

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ) AND BAKASSI PENINSULA: INTERROGATING THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE RULING TO GEO-STRATEGIC, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTEREST OF NIGERIA



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ABSTRACT

The paper examined International Court of Justice ruling on Bakassi Peninsula with the aim of interrogating the implications to geo-strategic, political and economic interest of Nigeria. The October 10, 2002 verdict of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) finally ceded Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon which the outcome had a major setback on Nigeria's claim for ownership of the peninsula. The paper adopted a qualitative method of research which relied mostly on secondary sources to interrogate the implications of the ruling to Nigeria and the political economy approach is used as its framework of analysis. The paper reveals that colonial imposed boundaries and treaties promoted conflict and affected inter-state relations in Africa. The struggle for ownership of Bakassi Peninsula by two nation states was as a result of inordinate boundary delimitations orchestrated by two imperialist nations (Britain and German) through Anglo-German treaty without recourse to cultural heritage and non recognition of existing value, traditional system and leadership. The earlier 1913 treaty which precipitated the ceding of Bakassi to Cameroon was done in the interest of the colonialist and it was unfortunate that the judgment of International Court of Justice relied on it. It is revealed that the outcome of the judgment would affect the historical and ancestral legacy of Bakassi people, existing political structure and level of governance. The paper recommends that accompanying measures by Nigeria, Cameroon and the international community, as well as other socio-economic and political developments emanating from the entire dispute

International Court of Justice (ICJ) and Bakassi Peninsula: Interrogating the Implications...

settlement are needed to enhance the peace dividends. This would guarantee hope and future assurance, and strengthened the peace building process. The Nigerian government should be conscious of re-examining issues with regard to international boundaries with other neighboring states, apply technicalities and guidance when issues arises and not to quickly involve in signing treaties and ratifications as it was done in the past. There should be mutual understanding boosting the competitiveness and human capital development for both states as they need each other to survive.

Keywords: *International Court of Justice, Bakassi Peninsula, Geo-strategic, Political, Economic Interest.*

Introduction

The verdict of the International Court of Justice on 10th October, 2002 in favor of Cameroon with regard to boundary dispute over the Bakassi Peninsula had in time become a major setback to Nigeria's geo-strategic, political and economic interest. Akonye (2018), observed that the boundary dispute between Cameroon and Nigeria was a colonial legacy and consequently review the nature of the boundary as defined by various agreements and treaties which most at time was discomforted with scandalous loopholes. Akonye (2018) in agreement with Osakwe (1988) maintained that the constant border conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria is blamed on the recklessly and poorly defined borders bequeathed by the colonialist. Bakassi Peninsula is a strategic territory bordering Akpabuyo council of cross river state and Mbo council in Akwa Ibom State, Nigerian international boundary with Cameroon (Ajayi, 2002:11). The peninsula is endowed with oil and gas, and inhabited by the Efik people from cross river state and as well as the Efut, Ibibio and Annang people from Nigeria (Gbemre, 2016; Ogunnoiki, 2018a). It is strategically located at the controlling access to the Nigerian Port of Calabar and very fertile for fishing.

Following the October 10, 2002 verdict of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), On the 12th day of June 2006, a significant international document known as the Green tree agreement was endorsed by the former president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and his Cameroonian counterpart President Paul Biya in New York, USA. This document deals with the transfer of Bakassi Peninsula to the Republic of Cameroon and how Nigeria would vacate the region. This is imperative because, the demarcation of the land boundary had cause confusions and tensions between the two countries as well as the inhabitants of the area. The implication of the judgment and signing

of the Green tree agreement clearly showed that Nigeria had lost the territory completely to Cameroon. The Bakassi issue remains one of those diplomatic blunders Nigeria has made which may continue to haunt the country for generations to come (Akinboye, 2013).

The ruling of International Court of Justice in collaboration with the federal government of Nigeria was without consideration of the opinions of person domiciled in Bakassi, which for Eke and Eke (2007) was a conspiracy. They explained the court ruling as a neo-colonial conspiracy, hatched to sustain the claimed superiority and influence of the western powers over their former colonies. The verdict required Nigeria to transfer possession and sovereignty over the territory to Cameroon without granting self-determination rights to the Bakassi indigenes (Omoigui, 2002). Consequently, Nigeria lost 35 communities to Cameroon while the indigenes were displaced (Omoigui, 2002; Yusuf, 2003).

