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The Role of Natural Resources in Civil Wars: The Case of Democratic Republic of Congo

By

Anne Kwamboka Ogoti

**A Major Research Paper
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Political Science
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor**

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2019

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The Role of Natural Resources in Civil Wars: The Case of Democratic Republic of Congo

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March 1, 2019

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ABSTRACT

This study assesses the role of natural resources in civil wars in Democratic Republic of Congo. The study uses qualitative research techniques and employs resource curse theory. The DRC has witnessed about 5 million deaths due to human right abuses and armed conflict. The country has been in conflict over the natural resource exploitation as interested parties seek to benefit from the natural resources. The country possesses vast natural resources which have been the object of interest by various parties. These natural resources have prolonged the conflict in DRC, but at the same time is not the main cause of the conflict. This study examines the role played by multinational companies, rebel groups and the international community in financing the conflict in their quest to accumulate natural resource wealth. The study finds that the conflict in DRC hinders the country's utilization of the natural resources which is an obstacle to economic development.

DEDICATION

This work is specifically dedicated to my loving mum Carren, my late father and the entire family for their support during my studies. I also dedicate it to my friends whose support and encouragement contributed to my successful study at the University of Windsor.

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I am grateful to God for His grace upon me and for seeing me through his study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFDL – Alliance des Forces Démocratique pour la Liberation du Congo-Zaire

BCDI- Banque de Commerce, de Development et de l'Industrie

DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo

FDLR- Forces démocratiques de liberation du Rwanda

FP- Force Publique

ICD- Inter Congolese Dialogue

ICGLR- International Conference on the Great Lakes Region

IRC- International Rescue Committee

JMC- Joint Military Commission

KPCS- Kimberly Process Certification Scheme

LRA- Lord's Resistance Army

MLC- Movement for the Liberation of Congo

MONUC- Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

MNC- Mouvement National Congolais

MNC- Multinational Corporation

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

OECD- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

RCD- Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie

RPA- Rwandan Patriotic Army

UN- United Nations

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

UNEP- United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNSC- United Nations Security Council

UPDF- Uganda Peoples' Defense Forces

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Background

Natural resources such as metals, oil, timber, minerals and water are essential sources of income and livelihoods. They influence many countries around the world. If these natural resources are poorly shared or ineffectively managed they can lead to strains and tensions that can escalate into conflicts or intensify pre-existing conflict dynamics. One thing in common among the many intra and interstate conflicts since the 1990's in Africa is that the natural resources often influence and sustain the conflict or war (Majavu, 2010).

This study borrows from the theory put forward by Paul Collier who demonstrated a strong connection between natural resources and conflicts (Collier Paul & Anke Hoeffler, 2000). Using the resource curse theory, Paul Collier argues that countries which have high economic dependence on natural resources have a high likelihood of conflicts. The countries that rely on the exportation of primary commodities face a higher risk of civil war than the resource-poor countries. Countries that are rich with natural resources have also been linked with having weak political regimes and incoherent governments.

Since the turn of the 21st century, Africa has been plagued with never-ending instances of civil wars, armed conflicts, and coups d'état. As a continent, African countries have the highest mean

state fragility index scores (Marshall, G.& Cole, R., 2011). In addition, Africa is the highest contributor to the United Nations (UN) list of fragile states. Out of the thirty lowest ranked countries in the 2011 Human Development Index, only three are not African (UNDP, 2012). Compared to other developing countries, African countries have witnessed the highest level of civil wars and military conflicts, especially after World War II. There is also a high correlation between the level of underdevelopment in Africa and its propensity for civil war. Apart from impeding the growth of Africa as a continent, civil wars have led to unprecedented destruction of infrastructure, disruption of market activity, reduced investment, and human capital losses. Today, there is a wide range of scholarly evidence that shows a strong correlation between civil wars and natural resources.

The study concentrates on the civil wars in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) mainly because it is a country filled with vast natural resources but has been in conflict for a long period of time, also because of its international context and the large number of actors involved in resolving the conflicts. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is one of the world's richest countries with respect to its natural resources but still among the poorest countries based on their GDP per capita. These natural resources include: gold, copper, tin, columbium, cobalt, uranium, zinc, timber, precious stones and oil. The total volume of these natural resources

should at least provide the state with huge revenues for redistribution among the citizens. The state has been in constant conflict since the first Congo war in 1996, both external and internal which has resulted in at least 4 million deaths and causing political instability and decreases in financial development (Montague, 2002, p. 103).

Importantly, the DRC's natural resources include minerals which are required in assembling different electronic gadgets, for example, tablets, cell phones, laptops and other electronic devices. Most of these minerals are called conflict minerals, which are usually minerals that are mined in war regions (Eichstaedt, *Capturing Congo: Gold, Guns and Strife*, 2012). Global companies such as Google, Apple, Intel, have revealed that there might be conflict minerals in their products (Luckerson, 2014). This automatically makes these global companies part of the DRC conflict too. DRC's natural resources therefore become the object of interest by these companies and the role of the private sector has to be taken into consideration. It is clear that the global companies make profits with the electronic gadgets they make, and, in which they require the DRC's minerals, mainly because the demand for the devices also increases globally. These resources are often gotten from conflict regions and fund corrupt individuals and rebel groups in the government and army (Filipovic, 2014).

The country's resources play a part in sustaining the wars because of the financial benefits the rebel groups acquire from them (Autesserre, *Dangerous tales: dominant narratives on the Congo and their unintended consequences.*, 2012). The United Nations (2001) states that the situation in the DRC is to a great extent maintained by the funds the actors get by looting and exploiting the natural resources, mainly minerals in the regions that were under their control. The extraction of these resources made the war, "an extremely lucrative business" (pg.6). DRC remains quite unstable after the civil wars, especially the eastern part of the country. Even though the second war in the country ended in 2003, rebel groups in the eastern part have continued to carry out rebellions and attacks.

The main objective of this paper is to focus on the role of natural resources in the civil wars in DRC. This study mainly examines how the natural resources play a key role in influencing and prolonging the civil conflicts in DRC. The study also examines the history of DRC and how Multinational Corporations (MNCs), rebel groups, warlords, have played a key role in the exploitation of natural resources which have brought about prolonging of the conflicts.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Chapter Two reviews the literature on civil wars and natural resources and the historical overview of the Democratic Republic of Congo from the precolonial era. This chapter seeks to examine the history of the Congo civil wars and the

key actors in causing the wars will also be analyzed. Chapter Three examines the many natural resources in DRC and how they have financed the civil wars. It also focuses on the mismanagement of these resources specifically by rebel groups and international companies and their influence on the DRC conflict. Chapter Four examines the peace initiatives and solutions placed to try to establish a lasting solution to the DRC conflict, focusing on the role played by the international community, African organizations and the measures taken by DRC. Chapter Five illustrates the general conclusions, recommendations of the study and the possible future areas of research to be considered.

1.2 Statement of a Problem

According to the UN, there are more than 20 regions in Africa rich in natural resources that are vulnerable to outbreaks of resource conflicts and civil wars (Ross, *Natural Resources and Civil War: An Overview with Some Policy Options*, 2002). As the natural resources decrease it is expected that there will be a rise in the number of lives lost and destruction of infrastructure due to the struggle for the natural resources. While most of the research has concentrated mainly on natural resources as the main factor influencing wars, there are also other factors that contribute to civil wars such as such poor political regimes, religion and ethnicity. Several studies have shown that the presence of natural resources also plays a role in causing civil

conflict. Therefore, this study will try to fill the gap to show that in most of the civil wars, the reason for the occurrence of the war, the presence of the precious natural resources certainly plays a key role in prolonging the conflict. Specifically, the study asks the question: Have natural resources played a role in prolonging civil wars in DRC? In answering this question, the study strives to achieve two objectives:

- To examine the impact and role played by natural resources in DRC civil wars.
- To determine the role of the international companies/MNCs in prolonging the conflict.

1.3 Hypothesis & Supporting Theory

It will be argued that natural resources influence and play a key role in prolonging and fueling the civil wars in Africa specifically the DRC. Natural resource wealth increases the probability and duration of civil war, independent of its effects on the incidence of civil war. Several actors in DRC play a role in ensuring that the conflict is sustained so as to benefit from the natural resources.

This study will be guided by the resource curse theory. The resource curse theory states that developing nations that have a high amount of natural resources create a higher risk for civil wars and automatically lower the rate of development (Collier Paul & Anke Hoeffler, 2000). Collier (2007) finds that resource abundance is a strong determinant of the onset of civil wars.

The resource curse is associated with bad governance, corruption and slow economic growth.

At the extreme of the resource curse lie the natural resource conflicts (Stiglitz, 2007). The natural resources could be linked to conflict in two ways: there can be conflict over the possession of natural resources, and natural resources can finance and sustain conflict (Le Billon, 2001).

The theory posits that the rebel groups start wars to be able to get access to natural resource wealth (Collier Paul & Anke Hoeffler, 1998). The foreign governments mainly Uganda and Rwanda had a huge role in the wars of DRC as their rebel groups took control over some mining sites in DRC. While corporations face an increased risk to invest in and extract resources from conflict areas, the corporation will still earn some profit and might still have to pay off the rebel groups or militia in that place. Collier and Hoeffler (2000) find that greed rather than grievances explain why rebels are motivated to initiate conflict. Conflicts occur because individuals see the potential of control over the resource rent that leads the rebels to engage in conflict. Collier and Hoeffler suggest that natural resources are a curse because countries that have resource wealth have a higher chance of experiencing civil conflict.

The resource curse theory is a complicated phenomenon that has resulted from a variety of reasons, including rent seeking, Dutch disease, crowding out of human and social capital (Auty,

2001). The resource revenue is used by corrupt government officials, to bribe officials instead of investing in projects and industries that would affect the long-term development (Barbier, 2003). Auty claims that many resource-rich countries have not been successful to benefit from the resource wealth and they could be actually performing worse than the countries that are not rich in natural resources and this is a counterintuitive outcome of the resource curse.

The resource curse theory explains the conflict in the DRC in relation to the natural resources. Overall, this theory will direct this study in its attempt to explain the role the natural resources play during the civil wars in DRC, to also explain how MNCs and rebel groups have been able to manage and control the production of these natural resources.

1.4 Methodology

My research is a qualitative study that has been supported by quantitative data from secondary sources where necessary. My methods have been challenged as the study is mainly analyzing secondary sources which are quite limited and as wide research has mainly been written by the 'global north'. Therefore the study will make use of a variety of literature. This study mainly relies on secondary data as a way of collecting data, mainly because of the unlikelihood of going out to conduct a field study.

