taking place at the border point since both countries had shown indifferent attitude over this issue. As a result, there were fears of arms smuggling along with the border areas, that has caused a lot of problem to government and peace-loving communities (Efficat, KII, 18/09/2019).

Similarly, Maigari(2017) in her thesis notes, on the Nigerian side, in particular, we have a crew that contains not just people like us that work in boundary commission but the Nigerian Customs, Immigration and in some areas, even Task Force has formed a

committee are working on such things. Especially with the Boko Haram insurgence, the security has become tighter and it's taken more seriously than it has ever been. We know of their gendarmes and their immigration put together a team also.

Furthermore, in an oral interview with a government official from Nigeria, he revealed;

How does the state exist? A state exists when you have authority over apes of land. There can never be two authorities in a piece of land, it is a boundary that determines the limit of your authority. Many problems are bound to emerge; therefore the two countries to live harmoniously and achieve development security issues have to be adequately tackled. On the issue of boundary management, it is the immigration policy other factors that affect the movement of goods are services that can consider controlling illegal activities and this is one of the mandates of Cameroon and Nigeria mixed commission the emerged of Boko-Haram insurgency further reinforced the need for joint security efforts between the two countries for example, joint patrol by their security outfit moreover since Boko Haram. The issue attracted the attention of the international community efforts had been extended to include all countries around Lake Chad (Adamu, KII, 20/09/2019).

According to Babatola (2015), the fall of Libya's Gaddafi contributed to insecurity in some parts of Africa such as Niger, Cameroon, Chad, and Nigeria due to the availability of weapons, and that what is now known as Boko Haram, a dreaded group, has led a movement of terror in the turbulent region, causing chaos and cruel loss of lives and destruction of property in various areas of Northern Nigeria and neighboring Cameroon.

Similarly, in an interview with a government official from Cameroon, it was noted that;

A border is very important to any sovereign state and it has significant role in nation-building efforts. The present border structure was the product of the 1887 Berlin conference before that there was stateless societies, a situation in which nations explored and captured land. But now, we have developed the concept of national statehood. You must show evidence of owning the land. States have the duty of protecting their territorial integrity particularly the water. The land from Riodele through Biafran to hinterland is strategically important to both countries. For example, it was the issue of having access to land from the Atlantic Ocean to the hinterland in the Bakkassi that caused disputes that led to the Anglo Germany treaty in 1913, when Germany tried to penetrate the area without permission from Britain (Efficat, KII, 18/09/2019).

The two nations are at a crossroads and must choose between screen independent actions on the one hand and harmonized actions for the formation of rules to assist their peoples on the other. The natural surroundings the state's role must gradually become aware that it is appropriate for certain international taxation issues to be dealt with not at the national, but at the international level (Avramovich and Marshall, 2000).

In an interview with a government official from Nigeria, it was stated:

The I don't care' attitude of both countries on the lives of citizens living in the disputed territory led to the militancy in the region, therefore for peace to be maintained in the area, both governments need to adopt ways to handle the inhabitancy together by allowing to them residents to have more access to means of their livelihood that will bring effective security cover (Adamu, KII, 10/09/2019).

Fah (2006) in his work cited Aforika Nweke mentioning a higher ranking military general on the Nigerian side with admiration for the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon. Fah (2006) also reports that the Federal Government of Nigeria had to analyze its position on the Bakassi Peninsula primarily due to its tactical significance in the security of Nigeria's southern coast and access to the Calabar Port.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

In chapter four, challenges and prospects to border relation between Nigeria and Cameroon are analysed. It was established that a large bit of the GTA agreement reached has not been fully implemented. The persistent conflicts have caused the youths in the affected communities to form a joint militant group as a solution to their problem. Some of the Bakkassi residents believed that if Cameroonian policy is implemented, Nigerians will have some sort of fear that it will not do well if she withdraws her military and allow a takeover by Cameroon security force gendarme. Bilateral meetings and dialogue can tone

down conflicts but truth and justice are the panaceas for lasting territorial peace. The management of that boundary is going to be very difficult because of certain factors; one Nigeria is an English-speaking country which Cameroon is a French-speaking country, two there are some difficult terrains for security agents to manage efficiently and effectively. Three, the porosity of the border itself makes it very difficult for border security agents to give a very security cover, four, sufficient staff to manage the area lacks up to date as well as the equipment to effectively monitor the area.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides summary and major key findings of the study and the conclusions derived from the findings, as well as the recommendations we suggest. The summary provided here covers the previous chapters and the conclusions based on the study premises outlined in chapter one. The areas that are not fully studied in this study are suggested for further research.

