

Anglo-American University

School of International Relations and Diplomacy

Is the European Union's Decrease of Aid towards Building Good Governance  
in Cameroon a Consequence of Chinese Non-Interference Policy?

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in Cameroon a Consequence of Chinese Non-Interference Policy?

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## Declaration of Consent and Statement of Originality

I declare that this thesis is my independent work. All sources and literature are properly cited and included in the bibliography. I hereby declare that no portion of text in this thesis has been submitted in support of another degree, or qualification thereof, for any other university or institute of learning.

I also hereby acknowledge that my thesis will be made publicly available pursuant to Section 47b of Act No. 552/2005 Coll. and AAU's internal regulations.

Langdji Paul Nde, February 2020

## **DEDICATION and ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

This study is wholeheartedly dedicated to my late mother IMMACULATE NAAH and aunty Dr. Rachel Rebecca Reynolds who has been an inspiration and given me the necessary support (financial, moral, emotional, etc...) to get such success and honor. Without her efforts this wouldn't have been possible, I take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude once more...

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**PAUL NDE LANGDJI**

## **Abstract**

The emergence of the People's Republic of China as a global actor in international relations has seen an increase in development aid allocation to third world countries especially those in Africa. Critics have argued the Republic of China which isn't a democracy tend to give almost zero aid to promoting good governance and democracy and usually stays mute to human violations committed by the regimes of countries which receives its development aid. This non-interference policy of China has shown beneficial in reinforcing economic ties and securing its interest in third world countries such as the Republic of Cameroon.

What has eventually been the impact of the Chinese approach to other major donors of development aid to third world countries? Especially the European Union being the largest donor of development aid and has long emphasized on the promotion of good governance, democracy and respect for human rights in recipient states.

The Republic of Cameroon has long been a recipient of development aid from the European Union and China and this research seeks to understand the EU's reduction of funds dedicated to promote good governance in Cameroon between 2014 and 2020 despite a report proposal calling for more financial aid to be dedicated to the cause. In a process tracing formula approach, the events before and after this outcome demonstrates China's approach in dealing with Cameroon might have had an exogenous impact on the European Union's policy. In trying to answer whether the European Union is trying to confront China by focusing less on good governance, democracy and human rights, this study concludes by demonstrating the potential risks negative polity scores in Cameroon could affect the sustainable development goals of Cameroon.

## Map of Cameroon



Source: CIA world fact-book, 2019

## **Abbreviations**

ACP: African, Caribbean and Pacific Group States

BIR: Rapid Intervention Battalion

DEVCO: Directorate General for International Cooperation and Development

EDF: European Development Fund

EU: European Union

ELECAM: Cameroonian Electoral Observation Commission

MDG: Millennium Development Goals

NGO: Non Governmental Organizations

SDG: Sustainable Development Goals

UPC: Cameroonian Population Union political Party

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction:

Achieving economic development has long been the priority of every government since states came into existence. With the development and evolution of international relations, competitions between states have grown as they try to make their economies robust to ensure veneration from their partners. Considering the fact that most states in the world are still either categorized as developing or less developed, it becomes clear that achieving full economic development in a country isn't just an easy phenomenon that could be done at the will of any individual or government but rather depends on an assembly of mechanisms that function over a period of time. One hundred and ninety-three member states of the United Nations Organization (out of the 195) agreed in two occasions to cooperate and address challenges in economic development and poverty eradication. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) <sup>1</sup>framework is the first agenda adopted in the year 2000 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) <sup>2</sup>were adopted in 2015 and are currently in progress. This might not be the point of focus but it is essential to remember that from the world bank figures, most member states of the UN are still either developing or least developed countries and the fact that the few developed member states in two occasions agreed to cooperate with developing or least developed countries to eradicate poverty in the world actually bring us to the essential topic of this thesis which is development aid.

Against this background in achieving development goals set by the United Nations, word major economies including the European Union and China have set up schemes and programs to assist least development states in their goal of poverty eradication. Every major

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<sup>1</sup>“Sustainable Development Goals: Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform,” accessed November 4, 2019, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300>.

<sup>2</sup>“United Nations Millennium Development Goals,” UN Website, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>.

aid donor perceives development aid in a different manner and has its own approach to aid allocation. For the case of China their approach to aid allocation has always constituted of investing in infrastructure that will in turn spark economic growth. In return, China will usually precondition for a favorable position for the purchase of primary resources. The European consensus on development outlines the various sectors which European Union (EU) through its member states allocate funds for the eradication of poverty in poor nations. Similarly to China, the EU funds infrastructure projects to boost economic growth but emphasizes on the necessity for developing countries to adopt democracy as a means of legitimate expression and institutions that protects fundamental rights. This position particularly tends to be less important to China as they expand their influence to developing countries through the allocation of significant development aid. Even though the European Union will always try to precondition a favorable position in trade as well, the union's common foreign and security policy designates good governance as a condition to allocating development aid to least developed countries<sup>3</sup>. Good governance as a condition for allocating development money by the EU hasn't been just a policy towards cooperating with least developed states but also countries that seek to join the EU must adopt strategies that promote good governance in the country. This has long been a core value to EU's foreign cooperation since its creation in 1993. The EU and China are major aid donors to the Republic of Cameroon albeit their different approaches regarding preconditions to development aid allocation.

### **1.1 Research aim and Question**

This research aims to explain and understand the EU's reduction of funds dedicated to promote good governance in Cameroon between 2014 and 2020 despite a report proposal

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<sup>3</sup>Sabine C. Zanger, "Good Governance and European Aid: The Impact of Political Conditionality," *European Union Politics* 1, no. 3 (October 1, 2000): 293–317.

calling for more financial aid to be dedicated to the cause. In a broader sense, this thesis seeks to investigate the plan behind the EU's commission to counter China in Africa. In 2018 the EU commission Head Jean Claude Juncker declared the EU had a plan to reinforce trade ties with African countries in order to confront the expansion of China on a continent<sup>4</sup>of which China had apparently already reinforced with most African states due to its development aid policy based around non-interference in the domestic affairs in these countries. Cameroon became one of the first African countries to ratify an economic partnership agreement permitting trade without barriers with the EU in 2014 (negotiations began since 2007). This research will analyze EU development aid from the period of 2008 up till 2018 and investigate aid patterns with relation to the Chinese who prioritize trade exchange for primary resources.

Questions will be raised regarding the ways China and the EU have employed their development aid allocation in Cameroon. Since analyzing pattern changes of EU aid flow is the principal unit of observation, this study will answer questions regarding the interest of EU in negotiating free trade agreements with Cameroon and how this would counter China's position in the country in light of statements made by the EU commission head Jean Claude Juncker.

## **1.2 Motivation and Significance of Study:**

There are a variety of reasons why Cameroon should be used as a case to analyze the potential impact of China's emergence on the allocation of development aid from traditional donors such as the European Union. It is first and foremost important to precise that there is very limited literature that compares Chinese and EU development aid policies not to talk of the impact China could have on the EU and the best possible theory which could explain such

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<sup>4</sup>Andrew Harding, "Europe Seeks Alliance with 'twin' Africa," September 12, 2018, sec. Africa, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45496655>.

a potential impact. This research will be relevant in the sense that it will add to the literature of how the economic and military emergence of China in recent decades has impacted the policy of traditional world powers especially in the domain of development aid towards poor nations such as Cameroon. Furthermore, since this study is case centered in Cameroon, it will add to the literature of development aid in Cameroon precisely the consequences of Chinese development aid to EU development aid to the country a study which almost doesn't exist. It would permit to understand the past, present and future objectives of development aid in Cameroon which is very essential for the country's policy makers in order to determine if to privilege development cooperation between China and the European Union.

### **1.3 Research outline**

The first Chapter of this thesis gives use a general introduction to development aid before going directly into exploring the development aid Cameroon has received from the EU and China since the establishment of bilateral relations between Cameroon and each of the aid donors. It also explores the different foreign policies through which China and EU have adopted towards development aid allocation towards developing countries and particularly towards Cameroon. While a section focuses just on the historical background of aid allocation, another section in the chapter focuses on the conditionality of aid in relation to the politics good governance promotion from either China or the European Union. The chapter concludes by emphasizing the research question, significance and motivation of this study

Chapter two follows directly with an empirical and theoretical literature review of development aid and good governance conditionality before exploring the limited existing literature on development aid towards Cameroon from China and the EU. The second part elaborates the theoretical frame work and concepts on development aid and good governance conditionality. Dependency theory in international relations is going to be used to examine

the subject matter and is clarified under a section of the chapter. The last section of this chapter is the methodological framework which clearly describes the data involves and these research the different variables and how I measured them to obtain the results.

Chapter three is consecrated to Chinese non-interference policy towards development aid in Cameroon in relation to the concepts and dependence theory which is elaborated in chapter two. I focus on analyzing non-interference to internal affairs by China in their allocation of aid to Cameroon and in the second section investigate the trade relations that exist between Cameroon and China all within the period of study. Chapter four basically does the same thing as in Chapter three but rather through a process tracing mechanism (research methodology) in order to explain the European Union's decrease of aid to good governance in Cameroon.

Chapter five then proceeds with the findings and discusses Chinese and European development aid allocation to Cameroon in consideration of good governance conditionality from both actors. Using the dependence theory the comparison aim is to make to show why the European Union gradually neglected or de-prioritize aid to supporting good governance. Results obtained in the previous chapter also permits me test a series of hypothesis I adopted based on the literature review.

Chapter six then finally gives a conclusion, presents limits and shortcomings of the study before finally elaborating a proposal for future research on the topic. Drawing conclusion from the different approaches China and EU have in aid allocation and how conditionality to good governance and democracy is being treated this section emphasizes what could be the potential consequences for developing nations like Cameroon who are still young democracies and how Chinese emergence could revolutionize development aid strategies from world super powers.

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

The literature on development aid has been quite vast with contrasting points of views from scholars and development experts. Proponents of modernization theory of development in political economy have been main advocates for development aid from rich countries to poor countries as they basically believe development is a process and all rich states at a certain moment were poor before ascending the development stairway. To this regards, it becomes their duty to guide and aid poor countries who are still struggling with the process to overcome the stages of development<sup>5</sup>. Based on the five stages of Walt Whitman Rostow's economic growth, he demonstrates how all countries economies will follow the same pattern of economic development beginning from "traditional societies" as the first stage up till the last stage which is "age of mass consumption"<sup>6</sup>. His argument actually implies that all states will definitely end up someday with similarities in their infrastructures and institutions. His argument is supported by other scholars such as Giovanni E. Reyes who argues that "*as time goes on, they and we will increasingly resemble one another because the patterns of modernization are such that the more highly modernized societies become, the more they resemble one another*"<sup>7</sup> Based on such arguments, it is reasonable say that states which have already attained the final stages of development maturity should pave the way for other states which are still grappling with development issues. At this point, I wouldn't focus on the criticisms to this theory which would later be clarified in a sub-chapter to this chapter. However it should be noted that dependency theory of international relations is the most influential critic to modernization theory and shall be considered as the most ideal theory of

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<sup>5</sup>Ian Roxborough, "Modernization Theory Revisited. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 4 (October 1988): 753–61.

<sup>6</sup>W. W. Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth," *The Economic History Review* 12, no. 1 (1959): 1–16.

<sup>7</sup>Giovanni E. Reyes, "Four Main Theories of Development: Modernization, Dependency, World-Systems, and Globalization," *Nómadas. Critical Journal of Social and Juridical Sciences* 4, no. 2 (2001): 109–24.

international relations to analyze the behaviors of the EU and China in development aid allocation to Cameroon.

