

a legal enforcement institution.⁷³The legal and institutional mechanisms mentioned hitherto mirrors Cameroon's commitment to protecting ownership rights over oil and gas resources.

JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE EXERCISE OF STATE'S OWNERSHIP OVER OIL AND GAS RESOURCES IN CAMEROON

In July 1913, when Europe was sliding towards war, the First Lord of the British Admiralty, Winston Churchill set out the significance of oil to a nation. He averred that, "If we cannot get oil, we cannot get corn, we cannot get cotton and we cannot get a thousand and one commodities necessary for the preservation of economic energies of Great Britain."⁷⁴ Churchill therefore, considered the diversity and security of oil and gas to be of utmost importance to a nation. To achieve the duo, "the Admiralty should become the independent owner and producer of its supplies of liquid fuels."⁷⁵ The justifications for the exercise of state's ownership over oil and gas resources abound. State's exercise of ownership over oil and gas resources is justified by the need to ensure equitable distribution of proceeds from oil and gas. As enshrined in the Preamble of the Cameroonian Constitution⁷⁶, "We the people of Cameroon resolve to harness our natural resources to ensure the well-being of every citizen without discrimination, by raising living standards, proclaim our right to development as well as our determination to devote all our efforts to that end..." Going by the provisions of the Cameroonian Constitution, oil and gas proceeds are to be used for the well-being of every citizen without discrimination. For the state to attain this objective, it must exercise ownership over such resources.

Furthermore, the exercise of States ownership over oil and gas resources is justified by the need to preserve oil and gas resources. As non-renewable natural resources, the importance of oil and

⁷³ See the case of *Egbe Maureen v. Ruth Eyong, Elf Oil Cameroun and Others* (Suit No. HCK/1994)

⁷⁴ Yergin D, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*, Simon & Schuster, London (1991), P. 160.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Law No 96/06 of the 18th of January 1996 to institute the Cameroonian Constitution. As enshrined in Sections 65 of the Cameroonian Constitution, the Preamble is part and parcel of the Cameroonian Constitution.

gas preservation rules⁷⁷ cannot be over emphasized.⁷⁸ In *Wronski v. Sun Oil Co*,⁷⁹ Sun was held liable for conversion where it produced oil and gas above the rate of production authorized by the state conservation agency. Moreover, in the case of *Elliff v. Texon Drilling Co*,⁸⁰ the Texas Supreme court stated that; an owner who exercises the right to capture oil and gas resources is subject to the concomitant duty to exercise the right without negligence or waste. In this light, section 25 (1) of the 2002 Cameroonian Gas Code provides that, “an operator in the downstream gas sector shall carry out his activities in compliance with the principles of continuity and quality of service”. It is therefore important for the state of Cameroon to exercise ownership over oil and gas to ensure the futurity of oil and gas resources and avoid its overproduction.

Finally, the oil and gas industry is one of the most hazardous and risky industry in the world⁸¹ with its activities having severe environmental repercussions.⁸² To better monitor the sector, the state should exercise sovereignty over oil and gas resources.

MEASURES FOR THE PROTECTION OF STATES OWNERSHIP OVER OIL AND GAS RESOURCES IN CAMEROON

The Cameroonian Government has hitherto taken positive steps aimed at protecting its ownership rights over oil and gas resources in the country. The Resolution of the Bakassi Peninsula quagmire is one of the hallmark achievements aimed at securing state’s ownership over oil and gas resources in Cameroon. The quest to exercise control over oil and gas resources

⁷⁷ Oil and gas preservation rules are those rules which provides that a given quantity of oil and gas remains during the drilling process. See Conservation Law Dictionary.com, Retrieved from, <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/conservation-law> (Accessed on the 12/08/2021).

⁷⁸ as it not only ensures futurity of oil and gas but also prevents wastage of oil and gas resources.

⁷⁹ 279 N.W. 2d 564, (Mich.App.1979).

⁸⁰ 210 S.W.2nd 558. (Tex.1948).

⁸¹ In the Cameroonian case of *Egbe Maureen v. Ruth Eyong, Elf Oil Cameroun & 3 others* (Suit No. HCK/11/94, Kumba, 1994, Unreported) the defendant was liable to the plaintiff who suffered severe burns due to the defendants negligently mixing petrol with kerosene that led to an explosion.

