

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

\*\*\*\*\*

POST GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR  
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL  
SCIENCES

\*\*\*\*\*

DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR  
SOCIAL SCIENCES

\*\*\*\*\*

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

\*\*\*\*\*



UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

\*\*\*\*\*

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES  
HUMAINES, SOCIALES ET EDUCATIVES

\*\*\*\*\*

UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES  
HUMAINES ET SOCIALES

\*\*\*\*\*

DEPARTEMENT D'HISTOIRE

\*\*\*\*\*

## THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT ON CAMEROON FROM 1981 TO 2023

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of a  
Master Degree (M.A.) in History.

Specialization: History of International Relations

By:

Victor Ngoh Femeh



Jury:

President :Moussa II, Pr., University of Yaounde I

Reporter: David Nchinda Keming ,MC., University of Yaounde I

Member : Bekono Ndongo Stepheie , CC., University of Yaounde I

MARCH 2026

To my father and Mother, Njingum Musa Mbutoh, and Womboh Winifred, for their supports both morally and financially.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The realization of this work has been made possible through the collective efforts of a number of individuals to whom we owe much gratitude, our gratitude goes to our supervisor, Associate Professor David Nchinda Keming, for accepting to supervise this work. His correction of the manuscript, criticisms, and suggestions were sources of motivation and encouragement. We express our gratitude to all the lecturers of the department of History of the University of Yaoundé 1 for their beyond measurable contributions during our years of studies. Our appreciations go to all the academic institutions which received us during this research exercises.

We address a special thanks to Bernard Okala Belia, for facilitating our interaction in the South West Region. The Governor of the south west region who made our access to the national archives in the region of the conflict of Bakassi extremely smooth, despite the political instability that embraces the regions of South West and North West. We will also thank the military generals of the ministry of defense who received us with open arms. A special thanks goes to the central director of coordination of the National Gendarmerie, General Elokobi Njock Daniel, and many other military personnel who also constitute the oral sources.

This work be a source of satisfaction to our father, Tonye Mathias Angu, and our grandmother Njingum Awah, to all my brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts, they who despite their challenges took out time to there for us both emotionally and financially for us, in this scientific exercise.

We present our recognition to, Kissifeh Derek Ngalange, Tandang Asen Goldfred, Guewanda Adiza, Oter Atur Ballering, Tansong Tendongue, Ombe Sebastian, and also the general library team in IRIC, which they were determine to search for scientific documents written on this subject of scientific research it took time, days, and months. Madam Funkoh Victorine, IRIC Library, Head of service, for her orientations. To the family of history, Geography, Archeology Circle, their scientific and morale assistance was of great importance. I take responsibility for the realization of this work both in the area of appreciation and criticism.

## SIGLES AND ACRONYMS

<b>ADB</b>	: African Development Bank.
<b>CNMC</b>	: Cameroon –Nigeria Mixed commission.
<b>FDI</b>	: Foreign Direct Investment.
<b>AU</b>	: African Union
<b>CEEAC</b>	: <i>Communauté Economique des Etats d`Afrique Centrale.</i>
<b>CNJC</b>	: Cameroon –Nigeria Joint Commission.
<b>CEMAC</b>	: <i>Communauté Economique et Monétaire d`Afrique Centrale.</i>
<b>CHOGM</b>	: Common Wealth Head of Government Meetings.
<b>BFF</b>	: Bakassi Freedom fighters.
<b>COPAX</b>	: peace and Security Commission for Central Africa.
<b>CRESMAC</b>	: <i>Centre Régionale de sécurité Maritime en l`Afrique Centrale.</i>
<b>ECOWAS</b>	: Economic Community of West African states
<b>ECOMOG</b>	: West African Peace and Monitoring Force
<b>IRIC</b>	: International relations institute of Cameroon.
<b>GDP</b>	: Gross Domestic Product.
<b>GGC</b>	: Gulf of Guinea Commission.
<b>GTA</b>	: Green Tree Accord.
<b>GTA</b>	: Green Tree Agreement.
<b>H.E</b>	: His Excellency.
<b>ICJ</b>	: International court of Justice.
<b>IGA</b>	: Intergovernmental Authority for East Africa.
<b>IMF</b>	: International Monetary Fund.
<b>IPU</b>	: Inter parliamentary Union.
<b>LCBC</b>	: Lake Chad Basin Commission.
<b>LCDs</b>	: Les Développa Countries.
<b>MINREX</b>	: <i>Ministère des Relations Extérieures.</i>
<b>SONARA</b>	: <i>Société Nationale de raffinerie du Cameroun</i>
<b>UBA</b>	: Union Bank of Africa.
<b>UK</b>	: United Kingdom.
<b>USA</b>	: United Sates of America.

<b>UMA</b>	: Union of Maghrebian Africa.
<b>UNOWA</b>	: United Nations office for West Africa.
<b>UNSC</b>	: United Nations Security Council.
<b>D.O</b>	: Divisional Officer.
<b>SDO</b>	: Senior Divisional Officer.
<b>MINDEF</b>	: Ministry of Defense.
<b>NOSO</b>	: North West and South west

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### A- Maps

- I:** The Geo-political constitution of Cameroon and Nigeria in the Gulf of Guinea that is the area of Bakassi .....11
- II:** The administrative map of Bakassi of the south west Region.....37

### B- Table

- I:** The growth rate after the resolution of the bakassi conflict, in the economic domain (1975-2008). .....96

### C- Graphic

- I-**The economic progress after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict .....90

## **LIST OF APPENDIX**

- I:** The resume of the ICJ ruling of 10 October 2002.
- II:** The Green Tree Agreement of June 12th 2006.
- III:** United Nations office for West Africa and the Cameroon – Nigeria Mixed Commission
- IV:** Press Release AFR/ 831 – Cameroon –Nigeria Mixed Commission: First field visit to Bakassi peninsula.
- V:** Cameroon –Nigeria joint Commission: Mutual patrols to keep Commission on Tract.

## ABSTRACT

The study focuses on the peaceful resolution of the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over the Bakassi peninsula by the International Governing body, the United Nations (UN). The UN Organ, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) aimed of maintaining peace and security did their job to a greater extent. The objective of the ICJ to prevent war which could spread as a regional war and negatively affect the global security. This showed a clear demonstration of the used of non -violence means prevailed, as a dynamic and flexible option in the resolution of international conflicts. Our study demonstrates the powerful cooperation of the UN and Organization of African Unity (OAU) which later became African Union (AU). The problem of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was the clash of National interest between Cameroon and Nigeria over the rich oil deposit in the bakassi peninsula that made it difficult for the resolution process .play a very important rule especially in the domain of political settlement and the preponderance of international law through the organ of the UN , that is the ICJ's legal and Judicial settlements which can champion the re-integration of was valuable factor in the peaceful resolution of international and national conflict with the exemption of violence .This was the typical example of diplomatic supremacy in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria. Moreover, the study reveals the strength of ICJ in the judicial resolution of conflict via transparent and facts based analysis which consolidate the conciliatory and mediation phases of the politico-diplomatic settlement. This peaceful was the breath of hope championed with traces of confidence, hope, and security in the Gulf of Guinea, thus the local population of the region felt regional stability. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict came with lots of consequences which some where positive and others negative to the state of Cameroon .This help laid the foundation of new diplomatic relations with Nigeria , this is a true testament of time impartial resolution of conflict in Africa in particular and the world in general . Conclusively, it is crystal clear that, this study diversified the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was a milking Cow to the Cameroon Government, that the Consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict brought lots of benefits to Cameroon without vicious military seizure open conflict and its eventual seizure. This was a major test to the Institutional pilots of peace that is the UN, fortunately the objective was to prevent war, and promote peaceful resolution of the conflict. The lesson withdrawn from the resolution of this conflict is how the effectiveness of international institutions like the UN can bestowed patience and promote the sales of peaceful resolution of conflict and encouraged cooperation, enhances regional stability in the Gulf of Guinea which is priceless.

**Keywords:** Bakassi conflict, resolution of the conflict, Consequences, Cameroon.

## RESUME

*Cette étude porte sur la résolution pacifique du conflit de Bakassi entre le Cameroun et le Nigeria concernant la péninsule de Bakassi par l'organe de gouvernance internationale, les Nations Unies (ONU). L'organe des Nations Unies, la Cour internationale de Justice (CIJ), dont l'objectif est de maintenir la paix et la sécurité, a rempli sa mission dans une large mesure. L'objectif de la CIJ était de prévenir une guerre qui aurait pu se propager à l'échelle régionale et affecter négativement la sécurité mondiale. Cela a clairement démontré que le recours à des moyens non violents a prévalu, en tant qu'option dynamique et flexible dans la résolution des conflits internationaux. Notre étude démontre la puissante coopération entre l'ONU et l'Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA), devenue par la suite l'Union africaine (UA). Le problème de la résolution du conflit de Bakassi résidait dans le conflit d'intérêts nationaux entre le Cameroun et le Nigeria concernant les riches gisements de pétrole de la péninsule de Bakassi, ce qui a rendu le processus de résolution difficile. La CIJ a joué un rôle très important, notamment dans le domaine du règlement politique et de la prépondérance du droit international, grâce à ses règlements juridiques et judiciaires qui ont été un facteur précieux dans la résolution pacifique des conflits internationaux et nationaux, à l'exclusion de la violence. Ce fut un exemple typique de la suprématie diplomatique dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi entre le Cameroun et le Nigeria. De plus, l'étude révèle la force de la CIJ dans la résolution judiciaire des conflits grâce à une analyse transparente et fondée sur des faits, qui consolide les phases de conciliation et de médiation du règlement politico-diplomatique. Cette résolution pacifique a insufflé un souffle d'espoir, empreint de confiance et de sécurité dans le golfe de Guinée, permettant ainsi à la population locale de la région de ressentir une stabilité régionale. La résolution du conflit de Bakassi a eu de nombreuses conséquences, certaines positives et d'autres négatives pour l'État camerounais. Cela a contribué à jeter les bases de nouvelles relations diplomatiques avec le Nigeria, ce qui témoigne d'une résolution impartiale des conflits en Afrique en particulier et dans le monde en général. En conclusion, il est clair que cette étude a montré que la résolution du conflit de Bakassi a été une véritable aubaine pour le gouvernement camerounais, car les conséquences de cette résolution ont apporté de nombreux avantages au Cameroun sans recours à une saisie militaire violente, à un conflit ouvert et à sa prise de contrôle éventuelle. Ce fut un test majeur pour les institutions garantes de la paix, à savoir l'ONU. Heureusement, l'objectif était de prévenir la guerre et de promouvoir une résolution pacifique du conflit. La leçon à tirer de la résolution de ce conflit est la suivante : l'efficacité des institutions internationales comme l'ONU peut, grâce à la patience et à la promotion du règlement pacifique des conflits et à l'encouragement de la coopération, renforcer la stabilité régionale dans le golfe de Guinée, ce qui est inestimable.*

**Mots-clés :** Cameroun ,Conflit de Bakassi, conséquences, résolution du conflit.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

DEDICATION .....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	vi
LIST OF APPENDIX.....	vii
ABSTRACT .....	viii
RESUME.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENT .....	x
GENERAL INTRODUCTION .....	1
<b>I.    CONTEXT AND REASON OF CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT</b> .....	4
<b>a.    Context of the subject</b> .....	4
<b>II.    REASON AND JUSTIFICATION OF CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT</b> .....	6
a.    Scientific Reasons.....	6
b.    Social reasons for choice of the study.....	7
c.    Personal reasons .....	8
<b>III.    DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY</b> .....	9
a.    Geographical delimitation .....	9
<b>IV.    CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK</b> .....	12
I.    The following are the key concepts of the research topic well detailed .....	13
a.    The Concept of Conflicts.....	13
b.    The concept of Consequences .....	13
c.    The Concept of conflict resolution .....	14
d.    The Concept of Border(s).....	15
<b>V.    CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	15
<b>VI.    STATEMENT OF PROBLEM</b> .....	20
<b>VII.    HYPOTHESES</b> .....	22
a.    Principal / Central Hypothesis (CH).....	22
b.    Secondary Hypotheses.....	23
<b>VIII.    THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY</b> .....	23
a.    The theory of realism: a classical approach on national security.....	24
b.    The theory of transnationalism .....	26
<b>IX.    OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH</b> .....	28
a.    The benefits of the conflict resolution on Cameroon .....	29
b.    The respect and the implementation of the ICJ and the GTA decisions .....	29

c. Cameroon border redressed and Bakassi peninsula included in her Map .....	29
<b>X. SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>30</b>
a. Sources and methodology.....	31
b. Methodology of the treatment of sources .....	32
<b>XI. THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERS .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>XII. PLAN OF WORK .....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>THE ATMOSPHERE THAT PROVOKED THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT .....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>36</b>
I. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CAMEROONIANS AND NIGERIANS.....	37
A. The development of insecurities .....	38
B. The kidnapping of both Nigerians and Cameroonians citizens in Bakassi .....	38
C. Constant clash between the Nigerian and Cameroonian forces.....	39
D. The activities of the Biafra movement .....	40
E. The killing of people and the destruction of properties.....	40
II. THE ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS.....	41
A. Increased in the rate of poverty .....	41
B. Increased in wasteful investments .....	41
C. Tax evarsion .....	42
D. Abandoned resources.....	43
E. Multiplication of losses .....	43
F. The depopulation of the region.....	43
G. Monotony of the conflict .....	44
H. Deficit in the exploitation of natural resources .....	45
I. Bakassi conflict made this region a unlawful society.....	45
III. THE INTEREST OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES.....	46
<b>A. The interst of the OAU /AU .....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>B. Mediation by the OAU/AU .....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>C. the interest of the UN.....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>D. UN resolutions.....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>E. interest of eu .....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>F. Mediation by the EU.....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>G. EU advocacy and raising awarness.....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>H. interest of nationals .....</b>	<b>49</b>
IV. INTEREST OF THE HEADS- OF- STATE.....	50

A. Diplomatic engagement .....	50
B. Adherence to international law .....	50
C. Bilateral agreement .....	51
D. Promotion of peace .....	51
E. Regional cooperation .....	52
F. Public awareness .....	52
G. The parliamentary oversight .....	53
H. Parliamentary mediation .....	54
I. Civil societies .....	54
J. Media Outreach .....	55
K. Human rights monitoring .....	55
THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS AND THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THE PROCESS OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT .....	57
CHAPTER TWO .....	57
<b>Introduction</b> .....	57
<b>I. THE ROLES OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS</b> .....	58
<b>A. The contribution of the OAU/AU</b> .....	58
<b>B. Mediation of the conflict</b> .....	58
<b>C. Facilitation of dialogue</b> .....	58
<b>D. Maintenance of peace and regional stability</b> .....	59
<b>II. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UN</b> .....	60
A. Facilitation of the legal frameworks .....	60
B. Peacekeeping efforts to maintain stability in the region .....	60
C. International mediation .....	61
D. Encouragement of dialogue .....	61
<b>III. THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARTNERS</b> .....	62
<b>A. Facilitation of mediation and Humanitarian assistance</b> .....	62
<b>B. Provision of capacity building and research assistance</b> .....	62
<b>C. Advocacy and raising awareness</b> .....	63
<b>D. Human rights monitoring</b> .....	64
<b>IV. THE ROLE OF NATIONALS OF CAMEROON -NIGERIA IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT</b> .....	64
A. The role of the heads of state in the resolution of the conflict .....	64
B. Diplomatic engagement for the resolution of the conflict .....	64
C. Adherence to international law .....	65
D. Initiation of the conflict into the UN .....	65

E. Bilateral agreement.....	66
F. Promotion of peaceful co existence.....	66
G. The heads of state endorsement of regional cooperation.....	67
H. The multiplication of public awareness.....	67
<b>V. THE ROLE OF THE CAMEROON AND NIGERIA PARLIAMENTS.....</b>	<b>68</b>
A. The respect of agreements.....	68
B. Parliamentary oversight and accountability.....	69
C. Facilitation of dialogue by the parliaments.....	69
D. The parliaments channeled collaboration with regional bodies.....	70
E. Public awareness and advocacy by the both parliaments.....	70
F. The parliaments encouraged the promotion of human rights.....	71
<b>VI. THE ROLE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETIES.....</b>	<b>71</b>
A. Media outreach.....	72
B. Human rights monitoring.....	72
C. Humanitarian assistance.....	73
D. Community engagement.....	74
E. Collaboration with regional and international bodies.....	74
F. Promotion of inclusive policies.....	75
<b>VII. AGREEMENTS THAT HELPED IN THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT.....</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>VIII. THE COLONIAL PERIOD AGREEMENTS.....</b>	<b>75</b>
A. The German treaty (Agreement) of annexation of July 12 <sup>th</sup> 1884.....	76
B. The Berlin West African Conference.....	76
C. The Anglo-German Agreement.....	77
D. A conflict resolution guide between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi.....	77
<b>IX. POST INDEPENDENCE AGREEMENTS.....</b>	<b>78</b>
A. The maroua declaration.....	78
B. The green tree agreement.....	79
C. Fostered the implementation of the ICJ verdict.....	80
D. Promotion of political stability.....	80
E. Cameroon and Nigeria mixed commission.....	81
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT ON CAMEROON.....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>I. POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONSEQUENCES.....</b>	<b>83</b>

A.	Territorial extension of Cameroon .....	84
B.	The creation of new sub divisions in the Ndian division.....	84
C.	Government sovereignty and control .....	85
D.	The political legitimacy of Cameroonian leadership.....	86
E.	Political atmosphere .....	86
<b>II.</b>	<b>ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES .....</b>	<b>87</b>
A.	Government expenditures.....	87
B.	The conservation of the natural resources .....	88
C.	National debt of Cameroon.....	89
<b>III.</b>	<b>THE EXTENSION OF THE EXPLOITATION SPACE OF NATURAL RESOURCES ON CAMEROON .</b> .....	<b>89</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>A boost in the national fishing revenue .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Potentials for Oil and Gas exploitation.....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>C.</b>	<b>Diversification of the economy .....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>IV.</b>	<b>A BOOM IN THE TAXATION SECTOR.....</b>	<b>92</b>
A.	Improved infrastructures.....	93
B.	A boost to related industries .....	94
C.	Targeted infrastructural development.....	94
D.	Increased in investments.....	95
<b>V.</b>	<b>THE EXTENSION OF TRADE NETWORKS FROM CAMEROON TO NIGERIA AND THE REST OF</b> <b>THE WORLD.....</b>	<b>97</b>
I.	Promotion of regional development .....	97
II.	Explosion in foreign investments .....	98
III.	Increased government revenue .....	99
IV.	Stimulation of economic growth and development.....	100
V.	Improved access to resources and support from international organisation.....	100
VI.	Enhanced credibility for aid and developmental fundings .....	101
VII.	Socio-cultural consequences.....	102
<b>VI.</b>	<b>THE HARMONISATION OF CAMEROONIANS AND NIGERIANS LIVING IN BAKASSI AND THE</b> <b>REST OF CAMEROON .....</b>	<b>103</b>
A.	Enriched cultural diversity.....	103
B.	Promotion of intercultural dialogue and understanding .....	104
C.	Preservation of cultural heritage.....	105
D.	Strengthened social cohesion.....	106
E.	Increased in technical asistance and capacity building .....	107
<b>VII.</b>	<b>SOCIAL COHESION THE REBIRTH OF MULTICULTURISM .....</b>	<b>108</b>

A. Inclusivity built on national identity.....	109
<b>VIII. TOLERANCE ENHANCES INTERGROUP COOPERATION .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>IX. UNITY IN DIVERSITY THE GATEWAY TO INNOVATION AND CREATIVITY .....</b>	<b>110</b>
A. Social stability and reduced conflict.....	111
B. The creation of the refugees problems .....	112
C. Security consequences .....	113
<b>X. THE STRATEGIC GEOPOLITICAL POSITIONING OF BAKASSI .....</b>	<b>113</b>
A. The frequent pirates attacks .....	114
B. Implantation of a military base in the zone of Bakassi.....	114
A. Partnerships for addressing transnational challenges .....	115
B. Diplomatic consequences .....	116
<b>XI. INTERNATINAL RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT .....</b>	<b>116</b>
A. Cameroon `s reputation was admired internationally.....	117
B. Strengthened diplomatic support and advocacy .....	117
<b>XII. TOLERANCE ENHANCES INTERGROUP COOPERATION .....</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>DIFFICULTIES, PERSPECTIVES AND PROPOSALS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT.....</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>II. POLITICAL INSTABILITIES AND COMMITMENT ISSUES .....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>A. Inconsistent policy implementation .....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>B. There was distrust and skepticism .....</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>C. Diverted attention from international issues.....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>D. Rise of nationalistic sentiments .....</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>III. HISTORICAL GRIVANCES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY .....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>A. Nationalism and sovereignty.....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>B. Colonial legacies.....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>C. The colonial descrimination.....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>D. The quest for resouces control.....</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>E. The militarisation of the region of bakassi.....</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>F. Local communities dynamics.....</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>IV. MIXED ETHNIC COMPOSITION .....</b>	<b>128</b>
A. Displacement and resettlement of the Bakassians .....	129
B. Resources dependence .....	130
C. Historical grivances .....	131

D. The promotion of human rights and good governance.....	132
<b>V. PERSPECTIVES FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT ON CAMEROON'S POLITICAL LIFE.....</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>VI. THE PROMOTION OF PEACE EDUCATION .....</b>	<b>133</b>
A. The exposure of international diplomacy .....	134
B. Civic engagement .....	134
<b>VII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH SKILLS.....</b>	<b>135</b>
A. The promotion of skills based education .....	136
<b>VIII. THE HISTORICAL AWARENESS OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT .....</b>	<b>137</b>
A. Exploration of the colonial legacy .....	137
B. Abiding and engaging to international law.....	138
C. Help in the understanding of the national history.....	139
D. The national sovereignty of Cameroon became a prestige.....	139
E. The preparation of future leadership .....	140
<b>IX. THE FORMATION OF EXPERTS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION .....</b>	<b>140</b>
A. The contextualisation of territorial issues.....	141
B. Protection of the government treasury.....	142
<b>X. THE PREPARATION OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT .....</b>	<b>142</b>
A. Cameroon profit as a peace promoter .....	143
B. Encouraging civic responsibility .....	143
C. Modern diplomacy.....	144
D. The fair referee on international conflict.....	145
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>146</b>
<b>APPENDIX .....</b>	<b>150</b>

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The territorial conflict between countries is one of the oldest nature of disputes around the world. The Balkanization of Western Europe in the 1800 almost brought war amongst great European powers, thus after the Re-unification of Germany in 1871, the Germany Vice Chancellor, Henry Otto Von Bismarck called for the first Berlin conference of 1879. This conference was aimed to prevent war among this great powers and most important protect their national interest. The borders was addressed thus war was prevented. In African, the scramble for African European powers such as Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, for National interest provoked by the birth of the Industrial revolution in Europe. This led to Western Balkanization without the respect of African pre-colonial boundaries. Africa was partitioned following the Berlin West Africa conference of (1884-1885) without the invitation of any African<sup>1</sup>. The Case of Bakassi is just an Ice Berge of other boundaries conflict in Africa but like all conflicts in the world, it ended with the resolution which left many consequences on Cameroon. The motive of this research is to showcase how the concept of resolution of conflict through peaceful means guarantees the continuation of international relations, repairable after resolution of conflict. The diplomatic relations of Cameroon and Nigeria has remained intact despite Nigeria loosing Bakassi to Cameroon due to the diplomatic resolution of the conflict. This helps safes unnecessary dead weights. The resolution of the conflict was possible because of the following actors; the international actors such as the UN, European Union (EU), the National actors such as the AU, and the Local actors such as the nationalists.

The Bakassi conflict brought the world governing body the United Nations (UN) to a test of globalization of collective security in Africa and for that reason it amplified the importance of the conflict on the international ground.<sup>2</sup> The international actors had to use the conflict as the sample to show how conflicts in African should be resolved. In later years, the Bakassi conflict which hit its brim in 1981 where Cameroon and Nigeria almost when to war because of the killing of five Nigerian soldiers by the Cameroon forces in Bakassi. These are some causes of the Bakassi conflict that almost led to war between Cameroon and Nigeria. All the causes will be analyzed in this paragraph. Below.

Cameroon wanted to engulf the territory of Bakassi to increase her sphere of influence and control which was already under the Nigeria's territory. Cameroon wanted to expand her

---

<sup>1</sup> V. Hiribarren, « Les frontières du Biafra de la Colonisation a 1970 », Mémoire of masters degree, in international relations, University of Paris, 2007, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> V. J. Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-present* (2018), the history of a people, Limbe, DESIGN House Limbe, 2019, pp.301-305.

territory to Bakassi and respect the colonial treaty .During the colonial period ,Cameroon was under the German rule before the outbreak of the first world war in 1914<sup>3</sup>, there was the Anglo-German treaty of 1913 , which clearly demarcated the that the zone was Bakassi is part of the German Kamerun , After the defeated of the Germans in Cameroon in 1916 at the battle of Mora<sup>4</sup> , Cameroon was passed as a mandated territory under the league of nations with authority given to Britain and France as mandated territory over the supervision of the league of nations<sup>5</sup> and thus , made it possible for Britain and France to share Cameroon. <sup>6</sup> Britain only took 1/5 while France took 4/5<sup>7</sup> ,looking at the seize of the irregular shape territory of Cameroon Britain decided to attach it to Nigeria as an integral part of Nigeria , This is the Origin of the Bakassi conflict because since southern Cameroon was attached as an integral part of Nigeria , and ruled the territory of Bakassi became like a Nigerian territory and it continued under the trusteeship system .This was under the United nations organization from 1945<sup>8</sup>, the outbreak of the second world war in 1939 , meant the League of Nations(LON) had failed and thus with the creation of the United nations Organization (UNO) as trusteeship territory of the UNO , which was the continuation of the polices of the mandated territories and thus , with Nigeria being the administrative headquarters of the affairs of southern Cameroons . After the second world war there were political liberation and political awareness shockingly Southern Cameroon representation was in Calabar Nigeria , it was only in 1954 where south Cameroons had their first indigenus political party which stills maintains superiority from the Nigerian administration and later given internal autonomy with the Quasi federation of 1954, making EML Endeley, the first Prime minister of southern Cameroons .The independence of both nations , for example French Cameroon got her independence on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1960, same period with Nigeria and it became very tough for British Cameroon<sup>9</sup> who was still struggling with Independence Questions <sup>10</sup>. This led to the reunification of Cameroon with the “la Republique

---

<sup>3</sup> G. Tyoyila Akwen “ Nigeria –Cameroon border relations: A historical Analysis of the Bakassi peninsula region”, Federal university Gashua Yobe State 2019, p.72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.87.

<sup>6</sup> G. Rooem Obame` Ngoua, « La communication en Milieu diplomatique » Mémoire of master of international relations IRIC, 2000, pp. 34-35.

<sup>7</sup> G. Verkjika Fanso, *Boundaries and history in Africa issues in conventional boundaries and Ideological frontiers*, Yaoundé, A publication of the department of history, University of Yaoundé 1, 2011, p.54.

<sup>8</sup> Annan Kofi “*The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa*”, 1998, full report available online at <http://www.un.org>, 14 May 2010.

<sup>9</sup> J. Barron Boyd ET Le Moyne, College, “*African boundary conflict: An empirical*” study, African studies review, Vol. 22, n°3 1979. P. 10.

<sup>10</sup> There was no direct independent offer given to Southern Cameroon , it was either independence by reunification with the already independent republic of Cameroon or the integration with the federal republic of Nigeria , the question of secession was dropped out from the equation and frustrated the Southern Cameroonians , if the question

du Cameroun”, thereby separating from Nigeria on October 1<sup>st</sup> 1961. Many historians believe the origin of the Bakassi conflict was the neglect of the zone of Bakassi after the independence of Cameroon. Another political origin of the Bakassi conflict was the traceability of the colonial documents<sup>11</sup>. The traceability of colonial documents had the capacity of exposing all colonial lies told by the Nigerian government. This made Cameroon to be eager to recover her lost zone which was occupied by Nigerian under the disguise of their territory. The traceability of the colonial document gave Cameroon the diplomatic right to exercise their legitimate claims over the peninsula of Bakassi, by this claims led to the Bakassi conflict. Another cause was the discoveries of the large deposits of natural resources like crude oil. The eye opener for Cameroon was the discoveries of natural resources like crude oil deposit which made Cameroon not to waste anytime but to start physical action in reclaiming Bakassi from Nigeria<sup>12</sup>. The economic importance of these natural resources was the pull factor for Cameroon to extend her hand of owner towards the recovery of Bakassi. This is a clear indication that if there were no discoveries of crude oil there the Cameroon government would have care less and Nigeria would have still be occupying the area till now. The economic value of crude oil made it possible for the state of Cameroon to fight for the ownership of Bakassi, this was because the oil refinery in Limbe would process these and other industries like the construction industries will be fed too like the black tar oil used in the construction of roads and also other industries. The discovery of petroleum deposit made it easier for the state of Cameroon to invest knowing well that it's a win-win adventure if justice is served, this happened and Cameroon was given Bakassi under the diplomatic attire. Other resources such as the fishery will help elevate the political and economic stature as the nation with food sufficiency. The economic factor that led to the conflict was the oil deposit which became an attractive factor for the reoccupation of Bakassi and also the setting of the CNMC, by the UN<sup>13</sup>. The need of Cameroon to economic stable her economic made her fight for the growth of her nation and thus, led the Bakassi

---

was secession and independent was agreed upon due to the small territory of southern Cameroons, there would have been thorough occupation of the area of Bakassi which is the Brain for the one of the most deadliest conflict in the history of Cameroon and Nigeria and thus, the absence of the question of the direct independence gave the angel at which the reunification of southern Cameroon and the republic of Cameroon, brought forth the neglects of Bakassi and Nigeria had to capitalized on it which led to the outbreak of violent conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria.

<sup>11</sup> H. R. Coase “The problem of social cost”, the journal of law and economics Vol.3, 1999, pp.1-44.

<sup>12</sup> E. Egede, Bakassi: Critical look at the Green Tree Agreement: Available at <http://works.be press.com/edwin/egede/8> Retrieved on 25/11/2009.

<sup>13</sup> Guewanda Adiza, “Le rôle de la commission mixte des nation unies Cameroon Nigeria dans la mise en œuvre de l'arrêt de la cour international de justice du 10th october 2002 » Masters degree of international relation, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2012, p. 113.

conflict which is the embryo .Cameroon quest to be a regional power in the Gulf of Guinea when it comes to the production of fuel made it possible for them to fight for the reoccupation of Cameroon of Bakassi . Next to this, the Government actions of its residents in Bakassi. One of the socio-cultural cause of the Bakassi conflict was the fact that Cameroon started to protect her citizens who were residence in the zone of Bakassi under the harsh Nigerian laws which she knew the territory belongs to her and thus, became easier for the Cameroon state to fight harder and protect her national who are living in Bakassi<sup>14</sup> . Another cause of the Bakassi conflict was diversification of the Cameroon culturally industries , the original settlers of the bakassi were the Efik and Cameroon wanted a diverse cultural heritage which will enable the tourism industry in Cameroon to prosper and attract foreigners which will generate earning to the government confers and thus it was necessary for Cameroon to occupy the area which was vested with the Nigerian majority and Cameroon minority which led to the conflict .Cameroon needed that zone to spark her cultural industry and through that will attract foreign investors which will boost the economy of the state which was better for the state of Cameroon

### **I. CONTEXT AND REASON OF CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT**

The global objective is to ensure the mutualisation of collective peace and security through providing lasting solutions to areas of conflicts and preserving peace over war .This is possible only through collective efforts by the international governing body, the UN, countries who will choose peace over war and respect international peace keeping institutions .The resolution of the conflict of Bakassi marked the mirror of modern diplomacy.

#### **a. Context of the subject**

The precolonial method of conflict resolution where justice was for the strong and weak were helpless has expired. The modernization of Governance and security is a proof of modern diplomacy where war is the last resort not the first resort as it was in the precolonial and pre independent times.

The consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict is an illustration on how the Bakassi conflict despite its giant effects to the economy of Cameroon and Nigeria during the period of political unrest, there was still the implementation of settlement between the two conflicted nations<sup>15</sup> . The consequences which were the results of the causes of the conflict, the factors that brought the Bakassi conflict were handled in such a way it should not spread to other parts

---

<sup>14</sup> M. Much, "*The Bakassi peninsula disputes dispute*"Culled from International law and conflicts: Resolving border and sovereignty disputes in Africa, [http://www. Postmatch magazine .Com/files /Bakassi notes .Pdf](http://www.Postmatch magazine .Com/files /Bakassi notes .Pdf).

<sup>15</sup> International court of justice .Request for interpretation of the Judgment of 11 June 1998 in the case concerning the land and Maritime Boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria (Cameroon Nigeria ), preliminary objections (Nigeria V. Cameroon )Judgment of 25 March 1999. Available at <http://www.icj-cij .org>.

of the country .The consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict were possible due to the collective those actors, both internationally and nationally who chose peace over war, such as the Cameroon and Nigerian head of states, nationals and international institutions like the UN, OAU/ AU. These organs did their best that peace reigned and used the opportunity to spread diplomacy in territorial disputes in Africa and the world at large<sup>16</sup>. The Bakassi conflict was an economic ,political , and social threat to the relation of Cameroon and Nigeria .It was necessary for Cameroon to safeguard diplomacy and focus on the importance of the reoccupation of Bakassi which carries significant values to the Country Cameroon .Cameroon victory without military confrontation with Nigeria laid the foundation of international justice in the respect of international laws by Nigeria<sup>17</sup> and counts on the UN to render justice which eventually came October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002 , which the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Finally the intervention of the ICJ was the final nail that hit the coffin of justice and peaceful resolution. This led to the Green Tree Agreement on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2006.

The strength of Cameroon resisting an economic giant in African like Nigeria should be studied and examined well, it shows the importance , the zone of Bakassi Belonged to Cameroon ., Cameroon had to fight hard to stand a chance of reoccupying the zone<sup>18</sup>. Nigeria willing to accept the verdict of the UN meant she has lost the Bakassi territory was very and thus, Nigerian wanted to redeem her international image, which was known for unlawful power seizure by military generals thus, anti –constitutional from 1960- 1990. There were chains of military coup d'état where there were chains of Nigerian military generals sizing power which was anti –constitutional and the image of Nigeria was damage as a nation which does not respect democracy and highly politically unstable and this affected the economy negatively because it discourage the advent of foreign investors due to the chain of excess coup d'état with a dense climate of instability and fear , huge rate of killings of Nigerian citizens who were displaced as refugees in other neighboring countries which were extremely backward in the way of life and damage international reputation .Nigeria saw the ICJ verdict as a way of watching their image on the international scale to be law abiding nation even she first resist the

---

<sup>16</sup> The was a switch of the modern day conflict resolution which was justice for the strong , that was direct military confrontation where the strong nation imposes its will on the weaker nation .There was a modern structured of peace settlement and focus on diplomacy which is the key towards the political strategist .Cameroon conflict over Bakassi was the Ideal resolution because it made it possible for the UN nations and international institution to enact the favorable peace commissions which diplomatically resolved the conflict and place Africa and Cameroon on the modern method of conflict resolution. the Green Tree Accord and the future

<sup>17</sup> R.Idehen, “Bakassi: *“The Green Tree Accord and the future”*”, The Nigeria army Quarterly Journal, 4(1), 104-127.

<sup>18</sup> M. Much, “*The Bakassi peninsula disputes dispute*”Culled from International law and conflicts: Resolving border and sovereignty disputes in Africa, [http://www. Postmatch magazine .Com/files /Bakassi notes .Pdf](http://www.Postmatchmagazine.Com/files/Bakassi%20notes.Pdf).

decision of the ICJ and saw that it will only shatter the image of Nigeria further and decided to accept and there was the setting up of a Cameroon and Nigeria Mixed Commission (CNMC) which carried out the implantation of the ICJ in the zone of Bakassi , the delegation of Cameroon was headed Maurice Kamto , the minister delegate at the ministry of justice<sup>19</sup> and Nigeria was represented by Hon. Musa E. Abdullahi , the federal minister of Justice who acted on behave of the federal republic of Nigeria .

## **II. REASON AND JUSTIFICATION OF CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT**

The basic reasons for the choice of this subject are; scientific reason, social reason and personal reason .These reasons shows how historical justice have served in the evolution of the Bakassi conflict from the time of its Brink of war in 1981 and its eventually ICJ verdict of 2002 which the foundation for the Green Tree Accord of 12<sup>th</sup> June 2006 which brought out modalities for the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

### **a. Scientific Reasons**

We will love to contribute in the field of Conflict resolution .The resolution of conflicts is a global treasure, because of the positive consequence it brings on the global stage .The case of the resolution of the bakassi conflict brought both the positive and negative effects. The consequences had both the admiring and devastating impacts on Cameroon .There is no doubt that works have being written on Bakassi before us , but our objective here is to contribute and add to the existing body of knowledge in conflict resolution using Bakassi conflict as a case study. .The resolution of the conflict of Bakassi was so important because it promotes peace. This motivates us to contribute on the historical research and made it as an objective on the case study. The scientific reasons for examining the consequences of the resolutions of the Bakassi peninsula conflict stems from the need to understand the multifaceted impacts of territorial disputes on social, economic and environmental dynamics in the affected region. Analyzing these consequences can provide insights into conflict resolution, governance, and community resilience. For example a study conducted in 2013 by researchers at the University of Yaoundé 1 highlighted how the 2002 ICJ ruling and subsequent agreements reshaped local governance structures , leading to improved resource management practices among fishing communities in Bakassi .Furthermore , research published in 2018 examined the socio-economic effects of the conflict resolution on local livelihoods ,revealing that peace initiatives had led to a 40%

---

<sup>19</sup> A. Oota, senate voids concession of Bakassi to Cameroon, leadership newspaper available at <http://www.allafrica.com> Retrieved on March 29, 2009.

<sup>20</sup>increase in fishing yields due to better cooperation and sustainable practices among fishermen from both Cameroon and Nigeria . Additionally environmental studies have shown that post – conflict restoration efforts have shown that post conflict –restoration efforts have positively impacted biodiversity in the region`s coastal ecosystems. By documenting these outcomes and underlying mechanisms, scholars can contribute to a deeper understanding of how conflict resolution influences community development and environmental sustainability. Ultimately informing policy decisions aimed at fostering peace and stability in the region. This is a scientific addition on the works on Bakassi .thus, the reason why we chose this subject so as to make the works on Bakassi and especially on the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon from 1981-2023. This is a scientific addition on the works on Bakassi so that students of history and political science can consult these works among others to further analyze scientific research on Bakassi and thus the research is recycled and new findings are discovered and analyzed in a way that facts are revealed and justice is done to historical data which were used as parameter for analyzing these facts.

#### **b. Social reasons for choice of the study**

The social reason for choosing to write on this subject is to examine, analyzed how conflict were rooted to understand and shape community identities , social cohesion , and intergroup relations in post –conflict settings .For example after the 2002 ICJ ruling which awarded Bakassi to Cameroon there was a significant effort to rebuild trust between the local populations of Bakassi and neighboring regions <sup>21</sup>.In 2015, there was research conducted by the peace studies highlighted that community dialogue initiatives such as the “Bakassi peace forums” facilitated discussions among diverse ethnic groups fostering reconciliation and reducing tensions<sup>22</sup>.The establishment of local governance structures aimed at inclusivity helped empower previously marginalized groups ,promoting a sense of belonging and shared identity among residents .In 2019 , programs encouraging cultural exchanges through festivals and educational initiatives further strengthened social ties by celebrating the region`s diverse heritage . By documenting these social dynamics which helps reduce social tension in areas of

---

<sup>20</sup> The advent of peace brought ford the peaceful political atmosphere which precipitated the resolution of the bakassi conflict and thus ,lead to the increased of the fishing activities due to the large dose of political calmness which permitted the people of the zone of bakassi to engage more in activities and hence led to the boost of the production of fish and the fishermen were very happy and motivate due to the atmosphere which illustrate the chow the resolution of the bakassi conflict is a blessing to the productivity of fish in the zone of Bakassi and the rest of Cameroon .

<sup>21</sup> G. A. Tandang “diplomatic Communication during crisis, period: the case of the conflict Bakassi Peninsular”, Memoire of master degree of international relations IRIC, Yaounde, 2011, p.61.

<sup>22</sup> G. Tyoyila Akwen « Nigeria-Cameroon border relations: A historical analysis of the Bakassi peninsula region”, Federal University Gashua Yobe state 2019, pp. 52.55.

ethnic diversities. Research can provide valuable insights into how conflicts resolution processes can enhance community resilience and promote lasting peace in the region.

This social reason also illustrates that the danger of unresolved conflict can hinder the rate of development in the zone where the conflict is unresolved<sup>23</sup>. The resolution of conflict is the gift of peace which shows the relativity of human relations to better navigate their livelihood. Social reasons shows the level of connection between Cameroon and Nigeria relationship despite the lost of Bakassi to Cameroon after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict<sup>24</sup>

### c. Personal reasons

The reason why we chose to write and research about the Bakassi conflict was that growing up, in primary school our uncles stop their commercial activities in Idenau in the South West Region. I was in government primary school (GS) group 2, our uncles were saying that it's because of the Bakassi conflict that they cannot carry out their commercial activities buy smoked fish and also sell other food stuffs even after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. The conflict made my uncles poor because they could not continue with their businesses in Bakassi, the area of their choosing which was very lucrative and free accessible, Many people bought food stuffs and easily enter Nigeria which with her giant population which absorb a lion share of these goods and thus, and will enable the buying and selling in this zone of Bakassi easily amazed with the outlet of market. Even the 2002 ICJ ruling could not stop the conflict<sup>25</sup>, because it required time for the implementation of these provisions which were not satisfactory to both parties, Cameroon was happy while Nigeria was sad, she lost part of the Bakassi territory.

My personal reason for choosing to make research is to find out the reason while the economic activities of my uncles where ruined, which was because of the Bakassi where there was no automatic machinery that will stop the Bakassi conflict instantly and thus, the process of peace resolution kept the activities of traders hostage and it became clear that the it will take time for commercial activities to return back to normalcy. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was a major diplomatic conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria, which thanks to the intervention of international bodies which assisted the government for peaceful settlement to be reached without straying the relations of Cameroon and Nigeria.

---

<sup>23</sup> E. Zara Kwaghe, "Boundaries disputes in west and Central Africa : An assessment of the Nigeria-Cameroon Disputes in the Bakassi Peninsula 1961 -2013, *Lafia journal of history and international development (LAJHID)*, Vol 1,n° 2, 2018, p. 230-231.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> The ICJ ruling was not automatic in that, it needed both Cameroon and Nigeria to accept the verdict for it to implemented. This was the reason immediately Cameroon and Nigeria accepted the verdict there was the Green tree Agreement (GTA) which laid down the modalities in which the peace settlement was to be resolved

### III. DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The geographical delimitation and chronological analysis of the subject seeks to examine the degree to which the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was precipitated by the geographical environment of the zone of Bakassi and illustrating the duration of the Bakassi conflict<sup>26</sup>. To better understand this study, J. Ki-Zerbo intervenes with his affirmation that, « *l'Historien qui veut reconstituer le passer sans le repère chronologique est comparable à un voyageur qui effectue un parcours dans voiture compteur* »<sup>27</sup>

#### a. Geographical delimitation

The geographical delimitation of Bakassi<sup>28</sup>, It is found in Cameroon precisely in the south west region with its regional capital as Buea and in the Ndian Division. Bakassi trenches into the Gulf of Guinea<sup>29</sup>. Bakassi comprises with one of the mixed nationality settlement which is the original Nigerian settlement before the ICJ ruling and in the influx of Cameroonians via the administrative setup and thus, which further attracted more population in the area<sup>30</sup>. Bakassi has a very conducive climate and a very fertile soil which favors agriculture and its strategic location as the gateway into the Atlantic Ocean gives Cameroon as a whole a place in the gulf of Guinea and gives Cameroon the right to fight against piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. The attractive factor in this zone is that the activities of pirates can easily be tracked down because it's a peninsula. This makes the Military base of Cameroon Rapid Battalion Intervention (B.I.R) couple with other forces to maintain peace and security and like the Police, Army, Gendarmerie which are there to provide a stable political atmosphere. This area shares boundary with Nigeria and Cameroon that is between these two nations. The following are the advantages of the geographical location of Bakassi to Cameroon. The geographical delimitation of the Bakassi Peninsula primarily involves maritime boundaries between Cameroon and Nigeria, as determined by the ICJ ruling of October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2002. Regarding latitude, the Greenwich Meridian (0° longitude) is crucial, as the delimitation is defined by lines of longitude and latitude in the Gulf of Guinea. This provides security since it is strategically suits Cameroon zone influence, Bakassi it is the gateway to the Gulf of Gulf of Guinea to Cameroon<sup>31</sup>. The ICJ ruling established that border line generally follows the Median Line

---

<sup>26</sup> G. Verkijika Fanzo, "Boundaries and history in Africa: Issues in Conventional Boundaries and Ideological frontiers", Yaounde, Department of history University of Yaounde 1, p. 64.

<sup>27</sup> J. Ki-Zerbo, *Histoire de l'Afrique noire d'hier à demain*, Paris, Hatier, 1972, p.16.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Omololu Fagbadebo et al. Issues in the cession of the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon.

<sup>30</sup> T.T Chopdung, « L'action des chefs D'état Camerounais et Nigériens dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi » Mémoire of Masters degree of international relations, IRIC, 2010, p. 23.

<sup>31</sup> Tambi Eyongetah ET R. Brain, *A history of the Cameroon*, London, Longman, P.75.

between Cameroon and Nigeria, with specific reference points. While the ruling defines the boundary using coordinates, focusing on Latitude alone is insufficient as the delimitation is fundamentally a maritime boundary defined by Longitude and proximity to the coast. For example, the ruling confirmed Cameroon's sovereignty over the entire Peninsula, which lies in the Gulf of Guinea. It is generally situated between approximately **4°20' N and 4°40' N** Latitude in the area of the coast. To combat external threats from pirates and enemies of Cameroon could gang up and attack Cameroon from, this is the reason while Cameroon immediately implanted the Military Base in Bakassi following the ICJ, the CNMC which precipitated the implementation of the GTA<sup>32</sup> which spoke of security to Cameroon as the new territorial owner<sup>33</sup>. This zone could make the attacks of terrorist easier and thus with Cameroon reoccupation of Bakassi, the security of Cameroon was guaranteed. The newly crown zone of natural oil deposit region was the force of attraction to everyone, the discovery of oil deposit in Bakassi was the turning point of the territorial disputes between Cameroon and Nigeria which launched them into battles<sup>34</sup>. Cameroon was undoubtedly interested due to the economic and political value of this crude oil, economically she will generate money from the sales and construct her economy and make it easier for the cost of goods and services to be available. The economic benefits of Cameroon from Bakassi was a push factor which led to the occupation of Bakassi by the Cameroon following legal procedures. The fishery industries which was the main economic activity of the Bakassians, the fertile soil of mount Fako that spread throughout South west Region. All these were the pull actor of Cameroon to develop interest to reoccupies Bakassi. This became a matter of national interest and thus, the only way file a complaint to the UN Hague for justice which Cameroon did.

The periodical delimitation of the study

The conflict over Bakassi peninsula between Cameroon and Nigeria has evolved significantly from 1981 – 2023, marked by key events that shaped its resolutions and consequences. In 1981, the tensions escalated when Cameroon accused Nigeria of encroaching on its territory, leading to a series of confrontations, leading to the killing of five Nigerian soldiers and it was clear that Cameroon and Nigeria were going to war. This brink of war shows the strength at which these two Countries were ready to choose war as an option. This is the reason while the 1981 is a significant date in the conflict of Bakassi because it brought an open confrontation between

---

<sup>32</sup> E. Zara Kwaghe, "Boundaries disputes in west and Central Africa : An assessment of the Nigeria-Cameroon Disputes in the Bakassi Peninsula 1961 -2013, *Lafia journal of history and international development (LAJHID)*, Vol 1,n° 2, 2018, p. 230-231.

<sup>33</sup> United Nations ruling on Bakassi and the immediate reoccupation of Cameroon.

<sup>34</sup> V.H. Rothwell, *British War Aims and peace Diplomacy 1914-1918*, Oxford: Clarendon press, 1971, p. 73.

Cameroon and Nigeria which led to the verdict of the ICJ in 2002 . From 1981 there were some chain of events, this culminated in the 1994 military clash, which highlighted the urgency for a diplomatic resolution.

**Map 1:** Area of Bakassi



Source: <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2007/11/23/lawmakers-threaten-overturn-bakassi-agreement>

The pivotal moment came in 2002 when the ICJ ruled in favor of Cameroon, awarding it sovereignty over Bakassi. This resolution was crucial as it paved the way for a formal transfer of authority in August 14, 2006, during which both Countries agreed to respect the ruling peacefully. The consequences of these resolution have been profound, for example the establishment of local governance structures in Bakassi has enhanced community participation<sup>35</sup> and social cohesion among diverse groups. By 2015, initiatives promoting economic cooperation and cultural exchange had begun to flourish, fostering stability in the zone. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict paved the way for meaningful dialogue within Cameroon through dialogue. In recent years, from 2019-2023, there has been ongoing dialogues like the Major National dialogue which took place from 30<sup>th</sup> September to 4<sup>th</sup> October 2019, though this dialogue was out to handle the Anglophone crisis, it was also the continuation of reforms and lessons drawn from the resolution of the Bakassi conflict<sup>36</sup>. The peace building efforts have aimed to strengthen inter-community relations further, demonstrating the long-term importance of resolving such conflicts for national unity and regional development.

This chronological narrative underscores<sup>37</sup> how historical resolutions can lead to significant socio-political transformations and lasting peace in previously contentious areas. Year's later significance is the year where Cameroon started powerfully the implementation of the resolution of the Major National dialogue which in the concept of peaceful resolution has channeled from the energy of the **implementation of the terms of the ICJ ruling.**

#### IV. CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK

For us to better understand and have a comprehensive take, let's look at it in the sense of Robert Marichal who indicates that,

« *Un historien ne doit jamais aborder l'histoire d'idée ou d'une institution sans faire méthodologiquement et exhaustivement l'histoire des mots par les quel ont l'a exprimé ou désignée, et c'est la ....non pas hâtivement en futillement les lexiques, mais par sondage, naturellement dans les textes* »<sup>38</sup>.

In this section of the work we will be analyzing the key concepts of this work, they are conflict, consequences, resolution of conflict, and border. These concepts are the brain behind

---

<sup>35</sup> T.T Chopodung "l' action des chefs d'état Camerounais et Nigérian dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi ». National Institute of international relations, University of Yaoundé II, 2010, p.61-67.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> R. Idehen, Bakassi, The green tree Accord and the Future" *The Nigeria Army Quarterly Journal* 4(1) 104-127.

<sup>38</sup> E.Z. Eyigla, « Réfugiés, Déplaces internes et incidences Sécuritaire Au Cameroun : Le cas de la Douala, 1967-2018 », Mémoire de Master en Histoire, Université de Yaoundé I, 2020, p.10.

the research topic, “the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon 1981-2023.”The following are the detail break down of the key concepts of the research work.

**The following are the key concepts of the research topic well detailed**

**I. a. The Concept of Conflicts**

Conflict refers to a disagreement or clash between individuals, groups or nations that arises from differing interests<sup>39</sup> . Conflicts has various forms of manifestation such as social tensions, or even armed confrontation. The context in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, the concept of conflict was armed confrontation of Cameroonian forces and Nigerian forces in 1981 which led to the dead of five Nigerian soldiers, thus it became bloody, because of the arm conflict between the two Countries in conflict.