## **2.1 Development Aid Categories (Conceptualization)**

The literatures on the conditions that are required for the economic development of a country are quite controversial and vast. Scholars have highlighted different conditions or factors that are required to fulfill for the economic development of a state. To cite a few like Martin Lipset who argues that economic development of a state depends on the level of polity and its democracy<sup>8</sup> it has achieved through implementation of liberal institutions. Illustrating his argument on a vast number of countries in the world, he demonstrates that countries with advanced democracies are better off economically than states with little or no democratic institutions. Addition to that we have scholars like John Luke Gallup who demonstrates the link between trade and economic development basing his argument on how geography and climate has a significant role to play in inciting trade since countries with easy access to the oceans trade (export and import) easily than land locked countries<sup>9</sup>. Also looking at the world geography we notice apart from Australia and New Zealand most economic developed states are north of the equator while most of those poor are south of the equator leading to the concepts of ‘North’ and ‘South’ states in international relations. John Strauss and Duncan Thomas argued the health and nutrition sector which has received less attention in the literature of economic development studies could also be essential to growth and development. In a paper which they try to review the evidence that exists between health, nutrition and economic development, they conclude that there definitely exists a correlation

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<sup>8</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset, “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy1,” *American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1 (March 1959): 69–105.

<sup>9</sup>John Luke Gallup, Jeffrey D. Sachs, and Andrew D. Mellinger, “Geography and Economic Development,” *International Regional Science Review* 22, no. 2 (August 1, 1999): 179–232.

between health and labor productivity outcomes<sup>10</sup>. This could probably explain why certain countries where diseases such as malaria exist tend to be underdeveloped. It should be remembered that this disease which was completely eradicated in the USA around 1950's<sup>11</sup> has since seen the country become the first economy in the world. The arguments and perspectives are just so many and different and I could definitely spend the rest chapters in this study discussion the various conditions that influence economic development and how they do. However, the interesting thing is that all these factors and conditions fall under two broad categories which are hard and soft infrastructures (good state institutions). Hard infrastructure involves roads, bridges railways, dams, communication systems and other visible infrastructures that are built by a state to stimulate and promote economic growth and economic development. Every advanced economy definitely poses such infrastructures and these are effectively being used on daily bases to keep economies running. Acquiring such infrastructures however tend to be expensive and some nations especially young nations have to rely on aid or loans in order to be able to procure such assets. It is estimated to take over 10 years and over 20 million US dollars to construct a hydro-power dam that can supply electrical energy to five million people; hence development aid is essential to some states in order to achieve such projects. On the other hand, soft or social infrastructures which basically are the rules and regulations implemented through good governing institutions that permits different sectors (social, economic or political) deliver services needed for economic development. Constructing a hospital definitely would be a physical infrastructure but for it to be effective requires the establishment of good rules and regulations governing the health care system. A beautiful hospital infrastructure with a bad health care system will definitely result to poor health conditions which would in turn negatively affect human capital and

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<sup>10</sup>John Strauss and Duncan Thomas, "Health, Nutrition, and Economic Development," *Journal of Economic Literature* 36, no. 2 (1998): 766–817.

<sup>11</sup>CDC-Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "CDC - Malaria - About Malaria - History - Elimination of Malaria in the United States (1947-1951)," January 28, 2019, [https://www.cdc.gov/malaria/about/history/elimination\\_us.html](https://www.cdc.gov/malaria/about/history/elimination_us.html).



productivity needed for economic development as John Strauss and Duncan Thomas argues. Christian Kingombe basically resumes the definition of social infrastructures as good government institutions that preserves individual rights and freedom in a given society<sup>12</sup>.

## **2.2 Good Governance Conditionality to Aid**

Academics and experts have tried to understand and explain which type of and how development aid be allocated to poor countries. The debate being more controversial if aid should be conditioned by donor states to recipient states. Should the funding of particular sectors be prioritized as to others? Going back to the hard and soft infrastructures mentioned in the previous paragraphs, academics like Sabine C. Zanger in her study demonstrated how most European Union member states in the early the 80's and 90's provided funds only to poor countries who adopted measures to foster good institutions and governance<sup>13</sup>. Basically prioritizing and dedicating a lot of resources to foster and promote good governance in these young developing states as they drove to maturity. Even though her research concluded this policy wasn't that effective in establishing strong democratic institutions in these countries, it is however important to remember this as a starting point in understanding the evolution and history of the European Union in allocating considerable sums of money to promote good governance African states like Cameroon. The EU is renowned to be the most generous aid donor worldwide. Accounting for almost half of the development aid allocated to poor countries, the EU policy towards promoting good governance can be seen in the EU consensus regarding the strategy to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030<sup>14</sup>. In this consensus, it is clearly stated the EU will promote *“promote the universal values of democracy, good governance, the rule of law and human rights for all, because they are*

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<sup>12</sup>Christian Kingombe, “Hard and Soft Infrastructure Development in Africa,” n.d., 42.

<sup>13</sup>Zanger, “Good Governance and European Aid.”

<sup>14</sup>European Commission, “Supporting the Sustainable Development Goals across the World,” accessed January 10, 2019, [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/jsr-report-20190717\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/jsr-report-20190717_en.pdf).

*preconditions for sustainable development and stability*"<sup>15</sup>. Precondition for sustainable development is important to highlight in the statement because it serves as proof that the EU will prioritize aid to soft infrastructures necessary for development before considering aid to hard infrastructures.

### **2.3 Rise of China and impact on EU development Policy (Competitive Explanations)**

The emergence of China as a global actor and its increase development support to developing countries has seen profound changes to EU development policy towards good governance conditionality. It first of all important to note that literature regarding the impact of China's growth on EU development policy is quite a recent one and there exist almost nothing written on this topic beyond the year 2000. This is because China's actions in supporting development especially to poor African countries have been predominant just in the past ten to fifteen years. China once a major development aid recipient from traditional aid donors mainly from European states and United States of America has emerged to challenge its principal donors in today's world. It becomes evident that as a major competitor in aid allocation, EU development policy will face various challenges as explained by experts such as Denis M. Tull in his article who clearly argues and demonstrates how opinions and assessments from EU policy makers has evolved over a short period of time and EU interest to Africa has strengthened with the rise of China on the continent<sup>16</sup>. According to him, perceptions and responses from different EU governments have evolved with the increase of China's involvement in Africa and can be seen through an ample of evidence in European institutions, media and academia. A good example could be seen with the response called by various EU authorities such as Angela Merkel of Germany to organize an EU-African summit in Lisbon 2007 after citing China-Africa summit which was held the previous year in

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<sup>15</sup> European Commission, "Supporting the Sustainable Development Goals."

<sup>16</sup>Denis M. Tull, "China Africa: European Perceptions and Response to Chinese Challenge," February 2008.

Beijing 2006. From his perspective, basic explanation to such responses from the EU is related energy interests in Africa. Migration would have also had a role to play in the calling of this EU-Africa conference but energy demands to him will best explain EU's interest.

Similarly, another interesting argument pointed out by Ling Jin in his comparative study of different approaches to aid by the EU and China in Africa demonstrates that China's aid approach gives the impression for more reinforced cooperation to the receiver states while the EU's aid approach gives the opposite impression as EU sees aid as a one way flow of resources leading to its aid being conditioned<sup>17</sup>. This has resulted in preference of China by African states and increased economic cooperation with the later as Larry Hanauer argues<sup>18</sup>. The result being less opportunity for the EU when trying to initiate economic cooperation with African states in recent years. The best proof of this could be seen from the speech of former president of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade in 2008 who said:

*“The battle for influence in the world between the West and China is not Africa's problem. Our continent is in a hurry to build infrastructure, ensure affordable energy and educate our people ...China's approach to our needs is simply better adapted than the slow and sometimes patronizing post-colonial approach of European investors, donor organizations and non-governmental organizations” (Abdoulaye Wade, 2008)<sup>19</sup>.*

The impact of this and response one should expect from the EU is to copy China's aid model which doesn't only see aid as a one way flow but a twin relation that reinforces cooperation. The demand for natural resources and search for markets for finished goods will

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<sup>17</sup>Jin Ling, “Aid to Africa: Can China and EU Share Their Experience,” *China International Studies* 19 (2009): 48.

<sup>18</sup>Larry Hanauer and Lyle J. Morris, “African Reactions to Chinese Engagement,” in *Chinese Engagement in Africa, Drivers, Reactions, and Implications for U.S. Policy* (RAND Corporation, 2014), 55–72.

<sup>19</sup>Maurizio Carbone, “The European Union and China's Rise in Africa: Competing Visions, External Coherence and Trilateral Cooperation,” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29, no. 2 (April 1, 2011): 203–21.

be the only explanation as to why the EU will want to adopt China's development aid model in Africa.

A quality evidence of response to China relations in Africa could be seen in a final communiqué released after the European council meeting in December 2006 which identified Africa as a region of strategic interest to both EU and China<sup>20</sup>. This communiqué came just a month after the China-Africa summit in Beijing that same year<sup>21</sup> and could be seen as a direct response to China. Emphasizing the on the fact that Africa is a region for strategic interest to both China and the EU will definitely fall in the line of trade interests as China's engagement has come with increase in trade ties between China and most African states like Cameroon who today imports majority from China<sup>22</sup>.

#### **2.4 Other factors causing the EU to reform its development policy.**

Since it is evident that EU development policies especially regarding aid conditionality has undergone substantial changes in the past years, some scholars have illustrated different explanations related to the rise and competition from China, other scholarly literatures try to put forward different reasons for this outcome. The Paris declaration on Aid Effectiveness adopted in 2005<sup>23</sup> has been pointed out as one of the fundamental explanation to change in aid policy of the European Union especially in the sector of promoting good governance and democracy. This is the argument is supported by Sven Grimm in his study on EU challenges in reforming development aid policy<sup>24</sup>. The Paris

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<sup>20</sup>European Commission - PRESS RELEASES, "Press Release - 2768th Council Meeting Justice and Home Affairs Brussels," 4-5 December 2006," accessed November 9, 2019.

<sup>21</sup>Kenneth King, "The Beijing China-Africa Summit of 2006: The New Pledges of Aid to Education in Africa," *China Report* 43, no. 3 (July 1, 2007): 337-47.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Kagame, "Why Africa Welcomes the Chinese | Paul Kagame," *The Guardian*, November 2, 2009, sec. Opinion, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/nov/02/aid-trade-rwanda-china-west>.

<sup>23</sup>N. Dabelstein and M.Q. Patton, "The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness: History and Significance" 27 (January 1, 2013): 19-36.

<sup>24</sup>Sven Grimm and Christine Hackenesch, "China in Africa: What Challenges for a Reforming European Union Development Policy? Illustrations from Country Cases," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, 2016), <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2971439>.

declaration outlined five principles in making aid more effective and the most salient principle is that which concerns the ownership of development strategy by aid recipient countries. In this it was clearly stated that recipient countries of development aid set their priorities and donor countries should respect these priorities. This could potentially explain why the EU didn't prioritize aid in promoting good governance in Cameroon had it been the Cameroonian government in its proposal for the upcoming development agenda did propose the necessity to prioritize other sectors especially rural development and hard infrastructure sectors. However, declarations in international law are usually not binding implying the EU still had the possibility to discard any proposals coming from the Cameroonian government and followed its own policies as stated in the EU consensus by members' states including principles in supporting the SDG's across the world<sup>25</sup>.

Another interesting argument is raised by Maurizio Carbone who used a process tracing method to examine if China's relations with Africa are responsible for any changes in EU's development policies and renewed interest in Africa<sup>26</sup>. He concludes that EU recent interests in Africa might not be influenced by China's actions, but demonstrates how different perspectives and difficulty to adopt a coherent policy by EU institutions (parliament, commission and Council) is responsible for changes in development policy and renewed interest in Africa. More important he notes is the fact that EU commission which is the branch in charge of allocating development aid to Africa aims for a more powerful and influential EU in global politics and this could easily explain any renewed interests or changes in development aid allocation to promoting good governance and democracy.

In addition to that, a recent and interesting study carried out by Ngambouk V. Pemunta on the evaluation of EU development aid to democratization project in Cameroon.

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<sup>25</sup>European Commission, "Supporting the Sustainable Development Goals across the World."

