



POWER POLITICS AND THE CHAD- CAMEROON PIPELINE PROJECT

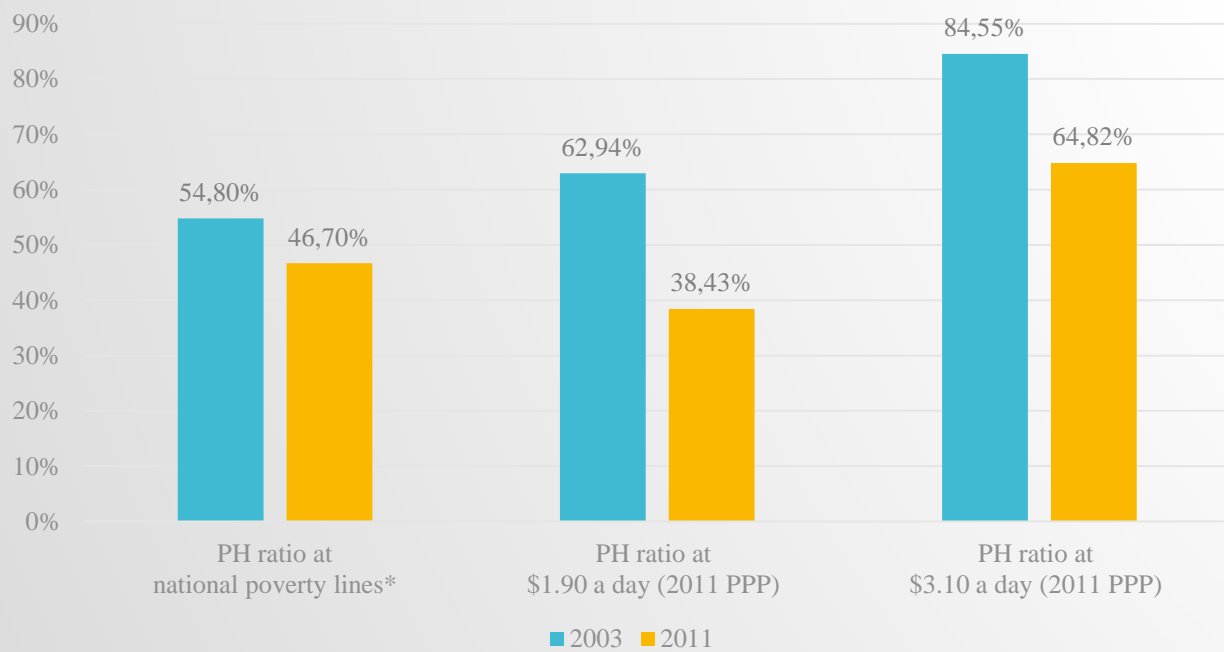
A case study of oil, wealth, security and national interest in Chad

INTRODUCTION

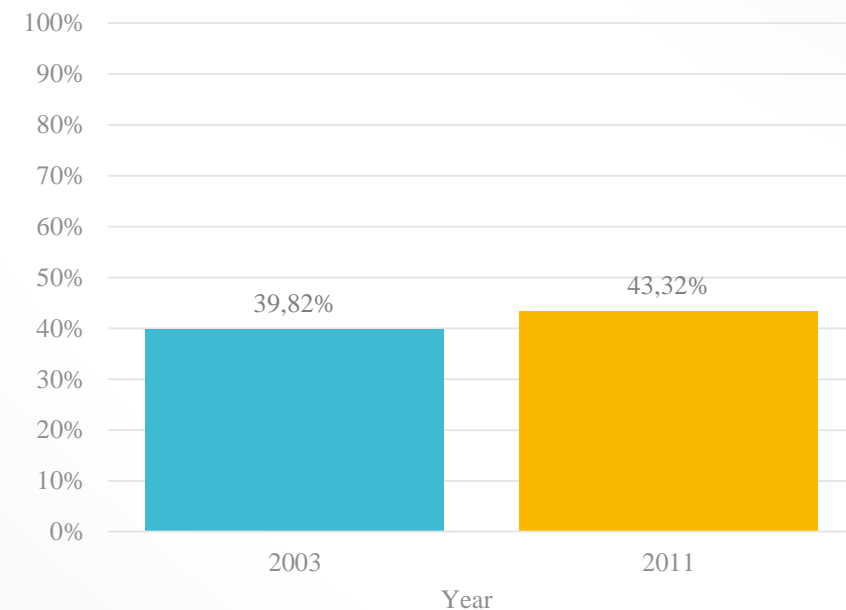
- In 2003, the World Bank and a consortium of oil companies initiated a large scale project to extract oil from Chad's soil.
- The Chad-Cameroon Pipeline Project (CCPP)
 - World Bank project aiming at beating the resource curse in Chad.
 - Pipeline from Chad, through Cameroon to the coast.
 - Oil revenue management plan.
 - Help counter the ill effects of bad governance.
- CCPP has been studied as an example of failed attempts to break the **resource curse** (Collier, 2007; Gérin and Houdin, 2010; Kojucharov, 2007; Pegg, 2006, 2009).
- This thesis seeks to provide an alternative explanation. *The starting point will be Chad's interests.*
- Analyse the power politics related to the CCPP, in two arenas;
 1. Wealth related to the oil project and
 2. Security in Darfur and the internal unrest in Chad following the pipeline construction.

