

Nigeria-Cameroon Diplomatic Relations: Dynamics, Challenges and Strategic Options

KIA BARILEDUM
Rivers State University, Port Harcourt, Nigeria

EBELE ANGELA UDEOJI
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja, Nigeria

Abstract. The study examines Nigeria-Cameroon Diplomatic Relations: Dynamics, Challenges and Strategic Options. The Paper aimed at exploring Relations between both countries after the International Court of Justice ceded the contested oil rich Bakassi to Cameroon. The paper further examines challenges in both Countries' diplomatic Relations and finally identified strategic options. The study employed historical and descriptive research methods and thus relied on secondary data. With heavy reliance on secondary data supported by analytical approach, the paper discussed extensively Nigeria Cameroon diplomatic relations from Euro-African colonial era to Post ICJ's Bakassi Judgement. The Data obtained were qualitatively analyzed. From the analysis, the study discovered the existence of functional approach in both countries' diplomatic relations where, after the judgement, there is consciously no political arm-twisting between them. This reflected in various bilateral cooperation and agreements entered into by both countries. However, the study identified Boko Haram terrorism, illegal border crimes, rejection of the ICJ's judgement by some Nigerians, the desire of both countries to safeguard their vested interests,, the suspicious disposition of Cameroon toward Nigeria as major challenges in both countries diplomatic relations. Based on these findings the study recommends amongst others regular exchange of visits by leaders of both countries,- to strengthen post ICJ's judgement diplomatic relations, both countries encouragement of joint border patrol to check border crimes capable of creating diplomatic breach and above all, Develop in their citizens the state of mind that encourage good neighbourliness, brotherhood and solidarity.

Keywords: Diplomatic Relations, Bilateral Agreement, ICJ's Judgement, Colonial Treaties, Boundary Dispute.

1. Introduction

Diplomatic relations live practically. It is an art which is about persuasion, not coercion, but in some cases involves coercion where peaceful strategy failed. More importantly, it is about looking for and finding common ground, about forging agreement and achieving a balance of benefits that will allow each party to go home with at least some degree of satisfaction (Frechette, 2013). Diplomatic Relations in this context constitutes the broad and formal ties between and among nation-states. It involves conscious articulation and formulation of policy or set of policies pursued within the general framework of national interest. In the process, where the content of a state diplomatic engagement (that represents specific goals) encompasses the logical extension of any form of diplomatic ties, the foundation of that relationship will definitely be routined. More so, where a formal existing diplomatic relations yields certain tangible benefits for one country, there is nothing actually and precisely specific that will make the other party of country to without negotiation. This situation aptly captured Nigeria-Cameroon Diplomatic relations, not too friendly and not too unfriendly.

Cameroon and Nigeria are neighbouring nations that share a common border, people and history. These factors have consistently shaped the dynamics of their diplomatic relations. This work was limited to

Nigeria-Cameroon relations with focus on areas of conflict and cooperation, challenges and strategic options. Three cardinal objectives of the study therefore include:

- To analyze Nigeria-Cameroon relations from colonial era to the point of international court judgement over the contested Bakassi peninsular
- To examine both countries diplomatic relations after the IC judgement.
- To analyze strategic options through which Nigeria-Cameroon relations could be improved.

2. Theoretical Framework

National interest is used as the framework of analysis in this work. To disaggregate the omnibus term called 'national interest' into analytical framework, it would be useful and necessary to think of national interest as national security interest which as Walter Lippnum cited in Asobic (2002), denotes that "a nation is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values of its wishes to avoid war and is able, if challenged to maintain them in case of war.

Ibrahim (1986) went to argue that national security should not be seen simply and superficially as self-preservation, self-defence or survival. Rather, it should be conceived to include the protection of "ultimate values such as the individual liberty and human welfare. This falls in line with the Realist perspective of diplomatic relations. The realists conceived national interest in terms of national security, and insist that national security must include integrity of national territory and its institutions (Morgenthau, 1978:553).