<sup>26</sup>Carbone, "The European Union and China's Rise in Africa."

Her studies principally investigated aid to civil society and assistance to elections observation in Cameroon. She concluded in her study that the objectives weren't met as aid to elections has not seen democratic transition in the country since independence and civil societies are still greatly limited in their participation in the electoral process and the institution that is responsible organizing elections in the country ELECAM. She points out certain challenges the EU could be facing in its democracy assistance projects in countries like Cameroon. Economic and political threats in the scramble for natural resources could be the essential reason and also some EU members like France and Germany are putting into consideration their interests first over common goals of the whole European Union<sup>27</sup>.

## 2.5 Theoretical Framework

A good number of theories do exist in the academic literature of development aid all aiming at understanding not only the importance and benefits of development aid to recipient countries but also trying to understand the underlying objectives that best explains interests of the donor countries while giving away their own resources which they could rather use for solving their own internal problems. To cite few commonly used theories in this literature would be interdependence theorist such as Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane <sup>28</sup>who have pointed out how the bad economical situation of one country could negatively affect the economy of a rich country thus will be in the interest of rich countries to assure the economic development and prosperity of less develop and developing states. Constructivism theory of international relations rather tries to see development aid as a norm which is systematically being constructed by the interaction between poor and rich states. Norms such SDG's

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<sup>27</sup>Ngambouk Vitalis Pemunta, "An Evaluation of European Union Development Aid to the Democratization Project in Cameroon," *Democracy and Security* 0, no. 0 (December 18, 2018): 1–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2018.1555706>.

<sup>28</sup> Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, "Power and Interdependence Revisited," *International Organization* 41, no. 4 (ed 1987): 725–53.

adopted by a majority of states in 2015<sup>29</sup> will see aid flow in the direction where developed countries have the moral obligation to assist the less developed ones. Another interesting IR theory explaining development aid will be geopolitics theory which stipulates that political motives and geographical location tend to explain development aid much better since geographical location tremendously affects the foreign policies of rich countries<sup>30</sup>. However dependency theory of international relations will be adopted to examine this thesis. In other words, how can dependency theory explain how China's non-interference policy could lead to EU decreasing aid to promoting good governance and democracy?

#### - **Historical background**

Dependency theory has been broadly used in political economy for analysis of questions related to development and underdevelopment. Very popular in the 1970's due to the independence of most colonies that were under European and American rule, the term dependence basically referred to the relationships that former colonial powers aimed to establish with the new nations through a chain structure where they could still keep these new born nations under their control. According to Andre Gunder Frank as cited in Tulio H. Donghi, authorities of third world countries who mostly gained their independence around this period were aiming for the eradication of poverty and modernization of their countries<sup>31</sup>. Failure to eradicate poverty and modernize these countries especially in South American states who gained quite early (many in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) than African and Asian partners (mostly around the 1950's) led to the belief that American Walt W. Rostow model of modernization<sup>32</sup> to eradicate poverty and achieve development failed despite enormous aid flows and cooperation from western industrialized states. A new perspective was developed

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<sup>29</sup> Sustainable Development Goals, "Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform."

<sup>30</sup> Helen Milner and Dustin Tingley, *Geopolitics of Foreign Aid*, 2013.

<sup>31</sup> Tulio Halperin-Donghi, "Dependency Theory' and Latin American Historiography," *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 1 (1982): 115–30.

<sup>32</sup> Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth."

by scholars like Andre Gunder Frank<sup>33</sup> and Immanuel Wallerstein<sup>34</sup> to explain the past, present and future. Mostly referred to as the “dependistas”, these scholars basically argued the poverty and underdevelopment are caused by the prevailing world system structure which imperialism and capitalism is at the base of relations that exist with rich and poor countries.

#### - **Concepts Principles and Criticisms**

Young Namkoong simplifies the definition and concepts of dependency theory in his article addressing from an international relations and political economy perspective<sup>35</sup>. Analyzing the various arguments of different scholars permitted him identify four main points of agreement which they share. The first being the concept center-periphery structure which is basically the division of the world into two parts, Core countries being the developed industrialized countries and periphery being the underdeveloped and poor countries. Importantly he notes that “*underdevelopment is not a temporary pre-capitalist condition, but is rather a persistent condition*”<sup>36</sup> considering the current structure of the world. Secondly he talks of unequal exchange between core and peripheral countries characterized mainly by unequal trade which is a key criterion in this thesis. Core countries will seek to protect their trade interest from the peripheral countries and two core actors in trying to secure same interest could definitely lead to changes in their development aid policies. Thirdly he conceptualizes dependency by arguing how different it is from dependence. To him dependence is simply the voluntary reliance of a state to another but dependency in this context is different because poor states in the world systems have no other option but to rely on the rich core states because of existing structures that affect their internal policies. The

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<sup>33</sup> Andre Gunder Frank, “Development of Underdevelopment or Underdevelopment of Development in China,” *Modern China* 4, no. 3 (1978): 341–50.

<sup>34</sup> Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein and Senior Researcher Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Duke University Press, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> Young Namkoong, “Dependency Theory: Concepts, Classifications, and Criticisms,” *International Area Review* 2, no. 1 (March 1, 1999): 121–50.

<sup>36</sup> Namkoong.



fourth and last principle he points out has to do with “expansion of advanced capitalist countries”. Highly industrialized countries who are seeking to expand and increase its GDP’s tend to be a major important factor that keeps poor countries underdeveloped in world system already characterized by unequal exchange. It is important to note that Chinese people may not be very rich but China has the second largest GDP in the world and is a highly industrial country that needs primary resources for its industries and markets for its finished products

Based on the major principles of dependency theory, many scholars have established the relationship that exist between it and development aid. Scholars like Itai Kabonga affirms that aid has been used as a “rod to whip third world countries<sup>37</sup>” and importantly donor countries have used aid to secure their interest in trade especially based on the fact that core countries always seek to assure the continues flow of primary from third world countries and in return finished goods to these countries keeping exchange unequal. Addition to that, aid will be considered an instrument of dependency as third world countries like Cameroon wouldn’t be able to achieve certain internal development objectives as they may not have any other sources of income at their disposal for such goals. This is what Young Namkoong describes as “dependency” of periphery states to core states which is involuntary contrast to dependence which could be voluntary.

World systems theory is the most commonly used to criticize the dependency theory due to its failure to explain the development of some states today that were previously colonized, then considered poor states but were able to develop and become modern capitalist economies in today’s world economic system. The most renowned cases are South East Asian countries like China, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea often referred to as four Asian tigers that saw rapid expansion of their economies and entry into high income economies. The world system

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<sup>37</sup>Itai Kabonga, “Dependency Theory and Donor Aid: A Critical Analysis,” *Africanus: Journal of Development Studies* 46, no. 2 (2016): 29–39.

theory notably supported by Immanuel Wallerstein agreed on the existence of a world system structure however included a new group of countries known as the semi-periphery<sup>38</sup>. These countries basically have characteristics of both core and periphery countries and serve mostly as mediators between core and periphery countries.

## **2.6 Hypothesis:**

The comprehension I derive from dependency theory applied to the case of EU aid policy to Cameroon is the following: China has been able to secure good trade ties with Cameroon with its non-interference policy when donating development aid. While there have been increases in quantity of primary resources being exported to China there have also been an increase in Chinese manufactured goods being exported to Cameroon. The EU aiming to reinforce trade ties with African countries like Cameroon as was revealed by the former head of EU commission Jean Claude Juncker<sup>39</sup> has resulted to de-prioritization of aid to good governance (non-interference). From a more general perspective, the hypothesis derived from dependency theory will affirm that when reinforcing trade is necessary, core countries will:

**H1:** prioritize aid for the development of physical infrastructure and not social infrastructure (good governance) in periphery countries. Since promotion of good governance and democracy has long been a condition to countries receiving aid from the EU, the case of Cameroon will be a perfect case to investigate the outcome of non-prioritization.

Apart from the main hypothesis above, secondary hypothesis which will guide my study in relation to the outcome will be:

**H2:** Cameroon index in democracy and human rights have declined since 2008 due to EU's neglect.

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<sup>38</sup>Wallerstein and Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis*.

<sup>39</sup>Harding, "Europe Seeks Alliance with 'twin' Africa."

**H3:** Commercial and trade exchanges between Cameroon and EU will have increased since 2008.

## **2.7 Chapter summary**

This chapter explored the key literatures that exist on the topic regarding the influence of China on European aid to promoting good governance and democracy. Beginning the definition of development aid, the chapter goes on to identify categories of development aid then moves on to see some reasons why China's rise could result to the EU alternating its development aid policies to good governance and democracy. Other competitive explanations not related with the rise of China are also identified and from there the chapter moves on with the elaboration of IR theories that could best explain such changes in policy and I decide to cling on dependency theory of IR to explain the relation between the rise of China and EU de-prioritization of aid to good governance and democracy. This then leads me to adopt a series of hypothesis which will be tested in the Cameroonian case in subsequent chapters.

## Chapter 3

### China Non-interference Policy:

Non-interference policy of China tends to be conceptualized and interpreted differently depending on which actor or personality assessing the policy. Chinese authorities in their discourse tend to identify it as one of their ‘five principles of peaceful coexistence’ found in the Panchsheel treaty signed between India and China in 1954<sup>40</sup>. This agreement signed by the Chinese Prime minister Zhou Enlai and his Indian counterpart Jawaharlal Nehru aimed principally at appeasing tensions between the two countries as they were involved over certain border disputes around the Tibet area. Steve Hess and Richard Aidoo argues that this principle of non-interference took an international dimension in 1955 at the Bandung conference when newly independent states from Africa and Asia meet in Indonesia to develop strategies on how to effectively cooperate and prevent future dominance of the world by western powers who were previously their colonial masters few years ago<sup>41</sup>. Also considering that this period was during the cold war era, these young states intended to use or lay on this principle to stay neutral and prevent conflict in their various nations. Richard Aidoo and Steve Hess best describes this concept in their analysis regarding the evolution of Chinese foreign policy towards Africa. They see this non-interference policy as an encapsulation of some principal practices and discourse of Chinese government towards developing countries as they cooperate with them. This may consist of

*“respecting the sanctity of internal and external sovereignty; abstaining from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of a particular country, refraining from acts that may be perceived as threats (both aggressive and subtle)*

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<sup>40</sup>K. R. Narayanan, “The 50th Anniversary of Panchsheel,” *Chinese Journal of International Law* 3 (2004): 369.

<sup>41</sup>Richard Aidoo and Steve Hess, “Non-Interference 2.0: China’s Evolving Foreign Policy towards a Changing Africa,” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 44, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 107–39.

*to the independence of a country, avoiding the use of economic or political measures to force a country or its government to acquiesce to particular demands, and eschewing any efforts to assist or tolerate the overthrow of a regime in power”<sup>42</sup>.*

### **3.1 Non interference in Cameroon**

Many scholars have used Cameroon as a case study to analyze China’s growing presence in Africa. Cameroon location and its stigmatization as Africa in miniature due to its location and diverse population have not only served this purpose but the good existing relations it shares with China and EU will be good for this research. China has financed major projects in Cameroon like the Kribi deep sea port considered to be one of the most expensive Chinese investments on the African continent<sup>43</sup>. A good historical description of Sino-Cameroon relations could be seen in Jean Pierre Cabestan article which analyses the limits and fortunes in the cooperation between the two states. According to him China and Cameroon officially established diplomatic relations in 1971 at a crucial period when main land China was seeking international allies to combat Taiwan and gain back its representative position at the United Nations Organization<sup>44</sup>. Most importantly is the fact that this occurred after China promised to stop supporting (non-interfering) the ‘Union des Populations Camerounais’ (UPC) which was the Marxist opposition political party trying to overthrow the regime of Amadou Ahidjo in Cameroon during that period; based on the definition of non-interference by Steve Hess and Richard Aidoo, this action could be considered as such. Just a year after the establishing diplomatic relations, trade deals and development aid programs were signed between the two countries, symbolic

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<sup>42</sup>Aidoo and Hess.