#### **5.2 Summary**

Chapter one focused on the background of the study, statement of problem, justification and significant, objectives, research question and assumptions of the study, scope, limitation, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology.

The chapter also discussed different border relations and disputes around the world. It was established that numerous factors influence border conflicts two countries manifesting in terms of economy, politics and even social factors.

In chapter two it was established that the separation of Nigerian living in the disputed land aroused the desire for self-determination among the Nigerian citizens expelled from Bakassi for their autonomous territory. The consequence was the growing militancy in the region and danger in the waterways. However, the historical border problem it was date back to the colonial era before the independence of Nigeria and Cameroon in the 1960s. The problem started when the German's wanted to have access to the area under their control in southern Nigeria that had compelled them to go for signing of an agreement

between them and the British authorities, who were the colonial masters of Nigeria. Additionally, there are other believes that indicate the discovery of oil is the main cause of the dispute between the two countries. It also causes insecurity and human displacement in the countries. Had it been there is not oil in Bakassi nobody would care about that place so the presence of oil in the disputed area now becoming.

Chapter three focused on that Nigeria's most difficult time of the was the civil war; during that time Cameroonians gave security cover to Nigerian territories to give Nigeria the ability to overcome the security challenges in the Southern part of the country where Biafras were smuggling weapons in to their control territories. So that contribution set by Cameroonians gave offer hand to Nigerian soldiers against the enemy. The withdrawal of Nigerian troop from the disputed Bakkassi is an indication that they had agreed with the court verdict therefore Cameroonian government has no body to fight in the disputed land.

In chapter four, challenges and prospects to better border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon are analysed. It was established that a large bit of the agreement reached had not been fully implemented. The persistent conflicts have caused the youths in the affected communities to form a joint militant group as a solution to their problem.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

From the study findings, the following conclusions are made: In chapter two objective one a discussion was made on the nature of border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon revealing that there is external control of Bakkassi in Cameroon by its former colonial power France because initially, we had very good relations with Cameroon until when oil was discovered around that area. The border concern emerged; we understand that

Cameroon could have been pushed to claim Bakassi by France so that it has a place to exploit for her oil companies.

In chapter three, objective two a discussion was done on the changing dynamics of border relations. The chapter demonstrates that the withdrawal and transfer of ownership of the disputed Bakassi peninsular had contributed to improved relations between the two states (Nigeria and Cameroon). As noted, though bilateral meetings and dialogue can tone down conflicts, truth and justice are the panaceas for lasting territorial peace. Withdrawal and transfer of authority of Bakassi to Cameroon by the Nigerian state as a means of maiming peace.

In chapter four objective three, the study concluded that the GTA agreement reached was not fully implemented and that left many youths affected due to unemployment. Also, some of the youths gave opted to form a joint militant group as a solution to their problem. Some Bakassi residents believe that if Cameroonian policy is implemented, Nigerians fear that Bakassi will not do well when without its security in the disputed area. On the impact of strategic security on the border, it was established that Nigeria's most difficult time was the Nigerian civil war, during which Cameroonians gave security cover to Nigerian territories, to give her the ability to overcome the security challenges in the Southern part of the country where Biafrans were smuggling weapons into their control territories. So that contribution set, by Cameroonians gave a helping hand to Nigerian soldiers against their enemy. Based on various interpretations, the management of that boundary could be very difficult because of certain factors: one Nigeria is an English-speaking country; Cameroon is a French-speaking country, two there are some difficult terrains for security agents to manage efficiently and effectively. Three, the porosity of the border itself makes

it very difficult for border security agents to give a very secure cover, four, sufficient staff to manage the area lacks up to date as well as the equipment to effectively monitor the area.

Additionally, the securitization theory helped to explain why securitizing actors make border claim. The fundamental contention of the securitization theory is that security is an (illocutionary) discourse act or language demonstration of articulation that simply by expressing 'security' to some degree is the being finished. It is by naming something a security matter that it winds up as one. The Bakassi disputed territory is an area that is strategically located in an area of the Atlantic ocean between the two states and each state wants to have control over it. To have the ability to control the entire region means anyone who wants to do anything there must take permission from the country that owns the place, therefore this is the very reason that leaders make border claims of Bakkassi peninsular, to ensure the safety of their country.