The study relies on secondary data mainly from academic sources such as books, peer reviewed journal articles and dissertations published on this topic. The main books used in the study are by Collier such as *Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars* *Natural Resources and Violent Conflict*. *Options and Actions*. Publications from Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), multinational company reports, newspapers, magazines, news articles and government publications have also been drawn upon. Official documents and press releases, including reports of numerous international and local governmental companies, MNCs, the UN panel of expertise reports have been used in this study. The United Nations Group of Experts on the DRC final reports provides important information about the looting of the nation's natural resources. Articles from Foreign Policy, Time, BBC News, Foreign Affairs and The Washington Post also provide information about the natural resources in DRC.

1.5 Limitations

The limitation of this study is the use of one country as an example to make a civil war-natural resource connection; this link may not be adequately extensive to make a representation of other countries that are rich in natural resources and experiencing conflict. In this case, conclusions have only been narrowed down to this case study. It will be beneficial in future to carry out this study using more countries as it offers a stronger basis for generalizations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo is mostly known for its longevity. Several scholars have examined and addressed quite a number of aspects of the conflicts in the various historical periods. The DRC is a former colony of Belgium; its history is extremely complicated and violent. The country gained its independence from the Belgians in 1960, and the Belgians left the country in a chaotic state that was difficult to control. The historical backdrop of DRC can easily be described as one of exploitation of natural resources and civil wars. Deibert argues that because of colonialism, DRC turned into a seriously distorted state and that the conflicts which have occurred in the country are because of governments and individuals that are advancing their own economic and political aims (2013, p. 8). The exploitation of these natural resources has been going on since the colonization period in the 1870s.

Hence, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part reviews the literature on the civil wars and natural resources which tries to explain the role the natural resources play in not only causing the civil wars but also prolonging them. The second part outlines the historical overview of the Democratic Republic of Congo from the colonial era and shows how natural

resources influenced history ever since the Belgians settled in the country to date. The chapter gives a comprehensive historical background of DRC in order to understand the issues better, it looks at the transition from Congo in the colonial era to DRC as a sovereign state with its post-independence conflicts and the depletion of natural resources that have caused various engagements across the country by several militia groups and armed forces.

2.2 Literature Review

Fearon defines a civil war as "a violent conflict within a country, fought by organized groups that aim to take power at the center or in a region or to change government policies" (Fearon, 2004). Civil wars always have the state involved fighting off groups challenging to take over control of power (Olson & Pearson, 2009).

The study at the World Bank by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (2000) suggests that countries that highly depend on natural resources to acquire their wealth are extremely prone to a civil conflict. The literature suggests that natural resources are not the only causes of conflict and that a country that is dependent on natural resources is not bound to get into conflict. Instead, the study shows that the abundance of these natural resources especially in developing countries intensifies the occurrence of a conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, Greed and Grievance in civil wars, 2000). Collier (1999) suggests that a country that highly depends on its natural

resource exports, with at least a 25% of its national revenue coming from these natural resources, has a higher risk of up to four times of an occurrence of a conflict than a country that does not depend on natural resource exports. Collier and Hoeffler argue that conflict can be explained in terms of greed or by grievances, for example, ethnic connection or political marginalization. To understand the reasons why civil wars exist especially in countries rich in natural resources we should concentrate on the greed of rebel groups and specifically on their trade in natural resources (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000).

The United Nations (2001) on the illegal exploitation of natural resources in the DR-Congo reported that the struggle for control over these natural resources worsens the conflict in DRC and makes it difficult to manage the natural resources in the country. The conflict in DRC is greatly supported by funds that the actors get by exploiting the natural resources in the regions that are under their control. The mining and selling of these resources made the conflict, “an extremely lucrative business” (United Nations, 2001, p. 6). The report concludes that any lasting solution to the conflict in DRC fueled by the illegal exploitation of natural resources should first address the root causes of the conflict.

With such a high demand for the natural resources, the dominance of these rebel groups and their control of the mining areas, guarantees that MNC's also take part in supplying the rebel

groups with finances and equipped weapons by buying the natural resources and in return the rebel groups, continue to control the natural resources and commit crimes during this whole process (Collier & Hoeffler, 2003). These corporations take part in the control and management of natural resources either directly or indirectly.

Ross (1997) argues that resource dependency in a country can have a negative impact on the performance of a government. Dependence on the natural resources with unstable market prices can strain the government organizations as the revenue intended to maintain and sustain the budget fluctuates (Ross, 1997). This vicious cycle of economic stagnation, resource dependence, and poor governance can hinder the development of the country (Brydges, 2013). Mineral exports bring in a lot of money and the government elites have the choice to put these in the development of the economy.

Fearon (2004) argues that civil wars in countries that are rich in natural resources usually last twice as long as they would have lasted in countries that are not rich in natural resources. The natural resources increase the duration of a civil war. Rebel groups control the wars to ensure that the wars last longer so as to fully benefit from these conflicts (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000). The rebel groups establish a monopoly through violence and become the main managers of these resources in the part of the country to maximize the benefits from the natural resources.

Complex situations and events such as; ethnic differences, religious differences, poverty, and unstable governments also play a role in creating wars and conflicts (Lujala, Rustad, & Kettenmann, 2016). Research shows that after these conditions have been considered, natural resources increase the risk of a civil war breaking out, and resolving the conflict would be more difficult (Ross, 2002).

The IRC (2003) report on Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Results from a Nationwide Survey shows that approximately 3.3 million deaths occurred in five provinces in the eastern region in the DRC between 1998 and 2003. The report further argues that the international community failed to pay enough attention to the conflict in DRC and goes further to urge scholars to investigate what exactly made the conflict to be deadly and what can be done to reach a permanent solution. Currently, DRC is struggling to recover from the two civil wars, in which a large number of individuals were killed between 1998 and 2003. The war in the DRC was very dangerous and destructive and Eichstaedt portrays DRC to be the home of one of the worst humanitarian disasters in the world after the Second World War (Eichstaedt, 2012).

Before the civil wars began, the countries had corrupt regimes that looted the funds from natural resources (Hirsch, 2001). The outcome was a decline in the living of standards of the

citizens and poor economic performance and a decline in standards of living. Citizens became dissatisfied by the worsening of the conditions in the country despite all the rich natural resources of their countries. Civil wars remove the years of development in a country; they bring lots of hardships to the population. The civil war in DRC has disrupted the economic activity in the country, lowering the standards of living and sources of incomes of the civilians.

2.3 History of the DRC

2.3.1 Colonization Era (1885–1960)

In 1819, the Belgians arrived in Congo under the protection of the International Association of the Congo. The Belgian king, Leopold II, had just discovered the mineral wealth of Congo and wanted to exploit these resources. Leopold II established a colonial empire by signing treaties with African leaders who gave the king sovereignty in their regions. During the Conference of Berlin in 1884, Leopold II got the recognition for the Congo and the European powers approved his claim to the country (Dunn, 2003). The Berlin conference gave Leopold II the ownership over Congo and in exchange would allow businesses of European missionaries and traders to also exploit the resources. The revolution of the automobile in the 19th century, led to the increase of international demand for rubber that was used in tires, Congo become Leopold's greatest possession as it produced rubber in abundance (Gondola, 2002). The *Force Publique*

(FP) was created to ensure the steady flow of the red rubber in the international market from the Congo; this army was made of 350 European commanders and 12,500 African soldiers. At this time the prices for rubber were at their highest and the profit from the rubber trade was more than 700 percent (Gondola, 2002). The FP used extreme violence to terrorize the population, by forcing them to collect wild rubber and cutting off their hands if they didn't meet the quotas. In the late 1890s, the international community knew about the atrocities committed by the FP in their means of gathering rubber. Leopold had still never set foot in Congo and after harsh negotiations he finally agreed to 'sell' his Congo Free State to the Belgian government in 1908.

The Belgium state took over from King Leopold II In 1908 and it adopted most of the administration that was already in place (Gondola, 2002). On November 1908, Leopold renamed the country Belgian Congo, still under the administration of the Belgians. During the colonial era, the Belgian administration and King Leopold oppressed the emergence and development of civil society. Leopold used violent ways to make sure that his subjects were in check and he didn't develop the country. The economy was mainly based on the extraction of raw minerals from the mines that were then sent to Belgium for processing and manufacturing. The most common exported natural resources from the Congo were palm oil, wild rubber, ivory

and cotton until the 1920s. During the WWII, the Belgian colony contributed to the allied war effort through human and natural resources; Congolese soldiers were drafted to fight the Italians and Germans in Northern Africa and natural resources were exported.

The king got his finances from the Belgian parliament and in exchange, Belgium had the right to exploit the country; in addition to this Leopold II declared all the unoccupied land as state land which enabled him to have control of the natural resources like ivory and rubber (Turner, 2013, p. 148). He used concessionary companies to exploit the mineral resources, especially in Kasai and Katanga. These companies used drastic methods to increase production such as death, forced labor, torture, violence, and coercion. The Belgian government assumed control over the region until 1960 when Congo got their independence. The quest for admiration from the world, made Leopold to colonize the Congo for the sake of his personal ambitions and not for the sake of the Congolese people (De Mul, 2009).

Africans were barely given a position in the government; the native Congolese mainly provided labor for the mining operations. The Christian missionaries arrived in Congo in the 1930s and they helped improve the health services and educational level for the Africans. These Africans started to challenge the colonial system in the country; they started making demands for a self-government which later initiated the creation of political parties from the cultural

organizations (Emizet, 1999). Political participation for the Congolese population had been banned in the colonial administration, but after the war the Belgian government continued to repress political union and the creation of political parties which facilitated the rise of ethnic nationalisms and political parties.

Patrice Lumumba who was the leader of Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) and Joseph Kasavubu rallied people for riots to seek independence from the Belgians in 1959. These riots quickly started negotiations between Belgium and the Congolese political leaders on independence. Congo gained its independence on 30th June 1960 with Joseph Kasavubu as President and Patrice Lumumba as Prime Minister (Nwaubani, 2001). After independence, the governance of the country was handed over to the citizens of Congo (now DRC), who had little knowledge about governance, this ensured continuous exploitation of the resources even after independence.