THE COMMON NEGATIVE EVALUATION OF THE CCPP

Graph 1: Poverty headcount (PH) ratio (% of population)



Graph 2: GINI coefficient (World Bank estimate) (percentage)



THESIS STATEMENT

- **In which way has the CCPP been a catalyst for Chad's increased power, but also contributed to the deteriorated security situation in Chad?**
- How have the GoC and President Déby managed to **balance the conflicting interests in Chad in order to be able to initiate the CCPP and thus create oil wealth for Chad** and how has Chad used its sovereign power to gain control over the oil revenues?
- **How has the CCPP contributed to the Chadian security crises** (Darfur and internal unrest) and how have the GoC and President Déby utilised the interests of the international actors to combat the threats emanating from the security crises?

METHODOLOGY

- The case study approach
- Several data sources
 - Speeches/interviews, statements, US diplomatic cables, newspaper articles, journalistic research, academic research and quantitative data.
- Theoretical canvas
 - Classical realist theory

THEORIES RELATED TO RESOURCE CONFLICT

- Three factors of conflict related to resources (Le Billon, 2008).
 1. Vulnerability as a result of the resource curse
 1. Result of economic shocks and long-term underperformance.
 2. Risk as a result of resource conflict
 1. 'Who controls what and where'.
 3. Opportunity as a result of conflict resources
 1. The economic possibilities of belligerents and external actors.

CLASSICAL REALIST THEORIES

- Classical realists (such as Thucydides and Morgenthau) hold three key components in their approach to world politics (Dunne and Schmidt, 2014, pp. 100-106; Smith, 1986, pp. 219-221).
 1. Negative view of human nature, which emphasises the importance of the statesman.
 2. The state is the dominant actor in international affairs and the pursuit of power by individuals and states is inescapable and ubiquitous.
 3. The state makes rational choices according to their own interests (often linked to maintaining or increasing power).

FINDINGS CASE STUDY #1 – THE CCPP

- The World Bank drafted a multi-sector plan to alleviate the problems in Chad including the problems of bad governance. (In line with several scholars who argue for policy intervention to mitigate the ill effects of the resource curse (Collier, 2007; Kojucharov, 2007; Pegg, 2006)).
- To start the oil project, the GoC and Déby made concessions to the World Bank, thus surrendering sovereignty.
- The GoC and Déby used their economic power and power over opinion to remove the World Bank and gain control over their own oil.
- Linking back to the theory, I found that Déby – the statesman – acted out of human nature and focused only on power and national interests.

FINDINGS CASE STUDY #2 – SECURITY

- The Chadian security crises consist of three different crises.
- The incapacity of the Déby regime to reform itself created pressure on Déby.
- Déby's historic affiliation with two Sudanese rebel groups started a proxy war with Sudan.
- Déby kept France and the US (supporters of the CCPP) as close allies to stay in power.
- The CCPP has been a catalyst and the driving force for crisis and conflict in Darfur and Chad.

CONCLUSION

- *In which way has the CCPP been a catalyst for Chad's increased power, but also contributed to the deteriorated security situation in Chad?*
- The CCPP has been a catalyst for Chad's increased power in the way that it has provided Chad with oil wealth (**economic power**).
- Déby and the GoC have used some of the oil revenue to purchase weapons, which has further increased Chad's power (**military power**).
- Déby has balanced the interests of many different parties in both the CCPP and the Chadian security crises (**power over opinion**).
- Chad's incapacity to reform itself, might have worsened the security situation (the **resource curse argument**).
- The case study has proved links between both the **resource conflict argument** ('who controls what and where') and the **conflict resource argument** ('prize of taking power').

QUESTIONS?