

Cameroon Cases, 1970-2012

Last Updated: 2 March 2018

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T1426	MOUVEMENT POUR LA DEMOCRATIE ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT		1991	1995
T2302	NTSILOULOUS		1998	2002
T1184	MOVEMENT FOR EMANCIPATION OF NIGER DELTA (MEND)		2006	2012
T399	BAKASSI MOVEMENT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION		2010	2011

I. MOUVEMENT POUR LA DEMOCRATIE ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT

Torg ID: 1426

Min. Group Date: 1991

Max. Group Date: 1995

Onset: NA

Aliases: Movement For Democracy And Development (Mdd), Mouvement Pour La Democratie Et Le Developpement, Movement For Development And Democracy

Part 1. Bibliography

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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: MDD

Group Formation: 1991

Group End: 1995 (peace agreement)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

The MDD was a political group motivated to stay loyal to Chad’s former president, Hussein Habré, by overthrowing Idriss Déby regime. The group quickly splintered by 1992 into several smaller factions (Refworld 1998). The group’s first violent attack was around 1991. The group’s aim was center-seeking and it had no clear ideology.

Geography

The majority of the group’s attacks took place in the region of Lake Chad (Refworld 1997; GTD 2017). The group was not transnational.

Organizational Structure

Originally, the group was founded by Moussa Madella, along with Goukouni Guet and Hussein Habré (Refworld 1998). It has been reported that up to five similar factions claim to take the responsibility to be a part of MDD such as The Western Armed Forces and the National Armed Forces of Chad (Refworld 1997). It is unknown what type of membership or how many members the group holds.

External Ties

The group is explicit. MDJT, a similar group to the MDD, received support from another former Chadian president, Goukoni Weddey, other political affiliated groups in Chad, and militia support from the Libyan government (IRB 1999; UCA n.d.).

Group Outcome

The group's last recorded attack took place on March 19, 1995 (GTD 2017). To finally end the continuing conflict, MDD joined forces with the MDJT and signed a peace agreement with the Chadian government that went into effect on November 22, 1995 (UCA n.d.; Refworld 1997).

II. NTSILOULOUS

Torg ID: 2302

Min. Group Date: 1998

Max. Group Date: 2002

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

Part 1. Bibliography

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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Cocoye and Ninja, Ninjas, Coyoces

Group Formation: 1994

Group End: 2002

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

During the war in Congo-Brazzaville in 1997, there was a lot of conflict between political affiliates that violently disagreed on who should hold governmental power back in the elections of 1993. Pascal Lissouba from UPADS won the election and received a lot of resistance from the Congolese Labor Party. To fight against this resistance Lissouba founded the Cocoyes in 1994. It is unknown when the group's first attack took place (HSFK 2015; BBC 1999).

Geography

Majority of the group's attacks took place within Cameroon (HSFK 2015). The group is not transnational.

Organizational Structure

The group's leader, Pascal Lissouba, did not have much support from the Congolese army, but did from Bernard Kolelas and his militia. Many members of the group were from the Congolese army (HSFK 2015).

External Ties

The group claimed explicit responsibility for its attacks. Besides the support of Bernard Kolelas, Lissouba did not receive much support for the Cocoyes (HSFK 2015).

Group Outcome

The group stopped activity after 2002. After Lissouba's opponent, Sassou Nguesso took power, Lissouba and Kolelas were exiled from Chad and didn't receive amnesty until 2009, which led to the inactivity of their political groups (HSFK 2015).

III. MOVEMENT FOR EMANCIPATION OF NIGER DELTA (MEND)

Torg ID: 1184

Min. Group Date: 2006

Max. Group Date: 2012

Onset: NA

Aliases: MEND, Movement For The Emancipation Of The Niger Delta (Mend), Movement For Emancipation Of Niger Delta (Mend)

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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 2005

Group End: 2017 (active)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

MEND seems to have formed somewhere between late 2005 and early 2006 as a splinter of the NDPVF following the arrest of its leader, Mujahid Dokubo-Asari, in September 2005 (Global Security N.D; Canada IRB 2009). The group's first notable action was the kidnapping of four oil workers in January 2006 (ibid). MEND's initial political aims were to free Asari from prison, increase the profit Nigerians received from the oil industry, and to prevent government troops from occupying the Delta territory (Hanson 2007). This later evolved into the larger goal of expelling foreign private interests and nonnative Nigerians from the area, in addition to demanding the government provide better infrastructure to Delta citizens (MIPT 2008).

Even though some of the organizations under the MEND umbrella have an ethnic-nationalist ideology, MEND itself claims to focus more on the financial and political conflict with the Nigerian government rather than ethnic grievances (Global Security N.D).