2.3.2 The Congo Crisis (1960–1966)

The attempted secession of the Katanga province was the main catalyst during this period. On 11th July 1960, Katanga province which is rich with gold, uranium and copper was declared independent under Governor Moise Tshombe who had close ties to Belgian mining companies. Congo would have lost a huge part of mineral resources without Katanga. The secession set off

with a struggle for power in the recently independent state, with Lumumba pursuing the UN for support to hold the nation together. Patrice Lumumba sought the UN intervention to suppress the secessionist movement but the UN opposed his plea. The country then faced another secession attempt in Kasai which is rich in diamonds. He then strived to request military assistance from the Soviet Union who airlifted Congolese troops to invade Kasai. This decision later lead to his assassination by rebels who were backed by western powers (Brydges, 2013). Patrice Lumumba who was Congo's first Prime Minister tried to change the status quo maintained by the Western powers and was quickly eliminated (Nzongola, Patrice Lumumba: The Most Important Assassination of the 20th Century: The US-Sponsored Plot to Kill Patrice Lumumba, the Hero of Congolese Independence, Took Place 50 Years Ago Today, 2011). Patrice Lumumba's death meant that constitutional government had also come to an end.

These secession attempts attracted foreign interference which drove the country into years of instability before Joseph Mobutu could set up his dictatorship (Kaplan, 1967). Ross (2004) states that one way in which an abundance of natural resources can contribute to a civil war is by increasing the risks of secession conflict, a good example of this is Katanga province. Katanga attracted foreign intervention because of the mineral interests and this was also a factor that drove the country into civil war. The secession attempts in Katanga were curbed, and

the state mining company Gécamines, which dealt mainly with the copper-belt, was gutted (Samset, 2002, p. 468). Mobutu received backing from the US which wanted to secure its interests in the country rather than helping to stabilize and ensure peace in the country. The US supported Mobutu's regime with more than \$227.4 million in military assistance and \$1.03 billion in foreign aid (Dunn, 2003).

2.3.3 The Mobutu Era (1966–1997)

The overall condition of underdevelopment in the DRC can largely be traced to the rule of President Mobutu. In the 1970s the economy contracted under his rule and there was a high level of corruption and embezzlement of state funds. The main industries were placed under state control (Congdon & Olsson, 2004). Corruption and the embezzlement of funds led to the fall of the mining sector, the high mineral export taxes increased the rate of smuggling. Under Mobutu, the country procured a huge external debt of around \$14 billion and the country also suffered capital flight as funds and savings roughly around \$18 billion were being moved abroad (Ndikumana & Boyce, 1998). The economic mismanagement and capital flight hindered the growth of the country's economy.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the regime of President Mobutu had nationalized almost all businesses and companies that were operating in the country's natural resources sectors.

Corruption and mismanagement of these nationalized businesses and companies diminished the state budgets to a minimum and prompted a fall of the economy and the government ensured that all the trade carried out in the country passed through the capital, Kinshasa; this enhanced an informal resource-based economy in the east of the country in the 1990s. Under these conditions, a casual asset-based economy flourished in the eastern part of the nation during the 1990s leaning towards markets in Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya (Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers, 2004).

Mobutu believed that the state's natural resources belonged to him; he used the public funds as an instrument of power (Emizet, 1999). These public funds were mainly acquired locally from the country's resources and were used by political benefactors to neutralize their enemies. Emizet (1999) argues that political cleavages in Congo emerged from the divisions among the demographic subgroups on the basis of their relationship to power. The upper class which was referred to as Mobutu's brotherhood was a corrupt class which used the resources of the country to enrich itself and didn't tend to the development of the state (Nzongola, 2002).

Under Mobutu's regime, natural resource wealth supported politics instead of development and at the end left the country as capital outflow (Collier & Hoeffler, "Resource Rents, Governance and Conflict", 2005). In 1990, Mobutu was forced to end the one-party rule because of the high

levels of corruption, poor growth and the high levels of debt in the country (Congdon & Olsson, 2004). The failure of development is linked to the incompetence of the government, worsened by the desire to misappropriate the resource wealth of the country. The collapse of the regime of President Mobutu was linked to the economic policies present at the time, the regime had nationalized almost all the private businesses operating in the country's various natural resource sectors in the 1970s and 1980s. The inefficient management and corruption of these companies led to the fall of the economy. At this time, the government had insisted that all trade should pass through Kinshasa, in the west of the country. This brought about an informal resource-based economy in the eastern part of the country in the 1990s, focused on the markets in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania (Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers, 2004).

2.3.4 The Congo Wars (1994 – 2003)

Collier and Hoeffler show the relationship between a country's reliance on primary commodity exports and the incidence of a civil war occurring (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000). The economic performance under Mobutu's regime was unsuccessful and the civil wars in the country drove the country into a worse state of underdevelopment. After the 1994 genocide in Rwanda the Hutu refugees fled to DRC, this led to conflict between the Mobutu regime and Rwanda. The Rwandans wanted to remove Mobutu from power; they supported Laurent Kabila who was

previously a rebel leader. In May 1997, the Kabila's' rebels and the Rwandans succeeded to take control of Kinshasa (Congdon & Olsson, 2004).

Laurent Kabila was able to tap into and control this informal trade of resources and built an opposition army that overthrew Mobutu's regime in 1997. In the years that followed, armed groups that were opposing the governments of Laurent and Joseph Kabila followed the same strategy and got support from their neighbouring countries, Uganda and Rwanda who wanted to gain territorial control. The many years of civil war in the eastern part of the country also initiated local conflicts specifically in the resource deposits area between the militia allied to either the foreign powers or the central government.

In 1998, Kabila removed Tutsi army leaders, which made Rwandans furious. In August 1998 Rwanda, alongside their partners in Uganda, attacked the DRC. Sudan, Zimbabwe, Chad, Namibia, and Angola all mediated in the interest of Kabila (Congdon & Olsson, 2004). In the Second War, the Rwandans and Ugandans saw the opportunity to carry out commercial activities; their armies started looting the natural resources and exported the resources (Brydges, 2013). Gold exports from Uganda during this period exceeded the domestic production and both countries exported diamonds and this is a mineral that does not exist in the two countries (Congdon & Olsson, 2004). At the point when Kabila betrayed his Ugandan

and Rwandan supporters in 1998, the looting and extracting of resources required persistent military presence in the area.

2.3.4.1 The First Congo War: 1994 – 1997

As stated above, Mobutu was very corrupt and destroyed the nation's economy by nationalizing all parts of the economy and he embezzled the state funds for his own benefit. Over the years, Congo is known to have always had ethnic issues between the indigenous people and the population who came over from Rwanda. Banyarwanda and Banyamulenge are names given to the population of Rwandan descent who moved to the country during the Belgian rule to work in the mines and the fields of Katanga (Van Reybrouck, 2010). The Belgians have used this issue of citizenship to keep indigenous Congolese out of administrative positions and also Mobutu used it as a tool to keep the Congolese engaged with the ethnic problems while his government was failing in the early 1990's.

When the Congolese were getting hateful towards the Banyarwandan population, they formed militias known as Mai Mai which targeted every one of the Rwandan descent. Mobutu permitted for the hostility to occur as he had lost control in the eastern provinces. At the end of the Rwandan Genocide, approximately 1.5million Rwandese fled into Congo (Prunier, Africa's World War: Congo, The Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of Continental Catastrophe., 2009).

With the high influx of refugees in the country, President Mobutu welcomed the international community to help with the relief effort. The refugee camps were crowded with Hutu immigrants who suffered through various diseases, looting, and violence (Van Reybrouck, 2010). The Hutus were extremists who still believed that they could still reclaim Rwanda; they controlled the refugee camps (Prunier, 1999) and carried out continuous attacks from the camps into Rwanda.

The international community that was present in the camps knew about the plans for a counter-attack into Rwanda, yet barely did anything. General Kagame knew about this counter-attack and had to get a way to deal with this threat and Mobutu without beginning a war in Congo. Kagame found a few Zairian Tutsi leaders and with the help of Uganda and Rwanda they established the Alliance des Forces Démocratique pour la Liberation du Congo-Zaire (AFDL) in October of 1996 and their main goal was to remove Mobutu from power. Laurent-Désiré Kabila was the main leader of AFDL which was formed as a reaction to the attacks by the Hutu militia against the Tutsis with Congo citizenship. In October 1996, the Governor of South Kivu announced that ethnic cleansing of the Banyamulenge (Tutsi) population would happen. This was the starting of the violence that prompted the First Congo War. The Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) got together with the AFDL in Goma, where they

started attacking the refugee camps. By the end of 1996, the army of Mobutu was killing Congolese civilians, raping, and looting in Kinshasa.

Thousands returned to Rwanda and more were killed during this violence. They moved further inland, towards the west (Van Reybrouck, 2010), alongside thousands of the refugees. The First Congo War lasted for seven months with the AFDL moving to Kinshasa. On the seventeenth of May 1997, Mobutu fled into exile until his death in September 1997. By this time, the AFDL had taken control of Kinshasa and Laurent Désiré Kabila became the president of what is now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo. This is when the war came to an end.

2.3.4.2 The Second Congo War: 1997 – 2003

The end of the first war left the country in a state that would ultimately prompt the start of the second war. The government, parliament and the constitution were the instruments that Kabila threw away to reinforce his hold on power (HRW, 1997). He abolished the multi-party system and it quickly became obvious that Kabila was just another substitute for Mobutu (Van Reybrouck, 2010). Kabila's regime was authoritarian and his relationship with the international community was a significant factor in the run-up to the Second War. On July 26th, 1998, President Kabila demanded all the Rwandan and foreign forces to leave DRC. Many left the country but came back in August as a Rwandan invasion force. The purpose of the second war

was to change the regime in Kinshasa. The Second Congo War started in August 1998 and ended in June 2003 (Trautman, 2013).

The International Rescue Committee (2008) reported that the Second Congo War was the bloodiest conflict in the world after the Second World War with approximately 5.4 million deaths due to the war and its outcome. Through the course of the war, it involved around thirty armed groups and nine nations. The Second war was a complex conflict as it didn't have a coherent purpose from any side of the battlefield and the groups were shifting allegiances during the war. Even though the war officially ended in 2003, the conflict still lingered on in the country (Trautman, 2013). The main consequences of the conflict were famine, diseases and continued violence especially on the Eastern side of the country. At the point when Rwanda attacked DRC, it set up a Congolese Rebel Movement- Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD) as a cover which was also supported by Burundi and Uganda.

Kabila found more allies from Chad, Namibia, Libya, and Sudan (Van Reybrouck, 2010). The north-eastern part of the country was controlled by the RCD and Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC) while the south-western part was controlled by Kabila and his allies. Laurent Kabila was able to overthrow Mobutu's regime in 1997 by building an opposition army and he then took control over the informal trade in gemstones and precious metals. Armed groups

were formed that opposed the governments of Laurent Kabila and were openly supported by the neighboring countries, Rwanda and Uganda in their struggle to increase regional control.