Informed by this uneven development, Nigeria also unsuccessfully maintained that the alleged ceding of the Peninsula by Gowon was not endorsed by the Supreme Military Council, which was the law-making body of the country at the time (Aghemelo and Ibhasebhor 2006).

The aftermath of the International Court of Justice ruling is that, Nigeria and Cameroon have had strained relations over the years as a result of differences concerning their shared border, especially the 2,300 kilometers land boundary extending from Lake Chad to the Bakassi Peninsula, as well as the maritime aspect located in the Gulf of Guinea. The issues at stake had always been about arriving at a clear and acceptable delineation of the boundary from North to South as well as rights over the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula and sea reserves, and the fate of local populations along the stretch of the border. However, the ICJ ruling which was not acceptable to Nigeria, became apparent due to the fact that it is an ancestral home of people of Bakassi and its strategic, political and economic importance to Nigeria. Apart from crude oil, the presence of the deep Sea which was claimed to have been very rich in living creatures such as fish, shrimps, prawns and lobsters are great access to Nigeria. The Sea was acknowledged to have the largest concentration of shrimps and fishes in the world. The Bakassi Peninsula is important to the extent that many European and Asian Countries, especially Japanese have industrial vessels which catches fish in the area. However, it is against this backdrop that this paper is poised to examine the ruling of International Court of Justice with the aim of interrogating the implications it has to geo-strategic, political and economic interest of Nigeria.

Theoretical Compass

The paper appropriate political economy approach as its theoretical basis.

This perspective which was founded in the Marxian tradition views society as bipolarized and asymmetrical classes engaged in perpetual struggle. As Marx and Engels noted that:

'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle, freeman and slave, lord and serf.....in a word, oppressor and the oppressed' (Harman, 2010:3)

This captures the situation the Bakassi people found themselves. Prior to oil discovery in the peninsular, the contestation of the island between Nigeria and Cameroun was less. The peninsular had little or no mineral resources that could attract claims nor struggle for the island by two nation states. Though rich in fish, that could boost the economy but with less infrastructures and social amenities. Mostly, people from that area relied on fishing for their livelihood with little or no attention from both governments. Though, they have political structure that exist within Nigeria political landscape but the strategic importance and viability of that area came into limelight during the Nigerian civil war and the discovery of oil at the offshore sea level. The Marxian political economy recognizes the conflictual nature of society and the state as an instrument of exploitation and oppression by one class over another. The people of Bakassi are a minority class struggling against two nation states claiming ownership of their land. One is the Nigerian state which they pay allegiance to and another is a different state which is claiming true ownership of the island which they claim to be their ancestral home. The bone of contention between these opposing states is the oil discovered on the island (economy). The strategic and economic importance of that peninsula to Nigeria, Cameroun, the Western World made it to be a factor for contestation. Reiterating this view, Sango (2000), posited that:

Neither Nigerian nor Cameroonians elites showed interest in Bakassi Peninsular until it was discovered oil rich. He traced the dispute over Bakassi to colonial regime in Africa and blamed the inability to redress this colonial arbitrariness and injustices after the colonial rule to the selfish interest and visionless of the capitalist ruling class of various African countries. He also observed that whether Bakassi belonged to Cameroon or Nigeria, the proceeds from the oil will benefit the multinational oil companies and the ruling class.

However, this framework of analysis is founded on dialectical materialism and conceives of economic conditions as the ultimate deciding factor in social relations. According to Marx as quoted by Anikpo in his unpublished work:

In the social production of life, men entered into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will. Relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of the development of their material production forces... on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social awareness (Anikpo, 1998:6)