The territorial disputes between Cameroon and Nigeria was full with antagonism over the zone of Bakassi because of the oil rich region of Bakassi which carries both economic and political values in the zone .Conflict became inevitable because of the natural resources endowment which make both Cameroon and Nigeria to held a firm grip over Bakassi .This led to the 21years conflict between 1981-2002<sup>40</sup>. The verdict of the ICJ Hague which brought a political cease-fire but never the less, the conflict still continues but with minor attacks till the August 14, 2008, when the last administrative unit of Nigeria was removed in Bakassi and Cameroon became the new power with its territorial extension to Bakassi .The conflict in Bakassi was a territorial conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria.

**b. The concept of Consequences**

The consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict illustrates the outcome, the impacts which came into lamp light after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict like the effects which were both positive and negative to both Cameroon and Nigeria . The lost of this territory by Nigerian despites the economic importance of the zone ,shows how Nigeria was willing to sacrifice towards the maintenance of peace and security .The respect of international institutions was installed by the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. The consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict refers to those Compromises that Cameroon and Nigeria were ready to

---

<sup>39</sup> UN. Government formally rejects ICJ ruling on Bakassi peninsula .Available at <http://www.unwire.org> Retrieved on March 19, 2002.

<sup>40</sup> The conflict of Bakassi lasted this long because of the conflicted nations none of them wanted to give the right to the territorial ownership of Bakassi which is key .The Bakassi conflict became the idol of diplomacy due to the diplomatic approach of Cameroon and Nigeria to respect the verdict of the ICJ and also honor the international institutions like the UN, OAU/AU, EU.

make to uphold regional cooperation achieved during and after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict like the territorial extension of Cameroon to Bakassi.

For example the impact of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was that Nigeria lost Bakassi. Cameroon was administered as a mandated territory as British Southern Cameroons with its headquarters been Nigeria. This made Bakassi fall under the country of Nigeria since from the mandate period of 1922 -2002<sup>41</sup>, where the ICJ drew the curtains via the resolution of the conflict. The Hague ICJ of the UN gave its ruling Nigeria lost this territory despite the discovery of the oil wells in the region .Nigeria will never forget how they were ousted by the UN from the area they have passed 80years known as their territory from 1922-2002<sup>42</sup> . This was a very bitter justice to the Federal Republic of Nigeria but they had no choice but to respect it. Nigeria when to the ICJ knowing that the odds were in her favor because of her effective administrative units in Bakassi but unfortunately the ICJ verdict overlooked that and Cameroon was awarded Bakassi .

### **c. The Concept of conflict resolution**

The resolution of conflict is the breakdown of disputes into smaller components of peace and which is the bedrock of political stability .The resolution of conflict refers to all the mechanisms put in place to attain peace .These mechanisms include ; Mediation , such as , Facilitators , Belligerents of dialogue and peace treaties .The willingness of the both parties to accept the verdict of these components . In the concept of the Bakassi conflict, the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was on another level in that, the conflict attracted the attention of the international institution and even top personalities of the UN, for example the UN secretary General Kofi Annan took the resolution of the Bakassi conflict personal upon his arrival at the head of the UN general assembly. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was more practical in that, it was neutrality of the mediators was exceptional. Thus, made it easier for peace settlement to be reached because there were no person interest but rather collect interest which aimed at resolving the conflict. The UN and OAU/AU were the principal mediators and thus, the resolution of the Bakassi conflict became clear that, both head of states, the president OLusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, and President Paul Biya of Cameroon had to decide to accompany the judicial will of the international institutions<sup>43</sup>. The resolution of the conflict in Bakassi was a clear indication that there is a chance for collective security and a place for the respect of

---

<sup>41</sup> V.J .Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-present* (2018), the history of a people, Limbe, DESIGN House, 2019, p87-88.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>43</sup> Tasong Te dengue Chopodung “L’action des chefs Camerounaise et Nigériens dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi », *Mémoires of Masters degree of international relations*, IRIC, Yaoundé, p.51.

international institutions .Cameroon and Nigeria should be applauded in the recognition of international institution. The resolution of the conflict is the driver for political diplomacy in Africa particular and the in general.

#### **d. The Concept of Border(s)**

A border is a defined line that marks the limit of a political entity , such as a Country , State , or Province , separating it from another entity .This line can be physical , like a fence or a river , or conceptual such as a line of latitude or longitude established by treaties or judicial rulings , as seen in maritime boundaries like the one resolved for Bakassi .Border serve to established jurisdiction , control movement of people and goods , and delineate the extent of a state`s sovereignty authority<sup>44</sup> . The concept of border in the context of the Bakassi conflict resolution shifted dramatically from a disputed , militarized zone to a formally recognized , internationally adjudicated maritime boundary .Initially , the border was characterized by contestation and ambiguity , leading to military clashes and the effective control of the territory by Nigerian forces , despites Cameroon`s claims based on colonial treaties .The resolution formalized by the ICJ ruling in 2002 and implemented via the Green Tree Agreement in 2006,transformed the border concept into one of demarcated sovereignty and peaceful coexistence. The Bakassi region is the land border which easily goes into Cameroon and Nigeria .The border brings a lot of advantages to the Cameroon state in that the activities of the pirates is trapped by the forces of land and order based in Bakassi like the B.I.R. who are doing a great job in border security . This border is an area of exchange for both Cameroonians and Nigerians who use this area to trade with Nigerian and also supply Cameroon produce to Nigeria as well as bringing Nigerian produce to Cameroon in the domain of trade. Border constitute cultural diversity where the culture of Nigeria is being spread through the border exchange and the rest of the will be spread by the Cameroonians who are trading with Nigerians. At the border there is reciprocity of cultural values. Nigerians carrying the Cameroon cultures into Nigeria .This is the diversification of cultural heritage which is great for international relations. This led to the valorization of cultural values of both Cameroon and Nigeria.

#### **V. CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW**

Victor Julius Ngoh, has evoked the problem of trans-border conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria where he explained in a general manner the causes of the Bakassi conflict.

---

<sup>44</sup> E. Zara Kwaghe , “Boundaries disputes in west and Central Africa : An assessment of the Nigeria-Cameroon Disputes in the Bakassi Peninsula 1961 -2013, *Lafia journal of history and international development (LAJHID)*, Vol 1,n° 2, 2018, p. 230-231.

Cameroon and Nigeria, the consequences of this conflict on both conflicted Countries, and also the resolution of this conflict. His analyzes that the origin of the Bakassi conflict was made between the colonial masters, Britain and Germany. The area was originally a Nigerian territory before the signing of these Agreements, Anglo-German Accord on March 11<sup>th</sup> 1913 and later on 12<sup>th</sup> April 1913<sup>45</sup>. This was made official in a treaty known as the Anglo-German Agreement<sup>46</sup>. According to that, Article 18, moved the Cameroon –Nigeria Boundary from Rio Del Rey to the Akwayafe River and the Bakassi peninsula became part of Cameroon under the Germans. This was maintained before the outbreak of the First World War chase the Germans out of Cameroon with their defeat at the last battle of Mora. This led to the Mandate period, where British southern Cameroon was neglected, through the British way of administering southern Cameroon as an integral part of Cameroon. Bakassi fell back to the Nigerian which they refused handing it to Cameroon of the resource –rich based in this zone. Concluding from the point of view of Victor Julius Ngoh, the Bakassi conflict was the outburst of territorial disagreement over Bakassi.

Tandang Asen Godfred, has evoked on the trans-border conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria where he lays focus on the diplomatic communication of Cameroon between Nigeria. This examined the roles of mediation through the modest facilitators. These helped laid the foundation of undiluted information during the resolution of the conflict. The efforts of both giant UN, OAU/AU enabled these conflict Countries to further desire peaceful resolution. This further strengthened the degree of the resolution of conflict by facilitating the efforts of the ICJ<sup>47</sup>. This effort made the bilateral relations of Cameroon and Nigeria was preserved even after Nigeria lost Bakassi to Cameroon. This excellent communication laid a good collaboration between Cameroon and Nigeria who participated in the chains of diplomatic treaties like the Lisbon treaty of 2002. Both Countries signed to accept the verdict of the ICJ no matter the outcome, the participation of both conflicted nations in the CNMC, which was an organized structure to implement the verdicts of the ICJ couple with the GTA<sup>48</sup>. According to Tandang Asen Godfred, the Cameroon and Nigeria conflict was resolved due to the willingness of both Countries to diplomatically communicate during the period of 1981 where the conflict was at

---

<sup>45</sup> V.J.Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884 – present (2018), the history of a people*. Limbe, DESIGN House, 2019, p.333

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Babatola et al, "Nigeria –Cameroon Boundary disputes: the Quest for Bakassi Peninsula, *international Affair and Global strategy*. Vol 4, 2012.

<sup>48</sup> D.Kissifeh Nga Lange, "The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of Cameroon Nigeria border. Case study: Disputes over the Bakassi peninsula", International relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaounde II, Memoire 2011.

its peak .Thus, effective communication led to the chains of diplomatic evolution which led to the ICJ verdict in 2022.

Kissifeh Derek Nga Lange, He evoked the Bakassi conflict on a specific case , analyzing that resolution of the Bakassi conflict , the settlement were based on the accords between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi like the GTA , which carried the institutional will of the ICJ .This voluntary accord between both presidents of Cameroon and Nigeria laid the last nail on the coffin for peace settlement between these Countries .According to the analyzes of Kissifeh Derek Nga Lange , the diplomacy which enhances the atmosphere that favors collaboration which is necessary for peace treaties<sup>49</sup> . The GTA was well organized by the UN Secretary General (SG) and also other great European nations like France, Britain with the collective support of the European Union (EU) who were part of the Mediation team that laid the foundation for the evolution of the resolution of the peace process in the Bakassi zone which will eventually be resolved in 2008. Tasong Tendongue Chopodung he evoked a specific aspect of the border conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria. The role of the head of states in the resolution of the Bakassi, the continuity of Heads of states<sup>50</sup> to respect the process of peaceful resolution was the Key element<sup>51</sup>. In Nigeria when president Obasanjo left office, his predecessor president Umaru Musa Yar `adua took office in 2007 and continue spear heading the CNMC before dying in 2010, thee was already the solid Foundation of the Vice president Goodluck Jonathan to emerge as president and the foundation kept growing.

In Cameroon President Ahmadou Ahidjo started with the Maroua conference in 1975 with the former Nigerian president Gowon, when Paul Biya took office on November 6<sup>th</sup> 1982 he continued with negotiations with his colleague, President Obasanjo of Nigeria. According to Tasong Tendongue Chopodung, the heads of state played a giant role in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict .A typical example is the GTA between both presidents in territorial conflict, the efforts they put in, and the fact that they choose peace over war is a timeless complement. The heads of state of both nations willingness to cooperate is the reason while Cameroon and Nigeria did not go to war, because of their efforts of accepting mediation from the UN and also prepared for dialogues.

---

<sup>49</sup> M. Much, “*The Bakassi peninsula disputes dispute*”Culled from International law and conflicts: Resolving border and sovereignty disputes in Africa, [http://www. Postmatch magazine .Com/files /Bakassi notes .Pdf](http://www.Postmatchmagazine.Com/files/Bakassi%20notes.Pdf).

<sup>50</sup>T:T Chopodung “ L`action des chefs D`etat Camerounaise et Nigeria dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi », International relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaoundé II, Mémoire, 2011, p.21.

<sup>51</sup> The collaboration of the heads of state is commendable because the UN and OAU/AU could not imposed peaceful talks without their consent. The ability of the both presidents to work hand –in –hand for a resolution of the bakassi conflict is admirable .This cooperation brought a lasting peace from the ICJ to the GTA in 2006 which were the pillars of a peace crusade .

Guewada Adiza, he evoked in a special aspect of the Bakassi conflict detailing the aspect of the commission responsible CNMC .where he explained the roles played by the CNMC towards the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. This commission was established in 2002<sup>52</sup>. The ICJ ruling which awarded Bakassi to Cameroon, the aim of this commission was to facilitate the implementation of the decisions .The CNMC served as a platform of dialogue between the two nations .This commission help coordinate the withdrawal of Nigerian troops from Bakassi and oversee the transfer of authority ensuring that both parties adhered to the terms of the ruling. After the resolution, the CNMC continued to focus on addressing concerns related to local populations such as citizen right, property ownership, and access to resources<sup>53</sup>. The CNMC by promoting cooperation and Communication between Cameroon and Nigeria. The CNMC contributed to stabilizing relations and fostering a sense of security among communities <sup>54</sup> affected by conflict .The activities of the CNMC not only help build further peace initiatives but helped setup future structures of peace settlement in this region .The CNMC was the brain behind the signing of the GTA, which was the bed of peaceful implement of the findings and also cheered by the UN SG who wanted peace in every word by the two African brothers .According to the Guewada Adiza , the CNMC was a diplomatic commission setup in other to activate the machine of peace between Cameroon and Nigeria , with the main aim of avoiding war and preserving peace between Cameroon and Nigeria which could turn to be an escape in to a global conflict at the level of their individual alliances .The CNMC was the brain which laid the foundation of territorial peace diplomacy with the AU .The CNMC was the channel for the great UN to impose her authority in the Bakassi conflict and legalized her objective of maintaining Global peace and security .

Henry Kam Kah, evoked in a specific dimension showing the role of the military in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, by illustrating that the military have always been at the center of trying to bring the array of conflicts in Africa to the end .Their involvement in intra or inter –state conflict has either compounded or lessened the problems<sup>55</sup> . In fact, the military are involved in the politics of its country either directly or indirectly at all times and this involvement influences the approach of the leadership to political issues and in the management

---

<sup>52</sup> Guewada Adiza, « le rôle de la Commission mixte des nations Unies en vers l'arrêt de la cour internationale de Justice du 10th octobre 2002 », International relations Institute of Cameroon (IRIC), University of Yaoundé II, mémoire, 2012, p.6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* p.12.

<sup>54</sup> Babatola et al, "Nigeria –Cameroon Boundary disputes: the Quest for Bakassi Peninsula, *international Affair and Global strategy*. Vol 4, 2012, p.60.

<sup>55</sup>H. Kam Kah , "The Bakassi crisis , the role of the Nigerian and Cameroonian Military , 1981-2013," University of Buea , Cameroon , Conflict studies Quarterly issues 6 January 2014, p.3-22-

of conflicts. A lot has been written conceptualizing the romance between the Military and conflicts in Africa. According to Henry Kam Kah, the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was largely contributed by the military in that they fought with the objective of restoring peace and their involvement in the Bakassi conflict was a direct signal of how bloody the battle is going to be thus forcing the both heads of state to get into lasting dialogue. This led to mediation because of the military involvement. There is no doubt that the involvement of the military of Both Cameroon and Nigeria made the conflict of Bakassi Bloodier and forced the international institution to look into the conflict because of the Military entering the conflict. Conflicts only turn into war which is very disastrous to both Nations in conflict.

Ike Udogu, evoked a specific concept about the Cameroon and Nigerian border conflict by analyzing the role of the African International law which is under the canopy of the OAU/AU, the principle of international law by the OAU, raised an issue of effectiveness of this organization<sup>56</sup>. The sanctions imposed on Nations for creating conflicts failed by the League of Nations (LONs) on Italy for attacking Ethiopia which led to the collapse of the LONs and second world war became inevitable in 1939. According to Ike Udogu, the AU played a crucial role in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict by collaborating with the UN<sup>57</sup> and learning from the failures of the LONs which led to the outbreak of the Second World War, the AU had to manage the Bakassi conflict to prevent it not to spread as a regional conflict. The management of the Bakassi conflict by the OAU/AU was very timely and its cooperation with other UN, EU, and also regional Blocs in African like ECOWAS, LCBC, EAC, CEMAC, was incredibly great.

Looking from the above analysis, it is clear that the Bakassi conflict had different interpretation and focus to various authors which some authors were concerned about the general review of the conflict of Bakassi. This made it different because each author who wrote on Bakassi in the specific dimension had something unique to say about the conflict of Bakassi, some authors wrote on the cause of the Bakassi conflict, the role of the military on the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, the role of the mixed mission on the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. All these different points of view were the driver to the detailed treatment of the Bakassi conflict, which has revolutionized the way conflicts are handled in Africa in particular and the world in general, that is the diplomacy of conflict resolution which is the bedrock of a political stable continent of Africa. The AU through its policies is putting measures advocating more about

---

<sup>56</sup> E. Ike Udogu, *Historicizing and contextualizing the Discourse on African international law and a concise overview of the pacific settlement of the Cameroon–Nigeria Bakassi peninsula dispute*, article, Appalachian State University, *African and Asian studies*, 2008, p. 77-99.

<sup>57</sup> V.J. Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884–present (2018), the history of a people*, DESIGN house, Limbe, 2019, p.333-334.

conflict prevention and condemning Aggression ,and anti- constitutional changes , like the case of Gabon Coup d'état which elements were re- organized and the military General Clotel Brice Olingui Nguema won the elections. Although, there are some cases of political hostilities, like the Sudan, Ethiopia, never the less, the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was the political and territorial freedom to the entire Africa.

## VI. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Here we are trying to analyse by what measures was the lessons drawn from the resolution of the Bakassi conflict helped preserved the bilateral relations between Cameroon and Nigeria .This evident to the compromise that both heads of state of Cameroon and Nigeria were willing to put in place like , the respect of the ICJ verdict and the birth of the GTA of 2006 .This helped create the CNMC which laid the foundation of a smooth bilateral relations between Cameroon and Nigeria after the resolution of the Conflict .

In view to the reports with the Problematic of research, in view with Victor Julius Ngoh which answers the principal question, the hypotheses of research which permits us to treat the research top chosen <sup>58</sup> , Babatola et al <sup>59</sup> . Michel Beau and Jacques Chernier<sup>60</sup> says to better understand the problematic and structure the work into distinguish sections. This motivates researchers to carry out research .The Problematic therefore illustrates the approach or the perspective of the theory which will help to elaborate the problem by bringing out the original problem. In other words, from the angle that the analysis the phenomenon which studies and thus brings the end of the explication.

The central research question of this work is “To what extent can the lessons drawn from the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict be of value to Cameroon – Nigeria bilateral relations”. The Consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on how it affected the commercial relationship between this two neighboring countries (Cameroon and Nigeria). The consequences of the resolution of Bakassi conflict was peacefully handled ,which created an environment for bilateral relations between these countries .This was tagged fair due to the mutual agreement of both parties , no imposed treaty , the Green Tree Accord of 2006 was a consensual agreement . This will be for us to illustrate how the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was diplomatically resolved to maintain to the relationship of Cameroon and Nigeria should. The implementation of the ICJ verdict via the GTA by the CNMC .The

---

<sup>58</sup> V.J. Ngoh , *Cameroon 1884 –present (2018), the history of a people* ,DESIGN house , Limbe , 2019, p.33 p301.

<sup>59</sup> Babatola et al, “Nigeria –Cameroon Boundary disputes: the Quest for Bakassi Peninsula, *international Affair and Global strategy*. Vol 4, 2012, p.81.

<sup>60</sup> J. Chernier, La spécification de la recherché citée par L. Olivier, d`une problématique de recherche p.11.

Cameroon –Nigeria conflict was implanted by the colonial masters during the partition of Africa in 1884 in the Berlin West African Conference.

The colonial masters of Cameroon and Nigeria which was Germany and Britain respectively signed an agreement which was the Anglo- German treaty in 1913. This treaty was the pillar in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict by the ICJ in 2002. The ownership of Bakassi left Nigeria and fell under Cameroon and from that day, Bakassi was a Cameroon and fast forward after independence. The respect of the principle of Intangibility which stated that “The colonial borders should be respected”<sup>61</sup> upon independence Nigeria continued exploiting this region thus, making a violation of the principle of intangibility of frontier which is an international crime and thus, Cameroon wanted to reclaim her territory. This was provoked by the discovery of Crude oil and other natural resources .Thus, a rich economic area Nigeria could not let go of Bakassi easily , this led to legal international battles to the ICJ in 2002 .This became relatively difficult for Cameroon and Nigeria to back-down from the challenge . Cameroon has to use diplomacy and international institution by summitting a rapport to the UN in 1994 about the Bakassi issue<sup>62</sup> .The conflict became bloody due to the discovery of oil deposit in the region and made the region extremely economically valuable to both Nations in conflict to relinquish it .Bakassi peninsula became an area with very high level of political instability which came with a high level of consequences on Cameroon.

The fight for the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was not easy because it took the international, national and non -state actors for the conflicts to come to an end<sup>63</sup> . The Bakassi conflict lasted for long .The problematic of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict illustrated that Bakassi was of great political, economic, socio-cultural importance to Cameroon because of the value of this zone towards national growth<sup>64</sup>.The Bakassi conflict brought international observation from E.U, and the NGOs who were attracted to Africa precisely because of the ongoing territorial conflict<sup>65</sup> . The Nigerian federal Government did their best to hold the territory of Bakassi , it was too late , it was already internationalized and the UN cooperated with the regional power in Africa OAU/AU which changed African diplomatic perspective

---

<sup>61</sup> This meant that the colonial borders should not be displaced, but if it should be, there must be a mutual concession for it to be changed, thus respecting international law.

<sup>62</sup> Guewanda Adiza, « Le rôle de la commission mixte des nations unies Cameroon Nigeria dans la mise en œuvre de l'arrêt de la mise cour internationale de Justice du 10th Octobre 2002. » Mémoire of Masters degree in international relations, IRIC , Yaoundé , 2012. P. 51.

<sup>63</sup> Babatola et al, “Nigeria –Cameroon Boundary dispute: The quest for Bakassi peninsular,” *international Affairs and global strategy*, Vol 4, 2012, p. 82.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* p.83-84.

forever , today in Africa there are a multiplying institutions charged with the responsibility of initiating peace settlement within the regional blocs . All those which were inspired by the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

## **VII. HYPOTHESES**

A hypotheses is a proposed assumption or prediction that can be tested through research and experimentation .It serves as assumptions point for investigation allowing researchers to explore relationships between variables or to make prediction about outcomes based on certain conditions. For example in a study to examine the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon 1981-2023. A researcher might formulate hypothesis<sup>66</sup> the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi will improve Cameroon, political, economic, and socio-cultural position around the world also boosted their strength of Cameroon diplomatically. This hypothesis can then be tested by comparing Cameroon financial strength before the reoccupation and after the occupation of Bakassi. Hypotheses are essential in scientific enquiry as they guide the research process, help focus data collection and provide a basis for drawing conclusions based on evidence.

The hypotheses is known in the forms as the general or central and three secondary or specific hypotheses .The central or principal hypothesis , indicates the structure of the other hypotheses by putting it in coherence with one another .The general characteristic is that it can agree and disagrees .

### **a. Principal / Central Hypothesis (CH)**

The principal or Central hypothesis is the main, overarching prediction or proposed explanation that the entire research study is designed to test and ultimately support or refute .It encapsulates the core argument or expected relationship between the major variables being investigated .In the case of the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict we be; the atmosphere that provoked the resolution of the Bakassi conflict (CH1). Those aspects that make the resolution of the Bakassi conflict inevitable. The principal actors and the agreement reached in the process of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict (CH2). These are those persons that played the vital roles during the resolution of the Bakassi Conflict.

This makes it the second modification of the territorial surface of Cameroon, the first was the reunification of the republic of Cameroon and the British southern Cameroons<sup>67</sup> .

---

<sup>66</sup> Grawitz, *Méthode en science sociales* .....p.34.

<sup>67</sup> V.J. Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-present (2018), the History of a people*, Limbe, DESIGN House, 2019, pp198-205.

## **b. Secondary Hypotheses**

Secondary hypotheses are subordinate or supporting statement that elaborate upon or breakdown a main , overarching research hypothesis into more specific , testable components .They help to structure the investigation by addressing different facets or potential mechanisms related to the primary prediction .For example in the context of the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict we be ; The suitable political climate between Cameroonians and Nigerians in Bakassi orchestrated the resolution of the conflict (SH1).

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria was thanks to the intervention of local or National and international actors (SH2).

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict brought political stability in the area of Bakassi between Cameroon and Nigeria states (SH3).

The implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict had some difficulties which undoubtedly was overcome (SH4).

Although the Bakassi conflict was institutionalized as a preventive measure to slow the damages of the crawling conflicts between Cameroon and Nigeria was resolved in 2002 by the ICJ ruling, further strengthen by the GTA, the kidnapping of the D.O of Idabato proves that the resolution of the Bakassi conflict does not stop the prevailing political instabilities still on going in the Bakassi region

## **VIII. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

The word theory comes from a Greek word which means to observe or examine. According to Raymond Aaron , the hypothetic deductive approach which constitute the assembling of proposition making the term to be defined spontaneously and the relations between the terms varies , and sometimes leads to the mathematics form<sup>68</sup>. In effect, the theory in research has an objective which is to bring a series of analysis on so many realities .It is not non -negotiable to carry out research in social sciences without showing the list of explanatory guide of theories which will elaborate and give more meaning to the research hypothesis which is very important for factuality. It was for this reason that the theories in the field of international relations belongs as;

There is the generalization of the coherent collection of permanent facts which transcend to realistic information , it present in the field of international relations .Today , we have results

---

<sup>68</sup> R. Aaron, « Qu est –ce qu`une théorie des relations internationales ? », *in revue française de science politique*, 17<sup>e</sup> année n°5, 1967, p.838.

in that sense which greatly coordinated by specialists of the particular subject without positioning or an expression theoretical analysis which is bigger <sup>69</sup>.

There are two majors theories which we will be using to analyze the Bakassi conflict, which led to the resolution of the conflict, they are; the theory of realism and the theory of transnationalism.

**a. The theory of realism: a classical approach on national security.**

The first theory that will be used on this work is realism .This theory began at the end of 1940, in the United States (US) in the context of abandoning the theory of Idealism of president Withdrew Wilson and also its policy of Isolationism .This was because it separated the US from the rest of the world. This imposed as a rule in the principal analysis of international relations because of chaos after the world war this was established by Hans Morgenthau <sup>70</sup> in 1948, the realism apprehended the international relations in a very negative perspective which were inter-subjective established on the bases of anarchy .The second world war brought global anarchy to all the continentals but at different levels of impacts<sup>71</sup> .This theory is based on the hypothesis ,with the assumption that conflicts are regulated by the international system as they immanent to interactions between Nations . In this regards, war and peace appears as the facets of an interaction of the same piece. Thus, realism defends the idea of an international anarchist scene or reign, where there is antagonism of sovereignty.

From then on, he purposed a the stato-centric approach , to international relations with the political Objective of securing national interest .By this tendency , the rapports of international development is built on the canopy of war , this means that war brings development through the reconstruction of the economy .The National interest results to the use of force .By this point of view ,it is important for a state to unit and rationally reducing the principal risks involved at the level of international politics .This means to react , and interact in the relation like “the Unique source of law that guides Violence”<sup>72</sup> The paradigm that will

---

<sup>69</sup> A. Macleod, « La théorie des relations internationales », in T.Balzag et F.Remel (dir), *Traite` de relations internationales*, paris, sciences po, 2013, p.990.

<sup>70</sup> H. Morgenthau, *politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.

<sup>71</sup> The disasters of the WWII , hit nations who were against the allied powers to a greater extent because their nations were seen as battle ground which brought disasters like Japan where the atomic was deposited in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and destroyed these cities , Germany also felt the negative effects which led to the division of the Germany into east and west Germany by the super powers after the end of WWII , with the birth of two contradicting ideologies of community and capitalism which orchard the world in to the Cold war system in History from 1945- 1991 the collapsed of the soviet union .

<sup>72</sup> A. Macleod, « La théorie des relations internationales », in T.Balzag et F.Remel (dir), *Traite` de relations internationales*, paris, sciences po, 2013, p.990.

reminds is that realism is all about “National Interest”<sup>73</sup> of Hans Morgenthau, which is the pillar of national diplomacy at the international stage where the scramble for national visibility<sup>74</sup> is at its apex and the words of Hans Morgenthau remains the yard stick for modern diplomacy across national borders which has shaped the level of conflict resolution around the world.

Hans Morgenthau, an American political scientist founder of the school of realist, and defense it, in his Book “politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace”, the idea of national interest that is the only motivation of Justification of international action of the state .According to him, the only justifiable logic of the action of the state is the optimization of its national interest. By this, politics says “reasonable and rational”<sup>75</sup> as long as its guarantees national interest<sup>76</sup> . It is on this grounds that internationalist like Henri Kissinger<sup>77</sup> that affirms on that; “if you ask an American to die, you have to explain on the term on how his death is going to be of national interest to America”. This means that national interest is at the heart of citizens or the employee that does not constraint the national interest of the state. This means that the authorities are at the same time Counselors in the sense of Weberians<sup>78</sup> . According to Weber its illustrates “ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility”<sup>79</sup> . The national interest of the state is the major priority even in the area of power and or the research of security.

The Theory of realism which is mobilized here , explains the fact that , the action that , the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was a very relevant act , that justifies the expenses of the state to maintain security in the zone of Bakassi .Thus , the attacks from the Nigerian troops on the Cameroon troops in Bakassi over the possession of the Bakassi area . The Cameroon Government had to act towards the resolution of this conflict so as to reduce National expenses .Cameroon had to engage in diplomacy and solidifies herself in the area of Bakassi and internationalize the Conflict in 1994 by summiting a compliant on the desk of the UN which spearheaded the ICJ of Hague to pass its verdict in 2002. Cameroon was victories which assured her regional security thus, power in the Gulf of Guinea. The national territory of Cameroon

---

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* pp899-901.

<sup>74</sup> J.J.Roche, *Théorie des relations internationales*, Paris, Montchrestien, 2001, p.23.

<sup>75</sup> The ability to safeguard national interest in a process of collective negotiations, open to all negotiations that brings profit to the Country.

<sup>76</sup> S.T.Regis Ombe “La participation de la Marine Nationale dans la lutte contre la piraterie maritime au Cameroon (1990-2018), University of Yaoundé I, Mémoire présente` en vue de L` obtention du diplôme de Master en Histoire. P. 24.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Weberians refers to socio-economic theories of Max Weber, a prominent German sociologist and political, economist, who analysis the bureaucracy, social capitalism and religion.

<sup>79</sup> J.J.Roche, *Théorie des relations internationales*, Paris, Montchrestien, 2001, p.25.

increased both territorially ,economically , ( rich oil deposits in this zone ) socio-culturally ,( cultural diversity with the Efe people of Nigerian origin in Bakassi .There is no doubt that the theory of realism is the backbone of every economy today which brings the best in productivity. The theory of realism that is national interest is the brain behind the reoccupation of Bakassi by Cameroon.

### **b. The theory of transnationalism**

The theory of transnationalism is a post-positivist of international relations appears in the year 1990. This applies to the closure of the world and independence of civil society as compared to the States. In this regard , its subscribers in the doctrine of pluralist of Erlich and Harold Laski who considers that the unity of a state is a fiction incapable of rendering account to the diversity of identity of individuals and the functioning that has started . This becomes difficult for a Country whose analysis of Government policies is based on the sociological point of view, to navigate its way into the politics of international relation. In reality, Transnationalism is postulated for the interruption of arenas in the international relations, the social groups, or societies where the people have it as an objective to heavily modify the classical approach of international relations reviewing it in favor of stato-centric vision .This is where the national interest of the state is the prior objective.

This theory explains crisis and conflicts like is a veritable “social pathologies”<sup>80</sup> which often results to situation of non-regulation of humiliation or the exclusion mechanism generated by the Post –bipolar international systems. This theory shows the evolution of international setting of regulations<sup>81</sup> which gave birth to the ideology of international social integration like alternatives of security problems in the zone of Bakassi and the resolution will be handled in a multilateral framework. This present analysis comes back to two paradigms of transnationalism to know “turbulence” in the conflict zone of bakassi of author James Roseneau and at the end the paradigm “des Reseaux”<sup>82</sup> of Bertrand Badie.

James Roseneau is an American internationalist , who published in 1990 a book titled “Turbulence in world politics , A theory of change and continuity”<sup>83</sup> In this book he demonstrated how the general setting of the Westphalia system , which is opposite to this modern international system that was widely revolutionized <sup>84</sup> .To him this upheaval was due

---

<sup>80</sup> S.T. Régis Ombe « La participation de la marine nationale dans la lutte contre la Piraterie Maritime au Cameroun (1990-2018) : Essai D` analyse historique », Université de Yaoundé I, Mémoire of master, presente en vue de L`obtention du diplôme de Master en Histoire. 2022. P.25.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> J.J. Roche, *Théorie des relations internationales*, Paris Montchrestien, 2001, p.157-158.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* p., 158.

to phenomenon of “turbulence” who only him ,will generate the dispersion of identities<sup>85</sup> , which are incapable of generating today the incarnate forms of unique allegiance to the state .This is due to the actual system created which acts now as a barrier to national integration . Thus , the fragmentation of these solidarities is ,according to him , due to the sovereignty fees which are in reality para-state entities which are currently rivalling the states . The excessive fragmentation is a weapon which is used against national integration which is the bed rock of political stability and mutual understanding amongst nations.

In the same perspective, Bertrand Badie has developed with Marie –Claude Smouts the logic of “reseaux” in a book titled “Le retournement du monde sociologie des relations Internationales”<sup>86</sup>. In his book, he details explains how, since the end of the cold war has helped reconstitute regulation of regional fragmentation<sup>87</sup> . We have witnessed a proliferation of networks which are new referential frameworks for questioning allegiance leading to a crisis in their state .According to them, it generated a “*retournement du monde*”. The world reversal is the embryo of integration, which consequence of a controversial evolution between the diffusion of powers and the dispersion of the actions of an international order which is moving towards the emancipation of social groups.

This is a case of the mixture of the social groups between Cameroon and Nigeria, at the border conflict of Bakassi .This allows the restriction of sovereignties of states, the generations of particularisms engraves the institutionalization<sup>88</sup>. Bertrand Badie believes that the international system where the world based its ideologies in yesterday but today it has become useless due to the newest system of “Mondialization”<sup>89</sup> (that means globalization ),that is funded based on the logistics of the Europeans . This has generated a form of humiliation because of the exclusion which heavily hinders the state from attending the capacity of functioning of the international system thus, in a form of international social pathology<sup>90</sup> .

This theory is mobilized like a reading grid to explain the fact that, the conflict of Bakassi which affected the economies of both Cameroon and Nigeria during the conflict of Bakassi was as a result of turbulence in the region of Bakassi. This was presented in the

---

<sup>85</sup> The unique alliance of the state is the national interest of the state and its components.

<sup>86</sup> B.Badie, *Le Temps des humilias. Pathologie des relations internationales*, Odile Jacob, 2014.

<sup>87</sup> B. Badie et M.C. Smouts « *Le retournement du monde, sociologie des relations internationales*, Presses de la FNSP et Dalloz, 1995, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, p.254.

<sup>88</sup> S.T. Regis Ombe, « La participation de la marine nationale dans la lutte contre la piraterie maritime au Cameroun (1990-2018) : essai D`analyse historique » Université de Yaoundé I, Mémoire présente en vue de L`obtention du diplôme en master, 2022, p. 26.

<sup>89</sup> This where the world comes together as one to fight common world threats and problems that affected the globe as a whole.

<sup>90</sup> B.Badie, *Le Temps des humilias. Pathologie des relations internationales*, Odile Jacob, 2014.

battlefield and triggered by national sovereignty in the Gulf of Guinea because the territorial neighbors of Cameroon and Nigeria that made both Countries fought to protect their national interest which was in securing the Bakassi peninsula. The fact remains that this conflict was motivated by the quest for territorial control over Bakassi. This was a political –identity conflicts about the sphere of influence over Bakassi, which this conflict has challenged the territorial ownership of both Cameroon and Nigeria over the sovereignty of this zone .Thereby making this zone to be full of political instability by falling under the regions of embodied with political instability<sup>91</sup>. The conflict of Bakassi came with a huge price for peace<sup>92</sup> which the procedure for the resolution of the conflict came with a lot of undesired consequences to both states<sup>93</sup>.

For example the state of Nigeria and Cameroon expenses in the domain of security increased drastically, this meant that most of the projects that were programmed for the development of these Countries in their respective states budgets were simultaneously diverted to maintain the already dominated expenditures on national security. Thus, money was rather used in safeguarding the territory from external attacks from the Nigerian troops, thereby diverting funds that would have been used to carry out meaningful developmental projects the war which was going on in Bakassi between this giant regional powers in the Gulf of Guinea. The Bakassi conflict also witnessed a framework of reference. This navigated from the crystallization of the resentments from both nationals and international organization into a systematization, of micro-nationalism which their objective was to resolved the conflict. This would enhance the economic activities to boom in the both Conflicted Countries. .With pressures from both the international organization charged with the task of world peace maintenance, it was evident that the resolution of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria will be settled.<sup>94</sup> And Nigeria respected these institutions (UN, OAU/AU, NGOs) which led to the giant step of peace resolution in 2002 by the ICJ ruling and also setting of the CNMC charged of implementing of the UN ruling on the ground in Bakassi.

## **IX. OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH**

---

<sup>91</sup> L. Koungou, « comment construire la paix dans un espace post conflictuel ? Le cas de Bakassi », in *Afrique contemporaine*, 2010/ Vol2, n°234, p.18.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* p.18-19.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> Babatola et al, “Nigeria – Cameroon boundary disputes: The quest for Bakassi peninsular”, *International Affairs and Global Strategy*, Vol 4, 2012, 92.

The objectives of this research are the specific results, that a researcher seeks to achieve through their study<sup>95</sup>. These objectives guide the research process and help define its scope. For examples of some key words such as exploration, description, explanation, prediction, Evaluation, theory development<sup>96</sup>. Problem –solving these help researchers stay focused and ensure their work contributes valuable knowledge to their field study while also addressing real-world problems.

This work is based on, systematic, empirical and interdisciplinary approach. The Bakassi conflict analyses were made out of historical experience. The empiricism strolls from history to political science. This is a historic perspective with objective of evaluating from the verifiable sources of the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon. By this, they were;

#### **a. The benefits of the conflict resolution on Cameroon**

One of the objective of this research is to analyses the benefits of Cameroon from the resolution of the Bakassi conflict through the acquisition of new crude oil deposits. The efforts of the actors of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict such as the National actors, the international actors like the UN, OAU/AU<sup>97</sup>

#### **b. The respect and the implementation of the ICJ and the GTA decisions**

Present the resolutions reached through the accords like the ICJ ruling, the GTA which were steps towards the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. Thus, the objective is to ensure if these verdicts were installed on ground.

#### **c. Cameroon border redressed and Bakassi peninsula included in her Map**

This aimed was to ensure the authenticity of the ICJ ruling of 2002.

The objectives of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict is a verification of verdicts and the respect of international institutions on the conflict of Bakassi should be resolved so it never repeats it's self again<sup>98</sup>.

---

<sup>95</sup> Grawitz, Méthode en science sociales ...P.34.

<sup>96</sup> Pycke, la critique historique ....p.31-32.

<sup>97</sup> The responsibilities of these actors was to ensure that the country declared winner of Bakassi by the ICJ enjoys the natural right of exploiting the natural resources of this area, Thus, it was normal that Cameroon enjoyed her territorial right.

<sup>98</sup> The resolution of conflict can be made by any organization or institution but there is always a tendency that it repeats itself due to the flaws of the terms of the resolution of the conflict. The bakassi conflict was handled by both local, and international actors with the cooperation of the AU who is the Gendarmes of regional blocs in Africa, this became a double assurance in that the AU, have the power to sanction defaulters of international laws right up to the level of regional integration which is the back bone of the economies in Africa. The ability of the

## X. SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The method is the way or manner by which a discipline tracks its scientific facts<sup>99</sup>. This means the putting together of rules, the observation plan of the mode of investigation by which the researcher to submit its objective of its topic with the goal of elaborating the facts that were found<sup>100</sup>. This is the strategy of researching where the researcher collects information necessary for the understanding the problem from the definition of the problematic and the formulation of the Hypothesis. By this, Théophile Obenga confirms « that Avec la méthode on s'écarte de plus en plus de L'opinion commun, Vulgaire souvent inconsciente au plan scientifique, pour accéder réellement a la poursuite de la réalité<sup>101</sup> ». Here Theophile Obenga was explaining in the French extract above that with this scientific methodology it is easier to put aside over and over common opinion which were unrealistic to a scientific facts. To better explore and understand the pursuits of the realities of the scientific facts. The methods of the presentation of the work with the analysis of the problematic, which will be organized of the collection of sources and the treatment of information obtained.

---

resolution of the Bakassi conflict to be handled with such precaution made it harder for Nigeria to try in the nearest future to recapture the zion of bakasssi because there were the CNMC where representatives from both Cameroon and Nigeria vowed to respect the decision of the ICJ and promote the respect of international institutions which empowers the power of the UN and shows the symbol of the strength of the UN . The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was a symbol of the personal efforts of the then, UN SG , Kofi Annan from African precisely from Ghana who was determined to potray the image of African nations as peace and law abiding citizens .This made him go extra miles to talk on both the president of Cameroon , President Paul Biya , and that of Nigeria president Olusegun Obansanjo to embrace peace over war because his personal experiences of war over the years as UNSG , proved beyond reasonable doubt that war is so destructive even to the greatest nations on earth. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was the act that paved the way for territorial diplomacy in Africa through the level of diplomacy used to resolved and illustrated that peaceful resolution is the modern day of conflict resolution .With this war was no longer the celebrated options that was in the past .The UN being able to be everywhere around the world is very commendable even though the organization has failed in some parts of the world in the resolution of conflict like the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda which claims millions of lives , the conflict of the separation of the original Sudan into Sudan and south Sudan today .The UN has being practical in her presence In the resolution of conflict around the world , the efforts put together by the UN in the central Africa republic (CAR) by paying troops ,which also leads to the lost of lives of the Blue Caps that is the UN military units. The success of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was the reflection of the conflicted parties willing to cooperate and collaborate to gain a lasting solution of the Bakassi peninsula which they did. There is no doubt that there are still political instability in Bakassi but is not between Cameroon and Nigeria but tether between Cameroon and individual pirates groups who seek extortion of the oil –rich region of its natural resources and also the kidnapping of the Cameroon state authorities asking for ransom from the state of Cameroon which meant that the Bakassi conflict was well resolved and thus the international institution played a success filled ruled in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict .

<sup>99</sup> Grawitz, *Méthode en science sociales*.p.34-35.

<sup>100</sup> S.T.Regis Ombe «La participation de la marine National dans la Lutte contre la piraterie maritime au Cameroon (1990-2018) : Essai D` analyse Historique » University of Yaoundé I, Mémoire, présente en vue de L`obtention du diplôme de Master en histoire, 2022, p.20.

<sup>101</sup> J.Koufan Menekene, « Le Cameroon et la Guinea Equatoriale : fondements, enjeux et débats sur un destin commun et une difficile coexistence, Habilitation à diriger les reverches », Université` de Yaoundé I Aout 2010, p.70.

### a. Sources and methodology

The epistemology which is the reflection of social sciences is the foundation of all research. This is what that permits the researcher to mobilize the groups of arguments which are factual and useful in historical analysis. Historians of international relation, Jean Koufan said on this subject that all research are implicit or explicit which are guided by epistemological postures<sup>102</sup>. This means to specify on your point of belonging which is we are under the positivist or post-positivist. When the first considerations are realities which exists on independently by the wiliness of the actors, and the time they estimate for the construction of the reality by the actors. This is in line to our topic and the envelope of our theories, It convenient to say that this research is positioned in favor in post-positivism, or security as a pillar of construction. In that sense, this work is to show how the consequences of the resolution of the bakassi conflict brought political stability in the region of Bakassi between Cameroon and Nigeria. To get to the realization of this research, we will go by the method of obliged interdisciplinary. The collections of facts, information necessary by the intermediary. This shows the strength of the discipline. The research documents that has permitted us to consult and collect maximum information on our research topic, in the documentaries center of universities that also consist that of sociology Jean -marc Ella, “le four ou` cuit le pain intellectuel dont une société se nourrit”<sup>103</sup> Meaning the society should be willing to learn from intellectuals. This was the question of other scientific reviews, books, articles, journals, accords and conventions, Memoires, theses, Reports, etc., relatively to the genesis of forms of expression of actors in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict and also their contribution in reshaping the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict favorably on Cameroon. All these information where collected on so many centers of documentation from the Library of IRIC, central Library of faculty of arts, letters, and social sciences of the University of Yaoundé I (FALSH), Circle of history, geography, and archeology (CHGA), center of research and political studies and strategies (CREPS), the library of the faculty of “science juridiques, et politiques de L`université de Yaoundé II, the library of Paul Ango Ella foundation, (FPAE)lastly, the faculty of social science university of Dschang;

The maintenance of semi-directives which is in effect to the engagement with contacts, between inter-personnels and individuals which is mostly found between the object and the

---

<sup>102</sup> T. Obenga. *La philosophie africaine de la période pharaonique (2780-330 avant notre ère)*, Paris. L`Harmattan 1990, 36-37.

<sup>103</sup> J.M. Ela “ *Guide pedagogique de formation a la recherché pour le developpement en Afrique* », paris L`Harmattan, 2001, p.12.

subject of interlocutor<sup>104</sup> This technics exposes the advantages for the collection of oral sources , it is from these oral sources , that we extracted on the grounds of discussions as a non-specialist and on the sphere of specialists (the resolution of conflicts in international relation) , of important information of very primordial in the realization of this work.

### **b. Methodology of the treatment of sources**

To analyze the research data we very equipped with the observation that ties to the historical analysis, which are interdisciplinary, qualitative and systematical.

The historical analysis permits us to recover the information, and categorize the analysis and also criticize, the military combat of the marine forces of both Cameroon and Nigeria during the Bakassi conflict<sup>105</sup>. It is necessary to say in history where there is only one eye witness, only one informal it should always be verified because one source in history is equal to no source<sup>106</sup>. This is the principle that controls the historical analysis. In effect of historical science, “one source is no source”<sup>107</sup>. This is while the testimonies obtained are often confused and falls under historical criticism. On- the- other- hand, such narration has permitted us to present the historical facts, in the perspective of diachronic manner, this choice is justified by the facts through historical analysis which is based on understanding the facts, and social phenomenon in an orderly chronological sequence. Even out of the historical analysis, we also have the interdisciplinary approach, the other disciplines with the pomology, of law, and geopolitics has come to enrich the work. The convocation of these “science brothers” has permitted to better eliminate the complexities, of the area of study. Firstly, we have the analysis of the pomology which were necessary in the understanding of the of the determinate structure et objective of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria. From the analysis pomology, we have equally allowed the bases of the Casualty of the conflict of Bakassi and its adverse effects in the gulf of Guinea. This has put in place the enlightenment of the Bakassi conflict which permits us to understand the “Casualties” There resolution processes used to put in place the security strategy by the moderating commission of the conflict .and also understanding the value of peace between Cameroon and Nigeria, in other to maintain regional peace in West African especially in the Gulf of Guinea. Finally, the geopolitical analysis used

---

<sup>104</sup> D.Alles et als, “L`entretien en relations internationales » in G. Devin (dir), *méthodes de recherche en relations internationales*, paris, science po.2016, p.159.

<sup>105</sup> Ndong Atok, “Integration regional maritime ...p. 57.

<sup>106</sup> J.Koufan Menekene, « Le Cameroon et la Guinea Equatoriale : fondements, enjeux et débats sur un destin commun et une difficile coexistence, Habilitation à diriger les recherches », Université de Yaoundé I Aout 2010, p.79.

<sup>107</sup> Ndong Atok, “integration regional maritime”...p.59.

in this work, permits us to analyze the logic and the stakes of the actors involved in the resolution of the conflict commission. This is to ensure that peace not just return to Bakassi but the population should be able to carry out their economy activities without fear and boost the economic activities.

Moreover, we have opted to also make a Qualitative analysis. The particularity of the approach is that it has the advantages in the long run which comes with a lot of experience. This has permitted us to use the Hypothetico –deductive approach which is here for classic, Global, thematic and analytic.

Conclusively, we have to appeal to the systematic analysis, this is the theory of David Easton, this approach correspond to “input and output” analysis. The approach systematic has permitted us to understand the interaction that exist between the actors of the resolution of the bakassi conflict like Cameroon and Nigeria ,with the international institutions for the resolution of the Conflict like the UN, NGOs etc. , From this interaction there is the birth of inputs which are the limits of the UN in the putting in place of the ICJ verdict in the implement which meant that war still continued between Cameroon and Nigeria until the CNMC was structured<sup>108</sup> . The UN reaction towards the resolution is what is called output which corresponds with the resolution of the Bakassi conflict by the UN in collaboration with other actors, also the tension between Cameroon and Nigeria attacks in Bakassi between their troops created an environment of demand-respond towards the activities of security measures in Bakassi which is the feedback. At the end , the service of the analysis of risks and damages in conflicts between states discovered the damages made in the region of bakassi between Cameroon and Nigeria to be very destructive economically to this region`s productivity.

## **XI. THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERS**

Saying that this research was easy and stress –free is being unjust to the scientification of the research process. This is because the major of the elements needed for this research was based on National security and national interest of the state which is confidential to the state of Cameroon .Thus, accessing them became difficult as Louis Malfatto and David actually agreed on this .This is in according to very relatable to the resolution of the Bakassi conflict as

“ Les milieux criminels et internationaux se prêtent mal à la recherché universitaire .Le manqué de donnes empiriques fiables et de témoignages vraiment crédibles complique considérablement l`analyse, qui se cantonne trop souvent à un traitement journalistique, pour ne pas dire sensationnaliste tant l`opacité qui entoure

---

<sup>108</sup> The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was not automatic, this meant that, the verdict of the ICJ took a little bit longer for it to be implement and that time there were still shadows of political in stability in the region of Bakassi, for the commissions to be setup, the mediators to get to the top it became difficult for us to maintain calmness in the region.

ces activités criminelles par nature clandestine, qui le secret des enquêtes policières présentent comme gage de succès explique une telle carence<sup>109</sup> ».

From this effect, the Bakassi conflict was a transnational conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over the border of Bakassi. This made it difficult having crucial sources since both nationalities were based, in Bakassi. Cameroonians, and Nigerians through collection of data, information with empiricism, they were all giving information from a place of patriotism for their nation not by giving historical facts making the data collection to become very difficult since the data were diluted. To solve this problem, we had to confirm the information given with international documents, this, historical facts were rescued.

Thus, they give clandestine information which is baseless. In Africa as Eric Bonnemaïson says “when the debate of political security is held, the meetings resolutions is highly confidential<sup>110</sup>” Another obstacle is the frequent pirates attacks which creates an atmosphere of fear, thus, political instability for example the kidnap of the Divisional officer, Eweh Roland Ewane, forced me to cut the field research for security reasons and continue in the national archives in Buea and Yaoundé because of security measures. To solve this problem, we sought for military security about our research project thus, they helped us move around in disguise so not to scarce the people giving us information. This made the people we asked questions to air out their mind without fear of getting into trouble. This reality of Cameroon like political instability is recently on a rise in the North West and south west crisis (NOSO)<sup>111</sup>.

The books and articles written on the Bakassi conflicts are many, this made the process of documents authentication lengthy and difficult. To solve this problem, we used the internationally recognized books and articles which were published on international platforms and Magazines.

Despite the challenges encountered, the documents we used and the persons we met gave us the peaceful authenticity to carry out our research. We made very good use of understanding the concept of “the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict Cameroon”. This made our research project partially easier.

---

<sup>109</sup> P.L. Malfante et D. Morin « Criminalité transnationale organisée » in Macleod et al. (dir) relations internationales : théories et concepts Outremont CEPES, 2008, pp. 53-57.

<sup>110</sup> E. Bonnemaïson, « Refaire la sécurité en Afrique un bien public ». *Afrique contemporaine*, Dossier spécial, sécurité et conflits n° 200, Octobre –Décembre 2001, p.2,

<sup>111</sup> Since 2016 with the birth of the Anglophone crisis, from the two English speaking regions of Cameroon, north west and south west, NOSO, which came in and combined with the already existing Boko Haram (BH) from 2014, which even blocked roads in 2016. The combination of NOSO, and BH, to the state of Cameroon is just like an over board of pressure to the Cameroon government. In NOSO, the separatist fighters using Guerrilla warfare makes it almost impossible for the government to get to them since there is no right line of demarcation between them and the normal citizens.