<sup>43</sup>“Chinese-Built Port Evokes Dreams of El Dorado in Cameroon,” *Bloomberg.Com*, August 29, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2018-08-29/china-stakes-its-claim-on-west-africa>.

<sup>44</sup>Jean-Pierre Cabestan, “China–Cameroon Relations: Fortunes and Limits of an Old Political Complicity,” *South African Journal of International Affairs* 22, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 67–91.

infrastructures such as the presidential palace, the congress and Lagdo hydro-electric dam were fully financed by China and in return trade agreements signed to permit China acquire primary resources for its booming industries at preferential rates.

### **3.2 Development aid and Trade with Cameroon**

The number of Chinese development aid projects and foreign exchange with Cameroon tremendously increased after the China-Africa cooperation summit held in Beijing in October 2000. Just to cite the Cameroonian president's acknowledgment in 2011 when he said "Chinese projects have a direct impact on the improvement of the socioeconomic conditions of our population and are highly appreciated by a large majority of the Cameroonian people"<sup>45</sup>. It is argued that Chinese companies make up about 75% of the foreign companies carrying out huge infrastructure projects in Cameroon aimed for its economic development like roads, dams, bridges etc (physical infrastructure). Even though different sources may display different figures on the merchandise trade between the two countries; they all agree however that imports and exports between the two countries have constantly increased between 2005 and 2015. That being said, it becomes evident that import and export with Cameroon's traditional partners which are notably EU countries and the United States would have seen constant decrease within the same period. Numerous sources also point Chinese investments in Cameroon either through foreign direct investments or development assistance have been most successful and competitive in the area of infrastructure projects<sup>46</sup>. This is greatly due to the Chinese Export-Import Bank (Exim-Bank) policy who accepts loan repayments at low rates in exchange of primary resources at low

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<sup>45</sup>Cabestan.

<sup>46</sup>Lingfei Weng, Jeffrey A. Sayer, and Lan Xue, "Will China Redefine Development Patterns in Africa? Evidence from Cameroon," *The Extractive Industries and Society* 4, no. 3 (July 1, 2017): 506–12.

prices as well<sup>47</sup>. Although many people have questioned the quality of Chinese infrastructural projects in Cameroon and many other parts of the world, they still seemed appreciated by Cameroonian authorities as seen in the Cameroonian president speech in 2011 after an official visit to China.

President Paul Biya the Cameroonian president who made the admiration speech in 2011 has been president of the country since 1982 and as from 2020 is considered worlds the longest-ruling non-royal national leader<sup>48</sup>. He is constantly been criticized for undemocratic institutions and human rights violations mostly by western officials and NGO's. As Jean Pierre Cabestan demonstrates, relations between the two countries were seemingly at high quality when President Paul Biya modified the constitution in 2008 to prolong his rule despite criticism from the west. He states It is clear Cameroon and China “value a policy of non-interference in domestic affairs in their partnership” adding this relationship is “reflected in trade and investments<sup>49</sup>” between the two countries and on these investments, I note these investments are particularly dedicated to the construction of physical infrastructure.

### 3.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter tries to elaborate on the Chinese non-interference policy since its establishment Panchsheel treaty signed between India and China in 1954. Apparently this policy served to be very successful for China's foreign relations with India and thus applied to third world nations in the following years including Cameroon in which the condition for establishment of diplomatic relations and recognition of China at the UN Security Council was based on the non support of communist rebels in Cameroon by Chinese government. As from the year 2000, Chinese aid to development has continued to increase targeting physical

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<sup>47</sup>Lucy Corkin, “Redefining Foreign Policy Impulses toward Africa: The Roles of the MFA, the MOFCOM and China Exim Bank,” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 40, no. 4 (December 1, 2011): 61–90.

<sup>48</sup> “Paul Biya: Cameroon's ‘Absentee President,’” *BBC News*, October 5, 2018, sec. Africa, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43469758>.

<sup>49</sup>Cabestan, “China–Cameroon Relations.”

infrastructure for the most part. China continues to keep a blind and remaining mute on the poor governance and violations to human right in Cameroon. The outcome has definitely been a warm welcome by Cameroonian authorities who have since increase trade deals with China which definitely threatens the economic interests of western traditional aid donors.



## Chapter 4

### Methodology and Data Description

#### 4.1 Research Methodology

The aim of this study is to explain the outcome of EU's aid decrease aimed at promoting good governance and human rights in Cameroon. With Cameroon being an excellent case which has seen considerable increase in Chinese investments alongside non-interference in its domestic affairs. Would this be a major cause driving the mutations observed in European's Union aid policy? The time frame for this thesis will be between 2008 and 2018, a considerable time of ten years to observe and measure any significant changes in the EU approach to development aid in Cameroon. In order to answer this question, the methodological template applied will be a **single case qualitative study** seeking to **explain outcome** through **process tracing**. I believe this approach will be best suitable to answer my question and contribute to the literature on the rise of China and its impact on principal donors to development aid such as the European Union. Cameroon was chosen as case specifically because it perfectly aligned with some basic criteria's I identified in relation to examining the impact which is this research is focused on.

- Cameroon is a periphery country located West Africa classified as a "lower middle income country"<sup>50</sup> by World Bank classification very rich in natural resources such as oil, gas and high quality timber.
- Sino-Cameroon relations in terms of aid and trade as seen in chapter three seems to be very positive especially as from the year 2010.

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<sup>50</sup>Overview of Cameroon, "World Bank", accessed November 10, 2019, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cameroon/overview>.

- Cameroon was one of the first African countries to sign a trade agreement with the European Union in 2014<sup>51</sup>.

- **Process tracing**

Process tracing has become an essential tool used by many researchers in case study analysis. As Alexander George and Andrew Bennett argue, process tracing is the method that links the independent and dependent variable through a causal mechanism or chain<sup>52</sup>. Investigating the causal mechanism which leads to a historical outcome would provide sufficient explanation for future cases and outcomes. This method involves choosing one or few cases in a broader group of similar events and conducts an empirical analysis with help of existing theories in order to understand and explain similar events. David Collier defines it as “the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in the light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator”<sup>53</sup>. Process tracing can be subdivided into three main categories which are: theory testing, theory building and explaining outcome. Just from the terms theory testing basically implies testing a theory to a specific outcome of a case and theory building is when we are interested in developing a theory to explain a certain outcome. The last category which is explaining outcome of which this study is comprised of basically involves when we have an outcome but are not sure what led to this outcome and in this case European Union decrease of aid dedicated to fund good governance and democracy.

For an outcome to occur there must be a pushing cause that drives this outcome and this which is referred to as causal mechanism or causal puzzle by Derek Beach and Rasmus

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<sup>51</sup>Moki Kindzeka, “Cameroon Ratifies EU Trade Deal but Suspensions Remain,” *DW.COM*, August 10, 2016, <https://www.dw.com/en/cameroon-ratifies-eu-trade-deal-but-suspensions-remain/a-19463928>.

<sup>52</sup>Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations Alexander L. George et al., *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (MIT Press, 2005).

<sup>53</sup>David Collier, “Understanding Process Tracing,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44, no. 4 (October 2011): 823–30.

B. Pedersen as an interrelation of parts<sup>54</sup>. The different parts involved in the series usually begin with the presence of the necessary or sufficient conditions which will lead one effect to the other until the expected outcome occurs. Necessary and sufficient conditions in process tracing that aims to test a theory usually starts with agreed and recognizable conditions in that theory aimed to be tested. Taking an example with dependency theory, the first part process tracing will begin with is observing the existence of core and periphery states in the area of cooperation. The cooperation puzzle will then be empirically studied and analyzed to see if different parts lead to the expected outcome. This process is similar for process tracing which seeks to explain outcome but the only difference is that since the cause is not known, it is then required to rely on previous empirical literature which outlines the various causes that could led to that outcome and it often occur that we could discover in the existing literature an already existing theory explaining the related outcome of interest.

This study is outcome oriented and chapter two has provided us with existing literature and a general theory (dependency) which could potentially explain that outcome but yet we are not certain if that was the specific reason for this case or there was another reason for EU's neglect of aid dedicated to promote good governance. As defined above, process tracing applied as method in order to answer this question shall proceed through every step in the causal mechanism of dependency theory which has been identified in the literature as the a potential explanation for this outcome and also perfectly explains the Sino-Cameroonian cooperation which has seen constant growth in the past fifteen years which I clearly elaborated in chapter three. Outlining the causal mechanism which proponents of dependency theory will use to explain the outcome of this research which has to do with little or no development aid to support the development of social infrastructures in periphery countries by the core industrialized countries is triggered by the **presence primary resources** in

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<sup>54</sup> Derek Beach and Rasmus Brun Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines* (University of Michigan Press, 2013).

periphery countries needed for the industrial production and development in core countries. Primary resources in periphery countries tend to be under-exploited by the governments of these states while those in core countries are over exploited because of the existing industries leading to a gap being created in the demand and supply of these primary resources in core countries.

This need for these resources will trigger core countries to reinforce their diplomatic relations with periphery countries and development aid are usually the tools used to seduce these countries as I clearly demonstrated with the case of China in Cameroon in chapter three. The other alternative could be the use of force to acquire these resources from periphery countries but in a multi-polar world today with the rise of China, other emerging world powers and strong inter-state confederations like the European Union we can only expect this be done pacifically through reinforced diplomatic cooperation. The next step in the mechanism that follows aid is definitely favorable trade agreements which secure certain advantages in the import of primary resources from the periphery countries and also finished consumer goods to the periphery countries.

In order to protect the advantages from trade, core countries will then adopt a non-interference approach to the internal affairs of periphery nations which tend to be mostly young democracies. Interference and criticisms to state governance from core countries at this stage will be risky as it could potentially deteriorate relations especially trade relations since other core countries could probably be seeking to get the same advantages demanded. The outcome of this is definitely decrease of aid towards promoting good governance and a worsening situation of democracy and human rights which will negatively impact the

economic development of these periphery countries and Marantis D. James clearly show how this happens basing his research on the European model<sup>55</sup>.

**\* Table summarizing the causal mechanism and outcome of Dependency theory.**

<b>Causal mechanism</b>	<b>Cause</b>	<b>Part 1</b>	<b>Part 2</b>	<b>Part 3</b>	<b>Outcome</b>
Theory (Dependency)	Demand for primary resources necessary for industrial production	Increase Proposals for development aid and cooperation.	Securing better trade deals with periphery countries	Non-intervention in internal affairs of periphery countries	Neglect of aid to develop social infrastructure/ Promote Physical infrastructure
Empirical Manifestation	Abundant resources in Periphery countries due to under exploitation	Speeches, Letters, diplomatic Meetings etc	Trade proposals, treaties etc.	Silence or positive reviews in official reports in situation of governance in periphery countries	Periphery countries remain underdeveloped, Bad governance and poor human rights conditions

#### **4.2 Collection and Interpretation of Data**

This research will see the collection of Data from both primary and secondary sources. Different techniques will be employed for the collections of this data especially

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<sup>55</sup>Demetrios James Marantis, “Human Rights, Democracy, and Development: The European Community Model,” *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 7 (1994): 1.

frame analysis and content analysis. Since this research is a single-case study that aimed at explaining outcome, special attention will be paid in measuring development aid flows from the European Union to Cameroon while controlling trade and commercial exchanges as well. Observing and measuring the evolution of EU trade ties in Cameroon will be essential for the analysis and conclusion of this research. Since my primary focus is aimed at explaining EU's interest and how China would have impacted it, the evolution of EU's approach to good governance and political conditionality within this period factor will be carefully observed.

Data for this research will be collected from the following sources:

- Documents illustrating EU development projects in Cameroon and Chinese development projects in Cameroon
- Aid agreement documents between EU/Cameroon and China Cameroon and other sources of information contained in textbooks, academic journals and media sources such as magazines and news papers that have reported on this issue.
- Official statements from top members from the EU, China and Cameroon were also considered in developing the argument.

