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PREFACE

The Nigeria Cameroon border dispute is an aspect of Nigeria's international relations and a fertile area for research by scholars of International Law. The border dispute itself is historical, starting as far back as early the 19th century between the colonial powers of Germany and Britain.

At the level of international relations, boundaries have always been a source of trouble, although the nature and degree of brouhaha have varied from border to border. Most serious boundary discords have more or less always centered on territorial disputes and violations of national sovereignty, of which the Nigeria-Cameroon border spat is no exception.

The central theme of this article is to look into the historical and international legal problems of territorial dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon and try to find a lasting solution to the dispute for scholars. This monograph suggests the imperative for research in border studies.

Dr. Lateef Ogboye has drawn upon not only his skills as a lawyer but also his experience as a university teacher in the writing of this monograph.

I commend this monograph to students of International Law, International Relations, History students and the Nigerian public at large.

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NIGERIA—CAMEROON BORDER DISPUTE: A LEGAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

Nigeria is a federal republic and one of the members of the British Commonwealth. Before Independence, she was under British protectorate while the capital Lagos was a British colony. Nigeria gained independence on Oct. 1, 1960.

Article 2 of the 1979/1989 constitution reads as follows: "Nigeria is a federal state, consisting of states and federal territory of the capital. Federal Republic of Nigeria is an integral sovereign state." Section 3 enumerates the existing 36 states of the country and gives the description of each of these states. Thus the Nigerian Constitution emphasizes that an essential attribute of the Nigerian State sovereignty is a clearly defined territory with definite political boundaries. What does the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Nigeria imply? What is its content? To answer these questions, let us turn to the norms of international law.

The Nigerian Constitution, as well as the majority of other constitutions, specifies that

sovereignty belongs to the people. The people is sovereign and the source of sovereign power of the state, though in legal literature one sometimes comes across the argument that it is the state which is sovereign, because it acts as a mediator between various groups of the populace, thus expressing their common national interest. But the state is a sovereign entity only as a specific organization of domination called to express the sovereignty of the people residing in its territory. Therefore, by advocating state sovereignty we are advocating the right of people to their national territory, to freely determine its political, economic and social system, its right to cooperate with other people on the basis of equality and reciprocity. However, in analyzing the juridical content of state sovereignty, one should never forget the relationship between state sovereignty and popular sovereignty is that of form and content. In the Declaration of Principles (the Final Act ASCE) the states assumed the responsibility to respect the rights inherent in sovereignty. This implies that in their mutual relations they should respect historic, social and political peculiarities of each other,

diversity of their positions and views, internal laws and administrative regulations, etc.

International law does not regulate the problems of internal political situation of states, therefore any measures of states aimed to prevent the subject of international law from solving its domestic problems independently, should be viewed as interference. Sovereignty does not mean absolute independence of states or their isolation from other states since they live in the inter-related world.

As all states are sovereign they are all legally equal. The principle of sovereign equality implies that all subjects of international relations are equal, and each of them is obliged to respect the sovereignty of other participants of the international system, i.e., their right within their own territory to exercise legal, administrative and judicial powers without any interference from other states, as well as to pursue an independent foreign policy. Sovereign equality of states is the basis of modern international relations, which found its reflection in a generalized form in the U.N Charter. This principle is also laid down in Art. 3 of the OAU Charter.

The territory of Nigeria is 923 thousand sq. km. The country is situated in West Africa, and run by eastern part of Gulf of Guinea. Nigeria borders Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroon. The border between Nigeria and Niger, which stretches from the Niger River in the northwest to Chad border in the northeast, comprises 1400 km. Nigeria – Chad frontier, equal to 98 km, runs across the Lake Chad. The length of Nigeria – Benin frontier is 710 km, Nigeria – Cameroon border is 1582 km. In the south, as it has been mentioned above, Nigeria is washed by the eastern part of Gulf of Guinea, which stretches 860 km. General length of all land and water boundaries of the Nigeria Republic comprises 3650 km, and almost half of this belongs to the Nigerian – Cameroon boundary.

A boundary can be defined as a definite line which divides land into two parts. Political boundaries can be viewed as derivatives since they are products of state activity. When these boundaries are established between two or more states, they are referred to as international boundaries. In this connection it should be stressed that the above

boundaries of Nigeria are its international boundaries with the neighboring states.