## **XII. PLAN OF WORK**

This work is the combination of the all the qualitative and quantitative data of the research project which is resumed into four quality chapters .Each chapter comprises of a unique dimension of the elaboration of the research study of “consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon” into tips of the iceberg of the total work .This is structures into four gigantic chapters on the chronological other from chapter 1 to chapter 4 as follows;

a. Chapter one

This chapter explodes on, the atmosphere that provoked the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

b. Chapter two

The Principal actors and the agreements reached in the process of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

c. Chapter three

The consequences to the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon by the ICJ in 2002. Here we will be talking about the outcome of the resolutions of the Bakassi conflict on the economy of Cameroon and the state in particular.

Chapter four

The difficulties, perspectives and proposals on the implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi Conflict. We purposed solutions to the limits of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict and purpose solutions to the state of Cameroon .Thus, to implement and ameliorate the area of Bakassi for a better exploration and exploitation of resources.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE ATMOSPHERE THAT PROVOKED THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT

#### Introduction

The blueprint that laid the foundation for the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was the act of patriotism and nationalism between the nationals of both Nigeria and Cameroon. This was, because they both wanted the same thing, which is the possession of the Bakassi peninsula as a territorial part of their countries. The implication of nationalism of both nationals in conflict led to the internationalization of the conflict which brought a breathing towards the access for a long lasting solution. The pressure of commotion and combustion became unbearable, the patriots of both conflict Countries as presidents. Thus, for example President Paul Biya of Cameroon and President Olusegun Obasanjo the case of the Bakassi to the African union and later to the UN. President Olusegun Obasanjo left office in 2006 after the signing of the green tree agreement<sup>1</sup>. His successor in 2007 took office and continued with the implication of this agreement. President Umaru Musa Yar`adua continue the procedure till 2010 when he died. The sporadic military exchange between the armies of Cameroon and Nigeria, general insecurities for example piracy also contributed to the search for a solution. Hence, this speeded the hunger for peace settlements and negotiations because of the hybrid insecurity in Bakassi. The Nigerians Presidents maintained good bilateral cooperation with Cameroon till date. The domain of security, the multi task Gendarmerie presence was pivotal towards the protection of people displaced from Bakassi to other parts of Cameroon which justifies its capture as the elite force<sup>2</sup>. The Gendarmerie played significant roles in helping displaced population from all kinds of conflicts in Cameroon including those displaced from the Bakassi conflict zone of conflict<sup>3</sup>.

This chapter is structured into three main parts that is, how did the feeling of patriotism, nationalism, and internationalization of the Bakassi conflict championed a favorable procedure in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. The first major part unfolds the National atmosphere between Nigerians and Cameroonians that instigated the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. In the second major part we will be talking about the spirit of nationalism of both Nationals. Lasly,

<sup>1</sup>V. J. Ngoh « *Cameroon 1884 –present (2018), the history of a people*», Limbe, DESIGN House Limbe, 2019 p.333.

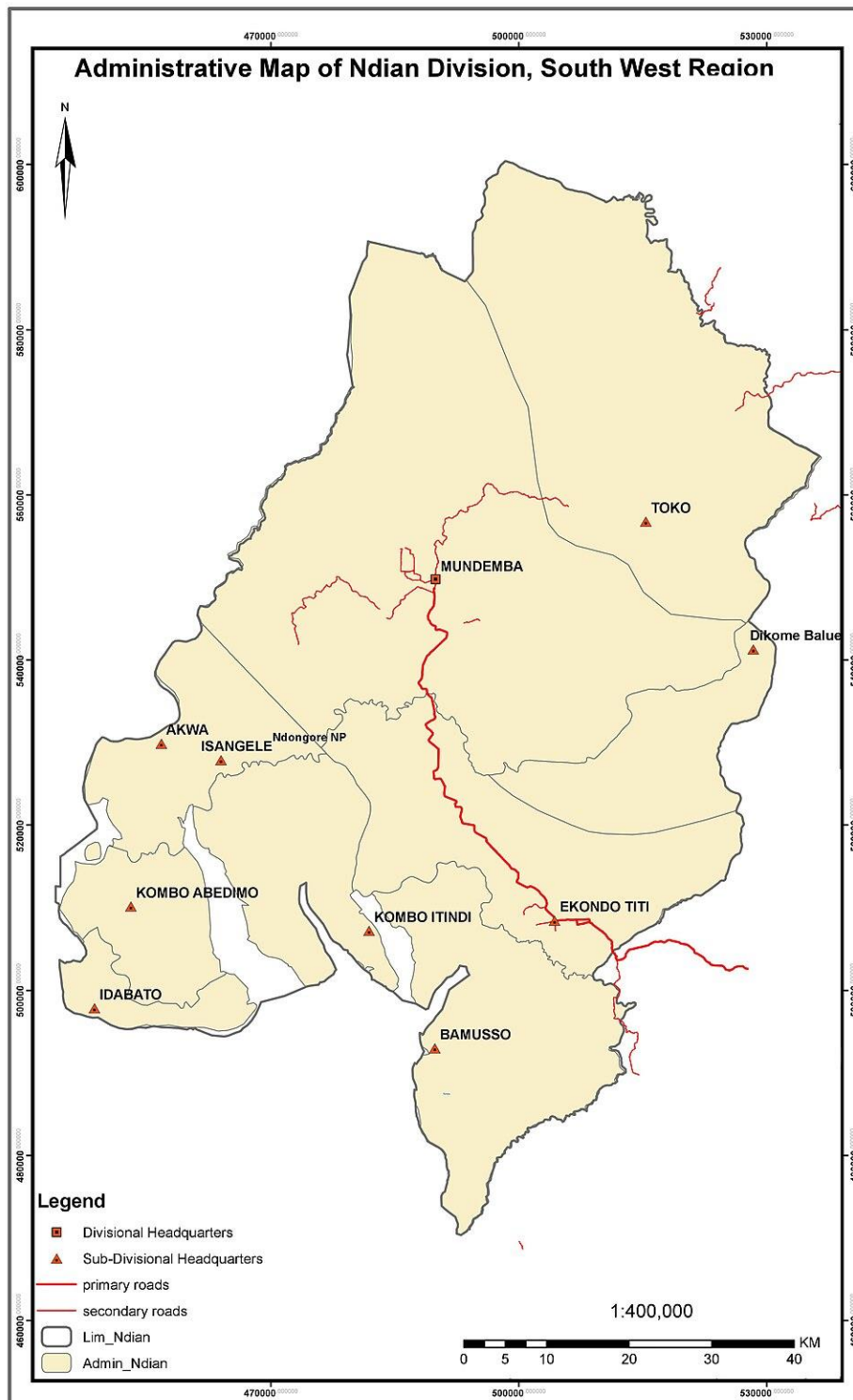
<sup>2</sup> V. Hameni Bieleu, *Politique de défense et sécurité nationale du cameroon*, Paris, L`Harmattan, 2012, p.385.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

the national actors of Nigerians and Cameroonians in the management of the Bakassi conflict.

They are;

**Map 2:** Administrative Map of Ndian Division.



Source : <https://www.en.wikipedia.org>

## I. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CAMEROONIANS AND NIGERIANS

The national atmosphere that instigated the resolution of the Bakassi conflict by Cameroonians and Nigerians was as results of a dark cloud that embraced the territory and put the activities to a standstill. Thus, this climate made the conflicted powers to scramble for a lasting solution.

### **A. The development of insecurities**

The environmental insecurities is a rock-bottom for development and frightened hard work due to uncertainty thus, made it possible for hunger for the resolutions of the conflict .This is because insecurity had negative effects to the society and this spread like wild-bush fire to other regions of relative calmness <sup>4</sup> and gave the nationals the huge appetite to rally up momentum for the resolution of the conflict .The following are the adverse effects<sup>5</sup> of environmental insecurity that created the atmosphere for the resolution of the Bakassi conflict <sup>6</sup> .The quest for security had always been the major objective of the nationals since the period of Federalism of 1961, which laid the foundation of southern Cameroons to be become West Cameroon under the federal structure .The champion of national security from the military forces has always been the Gendarmerie due to their combination of military and law training all over the national territory<sup>7</sup> .The aspect of security has always being the national problem to the state <sup>8</sup> . This explains the aspect of insecurity played a vital backbone towards the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. Thus, laid a solid foundation, an example is the construction of the B.I.R Camp in Bakassi in a bit for the extension of national security which was premedical for the state.

### **B. The kidnapping of both Nigerians and Cameroonians citizens in Bakassi**

The kidnapping of Cameroonians and Nigerians who are based in Bakassi was due to the insecurity problems. Some selfish individuals saw the conflict as means of acquiring wealth through illicit means<sup>9</sup> .This challenged made both Countries to galvanized support towards the resolution of the conflict , this was precipitated by kidnappers requesting for huge sums of money government officials from any conflicted country . This constantly drained the

---

<sup>4</sup> This was due to constant military confrontation between the Cameroon and Nigeria armies.

<sup>5</sup> J.Ezello, "Nigeria and Cameroon: The Bakassi Dispute" *The Nigeria Juridical Review*, Vol 9, 2010 p.10. / pp.10-23.

<sup>6</sup> The is because it made the nationals to channel their anger towards the resolutions of the bakassi conflict.

<sup>7</sup> J. Nkeh "The police and Gendarmerie forces in west Cameroon 1961 -1972: A History of understanding and misunderstanding in public security", Thesis of Doctorat/ Ph.D. in History, University of Yaounde 1, 2019, p.34.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> The kidnapping of citizens is a direct involvement of individuals who sees the atmosphere of insecurity as a tool of extorting money from the hands of the rich

government coffers and forced both Countries to seek for a lasting resolution so as to reduce state expenses on kidnapping. It was cleared that these insecurities affected the political, economic and socio-cultural activities of Bakassi. Thus, encouraged the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. The kidnapping became intensified with the involvement of the pirates in the Gulf of Guinea which they were making billions of Francs from both the Governments of Cameroon and Nigeria. These pirates were kidnapping top government officials and demanding huge ransom from their respective Governments, this was a diplomatic blow to the sovereignty of both Countries to let its officials stay in Captivity<sup>10</sup>. Cameroon and Nigeria had to put their differences aside, and seek for solutions towards the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. An example from another conflict in Cameroon in the Far north would be ; in 2014 the Boko Haram (B.H) kidnapped Cameroon's Vice Prime Minister, Amadou Ali and asked huge ransom from the state of Cameroon and the ransom was used to buy weapons by the terrorists. Cameroon and Nigeria Governments were tired of the recycled kidnapping, and thus were forced to cooperate and work peaceful resolutions with the assistants of the UN and OAU/AU.

### **C. Constant clash between the Nigerian and Cameroonian forces**

Cameroon and Nigeria was at brink of war, which hit its peak in 1981. The constant attacks between these two Countries in arms confrontations created the grounds for the negotiation. This was because both Governments of the conflicted Counties were losing money buying weapons and financing unproductive arms confrontations. The test of military supremacy between these great Countries was draining their respective state coffers. This Constance exchange of bullets made the area not good in affairs<sup>11</sup>. To further expatiate, this conflict of fire exchange started after the independence of both countries in 1960<sup>12</sup>. When the plebiscite was held, and the Southern Cameroons voted to reunify with the Republic of Cameroon, while the Northern part remain with Nigeria.<sup>13</sup> However, the border between the two countries was not clearly demarcated which led to the dispute over the Bakassi peninsula, rich in oil and gas reserves<sup>14</sup>. The conflict escalated in the 1980s with several armed incidents and clashes between Nigeria and Cameroonians soldiers. In 1994, Cameroon took the matter to the international court of justice (ICJ). These constant clash between Cameroon and Nigeria was very detrimental to both Countries in that they lost soldiers and most importantly emptying their

---

<sup>10</sup> B. Oter Atur "The impact of organized crime in the Gulf of Guinea, the case of Maritime, piracy and illicit bunkering in Nigeria", the memoire of the presentation of the master in economic diplomacy, IRIC, 2014, p.14.

<sup>11</sup> F.Menjo Baye, Implications of the Bakassi conflict resolution for Cameroon, article review, 2024, p.9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p.34.

<sup>13</sup> V.J. Ngoh « *Cameroon 1884-presnt (2018)* Limbe, "DESIGN House Limbe, 2019.p. 176.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid* p.198.

coffers to non – profitable ventures which was draining the state budget meant for the development to both conflicting Countries, Thus, they had to reach an agreement to temporarily cease fire and follow legal procedures thereby embracing the resolution of the Bakassi procedure. This was the foundation that push both nations into the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

#### **D. The activities of the Biafra movement**

The devastating consequences of the Biafra conflict of 1967-1970 acted as a lesson, served as a cautionary tale for both Nigerians and Cameroonians leaders<sup>15</sup> . They recognized that prolonged conflict leads to significant human suffering and instability motivating them to seek peaceful resolutions towards territorial disputes like that of Bakassi .The negative activities associated with the Biafra movement underscored the need for cooperation between neighboring countries on security issues .thus , this realization fostered a collaborative approach between Nigeria and Cameroon to manage border security and prevent potential conflicts arising from the separatist sentiments . The burden of both parliaments during the conflict made it pass out laws that were anti –national for the sake of protecting the Bakassi peninsula. The Cameroon national assembly had a crucial role it played<sup>16</sup>. In 2002 before the ICJ verdict, the president of the commission of foreign affairs<sup>17</sup>.

#### **E. The killing of people and the destruction of properties**

The killing of people and destruction of properties during the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria highlighted the dire humanitarian’s consequences of the unresolved territorial dispute .ultimately galvanizing both Countries to seek a peaceful resolution<sup>18</sup> . More than 50 persons where killed from 1981 -2008 when it was resolved<sup>19</sup> .The human suffering and loss incurred from violent confrontations prompted local population ,civil society , and international observers advocated for dialogue rather than continued conflict .This collective outcry underscored the urgent need for a diplomatic solution which led both Countries to engage in negotiations<sup>20</sup> and accepted international arbitration culminating in the international

---

<sup>15</sup> There were casualties during the brafra war for secession from 1967- 1970.

<sup>16</sup> E.G. Mveng Nkou, « Le rôle de L`assemblée National dans la Diplomatie Camerounaise (1992-2000), Mémoire présente en vue de L`obtention du diplôme d`études supérieures spécialisées en relations internationales », IRIC, 2001.p.46.

<sup>17</sup> Entretien avec « L`Honorable NGOLLO NGAMA, Président de la commission des affaires étrangères », le 12 Juillet 2001-2002.

<sup>18</sup> E J... Akpevwe Nwibe, “The impacts of the ICJ `s Judgment on the Bakassi Peninsula Case :Realist and idealist perspectives”, *International journal of research and innovation in social sciences(IJRISS)*, Vol 8, n°2454-6186, 2024, p.2109.

<sup>19</sup> F.Menjo Baye, Implications of the Bakassi conflict resolution for Cameroon, article review, 2024, p.18.

<sup>20</sup> This is to prevent war and maintain a suitable political atmosphere which is conducive for growth.

court of Justice `s ruling in 2002 that awarded Bakassi to Cameroon .The tragic realities of violence served as a powerful motivator for prioritizing peace over further bloodshed and destruction.

## **II. THE ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS**

The Bakassi conflict brought forth economic backwardness, in the trans-border activities, which motivated the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. This was because both Countries wanted to preserve the standard of living of their Citizens .The citizens of Nigeria and Cameroon wanted to continue to benefits the advantages of trans-border trade. The following are the factors of economic backwardness that paved the way for the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

### **A. Increased in the rate of poverty**

The increase in the rate of poverty in the regions surrounding the Bakassi peninsula played a significant role in the resolution of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria. By illuminating the needs for stability and development as economic hardship intensified <sup>21</sup> . The local communities on both sides recognized the negative impact brought by the ongoing conflict, hindered the access to resources. Thus , even the livelihoods and basic services ,exacerbating the struggle for the resolution of the conflict <sup>22</sup> .The shared experience of urgency among citizens and leaders alike to seek a peaceful resolution as stability was essential for economic recovery<sup>23</sup> and development .consequently both nations were motivated to prioritize diplomatic negotiations over military confrontations culminating in the agreements to resolve the territorial arbitration ,which aimed to pave the way for socio-economic progress in the region. The frustration brought ford by poverty made the inhabitants of Bakassi to be willing to accept peace talks, so as to bring the economy back at the level it was before 1981. This created the foundation that led to the holding of the resolution of Bakassi conflict talks which yielded fruits of hope and peace.

### **B. Increased in wasteful investments**

The increase in wasteful investments by both Cameroon and Nigeria Governments in purchasing arms during the Bakassi conflict underscored the unsustainable nature of militarization .This had detrimental impact on national resources and resources and development .As both countries allocated significant portions of budget to military spending

---

<sup>21</sup> This became a general problem between Cameroon and Nigeria which fixing it became a united ventures which will be great for Cameroon and Nigerian to put their differences aside and work towards the progress of eradicating poverty in this zone of conflict .

<sup>22</sup> F.Menjo Baye, Implications of the Bakassi conflict resolution for Cameroon, article review, 2024, p.9.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

that continued the conflict in Bakassi. This diverted critical funds away from essential services like education, healthcare, and infrastructure<sup>24</sup>. This realization prompted a shift in the focus towards diplomatic solutions as both nations sought to redirect resources towards developments rather than warfare. The growing awareness of the futility of arms races ultimately encouraged Cameroon and Nigeria to engage in the negotiations leading to the acceptance of international arbitration led by the UN assisted by the OAU/AU as means to resolve the territorial disputes peacefully and prioritize national development over military confrontation.

### **C. Tax evasion**

The exploitation of natural resources such as fish, crude oil by companies came to a standstill, even the companies who continue exploitation were not paying taxes<sup>25</sup>. This trend drastically reduces government earnings and cost the government to contract loans to finance projects which if the political atmosphere was conducive the national debt would have been reduced<sup>26</sup>. The economic losses incurred by both Nigeria and Cameroon due to the companies exploiting natural resources from the Bakassi peninsula without paying taxes significantly influenced the resolution of the conflict highlighting the financial repercussion of the ongoing instability. As both Countries grappled with the loss of potential revenue that could have been generated through taxations and regulation of these companies, it became evident that a peaceful resolution would be crucial for a re-establishing control over these lucrative resources<sup>27</sup>. The realization that continued conflict did not only hindered economic growth but also allowed foreign Countries to operate without accountability, prompted both governments to prioritize negotiations. This economic imperative created a desperate quest to acquire peace at all cost in achieving stability. Thus, ultimately leading to diplomatic efforts that facilitated the peaceful resolution of the territorial disputes and aimed at harnessing the region's resources for national benefits. There was not a clear channel on which state coffers should the taxes be paid and Billions of Francs CFA were wasted because of the conflict, it became necessary for Cameroon head of state and that of Nigeria to come together for a peaceful resolution of the Bakassi conflict<sup>28</sup>.

---

<sup>24</sup> T. T Chopdung, « L'action des chefs d'état camerounais et Nigérien dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi » A mémoire présentée pour l'obtention de masters en international diploma, IRIC, 2010. Pp.39-44.

<sup>25</sup> T. Ndungo Lekunze "The problems of security in the central African sub-region" Mémoire présentée pour l'obtention de Masters en international diplomacy, IRIC, 2002, p.51.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> In order to save money and natural resources both Countries are willing to create an atmosphere of peace.

<sup>28</sup> Tasong Tendengue Chopdung, « Mémoire de relations internationales, IRIC, 2010, p.43.

## **D. Abandoned resources**

The desire to put abandoned resources in the Bakassi peninsula to lucrative and productive use played a crucial role in the resolution of the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon. This was due to the economic potentials of the region for both Countries. With valuable natural resources including oil and fisheries, lying untapped due to the ongoing dispute both governments recognized that a peaceful resolution would unlock significant opportunities for economic development and investment. This realization fostered a sense of urgency to resolve the territorial conflict, as both countries aimed to attract foreign investments and maximize resource exploitation for national growth. Consequently, the prospect of transforming the Bakassi peninsula into a productive economic zone became a strong motivating factor for engaging in diplomatic negotiations, ultimately leading to an agreement that prioritizes stability and development over continued hostilities which only brought unhealthy expenses<sup>29</sup>. By so doing war and resources were preserved<sup>30</sup>. There were also other heads of states from other African countries that all they wanted was peace between these neighboring Countries, like the Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema<sup>31</sup>.

## **E. Multiplication of losses**

During the Bakassi conflict, there were numerous losses between Nigerians and Cameroonians. These brought losses in humans, materials and a manifestation of war between these great nations more than 50 persons lost their lives from 1981 to 2008 when the conflict was resolved<sup>32</sup>. However, these negative effects acted as a push and precipitated the atmosphere for the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. In order to mitigate these losses it created the desire to galvanize a favorable desire for good political, economic and socio-cultural lucrative temperatures so resources could be exploited for the Countries building there by promoting economic growth and development with the exploited resources<sup>33</sup>.

## **F. The depopulation of the region**

The depopulation of the Bakassi peninsula, resulting from the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon significantly influenced the resolution of the dispute by drawing attention to the

---

<sup>29</sup> P. Boniface, *les relations internationales de 1945 à nos jours : de Yalta à la guerre d'ukraine*, Paris, Edition Eyrolles, 2017, P.100.

<sup>30</sup> M. Vaisse, « la relation internationale depuis 1945 » ....P.125 .

<sup>31</sup> Mgbale Mgbatou(H), « *La politique camerounaise de résolution pacifique de la crise de Bakassi (une approche réaliste et transnationaliste)*, » *op.cit.*..., p.199.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> T.T Chopdung, « L'action des chefs d'état camerounais et nigériens dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi » A mémoire présentée pour l'obtention de masters en international diplomacy, IRIC, 2010. P.41-42.

international communities. This brought the humanitarian agencies which urged the urgent navigation of peaceful settlements to guarantee the stability in the region<sup>34</sup>. As violence escalated, many residents left this area which led to a decline in the population and created a vacuum that highlighted the high cost of living provoked by the high population who left Bakassi and congested in Douala and Yaoundé which flamed inflation due to the high demand of basic necessities. Thus, it was in the diplomatic sense that the Heads-of-state kept their political differences aside and work towards the effective developmental projects in this area. This helped reduced the upheaval, detrimental effects of prolonged conflict on local communities. This depopulation raised alarms among both governments and international observers about the social and economic consequences of continued hostilities, prompting calls for peaceful negotiations to restore normalcy and encourages resettlement. The stark reality of abandoned communities and the suffering of displaced populations became a powerful catalyst for both nations to seek a diplomatic solution<sup>35</sup>, ultimately, leading to agreements that aimed to foster peace, <sup>36</sup>security and reconstruction in Bakassi.

### **G. Monotony of the conflict**

When the Bakassi conflict started both nationals from Nigeria and Cameroon knew it will not last for long unfortunately in 1981 both Countries almost when to war still yet there was no concrete atmosphere for peace. The conflict lasted for 21 years that is 1981-2002, very long. When the conflict continued it became boring and disturbing for both nationals. Thus, they were eager to resolve it. The monotony of the prolonged Bakassi conflict, characterized by its seemingly endless cycle of skirmishes and diplomatic stalemates, fostered a sense of frustration and fatigue among both Cameroonians and Nigerian populations and ultimately urging leaders to seek a resolution.

As the conflict dragged on without significant progress, the repetitive nature of hostilities became increase tedious for citizens who yearned for peace and stability in their daily lives.<sup>37</sup> This weariness created an environment where public pressure mounted for an end to the conflict, pushing both governments to prioritize negotiations over continued fighting. The desire to break free from the dullness of ongoing strife and restore normalcy in the region

---

<sup>34</sup> Interview accordée par le représentant spécial de SG des NU, Linge des journalistes pour L`Afrique, Site www.-de-médiation .org, 16 Novembre 2007.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> This is to boost the massive influx of the people into the region.

<sup>37</sup> In other to avoid war and peace and security, this region in conflict was desperate for peace and thus, did everything to negotiate peaceful resolutions.

became a motivating factor for both nations to engage in diplomatic efforts, culminating in the resolution of the conflict

## **H. Deficit in the exploitation of natural resources**

Political instability under-mined the exploitation of resources<sup>38</sup> because many were afraid of dying and so very insignificant amount of resources were exploited. The deficit in the exploitation of natural resources in the Bakassi peninsula, driven by political instability and ongoing conflict, significantly contributed to the urgency for a resolution between Cameroon and the former representative of the UNSG, Ahmed OULD ABDALLAH confirms that:

“The Cameroonian authorities were very reasonable concerning the management of the petrol saying that since Nigeria has already started the exploitation of the petroleum, they should continue and pay taxes to the Cameroon government”<sup>39</sup>.

Nigeria by highlighting the dire economic consequences of prolonged strife. As both nations faced increasing poverty and inability to harness the regions rich resources, such as oil and fisheries, there emerged a growing realization that continued hostilities were detrimental not only to national interests but also to the welfare of their populations<sup>40</sup>. The widespread poverty and lack of opportunity became a rallying point for citizens and leaders alike, creating pressure on both governments to prioritize peace negotiations. This collective desire to restore economic stability and improve living conditions ultimately motivated Cameroon and Nigeria to seek a diplomatic solution recognizing that resolving the conflict would pave the way for resource exploitation and sustainable development in Bakassi.

## **I. Bakassi conflict made this region a unlawful society**

The Bakassi conflict transformed the region into an unlawful society. The activities of the pirates became alarming and threatening the security of people and goods were threatened, where lawlessness thrived amid the chaos of territorial disputes and violence, creating an environment rife with insecurity and criminal activities. This breakdown of law and order not only endangered the lives of residents and also economic development, leading to further instability. As communities experienced the negative impacts of this lawlessness, there emerged a collective desire for a lawful society where security, justice and governance could be restored. This yearning for stability acted as a significant booster in the resolution of the conflict, as both

---

<sup>38</sup> A. Guewada « Le rôle de la commission Mixte des Nations Unies Cameroon – Nigeria Dans la mise en œuvre de L'arrêt de la cour internationale de justice du 10th octobre 2002 » Mémoire, of Professional masters, of international relations, IRIC, 2012. P.72.

<sup>39</sup> G.P. Ondo Pie. Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An evaluation of socioeconomic development, “*International journal of sustainable development research*” Vol 8, n°4, 2022, pp.128-132.

<sup>40</sup> For productivity to be enhanced it's necessary for a wide number of national interest to be considered.

Cameroon and Nigerian recognized and establishing a legal framework and promoting peace were essential for rebuilding<sup>41</sup> trust among their citizens and fostering a conducive environment for growth .<sup>42</sup> Consequently, the aspiration for a lawful society motivated both nations to engage in meaningful dialogue, ultimately culminating in agreements aimed at restoring order and facilitating sustainable development in the Bakassi peninsula.

### **III. THE INTEREST OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES**

The Bakassi conflict due its lengthy nature caught the attention of international organization .The internationalization of the bakassi conflict became necessary so, the conflict could be resolved speedily so a political stable atmosphere would be restored<sup>43</sup>.The internationalization of the bakassi case stands to where the case was taken to, in this section of the work we will be looking at the why the conflict was internationalized firstly by the organization African unity(OAU)which later became African Union (AU)in 2002,the United nations (UN) lastly the European partners through the non-governmental organizations (NGOs)and examining their roles they played in the resolution of the bakassi conflict

#### **A. The interest of the OAU /AU**

The OAU now succeeded by the AU was interested in the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria .This was proven by the availability of the AU to handle the case and make peace between the Countries in conflict .This created the atmosphere that laid the foundation for the resolution of the conflict because of the potential interest of the AU in the conflict .This fortified the peace talks between Cameroon and Nigeria which outshined the resolution of the conflict . Are seen to be the efforts OAU which laid the foundation for the AU to continue. .The AU took the responsibility as a regional power to ensure that peace rains in her region, the OAU before its transformation to AU, in 2002 .Bakassi conflict agenda was still kept as a priority to resolved the Bakassi conflict.

#### **B. Mediation by the OAU/AU**

The pulled of the AU willing to mediate for the conflict of bakassi created the desire for peace because it will facilitate the peace process .The presence of the AU provoked the resolution of the Bakassi conflict because it encourage Cameroon and Nigeria that they are not alone . The OAU /AU contributed significantly to the resolution of the bakassi conflict through various

---

<sup>41</sup> M. Njikam “The civil –Military actions of the National Gendarmerie of Cameroon (1990-2023)”, Memoire of master in History, University of Yaounde 1, 2024, p.16.

<sup>42</sup> The desire for political stability is the brain between resolutions of the bakassi conflict.

<sup>43</sup> This is to stop the killing of innocent people and as well as encouraged the peaceful atmosphere that permits massive influx.

mediation efforts that aimed to foster dialogue and de-escalate tensions between Cameroon and Nigeria .For instance, in 1996 the OAU facilitated a meeting in Abuja ,Nigeria where both nations agreed to engage in negotiations mediated by the organization ,laying the groundwork for future discussions .Next to this, the OAU appointed a special envoy to oversee the mediation process , which helped maintain communication and trust between the conflicting parties .The organization`s emphasis on peaceful resolution was further exemplified by its support for establishment of the mixed commission allowed in 2002 ,which was tasked with the implementation the ICJ`s ruling<sup>44</sup> favoring Cameroon .This commission allowed for ongoing dialogue and cooperation between both countries, demonstrating the OAU/AU`s commitment to promoting peace and stability in Africa through effective mediation strategies.

### **C. The interest of the UN**

The UN interest in the resolution off the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria change the climate towards peace and drew the attention of the world towards the Bakassi area. This made the idea of war between this two Countries to be taken off the script in favor for negotiations .In 1994, due to the interest of the UN accepted the complaint of Cameroon against Nigeria over the Bakassi peninsula<sup>45</sup> .This laid a foundation for a rapid negotiations, which marked a significant chapter in the international diplomacy and conflict management in Africa. This territorial dispute which stemmed from colonial –era ambiguities and escalated into tension between the two Countries, drew the attention for a solidified peaceful resolution. a critical case for upholding international law and promoting peace, recognizing the potential for wider regional instability for wider regional ,the UN took proactive steps to facilitate dialogue ,provide legal frameworks through the international court of justice the international court of justice and support peace keeping efforts post –ruling .By championing a peaceful resolution based on legal principles and fostering diplomatic engagement ,The UN interest speeded up Cameroon and Nigeria towards a sustainable resolution ,ultimately reinforcing its commitment to maintaining peace and security in Bakassi <sup>46</sup>.

### **D. UN resolutions**

The UN attracted by the interest to preserve world peace security facilitated the legal framework for resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict primarily through its support for the

---

<sup>44</sup> P. Boniface, *les relations internationales de 1945 à notre jour : De Yalta a la guerre en Ukraine* 7<sup>e</sup> édition, paris éditions Eyrolles, 2017, p.70.

<sup>45</sup> G.P. Ondo Pie. Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An evaluation of socioeconomic development, *“International journal of sustainable development research”* Vol 8, n°4, 2022, pp.128-132.

<sup>46</sup> A.N .Ngalim »African boundary conflicts and international mediation :the absence of inclusive mediation in bakassi peninsula conflict”, 2016 p.14

international court of justice (ICJ) .The ICJ and the UN `s endorsement of its this process underscored the importance of international law in resolving territorial conflicts.<sup>47</sup> The ICJ `s in 2002 ruling<sup>48</sup> . This awarded sovereignty over Bakassi to Cameroon, was a pivotal moment that provided a clear legal resolution to the long – standing dispute<sup>49</sup>. The UN involvement did not stop there, it actively encouraged the both nations to accept and implement the court`s decision peacefully Thus, emphasizing the adherence to international law as a collective objective by the world as a whole.

### **E. Interest of EU**

The interest of the EU , was the driver`s seat determinant in the resolution of the conflict .This was because the EU was willing to give financial assistance , she helped with the Non-governmental organization (NGOs) .This made the EU voice to be heard and it was the call for the resolution of the Bakassi conflict . European international partners particularly NGOs like international crisis group (ICG), Human rights watch (HRW), peace direct ,the center for humanitarian dialogue (HD Centre).The roles of the NGOs in the resolution of the bakassi peninsula conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria were multifaceted and impactful .This led to the resolution of the Bakassi Conflict .

### **F. Mediation by the EU**

The EU used the NGOs as a vital tool in resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict by facilitating mediation between Cameroon and Nigeria, creating platforms for dialogue that allowed both nations to address their grievances and seek common ground. Through organized meetings and discussions, these organizations helped to de-escalate tensions and promote<sup>50</sup> understanding .Simultaneously, they provided essential humanitarian assistance to communities affected by the conflict, addressing immediate needs such as food, shelter, and healthcare. This dual approach not only alleviated the suffering of displaced populations but also fostered an environment conducive to peace, enabling both governments to engage more constructively in negotiations and ultimately leading to a resolution of the territorial dispute.<sup>51</sup> .

### **G. EU advocacy and raising awareness**

---

<sup>47</sup> This is the illustration of peace settlement by the United Nations in being the guarantor of world peace through the diplomatic verdict of the ICJ.

<sup>48</sup> G.P. Ondo Pie. Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An evaluation of socioeconomic development, “*International journal of sustainable development research*” Vol 8, n°4, 2022, pp.128-132.

<sup>49</sup> L.A. Diwouta Ayissi « *l`impact des crises politiques sur la sécurité des frontières en Afrique* » mars, 2022, p.10.

<sup>50</sup> The was to set the ground ready for peace resolution thus, the African union could easily enter due to the NGOs.

<sup>51</sup> A.N .Ngalim »African boundary conflicts and international Mediation: the absence of inclusive mediation in bakassi peninsula conflict”, 2016 p.14.

The EU Advocacy and raising awareness compelled the international community to prioritize the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. This exposing the situation on both national and international platforms, by highlighting the humanitarian implications of the conflict and the need for a peaceful resolution, these organizations drew attention from the global community, urging international support for dialogue and adherence to international law<sup>52</sup>. Their efforts galvanized public opinion, putting pressure on both government to prioritize negotiations over military confrontation. Additionally, by documenting human rights abuses and promoting accountability<sup>53</sup>, NGOs helped ensure that the voices of affected communities were heard fostering a sense of urgency around finding a resolution. The mention of these NGOs was like a military mission in that they were out to restore peace so the development of the country can kickoff<sup>54</sup>. This heighten awareness ultimately contributed to creating an environment where diplomatic solutions would be pursued more effectively. The EU had hidden representatives of great Countries. It became easier for them to invite their respective home government to the scene of the conflict and seek modalities on how the Bakassi conflict should be resolved with an immediate effect, since the Bakassi conflict was also a stumbling block on their activities in the region. The EU had to promote the peaceful and conducive environment for the resolution of the conflict. The awareness made by these EU mounted pressure on the UN which led to the resolution of the conflict.

#### **H. Interest of nationals**

The implications of the conflict extended beyond territorial claims which affected the livelihood of the local population. The escalation of the dispute made put a stop to the activities of the Nationals so they became interested in the resolution of the conflict. The resolution would require not only diplomatic negotiations of both states, would also need the active involvement of nationals of both Countries. The citizens of Nigeria and Cameroon played pivotal roles in addressing the underlying issues of the conflict, seeking to foster dialogue, promote understanding and advocating for peaceful coexistence. Their contributions had ranged from grassroots peace initiative for participation in national and international advocacy efforts, highlighting the importance of local agency in the conflict resolution<sup>55</sup>. This examination will delve into the implication for the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict.

---

<sup>52</sup> M. C.Sama and al, reclaiming the Bakassi kingdom: The Anglophone Cameroon-Nigeria border, Afrika zamani, no 13&14, 2009, p.108.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* p.109.

<sup>54</sup> J.H. Stiehm, *Armed forces and society*, winter, 2001, pp. 273.

<sup>55</sup> A.E.Udeoji "the bakassi peninsula zone of Nigeria and Cameroon: the politics of history in contemporary African border disputes" international journal for social sciences for humanities Review, 4, no2 2013, p21.

#### IV. INTEREST OF THE HEADS- OF- STATE

The Nigerian president and Cameroon`s President, his excellency Olusegun Obasanjo and his excellency Paul Biya respectively, did an incredible job towards the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. The Presidents of both conflict Countries contributing towards the resolution of the bakassi conflict.

##### A. Diplomatic engagement

The heads- of -state <sup>56</sup>of Nigeria and Cameroon wiliness to engage diplomatic solutions created the atmosphere for peaceful resolutions. This was crucial in resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict, particularly through a series of significant meetings and agreements which were signed. The pivotal moment came with the signing of the Green tree agreement on June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006 , which facilitated the peaceful transfer of sovereignty of Bakassi from Nigeria to Cameroon .This agreement followed earlier diplomatic efforts including the 1994 meeting between Nigeria president Olusegun Obasanjo and President Paul Biya , where both leaders agreed to pursue peaceful negotiations .The international court of justice (ICJ) ruling in October 2002,which awarded the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon , also precipitated the atmosphere that paved the way towards the resolution of the Bakassi conflict <sup>57</sup> . The both Countries committed to respecting the court`s decision this ease the resolution of the conflict. These diplomatic initiative not only helped de-escalate tensions.

##### B. Adherence to international law

The adherence to international law by the heads -of -state of Nigeria and Cameroon significantly contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict , particularly through the involvement of the international ICJ .In October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002 the ICJ delivered a landmark ruling that awarded Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon based on historical treaties and colonial boundaries .Both countries led by their respective presidents recognized the importance of upholding this ruling ,which marked a commitment to international legal frameworks .Following this decision , the Green tree Agreement was signed on June 12 2006<sup>58</sup> . This showed that both parties were willing to resolving, further demonstrating their dedication to resolving disputes through peaceful and lawful means. By adhering to international law and

---

<sup>56</sup> Tasong Tendongue Chopodung “L` action des chefs d` etat Camerounais et Nigériens dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi, Mémoire of Masters Degree in international relations, 2010, p.61.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> A.G. Tandang “Diplomacy communicative during Crisis period: the case of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi Peninsular.”, memoire of Master`s degree, of international relations, IRIC, Yaounde, 2011, p. 52.

engaging in diplomatic negotiations , both nations not only reduced tensions but also established a precedent for future conflict resolution in the region , highlighting the critical role that legal framed works plays in maintaining peace and stability among nations .

### **C. Bilateral agreement**

The urgent desire by the leaders of both countries to resolve the Bakassi conflict leaders facilitated the signing of bilateral agreements that outlined steps for the peaceful transition of authority over the Bakassi peninsula , including provisions for the protection of the rights and interest of local inhabitants<sup>59</sup> .A significant step was the signing of the Green tree Agreement 2006, which outlined the modalities for the peaceful transfer of sovereignty over Bakassi from Nigeria to Cameroon emphasizing the commitment of both governments to uphold the ICJ October 2002 . Additionally prior to this in 1994, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President Paul Biya of Cameroon engaged in direct talks that laid the groundwork for future negotiations. affirming their willingness to resolve differences amicably<sup>60</sup> .These bilateral efforts not only facilitated a structured approach to addressing the conflict but also promoted regional stability by demonstrating that both nations could work collaboratively to resolve disputes through diplomatic channels rather that military confrontation. This bilateral agreements helps to promote peaceful coexistence in this region as analyzed below.

### **D. Promotion of peace**

The promotion of peaceful coexistence by the heads- of- state of Nigeria and Cameroon was instrumental in the creating the atmosphere of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict peninsula conflict, as it fostered an environment conducive to dialogue and collaboration. This encouraged the resolution of the conflict. Both Presidents publicly emphasized the importance of the resolution of the conflict to their respective countries in general and to the Bakassians in particular <sup>61</sup> . In June 2006 , through the Green tree Accord ,they were committed in ensuring that local populations would be treated fairly during the transition , reflecting their dedication to peaceful coexistence .Additionally initiatives such as joint border commissions and community engagement programs <sup>62</sup> were established to promote understanding and cooperation . By prioritizing peaceful relations and addressing the concerns of affected

---

<sup>59</sup> G.P.Ondoa Pie “post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An Evaluation of socio economic development”, *international journal of sustainable development Research*, Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p. 129.

<sup>60</sup> A.G. Tandang “Diplomacy communicative during Crisis period: the case of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi Peninsular.”, memoire of Master’s degree, of international relations, IRIC, Yaounde, 2011, p. 42.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* p. 130.

<sup>62</sup> This is to promote cooperation between Cameroon and Nigeria to function ignites unity nature.

communities, both leaders helped to mitigate tensions and lay the groundwork for a more harmonious future between their nations.

### **E. Regional cooperation**

The endorsement of the regional cooperation by the heads -of -state of Nigeria and Cameroon significantly contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict. This was because it gave peaceful resolutions which guaranteed the consequence of sanctions to the countries not willing to obey peaceful means towards conflict resolution. Cameroon belonged in Economic and monetary Community of Central African states (CEMAC) while Nigeria belonged in economic community of West African states (ECOWAS). This gave the African Union (AU) the ability to give sanctions to defaulters of regional stability. By this, it provoked the resolution of the Bakassi conflict fostering collaborative frameworks dialogue and understanding .One notable example was the involvement of the Economic community of central African states (ECCAS) and the African Union (AU), which both supported encouraged adherence to international law<sup>63</sup> . In 2005, under the auspices of the this regional bodies, Nigeria and Cameroon engaged in talks that led to the signing of the Green tree Agreement in 2006 outline the steps for transferring sovereignty over Bakassi to Cameroon .The agreement not only highlighted the commitment of both Countries to regional stability but also set a procedure for resolving future territorial disputes through cooperative mechanisms. By prioritizing regional cooperation, both leaders demonstrated a shared vision for security in West Africa, ultimately contributing to a successful resolution of the conflict.<sup>64</sup> This was a very smart move on the path of these leaders because these regional blocs will be able to crack down sanctions and ease its implementation for defaulters since their membership is lesser as compared to the 54 membership under the AU, where discipline takes more time because of lengthen disciplinary procedures, on both Cameroon and Nigeria in their respective regional blocs.

### **F. Public awareness**

The public awareness of the Bakassi conflict created the atmosphere where the resolution of the conflict could not be ignored. Therefore, made the Conflict a center of attention in the Gulf of Guinea. This forced both Countries to seek for lasting peace resolutions on the Bakassi conflict. The multiples occasions encouraged by the heads- of- state , through public statements

---

<sup>63</sup> A.G. Tandang “Diplomacy communicative during Crisis period: the case of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi Peninsular.”, memoire of Master’s degree, of international relations, IRIC, Yaounde, 2011, p. 42.

<sup>64</sup> Regional cooperation facilitate the negotiation of the resolution of the bakassi through the African union.

and speeches , both leaders reinforced their commitment to peace<sup>65</sup> .This encouraged their respective populations to support diplomatic efforts rather than resorting to violence or hostility<sup>66</sup> .Through multiple public speaking ,both leaders emphasized the importance of unity and cooperation between their citizens that the transition will be handled fairly and peacefully .This message is aimed to mitigate nationalist sentiments and reduce tensions among their respective populations .By promoting narrative of reconciliation and mutual respect , both leaders helped to cultivate a climate where dialogue was prioritized over conflict ,ultimately facilitating a smoother resolution to the territorial disputes.

### **G. The parliamentary oversight**

The willingness of both the Cameroon`s and Nigeria`s parliaments getting into negotiations was a proof that encouraged the resolution of the Bakassi conflict<sup>67</sup>. The oversight and gave accountability to both the Nigerian and Cameroonian States through voting favorable laws that helped the resolution of the bakassi conflict. These were essential in ensuring that the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict was implemented effectively and transparently , after the ICJ ruling in October 2002 .Both parliaments took on the critical role of monitoring their respective governments ` actions concerning the transition of sovereignty .<sup>68</sup> For instance in Nigeria ,members of national Assembly held sessions to scrutinize the government`s adherence to the Green tree Agreement signed on June 12 2006,demanding reports on the treatments of displaced communities and the implementation of compensatory measures . similarly , the Cameroon`s parliament actively engaged in discussions about integrating Bakassi into its administrative framework , ensuring that local populations were treated fairly and that their rights were protected .This parliamentary oversight fostered public trust and encouraged both governments to act responsibly in the executing the agreements .By promoting transparency and holding their administrations and accountable , both parliaments played crucial role in maintaining peace and stability in the region during a sensitive transitive transitional period , ultimately contributing to a successful resolution of the conflict. These parliaments oversight brought about peaceful resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

---

<sup>65</sup> R.K. Lefevre, "interests and identities in peace Negotiations: Nigeria, Cameroon and the Bakassi peninsula", *African social science review*, Vol6, n° 1, 2013, pp. 84-88.

<sup>66</sup> A.G. Tandang "Diplomacy communicative during Crisis period: the case of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi Peninsular.", memoire of Master`s degree, of international relations, IRIC, Yaounde, 2011, pp. 80-82.

<sup>67</sup> E.G. Mveng Nkou, "Le rôle de L`assemblée nationale dans la diplomatie Camerounaise, Mémoire of Masters in international relations IRIC, 2001, p48.

<sup>68</sup> .K. Lefebvre, "Interests and identities in peace Negotiations: Nigeria, Cameroon , and the Bakassi peninsula , *African social science review* , Vol 6, n°1 , 2014, p.83.

## H. Parliamentary mediation

The atmosphere that led to the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was willingness of both parliaments to facilitate dialogue which contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict by creating platforms for open communication and mutual understanding between the two Countries<sup>69</sup>. Both parliaments organized joint sessions and meetings to discuss the ruling and foster collaborative approaches to peace .For example in 2006 as part of the Green tree agreement process <sup>70</sup> parliamentary delegations from both countries met to address concerns related to the transfer of authority and the welfare of the local population in Bakassi .These dialogues emphasized shared interests , such as regional security and economic collaboration ,which helped to de-escalate tensions and build trust .By promoting ongoing discussions and encouraging interactions between their parliaments not only facilitated a smoother transition but also demonstrated a commitment to peaceful coexistence ,ultimately contributing to a successful resolution of the conflict. The commission of external affairs from both Cameroon and Nigerian Parliaments did their best to restore peace although in the beginning the Nigerian parliament was against peace resolution because they passed harsh laws as concern the zone of Bakassi but as time pass by they were willing to standup and engage peaceful resolution and they worked towards peaceful resolution with the Cameroon parliament .The willingness of both parliament to collaborate and support the verdict of the ICJ irrespective of the outcome was commendable .

## I. Civil societies

The civil society organization active nature acted as a fertile soil in the implantation of the resolution of the Bakasi conflict. Their significant role in the resolution of the conflict through various initiatives aimed at promoting peace, advocating for human rights, and facilitating dialogue. Some of the civil societies who played a major rule in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict as Human rights watch (HRW),Amnesty international ,Centre for peace advancement in Nigeria (CEPAN), West African network for Peace-building (WANEP), Nigerian human rights Commission (NHRC). These civil society organization motivated the crucial resolution of the conflict. By shaping public discourse, advocating for human rights, and facilitating peaceful resolution of the Conflict during the bakassi peninsula conflict, making their contribution essentials to achieving lasting peace in the regions

---

<sup>69</sup> R.K. Lefebvre, "Interests and identities in peace negotiations: Nigeria, Cameroon, and the Bakassi peninsula", *African social science Review*, Vol 6, n° 1, 2014, p. 90.

<sup>70</sup> The implantation of the New York decision between UN SG and both presidents of the conflicting nations.

## **J. Media Outreach**

Civil society organizations played a crucial role in creating awareness advocating for peace during the bakassi peninsula conflict , particularly through media engagement and grassroots initiatives .From 2002 onwards , following the ICJ ruling that awarded the organization like the West African Network for peace-building (WANEP) utilized media platforms to disseminate information about the importance of peaceful dialogue over military confrontation .They organized community radio programs and public forums that highlighted the need for cooperation between Cameroon fostering a culture of peace . In 2006<sup>71</sup> , civil societies collaborated with local journalists to produce reports and documentaries that showcase the human impact of the conflict, thereby raising awareness and prompting discussions about reconciliation. Additionally , groups such as Amnesty international leveraged international media to spotlight human rights violations in the region , putting pressure on both governments to adhere to peaceful negotiation processes .By effectively using media channels to amplify their messages and engage communities ,civil societies not only advocated for peace but also helped shaped public opinion and encourage governmental accountability , which were essential facilitating a resolution to the Bakassi peninsula conflict.

## **K. Human rights monitoring**

Civil society organizations motivated the resolution of the bakassi peninsula conflict through diligent human rights monitoring , particularly in the years following the ICJ ruling in 2002, organizations like Human rights Watch and Amnesty international documented human rights abuses occurring in this region , including forced displacements and violence against civilians and published reports that drew international attention for these issues .For instance , in 2004, Human rights Watch released a report detailing the dire humanitarian situation faced by affected populations which spurred both national and international advocacy for the protection of civilians .The Nigerian human rights commission (NHRC) also played a vital role by monitoring conditions on the ground and issuing recommendations to both governments involved .Their findings were instrumental in bringing awareness to human rights violations ,thereby pressuring Nigerian and Cameroonian authorities to consider human rights safeguards in their negotiations <sup>72</sup>.This concerted efforts by civil societies not only highlighted the urgent need for accountability but also inclusive peace progress process that took into account the

---

<sup>71</sup> The civil societies participated in the restoration of peace through the implementation.

<sup>72</sup> This was to ensure that they do not get killed in their process of gathering facts and necessitating the resolution of the bakassi conflict.

rights and needs of local communities ,ultimately contributing to a more stable resolution of the conflict .This human rights monitoring ,led to humanitarian assistance because in most cases the human right activist were the ones giving the humanitarian assistance which also contributed in the resolution of the Bakassi as ; Looking from the above analysis , it crystal that the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was provoked by voluntary and non-voluntary factors .The voluntary factors where those tied to international institutions and regional Cooperation's . It was the responsibility of these institutions such as the UN, AU to maintain both regional (AU) and world peace (UN), irrespective of the defaulter .The non-voluntary factors were as result of the immediate negative effects on the conflict on both Countries which left their economies backwards. Conclusively, these collaboration led provoked the resolution of the Bakassi conflict .This became the new model of conflict resolution across the globe.

### **Conclusion**

Looking from the above analysis , the atmosphere that provoked the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was demonstrated by the relessness of the Bakassians.The unpleasant happening like the kidnaping of citizens provoked the actions of the respective home Governments of the inhabitants to look for lasting solution .This act spearheaded and champion negotiations between Cameroon and Nigeria which led to the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. This was validated by the ICJ verdict of 2002,and subsequent GTA in 2006.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS AND THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THE PROCESS OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT

#### Introduction

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was a product of different actors and agreements that were signed by the National, and International actors with references made from the colonial period. The colonial agreements was a point of reference in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. The agreements signed between the colonial masters, Germany for Cameroon and Britain for Nigeria<sup>1</sup>. The States actors representing the various declarations and agreements reached between the various heads- of- state. The international actors like the UN and the European Union (EU)<sup>2</sup>. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was the by-product of the agreements reached and the roles played by actors to ensure that those agreements were applied and respected as a symbol of the resolution of the conflict. The agreements reached by these actors and like UN ,EU helped redressed the conflict by making references in the ICJ of proofs of ,established arbitrary borders during the colonial period that sowed the seeds of territorial disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon . They played crucial roles in diplomatic negotiations .Nigeria initially resisting the ICJ ruling but ultimately agreeing to a peaceful transfer of authority under pressure from international bodies. The UN facilitated dialogue and provided a platform for conflict resolution while the European union supports and encouraged cooperation between the two Countries together ,these actors contributed to a framework for dialogue and resolution of conflict culminating in the 2002 ICJ ruling that awarded Bakassi to Cameroon and subsequent Green tree Agreement in 2006,which formalized the peaceful transfer .

This chapter is focused on the principal actors and agreements reached in the resolution of the Bakassi conflicts, which led to the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. By the foundation laid by colonial treaties. The actors through the agreements reached a diplomatic resolution OAU

---

<sup>1</sup> D. Kisifeh Nga, Lange, “The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of Cameroon Nigeria border case study test over the Bakassi peninsular , Memoire of master’s degree international relations , IRIC, Yaounde , 2011. P. 34. disputes over the Bakassi peninsular , Memoire of master’s degree international relations , IRIC, Yaounde , 2011. P. 34.

