

RESOURCES AND CONFLICT IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO. A  
CASE STUDY OF THE EASTERN KIVU REGION

BY

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## ABSTRACT

*In the Democratic Republic of Congo, and especially in the eastern part, people die from violence, hunger, disease, and other effects of displacement as a result of war. The country is often said to be plagued by a resource curse. During each period in history since its discovery by the West, the Democratic Republic of Congo has possessed the world craves and the world has sought these without regard for the consequences to the Congolese people. The catastrophic consequences of Congo's history of natural resources exploitation are direct and indirect death of millions of Congolese people. The method used in this research was the qualitative approach and the secondary source of data collection or desk research of analyzing data, which involves the use of newspapers, bulletins, journals, internet and textbooks. The objectives of this study is to examine the relationship between resources and conflicts, the conflicting actors and their interests as well as the consequences of the conflict in the eastern DRC/Kivu region. The key findings of this study reveals that armed conflict in Africa in general and particularly in DRC/Kivu region is usually the competition and control over natural resources which fund and sustain the war through illegal trade. There is a need for the Great Lake Regions countries to put efforts and work together in order to achieve political, economic and social development of their respective countries. This study aims to investigate on the link or relationship between resources and the conflict in eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo and therefore determine the extent to which mineral resources play a role in sustaining the conflict.*

**Key words: conflict, resources, greed, grievance**

## **DECLARATION**

I, Katembo Kanema Jean Claude, do declare hereby that the work presented in this dissertation is a result of my work except where it is acknowledged and that it has neither been submitted nor is being concurrently submitted in any other University for the award of any degree.

STUDENT .....

DATE .....

Signature

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## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to my family and especially my lovely parents KATEMBO KAINDA and KASHALA KATEMBO who gave me strength, encouragement and total support to complete this research and to my brothers and sisters as well as my beloved wife during the course of the program.

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## **ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS**

DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
RCD	: Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie (Congolese Gathering for Democracy)
MLC	: Movement pour la Liberation du Congo (Liberation Movement of Congo)
UNITA	: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UN	: United Nations
M23	: Movement du 23 Mars (23 <sup>rd</sup> March Movement)
WB	: World Bank
IMF	: International Monetary Funds
U.S	: United States
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
WWII	: World War II
AFDL	: Alliance des Forces Democratique pour la Liberation
ADF	: Uganda Allied Democratic Forces
FDLR	: Forces Democratique pour la Liberation du Rwanda
FNL	: Forces Nationale de Liberation

UNRF	: Uganda National Rescue Front
CNDP	: National Congress for the Defense of the Congolese People
FNI	: Mai Mai militias Fighters Nationalist and Integrationist Front
ANC	: Armee Nationale Congolaise
ICC	: International Criminal Court
PARECO	: Coalition of Patriotic Congolese Resistants
FARDC	: Force Armee de la Republique Democratique du Congo
ONUC	: Organization des Nations Unies au Congo
GOSL	: Government of Sierra Leone
IRC	: International Rescue Committee
RUF	: Revolutionary United Front
HDI	: Human Development Index
ASADHO	: Association Africaine de Defenses des Droits de l’Homme

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0.Introduction**

The DRC has a population of approximately 77 million people and is the second largest in Africa with the land area of about 2.4 million square kilometers (Wa-Mbaleka, 2014). It's called the heart of Africa because it is at the center of the continent. It's the country with the largest number of neighboring countries in Africa. It has about 250 languages and 150 dialects, leading to more or less 400 ethnic groups. The DRC is home to millions of tons of diamonds, zinc, manganese, uranium, gold, niobium, copper, cobalt, and cadmium deposits and particularly for high technology is tantalum, more commonly known as coltan which 80% of the world's reserves is found in DRC (Hochschild, 1998).

The Democratic Republic of Congo history reveal that the conflict that still surfaces today actually started more than a century ago. Since then it simply took different shapes but in general it is always has a link with the natural and mineral resources (Hochschild, 1998).

During each period in history since its discovery by the west, the Democratic Republic of Congo has possessed the resources the world craves and the world has sought these without regard for the consequences to the Congolese people. This is a country that has been plundered for the past 500 years (Turner, 2007).