Among these international boundaries the Nigerian – Cameroon boundary is more problematic than others. These problems have been rather acute and sometimes result in armed conflicts between Nigeria and Cameroon. In this connection we would like to dwell in detail on historical and international legal problems pertaining to the territorial dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon, taking into consideration, taking into consideration the arguments and propositions involved.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF ESTABLISHING NIGERIA–CAMEROON BORDER

The history of establishing a common border between Nigeria and Cameroon was laid down with the signing of a number of agreements on this issue between Britain and Germany. Before 1917 Britain exercised control over most regions of modern Nigeria, while Germany on July 15, 1884, established protectorate over Cameroon. Thus the process of formation of the present borderline between Nigeria and Cameroon from the outset of African

colonization was closely interwoven with the imperialist aspirations of Great Britain, Germany and later of France. In order to understand why Britain and Germany could not establish an exact and definite border, stretching for about 1050 miles, from the lake Chad to the Atlantic ocean, it is necessary to point out that their true intentions is not the creation of the border as it was, but of the spheres of influence which did not necessarily require a clear-cut or demarcated territory. Secondly, due to the above reason, British and Germany would not bother themselves with two important procedures in border establishment of delimitation (determination through a treaty or an agreement) and demarcation (physical tracing of a borderline or its determination in some other manner in nature). Thirdly, Great Britain and Germany were very well aware that they would not possess these lands for an indefinite time and, therefore, they drew the lines arbitrarily, paying no attention to demographic and other factors. From 1885 to 1913 Britain and Germany signed about ten important protocols concerning the border. In the first four agreements there were no requirements on

demarcation. The agreement of November 15, 1893 was an exception in this respect, since it made an attempt for the first time to demarcate the territories involved. All other agreements have been based on incorrect data, because they have been concluded in Berlin and London without any participation of local rulers. One of the most obvious errors of the 1885 agreement and others was the statement that Rio-del-Rey was referred to as a river and not a creek, which stretched inland and presented a labyrinth of tributaries consisting of small creeks, connecting two big creeks – Akpayafe and Ndian. Ironically, the river Ndian was the ethnic boundary between the Efik people, living in Nigeria and speaking Bantu, residents of Cameroon (see Appendix 1).

Unfortunately, the imperialist powers did not take this into consideration in the process of determining the borders. The British, because of their simplified approach, believed that the border in this region was Akpayafe. But, as it was mentioned above, the true border should have been Ndian, since this would enable the unification of the Efik tribes, residing now in Cameroon and in Cross River State

of Nigeria. The Berlin Conference of 1884-85 recognized the British and German claims to the territory adjoining to the Gulf of Guinea. The division between the respective dependent territories was originally implemented in the agreement of April 29-June 16, 1885, which described corresponding spheres of their activity on the continent, starting from the Gulf of Guinea as follows: "Great Britain assumes the responsibility not to acquire the territory, not to establish its domination and not to interfere into the realization of the German influence in the part of the Gulf of Guinea coast, or in the inner regions, to the east of the line, starting from the coast, going along the right bank of the Rio-del-Rey river from the mouth of the head, then turning to the left bank of the old bed of the Calabar river, or Cross-River, and ending at the point where the river crosses the Ndian of 9081 of east longitude, marked "Rapids" on the British Admiralty map (see Appendix III). Germany, in turn, assumes the responsibility not to acquire the territory, not to establish the domination and not to interfere into the realization of the British influence on the Gulf of

Guinea coast, situated between the right bank of Rio-del-Rey mouth as it has been specified above, and the British colony Lagos, and in the inner regions to the west of the line mentioned in the previous paragraph.

By the exchange of notes of July 27 and August 2, 1885 Great Britain and Germany extended the delimitation of their spheres in the Gulf of Guinea to the north of Yola. Later on the prolongation of these boundaries began from the terminal point of the line, established in 1885 and went diagonally to the point on the right bank of the Benue river, which is situated more eastward and closer to Yola, practically fit for demarcation.