Qualitative research being the principal approach to the research, techniques I employed for the interpretation of my data included basically content analysis. Content analysis in qualitative research is defined by Carl W. Roberts as “a class of techniques for mapping symbolic data into a data matrix suitable for statistical analysis”<sup>56</sup>. From his definition, it should be understood that content analysis principally will permit the transformation of non measurable data to categories that have been pre determined for the purpose of study. Also, another interesting definition is that of Linda Haggerty who defines content analysis as “*a research method which allows the qualitative data collected in research to be analyzed*”

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<sup>56</sup>Carl W. Roberts, “Content Analysis,” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (Second Edition)*, ed. James D. Wright (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), 769–73.

*systematically and reliably so that generalizations can be made from them in relation to the categories of interest to the researcher*"<sup>57</sup>. To this regards, I used the qualitative data collected from development aid of China and EU to Cameroon to see its effects on the promotion of trade. The documents I selected for the content analysis had to fulfill these four criteria which are authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning as Jashim U. Ahmed described in his study on document analysis<sup>58</sup>.

#### **4.3 Case Study: European Union Trade reinforcement and Non Interference in Cameroon 2008-2018.**

Cameroon is definitely a perfect case to study the EU development assistance to democracy and good governance promotion not only because of the volume of trade it shares with the EU but also due to its strategic location party in west and central Africa. The country is located right in the middle of the African continent permitting it benefit from the three different climatic zones <sup>59</sup> of the continent and the immediate consequence of this is a variety of agricultural and mineral resources located in its soil thus capturing the interests of world industrial powers who continuously seek to establish diplomatic relations with Cameroon. It has a population of about 25 million people from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds with English and French as the official languages of the country. Often referred to as Africa in miniature, the population is composed of over 200 ethnic groups dispersed all over the country which got its political independence on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1960 from French and British colonization<sup>60</sup>. Before the 2016 uprising in the English speaking regions which has since resulted to a violent arm conflict with about three thousand deaths so far, the country for a long time enjoyed peaceful stability and was often considered an outlier in a

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<sup>57</sup>Linda Haggarty, "What Is Content Analysis?," *Medical Teacher* 18 (July 3, 2009): 99–101.

<sup>58</sup>Jashim Ahmed, "Documentary Research Method: New Dimensions," *Indus Journal of Management & Social Science (IJMSS)* 4 (January 1, 2010): 1–14.

<sup>59</sup>CIA, "Africa : Cameroon -The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency," accessed December 1, 2019, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cm.html>.

<sup>60</sup>CIA, "Cameroon."

region that was long characterized by violent conflicts and military regimes such as Nigeria, Chad and the Central African Republic.

The EU commission is the branch mandated by the European Union to foster cooperation and development assistance to developing countries like Cameroon through the European Development Fund (EDF)<sup>61</sup>. The EDF mainly provides aid to African, Caribbean and Pacific countries on a five year plan since 1959 and is funded by direct contributions of EU member states. Traditionally there is always an agreement signed between EDF donors and EDF recipients for a certain number of years usually five, however some agreements went for up till six and so far the longest has been seven years which was the 9<sup>th</sup> EDF guided by the Cotonou agreement from the year 2000 to 2007<sup>62</sup>. The Cotonou agreement has undergone revision on two occasions first in 2008 for the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF which was to cover five years which ending in 2013. The second revision was in 2014 to establish the 11<sup>th</sup> EDF which is currently in progress and is supposed to end this year 2020. It is important to emphasize that every agreement always come with either new principles that will determine cooperation for given period or most of the times old principles are just revised based on evaluation of the previous EDF. The 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> EDF's were just merely revisions of the Cotonou agreement and were all scheduled to last for five and six years respectively. However, it should be noted that the Cotonou agreement which constituted for the 9<sup>th</sup> EDF and has so far being the longest aid cooperation agreement (seven years) saw implementation of some radical changes especially that on trade cooperation between EU and ACP countries. Before 2007 (Cotonou Agreement) the EU provided duty-free access to its markets for some products as a form of aid to some EDF beneficiaries. The Cotonou accord however revised this clause stating ACP

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<sup>61</sup>“European Development Fund (EDF),” European Commission, last modified July 18, 2013, [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/funding/funding-instruments-programming/funding-instruments/european-development-fund\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/funding/funding-instruments-programming/funding-instruments/european-development-fund_en).

<sup>62</sup> “The Cotonou Agreement,” European Commission, last modified June 23, 2000, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/acp/03\\_01/pdf/mn3012634\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/acp/03_01/pdf/mn3012634_en.pdf).



countries could also provide duty-free access for EU products/exports based on independent economic partnership agreements which could be signed between the EU and specific country and Cameroon became one of the first countries to ratify and sign the economic partnership agreement with the EU in 2014 which I will elaborate more on in the subsequent paragraphs.

Evaluation reports always follows at end in every country that received EDF funds dedicated for certain number of years basically to identify lessons and provide recommendations in strategic areas where improvements are necessary or objectives weren't been met. Funding is allocated to every country at the beginning of the plan and is based on the evaluation report of the previous plan which determines which sectors should be prioritized in the next EDF plan. This report is then used to draft what is known as the National Indicative Plan (NIP) for the recipient country in which the money allocated for the period is stated and exactly how much each sector will actually receive.

The report derived from the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF (2008-13) clearly indicated the objectives in promoting good governance in Cameroon weren't met and proposed emphasis be laid on meeting the objectives in the next EDF aid packaged for 2014-2020<sup>63</sup>. However, the EU didn't prioritize this objective in the programming statement for the 2014-20 periods but rather prioritized the development infrastructural projects in rural areas to boost economic growth<sup>64</sup>. Of the 282 million Euros dedicated for the 11<sup>th</sup> EDF, only 30 percent went to promote good governance, while 63 percent went to infrastructural development in rural areas and 7 percent for other measures. The aim of this research is to test if this outcome was definitely influenced by competition from China Cameroon and if it falls in line with

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<sup>63</sup>“Strategic Evaluation of the EU Cooperation with Cameroon (2007-2012) - International Cooperation and Development - European Commission,” International Cooperation and Development, February 13, 2015, [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/strategic-evaluation-eu-cooperation-cameroon-2007-2012\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/strategic-evaluation-eu-cooperation-cameroon-2007-2012_en).

<sup>64</sup>European Union, “National Indicative Programme for Cameroon 2014-20,” 2014, [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/pin-cameroun-fed11-2014\\_fr.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/pin-cameroun-fed11-2014_fr.pdf).

international cooperation as was viewed and understood by dependency theory in international relations, testing the proposed causal mechanism described in the table above will be necessary to answer this question.

**Cause: Demand and scramble over primary resources and markets by core states.**

As earlier explained in the introduction of this chapter, the causal mechanism of such outcome is the existence of a global capitalist economy in which core industrialized countries scramble to acquire primary resources necessary their industrial production to which value is added to it and sold back to periphery countries as finished products. This cycle is what causes periphery countries to remain poor since they basically get back their primary resources at higher prices causing them definitely lost more resources which could be used for their economic development. It should be noted that the EU still remains the largest economy in the world regrouping advanced industrial countries like France, Germany and Italy whose primary resources have been over exploited over the years and thus constantly need to procure these resources in other parts of the world where they are underexploited like Cameroon which is a typical periphery country according to the criteria set forward by authors of dependency theory. If we take the example of crude oil, gas and coal consumption, the EU figures among the three biggest consumers in the world but if we look at the world reserve in these three primary resources, the EU position in reserves and production is very low and has been on the declined since the last ten years<sup>65</sup>.

Cameroon on the contrary is one of those countries that export more than they consume oil and gas products according to the International Energy Agency<sup>66</sup>. In this regards, it will definitely make sense if EU cooperation with Cameroon could hide such interest as

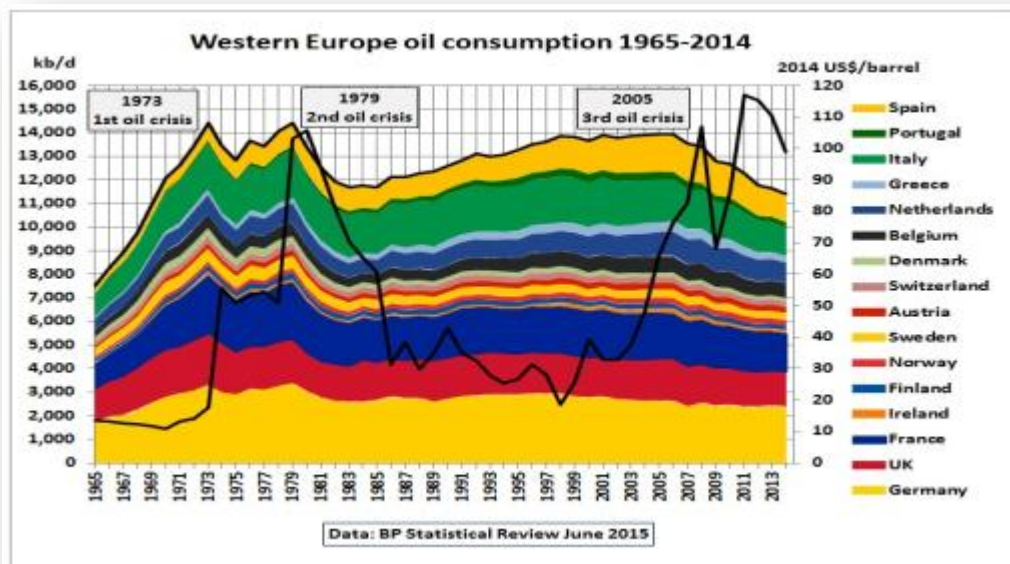
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<sup>65</sup> Catherine Locatelli, "Russian and Caspian Hydrocarbons: Energy Supply Stakes for the European Union," *Europe-Asia Studies* 62, no. 6 (2010): 959–71.

<sup>66</sup>International Energy Agency, "Cameroon," accessed November 10, 2019, <https://www.iea.org/countries/Cameroon/>.

dependency theory authors argue. Addition to that, since it has been proven that China another world emerging power and energy consumer has been able not only to secure good trade deals that permit get primary resources at preferential rates from Cameroon as well as paving the way for easy importation of Chinese products into the country. China is notable for conquering markets in sub-Saharan Africa and other third world countries with their cheap manufactured products though many still tend to question the qualities. Consumers in these countries tend to prefer Chinese products over the past years arguing they are cheaper than the traditional European products and with the trade deals concluded with such countries like Cameroon,<sup>67</sup> recent years have seen a considerable increase of Chinese goods in the markets of Cameroon. Based on that argument, it could be possible to argue that China's approach and policies could potentially threaten EU's political and economic interest resulting to changes been made in its development aid cooperation policies with Cameroon.

### Oil Consumption of some EU countries since 1965



**Source:** British Petroleum 2016

<sup>67</sup>Kagame, "Why Africa Welcomes the Chinese | Paul Kagame."

## **Part 1: EU Development aid and other assistance to Cameroon**

The time frame for this study definitely begins from 2008 till present since the outcome of interest occurred in 2014 following an evaluation of the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF (2008-13). This part of the causal chain should answer the question if the EU tried to reinforce diplomatic cooperation with Cameroon either through aid support or other foreign direct investments. Also this part should also test the first hypothesis of this thesis which concerns the prioritization of physical infrastructure when aid is aimed to reinforce trade between core and periphery countries. This will be based on comparing the Chinese approach and techniques that have proven to be successful in reinforcing trade cooperation with developing states like Cameroon. Since the interest here is the EU, in order to proceed will require the observation and analysis of all the official development aid projects and foreign direct investments by European Union in Cameroon between 2008 and 2014. The European commission website provides the list of projects and other investments of the EU in foreign countries. A content analysis of these development projects will test the first part of the mechanism adopted above and test the first hypothesis of this thesis.