Taking a cue from above, one will view the boundary dispute over bakassi peninsular from the rich oil discovered on the island and how strategic importance the island is to both nation states and the western world especially france which exercises so much influence on their colonialist countries. The underlying principles of political economy approach ask who appropriates and benefits from the various decisions and how structures and policies affect different sectors of the population. This also captures how the judgment given by international court of justice in favor of Cameroon over the peninsula affects the socio-economic and political lives of Bakassi people. According to Akpan (2006), since the International Court of Justice gave the judgment and the green tree agreement was signed, the government both at the national and international has not made any serious arrangement in the resettlement of Bakassi people. In the word of Sama and Ross (2006), the judgment has implication in the sense that the inhabitants would have no ancestral, historical, archaeological and political ties to a country ceded to. Moreover, all infrastructural facilities including hospitals, schools, recreational centres that were originally put in place by Nigeria stands the risk of being forfeited resulting in a fruitless effort and loss of income (Ikome, 2004). Also, paramount in the political economy approach is the notion of 'historical materialism'. This discusses the various changes that took place in the production process from time immemorial and the attendant consequences on the socio-political scene, its ideology and the legal system. This approach therefore conceptualizes virtually every social phenomenon as a product of economic history of production. From the above, one will trace Nigeria/ Cameroon border disputes over Bakassi peninsula to colonial imposed boundaries on Africa and this was done to achieve colonial capitalist mode of production in displacement of African communal mode. Africans were largely controlled by its indigenous people in the 18th century but had by 19th century

became totally subjected and were divided into colonies by the European powers who delaminate boundaries without looking at cultural, historical ties and legacies. This has breeds boundary conflict and affected inter- states relations in Africa particularly the Bakassi Peninsula disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon. Critics to this approach have argued that this approach gives primacy to the material existence and production of the society, especially the role of the economy in the study of the society. This has led to accusation by bourgeois scholars that Marxist analysis amounts to economic determinism or a unilinear analysis of the society. Also, the approach has been criticized for being too lopsided to explain all the facts of experience.

Effects of the Judgment on Bakassi People, Nigeria and Cameroon Relationship

Colonial imposed boundaries had affected inter-state relations in Africa particularly the Bakassi Peninsula disputes between Nigeria and Cameroon. Thus, it is pertinent to note that after the pronouncement of the judgment by International court of justice that Bakassi peninsula belongs to Cameroon on October 10, 2002, Nigeria government announced the rejection of that judgment. Hence, tension was raised in the area and thus created the possibility of a military conflict. This was based on the premised that Nigerian citizens received the judgment with utmost shock and disbelief. Consequently, both Nigeria and Cameroon stationed troops on the Island. This led to an ironic cycle of unintended provocations, which almost degenerated to open warfare. This placed both Nigeria and Cameroon in a security dilemma because, Nigeria felt that the internal primary dimension of the principle of self-determination was violated and want to make herself more secure by stationing troops in the Island. On the side of Cameroon, she felt that her territorial boundary was being violated by Nigeria, hence the Cameroonian troops were also stationed. This has caused fear and serious apprehension to inhabitant communities found within the island.

Sango (2000) gave a critical analysis of the reason behind Nigeria and Cameroonian dispute over Bakassi. He pointed out that neither Nigerian nor Cameroonian ruling elites showed interest in Bakassi Peninsula until it was discovered oil rich. He insisted that any attempt to force the people of Bakassi to belong to either of the country should be opposed by the labour movement of Nigeria and Cameroon and that they should defend the right to self-determination of the people of the peninsula and this he said should super cede the ICJ judgment. The effects of the judgment are enormous to the Bakassi inhabitants and Nigeria as Dakas (2003), aptly summarized as follows;

- (I) The decision has transformed thousand of Nigerians into aliens on their ancestral land
- (ii) Nigerians that reside within that island like the Bakassi's could against their wishes be deported or relocated to Nigeria by Cameroun Authorities.
- (iii) The decision could adversely affect the property rights of these Nigerians, especially in respect of immovable property, as the control and management of land (including structures thereon) would, by reason of the decision, be vested in Cameroun Authorities
- (iv) The deportation of these Nigerians could occasion internal displacement or refugee crises of monumental proportion.
- (v) The decision entails loss of substantial oil gas reserve and revenue, large chunks of Nigerian land and maritime territory to Cameroun.
- (vi) The decision would obstruct the operational province of the Nigerian Eastern Naval Command which is based in Calabar
- (vii) The decision would entail loss of Bakassi local government area since it is inconceivable that Cameroun would allow Nigeria to maintain administrative unit such as local government area on its territory. This would affect representation, existing political structure and extinction of people of that area from Nigeria political landscape.
- (viii) The decision would affect the livelihood of the people since fishing constitute the life wire of the people and the territorial water has been lost to Cameroun
- (ix) The decision engenders a general state of insecurity and uncertainties among the affected people.