⁸² As enshrined in Principle 21 of the 1972 Stockholm Declaration, “States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Principles of International Law, the sovereign right to exploit their resources pursuant to their own environmental and development policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other states or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

has been identified as one of the major sources of disputes in the world, Africa, Cameroon, and the South West Region in particular. Such was the case with the dispute over the Bakassi Peninsula by Cameroon and Nigeria which was fueled inter alia by the discovery of oil in the area. The main issue that propelled both nations to clamor for the Peninsula is that of Sovereignty over the mineral-rich Peninsula.⁸³ In an attempt to state their claims, both nations resorted to the use of military force to claim the territory. Tensions between the two countries escalated in military confrontations at the end of 1993 with the deployment of the Nigerian military to approximately 1000 square kilometers Bakassi Peninsular.⁸⁴ This act antagonized Cameroon when on March 24 1994 she submitted the entire set of border-related disputes with Nigeria to the International Court of Justice (hereafter referred to as the ICJ) at the Hague for adjudication.

For close to a decade after a thorough examination of the suit by the ICJ,⁸⁵ the court finally ruled that Cameroon is the rightful owner of the resource-rich Bakassi Peninsula, basing its argument on the 1913 Anglo-German Treaty which demarcated the border between the two colonial powers.⁸⁶ Following intense diplomatic offensives and the good office of the UN Secretary-General, Cameroon was able to secure a Green-Tree Agreement with Nigeria on June 12, 2006, brokered by the UN Secretary-General. Under the agreement, the Nigerian troops were to withdraw within a maximum of 90 days and a transition period of two years was given for the Nigerian administration to be replaced by the Cameroonian administration.⁸⁷ Today, Cameroon is considered the rightful owner of the Bakassi Peninsula. The resolution of the Bakassi boundary

⁸³ J.U Nsongurua., "The Ghost of Berlin still Haunts Africa; The ICJ Judgement on the Land and Maritime Boundary Dispute between Cameroon and Nigeria" (2002) *African Year Book of International Law*, P.20-43: 20.

⁸⁴ Ntankeu Yoba Martin, "The Bakassi Peninsula Boundary Dispute: Implications on Peace and Human Rights" (LL.M Thesis, University of Buea, Department of English Law, 2016), P. 3.

⁸⁵ *Case Concerning Land and Maritime Boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria (Cameroon v. Nigeria)* ICJ Report 2002.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Francis Baye, *Implications of the Bakasssi conflict resolution for Cameroon*, 2010, Available at: <https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/implications-of-the-bakassi-conflict-resolution-for-cameroon/&ved> (visited on the 15/08/2021).

dispute could therefore be said to be one of the key achievements of the Cameroonian Government in safeguarding ownership over oil and gas resources in the territory.

Moreover, increased confiscation of contraband fuel is another measure instituted by the state to protect its sovereignty over oil and gas resources. The Cameroonian Government has successfully clamped down on illicit trade of oil and gas resources. On the 18th of March 2018, some 5000 liters of contraband petrol reportedly smuggled in from Nigeria through the Ndian Division were confiscated by forces of law and order.⁸⁸ On December 26th, 2018, the Cameroon Ministry of water resources and energy's special task force intercepted over 1000 petrol drums in the coastal town of Limbe in the South West Region of the country. According to Colonel Emmanuel Sone,⁸⁹ "since the first of December, the Navy has put aside specific means dedicated to this fight within the framework of the task force. And we have been able to intercept about 280 thousand liters of fuel amounting to more than 3 billion CFA francs (about 5.2 million U.S Dollars) and this is happening just around Limbe zone". The task force which was created in October 2018 by the Ministry of Energy and Water Resources has as aim to combat the illegal importation of petroleum products in the Cameroonian waters.⁹⁰ These efforts and more constitute some of the commendable measures taken by the Cameroonian Government to combat illegal acts in the oil and gas sector of the country.

⁸⁸ Gendamerie Officers hijack illegal fuel business in Southern Cameroons, Available at; <https://www.caameron-concord.com/local/gendamerie-officers-hijack-illegal-fuel-business-in-southern-cameroons> (visited on the 12/08/2021).

⁸⁹ Commander of the Limbe Naval Base.

⁹⁰ Cameroon intercepts over 1,000 illegal imported petrol drums at sea; Available at, <https://www.cameroonintelligencereport.com/cameroon-intercepts-over-1000-illegal-imported-petrol-drums-at-sea/&ved> (visited on the 13/08/2021).

