

The Evolution of Cameroonian Cooperation with the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation: A Historical and Geopolitical Analysis

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the historical and evolving relationship between Cameroon and the Soviet Union and later, the Russian Federation, focusing on political, military, economic, and cultural dimensions. Positioned strategically at the crossroads of West and Central Africa, Cameroon has balanced longstanding ties with France against a growing partnership with Russia. Since the Soviet Union's formal recognition of Cameroon's independence in 1964, Soviet support in education, infrastructure, and ideological alignment contributed to a foundational relationship grounded in anti-colonial and socialist values. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, relations were reestablished with the Russian Federation, shifting from ideological alignment to pragmatic cooperation, particularly in defense and economic engagement. The study uses a qualitative methodology, incorporating primary sources such as government records, treaty documents, and public statements, alongside secondary sources including academic articles and policy analyses. This approach allows for an examination of key historical milestones, the role of security concerns, and economic priorities that have shaped Cameroonian-Russian relations over the years.

Introduction

Cameroon, officially known as the Republic of Cameroon, is uniquely situated at the crossroads of West and Central Africa. Bordered by Nigeria, Chad, the Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and the Republic of Congo, Cameroon's strategic geographic position grants it access and influence in both regions. With a population of approximately 27.8 million and over 250 native languages (Worldometer, 2022), Cameroon represents a culturally diverse nation whose historical and geopolitical affiliations have been both complex and adaptable. Since gaining independence from French and British colonial rule, Cameroon has maintained strong political, cultural, and economic ties with France, France being its largest trading partner in Sub-Saharan Africa (Takougang, 1993). However, over recent years, Cameroon's alliance landscape has shifted as it sought to balance its longstanding relationship with France against a growing military and political partnership with Russia. In April 2022, Cameroon renewed a military agreement initially signed with Russia in 2015, a move that signals a recalibration of its foreign alliances. This renewal aligns with Russia's expanding influence across Africa, especially as Moscow faces Western sanctions following its annexation of Crimea in 2014 and subsequent actions in Ukraine (Giles, 2013; Li, 2017; Acuro, 2024). The timing of this renewed agreement has raised critical questions

regarding the impact of Russia's role in Cameroon's internal conflicts, notably the Anglophone humanitarian crisis, and broader implications for Cameroonian foreign policy amidst rising global geopolitical tensions. In trade relations with Russia, Cameroon is a net importer according to a report published by the Cameroon's National Institute of Statistics (INS). Cameroon's primary imports from Russia are wheat, which constitutes 65% of the country's total imports. Despite being geographically and culturally different, Russia and Cameroon share some common aspects in their foreign policy priorities, such as opposing hegemony and advocating global and regional security. This paper examines the historical foundation, current dynamics, and future prospects of the Cameroonian-Russian alliance within an evolving geopolitical context.

Methodology

This paper uses a qualitative analysis approach, employing both historical and thematic analyses. Primary sources include diplomatic records, government communications, and treaty documents, while secondary sources consist of academic articles and policy analyses. The study aims to outline major milestones and assess the role of external factors, including international competition, security concerns, and economic priorities. This approach ensures a comprehensive understanding of the factors shaping Cameroonian-Russian relations and enables accurate projections of future developments.

Background of Cameroonian-Soviet and Russian Relations

Cameroon's diplomatic relationship with Russia dates back to 1964 when the Soviet Union formally recognized the newly independent state (Awah, 2023). During the Cold War, Soviet support for African nations newly liberated from colonial rule helped cement ties with Cameroon, marked by educational exchanges and technical assistance through initiatives such as scholarships to Patrice Lumumba University (Kohnert, 2022). Soviet assistance extended to sectors like education, health, and infrastructure, bolstering a partnership grounded in anti-colonialism and shared socialist values. These early engagements established a foundational bond of ideological solidarity, though relations adapted significantly in response to the shifting political landscape of the post-Cold War era.