However, on 12th June 2006, the president of Nigeria and Cameroon signed a Green Tree agreement that settled the border dispute over the oil rich Bakassi. This action followed intensive mediation by United Nations secretary General Kofi Annan, who wants to avert a potential crisis flash point in already troubled West Africa. The pertinent questions raised by this paper are that aftermath of the peace process, how has the relationship between Cameroon and Nigeria feigned? What has been the faith of Bakassi people whom their territory was ceded to Cameroon and their reactions? What has been the action of both nation states to resettle, accommodate and restore the livelihood of the people so that they can carry on with their social, economic and political lives? After the peace process, the people of Bakassi had complained of harassment by Cameroonian gendarmes. Nigerians continue to flee Bakassi everyday because of these harassments. In the words of Rosenne (2007:6), the Bakassi inhabitants have been rendered homeless and stateless without putting into

consideration the issue of citizenship. This is followed by the verdict of international court of justice on 10th October, 2002 and the Green Tree Agreement of June 12th, 2006 which ceded the peninsular to Cameroon. By this agreement, Cameroon is required to protect their rights, infrastructure and welfare. Beyond this, the inhabitants of that area are left vulnerable without much protection from either states. They are neglected and no adequate arrangements were made to resettle them. More so, the suffering of the Bakassi people is unimaginable as part of the area given to them to settle temporarily were land locked areas which has less meaningful to their livelihood as majority were fishermen who could not have access to the sea for fish and shrimps catch. Reiterating on this view, Odinkalu (2012: 12), observed that there are still several dangerous gaps and problems in the agreement which made its implication to be unable to resolve the Bakassi issue such as;

- the agreement in line with the ICJ verdict did not create room to addressing citizenship question,

- did not subject the people of Bakassi to referendum or plebiscite to enable them choose where to belong either to Cameroon or to Nigeria.

- there is no obligation on either Cameroon or Nigeria to ensure adequate access to the contents of the Green Tree Agreement for all persons among the affected populations either in English, French or the local languages.

- No effort was made to ensure or build partnerships with civil society groups in educating the populations, designing transitional protection mechanisms or ensuring effective monitoring of the implementation of the agreement

- The parties in the agreement either before and after signing it did not in any way consulted the inhabitants of Bakassi Peninsula in particular and Nigeria people in general. Again, the Green Tree Agreement was not ratified by the National Assembly in line with the provision of section 12 (1) of the 1999 constitution. By extension, the senate of the federal Republic of Nigeria declared the unilateral ceding of the Peninsula to Cameroon by President Olusegun Obasanjo unconstitutional and null and void. However, because of the ceding of Bakassi to Cameroon, administrative governance is no longer in place and this affects inhabitants political opinions and representatives in the Nigerian political landscape. With regard to these situations, the people of Bakassi reopened the case against the federal government for compensation and resettlement which the government has not fully done. They accused the then president Olusegun Obasanjo of signing the green tree agreement signifying the final ceding of Bakassi to Cameroon without getting anything for Nigeria and issues bordering Bakassi people. Against this backdrop, a

group called the Bakassi Self Determination Movement declared its independence from both Nigeria and Cameroon on 25th November, 2006. The group leader, Tony Ene stated:

We insist on our natural right to determine our future. If Nigeria does not want us, we choose to go, to be alone and not with Cameroon. At an independence ceremony called by the Bakassi Self Determination Movement, prior to the official handing over ceremony, residents waved the territory's new blue and white striped flag at Ekpote Abia which was part of the land handed over by Nigeria to Cameroon in August 2006. During the ceremony, Tony Ene proclaimed that the people have declared their own republic (Sama & Ross, 2006:115-116)

The various Anglo-phone Cameroon separatist movements expressed support for the Bakassi people claiming them as part of Southern Cameroon. That if Southern Cameroon is able to get the 'independence it seeks and become a republic encompassing the Peninsula, the people of Bakassi will no longer have problems with the republic of Cameroon and the neglect of Nigeria government will stop (Akpan, 2006:2). The Bakassi indigenes and the Southern Cameroon secessionist regarded the judgment and the Green Tree Agreement irrelevant. As the indigenes of Bakassi are not ready to answer Cameroonian and were not willing to strain their relationship with southern Cameroon secessionist rather they are more concerned with maintaining peace than with rivalry and conflict.