CHALLENGES AFFECTING STATES OWNERSHIP OVER OIL AND GAS RESOURCES IN CAMEROON

Persistent Illegal sale of oil and gas resources is one of the main challenge affecting the exercise of states' ownership rights over oil and gas resources in Cameroon. This contravenes the provision of Sections 21 (1) of the Sale of Goods Act which provides that;

Where goods are sold by a person who is not their owner, and who does not sell them under the authority or with the consent of the owner, the buyer acquires no better title to the goods than the seller had, unless the owner of the goods is by his conduct precluded from denying the seller's authority to sell.

The above provision is in tandem with the dictums of the courts in the ground breaking case of *Bishopsgate Motor Finance Corporation v. Transport Brakes Ltd*⁹¹ where Lord Denning instituted the sale of goods law principle of *nemo dat quod non habet*.⁹² As the owner of oil and gas resources, the state has that sole authority to sell oil and gas resources. Any natural person who wishes to sell oil and gas resources must be authorized to do so by the state.⁹³ An authorization shall be the instrument by which the Minister in charge of hydrocarbons or any other public establishment with a mandate to that effect empowers an operator to carry out under transparent and non-discriminatory conditions the sale of oil and gas resources.⁹⁴

Despite the risk of prosecution, Cameroonians still engage in the illegal sales of oil and gas resources. On the road out of Ideneu to Buea via Limbe, the extent of illicit fuel trade is apparent. Fuel traders ply their trade-in makeshift roadside structures as soldiers' mill about outside.⁹⁵ The soldiers and police officers are as much a part of the trade-in the stolen fuel as the

⁹¹ (1949) 1 KB 322.

⁹² You cannot give that which you do not have.

⁹³ Pursuant to section 21 of the Cameroonian Gas code, "The following activities shall be subject to authorization: sale of gas, importation and installation of material and equipment for setting up gas transportation and distribution networks, gas storage centers, as well as measuring and safety appliances used by operations and customs."

⁹⁴ Section 22 of the Gas Code.

⁹⁵ Muunyi F., *Tracing the flow of Nigeria's stolen oil to Cameroon*, 2018, Available at; <https://amp.dw.com/en/tracing-the-flow-of-nigerias-stolen-oil-to-cameroon/a-45918707&ved> (visited on the 14/08/2021).

dealers. It is therefore not surprising to note that governments' efforts to curb the illegal sale of oil and gas have repeatedly hit a dead-end.⁹⁶

More so, territorial claims and claims over natural resources have typically been the main sources of conflict throughout the world. The influence of some of these warning struggles for the control of valuable natural resources have remained a persistent feature in international affairs for decades. Such conflicts typically take the form of territorial disputes over possession of oil-laden border areas, factional struggles among the leaders of oil-rich countries, and major inter-state and intra-state wars over the control of vital oil and mineral zones.⁹⁷ Such disputes often occur in border zones and offshore areas that were thought to possess no particular value, but suddenly became valuable with the discovery of oil. The conflict over Bakassi by Cameroon and Nigeria fits this scenario. For several decades, neither the Nigerian nor Cameroonian ruling elite showed any concern nor initiated any program that was capable of ameliorating the deplorable conditions of the mass poverty, squalor, and destitution in which most Bakassi residents live. But struggles over the ownership of Bakassi by Nigeria and Cameroon began immediately in the eighties when it was discovered that the peninsula was floating on reserves of crude oil.⁹⁸ It was only then that the elite of both countries started making serious claims and counter-claims over the territory.⁹⁹

There is no gainsaying that the conflict over Bakassi is deemed to have been resolved.¹⁰⁰ This notwithstanding, an article published by the Guardian Post newspaper on the 21st of August

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Klare, Mitchael T., *Blood and oil: The dangers and consequences of America's growing petroleum dependency*, New York, Metropolitan Books, 2004. P.15.

⁹⁸ Sango S., *No to war over oil: for a Democratic Referendum among the Bakassi People*, Available at: www.worldsocialist-cwi.org/contents.html (visited on the 15/08/2021).

⁹⁹ In essence, the struggle by the Nigerian and Cameroonian ruling classes for ownership of the Peninsula is not dictated by concern for the well-being of the residents of Bakassi, but rather for the rich oil reserves and fishing grounds found in the area and its strategic location in the Gulf of Guinea. Indeed, Nigeria started undertaking some social infrastructural developments in Bakassi only in 1997, four years after it occupied the Peninsula.

¹⁰⁰ That is with the signing of the Green Tree Accord by Cameroon and Nigeria.