Minerals have represented the backbone of the Congo's economy ever since the vast area was centralized by colonial power. While King Leopold II set a precedent for conflict promoting activities through large scale looting, the Belgian state brought exploitation

into more regulated forms. Colonial discovery of massive mineral deposits paved the way for industrialized extraction, which went along with traditional artisanal production, all taxed and exported by Belgian authorities (Goreux, 2001).

Starting with the Kingdom of Kongo, natural resources were part of the economy, slavery and colonization used Congolese human resources to be able to access mineral resources and Belgian Congo since then depended on the same resources (Prunier, 2009). The control over mineral resources moved even more to the center stage, both from national and international levels, from Belgian Congo (1908-1960), through the Republic Democratic of Congo Kinshasa (1960-1965), Zaire (1965-1996) and what is now called the Democratic Republic of Congo since 1996. The struggle is mostly around access to or control of mineral resources (Prunier, 2009).

## **1.1. Background of Kivu**

### **1.1.1. Introduction**

The Democratic Republic of Congo provides an important reminder of the challenges of managing natural resources, the legacy of colonialism and the need to address long-standing grievances and conflict over land rights. This is especially true in the eastern part of the country, the Kivus, which have suffered attacks of extreme violence since before colonial times (Stearns, 2012).



### **1.1.2. Locating Kivu**

With an estimated area of 120.000 km square of land and 12 million inhabitants, the Kivu is located on the eastern side of the Democratic Republic of Congo and share borders with Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda. As a highly populated though very fertile region, the highlands of Kivu reflect the realities of both the densely populated highlands of Rwanda and Burundi in the east, and the under-populated Congolese locality in the west. Originally this Kivu region was one administrative unit but now consists of three provinces: Maniema, North Kivu and South Kivu.

### **1.1.3. Resources and population**

The east of the Democratic Republic of Congo has encountered conflict since the country gained independence in 1960. The worse conflict hit the region in the late 1990s and is still going on. The area affected by the conflict in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo is the north and south Kivu region (Vlassenroot & Raeymakers, 2014). The North and South Kivu region is bigger than Burundi and Rwanda combined and the region is not as densely as populated as Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. Several ethnic groups populate the three regions (Maniema, North Kivu and South Kivu). In South Kivu, the most important groups include the Bashi, Warega, Banyamulunge, Bafulero, Bavira, Babembe, and babuyu. In North Kivu the population consists of members of the Banyarwanda, Bahunde, Banyanga, and Banande communities (Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers, 2004).

The Kivu region is known for its highly fertile soil in the North and for having abundant deposits of valuable minerals such as Cassiterite, Gold, Coltan, Wolframite, Prochloro,

Diamonds, Amethysts and Tourmaline, depressed throughout the North and South of the region (Sindayigaya, 2014).

#### **1.1.4. Socio-economic situation**

The socio-economic situation in Kivu region has deteriorated as a result of the conflict. Since the start of 2009, rape and sexual violence have escalated in the eastern part of the DRC by up to 30 per cent compared to 2008. Tens of thousands of people remain internally displaced and these volatile or unstable circumstances increase the likelihood or possibility of fighting. The country's security is still a major cause for concern, with socio-economic factors compounding the situation. The continued tensions and strife in the DRC have resulted in a phenomenon of re-displacement; that is, the same people are displaced several times (Foster, 2011). It was estimated that 538 880 people were displaced in South Kivu alone, with an additional 1.130 000 people displaced from North Kivu (Forster, 2011).

The majority of the population still live in conditions of poverty and lack access to basic services, the levels of insecurity persist in certain areas. The country depends on aid, even though recent years have seen economic growth, the agricultural sector fails to provide for all, a large amount of food is imported and part of the population depends on food aid (Weijs, Hilhorst, ferf, 2012).