However, four years later the boundary line of 1885 was changed by paragraph 2 of article IV of the British-Germany agreement, when it has been found, that in the Gulf of Guinea there was no river named Rio-del-Rey marked on the map, referred to in the agreement of 1885. The new agreement adopted a preliminary demarcation line, beginning from the upper part of Rio-Del-Rey creek and passing to the point on the meridian 9081 of east longitude marked

"Rapids" on the British Admiralty map (see Appendix III).

The point mentioned in the agreement of 1890 as the upper part or upper end of Rio-del-Rey creek, was further specified in article of the agreement signed on April 19, 1893, as the point in the northwest end of the island, lying to the west of Oran, where two river flows – Uru-fian and Ekonako – meet, marked on the 1889 map of German Marine Ministry (see Appendix II).

On the basis of Art. 2 of the 1893 agreement this specified point was used to trace the boundary between the protectorates of oil rivers and the colony of Cameroon along the right shore of the sea gulf Rio-del-Rey to the cape, marked as West-hook on the 1889-90 map of German Marine Ministry. Thus, the British-German agreement of 1893 extended the line of 1886 from Yola arch to the north till the lake Chad, i.e. from the point to the east and closest to Yola, mentioned in the 1886 agreement and determined in accordance with the procedure envisaged by the 1893 agreement. However, the prolongation of the boundary up to lake Chad was limited by the point

on the south bank of the lake Chad, situated 35 miles to the east of the meridian passing through the centre of Kuka town along the II 14th meridian of the east longitude, marked on the map, printed in the Atlas of German colonies of 1892 (see Appendix III). Besides, art. II of the 1893 agreement stated that "in case, if further studies reveal that the point thus determined would offer the British side a lesser part of the southern bank of the lake Chad, than it is shown in the above-mentioned map, the new print of the boundary would be determined by mutual consent, as soon as possible which will correct this drawback." The next British-German agreement of March 19, 1906 changed the boundary from Yola arch to the Lake Chad, established by the agreement of November 15, 1893, as a result of studies by the boundary commission set up in 1903-1904 (see Appendix IV). The agreement of 1905 included also such items as equal rights to navigation and fishing. The exchange of notes between German and Great Britain of February 22 and March 5, 1909 confirmed the demarcation of the two sectors of the Nigeria – Cameroon border, namely:

- a) From Goreje to the Lake Chad

b) From Uba to Ilais Tiel

The final delimitation of the British-German boundary, referring to Nigeria and Cameroon, took place in the agreements of March 11 and April 12, 1913. The agreement of March 11, which gave a detailed delimitation between Yola arch and Bight of Biafra, has been based on the demarcation mark of the Boundary Commission and representatives of the two governments. The agreement of April 12, supplementing the previous one, has made alterations in the description of the sector between the river Gamana (boundary pole Nbu) and Cross River (boundary pole) by means of bringing into the agreement a detailed report of the boundary commission on the demarcation between the Yola arch and Bight of Biafra and enclosing the illustrating maps (see Appendix V).

The changes of the Nigeria – Cameroon boundary also took place after the British – German agreements of 1913 and were realized in accordance with the mandate and trusteeship systems of the German empire after World War II. By the end of the World War I, Germany had been defeated and later

deprived of all its African territories. The League of Nations which was to govern the former German colonies, transferred the region of Cameroon to Great Britain and the rest to France as mandate territories. The British share comprised one-fifth of original German Cameroon. France received a greater eastern part. Great Britain and France, as mandate holders, played a dominant role in further changes of this boundary. In the London Declaration of July 10, 1919 (known as the Declaration of Milner Simon) Britain and France delimited the original boundary between the Cameroon parts, transferred to their governments rule, and, thus created an administrative unit – “international boundary” – between the parts of Cameroon governed by Britain and by France.

In 1928 the governors of the British and French Cameroons adopted a Declaration, delimiting the boundary of their mandate territories in more detail, than the Milner Simon Declaration of 1919. The Declaration of governors has been confirmed by the exchange of notes on January 9, 1931. Administratively, the British mandate in Cameroon had been divided into North and South Cameroon.