<sup>2</sup> These actors were the brain behind the resolution of conflict because of the roles it played by providing sustainable assistance.

/AU, UN and their responsibilities in the ICJ of ruling and eventually the Green tree accords<sup>3</sup>. This chapter would be divided in three major sections, the first will be the roles of international actors in the resolution of the bakassi conflict, the second section will be the roles of national or local actors, the third section will be the agreements reached in the process of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

## **I. THE ROLES OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS**

The focus on this section is to illustrate the roles played by the OAU/AU, UN and EU during the process of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. This helped speed up the resolution of the conflict because they played a vital role as follows;

### **A. The contribution of the OAU/AU**

The game changing verdict of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict came from also the roles played by the Au as a regional power and thus, provoked and pressured the UN to speed up the resolution process to avoid further casualties .This happened in October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002 where the ICJ gave the final verdict which made Cameroon the new territorial owner of Bakassi<sup>4</sup> . This was as the result of the regional power AU efforts

### **B. Mediation of the conflict**

The OAU /AU contributed significantly to the resolution of the Bakassi conflict through various mediation efforts that aimed to foster dialogue and de-escalate tensions between Cameroon and Nigeria .For instance, in 1996 the OAU facilitated a meeting in Abuja ,Nigeria where both nations agreed to engage in negotiations mediated by the organization ,laying the groundwork for future discussions .Next to this, the OAU appointed a special envoy to oversee the mediation process , which helped maintain communication and trust between the conflicting parties .The organization`s emphasis on peaceful resolution was further exemplified by its support for establishment of the mixed commission allowed in 2002 ,which was tasked with the implementation the ICJ`s ruling<sup>5</sup> favoring Cameroon .This commission allowed for ongoing dialogue and cooperation between both countries, demonstrating the OAU/AU`s commitment to promoting peace and stability in Africa through effective mediation strategies.

### **C. Facilitation of dialogue**

---

<sup>3</sup> G. Yyoyila Akwen “Nigeria –Cameroon border relations”: A historical analysis of the Bakassi Peninsula region, Federal university Gashua Yobe state, 2019, pp23-28.

<sup>4</sup> G.P. Ondo Pie. Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An evaluation of socioeconomic development, “*International journal of sustainable development research*” Vol 8, n°4, 2022, pp.128-132.

<sup>5</sup> P. Boniface, « *les relations internationales de 1945 à nos jour : De Yalta a la guerre en Ukraine* » 7<sup>e</sup> édition, paris éditions Eyrolles, 2017, p.70.

The AU played a crucial role in the facilitating dialogue between Cameroon and Nigeria during the Bakassi conflict by organizing meetings and creating platforms for negotiation. One notable example is the Abuja agreement of 1996 where the OAU brought together representatives from both countries to discuss their grievances and seek a peaceful resolution <sup>6</sup>. This meeting marked a significant step towards dialogue as it allowed both nations to express their concerns directly in a neutral setting. The OAU's establishment of the mixed commission in 2002 served as a continuous forum for dialogue enabling ongoing discussions regarding the implementation <sup>7</sup> of the international court of justice's ruling on the territorial dispute. By fostering an environment where both nations could communicate openly and work collaboratively towards, the regional mediator before the intervention of the UN. This regional power held objective meetings with the goal of maintaining regional stability and bringing peace between these conflicted Countries. This significantly contributed in easing tensions and promoting reconciliation in the region.

#### **D. Maintenance of peace and regional stability**

The AU organization underscored the importance of maintaining peace and regional stability between Cameroon and Nigeria during the Bakassi peninsula conflict through various initiatives that emphasized dialogue and cooperation. For example, the OAU's military tensions. In 1998, the OAU issued a resolution urging both countries to refrain from any aggressive actions that could destabilize the region, thereby reinforcing the need for a peaceful approach. More to this, the AU's commitment to conflict prevention was illustrated through its support for diplomatic engagement, exemplified by the establishment of the mixed commission in 2002, which aimed to facilitate ongoing discussions and implementation of agreements <sup>8</sup>. By advocating for peace and stability, the OAU/AU played a vital role in creating an environment conducive to resolving the conflict, ultimately helping to prevent further violence and fostering a spirit of cooperation between Cameroon and Nigeria. The organization demonstrated their commitment in fostering peace and stability in Africa, particularly in the Bakassi peninsula conflict. Thus, through proactive measures aimed at conflict resolution and cooperation. For instance, OAU's establishment of a framework for conflict resolution in the 1990s emphasized the need for dialogue and non-violent solutions across the continent, which directly influenced how Nigeria and Cameroon approached their dispute. The OAU organized

---

<sup>6</sup> W. Duyile « Nigerian –Cameroon Bakassi Peninsula Crisis :A retrospect of Nigerian technocrats view prior to the court at the Hague , Department of History and international studies , faculty of Arts University AdoEkiti state 2015, pp48-55.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> W. Duyile « Nigerian –Cameroon Bakassi Peninsula Crisis :A retrospect of Nigerian technocrats view prior to the court at the Hague , Department of History and international studies , faculty of Arts University AdoEkiti state 2015, pp48-55.

high-level meetings and diplomatic engagements, such as the 1996 Abuja meeting, where both nations were encouraged to towards a peaceful resolution rather than resorting to military confrontation <sup>9</sup> . Furthermore ,following the international court of justice ruling in 2002 favoring Cameroon , the AU's support for the mixed commission ,facilitated dialogue on the implementing this ruling ,showcasing their ongoing commitment to stability .This consistent emphasis on peace not only helped de-escalate tensions between Cameroon and Nigeria but also reinforced the OAU/AU`s broader mission of promoting stability across Africa by encouraging member states to resolve conflicts through diplomatic means.

Let`s focus on the roles of the UN in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict .The contributions which provoked peaceful resolution of the conflict.

## **II. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UN**

### **A. Facilitation of the legal frameworks**

The UN facilitated the legal framework for resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict primarily through its support for the international court of justice (ICJ) Which played a crucial role in adjudicating the dispute between Cameroon and Nigeria .In 1994, Cameroon brought the case before the ICJ and the UN `s endorsement of this process underscored the importance of international law in resolving territorial conflicts.<sup>10</sup> The ICJ `s ruling of October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002 <sup>11</sup> , which awarded sovereignty over Bakassi to Cameroon. This was a pivotal moment that provided a clear legal resolution to the long – standing dispute. The UN involvement did not stop there ,it actively encouraged the both nations to accept and implement the court`s decision peacefully , emphasizing adherence to international law as a pathway to stability .Additionally ,the UN helped established mechanisms for monitoring the withdrawal of Nigeria forces from Bakassi facilitating smooth transition that minimized tensions .This legal framework not only resolved the specific conflict but also a precedent for how international legal institutions could be utilized to foster peace and cooperation among Countries s facing similar disputes.

### **B. Peacekeeping efforts to maintain stability in the region**

The UN supported peacekeeping efforts to maintain stability in the Bakassi peninsula region through the establishment of mechanisms that helped to monitor and implement the ICJ`s ruling ,which significantly fostered the resolution of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria

---

<sup>9</sup> L.A. Diwouta Ayissi « *l`impact des crises politiques sur la sécurité des frontières en Afrique* » mars, 2022, p.10.

<sup>10</sup> This is the illustration of peace settlement by the United Nations in being the guarantor of world peace through the diplomatic verdict of the ICJ.

<sup>11</sup> G.P. Ondo Pie. Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An evaluation of socioeconomic development, Vol 8, n°4 “*International journal of sustainable development research*”, 2022, pp.128-132.

.Following the 2002 ICJ decision , the UN facilitated the deployment of the multi-national forces to oversee the peaceful transfer of authority and ensure compliance with the court's ruling .For instance the UN's collaboration with regional organizations such as the economic community of central African states (ECCAS),led to the establishment of a mixed commission tasked with overseeing the demarcation of borders and addressing any arising tensions <sup>12</sup>. Additionally , the UN provided logistical support and resources to aid in the withdrawal of Nigerian troops from Bakassi ,which was crucial in preventing potential flare-ups of violence during this sensitive transition period .By promoting ongoing dialogue and fostering a peaceful environment through these peacekeeping initiatives ,the UN played an instrumental role in stabilizing the region and facilitating a cooperative relationship between Cameroon and Nigeria , ultimately contributing to a lasting resolution of the Bakassi conflict.<sup>13</sup>.

### **C. International mediation**

The UN served as an international mediator in the Bakassi peninsula conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria by facing facilitating dialogue and negotiations that were essential for reaching a peaceful resolution .One notable example of this mediation role was the establishment of the UN –backed mixed commission in 2002 , which included representatives from both countries aimed to address outstanding issues related to the ICJ ruling<sup>14</sup> .The UN actively encouraged both parties to engage in constructive discussions helping to create a framework for conflict resolution and resource sharing in the region . In addition , the UN 's diplomatic efforts ,such as appointing special envoys and organizing meeting between Cameroonian and Nigerian leaders ,furthermore, emphasized its commitment to fostering understanding and compromise .By providing a neutral platform for dialogue and promoting adherence to international law , the UN not only helped de-escalate tensions but also laid a ground work for a sustainable peace , ultimately guiding both nations towards a mutually acceptable resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict.

### **D. Encouragement of dialogue**

The UN played a crucial role in the encouraging dialogue between Cameroon and Nigeria, which was essential for fostering stability in the region and resolving the bakassi peninsula conflict. One significant example of this was organization of super scale high level meetings

---

<sup>12</sup> M. C.Sama and al, reclaiming the Bakassi kingdom: The Anglophone Cameroon-Nigeria border, Afrika zamani, no's 13&14, 2009, p.108.

<sup>13</sup> L.A. Diwouta Ayissi « *l'impact des crises politiques sur la sécurité des frontières en Afrique* » mars, 2022, p.10.

<sup>14</sup> M. C.Sama and al, reclaiming the Bakassi kingdom: The Anglophone Cameroon-Nigeria border, Afrika zamani, no's 13&14, 2009, pp.42-46.

facilitated by the UN, where leaders were brought together to discuss their grievances. The UN also supported the Cameroon -Nigeria mixed commission which served as a platform for ongoing negotiations and dialogue on various issues including border demarcation and resource management in bakassi. Furthermore, the UN diplomatic outreach included engaging regional stakeholders and encouraging collaboration through initiatives like the importance of regional peace and security. By promoting continuous communication and cooperation between Cameroon and Nigeria<sup>15</sup>, the UN helped to build trust and reduce hostility, ultimately paving the way for peaceful resolution of the conflict and contributing to long-term stability in the region<sup>16</sup>

### **III. THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARTNERS**

European international partners particularly NGOs like international crisis group (ICG), Human rights watch (HRW), peace direct, the center for humanitarian dialogue (HD Centre). The roles of the NGOs in the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria were multifaceted and impactful. They will be elaborated subsequently.

#### **A. Facilitation of mediation and Humanitarian assistances**

NGOs played a crucial role in resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict by facilitating mediation between Cameroon and Nigeria, creating platforms for dialogue that allowed both Countries to address their grievances and seek common ground. Through organized meetings and discussions, these organizations helped to de-escalate tensions and promote<sup>17</sup> understanding. Simultaneously, they provided essential humanitarian assistance to communities affected by the conflict, addressing immediate needs such as food, shelter, and healthcare. This dual approach not only alleviated the suffering of displaced populations but also fostered an environment conducive to peace, enabling both governments to engage more constructively in negotiations and ultimately leading to a resolution of the territorial dispute<sup>18</sup>. For example the creation of the CNMC was the collective efforts of the NGOs with UN, AU. This facilitated the implementation of the resolution of the ICJ in Bakassi.

#### **B. Provision of capacity building and research assistance**

---

<sup>15</sup> A.E.Udeoji "the bakassi peninsula zone of Nigeria and Cameroon: the politics of history in contemporary African border disputes" international journal for social sciences for humanities Review, 4, no2 2013, p28.

<sup>16</sup> Nigerian university of Enugu « the Nigerian judicial review, 2010, p148.

<sup>17</sup> They were to set the ground ready for peace resolution thus, the African union could easily enter due to the NGOs.

<sup>18</sup> A.N .Ngalim »African boundary conflicts and international Mediation: the absence of inclusive mediation in bakassi peninsula conflict", 2016 p.14.

The NGOs significantly contributed in the two resolution the Bakassi peninsula conflict by providing capacity –building initiatives and conducting research assistance for the local inhabitant's .They organized training programmers that equipped community leaders and members with conflict resolution skills. Thus, promoting dialogue and understanding among diverse groups like the Bakassi freedom fighters (BFF) affected by the conflict .The empowerment allowed locals to engage more effectively in peace building efforts fostering a sense of ownership over the resolution process. Additionally, NGOs conducted thorough research on the conflict `s dynamics offering valuable insights and recommendations to both governments and international stakeholders. This research informed policy decisions and strategies for peace, ensuring that local perspectives were taken into account. This ultimately facilitated a more sustainable resolution to the Bakassi peninsula conflict. The NGOs were the engines of information spread from Bakassi and the rest of the world which catalyzed the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. For example the confidential information given to the UN , EU, about the urgency for financial assistance were given by the NGOs which helped show the credibility of both the conflict and the need for financial aids in Bakassi<sup>19</sup>.

### **C. Advocacy and raising awareness**

The NGOs played a vital role in the resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict through advocacy and raising awareness about the situation on both national and international platforms .This was done by highlighting the humanitarian implications of the conflict and the need for a peaceful resolution .These organizations drew attention from the global community urging international support for dialogue and adherence to international law<sup>20</sup> .Their efforts galvanized public opinion ,putting pressure on both governments to prioritize negotiations over military confrontation .Additionally by documenting human right rights abuses and promoting accountability<sup>21</sup> , NGOs helped ensure that the voices of affected communities were heard fostering a sense of urgency around finding a resolution . The mention of these NGOs was like a military mission in that they were out to restore peace so the development of the country can kickoff<sup>22</sup> . This heighten awareness ultimately contributed to creating an environment where diplomatic solutions could be pursue more effectively. The NGOs had hidden representatives of great Countries, it became easier for them to invite their respective home governments to the

---

<sup>19</sup> A. Guewada “Le rôle de la commission Mixe des Nations Unies Cameroon-Nigeria dans la mise en œuvre de L`arrêt de la cour internationale de justice du 10th octobre 2002 », Mémoire of Professional Masters, IRIC, 2012.P.68.

<sup>20</sup> M. C.Sama and al, reclaiming the Bakassi kingdom: The Anglophone Cameroon-Nigeria border, Afrika zamani, no 13&14, 2009, p.108.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p.109.

<sup>22</sup> J.H. Stiehm, *Armed forces and society*, winter, 2001, pp. 273.

scene of the conflict and seek modalities how the Bakassi conflict. Thus, should be resolved with immediate effect since the Bakassi conflict was also a stumbling block on their activities in the region too. The NGOs had to protect their interest which was to work in a peaceful and conducive environment. The awareness made by these NGOs kept pressure on the UN because the EU which captured the mines of the risk of lack of solidarity<sup>23</sup> in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

#### **D. Human rights monitoring**

NGOs played a crucial role in human rights monitoring during the Bakassi peninsula conflict, helping to resolve the situation by documenting and reporting on abuses committed against civilians by both parties. Their independent oversight provided transparency and also pressure government to adhere to international human rights standards. By highlighting violations and advocating for the protection of affected population. The NGOs ensured that human rights considerations remained central to the peace process<sup>24</sup>. This monitoring fostered trust among local communities and stakeholders encouraging dialogue and cooperation while emphasizing the need for the resolution that prioritize the resolution of the conflict. These efforts ultimately contributed in creating a more conducive atmosphere for negotiation and peaceful resolution.

Looking at the above analysis, it's clear that the international actors played embryonic roles but it will be a historical blunder to say that it's only there that contributed to the resolution of the conflict because the heads of state also contributed in the resolution of the conflict.

### **IV. THE ROLE OF NATIONALS OF CAMEROON -NIGERIA IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT**

#### **A. The role of the heads of state in the resolution of the conflict**

The Nigerian president and Cameroon`s president, his excellency Olusegun Obasanjo and his excellency Paul Biya, they did a marvous job for the growth and for the peaceful settlement of the Bakassi conflict. The presidents of the both conflict made the following contributing towards the resolution of the bakassi conflict as will be elaborated subsequently.

#### **B. Diplomatic engagement for the resolution of the conflict**

The diplomatic engagements between the heads of state of Nigeria and Cameroon were crucial in resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict, particularly through a series of significant

---

<sup>23</sup> B. Holzler et F. Lenoire, « *Les risques de la solidarité* », *Entretiens sure le CCFF*, Artheme, Libraire Artheme Fayard, 1989, p.86

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p.90.

meetings and agreements .The pivotal moment came with the signing of the Green tree agreement on June 12 2006 , which facilitated the peaceful transfer of sovereignty over Bakassi from Nigeria to Cameroon <sup>25</sup>.This agreement followed earlier diplomatic efforts including the 1994 meeting between Nigeria president Olusegun Obasanjo and President Paul Biya , where both leaders agreed to pursue peaceful negotiations .The international court of justice (ICJ) ruling in October 2002,which awarded the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon , also played a vital role ,<sup>26</sup> as both nations committed to respecting the court`s decision .These diplomatic initiative not only helped de-escalate tensions but also laid the ground work for a more structured approached to resolved border disputes in the region ,demonstrating how sustained dialogue and cooperation among leadership can lead to peaceful outcomes in complex territorial conflicts.

### **C. Adherence to international law**

The adherence to international law by the heads of state of Nigeria and Cameroon significantly contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict , particularly through the involvement of the international ICJ .In October 2002 the ICJ delivered a landmark ruling that awarded Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon based on historical treaties and colonial boundaries .Both countries ,led by their respective presidents , recognized the importance of upholding this ruling ,which marked a commitment to international legal frameworks .Following this decision , the Green tree Agreement was signed on June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006<sup>27</sup> , this showed that both parties were willing to resolving , further demonstrating their dedication to resolving disputes through peaceful and lawful means . By adhering to international law and engaging in diplomatic negotiations , both nations not only reduced tensions but also established a precedent for future conflict resolution in the region , highlighting the critical role that legal framed works plays in maintaining peace and stability among nations .

### **D. Initiation of the conflict into the UN**

The initiation of the conflict by the Cameroon head of state in to UN for resolution. Of the Bakassi conflict. Cameroon in 1994 made a complaint at the UN which marked a significant chapter in the international diplomacy and conflict management in Africa. This territorial dispute , which stemmed from colonial –era ambiguities and escalated into tension between the

---

<sup>25</sup> Tasong Tendongue Chopodung “L`action des chefs d`etat Camerounais et Nigériens dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi, Mémoire of Masters Degree in international relations, IRIC, 2010, p.61.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Tasong Tendongue Chopodung “L`action des chefs d`etat Camerounais et Nigériens dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi, Mémoire of Masters Degree in international relations, 2010, p.41.

two nations ,drew the attention of the UN as a critical case for upholding international law and promoting peace, recognizing the potential for wider regional instability for wider regional ,the UN took proactive steps to facilitate dialogue ,provide legal frameworks through the international court of justice the international court of justice and support peace keeping efforts post –ruling .By championing a peaceful resolution based on legal principles and fostering diplomatic engagement ,The UN played a pivotal role in guiding Cameroon and Nigeria towards a sustainable resolution ,ultimately reinforcing its commitment to maintaining peace and security in Bakassi <sup>28</sup>.The role played by the UN in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, provoked by the collaboration of both heads- of –state of Cameroon and Nigeria respectively was a reflection of the competence of international institutions .

### **E. Bilateral agreement**

The Heads-of state of both Cameroon and Nigeria facilitated the signing of bilateral agreements that outlined steps for the peaceful transition of authority over the Bakassi peninsula, including provisions for the protection of the rights and interest of local inhabitants<sup>29</sup>. A significant step was the signing of the Green tree Agreement June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006, which outlined the modalities for the peaceful transfer of sovereignty over Bakassi from Nigeria to Cameroon emphasizing the commitment of both governments to uphold the ICJ October 2002 .Additionally prior to this, in 1994, president Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and president Paul Biya of Cameroon engaged in direct talks that laid the groundwork for future negotiations. affirming their willingness to resolve differences amicably .These bilateral efforts not only facilitated a structured approach to addressing the conflict but also promoted regional stability by demonstrating that both Countries could work collaboratively to resolve disputes through diplomatic channels rather than military confrontation.

### **F. Promotion of peaceful co-existence**

The promotion of peaceful coexistence by the heads- of- state of Nigeria and Cameroon was instrumental peninsula conflict, as it fostered a conducive environment for dialogue and collaboration .Both presidents publicly emphasized the importance of the resolution of this conflict to the region<sup>30</sup> .In June 2006, through the Green tree, they were committed to ensuring that local populations would be treated fairly during the transition, reflecting their dedication to

---

<sup>28</sup> V. Hiribarren, « Les frontières du Biafra de la Colonisation a 1970, Mémoire of masters degree, in international relations, Université of Paris, 2007, p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> G.P.Ondoa Pie “post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An Evaluation of socio economic development”, *international journal of sustainable development Research*, Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p. 129.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

peaceful coexistence<sup>31</sup>. Additionally, initiatives such as joint border commissions and community engagement programs<sup>32</sup> were established to promote understanding and cooperation. By prioritizing peaceful relations and addressing the concerns of affected communities, both leaders helped to mitigate tensions and lay the groundwork for a more harmonious future between their Countries.

### **G. The heads of state endorsement of regional cooperation**

The endorsement of the regional cooperation by the heads of state of Nigeria and Cameroon significantly contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict by fostering collaborative frameworks dialogue and understanding. One notable example was the involvement of the Economic community of central African states (ECCAS) and the African Union (AU), which both supported and encouraged the adherence to international law<sup>33</sup>. In 2005 under the auspices of these regional bodies, Nigeria and Cameroon engaged in talks that led to the signing of the Green tree Agreement in 2006 outline the steps for transferring sovereignty over Bakassi to Cameroon. The agreement not only highlighted the commitment of both Countries to regional stability but also set a procedure for resolving future territorial disputes through cooperative mechanisms. By prioritizing regional cooperation, both leaders demonstrated a shared vision for security in west Africa, ultimately contributing to a successful resolution of the conflict.<sup>34</sup> This was a very smart move on the path of these leaders. This was because these regional blocs would be able to crack down sanctions and ease its implementation for defaulters since their membership is lesser as compared to the 54 membership under the AU, where discipline takes more time because of lengthen disciplinary procedures, on both Cameroon and Nigeria in their respective regional blocs.

### **H. The multiplication of public awareness**

There multiple occasions encouraged by the heads of state, through public statements and speeches, both leaders reinforced their commitment to peace<sup>35</sup>, encouraging their respective population to support diplomatic efforts rather than resorting to violence or hostility. Through multiple public speaking, both leaders emphasized the importance of unity and cooperation between their citizens that the transition will be handled fairly and peacefully. This message is

---

<sup>31</sup> V. Hiribarren, « Les frontières du Biafra de la Colonisation a 1970, Mémoire of masters degree, in international relations, Université of Paris, 2007, p. 27.

<sup>32</sup> This is to promote cooperation between Cameroon and Nigeria to function ignites unity nature.

<sup>33</sup> Tasong Tendongue Chopodung “L` action des chefs d`etat Camerounais et Nigériens dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi, Mémoire of Masters Degree in international relations, 2010, pp61-66.

<sup>34</sup> Regional cooperation facilitate the negotiation of the resolution of the bakassi through the African union.

<sup>35</sup> R.K. Lefevre, “interests and identities in peace Negotiations: Nigeria, Cameroon and the Bakassi peninsula”, *African social science review*, Vol6, n° 1, 2013, pp. 84-88.

aimed to mitigate nationalist sentiments and reduce tensions among their respective population. By promoting narrative of reconciliation and mutual respect, both leaders helped to cultivate a climate where dialogue was prioritized over conflict, ultimately facilitating a smoother resolution to the territorial disputes. After the analyses of the heads of states, above, it would be important for us to illustrate how the various parliaments between Nigeria and Cameroon played in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

## **V. THE ROLE OF THE CAMEROON AND NIGERIA PARLIAMENTS**

In these paragraph we will be talking on the contribution of the parliaments <sup>36</sup>that both Nigerians and Cameroonians parliaments in a peaceful resolution of the bakassi conflict<sup>37</sup>.They as follows.

### **A. The respect of agreements**

The ratification of agreements by both the Cameroon and Nigeria parliaments was pivotal in resolving the Bakassi conflict ,as it provided legal legitimacy and national support for the decisions made by their respective governments .Following the ICJ rulings in October 2002 ,which awarded Bakassi to Cameroon , Nigeria `s national assembly debated the implications of this decision ,ultimately respecting the Green tree Agreement on June 12 2006 . Thus, they respected the UN verdict for peace .This agreement outlined the terms for a peaceful transfer of sovereignty and emphasized cooperation between the nations .Similarly, the Cameroonian parliament also respected this agreement, demonstrating a unified commitment to uphold the ruling of the court and promote stability in the region<sup>38</sup>. By securing parliamentary approval ,both governments reinforced their intentions to adhere to international law and fostered a sense of accountability , ensuring that the resolution process was supported by democratic principles and reflected the will of their citizens .This legislative consensus helped to mitigate nationalistic tensions and facilitated a smoother transition in Bakassi ,ultimately contributing to lasting peace between Nigeria and Cameroon .Thus the efforts of the parliaments had a positive impact on the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

---

<sup>36</sup> E.G. Mveng Nkou, "Le rôle de L`assemblée nationale dans la diplomatie Camerounaise, Mémoire of Masters in international relations IRIC, 2001, p48.

<sup>37</sup> The resolution of the bakassi conflict was also a product of the various Nigerian and Cameroonian parliament through their tangible roles they played.

<sup>38</sup> W. Duyile « Nigerian –Cameroon Bakassi Peninsula Crisis :A retrospect of Nigerian technocrats view prior to the court at the Hague , Department of History and international studies , faculty of Arts University AdoEkiti state 2015, pp48-55.

## **B. Parliamentary oversight and accountability**

The oversight and accountability by both the Nigerian and Cameroonian parliament were essential in ensuring that the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was implemented effectively and transparently. After the ICJ ruling in October 2002, both parliaments took on the critical role of monitoring their respective governments' actions concerning the transition of sovereignty.<sup>39</sup> For instance in Nigeria, members of national Assembly held sessions to scrutinize the government's adherence to the Green tree Agreement signed on June 12 2006, demanding reports on the treatment of displaced communities and the implementation of compensatory measures. Similarly, the Cameroon's parliament actively engaged in discussions about integrating Bakassi into its administrative framework, ensuring that the local population were treated fairly and that their rights were protected. These parliamentary oversight fostered public trust and encouraged both governments to act responsibly in the executing the agreements. By promoting transparency and holding their administration accountable, both parliaments played crucial role in maintaining peace and stability in the region during a sensitive transitional period, ultimately contributing to a successful resolution of the conflict. This parliament oversight brought about peaceful resolution which promotes the facilitated resolution of the conflict.

## **C. Facilitation of dialogue by the parliaments**

The facilitation of dialogue by both the conflicted parliaments significantly contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict by creating platforms for open communication and mutual understanding between the two Countries<sup>40</sup>. Both parliaments organized joint sessions and meetings to discuss the ruling and foster collaborative approaches to peace. For example in 2006 as part of the Green tree agreement process<sup>41</sup> parliamentary delegations from both countries met to address concerns related to the transfer of authority and the welfare of the local population in Bakassi. These dialogues emphasized shared interests, such as regional security and economic collaboration, which helped to de-escalate tensions and build trust. By promoting ongoing discussions and encouraging interactions between their parliaments not only facilitated a smoother transition but also demonstrated a commitment to peaceful coexistence, ultimately contributing to a successful resolution of the conflict. The commission of external affairs from both Cameroon and Nigeria Parliaments did their best to restore peace although in the beginning the Nigerian parliament was against peace resolution because despite the killings the Nigerian

---

<sup>39</sup> The parliament's decisions to monitor the implementation of the ICJ decision was a momentum booster.

<sup>40</sup> R.K. Lefebvre, "Interests and identities in peace negotiations: Nigeria, Cameroon, and the Bakassi peninsula", *African social science Review*, Vol 6, n° 1, 2014, p. 90.

<sup>41</sup> The implantation of the New York decision between UN SG and both presidents of the conflicting nations.

parliament never requested for a cease-fire as concern the zone of Bakassi. As time passed, they were willing to standup and engage peaceful resolution and they worked towards peaceful resolution with the Cameroon parliament .The willingness of both parliaments to collaborate and support the verdict of the ICJ irrespective of the outcome was commendable.

#### **D. The parliaments channeled collaboration with regional bodies**

The collaboration with regional bodies by both the Nigerian and Cameroonian parliaments played a crucial role in the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict by enhancing diplomatic efforts and ensuring adherence to international norms .Following the ICJ ruling in 2002, both parliaments worked closely with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).and the African Union (AU) to facilitate dialogue and promote peace .For instance , ECOWAS<sup>42</sup> provided mediation support and helped organize meetings between lawmakers from both countries to address lingering disputes and foster cooperation .Additionally , the AU `s involvement underscored a regional commitment to uphold the court`s ruling and maintain stability in the Gulf of Guinea .This collaboration not only led the credibility of the resolution process but also ensured that both parliaments remained focused on collective security and regional integration , thereby reinforcing a peaceful coexistence and contributing significantly to resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict<sup>43</sup>.

#### **E. Public awareness and advocacy by the both parliaments**

Public awareness and advocacy by both Nigerian and Cameroonian parliaments were instrumental in resolving the Bakassi peninsula conflict by ensuring that citizens were informed about the legal proceeding and the importance of peaceful coexistence<sup>44</sup> .After the ICJ ruling in October 2002 ,both parliaments launched campaigns to educate their populations about the implications of the ruling and the necessity for compliance with international law .For instance , in 2006 , following the ratification of the of the Green tree Agreement, parliamentary members organized town-hall meetings and public forums to discuss the transition process , address community concerns , and promote dialogue among the displaced population .These initiation not raised awareness about the need for cooperation but also encouraged public –participation in peaceful –building efforts .By actively engaging citizens and tolerance between communities

---

<sup>42</sup> ECOWAS played a pivotal role in the resolution of the bakassi conflict through its excellence mediation and support.

<sup>43</sup> Regional bodies were the bedrock of parliamentary containment in the resolution of the bakassi conflict.

<sup>44</sup> E.G. Mveng Nkou, “Le rôle de l`assemblée Nationale dans la diplomatie camerounaise, Mémoire of Masters in international relations, 2001, p.50.

,both parliaments helped to mitigate nationalistic movements and promote a cooperative spirit , which was vital in achieving a lasting resolution to the Bakassi conflict <sup>45</sup> .

### **F. The parliaments encouraged the promotion of human rights**

The promotion of human rights by both the Nigeria and Cameroonian parliaments significantly contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict by ensuring that the rights and welfare of affected communities were prioritized during the transition process .Following the ICJ ruling in October 2002 both parliaments made concerted efforts to advocate for the protection of human rights ,particularly for those displayed by the conflict .For example , in 2006 ,as part of the Green tree agreement`s implementation ,both parliaments established committees to monitor the situation of Bakassi residents and ensure their rights were respected during the transfer of sovereignty .This included addressing issues such as land rights ,access to basic services , and community participation in decision –making processes .By emphasizing human rights and incorporating them into legislative frameworks and dialogue initiatives , both parliaments fostered a sense of justice and fairness that helped to calm tensions and promote reconciliation between Nigeria and Cameroonian population ultimately aiding<sup>46</sup> in the peaceful resolution of the conflict<sup>47</sup>.

## **VI. THE ROLE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETIES**

The civil society organizations played a significant role in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict through various initiatives aimed at promoting peace, advocating for human rights, and facilitating dialogue .Here are some of the civil societies that played major roles in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. Human rights watch (HRW), Amnesty international, Centre for peace advancement in Nigeria (CEPAN), West African network for Peace-building (WANEP), and Nigerian human rights commission (NHRC). These civil society organization played crucial roles in shaping public discourse , advocating for human rights , and facilitating peaceful resolution of the during the Bakassi peninsula conflict , making their contribution essentials to achieving lasting peace in the regions as elaborated subsequently;

---

<sup>45</sup> This awareness and advocacy created the atmosphere for human rights thus encouraged the birth of a peaceful resolution.

<sup>46</sup> R.K. Lefebvre, “Interests and identities in peace Negotiations: Nigeria, Cameroon , and the Bakassi peninsula , African social science review , Vol 6, n°1 , 2014, p.83.

<sup>47</sup> The green tree agreement is the birth of the resolution of the bakassi conflicts and its respect for human rights enabled the facilitation of the conflict.

### **A. Media outreach**

Civil society organizations played a crucial role in the advocating for peace during the Bakassi conflict, particularly through media engagement and grassroots initiatives. From 2002 onwards, following the ICJ ruling that awarded the organization like the West African Network for peace-building (WANEP) utilized media platforms to disseminate information about the importance of peaceful dialogue as opposed to military confrontation<sup>48</sup>. They organized community radio programs and public forums that highlighted the need for cooperation between Cameroon fostering a culture of peace. In 2006, civil societies collaborated with local journalists to produce reports and documentaries that showcased the human impact of the conflict, thereby raising awareness and prompting discussions about reconciliation<sup>49</sup>. Additionally, groups such as Amnesty international leveraged international media to spotlight human rights violations in the region<sup>50</sup>, putting pressure on both governments to adhere to peaceful negotiation processes. By effectively using media channels to amplify their messages and engage communities, civil societies not only advocated for peace but also helped shaped public opinion and encourage governmental accountability, which were essential facilitating a resolution to the Bakassi conflict.

### **B. Human rights monitoring**

Civil society organizations significantly contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict through diligent human rights monitoring, particularly in the years following the ICJ ruling in 2002. Organizations like Human rights Watch and Amnesty international documented human rights abuses occurring in this region, including forced displacements and violence against civilians and published reports that drew international attention for these issues. For example in 2004, Human rights Watch released a report detailing the dire humanitarian situation faced by affected populations which spurred both national and international advocacy for the protection of civilians. The Nigerian human rights commission (NHRC) also played a vital role by monitoring conditions on the ground and issuing recommendations to both governments involved. Their findings were instrumental in bringing awareness to human rights violations, thereby pressuring Nigerian and Cameroonian authorities to consider human rights

---

<sup>48</sup> G. Tyoyila Akwen « Nigeria –Cameroon border relations; Ahistorical analysis of the Bakassi peninsula region, Federal university Gashua, yoke state, 2019 p 34.

<sup>49</sup> A.G. Tandang “Diplomacy communicative during Crisis period: the case of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi Peninsular.”, memoire of Master’s degree, of international relations, IRIC, Yaounde, 2011, p. 42.

<sup>50</sup> The civil societies participated in the restoration of peace through the implementation.

safeguards in their negotiations<sup>51</sup>. This concerted efforts by civil societies not only highlighted the urgent need for accountability but also inclusive peace progress process that took into account the rights and needs of the local communities, ultimately contributing to a more stable resolution of the conflict. This human rights monitoring, led to humanitarian assistance because in most cases the human right activist were the ones giving the humanitarian assistance which also contributed in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

### **C. Humanitarian assistance**

The civil societies played a vital role in alleviating the humanitarian crisis caused by the Bakassi conflict, which facilitated a more conducive environment for peace negotiations after the ruling of the ICJ in 2002. Thousands of people were displaced from their homes, leading to urgent humanitarian needs, Organizations like Doctors without border (Medicines sans frontières) and the international committee of the Red cross (ICRC) mobilized resources to provide medical care, food, and shelter to the affected population in both Nigeria and Cameroon<sup>52</sup>. For example, in 2006, the ICRC implemented a program that delivered emergency assistance to over 20,000 displaced families, which helped stabilize the situation and reduce tensions between communities. Additionally, local NGOs such as the Bakassi local Development Association worked on grassroots initiatives to promote dialogue among displaced individuals and host communities fostering understanding and cooperation. By addressing immediate humanitarian community resilience, civil societies not only helped mitigate the conflict's impact but also laid essential groundwork for reconciliation efforts that contributed to a peaceful resolution of the Bakassi peninsula dispute.<sup>53</sup> Thus the humanitarian assistance cannot be denied, because it's one of the pillars for the resolution of the bakassi conflict.

---

<sup>51</sup> This was to ensure that they do not get killed in their process of gathering facts and necessitating the resolution of the bakassi conflict.

<sup>52</sup> Duverger (M), « *institutions politiques et droit constitutionnel 1- Les grands systèmes politiques*, Paris, PUF, 1980, p.391, pour qui la transcende divine est le fondement sur lequel ont reposé les monarchies occidentales. La monarchie est selon lui, un régime politique dans lequel L`autorité politique suprême appartient à un individu (roi, reine, empereur, impératrice) qui accède au pouvoir par la naissance. Ce régime a été le plus répandu dans le monde avant la révolution démocratique des XVIIIe, XIXe, XXe siècles. Sauf les Republican Urbaines de L`Antiquité, du moyen Age et de la renaissance (et une bonne partie des communauté dites primitives : c`est – adire des communautés sans écriture) plupart des pays ont été soumis à des monarchies depuis les origines de L`humanité ».

<sup>52</sup> The EU contributed to a greater extent a larger amount towards the putting of the demarcation of the borders between Cameroon and Nigeria.

<sup>53</sup> A.G. Tandang “Diplomacy communicative during Crisis period: the case of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi Peninsular.”, memoire of Master’s degree, of international relations, IRIC, Yaounde, 2011, p. 42.

### **D. Community engagement**

Civil societies significantly contributed to the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict through effective community engagement initiatives aimed at fostering dialogue and understanding between affected populations. In 2006, organizations such as the West African network for peaceful building (WANEP) facilitated community forums that brought together Nigerians and Cameroonians stakeholders, allowing them to discuss their grievances and aspirations in a safe environment<sup>54</sup>. These gatherings helped to build trust and promote reconciliation by emphasizing shared cultural ties and common interests.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, local NGOs like the Bakassi peace initiative organized peace education programs that reached schools and community centers educating residents about conflict resolution and the importance of peaceful coexistence. By actively involving community members in discussions and promoting grassroots solutions, civil societies created a sense of ownership over the peaceful process, which was crucial in transforming hostilities into collaborative efforts towards a sustainable resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict. Talking about community engagement due to its collaborative supports, it's also enhanced the collaboration with regional and international bodies.

### **E. Collaboration with regional and international bodies**

Civil societies played a pivotal role in the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict through strategic collaboration with regional and international entities. Following the ICJ ruling in 2002, organizations like the African Union (AU) and ECOWAS engaged civil society groups to foster dialogue between Nigeria and Cameroon. In 2006, civil societies including the Institute for peace and conflict resolution (IPCR) in Nigeria participated in AU – led initiatives that aimed to mediate discussions between the two nations, emphasizing the importance of peaceful coexistence. Additionally, international organization such as the United Nations development program (UNDP) collaborated with local NGOs to implement peace building projects that focused on community resilience and economic development in the affected areas. These partnerships not only provided resources and expertise but also amplified the voices of civil societies on international platforms, ensuring that local perspectives were considered in broader diplomatic efforts. By bridging local needs with international support, civil societies effectively

---

<sup>54</sup> G.P.Ondoa Pie “post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An Evaluation of socio economic development”, *international journal of sustainable development Research*, Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p. 129.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>55</sup> Civil societies enhanced the participation of communities in the resolution of the bakassi conflict.

contributed to a collaborative approach that was essential for achieving a lasting resolution to the Bakassi conflict.<sup>56</sup>

### **F. Promotion of inclusive policies**

The civil societies significantly influenced the resolution of the bakassi peninsula conflict by advocating for inclusive policies that addressed the immediate engagement for peace settlement between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi. In 2005 , organization such as the Nigerian human rights commission (NHRC) and Cameroon`s national commission on human rights and freedom worked together to promote policies that recognized the rights of displaced populations and local communities affected by the conflict<sup>57</sup> .They organized workshops and policy dialogues that included voices from various groups , such as women , youth , and marginalized communities ensuring their concerns were heard in the peace process .For example in 2007 , a joint initiative resulted in the Bakassi Peace Accord, which incorporated recommendations from civil society consultations<sup>58</sup> , focusing on equitable resources sharing and community development initiatives. This emphasis on inclusivity not only fostered a sense of ownership among local population agreements addressed underlying grievances, ultimately contributing to a more sustainable resolution of the Bakassi conflict<sup>59</sup>.

In this last section of this chapter , our focus would be on the agreements that helped in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict .These agreements helped the resolution process of the conflict to be resolved on a defined period of time .

## **VII. AGREEMENTS THAT HELPED IN THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT**

Our focus will be on two periods agreements that is the pre-conflict agreement (the colonial agreements), the ongoing conflict agreements (the post-independence agreements) which will be analyzed subsequently.

### **VIII. THE COLONIAL PERIOD AGREEMENTS**

In this section we will be examining how colonial agreements laid a foundation for the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, the treaties and agreements they signed<sup>60</sup>.

---

<sup>56</sup> V.J.Ngoh, “*Cameroon since 1884-present (2018)*”, the history of a people, Limbe, DESIGN House, 2019. P.310.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* P.305.

<sup>59</sup> The promotion of inclusive policies is based on the collaboration with the international and regional organization ,that enhances the atmosphere suitable of dialogue

<sup>60</sup> G. Verjika Fanso, *Boundaries and history in Africa issues in conventional boundaries and ideological frontiers*, Yaounde, A publication of the department of history, University of Yaounde 1, 2011, p.55.

### **A. The German treaty (Agreement) of annexation of July 12<sup>th</sup> 1884**

The colonization of Cameroon by the Germans, formalized through the treaty of July 12 1884<sup>61</sup> set a procedure for territorial claims and governance that would later influenced the resolution of the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria. This was because the treaty of annexation gave the Germans the right to negotiate and renegotiates borders. This included the signing of legitimate treaties with other colonial powers who surrounded the border of Cameroon. . This treaty established German control over the Cameroon in general and Bakassi in particular. This included areas around the Bakassi peninsula, which were subsequently included in the colonial territory of the Germans and administrative boundaries .The delineation of these borders created a historical claim that would be referenced in later legal disputes as a vital proof of territorial ownership, respecting the principle of intangibility <sup>62</sup> . For example ,when Nigeria and Cameroon engaged in conflict over Bakassi after gaining independence , both nations relied on historical treaties and colonial delineations to assert their claims .The ICJ ultimately ruled in favor of Cameroon in 2002 , citing historical documents and colonial agreements , including those established during the German mandate ,as evidence for its decision .Thus , the groundwork laid by the German colonization facilitated a legal framework through which historical claims could be evaluated and resolved in the modern context , thus the German annexation of Cameroon acted as a historical blanket for the actual owner of the bakassi peninsula and when history was traced , Cameroon reclaimed its region from Nigeria .

### **B. The Berlin West African Conference**

This conference held in 1884-1885, in the capital city of Germany with its agenda of partitioning Africa. This conference recognized all European sphere of influence is a testament that was kept in an official document known as the “Berlin Act” as the conformation of the Germans in Cameroon in that in the conference. The acceptance of the Berlin act, left a lot of historical guide about the territory of Cameroon and thus when Germany was defeated in 1916 after the outbreak of the first world war it was evident that the league of nations (LONs) was to take charge and by 1939 the second world war broke out and when it ended in 1945, subsequently the outbreak of the nationalism and eventual independence .The colonial documentation was the pillar for territorial debate by the ICJ. Hence the Berlin West African

---

<sup>61</sup> The colonization of Cameroon by the Germans and its confirmation in the berlin West African conference, 1884-1885 ill-used the administrative authorities to the Germans and thus, any decision which were taken by them was recorded in history including the treaties they signed with other European nations like Britain and France.

<sup>62</sup> G. Verjika Falso, *Boundaries and history in Africa issues in conventional boundaries and ideological frontiers*, Yaounde, A publication of the department of history, University of Yaounde 1, 2011, p.54.

conference was the origin of the historical accordance by the ICJ ruling. For example, the principle of intangibility of border recognized all treaties signed by the Germans in Cameroon as legitimate documents<sup>63</sup>. These agreements were used by Cameroon to justify her claim of Bakassi in the ICJ and which after investigation by the UN, the ICJ verdict was partly based on colonial agreements. These evidence compelled the ICJ to resolve the Bakassi conflict.

### **C. The Anglo-German Agreement**

The Anglo-German Agreements of 1913 played a significant role in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict<sup>64</sup>. Cameroon and ultimately influenced the resolution of the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria. This agreement aimed to clarify the boundaries between the British and German colonial territories in the region around the Cross River and Lake Chad. By delineating specific borders, the agreement provided a framework that would later be referenced in legal disputes over territorial claims after both nations gained independence. For example when the conflict over Bakassi escalated, both Nigeria and Cameroon pointed to historical documents, including those from the Anglo-German agreement.<sup>65</sup> To assert respective claims. The ICJ used these colonial agreements as a basis for its 2002 ruling, which awarded Bakassi to Cameroon. Thus, the 1913 agreements not only defined colonial territories but also laid a foundation for legal arguments that facilitated the eventual resolution of the conflict.

### **D. A conflict resolution guide between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi**

The channel for resolution of conflict in Africa became the measurement for former colonies in African and through this so many countries has resolved disputes tracing from the colonial era and thus so many plans are well spelled out to get to a more peaceful resolution of conflict in Africa. There has being so many conflicts in Africa between nations that documentations from colonial period were used like the case of Congo, and even some territorial disputes like Cameroon and Gabon over Key-ossi chad and lybia over the strip of Anouzou. These conflicts were all resolved by tracing colonial occupation and treaties which illustrated their sphere of influence. The colonial legacies left by Germany, Britain and France significantly shaped the

---

<sup>63</sup> V.J.Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884 – present (2018), the history of a people*, Limbe, DESIGN House Limbe, 2019, p.34.

<sup>64</sup> G. Verjika Falso, *Boundaries and history in Africa issues in conventional boundaries and ideological frontiers*, Yaounde, A publication of the department of history, University of Yaounde 1, 2011, p.54.

<sup>65</sup> This was a peaceful memorandum of understanding between the Germans and the British where the Germans were awarded custody and possession of the Bakassi peninsula and this agreement is the turning point of the disputes between Cameroon and Nigeria and the UN used this as a vital fact for its ICJ ruling in 2002.

resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict through the establishment of arbitrary borders and historical claims that influenced later territorial disputes .The German colonization of Cameroon <sup>66</sup>in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century marked the treaty of 1884 , laid the groundwork for territorial claims by clearly delineating areas of control , including Bakassi following World war 1, Cameroon was divided into British and France mandates , further complicating territorial definitions .For example , the British administration in southern Cameroon incorporated Bakassi into its governance structure , which was reflected in colonial maps that both Nigeria and Cameroon later referenced to support their claims . Additionally, the Anglo- German Agreement of 1913 clarified boundaries between territories, providing a historical framework that was crucial during legal proceedings .The ICJ relied on colonial documents and maps which awarded Bakassi to Cameroon <sup>67</sup> based on evidence from these agreements .Thus, the colonial legacies created a complex historical backdrop that informed contemporary negotiations and legal adjudications leading to the resolution of the conflict.

## **IX. POST INDEPENDENCE AGREEMENTS**

### **A. The maroua declaration**

The conflict was a thorny border dispute with traces of future war, was seen by Cameroon President Ahmadou Ahidjo and Nigeria President General Yakubu Gowon respectively, and signed a peaceful treaty in Maroua. This treaty became known as the Maroua Declaration in 1975. This treaty recognized the territorial ownership of Cameroon over Bakassi. It all started ,or at least escalated significantly ,with the Maroua Declaration of June 1975 .picture this , the Nigerian president Yakubu Gowon , in a moment of diplomatic optimism essentially gave the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon ,this was so straight forward and thus, his successor General Murtala Mohammed ,promptly threw all the hard work of Gowon and Ahidjo in the Maroua declaration and refused to ratify the agreement .Talk about a “political hand grenade”, that meant war . To President General Murtala Mohammed, his predecessor had sold Bakassi to Ahidjo cheaply and he wanted the region back<sup>68</sup>. This sudden about –face plunged the already fraught relationship between Cameroon and Nigeria into deeper turmoil .The maroua declaration, intended as an olive branch, instead became a symbol of unresolved tensions .The border dispute simmering for years, now threatened to boil over. Clashes between Cameroonian and Nigerian forces became increase frequent a nasty black –and-forth, punctuated by

---

<sup>66</sup> V.J.Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884 – present (2018), the history of a people*, Limbe, DESIGN House Limbe, 2019, p.34.

<sup>67</sup> V. Hiribarren, « Les frontières du Biafra de la Colonisation a 1970, Mémoire of masters degree, in international relations, Université of Paris, 2007, p. 27.

<sup>68</sup> G.Tyoyila Akwen, « Nigeria-Cameroon border relations: A historical Analysis of the bakassi peninsula region, federal university” Gashua Yobe state 2019, p.43.

regrettable incidents like the 1981<sup>69</sup> the killing of five Nigerian soldiers .It felt like the situation was spiraling out of control, a runaway train careening towards disaster. The international community understandably, grew concerned .The situation demanded a heavyweight intervention and that`s where the ICJ entered the fray. This Maoura declaration was one of the agreements used to facilitate the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. This was because the declaration carried the acknowledgement of the former President Yakubu Gowon recognizing Cameroon as the territorial owner of Bakassi. After years of legal wrangling, the ICJ in 2002 delivered its verdict .Cameroon was the rightful owner of Bakassi confirming the 1913 border demarcation and enforced by the Maroua Declaration of 1975. This was not just a legal victory for Cameroon, it was a monumental step towards resolving a decade`s long conflict.<sup>70</sup> However , even with the ICJ`s ruling ,the dust had not completely settled <sup>71</sup>.The green tree Agreements of 2006, a sort of formal handshake sealing the deal , finally brought about a cessation of hostilities and formalized the transfer of bakassi to Cameroon .The bakassi conflict ,a potent cocktail of political maneuvering ,military skirmishes and international legal battles ,finally came to an end .A testament to the often arduous , yet ultimately achievable ,path towards peaceful resolution of international disputes .It serves as a stark reminder that even seemingly settled agreements can unravel ,and that lasting peace often requires more than just a signature on a piece of paper ,thus the resolution of the bakassi conflict started its journey on the maroua declaration and thanks to the timely intervention of the UN on the conflict it was resolved and hence a model for modern conflict resolution in Africa and the world a large because it was a more of diplomatic means.

## **B. The Green Tree Agreement**

The Green tree agreement, (GTA) signed in June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006.This was to uniformly accept the verdict of the ICJ of October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002 and make modalities of the implementation. Thus, the GTA became a significant milestone in the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict .This was because it created a peaceful atmosphere which ease the implementation of the ICJ verdict .For example the creation of the Cameroon and Nigeria Mixed Commission (CNMC) which objective was to implant the ICJ verdict on the ground that is the Geographical delimitation and demarcation of the Bakassi. With substantial supports and contributions from the AU, UN, EU,

---

<sup>69</sup> This was the bight of the conflict, under the influence of the Nigerian president Murtala Mohammed who wanted war between the conflicted states.

<sup>70</sup> W. Duyile, "Nigeria-Cameroon bakassi peninsula crisis :A respect of Nigerian technocrats view prior to the court case at the Hugue ,Department of history and international studies, faculty of arts University Ado Ekiti state Nigeria,"2015,p66.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*

facilitating its establishment. The AU played a crucial role in mediating discussions between Cameroon and Nigeria emphasizing the need for a peaceful transition of authority and the importance of regional stability. This mediation was vital in fostering an atmosphere of cooperation, which ultimately led to both countries agreeing to the terms laid out in the Green tree agreement. The UN provided essential diplomatic backing and logistical support for the agreement's implementation, ensuring that international norms were respected throughout the process.<sup>72</sup> For example, UN representatives were involved in the monitoring the withdrawal of Nigerian troops from Bakassi and assisting with the integration of local populations under Cameroonian administration. Additionally, the EU contributed by offering financial aid and technical assistance to both nations, helping to facilitate joint development projects aimed at improving living conditions in Bakassi post conflict. This multi-faceted approach not only solidifies the framework of the Green tree agreement but also underscored the collaborative efforts of these international organizations in promoting peace, security and stability in west Africa.