By 1999, both sides were not ready to step down from the conflict, this initiated peace talks that ended with the signing of the Lusaka Peace Accord in Zambia. The countries involved guaranteed to withdraw their forces from the DRC, and the UN would send 500 observers during the transition period; Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) was established (MONUC, 2017). The alliance between Uganda and Rwanda ended after the Lusaka Accords, the two countries started concentrating on the wealth in the eastern DRC after realizing that Kinshasa could not be taken again.

Profits became more important for the two countries; they were now fighting against each other for Kisangani which was rich in diamonds (Van Reybrouck, 2010). The armed groups like RCD split up into smaller groups which were either pro-Rwanda or pro-Uganda; they fought over mining sites and land. These groups supplied the minerals to Uganda and Rwanda which later sold them for huge profits. For example in 1999, Rwanda exported \$40 million worth of gold yet Rwanda has no gold mines (Global Witness, 2005). On January sixteenth, 2001, the President of the Democratic Republic of Congo was shot by one of his own guards, who is said to be a child soldier. Joseph Kabila who was his son immediately became his successor and this

was the turning point of the Second Congo War. Peace negotiations started in August 2001, Uganda and Rwanda were both accused by the United Nations (UN) of illegal exploitation of DRC's natural resources. Several agreements were signed between DR and Uganda like the Luanda Agreement in September 2002 and the Pretoria Agreement in July 2002.

2.3.5 The Post-War Era (2003 – Present): Continuous Instability

Wars tend to stagnate the economy of a country, this provide actors with incentives to continue fighting because there is no foresight to sustainable economic development (Collier P. , 2007). Collier argues that civil wars occur where rebel groups can be able to finance themselves (Collier P. , 2007). The combination of dependence on resource exports, low income, and low economic growth generate incentives for the rebel groups to continue fighting as they remain viable (Collier P. , 2007). Violence then becomes the only way the rebels and the government can survive. The rebellions start to become commercialized and the government and rebels fight for the resource territories and finance the fight through trading these resources. The government and rebel groups become competitors in the extraction of these natural resources (Le Billon P. , 2001).

As mentioned before, the Eastern Congo contains deposits of coltan, gold, diamonds, cassiterite, and tungsten and most of these minerals are mined using low-tech artisanal methods (Koning,

2011). Despite the fact that foreign troops left DRC after the end of the war, the abundance of natural resources and the instability of the country had encouraged the presence of many rebel groups. The country's army is underpaid and underfunded; therefore, it's not able to use any strong control over the region. This is also because the army is made of former rebels who still remain intent on extracting the resource wealth. One of the rich and important minerals in the war-torn Eastern Congo is diamonds. In 2002, DRC produced about 18.2 million carats of diamonds but only half of this amount was of good quality (Olsson, 2006).

DRC remains underdeveloped in so many ways even though it has numerous natural resources, DRC does not have the capital and skills to advance on its own. Hence, the DRC's prosperity relies on attracting foreign investors to the country (Digging for victory, 2011). The present situation in the country is still far from sustainable peace, it has poor infrastructure and their health care highly depends on charity and aid (DR Congo: Cursed by its natural wealth, 2013). The level of corruption is still high and according to Transparency International, the DRC positioned 161 out of 180 nations on its 2017 corruption perception list with a score of 21 out of 100.

The country has gone through a lot of conflicts and through the divide and rule policy used by the Belgians, there has been a lot of divisions among the Congolese society. Also, the Belgian

military officers who stayed in the country after the end of colonial rule became part of the military which executed the violence in the country. These military officers held their previous positions under the colonial rule, with the end goal to ensure continued suppression of the country.

2.4 The Key Actors in Prolonging the Wars

The conflict situation in the DRC has many factors contributing to it: the exploitation of natural resources, rebel groups, the government, and neighbouring countries trying to profit by the DRC's natural resources. The main reasons for the conflict situation are mainly caused locally but the country's natural resources prolong the conflict (Eichstaedt, Capturing Congo: Gold, Guns and Strife, 2012). The country has experienced several cycles of wars since independence.

2.4.1 The State

The state has a significant role to play in resource management and it has to guarantee that its citizens are protected and there is peace in the country. Katunga (2006) states that during the period between 1990 and 2000, the DRC experienced a huge inflation; there was a reduction of production in the agriculture and manufacturing sector and increased food prices, this leads to investors fleeing from DRC. These issues are proof of a much bigger problem of the state's responsibility in a conflict. The country has experienced several conflicts since its independence

and it has been characterized by the state leaders and institutions to mediate the demands of the country (Katunga, 2006). The state has a responsibility to provide accountability in the country's resource exploitation, external and national factors have continuously taken advantage of the state's inadequacy to control its natural resources (Global Witness, 2005). The DRC has failed to do this as corruption and the insecurity around the mines prevent the state from using its natural resources to the maximum capacity (Bekoe & Parajon, 2007).

2.4.2 Rebel Groups

The rebel groups are one of the main reasons that have caused the conflict situation in DRC to be unstable. There are about 30 rebel groups in the eastern DRC today who are still economically benefiting from the minerals (Rwanda genocide: 'Domino effect' in DR Congo, 2014). The Rwandan genocide in 1994 has also been a contributing factor to the volatile situation. The Hutus of Rwanda fled to DRC after the genocide and as a result, formed a rebel group called Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR). These rebel groups have been fighting over the control of the mines used to extract minerals and control over the natural resources.

In the province of South Kivu, a rebel group called Raia Mutomboki has controlled an area in Shabunda which is rich in cassiterite-main ore of tin mines. The rebel group benefits from the

exploitation of the tin mines and this affects negatively to the use of the natural resources in the country. In 2009, around two hundred mines in Kivu province were under the direct control of rebel groups (Koning, 2011). These rebel groups benefit from these minerals through protection fees, checkpoints, taxation, and extraction of the minerals. FDLR is known to be making millions from exploiting coltan miners (Brydges, 2013).

The constant looting of DRC's natural resources is linked to the maintenance of armed conflict in the country (UNHCR, 2015). The rebel groups engage in the exploitation and illegal trade of natural resources which maintain their illegal activities and in the process, this leads to the death of many people in the country. Laurent Nkunda is one of the rebel leaders that is seen as a threat to the security of the eastern part of the country (UNHCR, 2015). There are about 7 active rebel groups in the DRC that are in control of the natural resources and are situated in the different regions of the country (Afoaku, 2002). Examples of these rebel groups are Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC) and Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR). (UNHCR, 2015).

2.4.3 Multinational Corporations

The role of Multinational Corporations cannot be avoided when it comes to issues regarding with trade (International Trade and Investment Policy, 2008). MNCs in DRC have exploited

unstable state authority in the mining regions and have made partnerships with the rebel groups and the local militia with the end goal to have access to the mines (International Trade and Investment Policy, 2008).

Based on a number of reports, MNCs play a significant role in continuing the conflicts that have caused atrocities in the DRC. The rebel groups and local militia then utilize the benefits from these connections with MNCs to finance their activities by purchasing arms, which they use to keep up their hold over the population. This association has increased the use of arms and weapons and arms trafficking in the country, in this way, the MNCs have played a role in prolonging conflict in the country. The MNCs also face a problem with not knowing whether their agreement has been made by the government or by a rebel group (Schiut & Dorp, 2015).

The lack of credibility and transparency in these transactions has an impact on the population. Some mines have multiple layers of ownership, For example, in North Kivu, a mining site was compelled to shut down in 2007 while waiting for clarification of the mine's ownership (Bekoe & Parajon, 2007).

The MNCs that are involved in the exploiting of the natural resources area huge factor in the continuation of the conflict, they have economic interests in the conflict hence they prolong the fighting to enable easy access to these resources. Some experts argue that MNCs are the “engine

of the conflict” in DRC (Noury, 2010). Since the invasion of AFDL the number of corporations mining in the DRC has increased and this makes it harder to list the exact number of companies involved in the plundering. Glencore which is among the world’s biggest commodities-trading firm has been accused of corruption related to dealings with the Kabila’s government in the DRC. The company accounts for more than a quarter of the world’s cobalt which is mainly from DRC.

2.4.4 Neighbouring States

Neighbouring countries of the DRC also play a role in the country’s conflict situation. During the period of the civil wars, the rebel groups from Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda exploited the natural resources (Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding.*, 2010, p. 64) and today, these minerals are smuggled through these countries. Neighboring countries have played a key role in the conflicts, specifically Rwanda and Uganda. These neighboring countries use security as their reason to go to DRC. The Ugandan and Rwandan governments specifically emphasized their need to protect their borders (Rutagengwa, 2005). They exploit the natural resources of DRC and support the rebel groups for their own profit. The vast amount of DRC's resources plays an important role in defining the motivations driving the interventions in the internal affairs of these countries.

Uganda and Rwanda have both moved toward becoming the passage points for diamonds and other minerals that have been smuggled out of DRC illegally (Longman, 2002). For example, the Global Witness reports that a great part of the cassiterite that is mined in South and North Kivu is exported through Rwanda, a lot of it undeclared and unreported (Global Witness, 2005). Some Rwandan organizations are recorded as importers of Congolese cassiterite but don't report any of their imports from the DRC or somewhere else (Global Witness, 2005). Aside from the financial interests and the need to eliminate security fears, the involvement of Rwanda contribution in the DRC since 1998 has likewise been motivated by Rwanda's enthusiasm for democracy (Global Witness, 2005). The Uganda Peoples' Defense Forces (UPDF) attacked Congo by President Yoweri Museveni's orders, which demonstrates Uganda's involvement at the highest level (Clark, 2002).

2.5 Conclusion

The involvement of Congo in the global economy was mainly because of its natural resources. The Congo Free State that was a private colony of Leopold II was focused on the extraction of natural resources and the profits going back to the Belgian King. With the Belgian Congo, the authority was transferred from the Congo Free State to the Belgian parliament and it received its first constitution. The independence in 1960 resulted in the disintegration of the country as

the ethnic elites controlled different regions which led to a chaotic period until Mobutu was president. Mobutu's regime had high levels of corruption and the increasing competition for resources among the elites led to the failing of the Zaire. As I have tried to explain, the current political deficiencies that the country is going through today are connected to the historical past of colonialism. So while Congo still continues to be a victim of the plundering, the natural resource in demand has shifted from the wild rubber of King Leopold to something much needed in our technology world; coltan.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONFLICT AND NATURAL RESOURCES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the natural resources and how they have financed the conflict. There have been a number of reasons that have led to the fueling of the conflict such as the control of natural resources, conflict over basic resources and the corrupt regimes. Human Rights organizations have charged that MNCs have developed networks of key business, military and political elites to plunder the natural resources of DRC. As stated earlier, the DRC has immense natural resources. The greater part of Africa's natural resources are situated in the DRC, and over half of Africa's water resources flow through the nation. Moreover, there are 80 million hectares of arable land in the country. Besides, the DRC bears a significant mega-biodiversity reservoir that is ranked fifth in the world (The Democratic Republic of the Congo. . . , 2011). Therefore, the DRC's natural resources are significant to Africa and the rest of the world. DRC is one of the countries with the most minerals in the world, More than 1,100 different minerals can be found in the country (Democratic Republic of Congo country profile-Overview, 2018). The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) estimates that the DRC has unexploited mineral reserves worth USD 24 trillion (The Democratic Republic of the Congo . . . 2011). With such mineral wealth, the DRC could easily be one of the wealthiest countries in Africa, as long as the minerals are mined and sold in a legitimate way (Digging for victory, 2011).