2020¹⁰¹, revealed that “fresh trouble looms over oil-rich Bakassi.” In a video that surfaced on Social media on the 20th of August 2020, a Nigerian politician and former Minister Femi Fani-Kayode were heard indicting the Cameroonian Government for not respecting certain provisions of the Green Tree Accord which ceded the hitherto disputed territory to Cameroon. Fani Kayode who served as special assistant to former President of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo from July 2003 to June 2006, said Cameroon has failed to make a monthly compensation of 500 million naira to the Cross River State as was stipulated in the agreement. He went further to urge the current president of Nigeria, President Muhammadu Buhari to sue for a repeal of the Accord, deploy troops and retake the Peninsula.¹⁰² The fresh tensions over Bakassi will, if not resolved amicably threaten the futurity of Cameroons’ sovereignty over oil and gas found therein.

Moreover, the present Anglophone quagmire is caused inter alia by the fact that some Anglophone secessionists think they have been relegated to the sidelines and have thus been deprived of their rights to manage and control oil and gas resources which are found in what they term “their territory”. The crisis has today resulted in an armed conflict because of the quest by these secessionists to regain ownership inter alia over oil and gas resources.¹⁰³

REASONS FOR UNAUTHORIZED DEALINGS IN OIL AND GAS RESOURCES IN CAMEROON

The high rate of corruption in Cameroon accounts for the challenges affecting the country’s oil and gas industry. Even though sanctioned under section 134 of the Cameroonian penal code, bribery and corruption is still rife in almost all sectors of the Cameroonian Government. The judiciary, public service, and customs departments have been trimmed to take the frontline in

¹⁰¹ The Guardian Post Daily News paper, No 1953 Yaounde, August 21, 2020, P.3.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ “Cameroon’s Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads”, International Crisis Group Report. Available at, <https://www.crisisgroup.org> (visited on the 01/03/2021).

corruption.¹⁰⁴ The Government has in attempt to fight the cankerworm created several regulatory institutions with the most visible being, the National Anti-Corruption Commission.¹⁰⁵ Its uniqueness stems from the mandate to prepare and present annual reports on the state of the fight against corruption in Cameroon by identifying the causes of corruption and proposing to the relevant authorities measures leading to its eradication of the gangrene.¹⁰⁶ Despite Governments efforts, corruption still persists in the Cameroonian society. There is a high level of complicity involving government officials such as the police force, customs officers, and border guards who solicit and/or accept bribes during illegal transportation and sale of oil and gas. Likewise, when caught, offenders may be allowed to escape.¹⁰⁷ These corrupt tendencies go further to worsen and aggravate the growing trends of illegal dealings with oil and gas resources in the country.

Furthermore, there is the absence of political will and commitment to enforce existing legislation and hold perpetrators and accomplices accountable. The importation, transportation, and commercialization of contraband oil and gas have become the new normal in contemporary Cameroon to the detriment of the Government and Companies operating in this sector. This situation is quite appalling as dealers in contraband fuel do not pay tax to the government and have greatly reduced the clientele of registered companies operating in this domain. When caught, offenders are released after a short time. Thus, perpetrators consider the act¹⁰⁸ as a low-risk/high-profit venture: one with minimal consequences¹⁰⁹ but very lucrative and profitable.

¹⁰⁴ Cameroon Corruption Report – GAN Integrity., Available at; <https://www.gainintegrity.com/portal/country-profiles/cameroon/&ved> (visited on the 14/08/2021).

¹⁰⁵ Emmanuel “Fight Against Corruption: Collective Responsibility”, 2018., Available at; <https://www.cameroon-tribune.cm/article.html/21985/fr.html/fight-against-corruption-collective-responsibility&ved> (visited on the 5/09/2021).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Especially that of illegal sale of oil and gas.

¹⁰⁹ The legal sanction being accorded to individuals engaged in illegal acts in the oil and gas sector is very minimal. In fact, as enshrined in Article 229 of the Cameroonian Penal Code, “Whoever infringes any regulation governing the manufacture, storage, transport, import or export of, or trade in explosive substances shall be punished with imprisonment for from one month to one year, or with a fine of from two thousand to one hundred thousand francs, or with both such imprisonment and fine.” It is the view of the researcher that the imprisonment term and fine is so minimal and as such lacks the requisite cohesive power to ensure respectability of the laws.