Geography

Since MEND is the largest umbrella organization in the region, it has bases all over the Niger Delta area (Hanson 2007). Attacks carried under the MEND name have occurred in Batan, Ngo, Okrika, Kiagbodo, Forcados, Peremabiri, Nembe district, Port Harcourt, Ogbia, Warri, Abaji, Logbia, Clough Creek, and Brass (GTD 2016). MEND groups are familiar operating in the wetland environment, including mangrove swamps and creeks (Hanson 2007). It is not a transnational group.

Organizational Structure

The group was initially formed in 2005 by former NDPVF members (Hanson 2007; Australia RRT 2008). Not much is known about the group's organizational structure, and despite its importance in the area, there is no clear hierarchy (Malina 2010; Australia RRT 2008). However, the group has conducted increasingly sophisticated and coordinated attacks since 2005 indicating some coherence (Australia RRT 2008). Jobo Gbomo, a name many thought was an alias for oil bunkerer and MEND leader Henry Okah, claims to be MEND's main spokesperson (Hanson 2007; BBC 2010).

MEND boasts the membership of several influential organizations in the Niger area, such as the FNDIC, General “Boyloaf”, Outlaws, NDSF, NDPVF, NDV, PLF, and NDSM (Malina 2010).

Even though a majority of MEND members are Ijaw, it has recently gained Ogoni, Urhobo, Itsekiri, and even supposedly Yoruba members (Global Security N.D; Canada IRB 2009). It is formed primarily of unemployed youths in the Niger Delta region, but has successful and educated leaders (MIPT 2008; Hanson 2007). Its size has been guessed to be anywhere from hundreds to low thousands (Hanson 2007). It seems to gain its finances from oil bunkering (Global Security N.D). As the group grew, it began to conduct more complicated attacks as a unit (Australia RRT 2008)

External Ties

MEND is an umbrella group which boasts the membership of several influential organizations in the Niger area such as the FNDIC, General “Boyloaf”, Outlaws, NDSF, NDPVF, NDV, PLF, and NDSM (Malina 2010). It also formed an alliance with COMA, Martyrs Bridge, and the NDPVF, groups which alternate between acting individually and identifying as MEND (MIPT 2008). The group began as a splinter of the NDPVF, but eventually became more influential than the initial organization (Hanson 2007). MEND seems to share some leaders with the NDPVF and the IYC (ibid). The group has threatened the JTF, and accused it of being responsible for several civilian casualties (Canada IRB 2009).

Group Outcome

Initially, in 2006, the government responded to the formation of MEND by attempting to create new jobs and fine Shell oil (MIPT 2008). However, after those initial attempts, the federal government refused to communicate with the group, and instead sent armed forces into the area (Hanson 2007). In 2007, MEND agreed to halt attacks until the arrest of Henry Okah as a result of negotiations with President Yar’Adua (Australia RRT 2008). Then, in June 2009, Nigerian President Umaru Yar’Adua established an amnesty program for Niger Delta militants which MEND leader Henry Okah took, initiating a 60 day ceasefire (Canada IRB 2011). Eventually, a majority of MEND joined the program as well, and on October 25, 2009 the ceasefire was extended indefinitely (ibid).

Despite this, in 2010, a faction of the group ended the ceasefire and resumed violent action in the region. It was marked by a bombing in Abuja for which former MEND leader Henry Okah was arrested in connection (ibid). MEND’s last attack recorded occurred on November 2, 2016 (GTD 2016). It remains an active group as of 2016 (ibid).

For Iris notes re: MEND

- **Contradictory evidence in the literature about whether it's an independent group or an umbrella, e.g. MEND-NDPVF alliance**
- **Sometimes subsidiary groups identify as part**
- **The MEND umbrella seems similar to the ISIS-wilayat relationship**
- **At the beginning of the amnesty program, there were major splits in which organizations took hold of it versus others**
- **Most of MEND has been defunct due to huge membership defections from the amnesty program starting in 2009-2010. The last remaining attack seems perpetrated by a small faction of sources.**
- **Goodluck Jonathan has more cultural ties/relationship to the Niger Delta (he is more connected - see Lisa work - to the southern region). The program ends in 2013 when the leadership program changes.**

IV. AFRICA MARINE COMMANDO

Torg ID: 399

Min. Group Date: 2010

Max. Group Date: 2011

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

Part 1. Bibliography

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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: BAMSOD, BAMOSD, Bakassi Movement for Self-Determination, Bakassi Freedom Fighters

Group Formation: 2006, 2007 or 2008 (first attack)

Group End: 2012 (reorganize?)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

If the group is a faction of Bakassi Freedom Fighters, the Bakassi Freedom Fighters formed in 2006 (Canada IRB 2010). The BFF fought for the independence of the Bakassi territory between Cameroon and Nigeria and rejected Cameroonian sovereignty (Canada IRB 2010; UK Home Office 2006). Its first attack was around 2008 when it

kidnapped an oil crew (BBC 2008). Others say there had been reported clashes between Bakassi rebels and Cameroonian military as early as 2007 (Reuters 2007).