The African region has become a common case of the resource curse phenomenon characterized by the abundance of natural resources, the misuse of natural resources and poor economic development. Botswana has succeeded in becoming an upper middle income country through utilizing its natural resources which makes the possibility of this accomplishment possible. There's both a direct and indirect relationship between conflict and the abundant natural resources. Directly, the natural resources and the revenues provide interested parties with reasons to fight, both instigating and prolonging conflict. Indirectly, the natural resource revenue affects the country's political and economic stability negatively. These resource revenues are said to reduce a government's incentives and leave the economy vulnerable to price shocks in commodity markets (Stevens, 2003).

If the country can effectively manage its mineral resource wealth, it could greatly benefit from foreign trade. In any case, if this isn't seriously taken care of, it could cause exploitation and conflict. Consequently, there is potential for the DRC to acquire economic growth, but the exploitation of the country's resources and corruption are hindering the country's development.

3.2 Natural Resources

The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (2015) states that DRC holds about half of the world's cobalt reserves and the cobalt produced in the nation covered about 55% of global production in 2012. The metal tantalum is separated from coltan and is normally utilized in the

assembling of capacitors required in electronic gadgets, such as tablets, laptops, mobile devices and game consoles (Global Witness, 2005). These minerals end up in electronic gadgets everywhere throughout the world. This makes international electronic makers, who utilize these minerals from the DRC in their products, part of the conflict too. Additionally, the nation has the biggest known diamond resources in the world of about 150 million carats, accounting for 25% of the total known resources in the world (World Bank, 2008). The competition for these resources has increased the problems that DRC is facing.

As indicated by the World Bank (2010), the copper reserves in the Katanga region, make the Katanga Copper Belt the second richest copper region in the world right after Chile. The Copper Belt compasses cobalt, copper, zinc and uranium resources (World Bank, 2008). In addition to minerals, DRC has oil too. The DRC holds around 34 per cent of the world's cobalt reserves and 10 per cent of the world's copper reserves, and in 2012 the cobalt produced in the country covered 55% of the global production (Extractive Industries, 2015). The government of DRC has recently accepted to open up two parts of two national parks in Virunga and Salonga to oil drilling. Virunga national park is also a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) world heritage site and the British company Soco International performed a seismic testing at the site in 2015. The government has secured its right to allow

the drilling to take place stating that it would be mindful of protecting the animals and plants in the two national parks (Giordano, 2018). This shows, once more, how the DRC's natural resources are the object of interest of global organizations.

The UN Security Council titled “*The Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth in the Democratic Republic of Congo*” showed the exploitation of the natural resources by the foreign armies and the deterioration of the original conflict into overlapping micro conflicts over natural resource revenues which have then built up an economy based on the mineral exploitation (2001). The report states that a pattern of illegal investment in the country was first recognized during the invasion of the AFDL led by Laurent Kabila in 1996. The AFDL founded Banque de Commerce, de Développement et de l’Industrie (BCDI) which had its headquarters in Kigali, Rwanda to operate the transactions from the mineral sales. The report goes ahead to state that President Museveni and Kagame are almost becoming the godfathers of the illegal exploitation of the natural resources and the continuation of conflict in DRC (United Nations, 2001). The report doesn’t directly accuse them of financially profiting from the war; it purported that their country armies had become armies for business.

Some Canadian and South African organizations own exploration rights to a few of the mines in the eastern DRC; however, the violence and instabilities in the region have forced them to leave the area. Thereafter, artisanal miners who are independent small-scale miners who mine the minerals illegally (Eichstaedt, 2011) entered the region. The World Bank (2008) estimates that 90% of the DRC's minerals production comes from artisanal miners. The government lacks the ability to monitor all the mining by artisanal miners mainly because of lack of personnel, resources, knowledge, and corruption (Heath, 2014). Artisanal mining is the most crucial segment of the mining sector because the people are highly dependent on it and it produces the highest amount of minerals. There are about 10 million artisanal miners in DRC who depend on the artisanal mining for their livelihoods; they produce about 60 to 90 percent of the country's minerals. Most of the diamond production in the DRC is currently an artisanal informal economy. The production accounts for about 10% of the export income and in 2008, the income was about \$875 million (US Department of State, 2009).

The DRC's formal economy is dominated by the mining sector, with minerals as the main export, representing the single largest source for foreign direct investment. Gecamines, a huge state-owned mining company, controls copper and cobalt interests, but production has declined because of corruption, civil unrest, global market fluctuations and failure to reinvest. These

minerals are treasured resources that many actors have been fighting for in a prolonged civil conflict for over a decade. For example, the extraction of coltan in North and South Kivu involves an intricate network of individual extractors and their superiors, armed authorities, regional governments, regional and international air transporters, and MNCs led to severe environmental degradation (Moyroud & Katunga, 2002).

The major mineral ores are located in the mainly in the South and East of DRC, and this is where most of the conflict takes place and smuggling is common. These resources are found in plenty as indicated in the figure below.

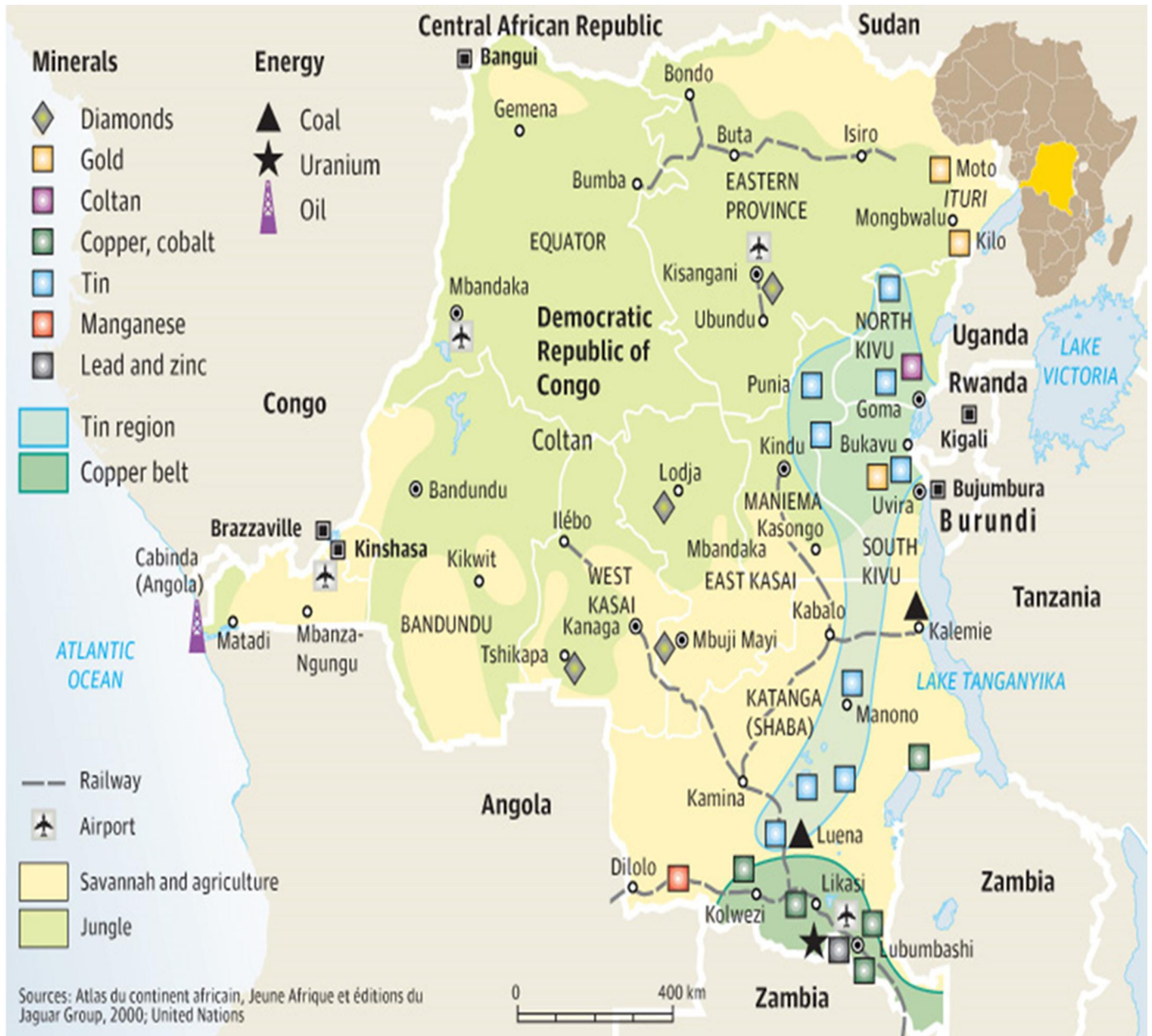


Figure 1: DRC's Mineral Resources. Source: (Rekacewicz, 2000).

The table below shows the different provinces in the DRC and the natural resources that are allocated in each province.

Provinces	Natural Resources
Bandundu	Diamonds, clay, kaolin, oil
Bas-Congo	Bauxite, gold, pyroschite, diamond, limestone, vanadium, phosphate, asphaltic schist, copper, baryta, lead, kaolin, zinc, silica, manganese, talc, marble, clay, black and pink granite, gypsum, rock-salt.
Equateur	Iron, ochre, copper and associated minerals, niobium, gold, granite, diamond, clay, limestone, kaolin.
Province Orientale	Gold, talc, diamond, asphaltic schist, iron, ochre, silver, niobium, kaolin, copper, clay.
Eastern Kasai	Diamond, iron, silver, nickel, tin, clay, chromium, cobalt, copper, gold, kaolin, talc.
Western Kasai	Diamond, lead, gold, kaolin, manganese, iron, chromium, copper, nickel, platinum, clay, cobalt.
Katanga	Copper and associated metals, sapphire, cobalt, emerald, manganese, saltworks, limestone, monazite, uranium, kaolin, coal, gypsum, niobium, granite, gold, iron, platinum, cassiterite, lithium, germanium, talc, cadmium, tantalum, bismuth, wolfram, clay, zinc.