However, Joseph Nye and Robert Keohamle (Maa) have tried hard to use the image of pluralism to establish that diplomatic relation is characterized by cooperation and independence with win-win, and mutual benefiting outcome. In this way, constructive national interest of Nigeria and Cameroon are more likely the same, but depend on strategic options and specific goals pursued within the context of their interaction. What this is means is that both countries have something to gain in a relationship, no matter the issue. The role of national interest in diplomatic cycle cannot be ignored. This is why it is widely used to explain interplay of the orthodox perspective of diplomatic relations.

The content of national interest applies so long as both countries diplomatic exploits are dominated by

the prosperity of unprecedented desire of national interest, which in this study include; ambiguity of their national territory and institutions. As stated earlier, Morgenthau's contention reflects this idea, with considerable moralistic and ethical approach to the diplomatic relations. A cue from this line of thought would certainly affirm the fact, that both countries' core national interest are relatively permanent and have to do more importantly with the protection of not only the physical, political goals, but also cultural identity of each country against encroachment by the other. Therefore:

Logic expects that the basic national interest of all states including Nigeria and Cameroon are basically and broadly similar in the sense that their basic interests centre around security, welfare, presentation of the political system, natural and cultural lifestyle.

The exclusive interests of both countries determine the extent of their diplomatic relations. This is particularly noted, as the value of national interest cannot be overemphasized. As a compass for diplomatic relation, nothing is given just of asking, as national interest is integrated into state-state relations. This explains why Nigeria-Cameroon relations have been marred by border disputes. This does not mean that Cameroon-Nigeria relation is entirely conflictual. There are other areas of collaborative value-driven diplomatic relation, which made many contemporary scholars describe the relations between both countries as conflictual on one hand and direct collaborative, bilateral relation on the other. The dynamics remained and shaped by specific goals that represent national interests of both states.

3. Nigeria-Cameroon Historical Relations

Nigeria and Cameroon are found on the west coast of the continent of Africa. Both countries shared common experience as part of British West Africa; they both enjoyed peace as members of the conservative group of African states which formed the Mon villa group shortly after Independence in 1960 (Okoro,2002.Ntoi,2003).

In fact, Omede (2006:17) observed that, thought the two states are separated, however, they remained a common people, particularly those in the border towns. He gave a clearer picture of the situation in the following words:

The frontier-line inhabitant are duly associated not by colonial effort but through ethnic affiliation. Rather, colonial state creation dishearteningly fragmented brethren.

In the same vein, Njoku (2012:198 – 199) posited that:

The permanent presence of a population with a common historical experience, and of the ethno-cultural stock on both sides of the ostensible international divide is one of the natural features that defined Nigeria-Cameroon relation.

The fact here is that, ethnic groups and sub-groups of Nigeria extraction cuts across Nigeria-Cameroon international boundary. For instance, Ibibio, Efik, Ekoi and Boki are Nigeria's ethnic groups and sub-groups that inhabited boundary between both nation-states. Other ethnic groups found between the border of both countries include; Ejagham and Boki of the Manyu. These ethnic groups are divided between Nigeria and Cameroon (Kah and Nkwi, 2011:44-51; Thomas, 2001:55). The Ejagham-Nigeria are located in Nchang area close to Mamfe town, extending to Ikom-Nigeria. In the north, they (Ejagham) also extend from Agbokem on the Cross River to the Oban Hills and Calabar at the mouth of the Cross River. The analysis of Pemunta (2011:17) on Nigeria-Cameroon ethnic link is clear and precise. He noted thus:

That Ejagham and Bayangs have similar socio-economic and political institutions with common historical connection to the outside world by virtue of their trans-border location on Cameroon-Nigeria borders.