The second theoretical perspective as Rational Choice Theory: A technique utilized by social researchers to comprehend human conduct. The methodology has for quite some time been the prevailing model in economics, yet in momentum periods it has turned out to be utilized in different disciplines, for example, Sociology, Political Science, and Anthropology. It analyses the frequency and outcome of border claims by leaders, and thus, the border claims in this study are dictated by the desire of each state to have access to the natural resource discovered in the Bakassi disputed area.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

This study makes the following recommendations: Are from objective one, two and three

The study recommended that but parties should avoid using third party involvement in to their disagreement over disputed land of Bakassi.

It was also recommended that the Cameroonian and Nigerian mixed commission which was agreed as a process of peace settlement should be fully implemented.

Dialogue between the states should continuous because it was the only way through which the interest of every party was to be achieved.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Research Budget

ACTIVITY	QUANTITY	COST	TOTAL COST
Transport	12	6,000	72,000
Research Assistant	5	30,000	150,000
Thesis preparation	1	30,000	30,000
Miscellaneous	1/flash and Miscellaneous	40,000	40,000
Total	-	-	292,000 kshs

**Appendix II: List of respondents**

S/N	Government official/Name	Date of Interview	Place of interview
1.	Mr Michael Oku	05/11/2018	Bakkassi Cameroon side
2.	Mr Augustine Nyong	14/09/2018	Bakkassi Cameroon side
3.	Mr Edark Efficat	18/09/2018	Bakkassi side Cameroon
4.	Alh Adamu Chindo	20/05/2018	National Boundary commission of Nigeria
5.	Adamu Bauchi Retired	10/09/2018	Retired Nigerian Army
S/N	Local Resident	Date of interview	Place of interview
1.	Mr Orok Umoh	06/08/2018	Bakkassi Cameroon side
2	Efioma Archibong	12/09/2018	Bakkassi Nigerian side
3	Mr Bassey Ita	15/09/2018	Bakkassi Nigerian side
4	Mr Ededem Okon	16/09/2018	Bakkassi Cameeroon side
5.	Mr Okokon Orok	17/09/2018	Bakkassi Nigerian side

### Appendix III: Interview Questions

#### TO THE RESPONDENTS (GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS) ON BAKASSI AREA OF BAKASSI PENINSULA, NIGERIA-CAMEROON

(Please tick [  ] in the one that best describe yourself)

Q1. Gender                    [  ] Male                    [  ] Female

Q2. What is your age group?

[  ] Less than 25years old                    [  ] 26-30 years old                    [  ] 31-35 years old

[  ] 36-40 years' old

[  ] Over 41 years' old

Q3. What is your educational qualification?

[  ] PhD                    [  ] Masters                    [  ] Bachelors                    [  ] Diploma

[  ] others

#### 1. INFORMATION ABOUT BORDER RELATIONS

Is there any land dispute in your view? What in your view are the factors that influence border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon? Please explain why you think these are important.

a. what in your view are the factors that influence border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon? Please explain why you think these are important.

a. Do you think the resource discovery plays any significant role in determining border relations between the two countries?

b. Do Globalization ideas such as free movement of people and goods have any impact on Nigeria-Cameroon border relation?

c. How can you describe the Nigeria-Cameroon border relation vis-à-vis the economic value of Bakassi peninsula?

## **2. INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHANGING NATURE OF BORDER RELATIONS**

- a. There have been various bilateral meetings between the two countries and some third parties, such as that of Geneva summit in November 2002. In your own view what changes have these brought about within the territorial area of Bakassi?
- b. There have been various court determinations on border issue between Nigeria and Cameroon. Have these any impact on the territorial area of Bakassi?

## **3. INFORMATION ABOUT RESOLUTION ON BORDER RELATIONS**

- a. Do you think this border dispute has solution?
- b. Can you please suggest possible ways of resolving it?
- c. Do you think bilateral meetings by heads of states of the both countries can solve the lingering Bakassi conflict?
- d. Do you think complete withdrawal of Nigerian military within the disputed territory can lead to peace in the disputed area of Bakassi?
- e. Do you believe transfer the disputed land to the authority of Cameroon can serve as a mean of settling the dispute?