North Cameroon consisted of the two non-communicating parts, divided by a narrow strip of the Nigerian territory near Yola. Southern part of the North Cameroon. Cameroon had a common boundary with the South Cameroon (see Appendix V). The British order of August 2, 1946 established an administrative boundary, dividing North and South Cameroon, but on December 13, 1946 the British and French mandates on Cameroon were replaced by trusteeship, approved by the U.N General Assembly. While France ruled East Cameroon as a separate territory of its French Central African Community, Great Britain ruled its part as a region of Nigeria. Administratively, British Cameroon was divided into North and South sectors which were considered integral parts of north and east regions of Nigeria. But in 1954 the British South Cameroon became a separate region of the Nigerian Federation. This part of Nigeria has been most active in political sphere and this activity accelerated the process of self-determination among the subjects of the British Cameroon. In 1957, due to the pressure on the part of the UNO, inside Cameroon itself and

other pan-African movements, France granted self-determination to East Cameroon. This served as a catalyst for those residing in British Cameroon, who were still choosing between the extension of trusteeship and union with Nigeria or French Cameroon. To this moment dates the case of the so-called British Cameroon. As it was stated above, this trusteeship territory, governed by the United Kingdom, consisted of two parts: North part which comprised north regions of Nigeria, and South part as a separate region. The UN mission of the Trusteeship Council who visited the country, recognized this *de facto* division and noted that residents of the northern Cameroon are affiliated to Nigeria than to the residents of the southern parts of the British Cameroons, who were affiliated to the residents of the French Cameroons. Therefore it was recommended to take into account various demands of the population of these territories.

The General Assembly considered these recommendations and proposed to conduct a plebiscite in both parts to clarify the will of the people. In each of the cases the choice should be

implemented. The North should decide whether to join Nigeria or not, while the South should choose whether to join Nigeria or the independent Republic of Cameroon. During the first plebiscite, held in 1959, the North voted for the prolongation of trusteeship, and thus for postponement of a plebiscite. However, the UN representative on plebiscite clarified that their solution was a protest against an inadequate policy pursued by the local administration. In the south the overwhelming majority voted in favour of joining the Republic of Cameroon (233,571 against 97,741). The General Assembly decided to hold a second plebiscite in the North. The choice was then limited to joining either Nigeria, or Cameroon. The result of the second plebiscite was in favour of joining Nigeria (146,296 against 97,659). But if the statistical data is thoroughly analyzed, in British Cameroon the majority of those participating in voting spoke in favour of joining Cameroon (see Appendix V).

Proceeding from this, Cameroon attempted to dispute the rules of plebiscite conduct in two parts of British Cameroon at the International Court of Justice. Cameroon alleged that if a unified plebiscite

had been conducted on the entire territory of British Cameroon, the majority of the population would have voted for joining Cameroon and, consequently, the whole of the British Cameroon would have joined Cameroon. However, the International Court refused to meet Cameroon's request and thus, from the point of view of Cameroon, this dispute has remained unsolved.

The above shows that, while solving the question of self-determination, it is important to take into consideration not only common views, interests, positions, but also to select properly the forms and methods, as well as the framework of the plebiscite conducted. The only legal factor which resulted in the separation of the part of British Cameroon from Cameroon was the information, obtained by means of observation of the life of the local population by the UN mission, as well as the position of the country that is exercising control over the territory. As we can see, it was the plebiscite, which played a decisive role in the determination of the boundary between Nigeria and Cameroon, different from that, established earlier by Britain and Germany. British-

German boundaries were established by various agreements in the period of 1885–1913. Later in 1913–1960 Britain and France brought some alterations. Cameroon and Nigeria, after gaining independent, have brought few changes to these boundaries. These are some general facts of establishing political boundaries between Nigeria and Cameroon, which are the object of the dispute between them.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE DISPUTE ON THE NIGERIA—CAMEROON BOUNDARY

In view of the preceding arguments, any study of the present situation on the Nigeria–Cameroon boundary should differentiate between its sections established by the British-German colonial agreements, by British-French colonial agreements and the sections based on administrative divisions, realized by Great Britain as a mandate owner. It should be emphasized that in 1961, when the northern part ruled by Britain chose sovereignty by unifying with Nigeria, and the southern part by joining the Cameroon, the former administrative boundary dividing the two parts became the

boundary between the two countries, from the mountain Kombon to the Gamana river.

In our opinion, in order to take due account of these peculiarities the present boundary between Nigerian and Cameroon should be divided into four sectors. From the cross-section of the two boundaries with Chad to the mountain Kombon. This part of the boundary was marked in 1928 by the Declaration of the Governors of the British and French Cameroons, delimiting their mandate boundary more specifically than the Declaration of 1919. It has been approved by the exchange of notes on January 9, 1931 and in the corresponding paragraphs (2-60).