Implications of the ruling on Geo-strategic, Political and Economic interest of Nigeria

In October, 2002, the ICJ ruled that the Peninsula belonged to Cameroon on the basis of 1913 agreement, and ordered Nigerian forces to leave the area. However, they continued to occupy the region until the dispute was finally resolved in through signing Tree agreement treaty by government of both nation states. The ceding of the peninsula to Cameroon has not been without consequences. In view of its geo strategic location, Bakassi Peninsula is strategically important to Nigeria. The area constitutes an external environment for defense. From Nigerian experience during the civil war of 1967-1970, it was clearly revealed that for Nigeria security and territorial integrity to be preserved, the area need to be maintained and guarded against internal and external aggression. Nigeria political stability could be undermined by foreign enemy who could use the place as a base to destabilize

the country. Its strategic importance precipitated the Nigerian government to set up a naval base in Oron, Calabar. The loss of Bakassi to Cameroon may mean the loss of the entrance to the Calabar port from the sea because the territorial water belongs to Cameroon and under no circumstances would Nigeria be allowed to operate freely. Also, it brings loss of Eastern access to the Atlantic, places the multi-billion dollar Export Processing Zone (EPZ) in serious danger because the Calabar EPZ depends largely on the import-export activities of companies operating in the zone and Nigeria has to pay charges (Etekpe, 2013). The Bakassi peninsula, aside from its economic potentials is important for maritime security purposes. Occasioned by the ICJ judgment in 2002, Nigeria would have to seek the consent of Cameroon for the passage of its naval ships by the peninsula (Oyebode, 2014). More so, all infrastructural facilities, including hospitals, schools, recreational centres, that were originally put in place by Nigeria would be lost. According to Akinjide (2002), We must accept that (ICJ) judgment was 50% international law and 50% politics. He buttressed that as far as the case between Nigerian and Cameroon was concerned, the dispute was really between Nigeria and France. (News watch November 4, 2002). He further stated that “the judgment of the ICJ on Bakassi was a travesty of justice; it was a great injustice which started in 1913 and which is being perpetrated now under the guise of International Court of Justice.

In the same vein, Aghemelo and Ibhasebor (2006), maintained that while Cameroon will reap abundant benefits from the Bakassi Peninsula, the implications for Nigeria are obvious. First are fears that losing Bakassi to Cameroon may mean the loss of the entrance to the Calabar port to Cameroon. This is because the entrance to the Calabar port lies in the Calabar channel and going by terms of the 1913 agreement between Britain and Germany which the World court relied upon as the authority for Cameroon's claim to Bakassi, the channel belongs to Cameroon. Secondly, the loss of Bakassi has also placed the multi-million naira export process zone (EPZ) in serious danger. This is because the Calabar EPZ depends largely on this important segment, it would mean that the port belongs to Cameroon out rightly or Nigeria will have to pay charge. There is also the danger of losing 100 million barrels of oil deposit and also four trillion cubic feet of gas deposits in the peninsula. The implication is that most oil companies that intended to stay in Nigeria for the oil exploration will move to Cameroon. This would increase the revenue base and the foreign investment in Cameroon, create job opportunities, stimulate economic growth, enhance infrastructural development and transfer technology. A nation striving to improve the lot of its people by adequately utilizing their sources of revenue

will surely feel the severe impact of this type of judgment on the entire economy.

In the same light, Baye (2010) corroborate the socio-economic implications of the Bakassi dispute and hinges it on the following:

- (a) Expenditure-reducing and switching effects
- (b) Wealth-generating effects
- (c) Cross-border activities
- (d) The need for accompanying measures.