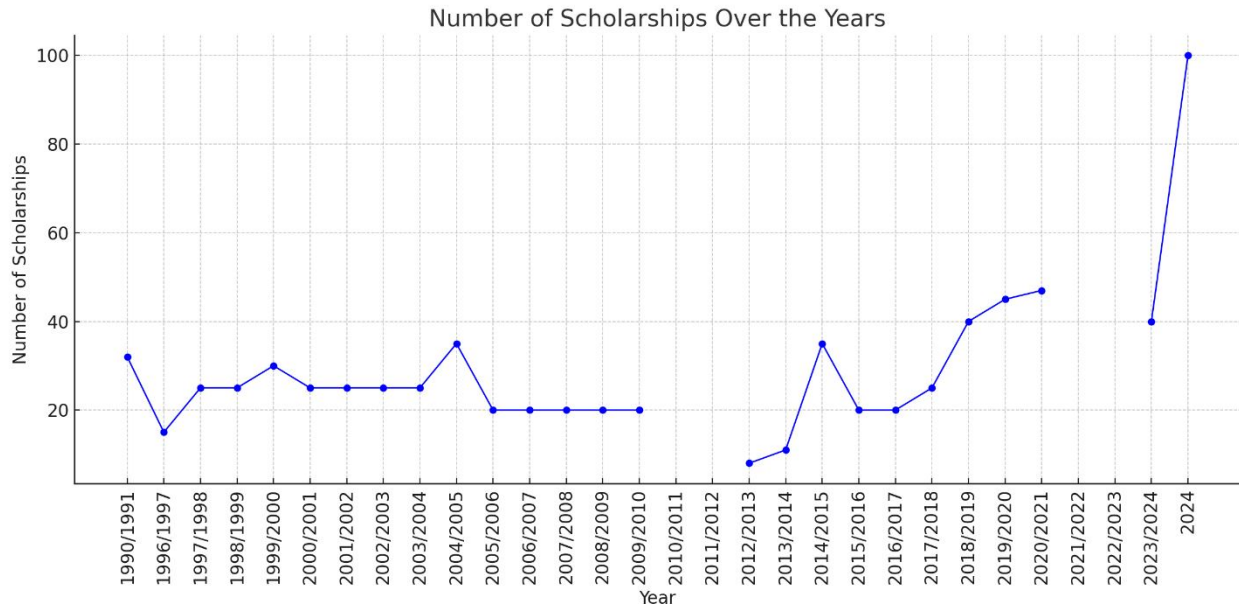


Figure 1: Cameroon Scholarship Students Awarded by Cameroon and Russia Federation
Source: Author's Creation (information adopted from Awah, 2023)

Transition from the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation (1991–2000)

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked the beginning of a transitional phase in Cameroonian-Russian relations. As the newly formed Russian Federation succeeded the USSR, diplomatic ties were gradually reestablished, emphasizing non-alignment and mutual respect as central tenets (Awah, 2023). Despite limited economic engagement, the reestablishment of cultural exchanges and stabilization of trade relationships underscored Cameroon's commitment to diplomatic neutrality while adjusting to the post-Soviet global order. This period of recalibration ultimately paved the way for renewed collaboration with Russia on more pragmatic grounds, focusing on diplomatic stability over ideological alignment.

Modern Diplomatic and Security Cooperation (2000 - Present)

Under President Vladimir Putin, Russia has actively sought to reestablish and deepen its influence in Africa, positioning itself as a counterbalance to traditional Western powers. Russia re-engaged with African nations, including Cameroon, as part of its multipolar strategy to establish itself as a key player in African geopolitics (Elbassoussy, 2022). This strategy resonated with Cameroon, which signed a defense agreement with Russia in 2015. This agreement provided for military support, technical cooperation, and training, solidifying Russia's presence within Cameroon's defense sector (Gelin, 2017). Russia's re-engagement strategy prioritized security assistance, evidenced by military agreements and arms deals, which included helicopter supplies and plans for air defense systems (Army Recognition, 2019).

The agreement was renewed in 2022, expanding to include collaboration in peace operations, military hydrography, and medical training (Awah, 2023). Russia's strategy of soft power coupled with security

assistance has aligned with Cameroon's defense needs, particularly against terrorist threats such as Boko Haram in the northern region. This military alliance reflects Russia's broader engagement strategy in Africa, exemplified by the Russia-Africa Summit in Sochi, which underscored Moscow's aim to strengthen political, security, and economic ties across the continent. Russian officials highlighted Russia's history of non-colonialism, presenting itself as a more desirable partner for African nations seeking to diversify their alliances beyond the traditional Western paradigm (Kohnert, 2022).