### **1.1.5. Political context**

The Congolese war between 1996 and 1997 started when Laurent Desire Kabila heading the Alliance des Forces Democratic du Congo (AFDL) contested Mobutu's leadership, supported by the foreign governments of Rwanda, Uganda and other Southern Africa Development Community, SADC countries like Zimbabwe and Angola. A year later (1998), a new rebel movement, the *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie* (RCD) erupted again from the Kivus, backed by Kabila's former allies, Uganda and Rwanda with Zimbabwe Angola, Chad and Namibia weighing in on the Laurent Desire Kabila side until he was assassinated in 2001 and replaced by his son Joseph Kabila. The fighting stalemated in an effective and bloody quadripartite partitioning of the country: Ugandan controlled, Ugandan aligned, Rwandan controlled and Kabila controlled. Despite mounting popular resistance to RCD rule, the Kivus remain a rebel stronghold. In fact the violence in DRC continued to affect the country's stability in its eastern regions. Congo's natural wealth in mineral resources had often been blamed as the main driver of violence, either as a way to finance warring parties or as a warfare objective in itself (Prunier, 2009).

A new rebellion against the Congolese government was launched in April 2012 in eastern DRC. The rebel group is known as the M23 and comprise around 600 fighters, the core of whom formerly belonged to a rebel group called the Congres National pour la defense du Peuple (CNDP) led by Bosco Ntaganda who assumed control after Laurent Nkunda's capture in 2009. After many years of revolution in North and South Kivu, integrated into the Congolese army (FARDC) in a 23 March 2009 peace agreement that granted the

CNDP the status of a political party in exchange for the release of imprisoned members (Sindayigaya, 2014).

The name M23 was chosen to signal the group's dissatisfaction with the Congolese government's alleged failure to meet the terms of the deal. (Global witness, 2012). The M23 rapidly expanded its control over Rutshuru territory that borders Uganda in the North Kivu, and allegedly received direct military, financial and political support and equipment (weapons, ammunition) from Rwanda and Uganda (UN 2012:3).

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

The Democratic Republic of Congo has been affected with different conflicts in many ways. It began largely because of ethnic tensions, political strife or conflict and land rights. However the conflict is largely fueled by the mineral rich mine in the eastern part of DRC. The war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has brought unspeakable devastation upon its people with approximately 73.000 deaths (Montague, 2002).

The Democratic Republic of Congo is one of the richest places in the world in terms of natural resources. Eastern Congo has a wealth of mineral including tin, tungsten, tantalum, and gold. All these minerals are integral parts of the electronics consumers use every day such as laptops and cell phones and over 50% of the mines in eastern Congo are managed by various rebel and militia groups. Much of the profit that is made from the minerals is used to purchase arms or weapons that further perpetuate the conflict in Congo and therefore involving a serious humanitarian crisis (Le Billon, 2001).

War in the Democratic Republic of Congo is directly linked to the control of mineral resources used in the global economy. Congo has most of the mineral resources that the global village need to sustain the fast-growing technological advancements and about 80% of columbite tantalum (coltan) of the world used in phones and computer transistors is concentrated in Congo. All means, legal and illegal have been used to access and extract these resources (UNSC, 2001).

This study therefore seeks to examine or investigate on the link between resources and the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo presenting eastern Kivu region as case study. The interest of the study is to explore and understand how and why the resources in the eastern DRC is the cause of the conflict and thus give recommendations

### **1.3. Research Objectives**

The objectives of the study are as follow:

- To examine the link between mineral resources and conflict in eastern Kivu
- To determine the main conflict actors and their interests
- To analyze the consequences of the conflict in the eastern Kivu

### **1.4. Research questions**

- What is the relationship between mineral resources and the conflict in eastern Kivu?
- Who are the main conflict actors and their interests?
- What are the consequences of the conflict in eastern Kivu?

### **1.5. Purpose of the study**

Considering the geographical situation and the significant or important reserves of mineral resources and also because of the fact it shares the borders with Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda, the Kivu region has experienced series of conflicts during the last two decades.

The purpose of the study is to explore the relationship or connection between mineral resources and the conflict in the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The researcher wish to establish and contribute to a deeper understanding with regards to the relationship between mineral resources and the conflict in the eastern Kivu region of the DRC.

### **1.6. Significance of the study**

This research is carried out in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of master in the institute of peace, leadership and governance (MPG). The success of the research will improve the researcher's knowledge and understanding in the conflict related to mineral resources in the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Furthermore this study will also provide literature for other scholars and other people who may in the future want to carry out similar researches or make references in this field.