Again, we have the Anyang and the Keyaka-Ekoi people consisting of the Obang, Ekwe and Keaka, with ethnic association to those within Nigeria. Shewa (2006:27), Ntoi (2003:13) and Njuku (2012:199) agreed that the Mbembe of Abong (Nigeria) and Agbonshe (Cameroon) living on both sides of River Dunga are all Mbembe with common political, economic and social contacts. In the same vein, the Kanuri of Nigeria and that of Cameroon are also related. The close ethnic affinities of these border communities are such that they share deities and totems, ancestral shrines and major rites, virtual and annual and festivals that they all participated despite separate colonial artificial boundaries. The adoption of this historical analytical perspective is necessitated by the fact that inquiring into some analogous process in modern diplomatic relations and noting recurrent patterns serve as a guide to understanding the contemporary diplomatic behaviour of both countries.

Immediately after Independence in 1960, Cameroon-Nigeria relation shifted from pretentious friendship and cooperation to conflictual relations marked significantly by mutual suspicion, distrust and outright alienation. Cameroon was historically part of Nigeria state which should reciprocally maintain

cordial relationship with Nigeria, but on the contrary, with the attainment of statehood, Cameroon relationship with Nigeria became more conflictual to the bewilderment of many analysts. Ate (1992) could not hide his feeling when he voiced out that:

The contemporary experience of hostility is somewhat ironic and perplexing. The reason is that, in the pre-colonial era, and in some cases under colonial rule, most the people and territories that presently constitute Nigeria's immediate neighbours were part and parcel of administrative state units within the territory of present day Nigeria. Indeed, the respective peoples in these countries are ethno-culturally linked to similar population.

Bassey (2010) traced the shift in Nigeria-Cameroon relationship to Euro-African relationship. In this sense, the unconducive and long but ill-defined colonial border (1680 kilometers or 1050 miles) constitute the conceptual and historical issues that engaged the attention of scholars since Independence in the Nigeria-Cameroon diplomatic relations.

The contested area "Bakassi Peninsula" of about 1,000 kilometers of mangrove swamps and submerged islands are of great economic values. With large deposit of oil reserve and enormous seafood, Bakassi Peninsula became strategic and political than legal consideration to both countries (Akinyemi, 2014).

From the foregoing, the shift in relationship between Nigeria and Cameroon has been a matter of historical proportions especially by the redefinition of boundary by the colonial power that led to clash between tradition and modernity that continue to haunt the reality between both countries in their contemporary diplomatic relations.

The European imperial powers disguised under the "pretentious" protectorate systems the legal basis for much of their activities to acquire African states. This system effectively met the European power's needs for a degree of control in their protectorate, which excluded that of their rivals, while building fragile peace among the local authorities (Bekker, 2003).

In the pre-colonial era, the contested Bakassi Peninsula was part of the ancient kingdom of Calabar (Nigeria) in 1914 under the British Colonial master. However, through series of treaties by the Imperial powers, Britain ceded the territory first, to Germany and later placed under the mandate of the League of Nations and Trusteeship of the United Nations (Bassey, 2010b).

The most crucial agreements with great impact on the demarcation of Nigeria and Cameroon border include:

- The Anglo-German Treaty
- The Anglo-German Protocol signed in Obokum in 1913
- The Exchange of Letters between British and German government in 1914.
- The endorsement in 1961 by both the United Nations general assembly and International Court of Justice of the plebiscite conducted in Northern and Southern Cameroon in 1961.
- The diplomatic role accompanied by a map, dispatched to the government by Nigeria in 1962 accepting the result of the plebiscite (<http://www.postwatchmagazine.com>).

From the above, it is obvious to state that, Germany contributed significantly to the redefinition of boundaries in West Africa, particularly in the Gulf of Guinea areas. Nicholas (2010) supported this position when he observed that:

The early arrival of Germany in the region and their success in signing treaties with Cameroon Kings of Akwa and Bell of Douala on July 14, 1884 set the tone of most of what obtains as acceptable boundaries in the region. These treaties in effect, proclaimed the German protectorate extending from Rio Del Rey area to Gabon.