North-Kivu	Gold, tantalum, niobium, wolfram, tantalite, platinum, cassiterite, niobium, beryl, monazite, tungsten, granite, manganite, coal, clay, bastnaesite.
South Kivu	Gold, tantale, niobium, zinc, tantalite, wolfram, cassiterite, monazite, sapphire, diatomite, amblygonite, diamante, argent, bismuth, argile, beryl, bastnaésite.
Maniema	Etain, wolfram, diamant, tantalum, cassitérite, talc, amblygonite, lead, lithium, columbium, clay, manganese, copper, kaolin, iron.
Kinshasa	Clay, arkosic sandstone, kaolin, silica.

Table 1. Mineral deposits in DRC. (Ministry of Mines, 2003)

3.2.1. Coltan

Coltan (columbo-tantalite) is an uncommon metal ore, which is used during the production of PlayStations, cameras, smartphones, laptops, and high tech automotive electronics (Montague, 2002). The purchasers of coltan include the biggest electronic devices manufacturers in the world such as Dell, Apple, Nokia, Sony, Alcatel, HP, and IBM. Coltan is an essential mineral that is made through the combination of tantalum and columbium (niobium). Canada, Brazil, Australia, and DRC are the main sources of tantalum for the global market but Australia is the largest producer even though DRC holds the world's largest reserves. The largest consumers of

tantalum are Western Europe, Japan, and the United States. Global companies such as Cogecom, Union Transport, Specialty Metal, and Raremet are among the corporations that have imported coltan from the DRC through Rwanda for use in the United States, Asia, and Europe. The mining of coltan involves minimal skill and is, therefore, a very easy lootable resource. Local entrepreneurs buy the coltan from eastern border cities such as Goma, normally co-operating with local militias, and sell it to their neighboring foreigners, who again sell it to buyers in the US, Japan, and Europe. These companies have also been accused by the United Nations (2001) of funding the rebel operations in exchange for beneficial contacts in the DRC. Coltan sales have earned Rwanda and Uganda millions of dollar revenues which they have used to sustain their war efforts in the Eastern DRC.

In response to the increased demand for coltan, coltan miners also increased the coltan production around the world.

3.3 Conflict Minerals

Global Witness (2007) defines conflict resources as natural resources whose trade and exploitation in a circumstance of conflict contribute to or result in the commission of violations against human rights or international law. Conflict minerals are minerals that are mined in conflict areas (2012). These minerals are mostly needed in the manufacturing of electronic devices and also aerospace equipment, jewelry, tin cans among other things (Filipovic, 2014).

Some scholars have argued that conflict minerals have been given too much attention. For instance, as indicated by Turner (2013), the conflict minerals are not the most valuable or vital of the DRC's minerals. Besides, Eichstaedt (2011) claims that advocates have neglected to mention the definite amount of the minerals that have been derived from DRC, giving the impression that all the electronic devices have been made from the conflict minerals.

Conflict minerals have been the means through which armed rebel groups fund their activities during a conflict (Turner, 2013). These mines have been the sources of wealth and political power for whoever controls the mines (Filipovic, 2014). As these rebel groups and the Congolese army continue to benefit from these conflict minerals trade, they, in turn, prolong the conflict situation in the country.

There have been efforts to make a tracking system for the conflict minerals from the mines in DRC, which would guarantee that no conflict minerals are used in the manufacturing of electronic gadgets. Although, the minerals pass through a number of smelters before they end up in the electronic devices (Luckerson, 2014). It becomes harder to trace where the minerals have come from through this process. The UN Group of Experts (2015) states that there has been some progress on the traceability of the minerals coming from DRC but smuggling is still a

huge problem. The United Nations also stated that minerals from Rubaya, in North Kivu province, are still being smuggled into Rwanda.

The lack of traceability efforts in DRC has made it possible for gold mined from conflict areas and invalidated mining sites to get into the international markets (United Nations, 2015). An example of this is how gold has continued to be smuggled to Uganda and the government of Uganda informed the UN that from January to October 2014, Uganda's official exports of gold were less than 15kg and that all that gold were produced in Uganda (United Nations, 2015). In spite of Uganda's statement, it has been quite evident that the country is benefitting from DRC's gold reserves through the smuggling and this negatively affects the use of its natural resources. Gold has also been smuggled to the United Arab Emirates through the neighboring countries of DRC.

The conflict minerals mined are distributed to different smelters in India, Russia, and Southeast Asia, and from the smelters, the metals are sent to producers in different parts of the world (2011). It is hard to completely prevent the use of conflict minerals because the minerals go through different smelters, manufacturers, and distributors. Thus, the tracking of the supply chain is quite difficult. Critics have raised concerns that global companies are only inspecting smelters and not the mines to determine where the minerals are coming from (Heath, 2014). This

is alarming because the smelters are located outside the country and the inspections are not performed each time by third parties.

3.3.1 Dodd-Frank Act

The 2010 Dodd-Frank Wall Street and Consumer Protection Act, was passed by the US Congress. The section 1502 of the Dodd-Frank Act concerns the conflict minerals which come from the DRC and the neighboring countries (Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, 2010). The main aim of this law was to improve the conflict situation in the DRC by bringing an end to the spreading of the conflict minerals into the international supply chain and by stopping armed groups from benefiting from the mineral trade. This law was claimed to cut off the mining profits of the rebel groups and weaken them

It has required companies that are registered in the United States to disclose whether they are acquiring gold, tin, tantalum, and tungsten from the DRC or neighboring countries and if these minerals are originating from the conflict zones. Subsequently, global companies such as Google, Apple, and Intel, have revealed that conflict minerals may be used in the manufacturing of their products (Luckerson, 2014). After the passing of the Dodd-Frank act, measures have been taken to assure the public that the issue of conflict minerals is being taken seriously. Intel Company has stated that while it continues to be cautious of the mineral sourcing in DRC, their products do not benefit the armed groups in the country (Intel, 2016) .

De Luca et al. (2012) argue that for the law to be successful there has to be additional support from the agricultural sector and other different income sources but these kinds of measures have not been followed since the law was signed. Critics have argued that the Dodd-Frank Act has not been successful in improving the situation in the country and could have possibly made the situation worse. The actions that were taken after the legislation came into effect were not accompanied by other social, political, and economic reforms (Autesserre, 2012).

Shutting down the mines had a huge impact on the Congolese miners as their livelihood depends on the artisanal mining, about 8-10 million people in the country economically depend on artisanal mining (The Democratic Republic of the Congo. . . , 2011). The Congolese that are not able to continue mining, end up in repeated violence hence, the cycle of instability and conflict continues (Eichstaedt, 2011). Since the miners are not able to support themselves through mining anymore they end up joining different militia groups. In addition to this, it was noted that companies stopped buying minerals from DRC and this made the prices to go down.

Therefore the impact of the Dodd-Frank Act has been negative on the country's economy and the lives of the Congolese artisanal miners, this was the opposite of what the law was intended to do. The conflict has been sustained, especially when the miners have to join rebel groups to support themselves.

3.4 The Role of International Electronic Manufacturers

As stated earlier, international electronic companies use minerals, derived from the DRC, in their products. Minerals, such as tungsten, tantalum, and tin, are used in electronics. As indicated by Luckerson (2014), these companies reported that they didn't have accurate and enough information on whether the minerals used in their products were completely conflict-free. Google has revealed that about 36% of its smelters in the DRC have been certified as not dealing with conflict minerals. Apple revealed that 80% of the smelters it deals with in the DRC don't use conflict minerals. Hence, these companies are not sure whether their products are free from conflict minerals.

As the organizations are not sure about their suppliers, it is plausible that conflict minerals from the DRC have been utilized in the manufacturing of their products (Luckerson, 2014). Since there is a demand for the minerals in the international markets, it increases the conflict mineral trade which would in turn eventually prolong the conflict in DRC. Therefore, the role of international companies is significant in the conflict minerals trade. These companies prefer that their products are not marked as possibly funding the conflict in DRC. The companies want to recover from the damage that has been created by the conflict mineral campaign. They concentrate on improving their image and neglect the causes of the conflict in the country, which continues to worsen the situation.

3.5. Root Causes of Conflict

3.5.1 Colonialism/International Interference

Colonialism had a distressing impact to the different African countries and it affected the countries differently which brought about the unequal social classes (Emizet, 1999). It also brought about a system of divide and rule, dividing the ancestral lands and initiating conflict among the different ethnic groups (Montague & Berrigan, 2001). The borders set up by the colonial rulers had an effect of bringing together people of different ethnic backgrounds and the country didn't have the capacity to accommodate the ethnic and cultural diversity. For example, Kinshasa, Bandundu and Bas Congo are three provinces that initially made up the ancient Kongo Kingdom that was part of Angola and Congo-Brazzaville. The colonial administrations ignored these important links and created dominant societies that had to rely on local structures and had to get assistance from the local people to assist the colonial administration (Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide.*, 1999). After the colonial period, it was quite common in most African countries for a single ethnic group to assume power, conquering and concentration on the state power- public spending and resource rents into its own hands. The situation in Africa and specifically DRC could have been avoided if the citizens had been trained on the fundamentals of self-government (Jacques, 2006). The transition from the colonial period has not been smooth, many countries have had to resolve

this over time but it seems to be difficult. In some parts of the continent, colonial administration and slavery almost wiped out the cultures and replaced with “civilization” that provided Africans with minimal skills that served the interests of the Europeans.

3.5.2 Refugees and Displaced People

The current situation in DRC has its roots back to when the Rwanda Genocide occurred. There is a common distress in international politics that when one country faces instability, it will spill over into the neighbouring countries and eventually becoming a difficult situation to solve. These refugee movements into a different country in most cases contribute to and sometimes cause the spread of violence, destroying the relations with international aid agencies, host government and increases security issues at the borders. In 1994, the huge influx of refugees from Rwanda to DRC led to a major humanitarian crisis and the refugees have been part of the rebel groups that finance the conflict. The spread of violence into the host country could lead to the involvement of the host government in the conflict or the use of its territory by soldiers for attacks back in their home country. This spillover can bring about accusations between the two states and sometimes direct clashes may get out of control. The Rwandan refugee camps were mostly dominated by officials of the former Rwandan government who wanted the resources. The Interahamwe militia trained near the refugee camps as they were preparing for an attack back in Rwanda (Whitaker, 2003).