In order to make aid for effective and equitable, the Directorate General for International Cooperation and Development (DEVCO) of the EU commission established over thirty different sectors which are targeted through various projects<sup>68</sup>. Example of such sectors includes Democracy and Human rights, Energy, Water and Sanitation, Culture etc. Based on available data concerning Cameroon, there have been over nine short and long-term projects funded by the EU in Cameroon dating back as from 2010<sup>69</sup>. According to Ngambouk V. Pemunta, European and American approaches have permitted identify five key areas for Good governance & Democracy assistance. They include supporting elections, political

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<sup>68</sup>Alexander Diaz, "Sectors," Text, International Cooperation and Development - European Commission, March 5, 2014, [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sectors/sectors\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sectors/sectors_en).

<sup>69</sup>Alexander Diaz, "Cameroon."

parties, judicial reforms, civil societies and the media<sup>70</sup>. Any external development aid that targets the improvement in one or all of the sectors is considered as aid to promote good governance and democracy. Based on this, any projects initiated by the EU commission which targets any of these sectors will be carefully analyzed and interpreted in its content objectives and results. The table below summarizes all available long and short term projects the EU commission has financed in Cameroon between 2010 and 2018.

<b>Sector</b>	<b>Number of Projects</b>	<b>Results</b>
Food and security	01	New NGO established
Civil society:	02	Capacity building of existing NGO's
<b>Democracy and Human rights</b>	01	Elections observation mission 2011
Climate disaster risk reduction:	02	Capacity building
Culture:	01	Museum constructed in the West region
Development Education	01	Capacity building
Energy:	01	Build four micro-hydro power plants in the country
Environment and Green Economy	02	Reinforcement of old Hydro electric dams
Protecting Forest	02	Prevent deforestation of tropical rain forest in Cameroon
Water and Sanitation	01	Rehabilitate and restore the Norwegian Scan water constructed in 1987

Source: EU Commission, 2018.

<sup>70</sup>Ngambouk, "An Evaluation of European Union Development Aid to the Democratization Project in Cameroon," 1–35.

The table above which I designed based on the data published on the EU commission website clearly indicates that before and after 2013 no clear project has been initiated to promote the democracy and human rights sector in the country. However, certain sectors such civil society and development education could contribute to transferring knowledge required for the capacity building of good governance as Ngambouk V. Pemunta argues but in this particular case the two projects which targeted the civil society aimed at reinforcing civil society participation in the management of water resources and environmental protection. The Development education sector also was the same project that aimed at reinforcing civil society participation in the water resource management in local areas. The absence of projects targeting democracy and human rights sector or other vital areas of good governance such as political party support, elections and judicial reforms clearly demonstrates how the EU in its quest for primary resources in a periphery country will neglect this sector as the Chinese approach proved. Moreover, it is important to note that there was a budget increase in the 11<sup>th</sup> EDF (285 million €) as compared to the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF (240 million €). Based on the evidence of increase in development aid funds, the section in this proposed mechanism should demonstrate the impact of aid increase on trade reinforcement.

## **Part 2: Development Aid for Trade:**

The reinforcement of development cooperation between the two actors as seen with the budget increase to support development in Cameroon will definitely follow with the reinforcement of trade between two actors based of the proposed mechanism in this study. Considering the experience of China as elaborated in Chapter three, the proposed theory will argue cooperation between core and periphery states is guided by a global structure requiring the transfer of primary goods to core countries and finished goods to periphery countries leading to establishment of unequal trade relations after development assistance id increased.

The EU and Cameroon began the trade pact negotiations in 2007 which was approved by the European parliament in June 2013 and Cameroon government in July 2014<sup>71</sup>. It is important to note Cameroon government ratified a year after the European parliament and the same year which 11<sup>th</sup> EDF was programmed to begin after being drafted in 2013. This clearly demonstrates the trade part was merely a continuation of the process following an aid increase after 2013, limited aid to promote good governance and non-orchestration of any project in the Democracy and Human rights sector before 2013. According to some sources, the ratification on the part of Cameroon came after some pressure was exercised by the EU<sup>72</sup>; if this was the case it definitely means this trade pact was more of strategic importance to the EU than Cameroon. Cameroon was chosen to because its geographical position will provide easy market access to the whole Central African Zone which is a fundamental objective. Even though the EU argues the main objective is to contribute to the eradication of poverty in Cameroon, authors of dependency theory will rather argue the objective expand the GDP's of core countries and continues underdevelopment of periphery countries through the unequal exchange<sup>73</sup> characterized by such trade deals where the core states gets principally primary resources from periphery countries at little or no tariff rates add value to then and resend back to periphery countries at little or no tariff rates. The following articles in the EU-Cameroon trade best serve as proofs for this argument:

**Article 36(2):** “Without prejudice to legitimate customs control, the Parties shall accord to products in transit from the territory of one Party treatment not less

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<sup>71</sup>“Central Africa - Trade - European Commission,” accessed December 1, 2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/central-africa/>.

<sup>72</sup> Moki Kindzeka, “Cameroon Ratifies EU Trade Deal but Suspicions Remain.”

<sup>73</sup>Namkoong, “Dependency Theory.”

favorable than that accorded to domestic products, in particular with respect to exports and imports and their movement.”<sup>74</sup>

**Article 36(3):** “The Parties shall operate bonded transport regimes that allow the transit of products without payment of duties or other charges, subject to the provision of an appropriate guarantee.”<sup>75</sup>

The second article is the most relevant to the part of this mechanism as it stipulates there shall be no duties payments to products transiting in the two territories. Duty free signifies market low prices for Cameroonian goods in the EU and vice versa. The EU however in stating the trade picture notes main exports from central African countries include oil which constitutes 70% and other primary resources such as copper, wood, rubber and cocoa while main exports from the EU are machinery, vehicles, pharmaceutical products and mechanical appliances<sup>76</sup>. This trade picture points out exactly what Young Namkoong describes as unequal trade<sup>77</sup> which results to continual dependency of periphery countries in the international economy structure. By 2014 after Cameroonian ratification of the Economic Partnership Agreement (trade treaty) for a period of fifteen years from the date of signature, the trade agreement becomes an economic interest which permits the EU as a core actor in international relations to acquire primary resources at favorable rates as compared to other core actors who are scrambling to get such deals as well. This been attained, the next part will be to abstain in the domestic affairs of Cameroon and avoid any critics towards to the ruling class who could violate the favorable terms of agreement in the trade deal which leads to the next part of the mechanism in the process.

### **Part 3: Non- interference in domestic affairs to protect trade deals**

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<sup>74</sup>“Central Africa - Trade - European Commission.”

<sup>75</sup>“Central Africa - Trade - European Commission.”

<sup>76</sup>“Central Africa - Trade - European Commission.”

<sup>77</sup>Namkoong, “Dependency Theory.”



With trade cooperation already been established, it becomes necessary to protect it especially when it is economically beneficial to the actors engaged. Cameroon ratified the economic partnership in 2014 under pressure from the EU according to some media sources<sup>7879</sup>. The EU parliament did ratify earlier in 2007 and as from 2014 it became necessary for the EU not to intervene in the internal affairs of Cameroon in order to save such a deal. What will be expected following this process is definitely the EU abstaining and refraining to acts or measures that could help overthrow the regime that has been governing Cameroon for a very long period of time. Based on the time scale of events, this should definitely become more visible as from 2014 after the ratification of the economic partnership by Cameroon. As seen with the case of China, relations greatly improved with the country and commercial exchanges between the countries skyrocketed with the non-interference policy of China. Since the expected outcome occurred in 2014 with the non-prioritization of aid for good governance and democracy, following the proposed mechanism of this study it should be expected EU actions which could be considered as non interference should be observed actually from after 2007 which was the year the EU parliament ratified the proposal for economic partnership agreement before Cameroon did in 2014.

Looking at the EU sanctions map in defending democratic principles and human rights will be a good source to identify any utterances or proposals that would be considered hostile to the regime or could potentially help overthrow the regime. It should be remembered that China's success story is directly linked to refraining from such acts according to Aidoo and Hess. The EU on several occasions have imposed sanctions on governments of third world countries to enforce its common foreign and security policies objectives of preventing conflicts, defending the democratic principles and human rights. Such actions used by the EU

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<sup>78</sup>Deutsche Welle, "Cameroon Ratifies EU Trade Deal but Suspicions Remain ", accessed December 1, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/cameroon-ratifies-eu-trade-deal-but-suspicions-remain/a-19463928>.

<sup>79</sup>Moki Kindzeka, "Cameroon Ratifies EU Trade Deal but Suspicions Remain."

principally involves the freezing of assets and prohibition to travel into the EU of all third country leaders or members governments suspected for carrying out violations on human rights and democracy promotion. On the number of countries that have been sanctioned so far, countries on the African continent have been the most sanctioned with over 10 countries as compared to other regions in the world. Guinea Bissau is a good example when the EU decided to freeze assets, impose travel bans to president Moussa D. CAMARA with four other members of his cabinet after a violent crackdown on peaceful pro-democracy protestors in 2009 resulting to the death of almost 200 deaths and over 1000 wounded<sup>80</sup>. Other measures taken also included embargos on the exportation of arms to such countries since they could be used by the regime for internal repression. I use this case because this happened in 2009 just a year after there was a similar situation in Cameroon in 2008 which the EU didn't impose any sanctions on Cameroonian officials but remained mute on the events. As earlier said Cameroonian president presently is one of the oldest dictators on the African continent with over thirty-seven years of ruling the country which claims he claims to be a democracy. His government is notable for repressing any form of dissent and his power monger scares all monarchies in the world. The year 2008 was quite exceptional when he decided to illegally modify the constitution that will permit him run as presidential candidate to rule the country for another seven years. The transition from a one-party state to multi-party state in the early 1990's established a constitution which limited the number of presidential mandates a president could exercise in Cameroon, however this was modified in 2008 making the number of mandates unlimited. Massive protests occurred in different cities around the country and the result was severe repression with approximately 50 deaths according to state

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<sup>80</sup>Xan Rice, "Guinean Soldiers Massacre 157 in Crackdown on Pro-Democracy Protesters," *The Guardian*, September 29, 2009, sec. World news, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/sep/29/guinea-massacre-stadium-protest>.

media and over 200 deaths according to human right organizations reports<sup>81</sup>. He has since organized two elections after modifying the constitution and always won with Stalinist votes. Despite calls from civil societies and NGO's for the EU to impose sanctions on his regime and pressurize him to take certain measures that will help improve the human rights conditions and establish inclusive institutions in the country, the EU pretty much seems to stay mute on that regard. Such non-interference measures from the EU over the years have definitely incited the regime of Cameroon to foster trade exchanges between the two actors.

### **Outcome: Neglect Social Infrastructure (Increase of physical infrastructure)**

In 2014, with ratification of the economic partnership agreement by Cameroon reinforcing trade ties with the EU, development aid in Cameroon should therefore primary consolidate economic interest of the EU and refrain from actions which will be considered as hostile to the regime in place. The National Indicative Program (NIP) is an important step in EU aid programming for a determined period of time. The process which expresses EU common foreign policies coupled with the national agenda of the aid recipient county is drafted based on where resources are needed most, effective and also falls in line with EU development strategies which are expressed in the union's foreign policy. This outcome definitely occurred with the 2014-2020 NIP for Cameroon privileging sectors where aid is most needed from the EU beginning as from the year 2014<sup>82</sup>. Looking at the time frame of events occurring before this time it definitely became necessary for the EU to privilege sectors which will directly have a positive impact on the future economic partnership agreement signed between the two countries. Prioritizing infrastructural projects to boost agricultural outputs in Cameroon for future export into the EU at zero tariffs then later transformed and resented to Cameroon at zero tariff rates is definitely an economic interest to

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<sup>81</sup>Julius A. Amin, "Cameroonian Youths and the Protest of February 2008," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 53, no. 211 (2013): 677-97.