## **Appendix IV: Interview Questions**

**TO THE RESPONDENTS (TRADITIONAL HEADS AND LOCAL RESIDENTS)**

**RESIDING WITHIN THE *BAKASSI* AREA OF BAKASSI PENINSULA,**

**NIGERIA-CAMEROON**

(Please tick [  ] in the one that best describe yourself)

Q1. Gender                    [  ] Male                    [  ] Female

Q2. What is your age group?

[  ] Less than 25years old                    [  ] 26-30 years old                    [  ] 31-35 years old

[  ] 36-40 years' old

[  ] 41 years and above

Q3. What is your educational qualification?

[  ] PhD                    [  ] Masters                    [  ] Bachelors                    [  ] Diploma

[  ] others

### **1. INFORMATION ABOUT BORDER RELATIONS**

a. Is there any land dispute in your view? What are the factors that influence the border relations between Nigeria and Cameroon? Please explain why you think these are important.

b. In your own view, what is the impact of land disputes (between Nigeria and Cameroon) in to your life as resident in Bakassi?

c. In your own view, are there any historical boundaries conflict between the two countries?

d. what is the impact of territorial claims that exist between the two countries in the border relation?

- e. What would you say about the separation between these territories as it relates to the border relations between the two countries?

## **2. INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHANGING NATURE OF BORDER RELATIONS**

- a. There have been various bilateral meetings such as that of Geneva summit in November 2002, between the two countries and some third parties. In your own view, what changes have these meetings brought about within the territorial area of Bakassi?
- b. There has been a court determination on border issue between Nigeria and Cameroon. In your own view, what changes have these meetings brought about within the territorial area of Bakassi?