### **C. Fostered the implementation of the ICJ verdict**

The putting in place of the Green tree agreements helped the implement of the ICJ ruling of 2002<sup>73</sup> the objective of this verdict was to resolve the conflict. The advent of the GTA, ensured that the ICJ ruling was implemented thus the CNMC was established which brought hope to the Bakassians and with this GTA, the hopes of both Countries for peace resolution became alive and enhanced the peace crusades for the restoration of peace in the area of Bakassi and thus, the AU, UN, EU, did everything in ensuring that peace was restored in Bakassi. Thus, peace became the x-factor thanks to the guide of the GTA, which led to the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

### **D. Promotion of political stability**

There is no doubt that the international that GTA brought political stability because Nigeria was given a period of 5 years to leave and in August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008 the last Nigeria administration which was the police left Bakassi<sup>74</sup>. Cameroon became the new territorial owner,

---

<sup>72</sup> V. J. Ngoh, *Cameroon, (1884-1985); A hundred years of history*, Yaounde, Navi group publication, 1987, p54.

<sup>73</sup> Guewada Adiza, "Le rôle de la commission Mixte des Unies Cameroon- Nigeria, dans la mise en Œuvre de l'arrêt de la cour internationale de justice du 10 th Octobre 2002, Mémoire of Master degree in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2012, p.48.

<sup>74</sup> Duverger (M), « *institutions politiques et droit constitutionnel 1- Les grands systèmes politiques* », Paris, PUF, 1980, p.391, pour qui la transcende divine est le fondement sur lequel ont reposé les monarchies occidentales. La monarchie est selon lui, un régime politique dans lequel L`autorité politique suprême appartient à un individu (roi, reine, empereur, impératrice) qui accède au pouvoir par la naissance. Ce régime a été le plus répandu dans le monde avant la révolution démocratique des XVIIIe, XIXe, XXe siècles. Sauf les Republican Urbaines de

thus, political stability. Good ambassadors of peace in the Bakassi region, this was because the only interest was to put an end to the conflict rather hidden gains that provoke the continuation of the conflict,, Cameroon and Nigeria encouraged the activities of the CNMC<sup>75</sup> and thus this gave birth to sensitization of the value for a peace crusade which later champion the atmosphere for the implementation of the Green tree agreement<sup>76</sup>. The international actors were very determined for the restoration of peace in the region of Bakassi for two main regions ,one they wanted to promote the new concept of conflict resolution in Africa which is diplomacy rather than the usual war that crowded the head of African leaders and secondly , to prove to the world the UN is not just about the resolution of conflict in Europe and had the capacities to in doctrine peace all over the world and maintain its status of creation as the Guarantor of world peace. This made the UN in tag team with AU and EU to put their foot print on the subject of peace and security.

### **E. Cameroon and Nigeria mixed commission**

The creation of the CNMC, in 2006 was significantly influenced by the collaborative efforts of the AU, UN, and EU .This was an implementation strategy laid down in the GTA. A veritable diplomatic heavy hitters .Their combined efforts were frankly ,the keystone of the whole operation ,greasing the wheels of cooperation between Cameroon and Nigeria .The AU, in particular deserves a medal ,they really hammered home the importance of direct talks between the two Countries , pushing them to create CNMC structure . The purpose of the CNMC was to tackle the thorny issues left over from the ICJ`s ruling on Bakassi .This was not just about resolving a dispute, it was about fostering a sense of regional ownership of the peace process, building trust between long-term rivals since its peak in 1981 with the killing of the five Nigerian soldiers<sup>77</sup> The GTA through the CNMC played a crucial role in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

The UN the symbol of peacekeeping , lent its considerable weight to the initiative , officially endorsing the CNMC as part of its broader mission to keep the region stable .This commission was not just a cheerleader .Their involvement was key ,it ensured regional buy-in

---

L`Antiquité , du moyen Age et de la renaissance (et une bonne partie des communauté dites primitives : c`est – adire des communautés sans écriture) plupart des pays ont été soumis à des monarchies depuis les origines de L`humanité ».

<sup>74</sup> The EU contributed to a greater extent a larger amount towards the putting of the demarcation of the borders between Cameroon and Nigeria.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid...*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> G.Tyoyila Akwen, « Nigeria-Cameroon border relations: A historical Analysis of the bakassi peninsula region, federal university” Gashua Yobe state 2019, p.43.

, fostering a sense of shared responsibility and crucially building much –needed trust between the two nations .It was adding oil to a very rusty engine .The UN ,acted as a steadfast guarantor leading its considerable weight to the mixed commission`s establishment .This fit neatly into their broader mission of peace-keeping and regional stability .They did not just offer their blessing, they actively facilitated diplomatic conversations and provided invaluable technical assistance , ensuring the commission`s work was impactful and effective .The EU ,this motivated provided the crucial financial and logistical muscle <sup>78</sup>.Their support manifested in capacity building initiatives brought forth ,training workshops , funded by them ,that equipped officials from both countries with the skills needed for productive .Conflict resolution focused dialogue .These were not just dry lectures ,these workshops were immersive experiences designed to foster understanding and collaboration .it was like giving them the tools to build a bridge instead of just pointing at the chasm<sup>79</sup>.

### **Conclusion**

These combined efforts of these heavyweights actors, legitimized the process of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict .This was because their efforts led to the tracing of colonial agreements which helped give the foundation of the resolution of the conflict and with mounted pressure led to the ICJ verdict of 2002 which paved the way for the GTA which laid to rest the resolution of the Bakasi conflict. , they built a super framework ,a veritable scaffolding , allowing Cameroon and Nigeria to collaboratively address the lingering issues from the Bakassi conflict .The significant step towards a more peaceful volatile region . it`s a testament to what can be achieved through concerted international action, a shining beacon of hope in the world .Thus, maintained the bilateral relations of Cameroon and Nigeria after the resolution of the Conflict .

---

<sup>78</sup> M.Z Neumann ,Cameroon –Nigeria frontier ;A model for culture peace , 1890-1991, journal of the Cameroon Academic of science 2(3), 183 -201, 2002,p 12.

<sup>79</sup> G.P. Ondoa pie, Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An evaluation of socio-economic Development, International Journal of sustainable Development Research, Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p.131.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT ON CAMEROON

#### Introduction

The Bakassi conflict which was settled by the ICJ verdict of October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002 finalized by the GTA of June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006, the resolution had profound consequences on Cameroon. Thus, shaping the Country's territorial integrity. The consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict had both positive and negative on Cameroon. The impact of the resolution was felt both on the National and international stage. The consequences were felt in various domains. There were political and administrative consequences, economic, socio-cultural, diplomatic Security and Humanitarian consequences on Cameroon after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. The consequences of these resolutions had multifaceted impacting as elaborated subsequently.

#### I. POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONSEQUENCES

The implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict had both political and Administrative consequences on Cameroon. These consequences had both the positive negative effects on Cameroon. The consequences which upon the implementation of the GTA left the Country of Cameroon with a two sided coin of political and administrative consequences as focused below.

##### A. The ratification of the Green Tree Accord

The signing of the GTA by the both Cameroon and Nigeria heads –of- State was the green light for the respect of international institutions. The Cameroon parliament had ratify the GTA, but the Nigerian Parliament did not. This meant that the resolution of the conflict is partially pending. This explains why the campaign speech of a prominent presidential candidate of Nigeria, in the 2023 presidential elections Atiku Aboubakar, said, “I will take back Bakassi from Cameroon<sup>1</sup>”. This was a diplomatic blow to the resolution of the ICJ verdict. This is principally because the Nigerian parliament has not ratify the treaty of the GTA. Thus, the ownership of Bakassi is still very shaky. To solve this problem for good, the Nigerian

---

<sup>1</sup> Atiku Aboubakar campaign speech was mainly based on the recovery of Bakassi from Cameroon, this made his brief cases containing campaign money to be stolen by supporters of UN thus, to avoid international and a renewed border conflict.

parliament should do everything possible for the ratification of the GTA .This will prevent future border conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria .The UN should mount pressure on the Nigerian parliament .This is to seize all future conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria .

### **B. Territorial extension of Cameroon**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict, culminating in the 2002 ruling by the ICJ in the final handover to Cameroon on August 14, 2008, <sup>2</sup> this directly resulted in a significant territorial enlargement of the Ndian division in the south west region<sup>3</sup> , marking a positive consequences for the region .The expansion which added approximately 700 square kilometers to the Ndian division considerably increased its coastal territory and maritime access. For example, an increase in the Cameroon surface within the Ndian division, potentially boosting local illustrated Cameroon benefits from the territorial enlargement. .This strategic coastal area plays a vital role in Cameroon`s political framework while reinforcing national territorial integrity and boosting regional stability through improved local governance and community initiatives. The negative effect of Cameroon territorial extension to the Ndian division was that it drained the government`s coffers in the process of setting up new administrative units in Bakassi, thus led to the increase in the national debt of Cameroon to EU, China

### **C. The creation of new sub divisions in the Ndian division**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict not only solidified Cameroon`s territorial claims but also led to the creation of a new subdivision within the Ndian Division known as the Bakassi subdivisions , officially established in 2013 . This new administrative entity was significant for several reasons, it allowed more localized governance and resource management, directly addressing the unique needs of the communities in the newly acquired territory. For example in 2007, Cameroon created 3 new subdivisions within the Bakassi peninsula with it`s headquarter been the Ndian division. The South West region as, Isangele, Kombo Abedimo, and Idabato, they are the administrative headquarter of the subdivision, that is where the divisional officer (D.O) stays. The authorities could better implement developmental projects tailored to the local communities and enhance administrative supervision of these projects. The Bakassi subdivisions represents a strategic efforts by Cameroon to integrate and develop its

---

<sup>2</sup> The was under the government of Umaru Musa Yar`adua, the successor of the Ousegun Obasanjo, that came to power after the end of his term, hopping to continue the implantation of the resolutions of the Green tree accord .He was very good at thus, until he passed away in power in 2010 when this Vice president Goodluck Jonathan succeeded him.

<sup>3</sup> D. Nga Lange Kisifeh, "The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of the Cameroon –Nigeria border. Case study: Dispute over Bakassi peninsula, Memoire of Master`s degree in international relations, IRIC, 2011, p.37.

coastal regions while reinforcing national unity and stability following a historically contentious disputes thus, these three new subdivision meant that there an additional income through taxes both from business individuals and also from public servants who are working and carrying out businesses in this newly crowned Cameroon territory. Thus, additional territory brought additional income to the government coffers <sup>4</sup>. The negative consequence was the menace of the Nigerian population in living in Bakassi under the disguise of the Bakassi Freedom Fighters (BFF). This menace reduced the commercial activities in Bakassi thus, making the Cameroon government to increase her expenditures to maintain law and order using the military and the police. Thus, draining the government's coffers that could lead to political crisis due to the hyperinflation in the Country.

#### **D. Government sovereignty and control**

A significant positive consequence of the Bakassi peninsula resolution solidified by the August 14, 2008 handover to Cameroon, was the tangible increase in Cameroonian government sovereignty and control over the Bakassi peninsula, creating multifaceted benefits. This enhanced sovereignty enabled Cameroon to enforce its laws, manage natural resources, and administer justice within Bakassi, which had previously been subject to overlapping claims and legal ambiguities<sup>5</sup>. For example after the handover, Cameroon could formally issue fishing licenses to its citizens, regulate oil exploration though significant exploitation remain limited. Cameroon had to build military base in Bakassi the B.I.R. This further enforced government security, sovereignty and control over Bakassi. Cameroon had to deploy her security forces to maintain order and combat cross-border crime activities previously hampered by the disputed status. Moreover, the increased governmental control allowed for the implementation of administrative decisions from the Cameroon political capita Yaoundé. Thus, demonstrating the respect of Cameroon's institutions, extending the rich and benefits of the Cameroonian state to this previously contested territory<sup>6</sup>. This strengthened sovereignty thus proves crucial in integrating Bakassi into the fabric of Cameroon and unlocking its potential. This also had a negative consequence, The cost of maintaining the sovereignty over Bakassi is very costly to

---

<sup>4</sup> The additional territory brought afresh area full of potentials for the state to tax and generate income through the various taxes labelled on these three new subdivisions it was impossible for the coffers of Cameroon not to increase because this area is naturally endowed and thus implied that wealth seekers will pay taxes to exploit these resources and generate wealth and also through taxes paid the government will do her best to bring development to this area.

<sup>5</sup> G. Verkijika Fanson, boundaries and history in Africa: issues in conventional boundaries and ideological frontiers, Yaounde, A publication of the department of history, the University of Yaounde 1, Cameroon, 2011, p64.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

the Cameroon`s coffers<sup>7</sup> .For example the B.I.R camp expenses its billions per year yet there are still constants pirates attacks .This budget creates another problem in the National territory of Cameroon which the political crisis.

### **E. The political legitimacy of Cameroonian leadership**

Cameroon`s successful claim to the Bakassi peninsula officially finalized on August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008, was a real feather in the cap for President Biya`s administration .It was not just a territorial gain, it was a potent symbol both at home and abroad of Cameroon`s greatness and effectiveness. The acquisition of Bakassi secured through strictly legal channels, served as a powerful testament to Cameroon`s commitment to peaceful resolution of international conflict .This was not just a battle field victory but a diplomatic coup<sup>8</sup>. This was not some backroom deal thus, the whole process was transparent, meticulously adhering to international laws .That is crucial thereby allowed the government to showcase its competence on image as a responsible and law –abiding nation, back home the successful claim to Bakassi solidifies the Biya`s s administration competence .This boosted public confidence and reinforced the perception of his government as a strong protector of national interests. It was a tangible achievement, a concrete example of successful diplomacy a far cry from empty promises. In essence, the Bakassi peninsula acquisition became a cornerstone of the government`s legitimacy. This prestige of political legitimacy of Cameroon came with a huge financial burden that is financing the Bakassi administration increased the national debt of Cameroon which led came into economic crisis in 2008 under the President Biya Administration<sup>9</sup> .

### **F. Political atmosphere**

The peaceful transfer of the peninsula to Cameroon on August 14 , 2008 , following the ICJ ruling in 2002 ,marked a turning point .It was a territorial shift, a giant leap towards regional stability .Before the handover , the Bakassi dispute was a real headache to Nationalists tensions ran high in both countries like a wildfire threatening to consume the fragile peace .Relations between Cameroon and Nigeria was strained , a delicate dance on the edge ,resources that could have been used for development were diverted to bolstering border security , a costly and

---

<sup>7</sup> S.T.Regis Ombe “La participation de la marine National dans la Lutte contre la piraterie maritime au Cameroon (1990-2018) : Essai D` analyse Historique » University of Yaoundé I, Mémoire, presente en vue de L`obtention du diplôme de Master en histoire, 2022, p.50.

<sup>8</sup> V.J.Ngoh, *Cameroon, (1884-1985); A hundred years of history*, Yaounde, Navi group publication, 1987, p105.

<sup>9</sup>A. Guewada “Le rôle de la commission Mixe des Nations Unies Cameroon-Nigeria dans la mise en œuvre de L`arrêt de la cour internationale de justice du 10th octobre 2002 », Mémoire of Professional Masters, IRIC, 2012.P.68.

ultimately unproductive arms race .This also affected negatively the national budgets<sup>10</sup>. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict brought political stability in Bakasi through the painstaking process of international law and diplomacy which helped .It defused a potential powder , the potential for unrest among Cameroonian nationalists who might have pushed for more forceful action was neatly sidestepped .The whole thing could have easily escalated into a full-blown conflict . The improved relation with Nigeria .For example the fight against Boko Haram, became significantly effort acted as a bulwark against regional instability, preventing the conflict from metastasizing into a wider, more devastating war .It was a win –win scenario, a testament to the power of peaceful negotiation. The newfound stability allowed the Cameroon government to shift its focus from maintenance of peace and security to massive National development rather than constantly battling potential conflict. They could finally dedicate resources to tackling crucial domestic issues, such as economic development and fostering social harmony. This was thanks to the stable political atmosphere created by the Cameroon government through the Bakassi administration with support from the central capital in Yaoundé The resolution of the bakassi dispute was not just a territorial gain .It was a strategic victory , paving the way for a more prosperous and peaceful future for Cameroon .This political stable atmosphere came with a negative consequence in that there was inflation by the Cameroon Government to finance the atmosphere of political stability .For example in 2008, there was hyperinflation which was caused by the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was part of the reason of the inflation , general increase in prices of goods and services .

The analysis above illustrated that the resolution of the Bakassi conflict had both positive and negative consequences on Cameroon in the political and administration domain. In the below lets focused on the Economic consequences.

## **II. ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES**

The focus is to analyze how the resolution of the Bakassi conflict had economic consequences on Cameroon which was a double edge sword that is, the resolution had both positive and negative consequence on Cameroon as analyzed subsequently.

### **A. Government expenditures**

The GTA of 2006, was a turning point in the Cameroon and Nigeria border conflict the objective of Cameroon was attained and because it gave the process of Nigeria to leave the territory to Cameroon . This was supposed to be made latest the August 14, 2008 and in 2013, Cameroon

---

<sup>10</sup> M.Z Njeuma ,Cameroon –Nigeria frontier ;A model for culture peace , 1890-1991, journal of the Cameroon Academic of science 2(3), 183 -201, 2002,p 12.

created its three new subdivisions. This meant that the government of Cameroon was to increase her state expenditures to provide some basic facilities like school, hospitals and also provide security to the newly acquired territory which was an additional expenses to the state of Cameroon which had to put pressure on her citizens that is the taxpayers to get money in other to provide these services. Never-the -less, the resources in Bakassi also motivated Cameroon. The following are the economic consequences on Cameroon.

### **B. The conservation of the natural resources**

The establishment of a Cameroonian military base, in the bakassi peninsula that is the Rapide Battalion Intervention (B.I.R) on August 14, 2008, handover was not just about bolstering security and sovereignty <sup>11</sup>.It had a positive consequence on the region and to the state of Cameroon<sup>12</sup> .The presence of the military the B.I.R, acted as a surprisingly effective deterrent against the rampant illegal fishing, logging, and other resources<sup>13</sup>. The resolution of the conflict permitted Cameroon to exploit his natural resources. The exploitation of these resources was for the development of Bakassi in particular and Cameroon in general. The presence of the Cameroon government gave the environment a stable political atmosphere that encourages the exploitation of these natural resources. It was a happy accident, a fortunate side effect. The exploitation of these materials was beneficial to the State and the environmental protection .however their presence to reduced environmental degradation .It is a bit of a double edge sword .The same actions that secured the territory also helped preserve its natural wealth thus, directly furthering the government `s long-term economic and environmental aims which was to generate revenue for the development of the Country. The negative consequence of this natural resources was that it brought political in insecurity in Bakassi because the presence of constant pirates attacks who wanted their own share of the crude oil deposit so they can sell<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> S.T.Regis Ombe “La participation de la marine National dans la Lutte contre la piraterie maritime au Cameroon (1990-2018) : Essai D` analyse Historique » University of Yaoundé I, Mémoire, presente en vue de L`obtention du diplôme de Master en histoire, 2022, p.83.

<sup>12</sup> G.P. Ondoa pie, Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An evaluation of socio-economic Development, International Journal of sustainable Development Research, Vol 8, n°4 , 2022, p.131.

<sup>13</sup> The presence of the B.I.R camp in the newly reclaimed Cameroon territory meant that all those Bakassi freedom fights groups who wanted to create political instability and also work from home and cause the Cameroon government to spend more in the maintenance of peace and security will now see the military base in Bakassi as an obstacle in the their criminal activities. The military base in Bakassi is to protect both human security on the citizens there and also provide security on the smooth exploitation of the raw materials which are fishery and oil deposit so the Cameroon government can take it to be refined in SONARA , and generate income which will help to provide some basic facilities to a greater amount to the inhabitants of Bakassi .

<sup>14</sup> S.T.Regis Ombe “La participation de la marine National dans la Lutte contre la piraterie maritime au Cameroon (1990-2018) :Essai D` analyse Historique » University of Yaounde I, Memoire, presente en vue de L`obtention du diplôme de Master en histoire, 2022, p.50.

.This made the exploitation of the natural resources was a double edge sword because of the positive and negative consequences it brought on the regional development and especially that of the region of the Bakassi peninsula.

### **C. National debt of Cameroon**

The process of the resolution of the Bakassi Conflict took much money from the Government coffers through numerous Governments meetings. From UN , London and war immunities for the Ministry of defense (MINDEF) that were bought for National security took more from the Coffers . The creation of these new subdivisions mount pressure on the state to borrow money<sup>15</sup> from the European Countries for the reconstruction of the Bakassi after more than a decade conflict cost Billions of Francs CFA explosively to the coffers of the state of Cameroon<sup>16</sup> .The positive consequence here is that the presence of natural resources helped Cameroon made money that she spend. The creation of an oil refinery (SONARA) in Limbe other to stand its grounds and exploit the natural resources from Bakassi thereby reducing the national debt of Cameroon to a significant amount. Therefore, the resolution of the Bakassi conflict which had both positive and negative consequence on Cameroon.

### **III. THE EXTENSION OF THE EXPLOITATION SPACE OF NATURAL RESOURCES ON CAMEROON**

There is no doubt that the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula gave Cameroon an additional ground for the exploitation of natural resources , far from the fact that it was a territorial extension of Cameroon but due to the benefits that it had on Cameroon cannot be underestimated .This is because of the huge natural resources that this region is endowed it .Thus, the extension of the exploitation space of Cameroon into the newly reclaimed region of Bakassi increased the exploitation of natural resources on this region .This had the following positive consequences on Cameroon .

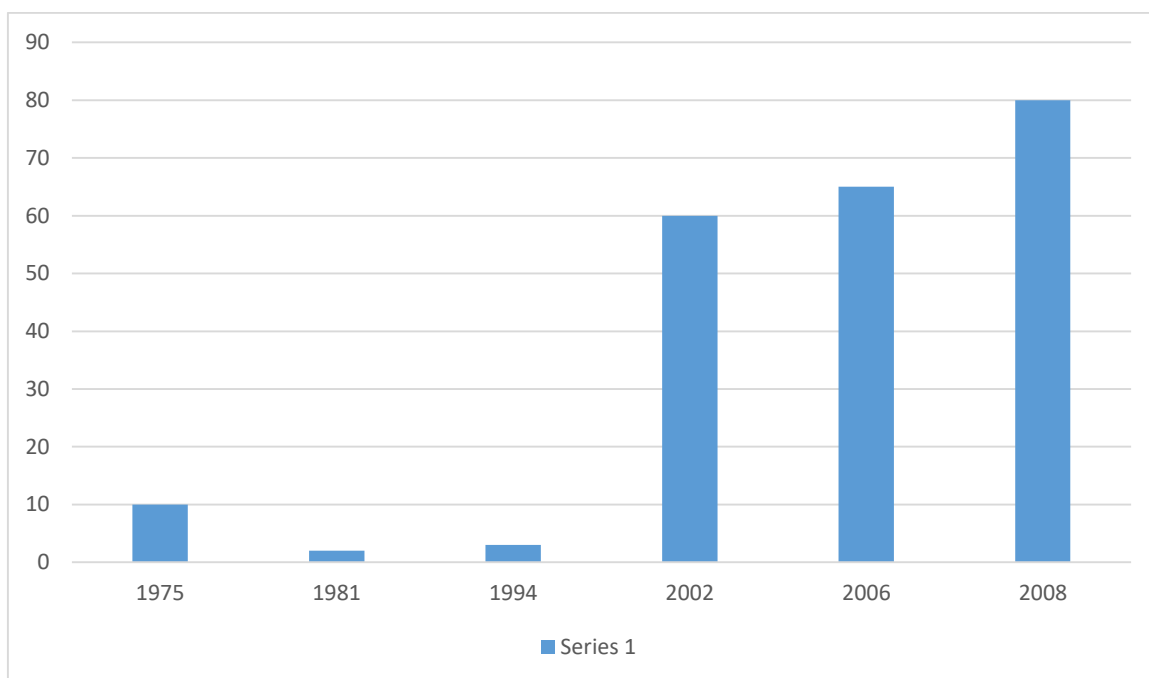
#### **Graphic 1: Economy progress after a resolution of the Bakassi Conflict (1975-2008)**

The below graph illustrats the growthrate of Bakassi , after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict . This was the pivotal change in the progress of the bakassi conflict .

---

<sup>15</sup> G. Ondoa , “Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula :An Evaluation of socio economic development”, *International journal of sustainable development Research* , Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p. 130.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid* .



Source : G.P.Ondoa Pie “post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An Evaluation of socio economic development”, *international journal of sustainable development Research*, Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p. 131.

The Y -axes represnets the tons of production while the X-axes represents the variations in years of the production.

Looking from the above graph its is clear that the resolution of the Bakassi conflict from 1975, following the Maroua declaration led to the increase of the production , that is from fishery to other domain of industrial seector like minning . The fall of productivity from 1981 to 1994 when the bakassi conflict was at his peak which led to the regression of activities from 10 units to 3and 4 units .There was a steady growthrate from 2002 following the ICJ verdict .This was from 60units to 80 units from 2002 to 2008 when the last Nigerian administration, the police left Bakassi .

#### **A. A boost in the national fishing revenue**

A tangible positive economic consequence of the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict and the final handover to Cameroon on August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008 was the potential for increased fishing revenue under the new territorial owner of Bakassi which was Cameroon .With undisputed control over the waters surrounding Bakassi , Cameroon gained access to richer fishing grounds previously subject to overlapping claims and illicit fishing activities <sup>17</sup>.For example , the Cameroonian government had now issue fishing licenses to citizens and enforce regulations to

<sup>17</sup> G. Ondoa , “Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula :An Evaluation of socio economic development”, *International journal of sustainable development Research* , Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p. 130.

protect fish stocks generating revenue through license fees and taxes on catch<sup>18</sup>. While precise figures solely attributable to Bakassi are difficult to isolate, the increased availability of fishing resources and the availability to regulate the industry more effectively significantly boosted Cameroon's overall fishing capacity and potential revenue stream, contributing to the livelihoods of local fishing communities and the national economy. The enhanced enforcement also theoretically reduced losses from illegal fishing by foreign vessels. These vessels were geared towards generating income for the state of Cameroon. Thus

, the extension of the exploitation space of natural resources resource led to the generation of increased fishing revenue to the coffers of Cameroon<sup>19</sup>. The local population who depended on fishing were now forced to pay to have licenses this was a financial burden on the local population since they could not afford it they started doing the fishing process. The negative consequence was that despite the huge amount of money put by the Cameroon Government there were still a mass of illicit fishing still been done by both foreigners and Cameroonian fishermen<sup>20</sup>. This reduced potential investors in the fishery sector, this reduction meant that Cameroon is losing money by no issuing licenses. Furthermore, the price of obtaining a fishing license could not be afforded by an average Cameroonian family who had to suffer from this law of huge price of obtaining a fishing license and because of this, it led to the fall in the living standard of the local population and very capable of increasing the crime waves of the regional, which is a setback to Cameroon because it misuses the funds meant for development to combat crime waves. This is key to crime waves which had negative consequence.

### **B. Potentials for Oil and Gas exploitation**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict had significant positive economic consequences on Cameroon, particularly with the discovery and subsequent exploitation of Oil and Gas resources in the region. Following the final handover of Bakassi on August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008<sup>21</sup>, Cameroon was able to assert its sovereignty over the rich offshore oil fields in the area, which were estimated to hold substantial reserves. In 2010, the government began to attract foreign investment for

---

<sup>18</sup> H.Kam Kah "The bakassi crisis :The role of the Nigerian and Cameroonian Military ,1981-2013", conflict studies quarterly issue, University of Buea, Cameroon, January 2014,p5.

<sup>19</sup> S.T.Regis Ombe "La participation de la marine National dans la Lutte contre la piraterie maritime au Cameroon (1990-2018) :Essai D` analyse Historique » University of Yaounde I, Memoire, presente en vue de L`obtention du diplôme de Master en histoire, 2022, p.50.

<sup>20</sup> G.P. Ondo pie, Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula :An evaluation of socio-economic Development ,International Journal of sustainable Development Research, Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p.131.

<sup>21</sup> August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008, gave Cameroon's state the legal right to exploit the region of Bakassi to their benefit because, it signaled the last elements of the Nigerian administration living Bakassi and eventual transfer of ownership to Cameroon which is in respect of the ICJ verdict which was implemented by the CNMC under the supervision of the UN.

exploration and production ,leading to increased oil output ;by 2013, production had risen to approximately 40,000 barrels per day .The newfound access to these resources not only bolstered Cameroon`s economy but also created job opportunities and stimulated local industries .Furthermore, in 2015, the government announced plans for a gas pipeline project intended to transport natural gas from Bakassi to neighboring countries, showcasing Cameroon`s strategic position as an energy hub in central Africa .This economic boost not only enhanced government revenues but also improved infrastructure and public services in the region highlighting how resolving the Bakassi conflict opened doors for significant economic development .

### **C. Diversification of the economy**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict has significantly contributed to the diversification of Cameroon`s economy particularly in the wake of gaining control over the peninsula`s resources and its strategic location .Following the final handover on August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008<sup>22</sup>, Cameroon began leveraging its access to oil and gas reserves to attract foreign investment, which facilitated the development of various sectors beyond just hydrocarbons. For example in 2010 ,the government of Cameroon initiated policies aimed at promoting agribusiness ,tourism and infrastructure development leading to a more balanced economic landscape .By 2013, initiatives such as “Emergence 2035” plan were launched to encourage entrepreneurship and support small and medium –sized enterprises(SMEs),further diversifying the economy .Additionally , investments in agriculture increased with programs aimed at boosting cocoa and coffee production two key exports commodities demonstrating a shift towards sustainable economic practices .By fostering a diversified economy , Cameroon has been able to reduce its reliance on oil revenues ,enhance resilience against global oil price fluctuations and create more job opportunities across various sectors ,ultimately contributing to long-term economic stability and growth .

## **IV. A BOOM IN THE TAXATION SECTOR**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict and its handover in August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008 gave the administrative mantle of this region to Cameroon .There is no that that this region is known for its rich oil and gas and blessed with fishing shores thus, the state of Cameroon used this activities to stabilize other sectors like in the cosmetics sectors<sup>23</sup> , through the crude oil and

---

<sup>22</sup> H.Kam Kah “The bakassi crisis :The role of the Nigerian and Cameroonian Military ,1981-2013”,conflict studies quarterly issue, University of Buea , Cameroon ,January 2014,p5.

<sup>23</sup> G.P. Ondo Pie, Post conflict construction of the Bakassi peninsula : an evaluation of socio-economic development , *International journal of sustainable development Research* , Vol 8, n°4, p. 130.

these other sectors which their raw materials were in the region of Bakassi started paying taxes .The agricultural sector was also launched and these sectors jointly produce a generous tax range and the other sectors were on a steady booming which generate huge tax revenue and the Cameroon state used this money to enhance the provision of goods and services to the general public thereby ameliorating the living standards of Cameroonians.

### **A. Improved infrastructures**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict has led to significant improvements in infrastructure within Cameroon, particularly in the south west region, where Bakassi is located. Following the handover of the territory on August 14, 2008, the government of Cameroon recognized the need to develop infrastructure to support economic activities and enhanced connectivity .For example, in 2012, the Cameroonian government launched series of infrastructure projects aimed at improving road networks, including the construction of new roads linking Bakassi to major urban centers like Limbe and Buea. Additionally , investments were made in port facilities at Limbe to facilitate maritime trade and oil export exports from the region .By 2015, these developments not only improved access to markets for local farmers and businesses<sup>24</sup> but also attracted foreign investors looking to capitalize on the region`s natural resources<sup>25</sup> . Enhanced infrastructure has played a crucial role in fostering economic growth, encouraging tourism and promoting trade, ultimately contributing to a more integrated and prosperous economy in Cameroon<sup>26</sup> . There was an increase in infrastructures in Cameroon from 2010- 2015 which brought significant investments were made in upgrading road networks , including the construction of the Limbe –Bakassi road ,which improved transportation and accessibility for local communities and businesses , the government focused on expanding energy infrastructures with projects like the construction of new electricity distribution lines to ensure reliability power supply in the region .By 2016, these infrastructural advancements not only facilitated trade and investment but also facilitated enhanced public services such as education and healthcare , ultimately contributing to a more robust economy and improving the quality of life for residents in Cameroon<sup>27</sup> .The increased infrastructural development had the following positive consequences to the economy of Cameroon.

---

<sup>24</sup> J.S. Oyono Oyono , « La diplomatie Camerounaise Face aux Defis de la Mondialisation ».The'se soutenance en 1.en vue de l`obtention du diplôme de Doctorat de 3eme cycle en relations internationales , IRIC, Yaounde 1999.p.20.

<sup>25</sup> H.Kam Kah “The bakassi crisis :The role of the Nigerian and Cameroonian Military ,1981-2013”,conflict studies quarterly issue, University of Buea , Cameroon ,January 2014,p5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> C.Osita Eze “ institution building and consolidation of the African union” in the African union and the challenges of cooperation and integration , Abuja, spectrum books , 2002 p.74.

## **B. A boost to related industries**

The peaceful resolution of the Bakassi peninsula disputes has undeniably spurred economic growth in Cameroon, particularly in sectors you would not immediately expect. One positive change leading to a cascade of others. The official handover in August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008 acted as a catalyst. Suddenly, and the government was free to pour resources into infrastructure projects, breathing new life into the region. Oil and gas exploration, kicking into high gear around 2010, became a major engine of the growth. It was not just about energy sector itself, the ripple effects were substantial's<sup>28</sup>. Construction firms, for example experienced a boom, building everything from housing for energy workers to processing facilities, a veritable gold rush of building projects. This was not just brick and mortar, it was about creating jobs, stimulating local economies and laying the groundwork for future development.

The increased maritime traffic, direct consequence of oil exports, similarly boosted the logistics and shipping industries. Ports like Limbe saw a dramatic uptick in activity, prompting companies to expand their operations to handle the increased volume. It was a logistical juggernaut<sup>29</sup>, a testament to the interconnectedness of modern economies. There is also tourism, by 2015<sup>30</sup>, the government cleverly leverage bagasse's stunning natural beauty and rich cultural heritage to attract visitors. This was not just about pretty pictures, it was about creating other local businesses. It is perfect example of sustainable development, turning a resource in this case. The Bakassi settlement's impact transcended mere border adjustments. It sparked a multifaceted economic transformation, diversifying Cameroon's economy and significantly enhancing its overall resilience. It is a compelling case study of how resolving conflict can unlock incredible economic potential. The region's future, once clouded by uncertainty, now appears brighter than, a testament to the power of peaceful resolution.

## **C. Targeted infrastructural development**

The Bakassi peninsula's transfer to Cameroon in August 2008, finally resolving a long-standing border disputes, opened up exciting possibilities for development<sup>31</sup>. It was like turning a new page, a chance to truly integrate the region and unlock its potential. The Cameroon government

---

<sup>28</sup> C.Osita Eze “institution building and consolidation of the African union” in the African union and the challenges of cooperation and integration, Abuja, spectrum books, 2002 p.73-74.

<sup>29</sup> Adeleke Olumide Ogunnoiki, Regaining Bakassi peninsula from Cameroon: The options available to Nigeria, Akoka Lagos state, Nigeria, Graduate, Department of political science, Faculty of social sciences, University of Lagos, p3.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> G.P. Ondoa pie, Post conflict construction of the Bakassi Peninsula: An evaluation of socio-economic Development, International Journal of sustainable Development Research, Vol 8, n°4, 2022, p.131.

seizing this opportunity ,prioritized infrastructure projects cleverly designed to leverage Bakassi`s considerable oil and gas reserves .This is an orchestrated symphony of development . One of the key initiatives was the Limbe Bakassi road, a project launched in 2011<sup>32</sup>. This was not just about building a road, it was about stitching Bakassi into the fabric of Cameroon`s economic life, making the transport of goods and services to and from major hubs like a breeze. It was a game changer, streaming logistics and boosting economic activity .This led to the upgrades to the port facilities in Limbe, starting in 2013<sup>33</sup> .

These improvements were crucial for handling the increased volume of oil exports, transforming Limbe into a bustling maritime center .This was not just moving oil, and it was about creating jobs, fostering economic growth, and breathing new life into the region. It was a win-win really. Beyond the big ticket items, Cameroon also focused on improving the daily lives of Bakassi`s residents. Investments in water supply and sanitation systems were vital addressing pressing public health concerns and boosting the overall quality of life .It was a testament to the government ensuring that the benefits were not just economic but also social .Cameroon`s post Bakassi development strategy has been a remarkable success story .By meticulously targeting infrastructure projects , the government has not only spurred economic growth but also demonstrably improved the lives of the people of bakassi . The regions transformation serves as a compelling example of how resolving territorial disputes can be pave the way for sustainable and inclusive development, a true phoenix rising from the ashes.

#### **D. Increased in investments**

The peaceful resolution of the Bakassi peninsula dispute has undeniably spurred significant economic growth in Cameroon , particularly within its burgeoning oil and gas sector .It is classic case of “ turning lemons into lemonade” transforming a long-standing territorial conflict into a catalyst for investment . The official handover in August 2008 marked a turning point, suddenly the region`s untapped potential, a veritable goldmine of hydrocarbons was ripe for the picking. Cameroon government, seizing the opportunity with both hands, rolled out the red carpet for investors<sup>34</sup>, both domestic and international. Policies designed to streamline exploration and production activities quickly bore fruit. By 2010, major players like Addax petroleum were

---

<sup>32</sup> F.Menjo Baye ,Implication of the bakassi conflict resolution on cameroon .

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> The Bakassi region after Cameroon was declared owner by the ICJ verdict , Cameroon did everything possible to attract invest so those raw unharnessed materials could be as good as income generating which will go a long way to full the state coffers with revenue due to the lucrative efforts of the investors and thus yielding profit and more attracting foreign partners for spartial exploitation and benefiting the state through increase her gross domestic product (GDP).

pouring Millions into extraction projects ,creating a ripple effect throughout the local economy .It was not just about the money , though thousands of jobs materialized a lifeline for many communities previously struggling under the weight of uncertainty<sup>35</sup>.

The economic bonanza did not stop at oil rigs .The government`s concurrent focus on infrastructure improvements better roads, upgraded ports, and reliable communications acted like a magnet attracting investment in related sectors .Logistics companies suddenly had a booming market construction firms found themselves inundated with work, even the hospitality industry saw a significant up stick .The whole thing snowballed really. The numbers speak for themselves , by 2015, independent reports indicated a startling increase in foreign direct investment (FDI) a jump of over 20% compared to pre-resolution levels<sup>36</sup> .This was not just a fleeting blip , it represented a fundamental shift in Cameroon`s economic trajectory .The influx of capital not only fueled economic growth but also demonstrably improved the lives of local communities .Better jobs ,better infrastructure , better services .It was a win-win a testament to the transformative power of a compelling example of how addressing geopolitical issues can unlock unprecedented economic opportunities.

Table 1: Economic Progress of Bakassi

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>NUMBERS</b>	<b>ECONOMIC PROGRESS</b>
2002	60	0%
2003	65	Progress by+5
2004	70	Progress by +5
2005	75	Progress by+5 %
2006	80	Progress by +5%
2007-2014	80+	Progress by +5%

Source : Adeleke , Olumide Ogunnoiki , “Regaining Bakassi peninsula from Cameroon :The options Available to Nigeria , *African journal of Law , political research and Administrative* , Vol 2, n° 1, 2020, p.18.

From the above table, its crystal clear that the resolution of the Bakassi conflict led to the economic and political progress of the region of Bakassi .This is due to the static progress rate from 2002, when the conflict was resolved to 2014 when Cameroon officially took over Bakassi

<sup>35</sup> C.Osita Eze “ institution building and consolidation of the African union” in the African union and the challenges of cooperation and integration , Abuja, spectrum books , 2002 p.74.

<sup>36</sup> Eyo Okon , Akak, *Who owns Bakassi?* Calabar, Public record Office , 1999, p.60.

following the progress of the implementation of the green tree accord (GTA) by the CNMC. This shows the positive energy after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict due to the steady improvement .

## **V. THE EXTENSION OF TRADE NETWORKS FROM CAMEROON TO NIGERIA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD**

Cameroon and Nigeria surged with reports indicating a 30% increase in trade volumes compared to previous years .Furthermore, improved infrastructure investments in transports and logistics , such as the expansion of the Douala port and road networks connecting to Nigeria ,enabled Cameroonians goods to reach international markets more efficiently .This expansion not only broadened trade opportunities for local positioned Cameroon as a strategic hub for regional trade in central Africa thereby boosting its economy and enhancing its global trade connections. There the following analysis below will show the positive consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon in the economic domain, the extension of trade networks of Cameroon to Nigeria and the rest of the world<sup>37</sup>.

### **II. Promotion of regional development**

The peaceful transfer of the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon on August 14, 2008, marked a turning point, it was not just the end of a long running border dispute with Nigeria, it was the key that unlock a whole new world of possibilities for regional development .A decades-long knot had been untied, freeing up a flow of cooperation that had been previously dammed. Suddenly ,cross-border initiatives , previously mere pipe dreams , became tangible realities .The discussions about joint infrastructures projects like roads , pipeline , sprang up like the mushrooms after a spring rain .The possibilities of energy shared energy resources , streamlined trade routes , a burgeoning transportation network linking two previously fractured economies .The potentials for economic synergy was and remains immense<sup>38</sup> . The impact was not solely confined to grand infrastructure schemes .A more stable border region, free from the shadow of conflict, naturally attracted foreign investment. This influx of capital like a shot of adrenaline to the heart of the region , fueled job creation and crucially improved living standards .The Ndian division directly affected by the Bakassi handover ,it felt this impact particularly keenly .The previously volatile situation had in essence transformed into a fertile ground for

---

<sup>37</sup> C.Osita Eze “ institution building and consolidation of the African union” in the African union and the challenges of cooperation and integration , Abuja, spectrum books , 2002 pp44-55.

<sup>38</sup> M.Z.Njeuma ,Cameroon –Nigeria frontier :A model for culture of peace, 1890-1991 , journal of the Cameroon academy of science 2(3), 183-201 , 2002, p.12.

development. The resolution of the Bakassi issues was not just a diplomatic victory, it acted as a powerful catalyst triggering a ripple effect of positive economic consequences for Cameroon. It is a testament to the idea that peace, far from being a mere absence of conflict, can be a potent engine for progress and prosperity. The long-term benefits though still unfolding are already proving to be substantial. The region, once a hotbed of tension, is slowly but surely blossoming into a hub of collaborative development. The countries in the CEMAC zones have also benefited from Cameroon region cooperation, all thanks to the promotion of regional development.

### **III. Explosion in foreign investments**

Cameroon's economy experienced a significant upswing following the resolution of the long-standing Bakassi peninsula dispute. It is like a dam breaking the floodgates of foreign investment opened, particularly in sectors previously hesitant to jump in, the peaceful transfer of Bakassi in August 2008, a pivotal moment, acted as a powerful magnet. Suddenly, the region looked less like a risk and more like a goldmine<sup>39</sup>. Big players in the oil and gas industry, names like total E&P, and Perenco, were among the first to capitalize on the newfound stability. By 2010, they were pouring billions of CFA francs into exploration and production, creation that invigorated local communities. It was not just about the money, though these investments injected much needed expertise and technology into the region. The telecommunication sector followed suit, experiencing a veritable boom. MTN and Orange industry giants significantly expanded their operations shelling out over 100 million dollars to upgrade infrastructure and improve connectivity. This was a game-changer for the region's development, connecting people and businesses in ways previously unimaginable. This does not end there around 2013, the Cameroonian government implemented some savvy policy changes, think tax incentives and streamlined regulations, creating an even more appealing investment climate.

This proactive approach paid off handsomely, foreign direct investment (FDI)<sup>40</sup> saw a remarkable surge ballooning by roughly 25% between 2011 and 2015. This was not just a short-term blip, it represented a fundamental shift in the economic trajectory of the region. The influx of capital did not just fatten the coffers, it fueled technological advancement and spurred the development of a more skilled workforce<sup>41</sup>. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict proved to be a catalytic event, transforming Cameroon's economic landscape and improving the lives

---

<sup>39</sup> L. Igohosa et Ugbudian, "The role of Natural resources in Nigeria –Cameroon Border disputes," *Global Journal of Human social science :Interdisciplinary*, Vol18, n°5, 2018, p.6.

<sup>40</sup> Eyo Okon, Akak, *Who owns Bakassi?* Calabar, Public record Office, 1999, p.69.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

of countless citizens .It is a testament to the power of peaceful conflict resolution and the ripple effects it can have on a nation`s prosperity.

#### **IV. Increased government revenue**

Cameroon`s acquisition of the Bakassi peninsula in August following a long-standing border dispute had a profound and multifaceted impact on the nation`s coffers .It was not just a matter of adding territory, it was like suddenly discovering a hidden treasure chest brimming with lucrative resources<sup>42</sup> . The government, seizing the opportunity with both hands quickly moved to capitalize on the peninsula`s rich fishing grounds and substantial oil reserves. Before 2008,those resources were essentially off-limits , a whole new world of possibilities opened up .One of the ways the state did to generate revenue was implementing a robust licensing system for fishing in Bakassi`s waters .This was not some slapdash operation ,it was a carefully crafted plan to maximize revenue ,absolutely spectacular .By 2012 , revenue from fishing licenses and related taxes had exploded showing a staggering 40% increase that`s millions upon millions of CFA francs flowing into the national treasury a real shot in the arm for the Cameroonian economy . The fishing industry was just the tip of the iceberg, the oil sector experienced a veritable boom which fueled by a surge in foreign investment, attracted by the promise of Bakassi`s untapped potential .By 2014, reports indicated that oil revenues from the region had skyrocketed to an astonishing 100 Billion CFA francs .That is a game –changer, it is the kind of windfall that transform a nation`s economic trajectory. The spark the conversation of the ownership of Bakassi because of the economic benefits<sup>43</sup> .This influx of cash was not simply hoarded it was strategically invested .The government used this new found wealth to fund crucial infrastructure projects and improve social services ,leading to a noticeable improvement in the overall economic stability and development of Cameroon .In essence , the Bakassi peninsula became a significant engine of growth , empowering the government to invest more heavily in public welfare and regional development initiatives .The financial benefits proved to be transformative bolstering the nation`s capacity to build a better future for its citizens .It was

---

<sup>42</sup> The discovery of oil deposit in Bakassi is the immediate cause of the Cameroon –Nigeria border conflict which had to be traced far back In the Anglo-German treaty of 1913 which stated that this parcel of region was under the German rule which meant that the legitimate rulers of this land is Cameroon thus the ICJ passed her verdict granting Bakassi to Cameroon and was later re-enforced by the Green tree accord which killed the casket on the 14 August 2008 , Nigeria removed their last administrative unit in Bakassi making the new Administration of Cameroon over this region to be smooth and enable her set up her administrative units which Cameroon did and till date is still under the Cameroon government.

<sup>43</sup> Eyo Okon , Akak, *Who owns Bakassi?* Calabar, Public record Office , 1999, p.60.

a win-win situation a testament to the potential benefits of resolving long-standing territorial disputes peacefully and effectively.

## **V. Stimulation of economic growth and development**

The Bakassi peninsula's peaceful handover to Cameroon in August 2008, was a real turning point which unleashed a wave of economic activity ,particularly in the southwest region .It was like someone flipped a switch, suddenly new opportunities blossomed and investors ,sniffing out a good thing started circling like sharks around chum<sup>44</sup> . The government seizing the moment, dove headfirst into developing the region's considerable natural wealth. A previously untapped treasure trove , brimming with potential .The fishing industry for example exploded .Government initiatives launched in 2010, a clever bit of strategic planning focused on boosting both fishing and oil production . The results were nothing of spectacular ,by 2013 the fishing industry in Bakassi had seen a jaw-dropping 50% expansion , creating a ripple effect of prosperity that reached thousands of families .it was a genuinely transformative period .This was not just a fishing infrastructure improvements like sprucing up roads and upgrading ports played a crucial role .These upgrades were not just cosmetic they were the grease in the economic machine ,facilitating trade and attracting even more investment . It was a virtuous cycle, a snowball effect that gathered momentum. By 2015, Cameroon's GDP growth hit approximately 5.8% with bakassi's burgeoning economy contributing significantly<sup>45</sup>. This was not just a number on a spreadsheet which it translated into tangible improvements in the lives of ordinary people, more jobs better access to goods and services and a noticeable rise in living standards .The whole thing was a remarkable success story, a testament to the transformative power of peaceful conflict resolution .It really underscores the potentials for economic growth when political stability takes hold.

## **VI. Improved access to resources and support from international organization**

The resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict, which involved a territorial dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon has led to improved access to resources and increased support from international organizations. The international organization is the UN which through its

---

<sup>44</sup> The level of economic activities became like an open invitation that everyone is welcomed and is free to carry out investment in any magnitude which was welcomed by the state. That is the state became very friendly to investors who were attracted by the outstanding investors .

<sup>45</sup> Eyo Okon Akak, *who owns Bakassi* , Calabar , Public Record office, p.60-61.

mediation on the Bakassi conflict<sup>46</sup>, there was the atmosphere of peace which gave significance to the resources which will be exploited because of the conducive atmosphere. This peaceful settlement has not only fostered better relations between the two nations but also opened avenues for socio-economic development in the region. With a clearer demarcation of borders local communities have gained greater access to vital resources such as fishing ground and oil reserves which are essential for their livelihoods. International organization have stepped into provide support in the form of developmental aid, infrastructure projects and capacity building initiatives. This collaboration has contributed to social cohesion and cultural exchange between communities on both sides. The improved access to resources and support from international organization has the helped Cameroon attract foreign investors which boosted the economic development of Cameroon. This had also had a negative consequence in that it led to Capital flight. The profit made from the investments in Cameroon were taken out of the Cameroon to their respective home countries. Thus, draining the economy of Cameroon from cash circulation which is the bedrock of Economic growth and development.

## **VII. Enhanced credibility for aid and developmental fundings**

The Bakassi Conflict, resolved by the ICJ in 2002, ruled in favour of Cameroon, proved to be a watershed moment. It dramatically reshaped Cameroon's standing on the world stage, particularly within the international developmental community. Suddenly doors previously bolted shut swung open<sup>47</sup>. Cameroon's credibility got a serious upgrade. The newfound legitimacy translated into tangible benefits almost immediately, for example, The Un nations ability to run out, through its mediation power, the Bakassi conflict was ideal reason to flourish the African Development Bank<sup>48</sup>, sensing a stable and promising investment climate, approved a huge sum of 200 million Dollars loan in 2006. This substantial injection of capital was earmarked for infrastructure development in the Bakassi region, a much need boost to local economies and a catalyst for social harmony. Furthermore, bolstering Cameroon's improved international profile was a 100 million support program launched by the European union in

---

<sup>46</sup> P. Kenmoe Nougue "United Nations Mediations in Africa: A case study of the Bakassi conflict Intervention, 2002-2006.", Memoire of Masters degree, in conflict transformation and management, of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2011, p.34.

<sup>47</sup> European nations upon seeing a relatively politically stabled atmosphere were motivated to make financial donations so as to uplift the economic backwardness of the environment which could help in the reconstruction of the economy of bakassi in particular and Cameroon in general which will be attractive to boost future foreign investors and generate earning to the state of Cameroon through the taxation of these companies implanted in the nation in general.