<sup>82</sup> European Union, "National Indicative Programme for Cameroon 2014-20."

prioritize. Prioritizing the development of good institutions to promote democracy and good governance definitely falls in line with EU common foreign policy but doing this might require the EU take certain actions and conditions which might be considered hostile to a dictatorial regime who has a choice to engage in similar bilateral relations with other world powers scrambling to get primary resources and markets for their finished goods like China.

#### **4.4 Chapter Summary**

Chapter four begins with the definition and description of process tracing method which is used to analyze the argument developed in this thesis. Context analysis of texts is the major tool in doing the process through the analysis of primary and secondary sources that contain written information on both actors. A casual mechanism process is adopted to test the relations between EU and Cameroon on the dependency theory concepts and stages. It also does so by integrating the approach China adopted to foster its economic relations with Cameroon in the past ten years. A time frame for this study is adopted between 2008 and 2014 and based on the existence cause on dependency theory I try to test an outcome which occurred in 2014 where the EU didn't prioritize aid for supporting good governance and democracy.

## **Chapter 5: Findings and Analytical Discussions**

This chapter will be an empirical analysis on the events that occurred during the time frame of this study (2007-2014). In order to facilitate the analysis of this thesis, I will focus on the main subject matters which this research aimed explaining. In the first part will be a presentation of the findings of trade between EU and Cameroon on one hand and Cameroon and China on the other. The next subject matter will present the findings on Democracy and Governance in Cameroon and lastly elaborate the economic performance of Cameroon looking at its growth and development indexes since 2008.

### **5.1 Cameroon Economic Cooperation with China and EU from 2002- Present.**

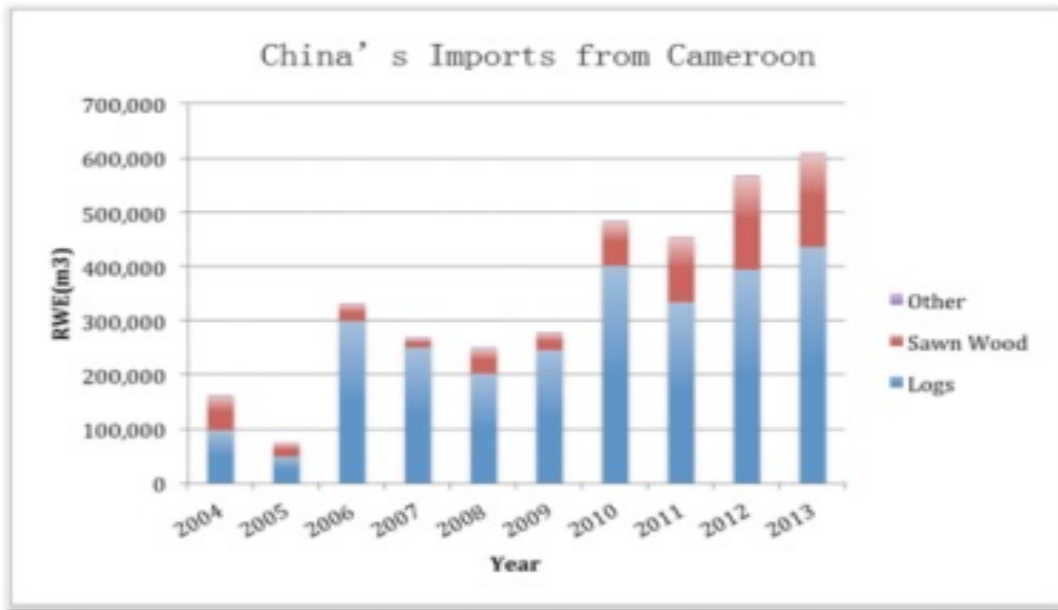
**China:** While there has been a significant boom in the trade relations between Cameroon and China since the early 2002, current data indicate exchange between the two partners have continued to increase amid recession in the Cameroon economy due to the recent oil crises. Cameroon was already trading with mainland China even though still recognized Taiwan as representative of China before 1971. As from 1971 when Cameroon finally established diplomatically links with China, exchanges grew significantly and by the year 2000 trade between the two countries stood at about US\$170. On two occasions while visiting China, President Paul Biya of Cameroon called on Chinese investors to come in their numbers in Cameroon<sup>83</sup>. Taking an example in the timber sector, available statistics indicate Chinese imports and exports of timber products to and from Cameroon steadily increased since then as show on the tables below. According to the Chinese ambassador in Cameroon trade between the two countries should double by 2030<sup>84</sup>.

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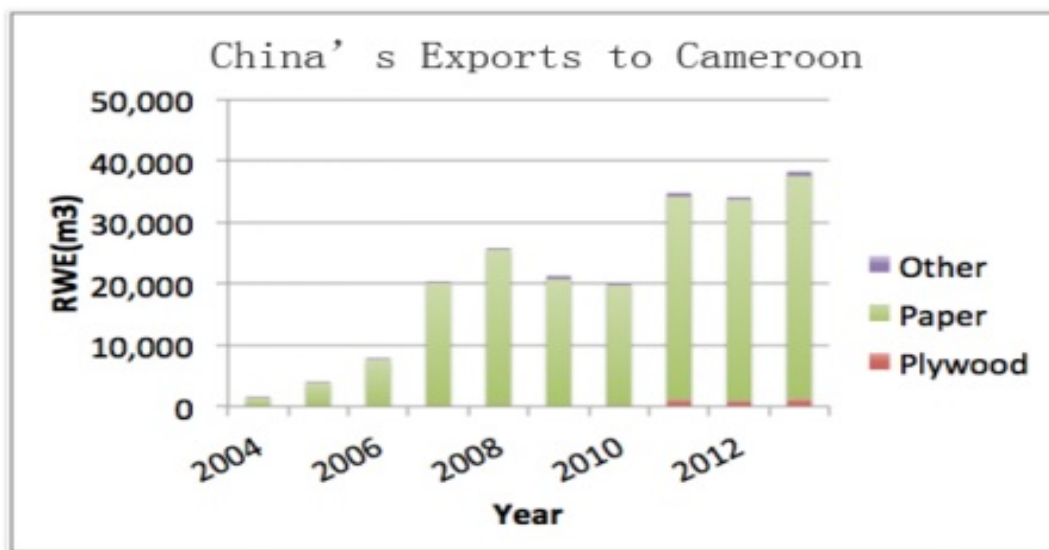
<sup>83</sup> Sunday Aninpah Khan and Francis Menjo Baye, "China-Africa Economic Relations: The Case of Cameroon," n.d., 38.

<sup>84</sup> Khan and Baye.

## Trade in the Timber Sector between Cameroon and China



Source: Fordaq trade figures, 2019



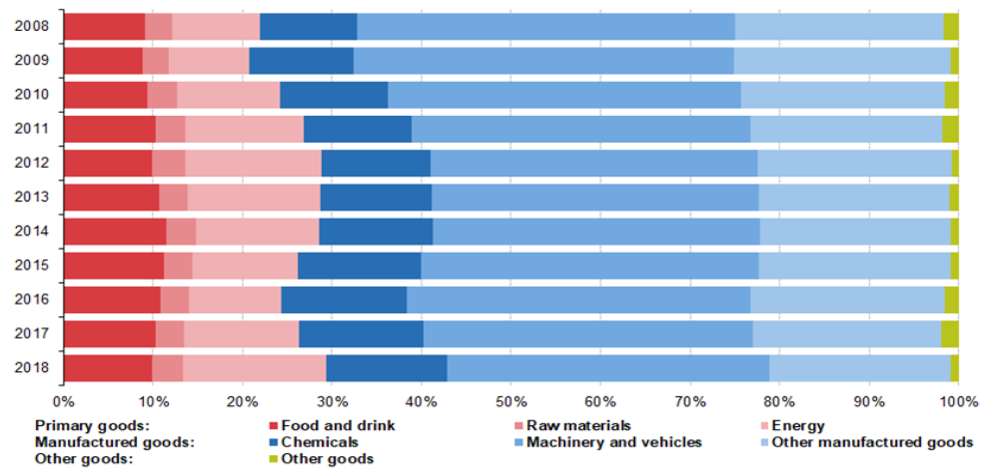
Source: Fordaq trade figures, 2019

**European Union:** Trade between the EU and Cameroon has constantly increased since 2015 probably with the implementation of the economic partnership agreement as from 2014 following Cameroon's ratification. Since the EU is Union of multiple countries, it is often difficult to get data the measures its exchanges with individual countries especially third

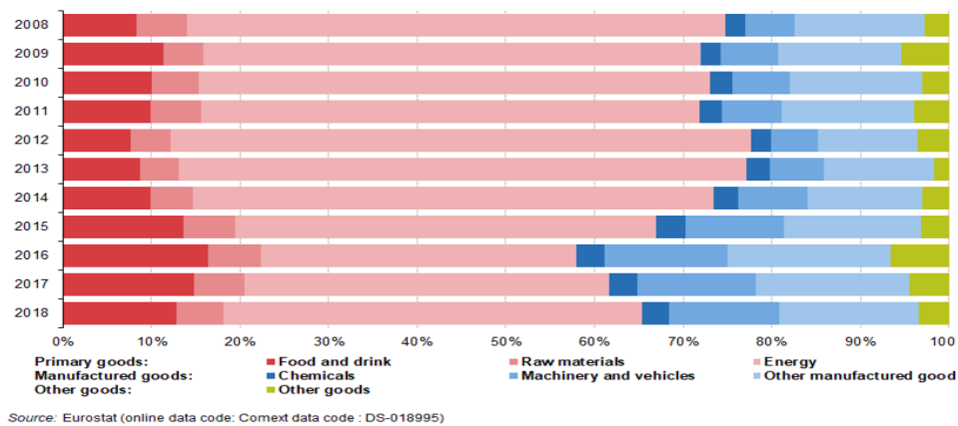
world countries. However, official statistics from the EU commission indicates imports to and from sub-Saharan Africa have increased since 2014<sup>85</sup> and with Cameroon having comparative advantage in economic cooperation, it is possible to conclude imports to and exports to Cameroon have increased within this time.

### EU imports and exports from Sub-Saharan African Since 2008

**EU-28 exports of goods to Africa by main product groups, 2018**  
(shares of total exports in value)



**EU-28 imports of goods from Africa by main product groups, 2018**  
(shares of total exports in value)



eurostat

<sup>85</sup> “Africa-EU - International Trade in Goods Statistics - Statistics Explained,” accessed January 6, 2020.

**GDP of Cameroon:** Cameroon is officially classified as a lower middle-income country according to the World Bank development indicators. From the year 2002 there was constant growth of its economy until around 2008 when there was a minor recession and increase in the number of poor people by 12% according to World Bank figures and demonstrated in the table below<sup>86</sup>. This could have been probably related to the world financial crises during that period. The World Bank predicts Cameroon’s economy to grow this year at about 4.3% due to investments made in the gas refinery sector. However, the World Bank still admits Cameroon suffers tremendously from weak governance and high corruption which discourages foreign investors coming to the country. Also the ongoing conflict in the English speaking regions country could negatively impact the economy if not rapidly addressed. This is because some of the most vital state companies are located in these regions such as the Cameroonian Development Cooperation which is the second employer after the Cameroonian government<sup>87</sup>.



**Source:** International Monetary Fund, 2019

<sup>86</sup> World bank, “Cameroon Economy,” Text/HTML, World Bank, accessed January 6, 2020, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cameroon/overview>.

<sup>87</sup> Moki Edwin Kindzeka, “Cameroon’s 2nd Largest Employer Losing Workers to Conflict,” *Voice of America*, August 6, 2018, <https://www.voanews.com/africa/cameroons-2nd-largest-employer-losing-workers-conflict>.