1. Determines the point of cross-section on the lake Chad as the point on the lake with the following coordinates: 130051 of east longitude.
2. From the mountain Kombon to the Gamana river (boundary pole no. 64). This part of the boundary is based on the administrative division of North and South Cameroon, established by Great Britain in the second appendix to Order of the Council of August 2, 1946.
3. From the Gamana river (boundary pole No. 114). The documents referring to this part of the boundary are British–German

agreements of March 11 and April 12, 1913.

The latter realized demarcation which actually changed the provisions of the former agreement of March 11, 1913.

4. From Cross River to the South till the sea. This part of the boundary is determined by paragraphs xvi-xxii of the British German agreement of March 11, 1913.

As it has been mentioned above, Britain and France have done practically nothing for boundary demarcation within the period from 1913 to 1960, when Nigeria and Cameroon got independence. Therefore, the problems revealed after gaining independence by the two countries, were provoked by the drawbacks of various British-German agreements. Nigeria and Cameroon have to hold round-table talks and regulate their problems in accord with the principles of international law. And this is a major problem of the two countries today, because after Nigeria refused to ratify M'arowa declaration in 1972, Cameroon refused to negotiate other agreements involving boundary disputes. The demarcation of Nigeria – Cameroon boundary in the four sections described above is of great significance. Demarcation usually follows delimitation and includes real marking of the boundary line in nature

and its determination with help of boundary poles or any other physical means. If the boundary line is maintained properly after its demarcation, the probability of discords, concerning specific parts of the boundary, is very little.

The present reports on the demarcation of the Nigeria – Cameroon boundary testify to the following:

- a) the demarcation of the first section has not been completed in the period of 1913 - 1940 and has not been resumed ever since;
- b) the second section, running mostly along the rivers, has not been demarcated;
- c) the third and fourth sections have been demarcated by boundary poles and rivers as a result of British – German agreements of 1912-1913.

In other words, a great amount of work on the demarcation of the Nigeria – Cameroon boundary is still to be done. The process of demarcation would involve the specification of delimitation of various places. Besides, in areas where old boundary poles have disappeared due to the lack of service, they should be replaced by new ones or by other marks based on mutual agreement by the two governments.

In the period after the plebiscite the demarcation was inevitable. It was easier to undertake such demarcation in the northern sector, since the physical peculiarities of the landscape makes it easier to position the land marks. The Southern sector has been and continues to be source of difficulties. However, the situation in the north did not exclude certain problems. These problems are caused mostly by Nigerian farmers and cattle rearers who cross the boundary in search of fertile land and pastures. Besides, some of them are taxed by the Cameroon authorities (*zaka*) others seek support of their spiritual leaders on the Cameroon side of the boundary. In the South, the territories round the Bakassi and Enugu peninsulas situated to the west and east of the mouth of Rio del-Rey and Calabar channel, provoke heated discussions of both countries. Attention was drawn to them in 1966-67, when the late Isaac Adaka Boro made use of some gulfs as his basis for private raids. Recent discovery of oil on this territory and its strategic importance for both countries has added to the intensity of a potential conflict in this region. Ninety percent of the

population on this territory are fishermen of Efik tribe. The important areas disputed by the two states include Abaka, Atabong, Ine-Eden, Ntong, Ine Odiong, Amamong, Obufa Okoba, Okabadi, Ibekwe, Afaha, Isaha, Ine Edet, Ine Akwa, Ine Attayo, Ine Inua, Abasi and Ine Nkong. Unfortunately, while various governments of Nigeria are rather slow and lacking enthusiasm in utilizing economic, human and strategic resources of this territory, Cameroon resolutely presented claims and came to the fore in establishing its administrative and military presence. If managed to renamed some villages, for example, Isongedde Idebato and Kombo Itendi. It was easier for Cameroon to pursue the policy of a gradual and persistent annexation of these lands, thanks to its leader Ahmadu Ahidjo, who has been the head of the state since 1958, while Nigerian leaders during the same period have been changed rather often.