### **1.7. Assumptions**

In this study, the researcher assumes that the conflicts in the eastern Kivu region is as a result of the presence of the resources found in that particular area of the Democratic

Republic of Congo which are highly needed in the global market for technological development and sustainability.

### **1.8. Delimitation of the study**

This research is focused on the link between resources and the conflict in the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The researcher will concentrate in the eastern Kivu region because of the important mineral reserves observed in that particular area of the DRC.

### **1.9. Definition of terms**

**1.9.1. Conflict:** Conflict is a collision of opposing interests. Conflict occurs when the interests of one party come by accident or design into engagement with those of another or others. (Cooper, 2003)

**1.9.2. Conflict minerals:** Conflict minerals are minerals mined under conditions of armed conflict and human rights abuses (Jarvie, 2015).

**1.9.3. Conflict Diamonds or blood diamonds:** Conflict or blood diamonds are illegally traded to fund conflict in war-torn areas, and human rights abuses particularly in central and western Africa (Amstrong, 2011)

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0.Introduction**

In this study, researcher will review literature about what has been investigated by different authors on the resources-related conflict in different African countries including the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Therefore, a good start would be on having an overview of current thinking in the field which is conflict related to resources.

### **2.1. Theoretical framework**

In this study greed theory will be used Paul Collier (2006), in his writing “Economic causes of civil conflict and their implications for policy” states that when a country has 26% of their exports from one natural resource, they are more at risk of civil war. It appears that resources, especially lootable ones, offer financial means to continue fighting. The money from natural resources funds rebel armies who could not continue fighting without it. There is a clear link between this theory and the study carried by the researcher in term of minerals resources fueling the conflict in the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

### **2.2. Conflict in Africa**

Africa is a large and topographically varied land mass, which has endowed the continent with a wide range of natural resources. Even despite a lack of systematic environmental mapping and survey, the vast expanse of the continent is known to contain widespread



reserves of natural resources, with a great potential for mineral beneficiation. Yet in the midst of this great wealth Africa is a paradox of poverty and protracted social violence. It is home to most of the least developed countries of the world. More than two-thirds of the countries in Africa are fragile and characterized by a combination of weak governance infrastructure, little or no service delivery, protracted social unrest and political violence, questions about regime legitimacy, inter-communal strife, food insecurity, economic despair, disputed border conflicts and targeted attacks. Examples are Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Zimbabwe, Zambia, Senegal, South Sudan, Libya, Madagascar, Kenya, Egypt, Burundi, Rwanda, Nigeria, Mauritania, and Sudan the list is sobering (Collier, 2009).

Fragile countries lack the essential capacity and or the will to fulfil four critical government responsibilities, fostering an environment conducive or favorable to sustainable and equitable economic growth; establishing and maintaining legitimate, transparent, and accountable political institutions; securing their population from violent conflict and controlling their territory; and meeting the basic human needs of their population. Even those countries that typically achieve well and show the potential for better human development and consolidate democracy are also critical, in that they perform poorly in at least one of the four above core areas of government responsibilities for example South Africa, Seychelles, Botswana and Morocco.

Significantly, natural resources play a key role in triggering and sustaining conflicts. And the resources that generate many of these problems are largely oil and gas, diamonds,

columbium tantalite (coltan), drugs, gold, platinum, uranium and other gemstones; and also timber, coffee, water, land, grazing pasture, livestock and rubber. In some cases, resource conflict is embedded in the social and economic grievance narrative. As a result, many see a resource curse in Africa, whereby easily obtainable natural resources and commodities have essentially hurt the prospects of several African national and regional economies by fostering political corruption and feeding violence and rebellion. In many circles, conflict is regarded as a characteristic feature of political processes in Africa. However, political conflict constitute an aspect of conflict in African society (Le Billon, 2011).

According to Louis Corner (1956:12), conflict occurs when two or more people engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals.

Competition over resource rent as a partial or sole root of civil violence has been observed in a wide variety of tragic conflicts. The importance of diamonds in recent civil wars in West Africa is well documented; Sierra Leone's ambassador to the United Nations even said of his own country's war in 2000 that the root cause of the conflict is and remains diamonds, diamonds and diamonds (Renner, 2000).