3.5.3 Control over Resources

One of the major causes of conflict lies in the manner that natural resources are mined and how the revenues from these resources are distributed. The United Nations (2001), reports that one of the reasons for the continuation of the conflict in DRC is the desire to acquire control of the valuable natural resources in the country. Natural resources have been instruments of war in the past and will still be used in the future. Rebel groups use resources available to them to finance their wars. The international community has been alarmed by Bosco Ntaganda who teamed up with the *Front for the Liberation and Emancipation of the DRC* to merge control over the territory of North Kivu (Kron, 2009). The control of territories has shown to be and major factor in allowing armed groups in DRC to profit from the exploitation of natural resources.

The exploitation of these natural resources in DRC occurred in two phases. The first phase involved the looting of already existing stockpiles in the occupied regions in the first year of the second war while the second phase involved the extraction and exportation of the natural resources. These two phases were enabled by the transportation networks made during the first war (United Nations, 2001). Le Billion (2003) states that civil wars are linked to usually linked to lootable resources as they provide great benefits to the economy of the country.

3.6 Conclusion

The misuse and destruction of the state natural resources has long-term effects for other indicators such as societal grievances and economic decline which could foster future civil conflicts in the country. Most companies still continue to mine and trade conflict minerals from DRC even after initiatives have been placed to stop this practice. The future of the country lies on the hands of the youths, students and grassroots organizers who have tried to bring an end to the conflict and establish stability in the country. Democratization cannot take place when rebel groups are benefiting from their natural resource businesses with international corporations.

CHAPTER FOUR

PEACE INITIATIVES

4.1 Introduction

In the DRC, there have been a number of initiatives that already exist at the international, regional and national levels. A number of conflict resolution initiatives were launched in an effort to end the conflict in DRC. There have been several attempts at ending the resource conflict in DRC which have been relatively unsuccessful to bring an end to the looting of natural resources which helps to fund conflicts. The peace agreements and initiatives have not been able to bring an end to the conflicts in DRC especially the Eastern part.

The Lusaka cease–fire agreement was signed in 1999 and was among the earliest initiatives. The conflict over the natural resources get an ethnic component as certain ethnic groups will have access to the natural resources (Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012). These conflicts usually face a higher risk of conflict recurrence, because powerful actors do well out of war even after a peace settlement (Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012). Therefore, a natural resource conflict is harder to get a peaceful solution as the parties do not have incentives to settle for peace. The government and international community play an important role in developing policies for development in the country.

International laws and policies play a huge role in resource-rich countries, specifically when good governance is absent in Africa as they suffer from lack of transparency and corruption. The international organizations, civil society groups and governments have reached an agreement that serious measures need to be taken to address the resource curse (Macartan, Sachs, & Stiglitz, 2007). The extractive companies that are involved with corruption are international and are based in the developed countries.

The existing legal institutions have failed to adequately monitor the resource revenues which have enabled the looting of these natural resources to continue. This has resulted in the emergence of different initiatives to attempt to make these governments and extractive companies to be more accountable. Resource-fueled conflicts need time to create the political will and capacity within the international community and government agencies to implement policies and fulfill reforms.

Trade restrictions have been adopted to moderate the availability of the resources that are financing conflicts (Feldman, 2003). These initiatives oblige companies to give a report on whether they supply minerals that have been acquired from conflict zones that could finance the armed groups. The successful resource management is often supported by nongovernmental organizations and international organizations. The Lusaka Cease-Fire Agreement was signed in

1999 and was among one of the earliest initiatives. The Inter Congolese Dialogue brought about the signing of the Final Act in 2003 and the Draft Constitution of the Transition.

4.2 The Role of the International Community and Non-Governmental Organizations

The international community distanced itself with the war that was occurring in DRC despite the number of deaths increasing. The international community witnessed the violence and violations of the human rights in DRC but gave the country little attention to the conflict. From 1945 to 1991, the UN approved of twenty-two peace missions in the world, and about 6 of these peace missions were to Africa and 5 of these were approved towards the end of the Cold War (Bariagaber, 2008). The UN mandates have included monitoring ceasefires that have been agreed on by the conflicting parties and their activities could include, mining clearance, state reconstruction, combatant reintegration, border patrols or any other activity that would be necessary to maintain peace and stability in the DRC.

The rules of engagement in DRC have gone through different changes. In the past, the UN troops were only allowed to fire during self-defense but they have been allowed to also fire to protect the innocent civilians. The UN has also approved other powers to use force to create peace and stability on its behalf, France was allowed to use lethal force and saved the peace missions from collapsing.

4.3 The UN Security Council Responses

The DRC conflict on the resource crisis brought in the UN system and encouraged the UN Security Council (UNSC) to make some important actions. The UNSC resolution 1234 of 1999 recognized the DRC conflict as a threat to international peace, security, and stability in the Great Lakes region, which justified its involvement. This resolution called for the end of conflicts, the signing of a ceasefire agreement, the withdrawal of foreign forces, and the non-interference of the internal affairs of the DRC (United Nations Security Council, 2000).

After 2001, the evidence on the illegal natural resource exploitation suggested that to prevent these activities from occurring during the conflict, the state armies of the DRC and the neighbouring countries and the armed groups have to be targeted. The links of the corporations and the armed groups have to be analyzed. It could be argued that the structures that developed between armed rebel groups and private indigenous and international corporate entities were responsible for linking political-military networks to local businesses and multinational corporations.

The main steps taken by the UN Security Council to deal with the plundering of the DRC's natural resources was to establish the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources of the DRC, which gathered the reports on the DRC's natural resource exploitation issues. The United Nations created the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural

Resources and Other Forms of Wealth on June 2nd, 2000 (United Nations Security Council, 2000). The first report of the UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and other Forms of Wealth was circulated in April 2000 two months before the Gaborone meeting (United Nations Security Council, 2000). This report focused on the exploitation and the role of Uganda but it didn't present anything regarding the exploitation of resources by Harare and Kinshasa (Grignon, 2006).

4.4 Voluntary Principle on Security and Human Rights

The Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights were established in 2000, after the meetings between the United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the US Department of State, oil mining and energy companies, labor, corporate responsibility groups, and human rights. The process targets at ensuring the safety of the extractive operations and also ensuring that the human rights have been observed.

4.5 The Kimberley Process

The Kimberley Process Certification Scheme has been the main significant international reaction to the conflict resource issue. The scheme is globally government-led that was set up to stop the trade in conflict diamonds. The Kimberley process was established in 2003 and endorsed by the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly. It is an international scheme that is led by the government and requires governments to verify the origin of their

diamonds to make sure that they are not mined from conflict zones to prevent them from benefiting from conflict minerals. The Kimberley Process consists of 71 participants that include the European Union and 46 countries; it was negotiated by the diamond industry, governments, and civil society in response to the civil society campaigns. The participating nations must pass legislation in their countries to enforce the Kimberley Process and set up the systems for controlling the importation and exportation of rough diamonds. The certification scheme and the voluntary principles of single commodities don't offer a consistent answer of the international community to the conflict resource issue. The international community has played a role in implementing and developing a strategy that ensures natural resources are not used to finance the conflicts and the abuse of human rights.

In 2006, a 3-year review was conducted to evaluate the KPCS effectiveness and find ways to make it stronger so as to close the loopholes. Regardless of the progress made, there are still a lot of issues that need to be addressed so as to ensure that the Kimberley Process is successful and credible. The diamond industry has failed to ensure that the conflict diamonds don't get into legitimate trade but they have failed to implement this system.

The signing up off Voluntary Principle on Security and Human Rights and the Kimberley Process ensures that the wealth that has been generated from extraction of natural resources is

used to improve the living conditions for civilians in the DRC. The Kimberly Process is certainly not a "one size fits all" solution. Other tracing schemes may give a partial solution but it wouldn't be practical to create a certification scheme for each natural resource. The certification schemes and Voluntary Principles of single resources are not able to provide a reliable solution of the international community to the conflict resource issue.

The main aim of this scheme was to bring an end to the trade in conflict diamonds and make sure that the diamond trade is not financing the conflict. This scheme has been criticized for not achieving its goals. Rhode states that the scheme has been a failure because the tracking system is not reliable as it only allows for the tracking of a batch of rough diamonds and not individual stones (Rhode, 2014).

4.6 The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and its Aftermath (August 1999 -2000)

On 10 July 1999, the Heads of State of Namibia, the DRC, Uganda, Rwanda, and well as Angola's Defense signed the Lusaka ceasefire agreement. The representatives of the MLC rebel group also signed the agreement and an additional fifty people signed the agreement as part of the RCD (Rogier, 2004). The agreement acknowledged the main rebel groups, the RCD, and the MLC, and the countries backing them, Uganda and Rwanda, as parties to the agreement. The agreement also acknowledged the governments of the Namibia, DRC, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, and Angola as parties.

The countries that were parties of the agreement were stopped from going against commitments they had agreed on. The agreement represented the foundation of the whole peace process in DRC (Grignon, 2006). The agreement gave assurance that the invading forces were obliged to leave the DRC territory. Since the rebel groups had already gained some global recognition, they benefited from the weakening of the President Kabila's position. This happened mainly because the rebels had been given equal status in political negotiations (Rogier, 2004). These efforts were not successful mainly because Rwanda denied that it was involved in the conflict, the talks did not involve the rebels and Kabila insisted that Rwanda and Ugandan invaders had to exit the country first before any negotiations (Lewis, 1998). The implementation of the agreement has been hindered by the uncooperative participants.

The signing of the agreement had several provisions which included:

- All the military attacks were to end within the 24hours after the agreement and the forces were to disengage.
- The negotiations involved the armed opposition which included the MLC and RCD, the unarmed opposition and the DRC government.
- The UN peacekeeping mission was mandated with disarming armed foreign groups.

The agreement was intended to bring three main outcomes: to withdraw all the foreign forces, to re-establish the state administration in the Congolese territory and to normalize the security situation on the country's borders (Rogier, 2004). The agreement failed to live up to the expectations of resolving the issues within the 360 days. The agreement formed the Joint Military Commission (JMC) to deal with the issue of enforcement which was led by the United Nations. Despite the scarcity of the formal acknowledgments, there was evidence that showed that all the belligerents were getting involved in the exploitation of natural resources (International Crisis Group, 2001). The parties violated the provisions of the agreement by 2000 and the situation remained the same and this made the main belligerents to also adopt the Kampala and Harare Disengagement Plans on April 8th, 2000.