It is interesting to note that as at the time the 1884 treaty was signed, Bakassi was under the jurisdiction of the Efik Kingdom (Cross River State Government, 1975). Again, between 1893 and 1913, the Rio-del- key that demarcated German Cameroon and Nigeria protectorate indicated that Bakassi was part of Nigeria.

The 1884 treaty, according to Bassey (2014), had several implications on Anglo-Efik relations and also on Nigeria-Cameroon relations and diplomatic intercourse. On the Efik, the treaty recognized and encouraged British officials to interfere into internal politics of the Efik people. The treaty also bore on the conflict between both countries.

4. The Anglo-German Treaty of March 11, 1913

The desire to establish claims over villages in the hinterland of the coastal areas led to the making of several treaties between the European powers. In order to avoid war over incompatible interest, two nations namely Britain and Germany signed several treaties. These treaties include 1885, 1886, 1890 and 1893 agreements. These agreements had the legal

basis of the original Eastern border between Nigeria and Cameroon (FGN, 1981). The 1885 treaty attempted to define the respective zones of influence of the two imperial powers around the Rio-del-Rey. As confirmed by (Ate, 1992):

On March 20, 1885, the English suggested that the right bank of the Rio-del-Rey be made the starting point for a boundary that was to extend in a straight line to a point on the Cross River marked "Rapids" on an admiralty map.

The above suggestion was agreed upon after discussion. However, because the demarcations were imprecise, a new agreement to address perceived anomaly came up in 1886. This agreement of 1886 attempted to delimited the boundary from Rio-del-Rey in the maritime section to a point to the East of this river and from there to Yola in the North.

In the same vein, the 1913 Anglo-German Agreement demarcated Nigeria-Cameroon as follows:

From the centre of the navigable channel on the line joining Bakassi point and King point, the boundary shall follow the centre of the navigable channel of Akpayape River as far as the 3 mile limit of territorial jurisdiction. For the purpose of defining this boundary, the navigable channel of the Akpayape River shall be considered to lie wholly to the East of the navigable channel of the Cross River and Calabar Rivers (Anglo-German Treaty, March 11, 1913)

The effects of the 1913 Anglo-Germany Treaty had enormous implications for Nigeria-Cameroon diplomatic relations. As noted by Ate (1992), this agreement attempted to shift in a characteristically reckless imperial manner. This is a landmark agreement concluded for the administrative convenience of the two powers with complete disregard to the interest of the old Calabar and Nigerians. This agreement unilaterally ceded the disputed Nigeria territory of Bakassi to the Republic of Cameroon, making it the basis and major source of diplomatic feud between both countries. This treaty was the major evidence and fact used at the world court to deliver judgement in favour of Cameroon against Nigeria's national interest. The International Court of Justice in the case of Nigeria and Cameroon delivered judgement in 2002, holding that:

The Court accordingly concludes that the boundary between the Cameroon and Nigeria in Bakassi is delineated by Articles XVIII to XX of the Anglo-German Agreement of 11 March, 1913, and that sovereignty over the Bakassi Peninsula lies with Cameroon (World Court Judgement, 2002:225).

The colonial documents of 1913 were not the only fact used in the determination of the case. Another treaty upon which the judgement was delivered was the Maraca Declaration moved the high-point of the series of negotiation between both countries. As a ground for its judgement, the ICJ concluded as follows:

By the declaration signed at Maroca on 1 June, 1975, the two Heads of State agreed to extend the delineation of the maritime boundary between the countries from point 12 to point G on the Admiralty Chart No. 3433 annexed to this Declaration and precisely defined the boundary by reference to maritime coordinate... The court finds it clear from each one of these elements that the parties to it had given that Bakassi belonged to Cameroon. Nigeria, drawing on the full weight of its experts as well as its most senior political figures, understood Bakassi to be under Cameroon sovereignty (World Court Judgement, paragraph 214)

The judgement, contrary to expectations, changed the reality and offered Nigeria disadvantage position. From the legal perspective, Bassey (2014) argued that the Court breached two oldest principles of international laws, namely *pactasuntservanda* (agreement are to be obeyed) and *nemodatquou non habet* (you cannot give that which you do not have). He added that the Court did not give any attention to the heavy evidence of historical consolidation, which Nigeria emphatically and persistently pleaded.