The Southern sector, due to the positional and functional disputes, leading sometimes to death of civilians and military personnel has been in the focus of attention. The first serious bilateral attempt to solve this problem was made in 1971, when a joint

consultative Nigeria–Cameroon Commission was set up with the view of its study. Prior to the setting up of this Commission Cameroon requested the UN General Secretary to express his opinion on the problem in question. Clarification has been given by the verbal note of January 18, 1971. It proceeded from paragraph 29 of the 1913 agreement which, among other things, specifies that a lower part of Akpayafe changes its mouth and transfers its waters to Rio del-Rey, the territory remains German. The map of the British Admiralty No. 3433 has been used by Nigeria as a basis for refuting such a “clarification,” since the agreement of 1913 suggested that Rio -del-Rey was a river, 80 miles long.

In September 1974 Gowon and Ahidjo, the head of state and president of the respective states, met in Kano to discuss the question of the boundary. At the end of their meeting they signed the Kano Declaration, based on the report of the Consultative Commission. The Declaration stated that the corridor 2 kilometers wide from each side of the line. In the declaration, the two countries agreed that there should be no exploration and extraction of oil around

the disputed areas connecting marks N 1, 2 and 3, existing on the map of the British Admiralty, would be the region, where oil exploration and extraction is not undertaken. In 1975 another significant meeting took place in Marow (Cameroon) But before that meeting Cameroon violated the provisions of the Kano Declaration by drilling oil wells in the Calabar channel. Gowon demanded that the drilling rigs should be removed. Ahidjo promised to make certain concessions which, in the final analysis, he never made. On the contrary, it was Gowon who made unpardonable concessions. He and Ahidjo agreed to prolong the delimitation of the marine boundary from Point 12 to 17 on the map of the British Admiralty No. 3433, which was enclosed in the Declaration of Marow.

Gowon's concession concerning such an important economic and strategic territory was not approved by the Supreme Military Council, which refused to ratify the document. There is a suspicion that Gowon made this concession considering Ahidjo's role (during the Nigerian Civil War). But Nigeria through its permanent refusal to allow the

Cameroon Popular Union, Ahidjo's opponents, to make use of its territory for destabilization of situation in Cameroon, has done much more for its neighbor. Cameroon, on its part, quickly ratified the Declaration of Marow. Gen. Murtala Mohammed, who seized power in Nigeria in 1975, rejected the Declaration and refused to recognize its provision as mandatory. He even threatened to go to war. Starting from Gen. Obasanjo to Shagari, Buhari, Babangida, Abacha, and back to President Obasanjo, Cameroon rejected several attempts to begin talks on boundary problems. As we can see from the aforesaid, the boundary line between Nigeria and Cameroon has been determined mostly by the British-German agreements of 1885 and 1886. Major factors considered by the Commission in determining the boundaries were the river and trade. Ethnic factors were not taken into consideration. As a result the demarcation line in many places divided a single group and, consequently, the members of one group found themselves under the authority of different colonial administrations. Ethnic groups have never recognized the boundaries established in

such a manner, either in the past or at the present moment.

CONCLUSION

In order to prevent armed conflicts, to ensure effective application of international humanitarian law with special reference to the situation on the African continent and to achieve the settlement of the problem and relaxation of tension on the Nigeria-Cameroon boundary we believe it necessary:

1. To create a zone of free local trade and free migration across the boundaries, so as to safeguard and improve the life of the people.
2. Both countries should strive to such policy-making which can result in signing treaties establishing the boundary admissible for the population residing there. Such policy should bring absolute the recognition and respect of economic rights and various types of social activity of people, residing on this territory: fishing, cattle-breeding, hunting and various aspects of cultural activity. Besides, free migration across the boundary for persons, living on borderline territories should be encouraged.
3. The entire boundary zone should be demilitarized. Police posts may be set up

on this territory with the view of upkeeping public order.

4. Both states should discuss the question of creating the zone of joint exploration and extraction of minerals. We believe that such a course of action would promote the unification of the peoples of Cameroon and Nigeria in view of the ethnic and linguistic affinity of the residents of the area involved in this controversy.