The struggle to colonial penetration of Africa led to conflicts in many parts of Africa resulting in the formation of the anti-colonial liberation movements.

The conflict were between the people and the colonial powers. After the cold war in 1960, the nature of conflict in Africa changed and this alteration was captured by Ibeanu (2005) as follow:

1. Conflicts that arise as a result of struggle for political participation or over political space
2. Conflicts caused by the competition for access to resources and
3. Conflicts caused by the struggle over identity

There were also boundary disputes between ethnic groups as part of the post-cold war conflicts in Africa. A litany of examples of such conflicts arising from one or combination or more than one mentioned above are the cases in Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda and Chad and the most significant are the conflicts in the Niger Delta of Nigeria a fight for more than just oil, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone and Liberia over resources control (Ibeanu, 2005).

According to Anke Hoeffler (2012), political and economic development failures have been the root cause of Africa's political instability. Others also suggests that the rising conflicts in Africa are as a result of bad economic policies which are often imposed and directed from abroad, notably Washington, London and Paris. For instance, the recent IMF-imposed policies of fuel support removal which almost threw Nigeria and other West African countries into chaos. Although the situation was finally put under control at some point, it can be remembered that the clashes between the people and the security forces left scores dead and many others wounded.

Conflicts have also broken out between many African countries as a result of the artificial boundaries created by the colonial rulers which often put some neighboring countries at odd with each other. Some examples include the Eritrean–Ethiopian War that took place from May 1998 to June 2000. The tension between North Sudan and South Sudan, Africa’s longest civil war, where countless people have died is another clear example (Hoeffler, 2012).

A range of factors fuel armed violence in Nigeria, including politics and elections, decentralization and political liberation, the emergence of armed groups, natural resource competition, inter-group political arguing over ethnicity and religion and poverty. But at the heart of many conflicts is a struggle for access to resources and the distribution of benefits (Hazen, 2007). The Niger Delta offers a microcosm of Nigerian national politics. Political patronage remains at the core of local governance and determines the distribution of power and resources.

Political power remains concentrated in the hands of a few elites who, with their access to money, arms, and private militias, can manipulate elections; in this political system, widespread corruption offers the opportunity to access vast government coffers for personal gain. The enormous sums of money available to local, state, and national politicians explain the intensity with which candidates vie for public positions, including by spending considerable amounts on pre-election activities and engaging in violence and intimidation (Adebajo, 2002).

Elections have demonstrated the strong role of political godfather and the willingness to use any means necessary and available to win elections, including violence. The 2003 elections marked an important shift in political violence. Candidates armed local youth groups as their personal militias, often referred to as political thugs among locals (HRW, 2007).

These private militias encouraged support for the candidate, and discouraged support for opposition candidates through intimidation and violence, including clashes with the militias of opposing candidates (Hazen, 2007). The militarized nature of politics combined with the prevalence of armed groups has allowed for an easy marriage between politics and violence. Armed groups are not new in Nigeria, but they are increasingly well armed and trained, and sophisticated in their tactics. After 2003, armed groups, hired for political purposes, were set free without being disarmed and have since evolved into economically independent and more politically entities (Adebajo, 2002).

As a result, some groups have tried to engage in and influence the political process themselves. Increased access to funding from oil bunkering and the access to arms by militant groups strengthened the militants' position. The military's heavy-handed response to militant activity and the failure of the government to address the underlying grievances of the population, even though the majority of the Delta residents still live in poverty, without reliable access to good roads, health care, education facilities, or employment turned many civilians against military intervention (Adebajo, 2002).

While the grievance in the Delta are well founded, not all of the violence can be attributed to the fight for justice, development, or the equitable distribution of oil revenue. The Delta has played host to numerous armed groups over the past decade. Some groups agitate for political change and democratic governance, but many others fight for resource control. Groups simply take advantage of the uncertain situation to engage in criminal activities and oil bunkering for profit (Hazen, 2007).