In buttressing on the aforementioned implications, he assert that, in an escalating border conflict situation, the countries involved generally spend much more on security and military activities. Such military spending often crowds out social spending on health, education and infrastructure, a practice that negatively affects the welfare situation of the citizenry. As hostilities are scaled down through a negotiated settlement, wasteful military spending is scaled down as well, hence the expenditure reducing effect of peaceful settlement of border dispute. At the same time, there are potentials and incentives to switch from military spending to social sector spending, a situation that will enhance the general welfare of the population. In the case of Bakassi Peninsula dispute settlement between Cameroon and Nigeria, both countries will realize savings in military and associated logistical expenditures. These savings can be more judiciously used to enhance the standards of living of the various populations through infrastructural development that generates income and employment opportunities. The success of these, however, depends on the good faith of the governments in place and the reduction in corruption. More importantly, Nigeria's oil resources which provide about 90 percent of its foreign exchange earnings occur predominantly in a zone from 10 to 41 nautical miles off the coast of Calabar. Within this Zone are six oil tanker terminals and oil refineries. Although, oil accounts for about 35 percent of Cameroon's foreign exchange earnings, it also has oil installations adjacent to the disputed area that is exploiting the same oil field as Nigeria from the opposite side. Therefore the supplies of crude to its only refinery come almost exclusively from the area in dispute. Therefore, giving up the Bakassi Peninsula and its adjacent areas to Nigeria would result in the closure of its only oil refinery. These important economic resources deepened the mutual distrust and suspicion between the two countries. However, it is glaring that the judgment of International Court of Justice stripes off Nigeria exclusive right to harness all the potential resources and its strategic importance associated with the peninsular.

On the political dimension, the administrative and political structure

put in place by Nigeria government were affected by that judgment. Prior to the judgment, Bakassi was a local government that has representatives in elective positions of governance both at the state and national level. But today, the existence of the local government as it was formally established by Nigerian constitution is no longer obtainable. The neither have representatives nor found relevant in Nigeria political space. However, they are vulnerable to all forms of human right violations from security apparatuses of both nation states. The irony of it is that the people of Bakassi have lost confidence in Nigeria because of her neglect and the inability to reclaim the peninsula as her own irrespective of the judgment. This was exemplified by the way and manner the then president Olusegun Obasanjo ceded it to Cameroon through green tree agreement without recourse. They are also refusing to belong to Cameroon due to not having ancestral origin, values and cultural affinity. Thus, they are canvassing for self determination as next line of action since it is acceptable in international law and global politics. Although positive implications could easily be seen from the Nigerian perspective, cooperating with the decision has brought Nigeria respect in National politics as a promoter of world peace and it could also be a diplomatic strategy to lobby Nigerians acceptance as a member of the UN's security council.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The aftermath of the International Court of Justice ruling has been appalling. It has been a case of human security challenge, complicated governments neglect. Although the ICJ ruling, the Mixed Commission, and the Green Tree Agreement have been praised as successful examples to the world of a negotiated agreement to a potentially intractable conflict, the Bakassi Peninsula region has continued to experience conflict and violent outbreaks two years after the initial withdrawal of Nigerian troops (Achankeng 2009). The ruling of the ICJ in this case demonstrated a legalistic approach typical of a Western-style of negotiation. The interests of both parties were identified as the land in dispute along the border and the natural resources held therein. Arguments were heard from both sides, and then the court reviewed the historical agreements to determine which agreements were most binding. The court's ruling was presented as a final judgment and in return has far reaching implications to geo-strategic, political and economic interest of Nigeria.

Informed by this shortcoming, Nigeria and Cameroon should push forward their intentions to initiate a number of political and economic confidence building measures, and to consider the adoption of a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. Accompanying measures by Nigeria,

Cameroon and the international community, as well as other socio-economic and political developments emanating from the entire border dispute settlement are needed to enhance the peace dividend. This is because of the fact that both nation states are members of the same International Organizations and agencies, the most important of which are the African Union (AU) formerly known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It is expected that with the peaceful handing over of Bakassi to Cameroon, fruitful socioeconomic activities between the two countries will be revamped. In this regard, it will strengthened their relationship and improves their mutual understanding to boosting competitiveness and human capital development as both states needs each other for survival. Also, Nigeria should learn from Bakassi debacle and not to quickly involve in signing treaties and ratification without proper consultations like our leaders in the past did. More so the rights of Bakassi inhabitants should be respected by both nation states and issue of relocation and rehabilitation should be done properly without rancor. This will give Bakassi people a sense of belonging and address issue of citizenship identity.

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