In our opinion, the situation on the Nigeria – Cameroon boundary would be improved if the states concluded a special agreement to the effect that all disputes among them would be solved only by peaceful means, as it is provided in the Charters of the UNO and OAU, that they will encourage marital relations between ethnic groups divided by the boundary. It is desirable to set up an intergovernmental commission, with equal representation of the two countries, participation of chiefs and other representatives of these ethnic groups for annual analysis of the situation in the region concerned. This could help the governments of the two countries to prevent the possibility of escalating to armed conflict. It would also encourage the labor division on the traditional basis in the

region, and would consolidate friendship among these ethnic groups and in the region as a whole.

Considering the above, we can see that the present Nigeria – Cameroon boundaries were established by the British-German agreements in the period of 1885-1913, and later by the British – French agreements in the period of 1913-1960. The process of the boundary determination has been marked by all the features characteristic for the entire process of division of African territories by imperialist powers. However, the Nigeria – Cameroon boundaries possess certain peculiarities. For example, while sharing African territories they widely employed the principle "divide and rule" which often resulted in the division of single ethnic groups by political boundaries. In establishing the Nigeria – Cameroon boundary a mistake has been made by marking the boundary along the Akpaifa river and not along the Ndiai river, which led to the division of Efik tribe. Moreover, some boundaries in African were of a clear-cut description character, but the Nigeria – Cameroon boundaries had no clear-cut character, which led to their frequent alterations. This

refers especially to the part of the Nigeria – Cameroon boundary running Guinea. Note should be added that the agreements on establishing the Nigeria – Cameroon boundary were signed by Britain and France within the framework of the League of Nations, which testifies to a certain degree of responsibility on the part of this organization. In other words, Nigeria and Cameroon inherited such political boundaries which bear the attempt of all contradictory traits of colonialism. If we consider all above, as well as the domineering tendency concerning the non-revision of the African boundaries, inherited from the colonial rule, we shall come to the conclusion that the position of Cameroon is characterized as a unilateral claim and, thus, the state of boundaries between Nigeria and Cameroon does not have the characters of the territorial dispute.

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Ordre des Sciences, Paris, 1789

Map to illustrate the
BOUNDARY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN & GERMANY, IN WEST AFRICA
According to Agreement of 15th November 1893

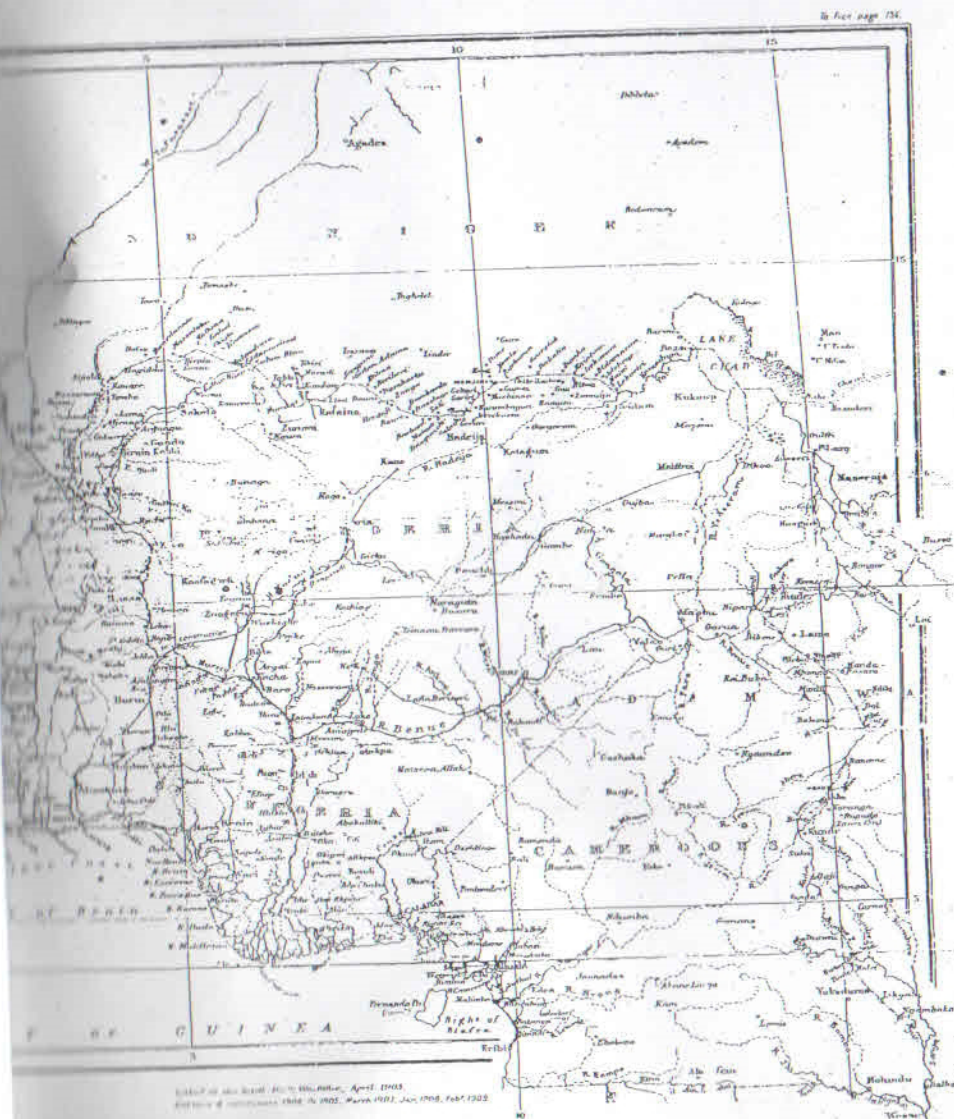
Scale, 5.3125" = 100 Miles, or 1 inch = 87 Stat Miles.