Again, the high rate of youth unemployment and underemployment accounts for the increasing violation of laws regulating ownership over oil and gas resources. Though many youths in the country are willing and able to work, there is a lack of job opportunities for them. According to the International Labor Organization's 2013 report, the unemployment rate in Cameroon is 30% while underemployment stands at 75%.¹¹⁰ Even though the Cameroonian Government does its best to provide all utilities for schools to go operational and train as many youths as possible, ironically, there are no jobs to receive these youths after their school training. The challenge of unemployment has made lots of Cameroonian youths' litter all over the streets with some of them resorting to illegal sale of contraband fuel. Even though forces of law and order attempt to clamp down on perpetrators of contraband fuel, what mechanisms have been put in place to ensure that unemployed youths do not find themselves in this "last resort" to survive? Faced with these problems, youths tend to engage in illegal dealings with oil and gas resources.

Furthermore, illegal dealings in Cameroon's oil and gas sector continue to thrive because of the existence of a ready market and a general willingness by consumers to pay for illegally imported fuel. Despite the risk of prosecution, locals say they have no choice but to use black market fuel to fill up their cars. The fuel which enters the country from neighboring Nigeria costs FCFA 500 on Cameroon's black market, whereas a petrol station charges about FCFA 700 for fuel from the country's lone refinery SONARA.¹¹¹ It is worth noting that even though Cameroon's lone oil refinery is in Limbe, the town remains one of Cameroons booming port city for illicit fuel as people come from all the nooks and cranny of the country to purchase fuel.¹¹² These are some of the dynamics that expedite illegal acts in the oil and gas sector of Cameroon.

¹¹⁰ Fuh Sharon, *Youth Unemployment in Cameroon*, Available at <https://fuhsharon.wordpress.com/2015/08/18/youth-unemployment-in-cameroon/amp/&ved> (visited on the 14/08/2021).

¹¹¹ Atia T. Azohnwi., *Cameroon-Limbe: Three cars burst into flames after collision, four people burnt to death*, 2020; Available at: <http://www.cameroon-info.net/article/cameroon-limbe-three-cars-burst-into-flames-after-collision-four-people-burnt-to-death-373638.html&ved>; (visited on the 17/08/2021).

¹¹² *Ibid.*

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is settled law that the ownership rights over oil and gas resources is vested in the State. Individuals and communities on or under whose land minerals are found have no legal right to claim ownership of these minerals. The State of Cameroon as sole guarantor and owner of oil and gas resources has expressed and demonstrated efforts to safeguard its sovereignty over natural resources and oil and gas resources in particular. Despite these measures, unauthorized dealings with oil and gas resources continue to thrive.

In addition to the high rate of corruption in the country, the eradication of problems threatening states ownership over oil and gas resources has been deterred by the inadequate implementation of laws, high rate of youth underemployment and unemployment, high demand for contraband fuel, and the recurrent conflicts for ownership over oil and gas resources in the country. Dealers exploit these weaknesses and carry out acts that threaten the futurity of state ownership over oil and gas resources. Fighting unauthorized dealings with oil and gas resources is therefore the ultimate responsibility of the Cameroonian Government and she must play a leadership role in it. Such dealings also affect the safety and security of all Cameroonians. As such, cracking down on such dealings requires a collective action. There is no doubt that these illegal practices can be halted in Cameroon. There is however, a need for greater proactive measures.

It is therefore recommended for the Government to swiftly implement the terms of the Green Tree Accord; Step up the enforcement of already existing legislations on oil and gas; Subsidize the price of fuel; Wage a war against bribery and corruption; Grant royalties to various localities endowed with oil and gas resources; as well as synergize with key players at the national and international frontiers in the fight against importation and exportation of illicit fuel.¹¹³ Furthermore, there is the need for various stakeholders to be periodically and regularly

¹¹³These actors should include law enforcement, immigration and judiciary agencies, civil societies, regional and inter-governmental organizations as well as other governments.

schooled through seminars and workshops on the importance of oil and gas and the need to respect the laws regulating the resources. Stakeholders should also be drilled on the dangers of illegal dealings in contraband fuel and on the need to report such cases to competent authorities. This must then be followed by repression from the competent powers when violations occur. Such would be the “carrot and stick” way of protecting states ownership over oil and gas resources.

REFERENCES

Aileen Mcharg *et al.*, *Property and the law in Energy and Natural Resources*, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, 2010)

Andrew Watson, “Enforcement of International Environmental Treaties: At Analysis” (2011), *Fordham Environmental Law Review*, Pp.273-282.

Andrew Watson, “Enforcement of International Environmental Treaties: At Analysis”, (2011), *Fordham Environmental Law Review*, Pp. 273 – 285.