In 2006, the group worked with SCAPO and MEND in an attempt to establish the Democratic Republic of Bakassi, but the movement was unsuccessful (Jamestown 2010). The Nigerian Senate ruled this attempt to transfer sovereignty illegal in 2007, but the group tried again in 2008, with BAMSOD this time declaring that all activity conducted would be done in joint form with MEND, this time willing to do anything necessary to win Bakassi sovereignty (Jamestown 2010). The once allied SCAPO had different plans for the region, which necessitated including Bakassi and the Southern Cameroons in a “Republic of Ambazonia” (Jamestown 2010).

The group has been described as a hybrid of a criminal and separatist movement (Jamestown 2010). The group’s primary goal seems to be hindering Cameroonian control over the Bakassi region (Jamestown 2010). Increased Cameroonian oil production in the area led to more incidents of reported violent incidents by the group (Jamestown 2010).

The Africa Marine Commando was likely a faction of the Bakassi group that aimed to take advantage of Cameroon’s high oil production and the location of Gulf of Guinea to kidnap fishermen and hold them for ransom (VOA 2010; Jamestown 2010; BBC 2010). Its first attack occurred in 2009 (Jamestown Foundation 2010). The group actively engaged in piracy along the Bakassi Peninsula, which may be a result of a breakdown of a deal between Cameroon and Nigeria regarding control over the Bakassi Peninsula itself (VOA 2010).

Geography

The Bakassi region was wedged between Cameroon and Nigeria (Canada IRB 2010). The region was constantly in conflict with Nigeria and Cameroon fighting over Cameroon sovereignty, which intensified when Nigeria ceded the region to Cameroon in 2008 (BBC 2008). The majority of the group’s attacks took place in the Gulf of Guinea (VOA 2010). The group does not seem to be transnational, with attacks only within Cameroon in the Bakassi district (confirmed) and Kwa (suspected) (GTD 2017; BBC 2010).

Organizational Structure

If the group is a faction of Bakassi Freedom Fighters, the group’s leader was Tony Ene Asuquo in 2006 who died later that year in a road accident (Canada IRB 2010; Bakassi Movement for Self Determination). The group also allegedly had Emmanuel ASuquo as a leader, as well as president of the National Association of Bakassi Students, a faction of the group (Canada IRB 2010).

Sources indicate the group probably does not have a concrete organizational structure (VOA 2010). The group has resorted to hostage ransom as a means of funding on countless occasions from the Bakassi peninsula (which was overrun by kidnappings in 2008 and 2009), including a case of seven fishermen taken hostage in the Bakassi peninsula (GTD 2017; VOA 2010; BBC 2010). The group allegedly extorted the French Total oil firm for in exchange for “security” (Jamestown 2010).

External Ties

The African Marine Commando may be a faction of the Bakassi Freedom Fighters (Jamestown 2010). In this case, in the fight for Bakassi Independence, the group may have been allies with the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Southern Cameroons People’s Organization (SCAPO) (Canada IRB 2010). In 2009, the group partially merged with the Niger Delta Defense and Security Council (SCNC) (Jamestown 2010). The SCNC and SCAPO were both originally nonviolent movements that later transitioned to violence.

No external ties to other state or non-state attacks can be found.

Group Outcome

In 2009, an agreement led some Bakassi fighters to disarm (Chinwo 2009). However, other members of the BFF pledged to keep fighting resulting in several more attacks. The group claimed responsibility for the attack on security forces of an offshore Moudi oil terminal in 2010 (Jamestown 2010). This claim was followed by an abduction of six sailors off of the Bakassi peninsula (Jamestown 2010).

In 2008, Nigeria ceded the Bakassi region to Cameroon, and the ceremony occurred in Calabar amid security tensions (BBC 2008). The group, in merger with the NDDSC, threatened to set the region ablaze and harm the economy if the handover of the region went through (Jamestown 2010). The group allegedly launched its first attack in response around this time by kidnapping an oil crew (BBC 2008).

The African Marine Commando’s last attack was in 2011 (GTD 2018). The group engaged in armed assaults in which they commandeered boats and killed or held the sailors hostage (Amnesty International 2011). In 2012, the group may have renamed itself the Bakassi Self-Determination Front when it took control of a radio station and announced its plans to violently fight for control of the Bakassi region (Deutsche Wells 2012).

Notes for Iris:

-partial merger with the Niger Delta Defense meant they could carry out their own operations but were united against their political aims

- the 2008 handover from Nigeria to Cameroon wasn't due to the violent activity by the BFF but an outstanding legal issue
- this group is one of the predecessors to BACRIM