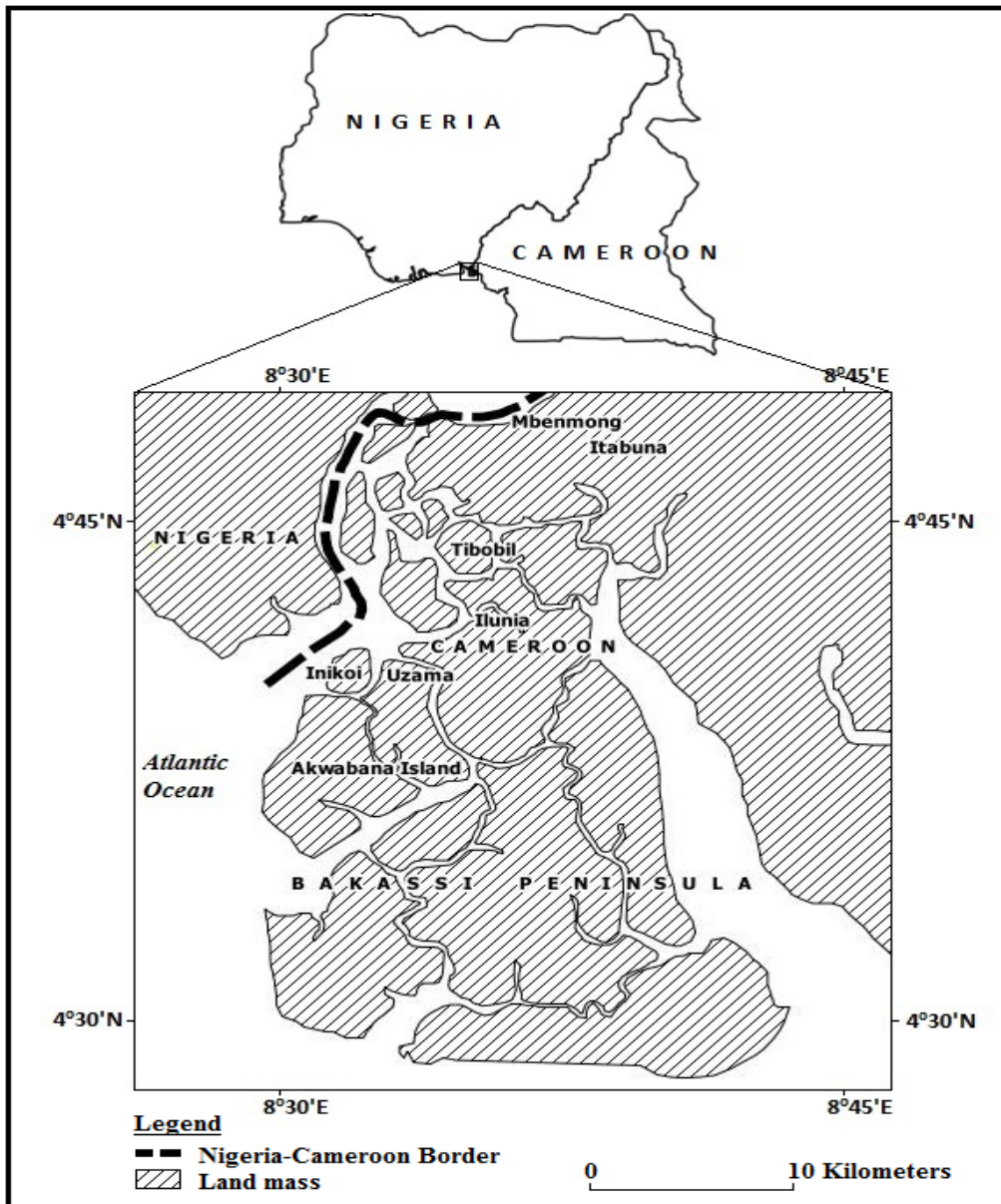
## **3. INFORMATION ABOUT RESOLUTION ON BORDER RELATIONS**

- a. Do you think this border dispute has solution?
- b. Can you please suggest possible ways of resolving it?
- c. Do you think government efforts on bilateral meetings can help in solving the border conflict?

Do you think establishing socio economic joint commission can provide mean of settling conflict between the two countries?

- e. what can you say about demarcation of border between Nigeria and Cameroon would it improve the border relation?

Appendix V: Study area showing disputed region of Bakassi Peninsula



Source;(Google maps)

**Appendix VI: Picture of Bakkassi peninsula**





Source; (researcher, 2019)

## Appendix VII: Research Permit from National Boundary Commission



# NATIONAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION THE PRESIDENCY

No. 54, Aguiyi Ironsi Street, Cadastral Zone A6, Maitama - Abuja,  
P.M.B. 5014 Wuse, Abuja. Tel: 09-2920331, 09-2920332

*Office of the Director-General*

**NBC.SEC.45/30  
30 June, 2019**

## TO WHOM IT MAY CONERN

This is to introduce **MR. UMAR FARUK ABUBAKAR**, an academic staff of Bauchi State University, Gadau, NIGERIA, who is undergoing Master's Degree Programme in Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya in the Department of International Relation, Conflict and Strategic Studies. The topic of his Thesis is "**Nigeria-Cameroon border relation in the Bakassi Peninsula 1999-1995**".

2. He is therefore, required to carry out data collection along the border communities of Nigeria and Cameroon to enable him gather additional information for his research work/thesis.
3. In view of the forgoing, kindly accord him all necessary assistance, support and clearance he may require.
4. Thank you for your cooperation.

**Surv. Adamu A. Adaji**  
Ag. Director General

## Appendix VIII: Research Permit from National Boundary Commission (French)

NBC.SEC.45/30  
30 Juin, 2019

### A QUI DE DROIT

Nous voulons par cette note vous présenter **M. UMAR FARUK ABUBAKAR**, personnel académique de l'Université d'Etat de Bauchi, Gadau, au NIGERIA, qui poursuit un programme de Master à l'Université Kenyatta, de Nairobi, Kenya au Département des Relations Internationales, Conflit et Etudes Stratégiques. Son mémoire est intitulé: «**Nigeria-Cameroon border relation in the Bakassi Peninsula 1999-1999**» (**Relation Frontalière Nigéria-Cameroun dans la Péninsule de Bakassi 1999-1995**).

2. Il est donc appelé à collecter les données auprès des communautés frontalières du Nigéria et du Cameroun afin de lui permettre d'avoir plus d'information dans son travail de recherche/ la rédaction de son mémoire.
3. Sur ce, bien vouloir lui accorder toute assistance, soutien et facilitation nécessaires dont il pourrait avoir besoin.
4. Merci pour votre coopération.



**Surv. Adamu A. Adaji**  
Directeur Général