Additionally, on July 27, during the second Russia-Africa Summit in St. Petersburg, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and Cameroonian Minister of External Relations Lejeune Mbella Mbella signed an agreement on reciprocal visa exemptions for holders of diplomatic and service passports. This intergovernmental agreement reflects both nations' determination to deepen bilateral dialogue in line with principles from the UN Charter and the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations (Embassy of the Russian Federation in Yaoundé, Cameroon, 2013). Set to take effect 90 days post-ratification, the agreement seeks to promote Russian-Cameroonian ties by facilitating mutual travel for diplomatic personnel and enhancing exchanges in political, economic, and cultural fields. This collaboration with Cameroon exemplifies the mutual interest in building a multipolar global order that challenges hegemonic influences.

Analysis of the Russia-Cameroon Arms Deal

The arms agreement between Russia and Cameroon is part of a broader trend in which Russia has pursued military agreements with over 20 African nations since 2014 as a counterbalance to Western sanctions. These agreements, often valid for renewable five-year periods, include provisions for military hardware, training, and technical cooperation (Giles, 2013; Biersack et al., 2014). The April 2022 renewal of the Cameroon-Russia defense agreement extends cooperation into hydrography, joint training exercises, and strategic information exchanges on defense and security policies (Russian Military Cooperation, 2022). While the renewal has fortified Cameroon's military capabilities, it has also raised international concerns given the timing amid Russia's ongoing military actions in Ukraine. Policy observers note that the agreement may intensify scrutiny on Cameroon's foreign policy orientation and contribute to shifting perceptions of its stance within the international community.

Implications of the Arms Agreement on Cameroon's Internal Humanitarian Issues

The arms deal has generated significant debate within Cameroon regarding its potential impact on the ongoing Anglophone crisis, which began in 2016. This conflict, centered in Cameroon's Northwest and Southwest regions, has seen government forces combat secessionist groups advocating for greater autonomy due to perceived marginalization (Agwanda et al., 2020). Critics argue that Russian military support could embolden Cameroonian forces, potentially worsening human rights abuses in the affected regions. Furthermore, Russia's opposition to humanitarian interventions by the United Nations in the

conflict has exacerbated concerns, with separatist factions interpreting Russian involvement as tacit endorsement of the government's military approach. The consequences of Russian arms support on Cameroon's domestic stability have sparked tensions domestically and internationally. Russia's influence, coupled with its stance on limiting UN intervention, has led to questions regarding the long-term impact of these agreements on Cameroon's humanitarian situation and on regional security more broadly.

Broader International Implications

The arms deal between Russia and Cameroon underscores Russia's growing ambition to challenge Western influence in Africa. Russia's engagements in countries like Mali, where military agreements have supplanted long-standing French influence, exemplify this trend. By cultivating alliances with governments resistant to Western oversight, Russia seeks to establish a foothold in politically sensitive regions through strategies that include arms deals, private military deployments, and intelligence sharing (Polyakova, 2020). The Cameroon-Russia alliance mirrors Russia's broader tactics of using asymmetric tools of influence, such as cyber operations and disinformation, to achieve foreign policy objectives without full-scale military involvement (Lyammouri&Eddazi, 2020). This shifting alliance dynamic in Africa illustrates how Russia positions itself as a viable alternative for African nations seeking diversified partnerships. However, the potential implications of Russian involvement in conflict zones and its backing of regimes embroiled in internal disputes add complexity to this diplomatic calculus, highlighting the risks inherent in these partnerships.