4.1 Dynamics

Following the judgement by International Court of Justice that ceded 33 Nigerian villages around the Lake Chad Region including Bakassi Peninsula, the rich oil reserve to Cameroon, diplomatic relations between both countries have been in a state of flux. As explained in the theoretical framework, diplomacy and national interest are reciprocally reinforcing. This is because diplomacy is all about decision-making but contextualized within the ambit of the state structure and directed at enunciating policies to guide relations with one another. Therefore, the context upon which Nigeria-Cameroon intercourse is formulated and implemented is not totally different from what obtains in other countries.

However, what is important is that both countries diplomatic options are formulated in a highly complex and dynamic environment. The substance of their relations reflects the critical elements contained in their national interest. Thus, relations between both countries is characterized by continuity in the substance and change in the style of its

implementation. What appears to be the dynamics can be seen from the low profile policy pasture of both countries. The low profile policy otherwise called self-effacement or functional approach is a policy where there is consciously no political arm-twisting, rather than do this, attempt at bilateral cooperation epitomized by various agreements. These are:

- The Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation Signed on February 6, 1963.
- The Memorandum of Understanding on the control of movement of persons and goods signed on the 6th February, 1963.
- The Cultural Social and Technical agreement signed on March 22, 1972.
- Trade Agreement signed 6th February, 1963, raised 13th January, 1982 and April 11, 2004 in Yaoundé
- Air Services Agreement signed May 19, 1938.
- The Agreement on Police Cooperation signed March 27, 1972.
- The Memorandum of Understanding on the transnational highway project to facilitate transportation between Cameroon and Nigeria on March 29, 2016 in Yaoundé
- The Green Tree Agreement signed June 12, 2006
- The Cameroon-Nigeria electrical inter-connection Agreement signed February 18, 2011 in Yaoundé.
- Cooperation Agreement in the Field of Sports and Physical Education signed on February 18, 2011 in Yaoundé.
- The Agreement Establishing Cameroon-Nigeria Border Security Committee signed on February 28, 2012 in Abuja.
- Cooperation Agreement in the Fields of Service and Technology, signed April 11, 2014 in Yaoundé
- Memorandum of Understanding on the Implementation of the programme on Cooperation and Cultural Exchanges signed on April 11, 2014
- Agreement on Youth Development signed on April 11, 2014 in Yaoundé.
- Cameroon has a Consulate General in Lagos and a Consulate in Calabar.
- Nigeria also has two Consulates General in Cameroon, Douala and Bueh.

In what appears to be an attempt to restart what were previously cold relations, Nigeria and Cameroon signed a number of deeds aimed at strengthening the security and economy of the Lake Chad Basin Nations. Currently, Nigeria and Cameroon find

themselves united against the threat of terrorism. This is one of the reasons that prompted a two-day visit by Cameroon President Paul Biya to Abuja. The visit, which was first of its kind in over two decades and a half mostly, focused on Boko Haram insurgency as well as economic cooperation.

The fact that both countries acknowledged each other and formalized that with visits was a soft that unified them against Boko Haram threats. Several agreements on military cooperation and trade were signed by the two leaders (Paul Biya and Muhammadu Buhari). Among them is a shared resolve to defeat Boko Haram completely (Chrispin, 2016). Nigeria-Cameroon relations also offer economic opportunities for both countries. The Cameroon import statistics of 2011, showed that Nigeria top the list with France and China second and third respectively. Between 2000 and 2010, the quantity of goods which moved from Nigeria to the far northern part of Cameroon was estimated at about 145,000 metric tons per year and that moving from Cameroon to Nigeria was estimated at 112,000 metric tons (Funteh, 2011, p.76).