The plan had at first been drawn by MONUC and was faintly adjusted by the JMC and the political committee. The plan called for the removal of all the forces to a distance of 15 kilometers from the confrontation line and the creation of a 30kilometer zone of disengagement and even though the time frame was unrealistic, the plan was still put into effect (Rogier, 2004).

4.7 The Congolese Peace Process

The Congolese Peace Process is the regional initiative which involves the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement that was signed in August and September 1999 by Zambia and South Africa. The agreement called for an immediate ceasefire with the establishment of Joint Military

Commission to explore the post-ceasefire violations and disarmament strategies against the armed rebel groups and militia. The agreement sought for the commencement of Congolese national dialogue and this process should involve the main role players in the politics of DRC (Grignon, 2006).

This agreement called for the beginning of the Congolese national dialogue and this process had to involve all the major role players in DRC politics. There are a number of aspects of the Lusaka Agreement that had an effect on the natural resource exploitation activities by the rebel groups. The agreement recognized the major rebel groups and their backers, Uganda and Rwanda as parties to the agreement, these parties were bound to act against the rebel groups and militia, the rebel groups took advantage of the conflict situation and continued to involve in illegal activities, including attacking foreign armies. This later gave Uganda and Rwanda reason to continue with their military presence in the country, hence maintaining the conflict.

4.8 The Inter-Congolese Dialogue (2000–2002)

The Lusaka Agreement appointed a neutral facilitator to administer the ICD but it was difficult to agree among all the parties concerned on the appointment of the facilitator. The former President of Botswana, Ketumile Masire was appointed on December 15th, 1999, and he started his functions in January 2000. Laurent Kabila obstructed the ICD, he refused any peace initiatives as long as the country still remained under foreign occupation and he wanted to

prevent the power-sharing agreement (Grignon, 2006). The agreement was only able to gain momentum in 2001 in the country after the death of Kabila and that's when the facilitator started to organize the ICD.

There was a lack of commitment by the belligerents who were party to the ICD and therefore made it harder for the issues to be addressed despite the agreements reached during the ICD.

The Gaborone meeting led to the signing of the Declaration of Fundamental Principles of the ICD on May 4th, 2001 which concentrated on the utilization of the natural resources in order to improve the living standards of the civilians of DRC. Later on July 2002, the South African government convinced DRC and Rwandan governments to sign a security protocol which was to make the Rwandan government withdraw its forces from the DRC and the DRC was to disarm all the former forces on Congolese territory. In 2005, the DRC government had still not fulfilled its obligation but the Rwandan government had withdrawn its forces from DRC (Grignon, 2006).

4.9 Conclusion

Conflicts have caused underdevelopment in Africa and conflict resolution in Africa cannot be left to be dealt with by the international community alone. The country has also to be involved in the conflict resolution process. These are the several efforts by the international community to end the crisis in Africa and specifically in DRC. After the Rwandan Genocide, many Africans

lost confidence in the United Nations to protect them from such incidences in the future. With the continuous efforts in finding a lasting solution to the conflict in DRC, many other countries still find the weakness of the United Nations pointing at some western nations as accomplices of the great outrages occurring in Africa.

Doyle and Sambanis (2000) argue that natural resource wealth is negatively linked with the success of peace-building initiatives. Ross (2004) also states that there is a link between the duration of civil wars and these initiatives. As the continuous efforts of creating a lasting solution to the DRC conflict and the Great Lakes Region increases, many of the Western powers have been seen as accomplices of the conflicts in Africa. The international and national policies must overcome the resource curse; better policies could help to reduce the chances that resources could generate conflict.

Many countries have taken lessons from abroad as a possible measure in alleviating the suffering of the citizens, with participants signing up for the Voluntary Principle on Security and Human Rights and the Kimberley Process. These efforts are to ensure that the wealth generated through natural resource extraction is used to improve the living standards for the Congolese community.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

The paper explores the natural resource–conflict by focusing on the conflict-ridden and mineral-rich DRC. The Democratic Republic of Congo has been overwhelmed by the natural resource conflict for over a decade. The civil wars have led to the decline of the economy, huge massive displacement and massive violent killings. Regardless of the signing of a formal peace agreement in 2002, and the adoption of a new constitution in 2005, and the first democratic elections in 2006, violence and conflict has still persisted especially in the eastern provinces causing massive loss of life.

One of the reasons that the conflicts in DRC have continued is due to the high demand for computers and other electronics which have become a lifestyle especially in the Western World and this helps to continue fueling the conflict in the DRC.

Foreign soldiers have manipulated ethnic tensions in a bid to continue enjoying the benefits of the natural resources of DRC. The DRC has suffered from the resource curse ever since the Western powers discovered its natural resource. Multinational Corporations are the motivating factor after this war as they have played a role in also financing the conflict whether knowingly or unknowingly.

The historical developments in the DRC have a legacy of exploitation and plundering from King Leopold II to Joseph Kabila, encouraged by economic and geographic interests. As long as these rebel groups continue to engage in the lucrative business of these natural resources with international corporations, democratization will be difficult to take root. The government before the wars were weakened and lost their credibility as a result of corruption and the mismanagement in the natural resources sectors. The resources with high values provided revenues for the armed groups to pursue war efforts and survive militarily, in that way prolonging civil wars. The current state of development in the DRC clearly shows that the country has not benefitted to the best extent from its natural resource wealth, even with the numerous deposits of valuable minerals, a majority of the citizens still live in poverty. The Amnesty International, United Nations, Human Rights Watch and other international organizations have assisted in raising international awareness about the urgency in the DRC through campaigns against conflict minerals, economic exploitation and the huge humanitarian crisis that the country faces.

The current political situation in DRC today is mirrored in the historical past of colonial rule with the corruption in the Mobutu and Kabila's regime. The conflict in DRC is based on the economic and political interests that continue to reinforce one another as long as the state is

weak and in a low development pattern. It is unfortunate that the economic and political infrastructure of DRC rests on shaky foundations and as long as the rebel groups continue to flourish by establishing lucrative businesses with international corporations, the conflict situation will still continue.

This study concludes that the exploitation of the natural resources in the DRC prolonging the conflict without being the main cause of the conflict. The conflict has a negative effect to the use of the resources in the country and it acts as an obstacle to economic development. Throughout the history of Congo after independence, the government has failed to fully harness the potential of its resource wealth to better the lives of its population. Mobutu used state-owned properties to make himself and his supporters rich, Joseph Kabila has continuously drained diamond companies while permitting mining concessions to wartime allies Zimbabwe and foreign backers. Mineral wealth still continues to flow out of the country, instead of helping the poor citizens.

5.2 Recommendations

The causes of the conflict in DRC are complex and the conflict can be seen through the various elements in the country: the many rebel groups, the corrupt government and the continuous looting of the natural resources. For peacebuilding to take place, several dimensions of the resource conflict must be taken into account: the armed groups fighting over the resource

deposits, informal resource-driven economies characterized by labor exploitation and criminalization. To fight the armed groups' demands for strong international action to limit the access of rebel groups to these conflict resources. The conflict in DRC is very complex with numerous factors, international actors and historical developments and the solution should include these different approaches. To find the solutions to the conflicts in DRC the root causes of the conflicts have to be addressed first so as to end the current instability but to also prevent new cycles of conflicts from coming up. The recommendations pointed out don't necessarily address the root causes of conflict but instead set some ground work for peace process.

One common recommendation for the countries rich in natural resources to achieve economic growth is adopting transparency-related policies. The policies and initiatives related to improving transparency are seen to be most favorable in overcoming the resource curse as they will allow all parties involved in the extraction process of these resources to be more accountable and allow citizens to track the revenues from the natural resources. There are many mining sites in DRC but only a few of them are involved in the supply chain traceability and mineral export certification schemes. Some of the mining sites have stagnated prices and there has been loss of market competitiveness. An independently audited account of all

government revenues, especially resource revenues would put pressure on governments to decrease corruptness and spend the funds accountably.

The research recommends that the Congolese national government and the international financial institutions and donors invest in the development of systematic monitoring using the latest radar technology. This will increase transparency, help to fight corruption and improve governance in the mining sectors in DRC (Le Billon P. , 2003). By increasing transparency the citizens of DRC have very little knowledge on how much money the natural resource projects generate and this makes them prone to the claims that their resources are being stolen by the central government. The transparency and accountability of the government management of the resources revenue and wealth are important.

The artisanal mining sectors in DRC take in ex-soldiers that have not been able to get into formal employment (Spittaels & Hilgert, 2008). The UN and other aid agencies should think of how to support the artisan mining in their reintegration strategy. The Congolese government has not made an effort to increase the formal revenues from the artisan mining because it only prioritizes industrial operations. Artisanal mining should be integrated into the economy as most of the Congolese miners' livelihood survives on this.

Regional integration in Africa could help to improve the relations between DRC and its neighbors and among neighbors. The regional integration could assist in economic development and political stability. This would also ensure that the Rwandan and Ugandan rebel groups are completely out of DRC as they help fuel the conflict. There are already enough frameworks that are used to bring integration with the aim of acquiring peace and economic development in the region. For Example, the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) is an important regional body that was created among governments to address the conflict challenges faced by the countries within the Great Lakes Region in 2003. The major challenge the ICGLR faces is the lack of enough funds which has slowed the progress in the implementation of projects. Most donors usually intervene on a bilateral basis in most cases in their preferred areas of specialization while there is the ICGLR Trust Fund that would be used to implement security, cooperation, and peace framework. Contributing to the ICGLR's Trust fund would have a bigger impact on improving the coordination and in leveraging international aid for the benefit of DRC and in the region in general.

DRC's government has relied on the natural resource exports which have negatively impacted the growth and development as the country has yielded to corruption and war. The country must find a way to limit their dependence on natural resource exports and prevent corruption.

The international markets for these natural resources continue to grow and the international scarcity of these resources gives more room for the exploitation of the DRC's resource abundance.

Natural resource governance is the link between violent conflict and natural resources. It consists of the institutions, values, and policies which a society manages its natural resources.

The efforts to limit the natural resource conflicts must be handled through the governance of natural resources. An effective resource governance policy provides for the potential for conflict management, prevention and resolution and also provides several opportunities to enhance human security in natural resource countries (Abiodun, 2007). NGOs that are active in the natural resource sector have a significant role to play in governance and this could include: monitoring the government policymaking, producing legitimate demands and also allowing people to participate in the governance of the resources in the country. The extractive industries have a duty to set regulations and guidelines to help the resource-wealthy countries to attain sustainable development. The government of DRC needs to establish independent and credible processes of verification. The sources of all the natural resources revenues must be reported and ensures that they could easily be tracked.

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