<sup>48</sup> P. Kenmoe Nougue, "United Nations Mediation in Africa: A case study of the Bakassi conflict intervention 2002-2006", Memoire of Masters degree in conflict transformation and Management, in Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2011, p.40.

2015. This initiative focused on community development and poverty reduction within the Bakassi area , showcasing a sustained commitment from international partners .The EU`s involvement is a prime example of how resolving the conflict had far –reaching consequences , drawing in significant financial aid and development expertise. The peaceful resolution of the Bakassi conflict was not just about money though ,it spoke volumes about Cameroon`s dedication to regional peace and cooperation<sup>49</sup> .This commitment opened up avenues for resources sharing , fostered cultural exchange programs ,and even encouraged collaborative community projects between Cameroonian and Nigerian populations , In essence , the long – term impact extended far beyond mere economic gains .It laid the ground for improved cross - border relations and shared vision for future development due to the enhanced credibility of Cameroon to attract aid and development funding, a true testament to the transformative power of peaceful conflict resolution . The region blossomed metaphorically speaking, from a parched landscape to a vibrant tapestry of cooperation.

There is no doubt that the economic consequences above had significant role in the evolution of the economy of Cameroon and thus, it will be unfair not to also talk about the socio-cultural consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon .Here we will be examined the benefits of Cameroon in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict which came through the socio-cultural domain. There are so many socio-cultural benefits of Cameroon in the after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

### **VIII. Socio-cultural consequences**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict formalized by the ICJ ruling in October 2002, and the subsequent transfer of sovereignty to Cameroon in August 2006 , had significant socio-cultural consequences that reshaped the region in particular and Cameroon in general , One notable impact was fostering national identity among Cameroonians particularly as the peaceful resolution highlighted the importance of unity in the face of territorial disputes<sup>50</sup> .Cameroon had to address linguistic barriers in the education and administration , while also grappling with pre-existing social structures and customs distinct from those dominant in Cameroon .The post –resolution dynamics prompted broader national conversations surrounding Cameroonian identity ,necessitating thoughtful approaches to promote inclusivity and mitigate potential

---

<sup>49</sup> G. Room Obame Ngoua , « La communication en Milieu Diplomatique » Mémoire of Masters degree in international relation , IRIC , Yaounde , 2000, p. 33.

<sup>50</sup> H.Kam Kah , The Bakassi crisis :The role of the Nigerian and Cameroonians military 1981-2013.Buea, conflict studies quarterly issues 6, January 2014.p.10.

tensions between long –standing citizens and the new Bakassi community<sup>51</sup>. The success of the socio-cultural integration would ultimately shape Cameroon`s national identity and influence its regional stability .The socio-cultural consequence of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was to a greater extent had positive consequences on Cameroon and to a lesser extent also had negative consequences on Cameroon as will be analyzed subsequently.

## **VI. THE HARMONISATION OF CAMEROONIANS AND NIGERIANS LIVING IN BAKASSI AND THE REST OF CAMEROON**

The living together of both Cameroonians and Nigerians had a lot of socio-cultural benefits to the state of Cameroon and brought ford a lot of benefits within the nation and also pave way for the development of socio-cultural ties between the nations,<sup>52</sup> and the rest of the world which attracted many nations to admire Cameroon as their ideal nation for growth and development and this provoked the visitation of these great European nations to invest in. The following analysis will show the consequences of the harmonization of the Cameroonians and Nigerians living in bakassi and the rest of Cameroon, the socio-cultural consequences on Cameroon.

### **A. Bakassi Is Socially Nigerian And Politically Cameroon**

There is no doubt that the resolution of the Baksssi conflict gave the sphere of inflence to Cameroon. Unfortunately, Cameroon only heads the political administration . It is the Nigerians who are the majority of the population and residence in Bakassi. This makes the administration very difficult because its like Cameroon governing in Nigeria due to the social dominant of the Nigerians living in Bakassi besides that, the environment of Bakassi is very swappy which scares Cameroon inhabitants. To solve this problem , the Government of Cameroon as implanted social service like hospitals and schools so as to attract Camroonians influx into Bakasssi .In guaranteeing their security , the general population is under the coverage of Bataillion Intervention Rapide (B.I.R)so the residence of Bakassi can save .

### **B. Enriched cultural diversity**

The peaceful resolution of the bakassi peninsula dispute unexpectedly blossomed into a boon for Cameroon`s cultural tapestry .After the official handover on August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008, integrating the predominantly Nigerian –identified bakassi population into Cameroonian society proved to be a surprisingly enriching experience. It was not just a matter of adding people to the mix, it was like adding a whole new spice rack to Cameroonian cuisine. The infusion of Efik and Ibibio

---

<sup>51</sup> Sankira Musa Umar , “Politics of International Boundaries :A historical study of Nigeria –Cameroon bounder disputes , 1965-2008, *The international journal journal of Humanities and social studies* .Vol 7, n°7, p.3.

<sup>52</sup> H.Kam Kah , The Bakassi crisis :The role of the Nigerian and Cameroonians military 1981-2013.*Buea, conflict studies quarterly issues* 6, January 2014.p.30.

languages ,culinary traditions it was a veritable explosion of new flavors and sounds<sup>53</sup> .This was not some forced assimilation which felt more like a vibrant organic cultural exchange .You could practically taste it in the air especially during the annual Bakassi cultural festival launched in 2010. This was not our grandma`s village ceremony, it was a dazzling showcase of traditional music, dance, and art, a real melting pot of creativity<sup>54</sup> . More than just a party, though it acted as a bridge, fostering genuine dialogue and understanding different ethnic groups. The impact rippled outwards. It was not just about preserving traditions ,it was about creating something entirely new , imagine the birth of a fusion music genre , a heady mix of Cameroonian rhythms and Bakassi influences a sonic tapestry woven from disparate threads . This cultural cross – pollination did not just add to the mix , it fundamentally altered the landscape resulting in a richer more dynamic national identity .The Bakassi integration transmuted a potential source of conflict into a powerful symbol of national unity , a testament to the transformative power of cultural exchange . It is a compelling example of how seemingly intractable problems can be unexpectedly lead to positive and unforeseen outcomes a real win –win situation to both Nigeria and Cameroon because there was a mutual cultural exchange . This also had a negative consequence on Cameroon which was the Nigerian domination illustrated that the cultural diversity was enjoyed more of Nigerians citizens due to their population in Bakassi. The majority of the population of Bakassi were made up of Nigerians meaning that it was the Nigerian culture that was been imposed on Cameroon like a socio-cultural colonization and made the learning process for Cameroonians relatively slower and it was the Nigerian cultural that dominated the scene since the vast majority of the population is made up of Nigerians and the and touristic rich nature of Cameroon selling to the world was affected in that it`s the Nigerian culture that was advertised and sold to the rest of the ,this meant that Cameroon was losing money from the touristic sector <sup>55</sup>. This brought a reduction in the earnings of the tourist sector which is a financial setback on the state of Cameroon.

### **C. Promotion of intercultural dialogue and understanding**

The peaceful resolution of the bakassi peninsula dispute, finalized on August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008 has had a profound and multifaceted impact on Cameroon .It is not just about drawing lines on a map,

---

<sup>53</sup> Eyo Okon Akak, Who owns Bakassi , Calabar , Public Record Office , P.80-81.

<sup>54</sup> The advent of cultural diversity from both nations enabled Cameroon to walk in and out with her head up high because o of the mix cultures from Nigerians and Cameroonians there is a symbolic upgrate of cultural tools and this blend of this cultures made it possible for Cameroon to have a very rich cultural mixture which is an attractive blends for touristic sites .

<sup>55</sup> H.Kam Kah , The Bakassi crisis :The role of the Nigerian and Cameroonians military 1981-2013.Buea, conflict studies quarterly issues 6, January 2014.p.10.

the aftermath has been fascinating case study in fostering intercultural understanding<sup>56</sup> and building a more inclusive society it was like a slow painstaking stitch –work mending a deeply fractured social fabric. One key initiative, launched in 2010, was the creation of the “Bakassi Dialogue forums”<sup>57</sup>. These were not your stuffy ,formal meetings they were instead carefully orchestrated spaces for open conversion between the bakassi people and other Cameroonian communities .The goal was to bridge ,divides , address lingering grievances and quite frankly get to know each other better . It was a bit like a meticulously planned potluck, where everyone brought their unique cultural dish to share. These forums were not just talk shops , they led to tangible results .For example , the traditional leaders from both sides had a captivating blend of age –old wisdom and modern pragmatism collaborated on joint community events that celebrated their share shared heritage . Imagine storytelling sessions where ancient Bakassi tales mingled with Cameroonian folklore or collaborative art projects that seamlessly fused distinct cultural fusion. The ripple effect extended into the educational systems, schools in Bakassi peninsula started incorporating diverse cultural curricula, weaving together Cameroonians and even Nigerian histories. This early exposure to a rich tapestry of cultures helped nurture an appreciation for diversity amongst students planting the seeds of understanding from a young age .It was like giving them a secret weapon against prejudice empathy. The emphasis on intercultural dialogue was not about easing tensions, it was about creating a genuine sense of belonging for everyone. It is a testament to the power of dialogue, a powerful antidote to conflict contributing significantly to social cohesion and national unity in Cameroon. The Bakassi story serves as a hopeful example, a beacon, this reconciliation was cherished and used by the Cameroon government to solved similar conflict like the Cameroon and Gabon conflict over Kye -ossi

#### **D. Preservation of cultural heritage**

The peaceful resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict has as socio-cultural consequence, the unexpectedly blossomed into a vibrant resurgence of cultural pride in Cameroon .It is a fascinating case study, really the handover on August 14<sup>th</sup> 2008, marked more than just a territorial shift, it ushered in a new era of cultural preservation for the Bakassi people. This diversification of cultures will allow Cameroon engage her activities over Bakassi after its reoccupation<sup>58</sup>. .Almost immediately , grassroots organization like the Bakassi cultural

---

<sup>56</sup> A.G. Tandang « Diplomatic communication during crisis period :the case of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi peninsula , Memoire of Masters degree in international relations , IRIC, Yaounde ,p.32.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. p.38.

<sup>58</sup> Adeleke , Olumide Ogunnoiki , “Regaining Bakassi peninsula from Cameroon :The options Available to Nigeria , *African journal of Law , political research and Administrative* , Vol 2, n° 1, 2020, p.18.

association sprang up , their mission crystal clear to safe guard and celebrate the region`s unique heritage . These were not just lip- service promises either they rolled up to their sleeves and got to work. The culmination of their tireless efforts was the inaugural Bakassi cultural festival in 2012. It was a whirlwind of color and sound a kaleidoscope of traditional music, dance, and crafts .People came from all corners of Cameroon captivated by the sheer vibrancy of it all, it was a stunning demonstration of the region`s cultural resilience .This cultural festival generated money to the state as people flew around the world to Cameroon thus the tourism sector became booming. This was not just a one –off event it sparked a wildfire of interest in Bakassi culture<sup>59</sup> , the festival acted as a vital intergenerational bridge connecting elders steeped in tradition with younger generations who might otherwise have lost touch with their roots .it was like witnessing a living history lessons unfold before your very eyes and the momentum continues since 2015, both governmental and non – governmental organizations have thrown their weight behind initiatives documenting oral histories and customs .This was like a cultural time capsule , ensuring that the stories ,songs, and traditions of the bakassi people are preserved for posterity . It is a testament to the power of collective action and a profound commitment to preserving cultural identity<sup>60</sup>. The resolution of the bakassi conflict has not just brought peace , it is fostered a remarkable renaissance of cultural pride , the bakassi people once overshadowed by conflict , now stand tall .Their cultural heritage joint with the other ethnic and made it very rich cultural balance . Thus, making Cameroon`s cultural heritage not only preserved but celebrated as a vital part of Cameroon`s rich tapestry .It is indeed a story of resilience and rebirth.

### **E. Strengthened social cohesion**

The peace and unity workshops launched in 2010 by local NGOs with government backing such as the Bakassi movement for self –determination (BAMOSD) founded in 2006,, with the continuation of other NGOs such as The international crisis Group, (ICG), Human Rights Watch (HRW) .These were not stuffy seminars they are dynamic gatherings bringing together Bakassi residents internally displaced people and their neighbors. This facilitated the reoccupation of Bakassi by Cameroon respecting the ICJ ruling<sup>61</sup> .To foster a sense of shared identity through collaborative activities, it was like watching a mosaic slowly come together

---

<sup>59</sup> Eyo Okon Akak, “Who owns Bakassi”Calabar , Public Record Office , 1999, p.82.

<sup>60</sup> It is thanks to these cultural festivals that attract tourist from abroad and also Cameroonians from other parts of the country which helped bring both the cultural heritage and its mandate to the government of Cameroon income generating to the coffers of the government .Thus the preservation of their identity is clearly seen as the festival holds every year in Bakassi .

<sup>61</sup> Adeleke Olumide Ogunnoiki , “Regaining Bakassi Peninsula from Cameroon :The options Available to Nigeria”, *African Journal of Law, political Research and administrative* , Vol 2, n°1, 2020, p 16.

,each piece –each- person contributing to a larger more beautiful whole . The impact was palpable, in 2011 community service projects rebuilding schools and clinics became powerful symbols of unity .People previously separated by conflict, found common ground in rebuilding their shared future, it was truly heartwarming to witness in 2012, and the annual “Unity day” started in 2012, became a vibrant celebration of Cameroonian diversity a kaleidoscope of music, dance, and storytelling that showcased the richness of the nation`s cultural tapestry<sup>62</sup>. These initiatives were not just feel-good exercises, they were instrumental in strengthening social bonds. The social cohesion will foster the emancipation of Human rights and spin the activities of the CNMC.<sup>63</sup>One of the main objective of the CNMC, was to promote social cohesion<sup>64</sup> .A more harmonious co-existence, not just in Bakassi, but rippling outwards, contributing significantly to Cameroon`s overall stability and peace .It is a testament to the power of community building and a compelling case study in post-conflict reconciliation .The transformation has been nothing short of remarkable, a testament to the resilience of the human spirit and the transformative power of collaborative effort.

After the analysis above about the living together between Nigerians and Cameroonians at Bakassi and the rest of the nation, which showed the consequences to the socio-cultural resolution of the conflict, let`s look at the second major point which is the improved access to international organization which channeled support to international donors which help resolved international conflicts.

## **F. Increased in technical assistance and capacity building**

The 2002 resolutions of the bakassi peninsula conflict marked the turning point for Cameroon ,it unlocked a floodgate of international aid and capacity –building programs all geared towards shoring up regional stability and fostering development .The conflict `s end opened doors to expertise and resources previously unimaginable . One striking example is the United Nations development program (UNDP) jumped in around 2010 with a project focused on empowering Bakassi `s communities. This explain while nations fight to protect their resources from been exploited without having the profits of these exploitations<sup>65</sup>. They were not handing out money, they were running workshops, teaching valuable skills in conflict resolution and sustainable

---

<sup>62</sup> V.J.Ngoh , *Cameroon ,(1884-1985) ;A hundred years of history* , yaounde , Navi group publication , 1987, p85.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Guewada Adiza , “Le role de la commission Mixte des Nations Unies Cameroon-Nigeria Dans la mise en oeuvre de l`arret de la cour internationale de Justice du 10th Octobre 2002, Mémoire of masters degree in international relations , IRIC , Yaounde , 2012, pp.23-29

<sup>65</sup> Obasesama Okoi ,”Why Nations fight :The causes of the Nigeria-Cameroon Bakassi Peninsula conflict” , *African security* , Vol 9, n°1, 2016, p.20.

Link to this article , <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1132904>.

resources management. The kind of practical know –how that truly makes a difference on the ground .it was a grassroots approach, focusing on building local capacity from the bottom up. In 2013 , the world bank threw its considerably weight behind the efforts launching a huge 150 million dollars infrastructural project .This was not just about building roads and bridges, it was about embedding good governance . The project included crucial technical support on local government, helping them learn to manage more meaningfully with their constituents. It was a concerted effort to build a more transparent and respective local administration.

These initiatives were not just about handing out tools, they were about fostering a sense of ownership .The emphasis on participatory governance empowered communities, giving them a real voice in shaping their own futures. It is a testament to the power of collaboration which has increased the technical assistance and building capacity of Cameroon. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict did not only bring hostilities, it unleashed a wave of positive change. Access to international expertise coupled with strengthened local capacities fostered a remarkable social cohesion from Bakassi to the rest of the Cameroon .Different cultural groups who were enemies became close allies working together, a transformative power of peace and collaborative development .These technical skills obtained from as a result of the bakassi conflict was spread throughout the national territory thereby helping Cameroon to have a new wave of skilled labor in the national territory.

## **VII. SOCIAL COHESION THE REBIRTH OF MULTICULTURISM**

Cameroon being the new territorial owner respecting the terms of the CNMC <sup>66</sup> experienced significant positive socio-cultural consequences particularly in fostering multiculturalism and social cohesion .The peaceful transition of authority over Bakassi from Nigeria to Cameroon as outlined in the ICJ ruling encouraged a sense of unity among the diverse ethnic groups in the region .For example , the integration of the Bakassi population predominately consisting of Efik and other communities , into Cameroonian society led to increased cultural exchanges and collaboration in local governance . Even such as annual “festival of cultures” initiated in 2010 <sup>67</sup>brought together various ethnic groups from across Cameroon to celebrate their traditions, music, and cuisine, promoting mutual respect and understanding. This new found social cohesion not only enriched the cultural landscape but also strengthened community ties ,

---

<sup>66</sup> Guewnda Adiza , “Le role de la commission mixte des nations Unies Cameroon –Nigeria dans la mise en oevre de l’arret de la cour internationale de Justice du 10th octobre 2002, Mémoire of masters degree in international relations , IRIC, Yaounde , 2012, p.34.

<sup>67</sup> D. Ngalange Kisifeh, “ The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of Cameroon –Nigeria border. Case study :Dispute over the Bakassi peninsula , Memoire of master degree , in international relations , IRIC , 2011, p.70.

helping to mitigate potential tensions and fostering a shared national identity among Cameroonians. The multiculturalism had the consequences on Cameroon as;

### **A. Inclusivity built on national identity**

The 2008 resolution of the bakassi peninsula dispute marked a turning point for Cameroon, subtly yet significantly bolstering its national identity. The peaceful handover from Nigeria fostered a surprising sense of unity, particularly through the integration of the Efik community into the Cameroon fold. It was not a seamless process but the outcome was surprisingly harmonious. One could feel the shift in the national zeitgeist. The 2010 “National Unity Day” was not just a perfunctory celebration of independence, it was a vibrant tapestry woven from the threads of Cameroon’s diverse cultural heritage<sup>68</sup>. Imagine the scene, a kaleidoscope of traditional dances the air thrumming with music from every corner of the country, the nation’s contribution was front and center, a power symbol of inclusion<sup>69</sup>. Furthermore, the government implemented clever initiatives designed to facilitate dialogue and understanding at a grassroots level. Community forums popped up like mushrooms after a spring rain, providing spaces for the Efik and other ethnic groups to air grievances thus the government of Cameroon made millions of francs CFA in the domain of tourism, because Cameroon’s culture was being exported solidifying the Cameroon cultural legacy<sup>70</sup>. The shared perspectives, and collectively tackle challenges attracted more tourists into Cameroon and meant that there was a significant boost in the economy of Cameroon. They were not mere talking shops, they were crucibles forging a stronger sense of shared identity. The impact was palpable. Cameroonians, once perhaps more readily identifying with their specific ethnic groups, began to view themselves as integral parts of a larger, more unified nation. This was not just some abstract notion, it translated into tangible improvements in social cohesion and a palpable surge in national pride. The bakassi issues once a source of tension became a blessing to Cameroon through tourism and also a catalyst for a more inclusive and harmonious Cameroon. A remarkable transformation.

## **VIII. TOLERANCE ENHANCES INTERGROUP COOPERATION**

---

<sup>68</sup> V.J.Ngoh, *Cameroon, (1884-1985) : A hundred years of history*, Yaounde, Navi group publication, 1987, p45.

<sup>69</sup> A. Guewada “Le rôle de la commission Mixte des Nations Unies Cameroon-Nigeria dans la mise en oeuvre de L’arrêt de la cour internationale de justice du 10th octobre 2002 », Mmoire of professional Masters, IRIC, 2012.P.68.

<sup>70</sup> The tourism sector of Cameroon generates huge revenue to the state thus, the government understood the fact very well by redesigning the cultures of the bakassians with the rest of Cameroon cultures in order to make money and this helped spread the local cultures into international markets thereby leading to foreign earnings.

The 2008 resolution of the Bakassi peninsula disputes proved a watershed moment for intergroup cooperation in Cameroon. It was not just a border adjustment, it was a catalyst for genuine reconciliation, it was like a deep wound finally starting to heal slowly painstakingly, but with visible progress. As communities adjusted to the new political reality, a concerted efforts blossomed to foster dialogue and understanding between different ethnic groups<sup>71</sup>. One shining example was in 2011, establishment of the Bakassi peace and reconciliation forum. This was not some stuffy top-down initiative, it was a grassroots effort bringing together Efik community members and representatives from other Cameroonians ethnicities. The aim was simply yet profoundly impactful to talk, to listen and to build bridges. They held workshops delving into each other's histories, traditions and cultural nuances effectively dismantling preconceived notions brick by brick. It was like peeling back layers of an onion, revealing the shared humanity beneath the surface. Furthermore, youth exchange programs sprang up, injecting a vibrant energy into the process, kids from Bakassi were collaborating with students from other regions on joint projects competing in sports and even creating art together<sup>72</sup>. It was a master-class in organic diplomacy, fostering empathy and understanding in the most natural way possible. These initiatives were not just about ticking boxes, they were about weaving a new tapestry of tolerance and harmony across Cameroon's incredibly diverse social fabric. The result was a palpable reduction in tensions and a blossoming of inter-ethnic cooperation. A testament to the power of dialogue and shared experience which has permitted the government of Cameroon to cooperate with the Bakassi freedom fighters groups and thus paved the way to the social stable atmosphere for the exploitation of natural resources. It speaks volumes about the transformative potential of peace building initiatives providing that even give deeply entrenched conflicts can give a way to a brighter more unified future.

### **IX. UNITY IN DIVERSITY THE GATEWAY TO INNOVATION AND CREATIVITY**

The 2008 resolution, after the GTA, of 2006, on 14 August 2008, the last administrative unit last Bakassi for Cameroon to fully occupy the of the Bakassi peninsula<sup>73</sup>. The dispute unexpectedly ignited a creative firestorm in Cameroon, it was not just the end of a conflict, it felt like the dawn of something new. The peninsula's integration into the nation fostered a remarkable "unity in diversity" a melting point of cultures that bubbled over with artistic energy

---

<sup>71</sup> D. Kisifeh NgaLange "The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of Cameroon Nigeria Border. Case study: disputes over the Bakasssi Peninsula, Masters in international relations, IRIC Yaounde, 2011, p.101.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Hindatu Maigari Yerima, "The Bakassi disputes: People's dynamics and the rise of Militancy", *IOSR Journal of humanities and social sciences (IOSR-JHSS)*, Vol 7, n°1, p. 68.

.it was like a pressure cooker years of tension<sup>74</sup> released resulting in a vibrant explosion of creativity .Communities once perhaps wary of each other were sharing traditions swapping stories , and collaborating in ways nobody had envisioned .It was truly electrifying<sup>75</sup> . This cultural cross –pollination led to some truly remarkable things for example the “Unity in diversity arts festival” launched in 2012<sup>76</sup>. This was the explosion of Efik rhythms and dances interwoven with other regional styles a heady mix that was both deeply rooted in tradition and wildly innovative .Musicians, dancers, and visual artists from diverse backgrounds. This was like a fantastical meeting of minds, threw themselves into collaborative projects .The results were breathtaking that is new artistic forms emerged, hybridized creations that blended influences as seamlessly as a master chef combines exotic spices .It was not just about the art itself though local artisans started weaving elements from different cultures into their crafts, creating unique products that resonated with a far broader audience than before. This was not just about pretty trinkets, it was about economic empowerment.<sup>77</sup> . The ripple effect was stunning , tourism boomed fueled by this newfound cultural richness .The arts flourished ,providing livelihoods and opportunities .The Bakassi resolution initially a political settlement became a surprising catalyst for economic growth and artistic innovation , demonstrating how the seemingly paradoxical concept of “unity in diversity” can be a powerful engine for positive change .It is a testament to the human spirit`s capacity for adaptation and creation even in the aftermath of the conflict .The benefit of Cameroon here was that , Cameroon cultures was exported to foreign nations thus the cultural diversity brought a unanimity in the national culture of Cameroon through this music was exported for example , Manu Dibango , who`s exported Cameroon`s culture through music led to the national prestige of the nation of Cameroon because his excellence provoked millions of tourist who wanted to visit the nation of Cameroon which fetch millions of francs CFA in the coffers of the state there booming the economy of Cameroon through pouring money in circulation by the tourists.

### **A. Social stability and reduced conflict**

The 2008 resolution of the Bakassi peninsula dispute proved a watershed moment for Cameroon, dramatically improving social cohesion and easing intercommunity tensions.

---

<sup>74</sup> V.J.Ngoh , *Cameroon ,(1884-1985) ;A hundred years of history* , yaounde , Navi group publication , 1987, p45.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> D. J. Smiths , “The Bakassi Boys : Vigilantism , Violence , and political Imagination in Nigeria ,”*American Anthropological Association and Wiley are collaborating with JSTOR*, Vol 19, n°3, p.430.

<sup>77</sup> W.Duyile “ Nigerian –Cameroon Bakassi peninsula crisis :A retropect of Nigerian technocrats view prior to the court case at the Hague , department of history and international studies” , falculty of arts university Ado Ekiti state Nigeria 2015, p.64.

General Elokobi Njock “says it was necessary to attain a suitable social and political stability for things to get back to normalcy in the zone of Bakassi so has to ensure effective cooperation in the domain of security, patrol with the Nigerian Armies”<sup>78</sup> . It was like turning a page, ushering in an era of cooperation where before there had been only discord. The peaceful handover of the peninsula spurred the Cameroonian government into action, they launched the program “bakassi integration program” in 2009, a bold initiative designed to mend fences and foster harmony between the Efik people and other ethnic groups in the region. This was a massive community building project, the program was not just about handing out pamphlets. It involved grassroots dialogues, facilitated by local leaders, where simmering grievances could finally be aired and addressed. These were not shouting matches but carefully orchestrated conversations aimed at building trust, brick by painstaking brick<sup>79</sup>. For example 2010 saw a flurry of peace –building workshops .These were not stuffy academic seminars, they were vibrant gatherings of young people from diverse backgrounds, participating in collaborative activities, for example sports tournaments and cultural exchanges designed to foster camaraderie and break down preconceived notions .The effect was palpable friendships blossomed across ethnic divides where previously there had been suspicion and animosity. The results speak for themselves. Reports from local authorities paint a clear picture of inter-communal violence in bakassi plummeted by 2012. The bakassi conflict resolution therefore was not just a political win for Cameroon as a nation but a prime prestige to the state of Cameroon .It was a societal triumph laying the foundation for a more peaceful and harmonious future in a region previously wracked by conflict .It was a testament to the power of reconciliation and a hopeful example for other regions facing similar challenges.

The success was not just instantaneous of course, the groundwork laid in those early years of post- conflict <sup>80</sup> reconciliation bore fruit, proving that even deep-seated divisions can be overcome with sustained effort and a genuine commitment to peace which has led to the growth of the nation of Cameroon.

## **B. The creation of the refugees problems**

The surfacing of the refugee’s problem popped up, during and after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, which created the refugees migration

---

<sup>78</sup> Elokobi Njock , 69 years , Brigadier General of the National Gendarmerie , Director of the central coordination of of the National Gendarmerie , Yaounde , Yaounde , the 13<sup>th</sup> April 2025.

<sup>79</sup> G .Rooem Obame`Ngoua « la communication en milieu diplomatique », national institute of international relations, (IRIC) Unversity of Yaounde I , Mémoire 2000. P.61.

<sup>80</sup> The early days and years of the Bakassi conflict was characterised by excess bloodshed from both Cameroon and Nigeria militaries including the Civilians who most paid collateral damage in their arm confrontations.

.....Jamais encore dans l'histoire récente, des foules aussi nombreuses aussi dans autant d'endroit du globe, n'avait été obligé de quitter pays ou leur communauté pour chercher refuge ailleurs .Jamais encore, le problème du déplacement massif des populations n'avait tant préoccupé les Unies et ses Etats Membres .Et jamais encore le sort des déracinées n'avait été communiqué à un public aussi étendu ni illustré de manière si frappante<sup>81</sup> .

The Bakassi conflict also led to the displacement of many Cameroonians, and Nigerians citizens who were scattered across Africa as refugees, which was an adverse effect of the conflict of Bakassi which was against the principle of the UN<sup>82</sup>, which some natives of the zone became homeless and had to live on the street to survive, these were the horrific consequences of the Bakassi conflict on the inhabitants of this region. This also helped reduce the population of the zone, thereby leaving the zone with a very low population density .This was as a result of the Bakassi conflict of at its prime in 1981.

Let focus on the consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on the security domain which had impacts after the resolution of the Bakassi Conflict.

### **C. Security consequences**

#### **X. THE STRATEGIC GEOPOLITICAL POSITIONING OF BAKASSI**

Cameroon's strategic footprint in the Gulf of Guinea took a giant leap forward on August 14, 2008 with the final transfer of the Bakassi peninsula .It was to put it mildly a game changer .Suddenly , Cameroon found itself holding a Trump card , control crucial shipping lanes and access to a potentially goldmine of maritime resources .Cameroon went from a bit player to a heavyweight contender practically overnight <sup>83</sup>.This new found influence was not just about bragging rights , it translated into real clout .Negotiations regarding maritime security , resources allocation ,even the regional trade agreements .They had a seat at the grown ups` table and everyone knew it. Beyond the economic benefits , the Bakassi peninsula strategic location provided a significant boost to Cameroon's security posture .Cameroon had the front –row seat to monitor and respond to the threats like piracy and illegal fishing ,it is a massive advantage in

<sup>81</sup> UNCHR , Rapport sur l'état des réfugiés et autres personnes déplacées dans le monde , Genève , UNHCR, 1995, p.11.

<sup>82</sup> The Declaration of the UN High Commissioner in charge of refugees problems , Antonio Manuel de Oliveira Guterres ,( actual Secretary General of UNO) by UNHCR , June 2015.

<sup>83</sup> Duverger (M), « *institutions politiques et droit constitutionnel 1- Les grands systèmes politiques* , Paris , PUF, 1980, p.391, pour qui la transcendance divine est le fondement sur lequel ont reposé les monarchies occidentales .La monarchie est selon lui , un régime politique dans lequel l'autorité politique suprême appartient à un individu (roi , reine , empereur , impératrice )qui accède au pouvoir par la naissance .Ce régime a été le plus répandu dans le monde avant la révolution démocratique des XVIIIe , XIXe, XXe siècles .Sauf les républiques urbaines de l'Antiquité , du moyen âge et de la renaissance (et une bonne partie des communautés dites primitives : c'est –à-dire des communautés sans écriture) plupart des pays ont été soumis à des monarchies depuis les origines de l'humanité ».

<sup>83</sup> The EU contributed to a greater extent a larger amount towards the putting of the demarcation of the borders between Cameroon and Nigeria .

the often turbulent waters of the gulf of Guinea .Cameroon became in essence , the region`s vigilant guardian , a keystone in maintaining regional stability .The ripple effect extended far beyond the immediate region .This enhanced geopolitical standing opened doors to stronger diplomatic alliance with neighbors and international partners alike .Cameroon`s voice , once a whisper , now carried weight<sup>84</sup> ,a potent force in west African affairs .The acquisition of Bakassi was not just a territorial gain ,it was a strategic masterstroke , fundamentally reshaping Cameroon`s role on the world stage .It was a bold move that paid off handsomely , transforming their regional standing in ways few could have predicted. Therefore the strategic geopolitical positioning gave Cameroon an additional advantage over the affairs in the gulf of Guinea and made Cameroon a giant actor in the diplomacy of the West Africa.

Despite all the advantages of Cameroon in the strategic geopolitical positioning of bakassi it came with a disadvantage too on the side of Cameroon government.

### **A. The frequent pirates attacks**

The strategic geopolitical position of Bakassi helped Cameroon to easily crush enemies and protect the Country and its natural resources. This geopolitical position of Cameroon also interested the pirates who wanted to have a share of the maritime resources and thus, it became clear that the only way they could get resources was through attacks and rather increased the rate of insecurities in Bakassi .Thus, this made Cameroon to increase her spending in the maintenance of security attacks in Bakassi which Cameroon was supposed to be making money from the region yet she stills injects tax revenues in the region. Thereby making the government to spend more funds on the security which led to the liquidation of the government treasury, money that could have been used to carry out meaningful projects was wasted to maintain standing security patrol in the gulf of guinea, this reduce the level of infrastructural development in Cameroon<sup>85</sup>.This was a disadvantage which laid the backwardness of the economy of Cameroon due to the double edge sword strategic geopolitical positioning system.

### **B. Implantation of a military base in the zone of Bakassi**

The state of Cameroon for her to enjoy the benefits of the newly acquired territory of Cameroon there needed to a steady stable peaceful atmosphere, which will enable the government to explore and exploit the resources that now belongs to her. According to the Cameroon General, “the implantation of security in the zone was as a result of sending signals

---

<sup>84</sup> Adeleke , Olumide Ogunnoiki , “Regaining Bakassi peninsula from Cameroon :The options Available to Nigeria , *African journal of Law , political research and Administrative* , Vol 2, n° 1, 2020, p.23..

<sup>85</sup> G. Tyoyila Akwen « Nigeria –Cameroon border relations ;A historical analysis of the Bakassi peninsula region , Federal University Gashua Yobe state 2019, p11.

of peace, to the displaced population of Bakassi about the Political stable atmosphere of Bakassi”<sup>86</sup>, .The following are the positive consequences of the Cameroon state in the creation and implantation of the defense forces and security in the zone of Bakassi, which also have some negative impact on Cameroon. The lieutenant of the National gendarmerie also said the Bakassi conflict was major to the potency of the Cameroon`s security and diplomatic strength, it was necessary for Cameroon to prove a point beyond reasonable doubt<sup>87</sup> . The creation and implementation of a robust defense force and security presence became a paramount priority for the Cameroonian government .This undertaking was not merely about establishing physical control over newly acquired territory but also about ensuring the safety and security of its residents, combating cross-border crime .The positive consequences of the creation and implantation of the defense force in the zone of bakassi.

The conservation of the natural resources by the creation of the military base also had negative consequence to the state of Cameroon which put the government on a temporal tide corner and Cameroon became desperate for the urgent solution of this problem.

### **A. Partnerships for addressing transnational challenges**

The 2002 resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict opened a new chapter for Cameroon, paving the way for some seriously impactful partnerships tackling cross-border headaches. This is to economize state budgets for expenditures to maintain national security<sup>88</sup> . .From security, trade, unlocking a treasure chest of opportunities. One giant example in the security domain is the formation of the multinational joint task force (MNJTF) in 2013, a collaborative efforts with Nigeria and other neighbors to wrestle with the burgeoning Boko Haram threat .This was not just about building bridges, fostering genuine cultural exchange and a sense of shared destiny amongst previously disparate communities .It felt to many like a breath of fresh air in a region often choked by conflict. Then fast forward to 2015, Cameroon dove headfirst into the lake chad basin commission`s efforts to combat climate change and resources sustainably working alongside Nigeria, Chad, and Niger. The Bakassians had a different perspective on the security, or atmosphere of the Bakassi conflict<sup>89</sup> . They tackled environmental challenges with a unified

---

<sup>86</sup> Elokobi Njock , 69years, Brigadier General of the National Gendarmerie , Director of the Central Coordination of the National gendarmerie , Yaounde , 27<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

<sup>87</sup> Lieutenant ,Brahim Trabon , 37years, Territorial Brigade of Mfoundi , investigator head of service ,Yaounde , 30<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

<sup>88</sup> L. Umeh Chinwe “politics of resettlement and nationality crisis of inhabitants of bakassi peninsula”,Department international relations Godfrey okoye University , Ugwuomu Nike Enugu , Nigeria. 2006, p.26.

<sup>89</sup> A.B. Tabetah , “The perspection / view of Cameroon –Nigeria Bakassi border conflict by the Bakassi people “, Memoire and Theses of International relations , Historiska institutions , 2013, p.14.

front<sup>90</sup>. It was a master-class in collaborative problem –solving, a symphony of a shared efforts. These initiatives were not just about tricking boxes, they were about weaving a stronger more resilient regional fabric. The collaborative spirit fostered a sense of the shared identity, a feeling of “we are in this together” bolstering social cohesion and regional stability in a way that’s had to overstate. It is a testament to the power of collective action. By pooling resources and expertise ,Cameroon effectively leveraged its newfound influence to promote a more integrated approach to development fostering deeper cultural understanding and stronger ties with its neighbors .It is a narrative of how resolving one conflict can trigger a ripple effect of positive change ,transforming a region and forging a stronger future<sup>91</sup> .It is a testament to the power of diplomacy and the enduring strength of collaborative spirit which is the powerhouse of the partnerships for addressing transnational challenges which helped Cameroon to become an outstanding Country today.

## **B. Diplomatic consequences**

### **XI. INTERNATINAL RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT**

Cameroon demonstrated its commitment to peaceful dispute resolution and international law ,drew the praise from various global entities , for example in 2009, the UN<sup>92</sup> commended Cameroon for its role in maintaining regional stability during a security council meeting , highlighting its peaceful approach as a model for conflict resolution in African .This recognition translated into tangible support , as seen in 2010 where the AU endorsed Cameroon`s bid for a non- permanent seat on the UN security Council for the term 2012 -2013 , reflecting increased diplomatic clout .Additionally , internationally organizations like the World Bank and the EU, expressed willingness to collaborate on development projects in Cameroon , providing crucial funding for infrastructure improvements and social programs .Thus, the resolution not only bolstered Cameroon`s international standing but also facilitated access to vital support and partnerships that have been instrumental in its development trajectory .Thus, a positive consequence for Cameroon on the resolution of the bakassi conflict.

---

<sup>90</sup> Obasesam Okoi , “ Why Nations fight : The causes of the Nigeria –Cameroon Bakassi peninsula conflict” , *African security* , Vol 9, n°1 2016, p. 20.

<sup>91</sup> G .Rooem Obame`Ngoua « la communication en milieu diplomatique », national institute of international relations, (IRIC) Unversity of Yaounde I , Mémoire 2000. P.61.

<sup>92</sup> The UN recommending Cameroon as a piece abiding Nations shows hoe mature the reputation of Cameroon as being on the Global stage and thus, fostered foreign investors to invest in Cameroon given the regulation of peace and stability which are the embryo of attractive sphere of investments . The image of Cameroon because of its peaceful collaboration with Nigeria is a prove of diplomacy which is profitable to Cameroon , as an emerging nation because its attract investors across the globe which is the yardstick of economic growth and development .

### **A. Cameroon`s reputation was admired internationally**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict significantly enhanced Cameroon`s international reputation , particularly evident after the final handover of the peninsula on August 14 ,2008.By choosing to resolve this territorial disputes through the ICJ ,, which delivered its ruling on October 10, 2002.Cameroon demonstrated a commitment to upholding international law and peaceful conflict resolution .This approach garnered widespread admiration from various international organizations ,such as the united nations and AU , which praised Cameroon for its dedication to diplomacy rather than armed conflict .For example , in 2011, during a summit of the AU ,Cameroon was recognize for its role in the promoting of peace and stability in the region<sup>93</sup> .The positive global perception fostered by this resolution not only increased foreign investment. Evident in projects like the Kribi deep sea port initiated in 2014, but also enhanced access to development aid , as seen in the financial support from the World Bank for various infrastructure projects . Overall, Cameroon`s reputation as a law –abiding and peaceful nation solidified its standing as a responsible member of the international community ,opening doors for greater diplomatic engagement and collaboration .The admiration of Cameroon`s reputation internationally had the following positive consequence on Cameroon .

### **B. Strengthened diplomatic support and advocacy**

The peaceful resolution of the bakassi peninsula conflict in 2002 proved a real game –changer for Cameroon`s international standing <sup>94</sup>, it was like a key unlocking a whole new set of opportunities .Suddenly Cameroon found itself with significantly boosted diplomatic influence , a far cry from its previous position .Improved relations with Nigeria , a long –standing neighbor , blossomed after the settlement . This led to the signing of the Green tree Agreement in 2006, a landmark deal that cemented ongoing dialogue and cooperation across numerous sectors this was a foundation for a strong lasting friendship. The newfound diplomatic influence did not go unnoticed. In 2014, Cameroon secured vital backing from the African Union (AU), a major endorsement of its commitment to regional peace and stability .The AU essentially gave Cameroon a gold star for its conflict resolution efforts ,recognizing the importance of peaceful solutions in the volatile west African landscape <sup>95</sup>.For example the AU`s 2016

---

<sup>93</sup> The recognition was well deserve in that ,Cameroon following its historical factor , that is the anglo-German treaty of 1913 , where bakassi was absolute part of the Cameroon treaty and this alone could make Cameroon to prefer war over negotiation but she choose peace and diplomatic negotiations where others would have choose war and violence thus, Cameroon was therefore admired by that .

<sup>94</sup> L. Umeh Chinwe “politics of resettlement and nationality crisis of inhabitants of bakassi peninsula”,Department international relations Godfrey okoye University , Ugwuomu Nike Enugu , Nigeria. 2006, p.26.

<sup>95</sup> Okenwa (2015) Nigerian government has abandoned bakassi indigenes .Premium times 15<sup>th</sup> February 2015.

initiative to provide technical assistance for peace building in the region was a direct result of Cameroon's improved reputation. The impact rippled outwards, Cameroon's voice on the regional stage grew louder, attracting more international attention and resources, this meant that the social atmosphere for Cameroon attracted many foreign investors which broaden the economy landscape of Cameroon. Thus, a huge blessing to Cameroon<sup>96</sup>. The benefits were not solely political, the resolution also fostered a much needed environment of collaboration and understanding between communities previously affected by the conflict. The community healing from a deep wound slowly rebuilding trust and fostering cultural exchange. In essence, the bakassi peninsula settlement was not just a diplomatic triumph, it spurred positive socio-cultural transformation, enriching Cameroon's overall landscape. It was a win-win on Cameroon on multiple fronts, a testament to the power of peaceful conflict resolution. The nation of Cameroon benefited from these positive consequences of the resolution of the bakassi conflict by strengthening her sphere of influence through various groups of social ties diplomacy attached to Cameroon by her peaceful way of conflict resolution. This attracted international collaboration to both Cameroon and the international actors, thus a fertile diplomatic support and advocacy the bedrock of Cameroon sphere of influence in both regional and international diplomacy.

## **XII. TOLERANCE ENHANCES INTERGROUP COOPERATION**

The 2008 resolution of the Bakassi peninsula disputes proved a watershed moment for intergroup cooperation in Cameroon. It was not just a border adjustment, it was a catalyst for genuine reconciliation, it was like a deep wound finally starting to heal slowly painstakingly, but with visible progress. As communities adjusted to the new political reality, a concerted efforts blossomed to foster dialogue and understanding between different ethnic groups<sup>97</sup>. One shining example was in 2011 the establishment of the Bakassi peace and reconciliation forum. This was not some stuffy top-down initiative, it was a grassroots effort bringing together Efik community members and representatives from other Cameroonians ethnicities. The aim was simply yet profoundly impactful to talk, to listen and to build bridges. They held workshops delving into each other's histories, traditions and cultural nuances effectively dismantling preconceived notions brick by brick. It was like peeling back layers of an onion, revealing the shared humanity beneath the surface. Furthermore, youth exchange programs sprang up,

---

<sup>96</sup> Obasesam Okoi, « Why Nations fight : The causes of the Nigeria –Cameroon Bakassi peninsula conflict , *African security* , Vol 9, n°1 2016, p. 20.

<sup>97</sup> D. Kisifeh NgaLange “ The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of Cameroon Nigeria Border . Case study :disputes over the Bakasssi Peninsula , Masters in international realations , IRIC Yaounde , 2011, p.101.

injecting a vibrant energy into the process ,kids from Bakassi were collaborating with students from other regions on joint projects competing in sports and even creating art together <sup>98</sup>.It was a master-class in organic diplomacy ,fostering empathy and understanding in the most natural way possible .These initiatives were not just about ticking boxes , they were about weaving a new tapestry of tolerance and harmony across Cameroon`s incredibly diverse social fabric .The result was a palpable reduction in tensions and a blossoming of inter-ethnic cooperation .A testament to the power of dialogue and shared experience which has permitted the government of Cameroon to cooperate with the Bakassi freedom fighters groups and thus paved the way to the social stable atmosphere for the exploitation of natural resources<sup>99</sup> .It speaks volumes about the transformative potential of peace building initiatives providing that even give deeply entrenched conflicts can give a way to a brighter more unified future<sup>100</sup> . The success was not just instantaneous of course, the groundwork laid in those early years of post- conflict <sup>101</sup> . The reconciliation bore fruit, proving that even deep-seated divisions can be overcome with sustained effort and a genuine commitment to peace which has led to the growth of the nation of Cameroon<sup>102</sup> .

### **Conclusion**

The consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon were very lucrative to Cameroon because it permitted Cameroon to enjoy the newly reoccupation of the Bakassi peninsula given to the Country by the ICJ verdict of 10<sup>th</sup> October 2002 , which was implemented by the GTA of June 2006,in Collaboration with the CNMC .Never-the -less, there were some negative consequences of the resolution of the conflict on Cameroon as analyzed using the integrated approach above where necessary the positive impact carried a negative string as elaborated above .

---

<sup>98</sup> J.S. Oyono Oyono , « La diplomatie Camerounaise Face aux Defis de la Mondialisation ».The'se soutenance en I.en vue de l'obtention du diplôme de Doctorat de 3eme cycle en relations internationales , IRIC, Yaounde 1999.p.20.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> Cameroon ability to follow the ICJ verdict ,even the verdict was in favor of the cameroon but her acceptance of the lengthy procedure knowing fully well that the territory belongs to her made Cameroon gain respect in the gulf of guinea thus, many nations were willing to cooperate with because of her ability to respect international arbitration and this gave cameroon integrity among nations in Africa and the world beyond which is a raw currency for development and and increase in her sphere of influence .

<sup>101</sup> The early days and years of the bakassi conflict was characterised by excess bloodshed from both cameroon and nigeria militaries including the civilians who mosted paid collateral damage in their arm confrontations.

<sup>102</sup> A .I. Asiwaju ,partitioned Africans (Ethnic relations across Africa international boundaries )1884-1984, Lagos, University press, 1984, p. 38.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DIFFICULTIES, PERSPECTIVES AND PROPOSALS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT

#### Introduction

The establishment of lasting political stability in Bakassi which was as a result of the ICJ verdict of October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002, and the implementation of the GTA of June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006. The resolution of the conflict and the final handover to Cameroon on August 14, 2008, necessitated a multi-faceted approach that addresses both immediate governance<sup>1</sup> needs and long-term integration challenges. The resolutions of the Bakassi conflict had some difficulties in the implementation of the ICJ verdict. The perspectives and proposals that the region of Bakassi can be better and be an attractive site for the bedrock of development in South West Region in particular and Cameroon in general<sup>2</sup>. The perspectives involves prioritizing inclusive governance structures that incorporate local Bakassian voices and address their specific concerns, fostering a sense of ownership and participation in the political process<sup>3</sup>. Moving forward, this requires strengthening local administrative capacity, promoting transparent and accountable governance and implementing policies that address socio-economic disparities. The difficulties and proposals in the implementation of the resolution of the ICJ Verdict of 2002. The perspectives of the resolution of the conflict on Cameroon to establish significant political stable atmosphere in Bakassi after the resolution of the conflict on August 2008. This will be elaborated subsequently.

<sup>1</sup> Guewanda Adiza, "Le role de la commission Mixte des Nations Unies Cameroon –Nigerian dans la Mise oeuvre de l'arret de la cour Internationale de justice du 10 octobre 2002", Mémoire of masters degree of international relations IRIC, 2012, p.93.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Duverger (M), « *institutions politiques et droit constitutionnel 1- Les grands systemes politiques*, Paris, PUF, 1980, p.391, pour qui la transcend divine est le fondement sur lequel ont repose` les monarchies occidentales. La monarchie est selon lui, un regime politique dans lequel L`autorite politique supreme appartient a un individu (roi, reine, empereur, imperatrice) qui accede au pouvoir par la naissance. Ce regime a été le plus repandu dans le monde avant la revolution democratique des XVIIIe, XIXe, XXe siecles. Suaf les republican Urbaines de L`Antiquite, du moyen Age et de la renaissance (et une bonne partie des communaute dites primitives: c`est –a-dire des communautes sans ecriture) plupart des pays ont été soumis a des monarchies depuis les origines de L`humanite ».

<sup>3</sup> The EU contributed to a greater extent a larger amount towards the putting of the demarcation of the borders between Cameroon and Nigeria.

## **I. THE DIFFICULTIES AND PROPOSALS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ICJ RESOLUTIONS**

The implementation of the resolutions regarding the Bakassi conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon, has been fraught with numerous challenges that stem from complex local corners. Following the 2002 ruling by the ICJ which gave the sovereignty of Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon, Cameroon and Nigeria faced significant hurdles in translating this legal decision into practical governance and community acceptance. Thus, to overcome these challenges both government and international organizations initiated dialogue with local stakeholders to address grievances of the population and ensured that their voices were heard<sup>4</sup>. Some of the key difficulties is seen in the area of political instability and commitment issues, historical grievances and national identity. Lastly, local community problem which hijacked<sup>5</sup> the implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict as it slowed down the process. The difficulties and proposals in the implementation of the ICJ resolutions process, as will be analyzed subsequently.

## **II. POLITICAL INSTABILITIES AND COMMITMENT ISSUES**

Political instabilities and commitment issues hindered the implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, through the fact that it destabilized the activities of this region and slowed the implementation of the ICJ resolutions.

### **A. Inconsistent policy implementation**

The Bakassi peninsula conflict highlights the pitfalls of inconsistent governance. The 2002 ICJ ruling awarding the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon, did not magically solve the problem. In fact, it became a catalyst for further complications, it was like building a house on a shifting sand dune, and unstable foundations lead to a wobbly structure.

Cameroon, newly in charge, faced immediate pushback. Local communities, deeply rooted in Nigerian culture and history, the Bakassians were not about to simply switch allegiance overnight. They felt understandably, a strong kinship with Nigeria, a bond forged over generations. It was a bit like asking a family to abandon their ancestral home, a deeply emotional and complex situation<sup>6</sup>. Nigerians response was, shall we say, was not happy with the verdict of the ICJ ruling, thus, gradually morphed into a more hesitant stance, leaving residents in a state of bewilderment. The confusion was massive, one day under the Nigerian flag and the next day under the Cameroon flag, with no clear guidelines.

---

<sup>4</sup> B. Oter Atur "The impacts of organized crime in the Gulf of Guinea, Piracy and Illicit Bunkering in Nigeria", *Memoire of masters in international relations IRIC*, 2014, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> A. I. Asiwaju, *partitioned Africans (Ethnic relations across Africa international boundaries) 1884-1984*, Lagos, University press, 1984, p. 38.

The lack of clarity fueled uncertainty and mistrust. Adding fuel to the fire was the complete absence of a cohesive resource management plan. Fishing rights, a lifeline for many became a major bone of contention, with local fishermen clashing with larger commercial interests from both countries<sup>7</sup>. The scramble for oil exploration only exacerbated the situation, turning a complicated issue into a full-blown of difficulties between both parties. The inconsistent policies of both Nigeria and Cameroon created a breeding ground for mistrust and conflict. The lack of clear, consistent governance, akin to a ship sailing without a rudder, hampered any genuine attempts at reconciliation and lasting peace. The Bakassi experience serves as a stark reminder: consistent, transparent policy is paramount, especially in sensitive post-conflict situations without it even a legally binding ruling can become a source of ongoing strife. This problem was resolved through peaceful and positive dialogue and also the implantation of the Cameroon Administration in Bakassi which till date ensures the continuation of the ICJ resolution. The creation of the B.I.R Camp in Bakassi further helped maintain law and order in the region for the peaceful resolution of the conflict.