Nicholas (2010) added that, following the food crisis of 2008, both countries eliminated import tariffs to cushion the impact of escalating food prices in order to reduce any political civil unrest. It can thus be seen from the above that it is only too apparent that the time has come for the mess in their diplomatic business to be cleared up in the interest of both countries.

4.2 Challenges

The cooperation between the two countries has been hampered by misunderstandings arising from the followings:

- The presence of suspected Boko Haram members in Cameroon. This constitutes both actual, potential, systemic and misperceived threats which, appear likely to negatively affect Cameroon's interests. As noted by Musa (2014), Boko Haram insurgency perceived as Nigerian problem is indeed a perennial systemic threat to not only the security and stability of Nigeria but also Nigeria's close neighbours.
- The problems inherent in the derivation of the border including the Lake area, Sea and Land. This is followed by the fight to safeguard specific interests.

Though the government of Nigeria has hauled over the Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroon, the fact remain that Nigeria's defense lifelines are more grim when cognizance is taken of the fact that Cameroon depends for its defense on foreign elements, such as France, whose presence and influence in the sub-region are potentially hostile to Nigeria's interests.

There is, in fact, a more serious challenge to the relations if one takes a longer perspective of Nigeria's rejection of the ICJ judgement on the basis of cartographical fact and cultural reality. By this judgement and eventual hand over the disputed area is in perpetual conflict with the people who are yet to have to teams with presence reality, as over 98 percent of people that live in the area are Nigerian from Cross River State (World Court Judgement, 2002).

5. Strategic Options

5.1 Recognition of Brotherhood

Nigeria and Cameroon should subscribe to pre-colonial frontiers. This is because, subscribing to the principle of inviolability of colonially inherited boundaries constituted a potent seed of discord. This position is informed by the fact that colonial border as a sharp divide is more useful to military defense. However, the conception of a border as a frontier of interaction and transition has received greater attention and emphasis, with the decline in the number of conflicts and the growing focus on human development.

Nigeria and Cameroon, should find themselves being drawn more sharply to issues dealing with the enhancement of the standard of living of their population. The basic security of life and property of the people, their freedom to interact with their Kith and Kin living on the opposite side of the boundary line and to maintain the cultural homogeneity of the borderland which have secured more fundamental needs than the perception of the border line as the last line of defence.

The point here is that the quality of life and the state of mind of both countries are strategic to effective diplomatic relations. The case of Eastern Europe reinforces this fact as seen in the pulling down of the Berlin Wall in spite of the intensive military build-up in the area by a population that refused to accept a system which they perceived as not favourable to the promotion of the quality of their lives.

5.2 Regular Exchange of Visits by Leaders of both Countries

Such visits with the objective of discussing common issues affecting the lives of people will enhance mutual trust especially in areas lying on Nigeria-Cameroon international boundaries. Therefore, there is a need to consolidate on recent exchange of visits by leaders of both countries.

5.3 Joint Border Patrol

There is need to consolidate on some of the achievements made by the Multi National Joint Task Force (MNJTF). The (MNJTF) was formed as a result of the need by the Lake Chad Basin Commission member countries to pool their effort together in a bid to provide a common and coordinated solution for the security challenges in the Lake Chad Basin region, especially the insecurity posed by terrorists in the region and beyond (Chrispin, 2016).

Nigeria and Cameroon can leverage on this term to jointly monitor the security of the frontier to ensure that the mutual interests of the two countries are safeguarded. These measures need to be consolidated by the provision of basic amenities in the area. Though the handover had been concluded, it is doubtful if population engaging in economic activities on the both sides of the borders can be persuaded to move back. In this case, a mutually agreeable method of accounting for the use of strategic resources would have to be amicably derived and determined so that conflicts among the settlers would not escalate into inter-state conflicts.