During the 1700s Sierra Leone was an important center of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. From 1991 to 2000, the country suffered greatly under a devastating civil war which resulted in tens of thousands of deaths and the displacement of more than 2 million people, many of whom are now refugees in neighboring countries (Levy, 2003). The mining and sales of diamonds by parties involved in armed conflicts are regarded as a significant factor fueling such hostilities. These diamonds have been labeled conflict diamonds or blood diamonds because they fund purchases of arms and military material by belligerent forces.

A decade of civil war seriously weakened the government of Sierra Leone (GOSL), devastated lives and the social fabric and destroyed infrastructure. Decades of diamonds smuggling in Sierra Leone perpetuated government corruption, provided funds for a major civil war, deprived the nation of hundreds of millions of dollars in development potential, fostered regional instability, and perverted Sierra Leoneans' basic sense of governance (Adebajo, 2002).

In early 2000, a report published by the Canadian NGO Partnership Africa Canada highlighted the role diamonds were playing in continuing to fuel the Sierra Leone conflict. Conflict diamonds were first highlighted in Angola two years before, but the term: blood diamonds” became associated with the atrocities of the conflict in Sierra Leone. Natural resources did not trigger these conflicts, but they were crucial in funding them. The link between diamonds and armed conflict in Sierra Leone is obvious and has been exposed, investigated, and deplored by humanitarians, journalists, politicians, and diamond industry leaders (Levy, 2003).

In Angola, the formal diamond industry came to a virtual standstill, paralyzed at first by the departure of technical personnel during the Portuguese exodus, and later as UNITA guerrillas drove off foreign companies and took control of Angolan’s rich diamond provinces, mining the diamonds illegally, using the revenue to continue the civil war (Collelo, 1991).

Conflict diamonds have played an important part in the Angolan civil war since the 1980s. Following UNITA’s rejection of the election outcome in March 1992, the rebel organization resumed military activities. It is believed that UNITA’s subsequent military campaign was financed with diamonds, while the Government financed its military expenditures with oil revenues (Jake, 2000).

The UN recognized the role of that diamonds played in funding the UNITA rebels and in 1998 passed United Nations Security Council Resolution 1173 and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1176, banning the purchase of blood diamonds from Angola.

Resolution 1173 was the first resolution by the UN which specifically mentioned diamonds in the context of funding a war (United Nations, 1998).

Reports estimated that as much as 20% of the total production in the 1980s was being sold for illegal purposes and 19% was specifically conflict in nature. By 1999, the illegal diamond trade was estimated by World Diamond Council to have been reduced to 3.06% of the world's diamond production (United Nations, 1998).

Despite the UN Resolution, UNITA was able to continue to sell or trade some diamonds in order to finance its war effort. The UN set out to find how this remaining illicit trade was being conducted and appointed Canadian ambassador Robert Fowler to investigate. In 2000, he produced the Fowler Report, which named those countries, organizations and individuals involved in the trade. The report is credited with establishing the link between diamonds and third world conflicts (Levy, 2003).

When the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels in Sierra Leone started their civil war against the government in 1991, Liberia was known to be behind them at the outset or beginning. It is reported that Liberia gave support in the form of weapons, training, logistical support, as well as a safe place where the rebels could retreat to (Huband, 1998).

In the course of the civil war, the RUF took control of the diamond rich areas in Sierra Leone. Exploiting the civilians and making them work in the mines as slaves and prisoners, the RUF was able to turn out a huge amount of diamonds over the years. Of course, rough diamonds in their hands would have been virtually useless (Reno, 1996).



What they really needed was to convert the gems into cash, which they could then use to purchase guns, ammunitions, and other weapons

Liberian provided what the RUF needed exactly a means to get the diamonds to those who value them the most. As it was, Liberia became the transit point for smuggled diamonds. However, Liberia's role is not limited to supporting Sierra Leone's RUF. The truth is, neighboring countries wherein conflict exists have found a supporting mentor in Liberia (Collier, 2003).

The political leaders who claim to have answered to the problem are actually part of the causes of conflict as they are greedy and biased in their approach in distributing of scarce resources and political offices. For instance the Niger Delta in Nigeria caused by the government's insensitivity for the plight of the oil bearing communities and resources control which has led to communal and ethnic conflicts ravaging the Nation (Ibeanu, 1998).