#### **B. There was distrust and skepticism**

The Bakassi conflict resolution hit a major snag, deep seated mistrust among the local population. It was not just a little skepticism. This was a full-blown lack of faith to both Countries Cameroon and Nigeria and the international bodies involved. People felt utterly sidelined, their voices lost in the bureaucratic shuffle of high level decisions. For example, after the ICJ handed down its ruling, the communities there were practically paralyzed by anxiety. They eyed Cameroon's intentions with suspicion, fearing their traditional fishing rights and land ownership would be bulldozed by government interest. This was not unfounded, Nigeria's rather haphazard support for Bakassi citizens only fueled those flames of doubt. It felt like they were being tossed into the promise of the protection. To add salt to injury, the compensation and resettlement promises made by both governments rang hollow. These were not just broken promises, they were phantom promises disappearing into thin air like wisps of smoke. The lack of tangible support solidified the belief that their concerns were being ignored, treated as mere inconveniences.<sup>8</sup>. This pervasive distrust was not a minor obstacle. It was the brick wall blocking the path to a peaceful resolution. Cooperation became unreal, how could anyone collaborate with authorities perceived as distant, uncaring and frankly untrustworthy. The atmosphere was thick with resentment, a potent brew of fear and disillusionment that

---

<sup>7</sup> L. Umeh Chinwe "politics of resettlement and nationality crisis of inhabitants of bakassi peninsula", Department international relations Godfrey okoye University, Ugwuomu Nike Enugu, Nigeria. 2006, p.19.

<sup>8</sup> G. Atem, the Bakassi problem 1981-1994, Mimeo, Buea, university of Buea 1994, p2.

poisoned any chance of smooth implementation. It was a classic case of the best laid plans of mice and men going awry, all thanks to a chasm of broken trust. The issues surrounding broken trust is based on the series of failure, and thus, through heated dialogue, it was necessary and the wind of trust blew in thus, gave the atmosphere necessary for resolution of the bakassi conflict <sup>9</sup>. This was made possible by the CNMC where members were from both Countries that is Cameroon and Nigeria . This created the rebirth of trust ease the implementation of the resolution of the ICJ.

### **C. Diverted attention from international issues**

In the 2000s, the diverted attention from international issues significantly complicated the implementation of the Bakassi conflict resolution primarily as global focus shifted to pressing crisis. The world's attention was hijacked snapped up like a rare collectible, by the post 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001, attack on world trade center <sup>10</sup> . The war on terror with its relentless demands on global resources and political capital cast a long shadow, eclipsing nearly everything else . Afghanistan and Iraq became the new battlegrounds sucking the oxygen out of the room, so to speak. Western Countries understandable preoccupied with immediate security threats in the Middle East and North Africa, simply did not have the bandwidth for another major international crisis. The Bakassi situation sadly fell by the wayside. This lack of international scrutiny and support, crucial ingredients for a successful peace process, was a major setback. It was like trying to bake a cake without the essential ingredients, the outcome was never going to be pretty.

To add salt to injury, Nigeria itself was grappling with a host of internal political instability<sup>11</sup> and economic crisis were the order of the day. This diverted precious resources and governmental attention away from the Bakassi issue losing out to more pressing domestic concerns . This internal struggle mirrored the global indifference, creating a project recipe for failure. The consequences were predictable , yet devastating . Initiatives aimed at reconciliation , local governance , and community development . The bedrock of a lasting peace were starved of funding and political will , entirely neglected , in some cases . The frustration and disillusionment among the local population, left feeling abandoned and unheard . This sense of marginalization , this fostering wound of neglect , only served to exacerbate tensions and undermine any hope of a peaceful resolution , it became a vicious cycle , a Gordian knot of

---

<sup>9</sup> Lacoste Yves , *La Géographie , ça sert d'abord , à faire la guerre* , Paris Foundation , 1976, p. 213.

<sup>10</sup> This was the attack by the terrorist group known led by ousama ben laden from the deadly group known as akada .

<sup>11</sup> The period in nigeria that was characterised by coup d'etate , political power changing hands from one military general to another.

global indifferences and domestic turmoil .untangling it proved and continues to prove incredibly challenging. These persistence conflicts around the world slowed down the fast implementation of the UN verdict of ICJ 2002,it was till in 2006 when the green tree agreement was signed and due to excessive dialogue and making the conflict by the then ,UN secretary general , his excellency Koffi Annan, who fought for the interest of his beloved continent<sup>12</sup>. This led to the implementation of the ICJ resolutions.

#### **D. Rise of nationalistic sentiments**

The Bakassi peninsula dispute settled by the ICJ ruling in 2002, became a tangled web of national pride and political maneuvering in the 2000s .It was like trying to untangle a Gordian knot seemingly impossible .The ruling awarding Bakassi to Cameroon, sparked a firestorm of protest in Nigeria. The uproar cities like Calabar became cauldrons of discontent, with citizens feeling their national pride had been trampled upon by politicians, ever keen to ride the wave of public opinion, adopted increase circumstances. Thus, fueling the flames rather dousing them .Meanwhile across the border in Cameroon a similar surge of patriotic fervor took hold<sup>13</sup>. The newly acquired territory became a symbol of national unity, a rallying cry that effectively silenced any voices advocating for shared governance or autonomy, it was a perfect storm of nationalism, brewing on both sides.

This potent cocktail of nationalistic sentiments created a climate of mistrust ,poisoning the well of cooperation needed to implement the agreed upon post settlement arrangement .The crucial detail is in the domain of resources sharing , joint governance became secondary to the overriding narrative of national identity compromise ,that essential ingredient for lasting peace , was tossed aside like an unwanted trinket .The focus shifted entirely to protecting perceived national interests ,leaving the fragile process sputtering and eventually grinding to a halt .In short, the fervent nationalism on both sides effectively hijacked the peace process .leaving the Bakassi peninsula in the stark reminder of how easily nationalistic fervor can derail even the most well intentioned diplomatic efforts<sup>14</sup> .The situation serves as a cautionary tale , demonstrating the profound impact of nationalistic sentiments on conflict resolution , even after a seemingly definitive legal ruling. As a result of this, every citizens in Bakassi wanted their home nation to be victorious this really slowed the implementation of the ICJ Verdict resolutions but due to dialogue the process began to get momentum. The recognition of

---

<sup>12</sup> Tansong Tendongue Chopodung , “L`action des chefs d`etat Cameroonaise et Nigerians , dans la resolution du conflit de Bakassi , Mémoire of masters degree in international relations ,IRIC, Yaounde , 2010, pp. 3-10.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> M.Z .Njeuma,Cameroon –Nigeria frontier :A model for culture of peace .1890-1991,journal of the Cameroon academy of sciences 2(3),183-201,2002, p61.

Cameroon sovereignty by President Olusegun Obasanjo paved the way for the implementation of the UN resolutions.

Looking from the above analysis, it's clear that the political instability and commitment issues slowed the implementation of the UN resolutions but never the less, in the domain of historical grievances and national identity also contributed to slow down the implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

### **III. HISTORICAL GRIVANCES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Historical grievances and national identity played a crucial role in complicating the implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.<sup>15</sup> These entrenched historical grievances fostered a sense of mistrust and animosity between communities on both sides .making it challenging to achieve reconciliation, the below paragraph will illustrate how this historical grievances acted as hurdle in the implementation of the resolutions of the Bakassi conflict.

#### **A. Nationalism and sovereignty**

The nationalism and sovereignty significantly complicated the implementation of the Bakassi resolution in the 2000s as both Nigeria and Cameroon clung to their national identities and territorial claims with fervor .For instance after the ICJ ruling , in 2002 that Bakassi belonged to Cameroon , many Nigerians interpreted this ruling as an infringement on their sovereignty , leading to widespread protests and demonstrations in cities like Calabar ,where citizens demanded that their government reclaim the territory .This strong nationalist sentiments was further fueled by political leaders who capitalized on public outrage to rallying support ,often rejecting any form of compromise or negotiations that could be seen as conceding to Cameroon `s claims ,conversely in Cameroon , the acquisition of Bakassi was celebrated as a triumph of national pride , prompting the government to adopt a headline stance against any proposals for shared governance or autonomy for the local population .This mutual reinforcement of nationalistic fervor created a climate of distrust and hostility making it exceedingly difficult for either side to engage in constructive dialogue or implement the peace agreements effectively .As sovereignty became significant barriers to achieving lasting peace and stability in the Bakassi region. This Nationalism and sovereignty was solved by UN who called for the respect of institutions and the implementation of the resolutions of the ICJ.

#### **B. Colonial legacies**

---

<sup>15</sup> The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was laid by the foundation of factors which were fascilitated by historical grievances channeled by colonization of Cameroon in 1884 by the Germans , and subsequent partition in 1916 , by Britain and France which separated the once known nation of German Kemerun into French Cameroon and British Southern Cameroon which this differences will later in future brought ford what we known as the Anglophone crisis, of NoSo , today because of the mixture of two different cultures.

Colonial legacies profoundly influenced the difficulties in implementing the resolutions of the Bakassi conflict in the 2000s as the arbitrary borders drawn during colonial rule did not reflect the historical, ethnic, or cultural realities of the region. The division of Bakassi between Nigeria and Cameroon can be traced back to colonial administrations that prioritized their interest over local identities, leading to confusion and conflict over territorial claims. For example when Cameroon gained independence from France and Nigeria from Britain, the borders established did not account for the local populations' <sup>16</sup> affiliations resulting in a patchwork of communities with divided loyalties. This historical context laid the groundwork for ongoing disputes, as both countries invoked colonial era agreements to bolster their claims to Bakassi. Furthermore, the lingering effects of colonial governance manifested in mistrust between communities complicating reconciliation efforts and making it challenging for local populations to accept decisions made by international bodies like the ICJ, consequently, these colonial legacies not only fueled nationalistic sentiments but also created grievances that hindered effective dialogue and implementation of conflict resolution in Bakassi. This was made possible by the respect of the principle of intangibility of frontiers which laid the Anglo-German agreement of 1913 to be used to trace the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. Thus helped in the implementation due to the legality of this agreement.

### **C. The colonial discrimination**

The colonial era where the British rule put Southern Cameroonians as integral part of Nigeria they were brutally poorly treated and thus, their relationship with Nigeria became less interesting and made it impossible for the collaboration of Cameroonians to cooperate due to the fact that during the colonial rule, the British treated the Nigeria as superior being to Cameroonians, they never forgot, this created the atmosphere of tension and antagonism because the commercial activities for example the Igbos did with Cameroonians, they cheated them on trade and sold fake goods to them thus, those colonial maltreatment posted a wall that was difficult to break<sup>17</sup>. This colonial decimation was also seen in the area where the French Cameroon was advanced in Development while the British Southern Cameroon was abandoned for the joint administration of Nigerians to develop this area<sup>18</sup>. This superiority of this region of Southern Cameroon by the French Cameroon laid the foundation for the marginalization of

---

<sup>16</sup> Coming from different colonial background was already a greater threat in that, despite Cameroon speaking English, but the vast majority of the population speaks French from the French Cameroon and thus making the little percentage of Cameroonians who speak English.

<sup>17</sup> F.Kenne, *la primier guerre mondiale et les mutation des frontieres internationales du Cameroon, le Camerron et la guerre (1914-1916)*, 323, 2017. P3.

<sup>18</sup> V.J. Ngoh, *Cameroon 1884-Present (2018)*, Limbe, DESIGN House Limbe, 2019, p.147.

British Cameroon in the Federal system established in 1961<sup>19</sup>. This frustration was handled through a more friendly diplomatic cooperation's which fostered the social ties between Cameroon and Nigeria which led to the implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

#### **D. The quest for resources control**

The Bakassi peninsula dispute, raging in the early 2000s was not just about drawing lines on a map, it was a heavyweight bout over oil. Both Nigeria and Cameroon knew the region's surface held the black gold that greased the wheels of their economies. When the ICJ handed down its verdict in 2002, favoring Cameroon the situation became extremely explosive. Nigeria having already sunk a fortune into gut, losing access to those lucrative reserves, was not just a territorial setback. It was a potential economic catastrophe. A real gut-wrenching blow to national pride. The political fallout was immediate and fierce. We could practically feel the tension radiating from Abuja. It was not bigwigs in government, ordinary Nigerians especially those livelihoods depend on fishing and other coastal activities felt the pinch<sup>20</sup>. Their future, their way of life, felt as precarious as a house of cards. Some politicians, ever opportunistic stoked these fears, whipping up nationalist fervor and using the "resource sovereignty"<sup>21</sup> card to resist ceding control.

It was a master-class in political maneuvering frankly, Cameroon naturally had its own agenda, and securing control of Bakassi meant securing those oil riches, a veritable windfall. But even their government's triumph was tinged with complexity. Local populations with their own long-standing gripes about resources management, were not exactly rolling out the welcome mat. The situation was a tangled mess like trying to untangle a thousand fishing nets. The bottom line, this thug of war, over the resources made finding common ground about as easy as herding cats. Both countries prioritize their economic interests often at the expense of diplomatic solutions. Peace agreements felt more fragile truce than genuine resolutions constantly threatened by the simmering resentment over who controlled the oil. It was a stark reminder that even the best intentioned peace processes can be derailed by the siren song of economic self-interest. The Bakassi conflict serves as a cautionary tale a potent example of how resources scarcity can poison even the most promising attempts at reconciliation thus, the

---

<sup>19</sup> R. J. Williard, *The Cameroon federal political integration in a fragmentary society*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970, p.70.

<sup>20</sup> L.Igohosa Ugbudian, "The role of Natural resources in Cameroon border disputes," *Global Journal of Human social science :H Interdisciplinary* Vol 18, n°1, 2018, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Both Cameroon and Nigeria wanted the control of these natural resources and thus it was a plus for them and this even became worsen in 2002 with the ICJ ruling Nigeria refused to accept the verdict because of the motivation of the natural resources.

quest for the control of these natural resources placed hurdles towards the implementation of the Bakassi conflict. This was because no nation wanted to lose this newly discovered oil region.

#### **E. The militarization of the region of akassi**

The Bakassi peninsula's story in the 2000s reads like a grim , drawn out tug of war <sup>22</sup>, a geopolitical wrestling match where the stakes were incredibly high ,the very ownership of the land .Nigeria and Cameroon locked disputes , both deployed troops , turning the region into a heavily militarized zone .It was a recipe for disaster, a powder key waiting for a spark<sup>23</sup> .The 2002 , ICJ ruling , while intended to bring clarity , only seemed to exacerbate the problem .Nigeria despites the ruling , kept a substantial military presence , ostensibly to protect what they viewed as their rightful territory .This predictably did not sit well with the local population ,it fueled resistance to Cameroonian authority and to make matters worse ,ignited skirmishes with Cameroonian forces .The 2008, clashes resulting in casualties on both sides , stand as a stark reminder of the volatile. Cameroon naturally responded in kind mirroring Nigeria`s military buildup .This tit –for –tat escalation created a vicious cycle , a self- perpetuating spiral of mistrust and violence .The region became a minefield of suspicion , where any attempt at diplomatic engagement felt like navigating a treacherous swamp .

Peace talks were constantly overshadowed by the ever present threat of renewed conflict .The innocent civilians caught in the crosshairs suffered immensely, harassment and displacement became commonplace, their lives already precarious, were thrown into utter chaos by action of both militaries<sup>24</sup>. It was a humanitarian catastrophe unfolding alongside a geopolitical one .Ultimately, the militarization of Bakassi undermined any chance of lasting peace .It poisoned the well of trust between Cameroon and Nigeria making even the most well intentioned peacekeeping efforts feels like herding cats .The region became a stark example of how the implantation of military helped in the resolution of the Bakassi conflict. This was because it made the population to understand the consequences of creating disorder and chaos in the region. This made the people to cooperate with the CNMC .Thus, led to the implementation of the ICJ resolutions of the Bakassi conflict leaving behind a legacy of political stability .This favored the implementation of the Bakassi resolutions placed by the ICJ. The militarization led to the implementation of ICJ verdict.

---

<sup>22</sup> Obasesam Okoi , “Why nations fight :The causes of the Nigeria-Cameroon Bakassi peninsula conflict”, African Security , Vol 9. n° 1 , 2016, p.20.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> J. Babatola , international affairs and global strategy , researchgate.net ,2012.p15.

The implementation of resolutions regarding the Bakassi peninsula conflict insignificant hurdles due to the intricate local community's dynamics, as will be analyzed subsequently and how it was resolved.

#### **F. Local communities dynamics**

In this section our focus is to illustrate on how local communities dynamics how placed barriers in the implementation of the ICJ resolutions of the Bakassi conflict<sup>25</sup>.

#### **IV. MIXED ETHNIC COMPOSITION**

The Bakassi peninsula , a crucible of ethnic tensions and failed resolution .Navigating the tangled resolution in the Bakassi peninsula during the 2000s was to put it mildly , a herculean task , The president of Cameroon has its regulatory powers <sup>26</sup>The area`s vibrant tapestry of ethnicities Efik, Oro, and the Bakassi people themselves ,each with their own deeply rooted history and fiercely guarded identity , created a volatile mix . It was a recipe for disaster, each of its own agenda and a healthy dose of suspicion towards the others. The 2002 ICJ ruling awarding the peninsula to Cameroon only exacerbated these pre –existing fault lines .Suddenly , loyalties were tested , tensions ratcheted up , and the simmering discontent boiled over . Many residents felt utterly adrift, caught between two governments more interested in nationalistic posturing than in the plight of ordinary people .It was a classic case of being caught between a rock and a hard place<sup>27</sup>. The Efik, for instance, with their long standing claims to the land, found themselves under Cameroonian rule, fearing for their cultural heritage and traditional way of life<sup>28</sup> .

Their anxieties were understandably palpable, it felt like a slow suffocating erasure of their history .Meanwhile the inflammatory rhetoric from both Nigeria <sup>29</sup> and Cameroon framed in the language of national interests, only served to deepen the chasm of mistrust. It was like pouring gasoline on a smoldering fire. The practical grandstanding completely undermined any attempts at genuine reconciliation .Community members viewed externally imposed solutions with deep skepticism seeing them as culturally insensitive and tone deaf .It was as if the outside world was trying to solve a jigsaw puzzle without even looking at the picture on the box , how could they possibly understands the nuance of the local perspectives .This led to a fractured society , incapable of forging a unified path towards peace negotiations were fraught and thus,

---

<sup>25</sup> G.Atem , the bakassi problem 1981 -1994, mimeo , university of Buea 1994 , p11.

<sup>26</sup> Article 25 de la Cameroonnaise n° 96 -06 du 18 Janvier 1996.

<sup>27</sup> Tasong Tendongue Chopndung, « L`action des chefs d`etate Cameroonnais et Nigerians dans la resolution du Conflict de Bakassi , Mémoire of masters in international relations , 2010, p.94.

<sup>28</sup> F. Baye “ The implication of the resolution of the bakassi conflict ”, African journal on conflict resolution , 2010, ajol. Info.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid .

made it impossible for the smooth entry of the application and implementation of the UN resolutions and also difficulty, hampered by divergent views on identity and belonging. Reconciliation were similarly stymied building a lasting peace in Bakassi required more than just legal pronouncements, it demanded a profound understanding of the intricate interplay of ethnicities histories and grievances. Due to this differences, it hindered the rapid intervention of the resolutions of the UN in the region of Bakassi it was only thanks to the Green tree Agreement that made the process to have a breath of renewed momentum.

### **A. Displacement and resettlement of the Bakassians**

The Bakassi peninsula's transfer of sovereignty to Cameroon in the early 2000s, a decision stemming from the ICJ ruling, unleashed a maelstrom of displacement and resettlement challenges, seriously hindering conflict resolution efforts. Imagine thousands of Nigerians families, their lives upended, suddenly facing the stark reality of losing their homes and livelihoods. This is precisely what happened, the mass exodus was breathtaking, a human tide surging from the peninsula to other parts of Nigeria, primarily cross river state<sup>30</sup>. The entire villages, their histories etched into the very soil they tilled, were uprooted and replanted, so to speak in unfamiliar territory<sup>31</sup> the transition was far from seamless. These new arrivals already reeling from the trauma of displacement, found themselves grappling with a host of new problems and thus became reluctant to give their support and facilitate the implementation of the UN resolutions because of the negative consequences that awaits them.

The scarce resources, inadequate social services, tensions flared between the displaced population and existing residents, many of whom were already struggling economically, it was a perfect storm of hardship and resentment. The resettlement process itself was honestly a shambles, many ended up in squalid, makeshift camps, lacking basic amenities like decent shelter and sanitation<sup>32</sup>. This only exacerbated the sense of abandonment and injustice fueling a deep well of resentment against both the Nigerian and Cameroonian governments. The lack of a comprehensive well thought out resettlement plan, a glaring oversight, really was a critical factor In this mess. This without adequate support and a clear path forward, these displaced

---

<sup>30</sup> F. Baye "The implication of the resolution of the bakassi conflict", African journal on conflict resolution, 2010, ajol. Info.

<sup>31</sup> The original villages that these people grew in as part of the cross river state in Nigeria change in 2002 with the Cameroon being the new owner, this meant that those Nigerians who wants to settle there will be staying as foreigners in the Cameroon territory thus made the people to be reluctant to ease the implementation of the UN resolution in the region and it was only in June 2006 with the passing of the Green tree Agreements that break down the process of displacement into friendly pieces.

<sup>32</sup> P. Daley, *challenges to peace :conflict "resolution the great lakes region of Africa,"* third world quarterly 2006, p2.

communities felt utterly voices less, their concerns falling on the deaf ears during peace negotiations<sup>33</sup>. The cycle of displacement, mismanagement and neglected needs created a poisonous atmosphere of mistrust between the affected communities and the authorities.<sup>34</sup> Building lasting peace and reconciliation in Bakassi became hampered by the deep seated grievances of the population left to fend for itself. The situation serves as a stark reminder of the crucial need for comprehensive, humane resettlement strategies in the wake of border disputes and international rulings<sup>35</sup>.

As a result of the poor management of the displacement of the people in the Bakassi region, it made the implementation of the UN resolutions of the Bakassi conflict to be slower and created a lot of tensions that if not for the collective efforts of UN, secretary general, his excellency (H.E) Kofi Annan in collaboration with the presidents of the conflicted nations like H.E, Paul Biya of Cameroon and H.E Olusengun Obasanjo of Nigerian on June 12, signed the Green Tree Agreement in New York June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006, United States of America. The EU stepped in and sponsored the return of Bakassians in collaboration with UN. This financial assistance facilitated the implementation of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

## **B. Resources dependence**

The Bakassi peninsula's fate, decided by the ICJ in the early 2002 became a tangled web, primarily due to its considerable natural wealth, think of it like a delicious cake, but Nigeria and Cameroon wanted a sizable slice, especially considering the lucrative oil reserves and bountiful fishing grounds. It was a scramble for economic dominance<sup>36</sup>. Even after the ICJ handed the peninsula to Cameroon, a decision that should have theoretically brought closure, Nigeria hung onto its off-shore oil claims like a bulldog on a bone. This led to a protracted and frankly messy dispute over resources exploitation and the resulting revenue it was a recipe for continued friction and thus, the quest to control these resources by Nigeria hindered the implementation of the resolution of the UN which started with the ICJ verdict and the Green Tree Agreement in June 2006. Thus, the Nigeria did not want to lose its grip on the oil deposit in this region. The local population, heavily reliant on these resources for their daily bread, found themselves caught in the crossfire. Many residents understandably resisted Cameroon rule too fearing the loss of their livelihoods. This was a case of economic hardship fueling political

---

<sup>33</sup> F.Kenne, *la premier guerre mondiale et les mutation des frontieres internationales du Cameroon, le Cameroun et la guerre (1914-1916)*, 323, 2017. P3.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> A.E.Udeoji "the bakassi peninsula zone of Nigeria and Cameroon: the politics of history in contemporary African border disputes" *international journal for social sciences for humanities Review*, 4, no2 2013, p21.

<sup>36</sup> K.C. Omeje, *understanding conflict resource in Africa*, "peace and conflict in Africa", 2008, 213, 55, 90, 4.

unrest , hence a volatile cocktail indeed. The fishing rights issues further inflamed tensions, imagine the scene ,fishermen from both countries battling over prime fishing spots leading to arrests and escalating conflicts .These skirmishes as small as they might seem individually , collectives hampered the implementation of the UN resolution.

Another obstacle of the implementation was complicated further by national pride and a sense of ownership .A potent mix that made prioritizing peace over profit Herculean task for both governments .Ultimately, the inextricable link between resources dependence and national identity undermined the ICJ `s decision leaving the bakassi peninsula in a state of precarious instability<sup>37</sup> for years to come. It serves as a stark reminder of how easily economic interests can overshadow even the most definitive international rulings, and distort the resolution of the UN. To solve this problem and foster the implementation of the ICJ verdict,

### **C. Historical grievances**

The bakassi peninsula`s handover ,mandated by the ICJ in the early 2000s in the early became a tangled knot of historical grievances , it was not just a border dispute but a festering wound centuries old ,we should think of it like trying to mend a ripped tapestry ,the threads representing different ethnic groups and their deeply rooted claims were hopelessly interwoven .The Efik and Oro people for example had lived and thrived in bakassi for generations .Their connection to the land was not just geographical, it was spiritual woven into the fabric of their traditions and ancestral narratives .<sup>38</sup> They felt a visceral ownership , a bond forged over centuries of inhabiting that specific patch of earth ,but then came the colonial era ,a period that redrew maps with the casual disregard of a child playing with crayons .Arbitrary lines sliced through established communities , ignoring pre-existing ethnic boundaries and social structures leaving a legacy of resentment that poisoned the well of future peace and also acting as a hinder to the implementation of the ICJ resolutions coupled with the Green tree agreements<sup>39</sup> .

The 2002 ruling that awarded bakassi to Cameroon ,felt like a slap in the face to many residents ,it was perceived ,rightly or wrongly as a complete disregard for their historical claims , their lived experiences simmered ,because of this historical erosion, the natives were not willing to collaborate towards the implementations of UN resolution , because of this potent

---

<sup>37</sup> J.Babatola , international affairs and global strategy 2012, researchgate.net.

<sup>38</sup> F. Baye “ The implication of the resolution of the bakassi conflict ”, African journal on conflict resolution , 2010, ajol. Info.

<sup>39</sup> A.E.Udeoji “the bakassi peninsula zone of nigeria and Cameroon :the politics of history in contemporary african border disputes ”international journal for social sciences for humanities Review ,4,no2 2013, p21.

cocktail of anger and frustration<sup>40</sup>. The feeling of betrayal ran deep, it was as if their voices, their history had been utterly silenced in the grand halls of international justice thus they became reluctant to cooperate to honor the wishes of the UN resolutions. This was not just about borders, it was about trust or rather the profound lack of a sense of belonging, many Bakassi residents viewed both the Nigerian and Cameroonian governments with healthy dose of skepticism, seeing them as distant, uncaring entities more interested in political maneuvering than the well<sup>41</sup> being of the people. This deep seated distrust became a formidable obstacle to any meaningful dialogue or reconciliation and played a crucial role to hinder the implantation and implementation of the ICJ resolutions. It choked the life out of peace efforts making the ICJ resolutions, on paper so clear-cut incredibly difficult to implement in reality.

communities affected by the border changes. Furthermore, the EU contributed to humanitarian efforts through organizations like the UNHCR, which aided displaced populations in the region. While the EU's financial assistance was not solely dedicated to Bakassi, it formed a crucial part of the international support system that helped facilitate a peaceful transition and mitigate potential negative consequences for both Cameroonian and Nigerian citizens residing in the area.

#### **D. The promotion of human rights and good governance**

Following the ICJ's 2002 ruling and the subsequent handover of Bakassi to Cameroon in August 2008, the financial assistance given by NGOs actively promoted human rights<sup>42</sup> and good governance in the region. The direct EU intervention specifically and exclusively labelled "Bakassi-related" are not easily isolated, the EU strategically integrated these objectives into its broader cooperation frameworks with both Cameroon and Nigeria. For example the EU's programming under the European Development Fund (EDF) prioritized projects aimed at strengthening the rule of law, promoting inclusive governance, and enhancing access to justice in border regions, indirectly benefiting the Bakassi area. The EU also supported civil society organizations working on human rights monitoring and advocacy<sup>43</sup>, with a focus on ensuring the rights of the Nigerian population remaining in the Bakassi. Furthermore, the EU actively

---

<sup>40</sup> W. Duyile "Nigeria-Cameroon Bakassi peninsula crisis: A retrospect of Nigerian technocrats' view prior to the court case at the Hague", department of history and international studies, faculty of arts university Ado Ekiti state Nigeria 2015, p61.

<sup>41</sup> P. Daley, *challenges to peace: conflict "resolution the great lakes region of Africa,"* third world quarterly 2006, p2.

<sup>42</sup> B. Holzer et F. Lenoir, « *Les risques de la solidarite, entretien sur le CCF* », Artheme, Artheme Fayard, 1989, p.92.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

engaged in political dialogue with both governments , consistently emphasizing the importance of upholding international

#### **V. PERSPECTIVES FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT ON CAMEROON`S POLITICAL LIFE**

The resolution of the bakassi conflict was a new deal to the Cameroonians because it came with new political entanglement to the state of Cameroon <sup>44</sup>which formed the pillars of developments to the national territory as a whole .Therefore, the lessons that Cameroon learned in the resolution of the bakassi conflict change the way Cameroon see war but rather a promoter of peace.

#### **VI. THE PROMOTION OF PEACE EDUCATION**

The promotion of peace education is vital for maintaining peace in bakassi and the rest of Cameroon as a continuation of the resolutions from the bakassi conflict .For example , integrating peace education into school curricula can foster a culture of tolerance and understanding among young people helping to prevent future conflicts programmers such as “schools for peace “initiated by various NGOs in 2009<sup>45</sup> , have successfully engaged students in dialogue about conflict resolution and community building , emphasizing the importance of empathy and cooperation .Additionally , community workshops led by organizations like search for common ground since 2010 have provided platforms for local leaders and youth to discuss their differences and collaboratively develop solutions to common challenges . By equipping individuals with the skills necessary for constructive dialogue and conflict resolution peace education not only addresses the immediate aftermath of the Bakassi conflict but also lays foundation for long –term stability across Cameroon ultimately contributing to a more harmonious society<sup>46</sup>.

The following illustrates that the promotion of peace education is the bedrock of political stability, for this to be successful, there are elements which will boost the importation of good morals in the enabling of the promotion of peace education as follows .These elements the promotion of peace education is attainable and brings about a new turn in the political evolution of Cameroon as will elaborated subsequently.

---

<sup>44</sup> Cameroon was now the new territorial owner of Bakassi and had to involve Bakassi in the affairs of the state of Cameroon which was new to her meaning her budget had to be adjusted and more to be done in the political site of the nation .This made Cameroon to work extremely hard to intertwined bakassians to the rest of the territory of Cameroon which was going through restructuring .

<sup>45</sup> Chukwuma Ezirim et F. Onuh , « Doing things with words :Nigerian –Cameroon facesoff over Bakassi Peninsula , *Journal of language and Linguistic* , vol 7, n°1, 2021, 32.

<sup>46</sup> B. Holzer et F. Lenoir, « *Les risques de la solidarite , entretien sur le CCF* », , Artheme, Artheme Fayard, 1989, p.92.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

### **A. The exposure of international diplomacy**

Cameroon the new territorial boss of Bakassi became endowed with the virtues of promotion of peace education that emphasizes international relations can significantly contribute to maintaining peace in Bakassi and throughout Cameroon<sup>47</sup>, ensuring that conflict like the Bakassi dispute do not recur. For example since 2011, initiatives such as the “Youth and international relations” program have been implemented in schools across the region<sup>48</sup>. Education students and the general population about their country’s position within the global community and the importance of diplomacy. By incorporating case studies of successful arbitration facilitated by the international court of justice in 2002<sup>49</sup>, these programs help students understand how international frameworks can support peace. Furthermore, workshops held in 2015 by the organizations like the African center for the constructive resolutions of disputes (ACCORD) have focused on fostering awareness of international law and human rights, empowering communities to engage constructively with global governance structures. This awareness equipped future leaders with the knowledge to navigate potential disputes diplomatically reinforcing a culture of peace and preventing conflicts like that of Bakassi from arising again. The awareness of international relations opens doors to diplomacy which brought foreign trade and the betterment of Bakassi. Bakassi will enjoy international cooperation and foreign investors therefore will boost the level of investment in Bakassi and the rest of Cameroon which is key to economic growth and development. Through this awareness Bakassi and the rest of the territory will witness an increase in the economy which is key to development and its potentials of attracting tourists in the region.

### **B. Civic engagement**

The promotion of peace education through civic engagement is Bakassi and throughout Cameroon, helping to prevent a recurrence of the Bakassi conflict. For example community – driven initiatives such as the “the civic education of peace” program launched in 2013 have encouraged local citizens to actively participate in governance and conflict resolution processes. This program has involved training sessions that has empowered community’s members to engage with local authorities and advocate for their rights, ensuring their voices are heard in

---

<sup>47</sup> V.J. Ngoh, “*Cameroon 1884-present (2018)*, *The history of a people*,” Limbe, DESIGN House Limbe, 2019 p. 307.

<sup>48</sup> This was a sensibilisation program to promote the benefits of peace in bakassi and the rest of cameroon in which through this, it will help spread the advantages of international relations and how peace education is the brain behind it.

<sup>49</sup> Hindatu Maigari Yerima, “The Bakassi disputes People’s dynamics and the rise of Militancy”, IOSR, Journal of Humanities and Social science (IOSR-JHSS), Vol 22, n°1, 2017, p.70.

decision -making. Additionally, since 2016, youth –led organizations have organized peace marches and forums that facilitate dialogue among diverse groups .promoting understanding and cooperation across ethnic lines .These civic engagement efforts not only foster a sense of ownership among the populace future but also cultivate a culture of active citizenship, where individuals are led to work collaboratively towards conflict prevention.

By embedding these principles in to the fabric of the society, peace education through civic engagement can significantly like the likelihood of conflicts like the Bakassi disputes from arising again. This energy of civil engagement marred the turning point in the conflict in Bakassi in that the population awareness about their roles in the activities of the state. This brought an atmosphere of peace and wanting to prove a point thus they had to be involved in the activities that promotes peace and brings political calmness<sup>50</sup>. Thus, which are the brains for a strong political entity ready to withstand external political instability due to their principles of political belonging, which will act as the iron belt of sabastre le prestre Vaubun.

## **VII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH SKILLS**

The development of research thinking skills will play a giant role in the building of solidarity in that the Bakassians will have a mind of their own meaning that they will not be easily influenced by the pirates, the Nigerian nationalists for injustice and criminal activities which are key for suitable political determination<sup>51</sup>. The research skills such as the research for better fishing techniques which boost the fishing sector and also the production of fish. The method to convert the lucrative petroleum deposit to generate jobs to the locality and the rest of Cameroon .These activities will also lead to the creation of tertiary industry with the raw materials obtained from the crude oil waste that is petroleum .These research leads to the creation of industries and stable atmosphere and it will pull population from other parts of Cameroon<sup>52</sup>.This is because there will be excess creation of opportunities which are not found in other parts of Cameroon .This population will help have a shield of protection which is not easy to break this chain of security and protection .The development of research skills will be a blessing not just to the Bakassian but to the rest of the Cameroon territory because there will be increased money in circulation which is the effects of the encouragement of the developing

---

<sup>50</sup> J.Fai Monyuy « Practical work :social development and solidarity between Cameroon and difference :the case of the volontariat international de la francophonie”university of Yaounde II, national institute of international relations ,Memoire,2013 pp.42-45.

<sup>51</sup> The development of research skills are the embryo for the development of the region in that will allow the local population in collaboration with other parts of Cameroon to come up with excellent results and innovations which are key for development and boost to economy stability .

<sup>52</sup> « Les frontres du Biafra de la Colonisation a 1970, Mémoire of masters degree , in international relations , Universite of Paris , 2007, p. 27.

research skills. There is a better political atmosphere due to economic stability and thus, a blessing to the state. The development of research skills are the basis of a great start for development and structural adjustments.

### **A. The promotion of skills based education**

To boost the economy of Bakassi in particular and Cameroon in general it is better to say that the population must get to a safe point where they can critically think developmental ideas which are productive to both the state and the private individuals. The Bakassians should accept the reality of being an area where there is so much potentials of being greater through the installations of critical thinking skills, via the promotion of skills based educational system so they can enjoy the fruits of developmental progress which is very transformative<sup>53</sup>. For example the skill of developing the fishing sector to attract foreign fisher men, developing the mining Sector, this will boost the level of transformation and attract foreign investors and will forced the government to development these sector of activities which will in return get taxes from this foreign companies which is a blessing to the state<sup>54</sup>. The government will now be able to provide some basic services like pipe born water, electricity, roads to the limited land available there since it's a peninsula and thus will lead to the betterment of their activities and a richer standard of living to the bakassi people which is great for the reputation of the nation. This will help reduce the crime waves that is booming in this region because many of them will be occupied and will have little time to create disorder or indulge in crime which is due to the structural transformation of the state.

Looking from the above analysis, there is no doubt that the promotion of peace education is one of the giant factors for the transformation of the region of Bakassi which is the brain behind the structural development of the region of the south west today in Cameroon which is a critical pot for development. Thus, the perspective towards the promotion of peace and stability in Cameroon and Bakassi in particular is rooted towards the umbrella of peace and promotion of peace education. This is the dynamite of modern development and progress less also take an objective analysis to the Historical awareness as a perspective to continue the dwell of peace in bakassi which is key for greatness in this part of Cameroon.

---

<sup>53</sup> Article UN, security Council, a letter dated 12 december 2018 from the Secretary -General addressed to the president of the Security council, 2018,

<sup>54</sup> Chukwuma Ezirim et F. Onuh, « Doing things with words :Nigerian –Cameroon facesoff over Bakassi Peninsula, *Journal of language and Linguistic*, vol 7, n°1, 2021, 32.

## VIII. THE HISTORICAL AWARENESS OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI CONFLICT

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was largely tied to historical factor which was a key to the UN verdict of 2002, by the ICJ .The historical factors where the judgment stone for the future of Cameroon and Nigeria which a historical facts for example the 1913<sup>55</sup> Anglo- German treaty which exposed the territorial owner of Bakassi since the era of colonialism which gave the green light for the pure Judgment of the UN in favor of Cameroon<sup>56</sup>. Let us analyze how historical awareness is a blessing towards the way forward of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict .We will be analyzing how historical awareness is a key factor of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict.

### A. Exploration of the colonial legacy

The exploration of the colonial legacy serves as a critical perspective on the resolution of the Bakassi conflict by highlighting the how historical injustices and arbitrary border demarcations have contributed to contemporary tensions between Cameroon and Nigeria .The Bakassi conflict which was resolved by the ICJ ruling of 2002 which awarded Bakassi to Cameroon was deeply rooted in colonial era decisions that ignored the cultural and ethnic ties of the local populations. By examining these colonial influences , stakeholders can better understand the underlying issues that fuel disputes today .For example , recognizing that the borders imposed during colonization did not reflect the realities on the ground can help both nations address grievances stemming from feeling of disenfranchisement among local communities .Initiatives such as joint historical research projects initiated in 2014 aim to document and analyze the impacts of colonial policies on shared understanding necessary for reconciliation <sup>57</sup>.This perspective encourages both Countries to move beyond legalistic solutions and work collaboratively peace process that acknowledges and address historical injustices , ultimately fostering trust and cooperation in managing resources into ongoing dialogue and peace – building efforts . Cameroon and Nigeria can build a more stable future free from the shadows of their colonial past. This almost led to war between Cameroon and Nigerian .This is thanks to the national adherence of international law of both nations that it was resolved.

---

<sup>55</sup> V .J. Ngoh , « *Cameroon history from 1884 to present ,(2018,)* », the history of a people , DESIGN House Limbe , p. 14.

<sup>56</sup> M. Foucher , *fronts et frontieres .Un tour du monde geopolitical . Edition revenue et augmentee*, Paris , Fayard , 1991 , p.690.

<sup>57</sup> « Les frontreres du Biafra de la Colonisation a 1970, Mémoire of masters degree , in international relations , Universite of Paris , 2007, p. 57.

## B. Abiding and engaging to international law

Cameroon as a law abiding country made it easier for the intervention of the UN<sup>58</sup> into the conflict. The resolution is viewed as a reaffirmation of Cameroon's territorial integrity. As a way of respecting national sovereignty it was better for Cameroon as abiding and engaging to international laws. This illustrated that Cameroon belonged at the top of the mountain when it comes to obeying international laws, as a perspective of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, it established a frame work for addressing disputes through legal and diplomatic means rather than through military confrontation. The 2002 ruling by the international court of justice ,exemplifies how international law can facilitate peaceful resolutions by providing binding legal judgments based on established principles .This ruling emphasized the importance of adhering to international treaties and conventions such as the United nations convention on the law of the sea(UNCLOS), which governs maritime borders and territorial claims .Since then Cameroon and Nigeria have participated in the Cameroon –Nigeria mixed commission , established to implement the ICJ's decision and manage relations in the Bakassi region<sup>59</sup> .

This engagement demonstrates a commitment to resolving issues through dialogue and cooperation rather than military confrontation .For example in 2015, both government agreed to collaborate on joint development projects aimed at improving infrastructure and social services in Bakassi reflecting shared interest in fostering stability in accordance with international legal frameworks<sup>60</sup>. By prioritizing adherence to international law, both governments can build trust and legitimacy in their actions, ensuring that local communities feel included in decision making processes regarding their future<sup>61</sup>. This legal perspective not only helps prevent potential conflicts but also encourage a culture of respect for international norms that can contribute to lasting peace in the region. Engaging with international law thus, serves as a cornerstone for sustainable conflict resolution, emphasizing diplomacy .Cameroon to maintain its stakes at the table of greatness should continue with the adherence of

---

<sup>58</sup> The ability for Cameroon to prefer international regulation body over an open war between Cameroon and Nigeria but rather preferred the verdict of the UN which could still go the wrong way with Nigeria being the owner of bakassi .This kept Cameroon on the map of the peace and respecting international institutions .This image of Cameroon has put Cameroon on a very favorable position when it comes to peaceful resolution of conflict.

<sup>59</sup> H.A. Asobie, "The conflict between Nigeria and Nigeria and Cameroon over land and sea borders and territories ;The Political context and the contending principles", *University of Nigeria Journal of political economy* ,Voll , n°1, 2005, p.74.

<sup>60</sup> Cameroon adherence to international law paved a way for further collaboration between Cameroon and Nigeria through the collaborative efforts of the UN through the Cameroon –Nigeria mixed commission which laid and implanted the resolution of the united nations verdict of the ICJ 2002 verdict.

<sup>61</sup> « Les frontres du Biafra de la Colonisation a 1970, Mémoire of masters degree , in international relations , Universite of Paris , 2007, p. 27.

international law which is the goal for a successful administration and its productivity is always a focal point .Cameroon should keep her strength in the respect of international law which is key for national prestige and absolute reputation.

### **C. Help in the understanding of the national history**

In the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, so many historical facts which were hidden were brought to the lamp light that is, the treaties that made Bakassi part of Cameroon during the German era like the Anglo- German treaty of 1913<sup>62</sup> , which curved Bakassi as part of Cameroon .The historical narratives of both Countries reveal how colonial legacies, ethnic identities, and nationalistic movements have shaped their relationships and territorial claims<sup>63</sup>. For example, the impact of the British and French rule in the region created distinct administrative structures and cultural divisions that continue to influence perceptions of identity and belonging. By engaging with this shared history ,stake holders can better comprehend the motivations behind each country`s claims to Bakassi .For example many residents in Bakassi identify more closely with their ethnic backgrounds than with national borders ,reflecting a complex history that transcends modern political boundaries <sup>64</sup>. The understanding became particularly evident during peace talks in the early 2000s, where acknowledging local histories helped facilitate dialogue between Cameroonians and Nigerian leaders. Educational initiatives aimed at teaching students about the intertwined histories of both nations can foster a sense of shared destiny rather than division .In 2018,joint history workshops were held to promote mutual understanding among youth from both countries emphasizing common experiences that could pave the way for reconciliation .By incorporating these historical perspectives into conflict resolution efforts , both Cameroon and Nigeria can address not only the legal aspects of territorial disputes but also the emotional and cultural dimensions that influence community relations .This approach encourages empathy and cooperation , enabling both nations to work collaboratively towards a peaceful resolution that respects their shared history .With this , the Cameroonians and the Bakassians knowing that history will solve a lot of problems which is key for a prosperous Nation.

### **D. The national sovereignty of Cameroon became a prestige**

After the resolution of the bakassi conflict, the national sovereignty of Cameroon gained prestige, particularly following the ICJ ruling on October 10, 2002, which affirmed Cameroon`s

---

<sup>62</sup> Eyo Okon Akak, “*Who owns Bakassi*”, Calabar , Public Record Office , Calabar , 1999, p. 55.

<sup>63</sup> T.Ndungo Lekunze “the problem of security in the central african sub regions”,the national institute of international relations (IRIC), university of yaounde II Memoire 2000, p14.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. p.62.

claim to the territory .This legal victory not only reinforced Cameroon`s territorial integrity but also bolstered national pride, as it was viewed as a significant achievement for the country on the international stage<sup>65</sup>. The sequent withdrawal of the Nigerian troops from Bakassi on August 14, 2006, further solidified this sense of prestige as it demonstrated Cameroon`s ability to assert peace its sovereignty peacefully and in accordance to international laws .Additionally the establishment of the Cameroon and Nigeria mixed commission in 2002 to facilitate cooperation and ensure co-existence <sup>66</sup> in the region symbolizes a commitment to diplomacy over conflict ,enhancing Cameroon`s stature as a responsible member of the international community .This newfound prestige was also reflected in regional diplomatic engagements ,where Cameroon positioned herself as a mediator in other conflicts within central Africa ,showcasing its strengthened national identity and diplomatic influence following the resolution of the bakassi dispute. This aspect made is the brain for a prosperous nation that will be able to manage conflict and help in conflicts no matter the nation of the conflict .This is will enable the nation of Cameroon to adapt in the resolution of conflict around the Africa thus, in Cameroon in particular<sup>67</sup>.

In the following paragraph, we will be looking at the preparation of future leadership after the resolution of the bakassi conflict which is key which will enable Cameroon stands its grounds and also made it easier for her to handle similar conflicts like that around the world at large.

### **E. The preparation of future leadership**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict it was evident that Cameroon should train experts in the resolution of conflict which was the key in tackling similar problems in the future .Therefore , the preparation of future experts in conflict resolution became a necessity which is key for growth and the wellbeing of the Country.

### **IX. THE FORMATION OF EXPERTS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict ended in 2002 by the ICJ ruling. Cameroon was surprised and thus, it was necessary that Cameroon target a huge field of conflict resolution after the

---

<sup>65</sup> P. Kenmoe Nogue , “ United Nations Mediation in Africa : A case study of the Bakassi Conflict intervention , 2002-2006”, Memoire of Masters and Theses , in conflict transformation and Management , in Nelson Mandela Metropolitan , 2011, p. 71.

<sup>66</sup> The objective of the Cameroon –Nigeria mixed commission was to create a sense of living together between the Nigerians and Cameroonians which will bring the harmony that will speed up productivity and promote political stability which will attract foreign investors in Cameroon and also in particularly in Bakassi .

<sup>67</sup> T.Ndungo Lekunze “the problem of security in the central african sub regions”,the national institute of international relations (IRIC), university of yaounde II Memoire 2000, p14.

resolution of the bakassi conflict<sup>68</sup>. The formation of experts became increasingly significant as both Cameroon and Nigeria sought to prevent future disputes and foster regional stability. In 2008, the African Union launched a series of training programs aimed at developing conflict resolution skills among diplomats and civil society leaders in central Africa. With this focus on lessons learned from the Bakassi case<sup>69</sup>. These programs emphasized negotiations, mediation, and dialogue as essential tools for managing tensions. Additionally, the establishment of the center of research in Yaoundé 2010, for conflict resolution marked a proactive approach to building. This center has hosted various workshops and seminars that brought together stakeholders from both countries to share knowledge and experiences in conflict management. By cultivating a network of experts dedicated to peaceful resolution, both nations have not really addressed historical grievances but also enhanced their ability to respond collaboratively to emerging conflicts, thereby contributing to a more stable regional environment. This has enabled Cameroon to be prepared at any time to handle effective conflict resolution which has brightened the scope of Cameroon on the international scale which is the icon of conflict resolution.

#### **A. The contextualization of territorial issues**

The resolution of the Bakassi conflict, the contextualization of territorial issues became crucial in understanding and addressing similar disputes in the region. The ICJ ruling on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2002, provided a legal framework that emphasized the importance of historical treaties and colonial legacies in determining boundaries<sup>70</sup>. This perspective encourages both Cameroon and Nigeria to examine their territorial claims within a broader context, recognizing that many disputes stem from unresolved historical narratives. For example the 2006 withdrawal of Nigerian troops from Bakassi was a military decision but also a recognition of the historical complexities and the need for dialogue. In 2011, the establishment of joint border commissions facilitated discussions about other disputed areas, allowing both nations to contextualize their territorial issues beyond mere legalities and engage with socio-cultural dimensions involved. This holistic approach has fostered a better understanding among communities affected by border and reducing tensions in a historically fraught regions. The understanding of historical

---

<sup>68</sup> T.Ndongo Lekunze “the problem of security in the central african sub regions”,the national institute of international relations (IRIC), university of yaounde II Memoire 2000, p14.

<sup>69</sup> « Les frontieres du Biafra de la Colonisation a 1970, Mémoire of masters degree, in international relations, Universite of Paris, 2007, p. 27.

<sup>70</sup> E.E. Alobo, “Uncovering the bond between colonialism and conflict :Perspective of the Causes, cases and consequences of territorial disputes in Africa.”,*International Journal of innovative Research and development*, Vol 7, n°1, 2018, p.74.

border has enable Cameroon to avoid conflicts with her neighboring countries by ratifying all treaties <sup>71</sup>. The lessons learned from the bakassi conflict have helped Cameroon to maintain a war –free relationship with its neighbors because of the money spend there during the process of the conflict Cameroon had the following cost she encored.

### **B. Protection of the government treasury**

The Cameroon government spend a lot of money from the brim of the conflict in 1981, despite the fact that Cameroon was undergoing the April 6th 1984 “coup d’états” <sup>72</sup> which failed. Thus, the treasury was working at a capacity of fighting two disputes. Bakassi and coup in Cameroon. In Bakassi and which was very consuming and also sucking money from the state coffers which was affecting the functioning of the state. This made it possible for the Bakassi conflict to be as an additional disadvantage to the state of Cameroon. Thus, because it was draining a lot from the state of Cameroon on the front .and also weaken the strength of Cameroon and provided a strategy for Nigeria to attack Cameroon since she was facing internal turmoil. Cameroon had to struggle to combat these challenges and thus wasted lots of money in unproductive ventures which was a necessity to restore a suitable calm political atmosphere. There the resolution of the Bakassi conflict proved that peace is a vital catalyst for development and progress of Cameroon .Thus, it should be preserved. This was necessary for domestic productivity and the generation of an attractive political atmosphere to pull in foreign investors which were keys for growth. This helped state recover and generate income through taxes and also encourage the home industries to produce goods for the consumption of the local population which is key for growth and progress to both the Countries and the local population.