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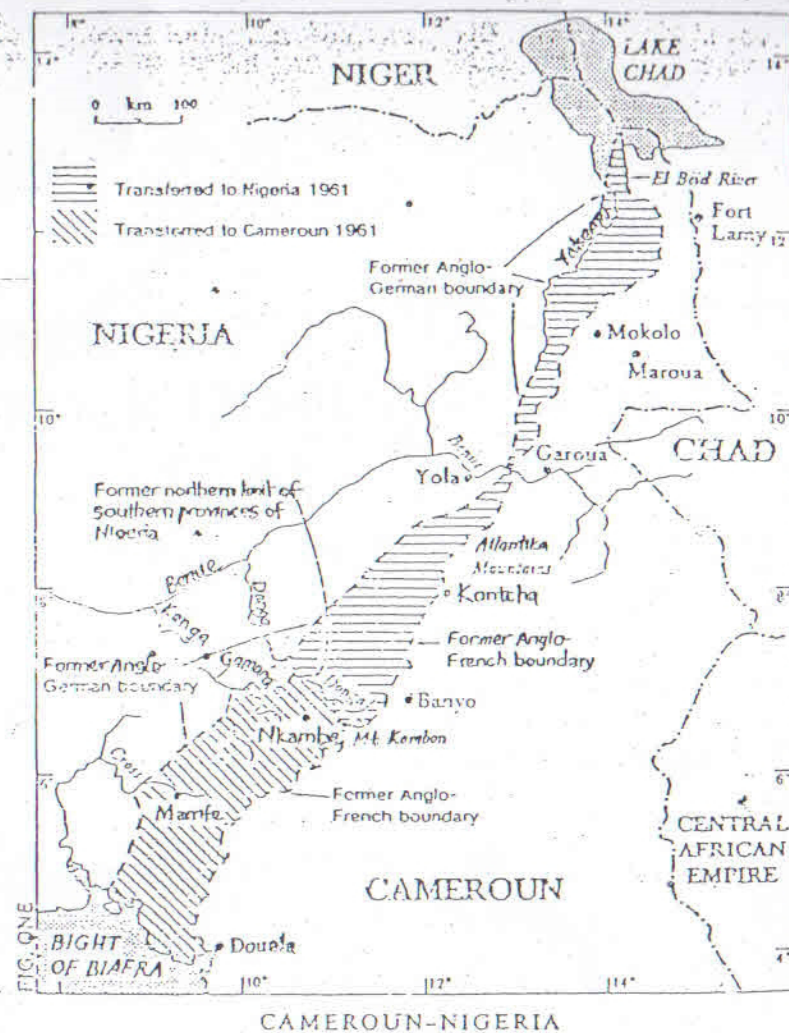


Polymers: Surface Modification

APPENDIX 3



APPENDIX 4



APPENDIX 5

FIG V