Civil wars in the Ivory Coast have been, and are being, funded with illegally acquired diamonds which are smuggled into Liberia. These stones then find their way into the European and American markets somehow (Ross, 2002). As recent as February 2006, reports have confirmed that conflict diamonds are still coming out of Liberia and being smuggled into other countries for sale. Liberia has not been spared from violence either. They had a bitter civil war that went on for eight years and has killed 200,000 people and displaced even more than that (Adebajo, 2002).

Based on reports that Amnesty International and Global Witness, there are still areas in Liberia which are controlled by rebels and wherein blood diamonds are still being mined and traded. In their estimation, as much as 300,000 carats of blood diamonds are being mined each year (Gberie, 2005). This would amount to about \$25 Million in revenue each year. This money is then converted into weapons and ammunitions which are used to perpetrate even more violence.

### **2.2.1. Understand the nature and drivers of conflict**

Every conflict is unique in its own way. Despite a lack of consensus on the underlying relationship between natural resources and conflict, many scholars conclude that the struggle over access to and control over natural resources constitutes considerable grounds for tension and conflict. Sodaro (2011), argues that natural resources are a source of political contention within and between nations. Resources such as crude oil, for instance, are capable of stimulating intense political contention, whether the issue concerns drilling rights in Alaska or the more explosive matter of who controls the Middle East's abundant petroleum reserves, oil has provoked conflicts ranging in severity from legislative quarrelling to mortal combat.

Empirical studies also assert that countries whose wealth is largely dependent on the exportation of primary supplies which include both agricultural produce and natural resources, are highly prone to civil violence. According to a recent United Nations (UN) report, in the last sixty years at least 40 per cent of civil wars on the African continent have been connected with natural resources and intra-state conflicts that have a link to

natural resources are twice as likely to relapse within five years as those that do not (Egbo 2002).

Current scholarly discourse on resource donation and armed conflict gained currency in the late 1990s, when empirical and theoretical literature emerged indicating a statistical relationship between a country's natural resource legacy and the occurrence of violent civil war. Since then, several models have emerged to attempt to explore the factors that affect the risk of conflict (Fapohunda, 2002).

According to Collier and Hoeffler (2009), civil wars are motivated either by greed or grievance. The economic theory literature models rebellion as an industry that generates profits from looting, so that the insurgents are indistinguishable from bandits or pirates. Such rebellions are motivated by greed, which is presumably so common that profitable opportunities for rebellion will not be passed up. In sharp contrast, grievance is rooted in a behavioral paradigm, and underlines relative deprivation, social exclusion and inequality, due for example to structural cleavages. In the context of resource-rich societies, grievance might be exacerbated by insufficiently compensated land expropriation, structural cleavages, resource scarcities, migration and a lack of employment opportunities.

### **2.3. Conflict minerals/Conflict diamonds**

For decades the trade in natural resources, including minerals has played a central role in funding and fueling some of the world's most brutal conflicts especially in Africa.

Revenue from the extraction and trade of these natural resources can give abusive armed groups the means to operate. These revenues can provide off-budget funding to state security forces and corrupt officials (Auty, 2010).

According to the political economist and geographer Philippe Le Billon (2003), conflict minerals are those minerals whose control, exploitation, trade, taxation, or protection contribute to, or benefit from the context of armed conflict. The actors directly involved in these activities can be warlords, rebel groups, a country's regular national army, or defector members of the army. The armed actors use the profit derived from conflict minerals to finance their purposes such as purchasing weapons, ammunition, and supplies and in some instances to enrich them. In such cases, conflict minerals are a main driver for perpetuating armed conflict evolves and how long it lasts. As minerals are usually sold to international customers, a number of external actors become indirectly involved in the conflict by way of using the associated minerals (Le Billon, 2003).

In many instances, these groups are responsible for grave human rights violations. For nearly 20 years, global witness has run pioneering campaigns and in-depth investigations to break the links between natural resources and conflict. Companies source minerals from conflict affected and high-risk areas around the world (Global Witness, 2012).