## **X. THE PREPARATION OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

The conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria was an eye opener for Cameroon and made her engage in the affairs of setting up commissions to ensure that there is the management of future conflicts<sup>73</sup> .After the resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict ,the preparation of conflict management became a priority for both Cameroon and Nigeria ,as recognize the frameworks that will prevent future conflict disputes .In 2008, the two countries initiated a series of bilateral meetings which resulted to the signing of the “Yaoundé Declaration”, which aimed at fostering cooperation and mutual understanding regarding border management .The provision included

---

<sup>71</sup> V.J.Ngoh “ *Cameroon 1884 –present (2018)*”the history of a people”Limbe , DESIGN House Limbe , 2019, p87-90.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p.301-305.

<sup>73</sup> J.C.Anene., *The international boundary of Nigeria , 1885-1960; the framework of an emergent African Nation*, New York Humanities press , 1970, p.331.

the joint patrols along the maritime boundaries to ensure security and prevent illegal activities reflecting a proactive approach to conflict management. Additionally, in 2012, both nations participated in a workshop organized by the Economic community of central Africa states (ECCAS). This workshop was focused on enhancing conflict resolution mechanisms. This workshop emphasized on the importance of early warning systems and community<sup>74</sup> engagement in managing potential conflicts. By investing in these preparatory measures, Cameroon and Nigeria not only sought to stabilize their relationship post-Bakassi but also aimed to create a model for peaceful coexistence that could inspire other nations facing similar territorial challenges in the region.

#### **A. Cameroon profit as a peace promoter**

The benefits of Cameroon being in a peace maintenance organ, showcases the level of which she likes peace, this shows how great Cameroon she has become. Cameroon chooses peace over everything. Cameroon's national image was increased and she became the model of diplomacy to other small nations like Chad, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Central Africa, which made her the prestige of being the most powerful member of CEMAC (Economic and monetary community of central Africa). Another advantage was the fact that Cameroon became rich in that all the resources that were allocated to handle conflict were consumed and reallocated to other meaningful projects which are great to the citizens like the construction of roads, provision of water, light and other basic necessities.

#### **B. Encouraging civic responsibility**

The resolution of the Bakassi peninsula conflict, encouraging civic responsibility became a vital aspect of fostering peace and stability in both Cameroon and Nigeria. In 2007, the peace and civic responsibility campaign was launched in both countries, aimed at promoting awareness among citizens about their roles in maintaining peace and resolving conflict amicably. This initiative included community workshops and educational programs that emphasized the importance of dialogue, tolerance, and cooperation among different ethnic groups affected by the conflict<sup>75</sup>. For example, Local NGOs facilitated cross-border exchange where citizens

---

<sup>74</sup> This modality was necessary in that, it gave peace a chance. There were wars, which could have been prevented if peace was given a chance that is even warning, thus it became difficult to know what could be done to prevent the war rather than sit and do nothing, this aspect prepares an atmosphere of peace and also try to resolve conflicts which are war threatening and bring forward a timely intervention which solve the problem of peace and promote the harmony of the both Cameroon and Nigeria.

<sup>75</sup> E. Zara Kwaghe, "Boundaries disputes in west and Central Africa: An assessment of the Nigeria-Cameroon Disputes in the Bakassi Peninsula 1961-2013, *Lafia journal of history and international development (LAJHID)*, Vol 1, n° 2, 2018, p. 230-231.

shared their experiences and perspectives on living in a post –conflict environment .The reinforcement of the sense of shared identity .Additionally , in 2013 , the establishment of youths forums in border communities provided platforms for young people to engage in discussion about civic duties and peaceful coexistence<sup>76</sup> .These efforts not only empowered citizens to take an active role in community building , but also help to cultivate a culture of peace that is essential for long term stability in a region historically marked by conflict . Cameroon population was estimated around 10- 15 million people, while the Nigerian population was around 100- 180 millions of people<sup>77</sup>

### C. Modern diplomacy

There is no doubt that diplomacy is the modern way of conflict resolution in that , the world through its administration structure <sup>78</sup>.The aggressive consequences of the first and second world war has shown that diplomacy should be practiced by all due to the negatives consequences that direct consequences brings both to the nation and to the geopolitics and geostrategic of a nation .The resolution of the bakassi conflict was done by using diplomacy

---

<sup>76</sup> Abdoulaye Traore , « Frontres National et securite internationale :Enjeux et perspective pour la securite au mali , Mémoire of masters in international relations IRIC , Yaounde , 2020, p.82.

<sup>77</sup> The population of the Nigerian army could more than triple the entire Cameroon population thus if Cameroon wanted to get it through violence , she would have loose bakasssi to Cameroon because the total population of the 5 CEMAC nations is not up to the population of Nigeria alone which is the key for military victory , Nigeria could used Coercion to Cameroon and succeed but Cameroon was far advanced in her awakensness of her strength to fight Nigeria thus , she knew the only way to get bakassi was through diplomacy and the rest will be history .The consciousness of Cameroon against Nigeria over Bakassi made it easier for he to gain the conflict zone which was part of German Kemerun since 1913 following the Anglo- German treaty . Nigeria with all her military might could intimidate Cameroon because Cameroon was smart enough to post a report to the UN about the case of Bakassi thus it was already under the UN which is the biggest institution in the world .Nigeria with all her military was forced to stay stranded because even the AU was against her .Cameroon became had to reoccupies the region was part of her territory since during the colonial period. The international institution proved beyond reasonable doubt that were fair and just in that it was Nigerian who the upper hand to win the ICJ case because it shows that since 1916, that the Germans were defeated in Cameroon the territory was under the Nigerian empire during the mandates and trusteeship period since southern Cameroon was administered as an integral part of Nigeria during these periods from the league of nations 1922-1939 and as under the UN from 1945-1960. Even after independence Cameroon did not border to the get the territory back , it was only after there were the discovery of crude oil deposit that Cameroon started demanding for the owner of Bakassi due to the discovery of oil well , if the UN , ICJ was Bias Cameroon will have been give it to Nigeria respecting the principle of effective occupation .This because have occupied this area since 1916-2002 where the ICJ stepped in the process. following the partition of Cameroon by Britain and France and Britain took her 1/5 of the territory and rule it as the integral part of Nigeria which meant that Bakassi fell under the territorial guardians if Nigeria , that made Nigeria also an equal owner of Bakassi and her already placed her administration such such the police and army for security respected the principle of occupation following the file of the Berlin act Nigeria had an upper hand and thus, the ICJ was indeed very fair tracing the owner right back to colonial era that gave Cameroon the upper hand Bakassi was handed to Cameroon on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2002 by the fair judgement of the ICJ.

<sup>78</sup> See Ebenezer OKPOKPO, The challenges facing Nigeria `s foreign policy in the millennium ,<http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v3/v3i3a16.htm>1999.

and from there many nations admire that diplomacy because it's the father of peace. The resolution of the bakassi conflict sparks lessons that Africa and the world were willing to emulate through diplomacy and the bilateral relations between Cameroon and Nigeria remain intact<sup>79</sup>.

#### **D. The fair referee on international conflict**

The place of international institutions when it comes to conflict resolution which showcases their credibility and fairness is when they intervened in conflicts with a pure neutrality<sup>80</sup>. The intervention of these international institutions like the UN, OAU/AU and even some regional blocks such as ECOWAS, CEMAC, LCBC, which played significant roles on the investigation of the Bakassi conflict and the judgment passed was fair and the Green Tree Agreement was not a modification of the ICJ decision. The Green Tree Agreement (GTA) was signed to implement the verdict of the ICJ which was taken based on the fair historical data mainly the Anglo-German Agreement of 1913, which led to the passing of the ICJ verdict on October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002<sup>81</sup>. The role of the UN here in this zone of conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria was extremely complimented<sup>82</sup>. The image and the grandeur of this organization was perfect for the world's admiration and also illustrated the integrity of the organizations who are ready to fight for the restoration of humanity and thus deserves the trust of the world for global security.

After the analysis of the above paragraph, about the belief of international institutions which is key for the resolution of conflict around the world because if nations do not believe in international institutions, they cannot respect them thus they will do what pleases them, the world will be in total anarchy which is ready for an alliance system because the world will be for giant nations and the smaller nations will disappear. The great nations will partition them among themselves. Let us look at Diplomacy as the modern day way of conflict resolution.

From the above analysis, we have analyzed the perspective of the resolution of the bakassi conflict on Cameroon which we gave a valuable point of view, in the next section we will be analyzing how the management of the bakassi conflict is viewed in Africa and the rest of the world.

---

<sup>79</sup>“ Cameroon and Nigeria bilateral relations 1960 to 2010” OP.cit.p.4

<sup>80</sup> « Les frontières du Biafra de la Colonisation à 1970, Mémoire of masters degree, in international relations, Université de Paris, 2007, p. 27.

<sup>81</sup> The preamble of the GTA, October 10<sup>th</sup> 2002.

<sup>82</sup> J.R.V. Prescott, The evolution of Nigeria's international and regional boundaries 1861-1971, Vancouver Tantalus Research, 1971, p.170.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

Looking from the above analysis , it is crystal clear that the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was a very diplomatic resolved conflict because there were chains of diplomatic coincidences which played a major part in the resolution of the conflict for example the United nations secretary came in at an African from Ghana precisely Kofi Annan , the president of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo and the newly president of Cameroon President Paul Biya .These were seasoned top-class diplomats who were willing to sacrifice for the Image of Africa to be glorified in the international level where the African could be given another name and make it possible for the respect of the continent not regretting putting Africa on the apex of the UN .The collaboration of these diplomats made it possible for the chains of commissions like the CNMC, CNJC, UNOWAS(UN office for west Africa and the Sahel. These commissions were defined by the chains of productive activities they were following and the fact that transparency was infused in these organs they were bound to make tangible decisions towards the reallocation of peace and thus the settlement of the Bakassi conflict.

The geographical location of Bakassi was also a great point which led to the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, the location of Bakassi is at the outlet of the cross river state which makes it not a threat to the federal republic of Nigeria, it was not that strategic to Nigeria but very strategic to Cameroon which elongates Cameroon into the Gulf of Guinea, without the Bakassi peninsula Nigeria is still under the gulf of Guinea which is the entrance into the maritime diplomacy. The factors which brought fort the resolution of the Bakassi conflict will be will be tied to the excellent leadership of the UN, OAU/AU and also the regional blocs like the ECOWAS, ECCAS, CEMAC ,LCBC, that were the brains for conflict resolution of the Bakassi conflict . The intervention of the UN in the conflict wisely invited by the Cameroon petition after the brink of war between Cameroon Nigeria by the killing of five Nigerian soldiers in 1981, this after the ICJ in 2002 , there was the identity crisis problem which led to the settlement of this crisis. The was the apex of both countries going to war , Cameroon knew militarily Nigeria is a dominant power and thus , will crush her and made it possible that it should be handled through diplomacy and also the promotion of Global peace and collective security which was the trend at the era of the bakassi conflict.

The historical facts like the colonial agreements where the tools used to resolved the Bakassi conflict for example the Anglo-German treaty of 1913, showed this part of Bakassi territory was under the German Kamerun and this meant that it was not any close to the British empire which headquarter was Nigeria .The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was not an easy

task because each decision taken had consequences to both the victorious nation that was Cameroon that were positive consequences to the loser nation that is Nigeria which only had negative consequences after the resolution of the Bakassi conflict . Cameroon victory gave her an open door towards the world diplomacy which is the embryo for collective security and thus and the national growth of Cameroon. Never-the-less, Nigeria`s reputation after the resolution of the bakassi conflict though she lost to Cameroon she channel all her energy towards her nation in building her nation today Nigeria is on the top 3 industrialized nations in African and also a regional power being the boss of ECOWAS, which is the largest and the strongest regional bloc in Africa .Today Nigeria have her own currency known as the Naira.

The Nigerian admission of the historical conflict resolution gave her the anger to harnessed all her oil wells , today Nigeria occupies the 8<sup>th</sup> position in the production of petroleum in the world .Cameroon after the handover of Bakassi to her other sectors like the cosmetics sectors where also promoted . The Industrial zone of Bonaberi in Douala, Ombe in Limbe, and Bastos in Yaoundé is a chain of industries that they took their peak of production with assistance of the SONARA in Limbe. Despites the resolution of the Bakassi conflict there is still periodic political instability there despite the implantation of the B.I.R (battalion intervention rapide) that is the military base. The attacks of pirates in this zone is a clear indication. The activities of the pirates got to the peak on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2023 which led to the kidnapping of the divisional officer of Idabato which is an area in the Bakassi zone. This was not just an ordinary kidnapping it was the service head of the Cameroon representing the president of the republic of Cameroon .This was a mortal blow to the military and security might of Cameroon. Under normal circumstances, the handover of the Bakassi would have brought peace and top political stability in the region of Bakassi because the state of Cameroon objective was to reoccupies the zone and also provide a suitable atmosphere where these natural deposits could be exploit without any political interruption.

The Pirates kidnap of the D.O from October 1<sup>st</sup> 2024 and releases on March 17<sup>th</sup> 2025 , Mr. Ewane Roland was an insult to the security forces of Cameroon based in Bakassi which send a clear message to Cameroon that the security measures made is not yet on point . The government should make a steady rotation of the arm forces in Bakassi adding it to the original B.I.R military base there, by this, the level of security will be fixed and also strengthen because there will be fresh energies and troops who are willing to make a name for themselves they will be motivated and the zeal will enable do a better job. Another strategy is the rotation of the military head , the allowances given to the soldiers are signed by these military head which many times , the military head stays too long at the same post , they starts cutting these troops

allowances and weaken the fighting spirit of the soldiers .Still in the security domain the Joint Border patrol between Cameroon forces and Nigerian forces should be encouraged because where the pirates sees both nations with a combined force it is already threat to them like they are attacked on two fronts. The unity will be so dangerous to the pirates.

To address this ideological conflict of the diplomatic seizure of Bakassi from Nigeria should be cancelled by series of cooperation between Cameroon and Nigeria for example the invitation of the Nigerian forces for the 53<sup>rd</sup> Edition festival of the national day, May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2025 which started in 20 may 1972 .These diplomatic cooperation will help strengthen the alliance between Cameroon and Nigeria. The Cameroon government should give the Nigerians settlers in Cameroon some immunities given to the Chadians for example the Chadian pays the same amount of school fee with Cameroonian students in the state universities which is 50, 000 FRs. In the area of diplomacy if Cameroon can give this kind of treatment to Nigerian students in Cameroon it will smoothen the relationship Cameroon has with Nigerian. The stand of Nigeria refusing to deal with African countries but opens border to China is a setback to Cameroon because the population of Nigeria if gained by Cameroon then she will make millions of profit from businesses through international trade will increase the GDP of Cameroon , there should be favorable negotiations between Cameroon and Nigeria so Cameroon can benefit from the huge population of Nigeria which is 200 Million plus persons .Cameroon can capitalized the following opportunities so as to harness the benefits of the resolution of Bakassi conflict from Nigerian. The Nigerian government should give the available license to Cameroon to supply what she produces with the cheapest production cost and supply to Nigeria .This was cutting off the hands of Nigeria in the pot of wealth from taking her owner share which gave birth to tension because even the Nigeria delegation at the Hague ICJ representatives wanted war since they had the military might more than Cameroon.

Despite all the great innovation of the Cameroon government to co-exist with the vast Nigerian population there was still psychological owner of the Nigerians over Bakassi. This will permit the state of Cameroon to make production moves which will be fruitful to the State coffers of Cameroon and will help the nation reduced the national debt she has and also enable the state to build the standard schools and hospitals which will radiate the reputation of the state. This will enable the state of Cameroon to stand its grounds and attract foreigners which will in the long run will foreign investors in the country .In the socio –cultural domain, Cameroon should make Bakassi and other touristic spots to be very attractive and will enable Cameroon to sell her image and also make money in the tourism industry .

Conclusively, the resolution of the Bakassi conflict was the bedrock of modern day conflict resolution admiration where the whole world saw diplomacy triumph over the arms military combat and was the role model for the world. The consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict illustrated that Cameroon belong in the league of the great nations in African due to the manner she handled the conflict and was the embryo of peace and diplomatic continuation of Cameroon and Nigeria .After the resolution of the Bakassi conflict, it was crystal clear that the relationship between Nigeria and Cameroon was safeguarded and enhanced the collaboration of these great nations in the continent of Africa. The consequences to Cameroon exposed Cameroon for growth and progress which is the key for political diplomacy and poured the fountain of peace in Cameroon which was the turning point for the attractive nature for foreign nations to implant the seed for industrialization in the territory. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was the pinnacle of economic development in Cameroon.

## **APPENDICES**

### **Annex 1: Questionnaire**

The questionnaire is the guide in the area of our academies research that embodies the theme (The consequences of the resolution of the Bakassi conflict on Cameroon from 1981-2023).

NB: The information received during this research exchange are confidential and will be used only in the case of this research

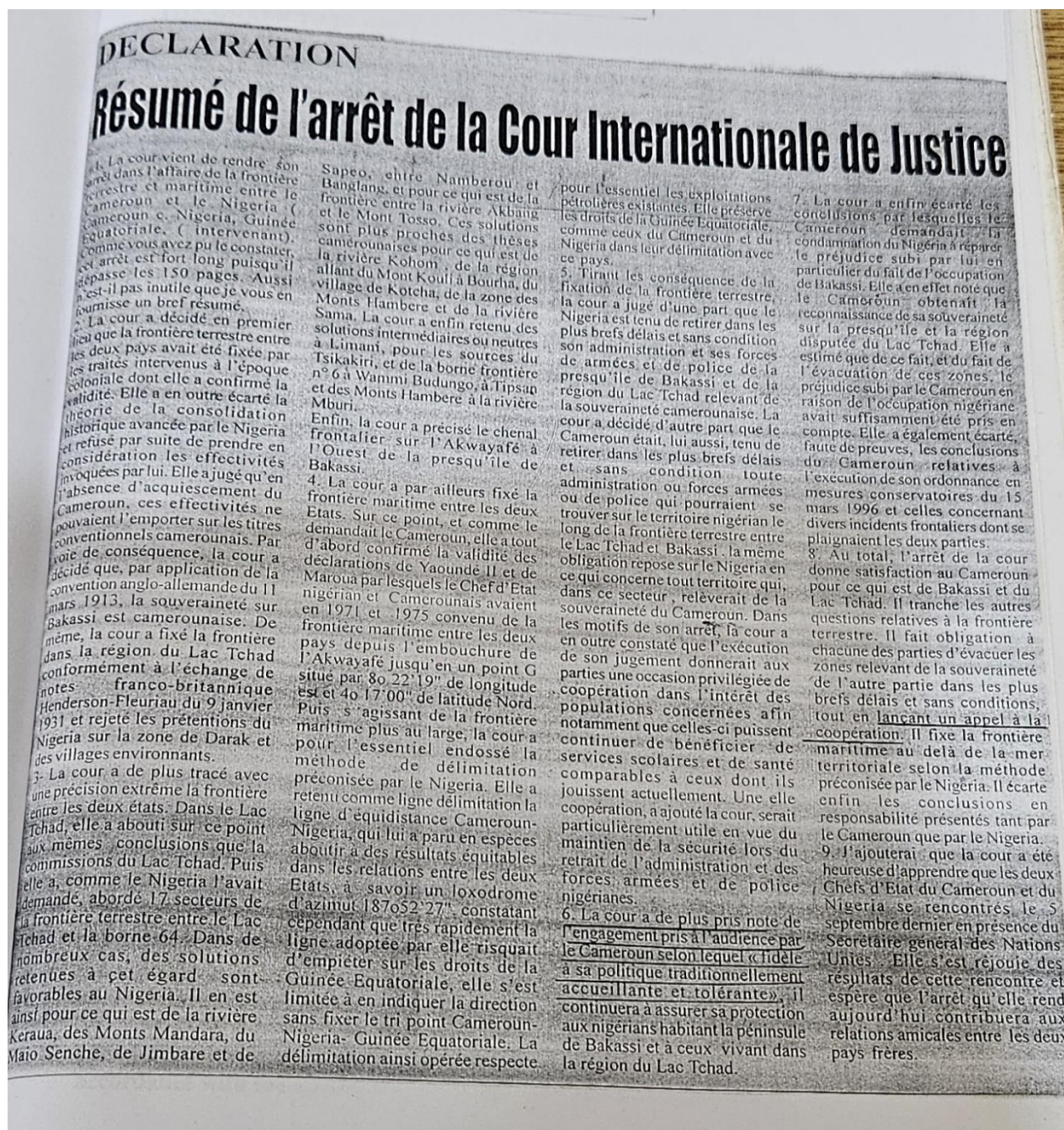
#### **I. Presentation of response**

1. Full names:
2. Rank / grade:
3. Age:
4. Place of service:
5. Duration on the post of service:

#### **II. Understanding of the Bakassi conflict, the consequences of the conflict on Cameroon**

1. What do you understand by the term Bakassi conflict?
2. Was it necessary for Cameroon and Nigeria to have conflict over the Bakassi peninsula?
3. How relevant was the corporation of Cameroon and Nigeria heads- of state precipitated the resolution of the Bakassi conflict?
4. The actions of the UN, Verdict of 2002, in favour of Cameroon as the legitimate owner of Bakassi play in the resolution of the conflict? Since Nigerian administration was asked a specific duration to evacuate the area?
5. The UN setting up a mixed commission (CNMC) to implant the ICJ verdict was a proof to international diplomacy superiority? This was because there as the aspect of peaceful conflict resolution, do you share this same point of view?
6. The collaboration of both Cameroon and Nigeria in upholding international security is a case to be observed, that is an example?
7. The resolution of the Bakassi conflict was it a modern pace for the resolution of conflicts in Africa particular and the world in general?
8. The reactions of the Nigerians who were formally citizens of their nation suddenly became foreigners living in the Cameroon`s soil, did it weaken the act of patriotism? For their Country for failing to secure Bakassi for them?
9. What proposition can you give both the government of Cameroon and Nigeria to avoid any border conflicts with neighboring countries?


## Annex 2: Declaration ; Résumé de l'arrêt de la cour internationale de Justice



Source: Kisifeh Nga Lange D., "The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of Cameroon Nigeria border .Case study: disputes over the Bakassi Peninsula"Memoire of masters in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2011, p.179.

Annex 3: The Green tree Agreement of June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006.

**THE GREEN TREE AGREEMENT OF JUNE 12th 2006.**  
**Bakassi Peninsular: The Greentree Agreement Between Cameroon & Nigeria**



**Full Text**

- Reaffirming their willingness to peacefully implement the judgment of the International Court of Justice,
- Commending the secretary-general of the United Nations for his efforts made in this respect in organizing the tripartite summits and establishing the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission,
- Considering that the question of the withdrawal from and transfer of authority over the Bakassi Peninsula should be treated in a forward-looking spirit of goodwill in order to open new prospects for cooperation between the two countries after decades of difficult bilateral relations,
- Determined to encourage the consolidation of confidence and peace between their two countries for the well-being of their peoples and for stability in the subregion, Have decided to conclude the present agreement.

**Article 1**

Nigeria recognizes the sovereignty of Cameroon over the Bakassi Peninsula in accordance with the judgment of the International Court of Justice of 10 October 2002 in the matter of land and maritime boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria. Cameroon and Nigeria recognize the land and maritime boundary between the two countries as delineated by the Court and commit themselves to continuing the process of implementation already begun.

**Article 2**

Nigeria agrees to withdraw all its armed forces from the Bakassi Peninsula within sixty days of the date of the signing of this Agreement. If exceptional circumstances so require, the secretary-general of the United Nations may extend the period, as necessary, for a further period not exceeding a total of thirty days. **This withdrawal shall be conducted in accordance with the modalities envisaged in annex 1 to this agreement.**

**Article 3**

1. Cameroon, after the transfer of authority to it by Nigeria, guarantees to Nigerian nationals living in the Bakassi Peninsula the exercise of the fundamental rights and freedoms enshrined in international human rights law and in other relevant provisions of international law.

2. In particular, Cameroon shall:

- (a) not force Nigerian nationals living in the Bakassi Peninsula to leave the Zone or to change their nationality;
- (b) respect their culture, language and beliefs;
- (c) respect their right to continue their agricultural and fishing activities;
- (d) protect their property and their customary land rights;
- (e) not levy in any discriminatory manner any taxes and other dues on Nigerian nationals living in the zone; and
- (f) take every necessary measure to protect Nigerian nationals living in the zone from any harassment or harm.

**Article 4**

Annex I and the map contained in Annex II thereof.

No part of this agreement shall be interpreted as a renunciation by Cameroon of its sovereignty over any part of its territory.

**Article 5**

This agreement shall be implemented in good faith by the parties, with the good offices of the secretary-general of the United Nations, if necessary, and shall be witnessed by the United Nations, the Federal Republic of Germany, the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

**Article 6**

1. A follow-up committee to monitor the implementation of this agreement is hereby established. It shall be composed of representatives of Cameroon, Nigeria, the United Nations and the witness States. The committees shall monitor the implementation of the agreement by the parties with the assistance of the United Nations observers of the Mixed Commission.
2. The follow-up committee shall settle any dispute regarding the interpretation and implementation of this agreement.
3. The activities of the follow-up committee shall cease at the end of the period of the special transitional regime provided for in paragraph 4 of annex I to this agreement.

**Article 7**

This agreement shall in no way be construed as an interpretation or modification of the judgment of the International Court of Justice of 10 October 2002, for which the agreement only sets out the modalities of implementation.

**Article 8**

This agreement is concluded in English and French, both texts being equally authentic.

*Done in Greentree, New York, on 12 June 2006.*

**For the Republic of Cameroon:**  
**Paul Biya, President**

**For the Federal Republic of Nigeria:**  
**Olusegun Obasanjo, President: Olusegun Obasanjo**

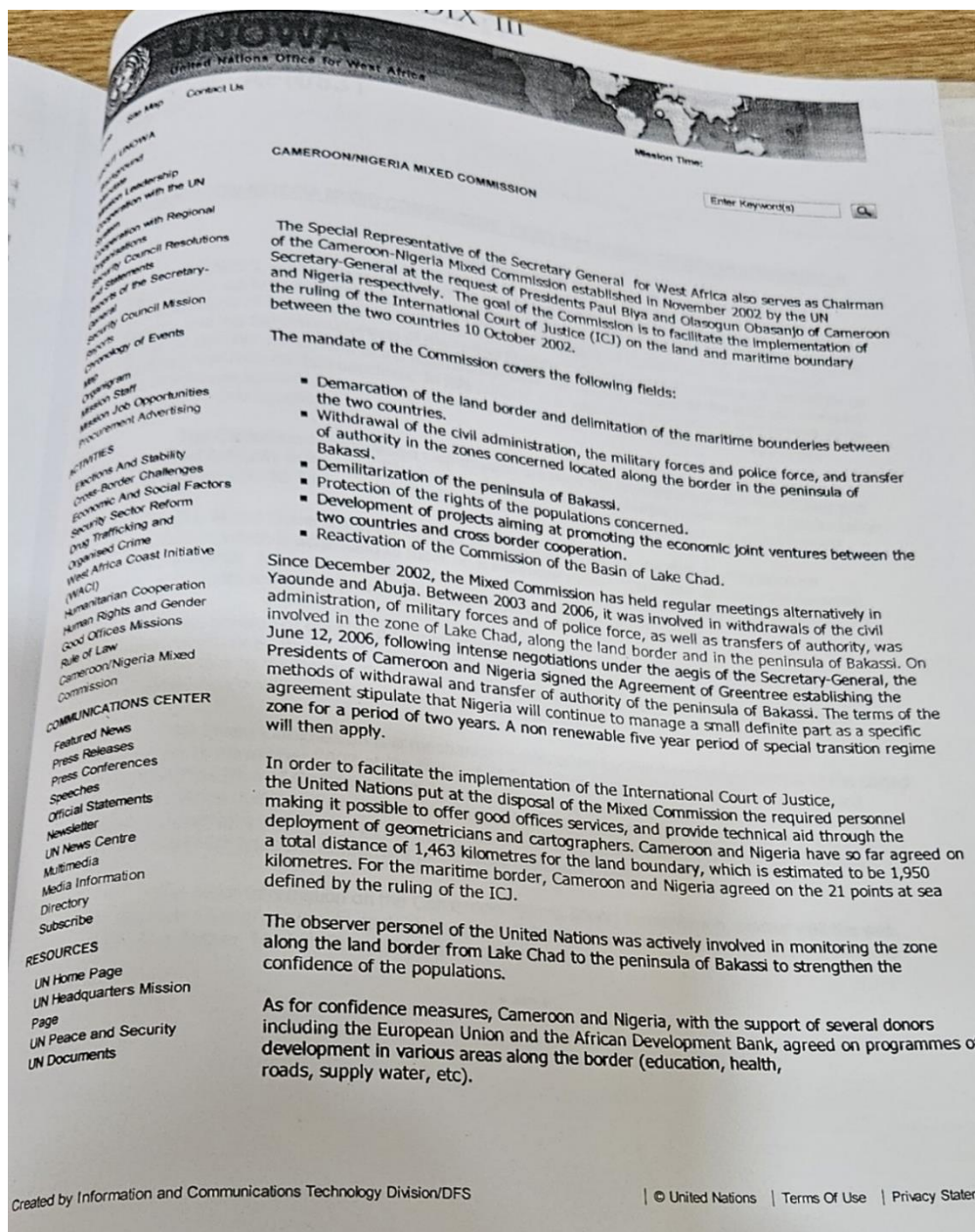
*Witnesses*

**For the United Nations: Kofi Atta Annan**  
**For the Federal Republic of Germany: H.E. Gunter Pleuger**  
**For the United States of America: H.E. Fokie Sanders**  
**For the French Republic: H.E. Michel Duclos**  
**For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and N. Ireland - H.E. Kore**

Posted on June 15, 2006 at 11:56 AM in [Eye on Africa](#) | [Permalink](#) [Share](#)

Source: Kisifeh Nga Lange D., "The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of Cameroon Nigeria border .Case study: disputes over the Bakassi Peninsula"Memoire of masters in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2011, p.180.


## Annex 4: Cameroon Nigeria mixed Commission (CNMC)



Source: A. Guewada “Le rôle de la commission Mixe des Nations Unies Cameroon-Nigeria dans la mise en œuvre de L`arrêt de la cour internationale de justice du 10th octobre 2002 », Mémoire of Professional Masters, IRIC, 2012.P.68.

## Annex 5: Cameroon –Nigeria Mixed Commission first field visit to Bakassi peninsula

10/02/2004



**Press Release  
AFR/831**

---

**CAMEROON-NIGERIA MIXED COMMISSION: FIRST FIELD VISIT TO BAKASSI PENINSULA**

(Reissued as received.)

GENEVA, 10 February (UN Information Service) -- The Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission will hold its eighth meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, from 10 to 12 February. It will take stock of the outcome of the Tripartite Summit between the President of Cameroon, the President of Nigeria, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations held last week in Geneva on the follow-up of the 10 October 2002 ruling of the International Court of Justice relating to the land and maritime boundary between the two countries. In this context, it is interesting to point out that in Geneva the two Presidents agreed to also consider concluding a Treaty of friendship and non-aggression between the two countries.

The Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission will hear the final report on the Withdrawal and Transfer of Authority in the Lake Chad area. As required by the Mixed Commission, a presentation on the situation on the field one month after the completion of that operation will also be made.

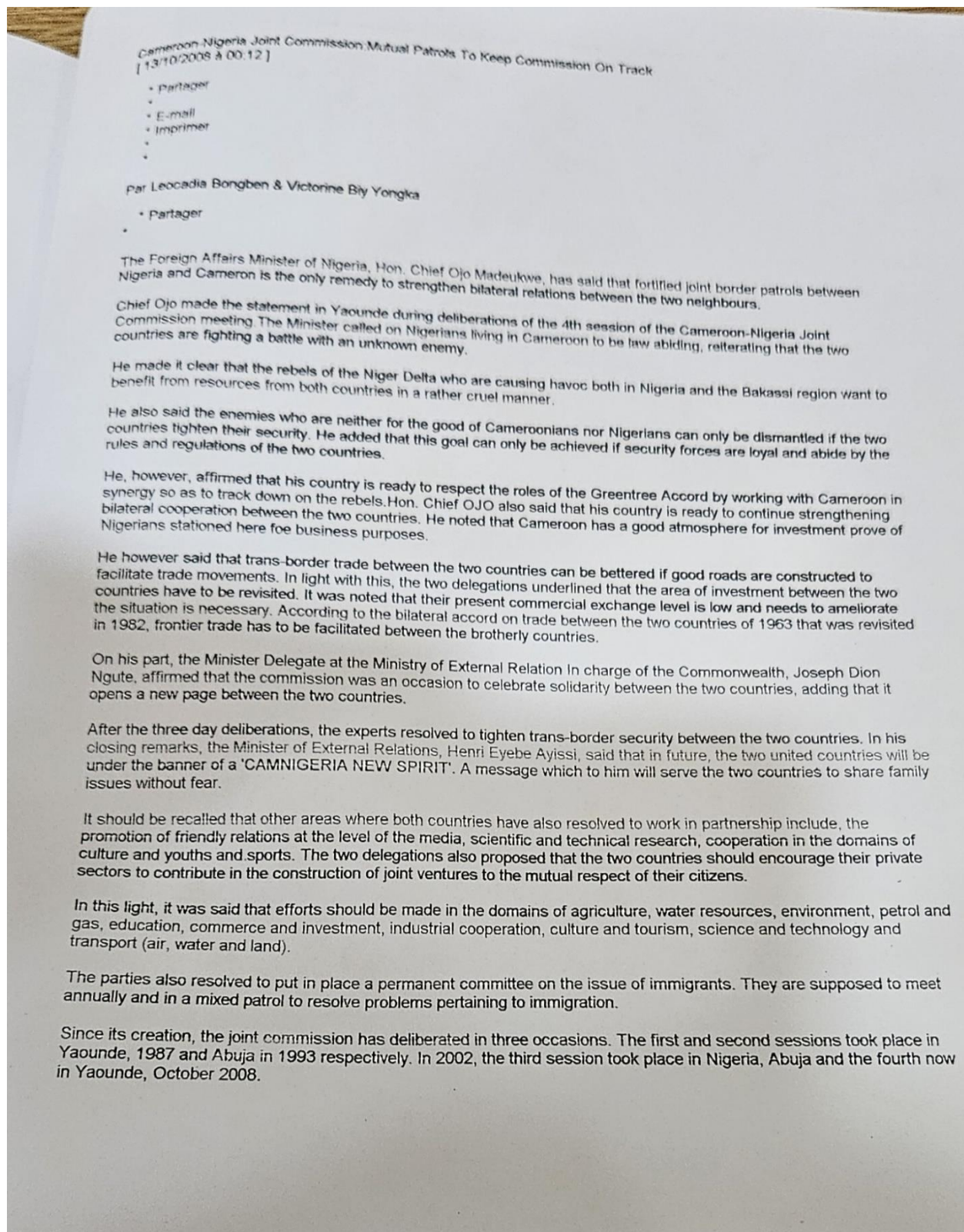
The Mixed Commission will discuss progress achieved by the Sub-Commission on Demarcation, which is scheduled to meet on 9 February 2004. It will also address the following additional points: (a) the delimitation of the maritime boundary; (b) fund-raising tripartite planned visits; and (c) issues on the protection of the rights of affected populations.

This session of the Mixed Commission will be followed by the first visit of the Bakassi Peninsula by the Sub-Commission on Affected Populations from 13 to 20 February 2004. During this tour to the Bakassi Peninsula, the Sub-Commission is expected to meet with local population, their traditional chiefs, as well as local authorities.

The Mixed Commission is a mechanism established by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 15 November 2002 at the request of President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President Paul Biya of Cameroon in order to facilitate peaceful implementation of the International Court of Justice Judgment on the border dispute between Cameroon and Nigeria. It is increasingly seen by observers of the African political situation as a novel approach in preventive diplomacy and a new model for peaceful settlement of conflicts between States.

For more information on the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission, please visit the web site at [www.un.org/unowa](http://www.un.org/unowa); or contact: in Abuja, Sylvie Daouda, tel.: +234 9 413 18 11 extension 6402; or in Dakar, Myriam Dessables, tel.: +221 849 07 29.

\* \* \* \* \*



Source: A. Guewada "Le rôle de la commission Mixe des Nations Unies Cameroon-Nigeria dans la mise en œuvre de L'arrêt de la cour internationale de justice du 10th octobre 2002 », Mémoire of Professional Masters, IRIC, 2012.P.68

## SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

### 1. Oral sources

N°	Name	Age	Quality	Place	Dates
1.	Wunduiyi Melvin Mawah	40	Tourism teacher in Government technical college(GTC-Akwa-Bakassi)	Bakassi, south west region.	16 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
2.	Anonymous			Bakassi	16 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
3.	Gabsa Wilfred.	52	Secretary General of the ministry of Higher education	Yaoundé	11 <sup>th</sup> October 2024
4.	Madam , Fongod Augustina	50	Director of Academic affairs at the ministry of higher education	Yaoundé	11 <sup>th</sup> October 2024
5.	Kum George	42	Historian University of Yaoundé 1, department of History.	Yaoundé	5 <sup>th</sup> May 2025
6.	Elokobi Daniel Njock	69	General , director of the central coordination of the national <i>Gendarmerie</i>	Yaoundé	27 <sup>th</sup> April 2024
7.	Che Julius	43	Senior lecturer in the University of Buea, Historian, Department of history.	Buea	10 <sup>th</sup> March 2025
8.	Brahim Djibril Traboun	33	Lieutenant, <i>Gendarmerie</i> territorial Mfoundi, in mission in Bakassi.	Bakassi	17 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
9.	Nguele Joseph	50	Lieutenant Colonel at the <i>Gendarmerie</i> second in Command	Buea.	27 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
10.	Fon Chafah Isaac XI	55	Senior Magistrate, Senator, traditional ruler of Bangoland Fondom, member of the bureau at the senate, secretary.	Bamenda	3 <sup>rd</sup> May 2025

11.	Kuete Charlie	29	Soldier , <i>member of the Battalion intervention rapide (B.I.R)</i> in Bakassi	Bakassi	17 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
12.	Etokoro Okon	68	Nigerian Native in the Bakassi peninsula ,	Bakassi	17 <sup>th</sup> September202 4
13.	Ngombet Claudia	35	Journalist of the Cameroon radio and television in Yaoundé.	Yaoundé	12 <sup>th</sup> May 2025
14.	Njingun Idrisu	41	Lieutenant of the <i>Battalion intervention rapide (B.I.R)</i> in Bakassi military Base.	Bakassi	17 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
15.	Collins Effiong	45	Nigerian trader in Bakassi	Bakassi	18 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
16.	Nji Albert Ndongari	39	Cameroon Trader in Bakassi	Bakassi	18 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
17.	Ndasi Clovis	40	Forest Guard , ministry of wildlife and foetry	Buea	27 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
18.	Anonymous	60	Retired senior Divisional officer of Ndian Division	Buea.	28 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
19.	Anonymous	55	14 <sup>th</sup> May 2025.	Buea	28 <sup>th</sup> September 2024
20	Anonymous	65	Retired colonel of the army ,	Yaoundé	18 <sup>th</sup> May 2025

## 2. Official Documents

Nigeria and Cameroon bilateral relations 1960-2010. A paper presented by Federal Ambassador Philip Ali Daouda (Dan Amar Bajju) , High commissioner of the federal republic of Nigeria to Cameroon , at a lecture on the Occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Nigeria , at the University of Yaoundé I , Wednesday , September 29<sup>th</sup> 2010 at 3:30pm.

Ordinance No -59/57 of November 11<sup>th</sup> 1959, creating the Cameroon army and General Organization of Defense.

Résumés des Arrêtés, Avis Consultatif, et Ordonnances de la CIJ : Affaire de la Frontière Terrestre et Maritime entre le Cameroun et le Nigeria (Cameroon vs Nigeria) Guinea Equatoriale intervenant (Fond), Arrêt du 10 octobre 2002.

Speech of President Paul Biya, during the Commemoration of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Cameroon Army, November 11<sup>th</sup> 1989.

The “**Compromise Line**” jointly Drawn by the heads of state of Cameroon and Nigeria as presented on Map No.3433 of the British Admiralty.

Vienna convention on Diplomatic relations of April 18<sup>th</sup> 1961.

Vienna convention on consular relations of 1963.

Vienna convention on the Laws on Treaties of 1969.

The Green tree Agreement between Cameroon and Nigeria signed in New York, June 12<sup>th</sup> 2006.

Ngoh, V.J., *Cameroon 1884-present (2018): The history of a People*, Limbe, and Design house Limbe

Eyo, Okon Akak., *Who owns Bakassi?* Calabar , Public office press, 1999.

Fanso, VG. *Cameroon History for secondary schools and colleges . The Colonial and post colonial period*, Malaysia, Macmillan 1989.

Grawitz, M., *Méthode des sciences sociales*, Paris, Dalloz, 2001.

Aron, R., *Paix et Guerre les Nations* Paris, Calmann Levy, 1985.

Kamto, M., *Pouvoir et droit en Afrique Noire*, PUF, Paris, 1993.

Kissinger, H.A., *Diplomacy*, New York, Fayyad Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Ki-Zerbo, J., *Histoire de l` Afrique noir d` hier a demain*, Paris, Hatier, 1972.

Beaud., M., *L`art de la thèse. Comment préparer et rédiger un mémoire en master, une thèse de doctorat ou tout autre travail Universitaire a` l`ere du Net*, Paris, La Découverte, 2006.

Hobbes, T., *Léviathan traite de la matière, de la Forme et du pouvoir de la République Ecclésiastique et civile, traduit de l` Anglais par François Tricaud*, Editions Sirey Paris, 1971.

Mills, H.A., *Négociateur : L`art de Gagner. Série Communication*, Paris, Edition de Vecchi, S.A ; 1998.

- Saadia, T., *The boundary politics of independent Africa*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Morgenthau, H.A., *politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition New York, Alfred Knopf, 1985.
- Nyamba, L.E., *Afrique : Les Voies de la prospérité*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2008. 1996.
- Merle, M., *Sociologie des Relations Internationales*, 3eme Edition, Paris, Dalloz, 1982.
- Shaw, M.N., *and Title to territory in Africa: International legal issues*, Oxford, Clarence press, 1986.
- Kamto, M., *The Bakassi Affair, Cameroon`s challenge for peace, Pacific settlement of the Border Disputes; Lessons from the Bakassi affair and the Green Tree Agreement*, October, 2008.
- Grawitz, M., *Méthodes des sciences sociales*, 9eme Edition, Paris, Dalloz, 1993.
- Biya P., *Pour le Libéralisme Communautaire*, Lausanne, Editions Preire –Marcel, FAVRE ; Paris, Editions ABC, 1986.
- Carton, B., *Le Pétrole en Afrique : La violence Fait au peuple*, Tome I, Bruxelles, GrESA, 2000.
- Cattin, J., *Pétrole fait trembler le monde*, Genève, Imprimerie du courrier, 1974.
- Dougherty, J. and Pfaltzgraff Jr, *Contending theories of international Relations. A comprehensive survey*, “2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, New York, Harper and Row publishers, 1981
- Plantey, A. *Principes des Diplomatie*, Paris, Perone, 2000.
- Riodan, S., *The new Diplomacy, Great Britain*, Polity, 2003.
- Rourke, J.T., *International politics on the world stage. 8<sup>th</sup> Edition*, University of Connecticut, MCGRAWHILL, Dushkin, A division of the MCGRAWHILL Companies, 2001.
- Sinjoun, L., *Sociologie des relations internationales Africaines*, Paris, Karthala 2002.
- Moelle, Kombi J.N., *La politique étrangère du Cameroun*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1996.

## 2. Scientific articles and Revues

- Moelle Kombi J.N.**, « Contribution des force Armées à la Préservation de l`integrite` territoriale du Cameroun » (Pages 10-12) Article Publisher in the Journal of the Ministry of Defense « Publication du ministère de la défense : Honneur ET Fidélité, Mai 2010 ».
- Ntuda Ebode J.V. « Consolider les acquis du Cinquantenaire : Prévenir et Traiter les menace de l`après Bakassi, Une nécessité` « Honneur ET Fidélité » Publication du Ministère de la Defense, Mai 2010.

Kornprobst M., "The Management of the Border disputes in African Regional Sub system: Comparing West Africa and the Horn of Africa" *Journal of modern African studies* 40, No .3, (2002): pages 369-93.

Ogwu J. Bakassi Prevention and the path to peace, speech delivered at pacific settlement of border disputes: Lessons from the Bakassi Affair and the Green Tree agreement June 12th 2006.

Sinjoun L. « L`action International de L`assemblée du Cameroon : Eléments d`analyse politiste », *Etudes internationales* XXIV, Décembre 1993.

Engelbert P, Tarango S, Carter M, "Dismemberment and suffocation: A contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries", *Comparative political studies* 35, No. 10, (December 2002) pages 1093-1118.

Kerck Hove de F., "La nature de l`Analyse Décisionnelle » *Etudes internationales* Volume III, (NO IV) Décembre 1972.

Mvomo Ella W., Petro stratégie et Appel d` Empire dans le Gulf de Guinea, in *Enjeux*, Janvier –mars 2005, pp. 7-11.

Tamfuh Y.N W., Effective international disputes résolution : A case study of the Bakassi Conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria (Pages 87-105), Publisher in *Revue Camerounaise d`études Internationales : Revue semestriel publiée par l`institut des relations international du Cameroon (IRIC) 1er, semestre 2009.*

### 3. Dictionaries

Guralnik D.B. (ed)., *Wester`s New world dictionary of the American Language: Basic school Edition, New York, Pretence –Hall, Englewood cliffs, 1979.*

Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire encyclopédique Larousse*, Tome 10, Paris Cedex, Larousse, 1993.

Dictionnaire Encyclopédique, *Grand Larousse Universel, Tome14*, Hors Commerce, Paris. 1993.

Keuko M. R., *Guerre et Conflits Modernes : Petit Lexique pour Comprendre les Notion : Collection Defense stratégies, et Relation internationales*, Paris, L` Harmattan 2008.

Lexique des termes *Juridique, 17eme Edition*, Paris, Dalloz, 2010.

Smouts M.C. Et al. *Dictionnaires des Relations Internationales* , Paris , Dalloz, 2003.

#### **4. Thesis and memory dissertations.**

##### **1.1-Thesis**

Oyono J.S., « La Diplomatie Camerounaise face aux défis de la Mondialisation, ». Thèse de Doctorat de 3eme cycle en relations internationales, IRIC, Yaoundé, 1999.

Atanga S., « Processus de prise de décision en politique étrangère au Cameroun », Thèse de Doctorat de 3eme cycle en relations internationales, IRIC, Yaoundé 1991.

Biloua Tang A. T., « La politique étrangère du Cameroon a l`ere de la transition vers un nouvel ordre Mondial (1990-2001) : Une Analyse à travers le prisme des politiques publiques, Thèse de Doctorat de 3eme Cycle en relations internationales, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2002.

##### **Memoirs dissertations.**

Kisifeh Nga Lange D., “The diplomacy that underpins peaceful settlement of Cameroon Nigeria border .Case study: disputes over the Bakassi Peninsula”Memoire of masters in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2011.

Tandang Asen G., “Diplomatic communications during crisis period: the case of the conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over Bakassi peninsula”, Memoir of masters in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2011.

Guewanda, A., « Le rôle de la commission Mixte des nations Unies Cameroon –Nigeria dans la mise en Œuvre de l`arrêt de la cour internationale de justice du 10th Octobre 2002. »Mémoire of masters in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2012.

Tansong, Tendongue C., « L`action des chefs d`état Camerounaise et Nigériens dans la résolution du conflit de Bakassi, Mémoire of Masters in international relations », IRIC, Yaoundé, 2010.

Oter, Atur B., “The impact of organized crime in the Gulf of Guinea, the case of Maritime piracy and illicit Bunkering in Nigeria” Memoir of Masters in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2014.

Aliou, F.Y., “The influence of Cameroon `s multilateral diplomacy on Africa`s integration and development”, Memoir of Master in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé 2012.

Obamè, Ngoua G.R., « La communication en Milieu diplomatique »

Ombe, S.T.R., « La participation de la Marine nationale dans la lutte contre la piraterie maritime au Cameroun (1990-2018) : Essai d`analyse Historique », Mémoire de master en Histoire, Université of Yaoundé 1, 2022.

Abdoulaye T., « Frontière Nationale et sécurité internationale : Enjeux perspective pour la sécurité au mali », Mémoire of Master in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2020.

Mveng, Nkou, E.G., « Le rôle de l'assemblée Nationale dans la diplomatie Camerounaise (1992-2000) », Mémoire of master in international relations, IRIC, Yaoundé, 2001.

### 5. Webographic sources

[http://www.articlebase.com/international – studies / Paradigms –for- analysis –of-Nigeria – foreign – policy – 4691993. Htm1\\*ivzz109g9sk62R](http://www.articlebase.com/international-studies/Paradigms-for-analysis-of-Nigeria-foreign-policy-4691993.html), Under creative common license: Attribution in article entitled, Paradigm for analysis of Nigeria`s Foreign policy, by Victor I .Lukpata (Ph.D.), citing (Emma Odi, 1991:18), Management Development institute, Calabar – Nigeria. Consulted on the 5<sup>th</sup> December 2024 at 4:13PM.

[http://www.nationsencyclopedia .com / world –leaders-2005/ Nigeria](http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/world-leaders-2005/Nigeria), on the article “OJO MADUEKWE AND NIGERIA FOREIGN POLICY: Dissenting Opinion” published by sabella OGBOBODE ABIDE, on 05/06/2008, in Nigeria matters in the above mentioned website. Consulted on the 12<sup>th</sup> January 2025 at 10:03 AM.

[http://en.wikipedia .org/wiki / preventive -diplomacy categories](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/preventive-diplomacy) : Dispute resolution / diplomacy /political term tubs, personal tools, consulted on 9th November 2024 at 12:45 PM.

[http://en.wikipedia .org /wiki / diplomacy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/diplomacy), in the article “preventive violent conflict: A strategy for preventive diplomacy” Published by LUND M.S., in the aforementioned website, consulted on 14 April 2025 at 3:34PM.

[http://www.irnnews. Org/](http://www.irnnews.Org/).on “Cameroon –Nigeria : setting Bakassi –interview with UN envoy , Ahmedouould –Abdullah” UN OCHA news services , IRIN , Dakar , November 14<sup>th</sup> 2007, published in the above website .consulted on the 19<sup>th</sup> May 2024 at 11:01 AM.

Gaia R. Assemblée` nationale. Constitution du 4octobre 1958, Onzième législature enregistre a la présidence de l`assemblée nationale le 20juin 2001, Rapport d`information déposé` en application de l`article 145 du règlement par la commission de la défense nationale et des forces armées, sur l`action civiles des Armées sur les théâtres extérieurs (Actions Civilo- Militaires), juin 2001, [https://www. Google.com/url ?q=https.www. assemblée-nationale. Fr /rap-info/i3167.asp&sa=U&veb=2ahUKEwik6v7p9P2DAxX2e6QEHYc-BPEQFnoECAAQA&usg=AOvVaw1RYvZ8CU6zSL2y12UB1fS9](https://www.Google.com/url?q=https.www.assemblée-nationale.Fr/rap-info/i3167.asp&sa=U&veb=2ahUKEwik6v7p9P2DAxX2e6QEHYc-BPEQFnoECAAQA&usg=AOvVaw1RYvZ8CU6zSL2y12UB1fS9), consulted on the 27th January 2024 at. 6 :11PM.

Nation Unies, maintien de la paix, les activités Civilo-militaires des casques bleus contribue à améliorer les conditions de vie des communautés 15 juillet 2021, [https://.Google com. /url? q=http : www.peaceopstraining .Org /course /la –coordination – civil-militaire –dans les-opérations–de-paix/preview/&sa=2ah](https://.Google.com./url?q=http:www.peaceopstraining.Org/course/la-coordination-civil-militaire-dans-les-opérations-de-paix/preview/&sa=2ah)

[UKEwiK6v7p9p2DAxX2e6QEHYcBPEQFnoECAIQAg&=AOvVaw1e](#) –  
[fjF14k2JBbCxCiCgSH](#), consulted on the 30th june 2025 at. 1 :23PM.