**5.2 Cameroon Polity Score 2002 -Present:** The current polity score of Cameroon based on freedom house analysis and reports is 6 out of 7 and is considered as a ‘not free’ nation. With 7 considered as worst and 1 considered as best, any efforts from third parties to promote democracy and good governance have so far been unsuccessful to either improve freedom, civil and political rights in Cameroon. Democratic transition also has been a failure in the country with the actual president Paul Biya who is currently the longest ruling non-royal national leader in world and who came to power through succession and not election in 1982. Freedom house data shows Cameroon has continued to present a bad score since 2014 following ratification of the economic partnership agreement with the EU who has always been the major aid donor to promoting democracy and liberties. It should be noted that the past few years have seen an increase in the number of reports against human rights violations in Cameroon by government forces. Notably the case against the Anglophone uprising in the English speaking regions in 2017 and suspected Boko Haram militants in the Far North regions of the country<sup>88</sup>. These violations are mostly committed by the ‘Battalion d’intervention Rapid’ (BIR), a battalion that responds and takes orders directly from president Paul Biya without passing through parliament.

The de-prioritization of and silence of the EU towards these negative governance practices could definitely have contributed to the present case but it is worthy to note that EU didn’t even send electoral observers in the recent 2018 presidential elections in the country something which it did in the past. Perhaps this could just be another expression of the neglect of this sector by the EU or realization that such supports hasn’t been able to bring about change in the country. However what is noticeable is the worsening of human rights conditions in the country in recent years and many reports coming civil societies and NGO’s

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<sup>88</sup> Dionne Searcey, Eric Schmitt, and Thomas Gibbons-Neff, “U.S. Reduces Military Aid to Cameroon Over Human Rights Abuses,” *The New York Times*, February 7, 2019, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/07/world/africa/cameroon-military-abuses-united-states-aid.html>.

attest that. Below is a table showing Cameroon polity score since 2002 according to Freedom house reports<sup>89</sup> which shows no evolution or progress being made in this direction. Hence the decrease of EU aid to promoting good governance will not be promising for Cameroon’s future economic prosperity.

**Cameroon Polity Score since 2002**

Year	Political Rights	Civil Rights	Freedom Rating
2019	6	6	6.0
2018	6	6	6.0
2017	6	6	6.0
2016	6	6	6.0
2015	6	6	6.0
2014	6	6	6.0
2013	6	6	6.0
2012	6	6	6.0
2011	6	6	6.0
2010	6	6	6.0
2009	6	6	6.0
2008	6	6	6.0
2007	6	6	6.0
2006	6	6	6.0
2005	6	6	6.0
2004	6	6	6.0
2003	6	6	6.0
2002	6	6	6.0

**Source: Freedomhouse.org**

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<sup>89</sup> Freedom House, “Cameroon Freedom Score,” January 30, 2019, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2019/cameroon>.

### 5.3 Analytical Discussions

Following the findings during the time frame of this study I proceed to analyze existing evidence/support to my three hypotheses and proposed theory for this study. I base these evidences on the proposed causal mechanism in chapter which I went on to test with the Cameroonian case. Looking at the time frame and primary sources in each part of the causal mechanism, I will be able to conclude whether or not I found evidence that could support the hypothesis proposed in chapter two. It will first and foremost be important to restate these hypotheses before analyzing each of them individually.

**H1:** prioritize aid for the development of physical infrastructure and not social infrastructure (good governance) in periphery countries. Since promotion of good governance and democracy has long being a condition to countries receiving aid from the EU, the case of Cameroon will be a perfect case to investigate the outcome of non-prioritization.

Apart from the main hypothesis above, secondary hypothesis which will guide my study in relation to the outcome will be:

**H2:** Cameroon index in democracy and human right have declined since 2004 due to EU's neglect.

**H3:** Trade increase in manufactured goods and primary resources between Cameroon and EU will have increased since 2014.

## **Hypothesis 1:**

The available data on the EU funded projects in Cameroon shows approximately fourteen different projects launched between 2010 and 2018 targeting different sectors as elaborated in the previous chapter. We can definitely notice projects targeting the energy sector with the construction of new hydro electric dams and also water management facilities necessary for Cameroonian economy to survive. Thus definitely supports the first hypothesis and addition is to the fact that most of these infrastructure facility projects were launched after 2014 when the expected outcome occurred. The 11<sup>th</sup> EDF for Cameroon also witnessed a budget increase as compared to the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF. With decrease of aid to social infrastructure, definitely more funds for physical infrastructure. However, it is important to point out the fact that certain projects targeting culture preservation and promotion were also realized and such sectors cannot be directly linked to EU economic interests or its foreign policy on promoting good governance.

## **Hypothesis 2**

I rebuffer hypothesis two based on the polity score data on Cameroon since 2002. Freedom house classifications tend to be neutral and widely accepted globally. The available data on Cameroon indicates it has always been repressive and undemocratic state prior to 2014 and after 2014 when the outcome of interest occurred. However, it is important to point out some of the most violent dissent repressions occurred in the country in 2016 in relation to the Anglophone crises which was the uprisings in the North West and South West regions<sup>90</sup>. This repression lead to the ongoing civil war and the worst humanitarian crises the country has ever experienced. Despite this the EU didn't still support Cameroon with the recent 2018 presidential elections, something it did in the previous. In addition to that, President Biya

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<sup>90</sup> Searcey, Schmitt, and Gibbons-Neff, "U.S. Reduces Military Aid to Cameroon Over Human Rights Abuses."

didn't just get re-elected which was certain to happen but also ordered the arrest of the opposition leader Maurice Kamto because he contested the elections. He spent a total of nine months in prison on charges of terrorism and advocating for insurrection<sup>91</sup>.

### **Hypothesis 3**

Import and export of goods and services to and from Cameroon by the EU have definitely increased since 2014 based on the European Commission (eurostat) statistics figures. These statistics confirms my third hypothesis because there have been a constant increase in the imports of raw materials from Sub-Saharan Africa since 2014<sup>92</sup>. Even though the statistics shows figures for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, Cameroon is one of those few sub-Saharan African states to have ratified an economic partnership with the EU as from 2014 allowing duty-free imports and exports. Perhaps figures concerning Cameroon are still unavailable, but this is enough to confirm there has been an increase in imports of raw materials from Cameroon. The statistics also goes further to indicate that there has been an increase in exports of machinery and other manufactured goods since 2014 from the EU to sub-Saharan Africa. The same argument on the trade agreement will apply and investigating the single statistics of Cameroon will definitely be an additional proof.

### **Dependency Theory**

In order to examine if dependency theory of international relations applies to EU-Cameroon case being is the focus of this research, I base my analysis on the four concepts and principles of the theory outlined by Young Namkoong in the second chapter of this thesis<sup>93</sup>. The first being the center-periphery structure of the two actors in which the EU is a

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<sup>91</sup> Ruth Maclean, "Cameroon Arrests Opposition Leader Who Claims He Won 2018 Election," *The Guardian*, January 29, 2019, sec. World news, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/29/cameroon-opposition-leader-maurice-kamto-claims-won-2018-election-arrested>.

<sup>92</sup> "Africa-EU - International Trade in Goods Statistics - Statistics Explained."

<sup>93</sup> Namkoong, "Dependency Theory."

union of mostly advanced industrialized countries and Cameroon is rather poor developing country with over 30% of its population living under the poverty line. Looking at the commercial exchanges between the two actors as projected by the economic partnership agreement ratified by both actors, Cameroon will mostly export raw materials to the EU and in return the EU will export machinery and other manufactured goods to Cameroon. Cameroon will be importing value added to the same raw materials it exported to the EU and intellectuals of dependency theory argue such unequal exchanges are the main reasons why poor nations like Cameroon are unable to develop their economies and condemned to remain poor nations in future. In addition to that, core actors of International relations always seek to expand their economies leading to maneuvers such as signing trade agreements with other actors as the EU did with Cameroon. The EU is presently the world largest development aid donor according to the EU commission<sup>94</sup>. Dependency intellectuals argue this is because periphery countries like Cameroon have no alternative development funding sources due to the structural mechanism that keep them tied to core actors like the EU. Based on such evidence and analysis, its worth to arguing dependency theory of International relations better explains the past, present and future relations between the EU and Cameroon.

### **5.3 Chapter Summary**

Chapter five focuses on the findings and analysis related to this research. I first begin the chapter by presenting the finding on commercial exchanges between China and Cameroon on one part and EU and Cameroon on the other part. I come to conclude China non-interference policy has been successful in reinforcing trade with Cameroon while data clearly indicates commercial exchanges increased with the EU as well since 2014 following the ratification of economic partnership agreement by Cameroon. The exchanges principally

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<sup>94</sup> “International Development Aid,” Text, European Commission - European Commission, accessed January 6, 2020, [https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/international-economic-relations/international-development-aid\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/international-economic-relations/international-development-aid_en).

involve raw materials flowing out of Cameroon and manufactured goods flowing into Cameroon. These findings rebuff my second hypothesis and confirm my first and third hypotheses regarding Cameroon's polity score. On the proposed theory (dependency) I find support which confirms the principles and concepts suggested by intellectuals such as Yong Namkkong. The decrease of assistance to supporting good governance and the increase of commercial exchanges characterized by unequal exchanges best explain the past, present and future development aid relations that exist between the EU and Cameroon.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion & Limitations of the study**

The overall aim of this research was to make case study analysis to identify if China's non-interference policy could in any way impact the European Union policy to building good governance in third world countries like Cameroon while utilizing the dependency theory of international relations as endorsed by Young Namkoong as point of analysis. My aim was to explain what could have caused the outcome of EU neglect of assistance to promoting good governance in the 11<sup>th</sup> EDF albeit proposals for the need to focus on this sector which didn't meet expectations in the 10<sup>th</sup> EDF. Tracing the time frame of events, it becomes clear that economic interest of the EU played a major role determining which type of development assistance it prioritized in the 11<sup>th</sup> EDF and in this case was the economic partnership agreement which was ratified by Cameroon.

Existing literature suggest various factors that may explain why the EU may decrease its aid to promoting good governance to third world countries. The Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness alongside disagreements that exist within member states of the EU could potentially impact EU's development policy as argued by certain experts. However utilizing a causal mechanism derived from dependency theory takes us along the various parts to explain how an industrialized actor in international relations like China and the EU in quest for primary goods and markets for their home industries would avoid interfering in the domestic affairs of countries where they aim to secure such economic interests as was seen with the case of Cameroon.

In addition to that, core countries will potentially donate more aid to fund infrastructural projects in periphery countries which in turn help ease commercial exchanges with the recipient country as my first hypothesis shows. Recipient countries economies could slightly grow due to more trade but poor governance persistence duo to lack of support in this sector



cannot make economic growth sustainable. The result being continues dependence on development aid and persistent underdevelopment in periphery countries like Cameroon as it is in the present and been in past also probably the future.

### **6.1 Limitations of the Study**

There are quite a number of limitations I encountered in this study which I will like to point out before proposing some hints for future research. I first want to point out to the fact that lack of data due to limited means was the highest challenged faced. In tracing the process it would have been very helpful if I had access to draft resolutions or records of meetings of EU parliamentary debates on the Economic Partnership Agreement with Cameroon or the EU commission's draft on EDF 11. Perhaps I would have found information and proofs that directly indicates EU policy change could have been directly affected by China as final documents will be very naïve if citing China as a major challenger. In addition to that which I already pointed out is the fact that EU not being a single country it is very difficult find data on its trade with other single countries especially third world countries. My biggest critique could fall in this line as EU incorporates several states while China is a single state and could challenge my argument. Despite such short comings, EU member states share a lot in common and almost considered a federation by some analyst.

### **6.2 Future research Suggestions**

I mentioned earlier in the beginning of this research cited former EU commission's president Jean Claude Juncker when he revealed in 2018 EU's plan<sup>95</sup> to counter China in Africa by reinforcing free trade agreements with African countries. Till today few states like Cameroon have signed such trade agreements and it will be interesting to carry out

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<sup>95</sup> Harding, "Europe Seeks Alliance with 'twin' Africa."

a comparative study on good governance assistance to countries who signed such free trade agreement with the EU and those who haven't done it so far.

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