Atia T. Azohnwi., *Cameroon-Limbe: Three cars burst into flames after collision, four people burnt to death*, 2020; Available at: <http://www.cameroon-info.net/article/cameroon-limbe-three-cars-burst-into-flames-after-collision-four-people-burnt-to-death-373638.html&ved>; (visited on the 17/08/2021).

Bernard Mommer; *The Governance of International Oil: The Changing Rules of the Game*, (Oxford institute for Energy Studies 2000).

Bikas C., & Wilfred A., *et al*, *Development of the Oil Industry in Cameroon and its Implications for Education and Training* , IIEP Research Report No. 79, 1990, P. 34 – 35.

Bolande E. Oduntan, *Comparative Assessment of ownership and Regulation of Petroleum Resources*, (LLB Thesis, Faculty of Laws, Olabisi Onabango University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria).

Bryan A. Garner, *Black’s Law Dictionary*, 10th ed, (West Publishing, 2014).

Clerk A. & Kohler P, *Property law: Commentary and Materials*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Collier P and Venables J, *Plundered Nations? Successes and Failures in Natural Resource Extraction*, 1st Ed.(Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Feyide M.O., *Oil in World Politics*. The J.I.C. Taylor Memorial Lecture Series (Lagos: University of Lagos, 1986).

Fuh S. *Youth Unemployment in Cameroon*, Available at <https://fuhsharon.wordpress.com/2015/08/18/youth-unemployment-in-cameroon/amp/&ved> (visited on the 14/08/2021).

Gauthier B, & Zeufack A, “Governance and Oil Revenues in Cameroon” (2009) *Revenue watch project, OxCARRE, Oxford University* Pp. 7-24.

Lorenzo Cotula “Reconsidering Sovereignty, Ownership and consent in Natural Resource Contracts: From concepts to Practice” (2018) *European Yearbook of International Economic Law*, Vol.9, Pp. 143-174.

Lowe J, *Oil and Gas law in a nutshell*, 5th ed, (West Academic Publishing, 2010).

Menjo F.B, “Implications of the Bakassi conflict resolution for Cameroon”, (2010) *African journal on Conflict Resolution*, Pp. 9-34.

Michael T. and Miebaka N. “Ownership of Mineral Oils in Nigeria: The need for Judicial Review of Legislations Affecting the Niger Delta Region” (2019) *International Journal of Law, Humanities and Social Science*, Vol.3 Pp. 1-29.

Michanek G. “The Role of Courts in International Law”, *Nordic Environmental Law Journal*, 2009, Pp. 1-33.

Muunyi F., *Tracing the flow of Nigeria’s stolen oil to Cameroon*, 2018, Available at: <https://amp.dw.com/en/tracing-the-flow-of-nigerias-stolen-oil-to-cameroon/a-45918707&ved> (visited on the 14/08/2021).

Ndumbe A.J, “The International Court of Justice and Border Conflict Resolution in Africa: The Bakassi Peninsula Conflict”, 18 *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 2007.

Ngang K., “Understanding the Bakassi Conflict; A Showcase of conflict Prevention in Practice”, (2007) *European University Center for Peace Studies Research papers*, Pp.203 – 219.

Nicholas Hayson and Scan Kate, “Negotiating natural resources for peace: Ownership, control and wealth sharing”. (2009) *Henry Dunant Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue*, P.6. Available at, <https://www.constitutionmaking.org/files/resources-peace.pdf> (visited on the 26/03/2021).

Nsongurua J., “The Ghost of Berlin still Haunts Africa; The ICJ Judgement on the Land and Maritime Boundary Dispute Between Cameroon and Nigeria’ (2002) *African Year Book of International Law*, P.20-43.

Ntankeu Yoba Martin, “*The Bakassi Peninsula Boundary Dispute: Implications on Peace and Human Rights*” (LL.M Thesis, University of Buea, Department of English Law, 2016).

Okonkwo T., “Ownership and Control of Natural Resources under the Nigerian Constitution 1999 and Its Implications for Environmental Law and Practice” (2017), *International Law Research*, Vol.6, N0.1, Pp.162-184.

Parker F., *The Giving Orders*, (Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett: New York, 1925).

Smil V., *Oil: A Beginner's Guide*, 1st ed. (Oxford: One world Publications, 2008).

Sone P, *The Concept of Equality and Access to Land: The Case of the Anglophone Regions of Cameroon*. (PhD Thesis, University of Buea), 2011.

© GSJ