Russia's Economic and Political Strategies in Africa

Beyond defense, Russia has pursued a series of economic partnerships with African countries, particularly in the energy and mining sectors. For instance, Russian corporations such as Alrosa, Gazprom, and Rosneft have launched initiatives in resource-rich African nations, thereby enhancing Russia's influence through economic dependencies (Elbassoussy, 2022). The economic relationship between Russia and Cameroon remains a significant area for development. Russia has identified Cameroon as a strategic partner in Central Africa for resource trade, especially in oil and gas sectors. Russia's engagements in Cameroon include counter-terrorism support, with Russian artillery and training provided to Cameroonian forces fighting Boko Haram in the northern regions (Adamowski, 2015). These economic ventures emphasize Russia's multipolar strategy, presenting itself as an alternative to Western and Chinese economic influence on the continent. In Cameroon, Russian investment has expanded into energy development, notably through discussions with Lukoil concerning the reconstruction of Cameroon's national refining company, Sonara, in 2019 (Business in Cameroon, 2019). Russia's economic reach into sectors critical to national infrastructure cements its role as a key economic partner, strengthening diplomatic ties through both military and economic support.

The policy of Cameroon in Russia can be seen as a continuation of a historical legitimacy based on USSR involvement in the decolonization of various African countries, and the promotion of principles such as peace, democracy, and neutrality as the basis of partnership with Cameroon. Despite being geographically and culturally different, Russia and Cameroon share some common aspects in their foreign policy priorities, such as opposing hegemony and advocating global and regional security. Both countries believe that international conflicts should be resolved through dialogue based on trust, mutual benefit, equality, and cooperation, with the guiding principles being the primacy of international law, equality, and the independence of states (MFARF, 2013). Cameroon's policy towards Europe is based on two main poles: the liberal western pole centered around France, and the Soviet-Russian one centered around Russia as the heir of the USSR. Cameroon, which gained independence during the military-ideological confrontation that divided Europe into two opposing blocs, pursued a policy of non-alignment and sought to establish diplomatic bridges between the two communist and liberal worlds (Chouala, 2014).

Food Security and Regional Impacts of the Ukraine Conflict

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has exposed vulnerabilities in Africa's reliance on grain imports from both Ukraine and Russia, affecting countries across the continent. North African nations, which import up to 30% of their wheat from Ukraine, face particularly acute shortages. While Cameroon's grain imports from Russia are comparatively moderate, the global disruption of wheat supplies has raised concerns over food security and commodity price inflation, which could influence domestic public opinion on foreign alliances (Heidland et al., 2022). The food security risks in Cameroon underline the complex interdependence between the country and its foreign partners, as the cost of maintaining alliances may shift in response to global market pressures.

Educational and Cultural Exchanges

Educational and cultural cooperation remains a significant component of Cameroonian-Russian relations. Scholarship programs have facilitated the exchange of students between Cameroon and Russia, providing training in fields such as engineering, aviation, and military medicine (Awah, 2023). The Russian Center of Science and Culture, established in Yaoundé in 1992, plays an active role in promoting cultural exchange through language programs and exhibitions, fostering greater understanding and soft power influence. These cultural initiatives reinforce the foundation for sustainable bilateral ties, encouraging broader diplomatic engagement and mutual understanding.

Challenges in Cameroonian-Russian Cooperation

Despite the growth in Cameroonian-Russian relations, various challenges persist. Russia faces competition from Western and Chinese investments, which often provide substantial infrastructure funding that Russia cannot readily match. Moreover, geopolitical tensions including sanctions on Russia

may introduce volatility to trade agreements and complicate ongoing projects (Kohnert, 2022). Cameroon's limited market presence in Russia also constrains balanced trade flows, highlighting the need for enhanced logistical frameworks and improved market access. The complexities of maintaining diverse alliances underscore the challenges inherent in Cameroon's non-aligned policy, as it navigates competing influences from East and West.

CONCLUSION

Cameroonian cooperation with the Soviet Union and subsequently the Russian Federation reveals a journey of evolving alliances, shaped by mutual geopolitical interests and adaptations to shifting global dynamics. Initially grounded in ideological solidarity and anti-colonial support, the relationship evolved into pragmatic collaboration after the Soviet Union's dissolution, re-establishing a foundation of diplomatic and economic cooperation. In the modern era, Russia's renewed focus on Africa as part of its multipolar strategy has positioned it as an appealing alternative to traditional Western powers, especially for Cameroon, which has sought to diversify its alliances. The renewal of the 2015 defense agreement in 2022 reflects a deepening of military and technical support between the two nations. Additionally, the recent reciprocal visa exemption agreement for holders of diplomatic and service passports demonstrates both countries' commitment to facilitate diplomatic engagement and strengthen bilateral exchanges. Yet, this partnership has raised concerns in the context of Cameroon's internal humanitarian issues, particularly the Anglophone crisis. Russia's support of Cameroon's defense sector, coupled with its opposition to international intervention in the conflict, has implications for both domestic stability and human rights.