6. Conclusion

The relationship between Nigeria and Cameroon has been over –shadowed by dispute over Bakassi peninsula. This situation caused diplomatic friction between both countries, and affected more importantly Nigeria’s security, economic and cultural values. However, how to organize and manage the frontiers, which they both share, has inform the adoption of low profile functional approach that this study conclude is the current defining feature of Nigeria and Cameroon diplomatic relations. Thus the study suggests the improvement in both countries’ diplomatic relations with mutually agreeable strategy to deepen the renewed post ICJ’s judgment ties.

References

Akinyemo, O. (2014). Borders in Nigeria’s Relations with Cameroon in *F.Arts Humanities (IAI)* 3(9): 13 – 20.

- Ale B. and Akintermwa (eds) (1992). *Nigeria and its Immediate Neighbours.Constraints and Prospects of Sub-Regional Security in the 1990s.*Lagos NIIA.
- Bassey, J. R. (2010). The Loss of Bakassi to Cameroon: A Study in Legal and Diplomatic History, *UNIUYO Journal of Commercial and Property Law*
- Bassey, J. R. (2010). Validity of Colonial International Treaties in Africa: 1884 – 1913. *Journal of Educational Research and Development* 5(2).
- Bekker, P. H. F. (2013). Land and Maritime Boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria (Cameroon V. Nigeria: Equatorial Guinea Intervening) in the *America Journal of Internal Law*.
- Chrispin, M. (2016). Nigeria and Cameroon Seek Closer Security, Economic Ties. Accessed Online, 5/29/2020
- Funjeh, M. B. (2011, p. 70 – 85). Cameroon-Nigerian Dispute over the Bakassi Peninsula: A Specimen of Collective Resolution Dynamics in Boundary and History in Africa: Issues in Conventional Boundaries and Ideological Frontiers.
- Ibrahim, B. B. (1986). Address Presented to the All-Nigerian Conference on Foreign Policy at Kuru Aprils in New Nigeria, Kadina, p.5.
- KahKan, H. and NkwiConu, W (2011, p. 44). Colonial Boundaries and Disintegration: A Study of the Boki Nation of the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria in Boundaries and History in African Issues in Conventional Boundaries and Ideological Frontiers.
- Miller, G. (2007). ‘Confronting Terrorism’ Group Motivation and Successful State Politics’ *Terrorism and Political Violence* 4(2) 820.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1978). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Musa, T. (2004). Cameroon Says Fights off Boko Haram attacks, Kills Militants. <http://www.reuter.com/article>. Accessed on 26/5/2020.
- Nicholas, K. T. and Sam, B. (2010).The Cameroon and Nigeria Negotiation Process over the Contested Oil rich BakassaiPennisula in *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 2(1).
- Njoku, N. L. (2002, p. 183 – 209). Neither Cameroon no Nigeria: We Belong Here.The Bakassi Kingdom and the Dilemma of Boundaries and Co-existence in Post-Colonial Africa. *Africana*,

- Ntoi, F. (2013). *The People of Ako: Migration and Settlement*, Yaomde: Niva.
- Okoro, F. (2002). *Understanding Nigerian Foreign Policy*. Calabar: CAIS Publishers.
- Omade, A. J. (2006). *Nigeria's Relations with Her Neighbours*, Kamla-Ref 2006, Study Trobids 4(1).
- Permute, N. V. (2011). *Challenging Patriarchy Trade, outward Migration and Internalization of Commercial Sex among Bayang and Ejagham women in South West Cameroon: Health Culture and Society* 1(1).
- Thomas, A. E. (2011). *Women Caught in Armed Conflict: The Cameroon VS Nigeria Sovereignty Dispute over Bakassi Peninsula*. Project submitted to the WARC – WARA Peace Initiative for West Africa Scholarships.
- World Court Judgement Case Concerning the Land and Maritime Boundary Between Cameroon and Nigeria: *Weekly Reports of Nigeria* Vol. 34 (202)