REFERENCES

- Adamowski, J. (2015). Russia to arm Cameroon against Boko Haram. *Defense News*. <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:ag6ekAd0uksJ:https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/6447627.pdf&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=eg> Retrieved October 20, 2024
- Agbor, N. A. (2023). Franco-Russian rivalry in Africa: A case study of Cameroon. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Plymouth].
- Agwanda, B., Nyadera, I. N., & Asal, U. Y. (2020). Cameroon and the Anglophone Crisis. In O. Richmond, & G. Visoka (Eds.), *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies* (pp. 1-11). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11795-5_115-1
- Army Recognition. (2019, October). Cameroon to buy Russian Panstir-S1 air defense system. *Army Recognition*. Retrieved October 17, 2024, from https://www.armyrecognition.com/october_2019_global_defense_security_army_news_industry/cameroon_to_buy_russian_panstir-s1_air_defense_system.html
- Awah, J. (2023). The Cameroonian-Russian relation: Main directions and priorities (1960-2022). *Genesis: Historical Research*, 2023(5), 74-82. <https://doi.org/10.25136/2409-868X.2023.5.40777>
- Biersack, J., & O'Lear, S. (2014). The geopolitics of Russia's annexation of Crimea: Narratives, identity, silences, and energy. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 55(3), 247-269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2014.985241>
- Chouala, Y., A. (2014). *Cameroon's foreign policy: Doctrine, actors, processes, and regional dynamics*. Paris: Karthala.

- Coleman, L. E. S. (2022). Official response to the Russian war crimes in Ukraine. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 65, 15-16. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cura.12483>
- Embassy of the Russian Federation in Yaoundé, Cameroon. (2023). Signing of the agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Cameroon on reciprocal visa exemptions for holders of diplomatic and service passports. Available at: https://cameroun.mid.ru/en/press-centre/news/signing_of_the_agreement_between_the_government_of_the_russian_federation_and_the_government_of_the/
- Gelin, K. J. C. (2017). Cameroon fighting Boko Haram. *Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Международные отношения*, 17(4), 727-737.
- Giles, K. (2013). *Russian interests in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press. Available at: <https://press.armywarcollege.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1321&context=monographs>
- Heidland, T., Mahlkow, H., & Rauck, M. (2022). Cereal exports: Ukraine default hits African countries hard. *Kiel Institute for the World Economy*. Retrieved from <https://www.ifw-kiel.de/publications/news/cereal-exports-ukraine-default-hits-african-countries-hard/>
- Kohnert, D. (2022). *The impact of Russian presence in Africa*. GIGA Institute for African Studies. Retrieved from <https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/112567/>
- Lyammouri, R., & Eddazi, Y. (2020). Russian interference in Africa: Disinformation and mercenaries. Available at: <https://www.policycenter.ma/publications/russian-interference-africa-disinformation-and-mercenaries>
- MFARF (2013). "Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation. Approved by President of the Russian Federation" Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russian Federation, Moscow.
- National Institute of Statistics. (2020). *Cameroon's national report*. Retrieved from <https://ins-cameroun.cm/en/types-de-document/rapports/>
- Polyakova, A. (2020, March 5). Hearing on "The Global Engagement Center: Leading the United States Government's Fight Against Global Disinformation Threat." *United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations*. Retrieved from https://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/030520_Polyakova_Testimony.pdf
- Takougang, J. (1993). Continuity and change in Cameroon's foreign policy in the post-Ahidjo era. *The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs*, 135-153.
- Li J. Ideologies, strategies and higher education development: A comparison of China's university partnerships with the Soviet Union and Africa over space and time. *Comparative Education*. 2017 Apr 3;53(2):245-64.
- Acuro AJ, Furong X, Tatiana NS, Chinwe AE. The evolution and impact of Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin in a Multipolar world. *Конфликтология/nota bene*. 2024(2):28-40.