Minerals, precious stones and other natural resources have funded violence in Colombia, Afghanistan, Zimbabwe, Burma and the Central African Republic. These conflicts resources enter global supply chains where they are traded, processed and manufactures

into a wide variety of consumer and industrial products such as laptops, cell phones and jewelry (Colier, 2006).

In addition to Angola, diamonds have funded brutal wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo and Cote d'Ivoire that have resulted in the death and displacement of millions of people. Diamonds have also been used by terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda to finance their activities and for money laundering purposes. Growing international pressure from global witness and other organizations played a crucial role in forcing governments and the diamond industry to take action to eliminate conflict diamonds from the international trade (Adebajo, 2002).

The easy access to coltan, a crucial component of electronic devices and other minerals, combined with weak property rights in a country with weak basic institutions and a long history of civil war, and a high demand on world markets can be assumed as main determinants of insecurity and conflicts, especially in the eastern Congo (Nest, 2011). The Biafran war in Nigeria in the 1970's had control of oil-rich territory at its heart.

Since the Democratic Republic of Congo's collapse into war fifteen years ago, its mineral wealth has played an important role in the dynamics of conflict and violence at play in the country. Whilst the population of eastern Congo considers mineral exploitation to be a source of income in an environment where few other economic opportunities exist, the fact remains that Congo's mineral wealth plays a significant role in funding and fueling warring parties in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Wa-Mbaleka, 2014).

### **2.3.1. Types of natural resources**

The World Bank defines natural resources as materials that occur in nature and are essential or useful to humans, such as water, air, land, forests, fish and wildlife, topsoil, and minerals. These resources can be classified as renewable or nonrenewable. In most cases, renewable resources such as cropland, forests, and water can be refilled over time by natural processes and if not overused are indefinitely sustainable. Nonrenewable resources such as diamonds, minerals, and oil are found in finite quantities, and their value increases as supplies dwindle. A nation's access to natural resources often determines its wealth and status in the world economic system (World Bank, 2002). Agriculture, though strongly linked to natural resources, is generally not thought of as a natural resource as it depends largely on cultivation. However, economies that are heavily dependent on agriculture certainly depend heavily on other natural resources such as water and land.

This list is one of many ways to categorize natural resources. Because the concept of natural resources is broad, the categorizations and definitions of natural resources can vary among disciplines. Other examples of categorization are: strategic raw materials, sources of energy, shared water resources, and food; and biological resources, energy resources, food resources, land resources, mineral resources, soil resources, and water resources (Nelson, 1997).

**Drinkable Water:** Water is a necessity of life, and we use it for drinking, washing, agriculture, and industry. The United Nations World Water Assessment Programme estimates that every individual needs 20 to 50 liters of clean water every day.

Since water covers nearly three fourths of the globe, we tend to think of it as an abundant resource, but in fact drinkable water can be very scarce. Drought affects almost every continent and appears to be growing worse.

The National Center for Atmospheric Research has found that the percentage of the earth's land area troubled by serious drought has more than doubled since the 1970s. In addition, water becomes uncommon through pollution or restricted access. According to the United Nations, 1.1 billion people live without clean drinking water, and 3,900 children die every day from water-borne diseases. As the global population continues to rise some expect a 40 to 50 percent increase within the next 50 years water stress when the demand for good quality water exceeds the supply will become even more of a problem in the future. Water scarcity causes and sustains conflict in many parts of the globe, violent conflict over water resources has broken out in countries as diverse as China, Ethiopia in 2006, India in 2004, Kenya in 2005, and Yemen in 1999 (World water council, 2007).

In the Darfur region of Sudan, for example, much of the conflict is due to water shortages. The recent discovery of an underground lake the size of Lake Erie may provide the resources to help end the conflict (Adabajo, 2002).

**Bodies of Water:** Bodies of water such as oceans, seas, lakes, and rivers can also be linked to conflict due to their roles in transportation, development, and culture. A population's dependence on sources of income within bodies of water, such as fisheries and offshore oil fields, can lead to conflict. In addition, neither fish nor water follow country borders, nor both must often be shared among countries.

Disputes over fishing led to the cod wars between Britain and Iceland in the 1950s and 1970s, while natural resources lie at the heart of the contested claims in the South China Sea. More than 260 river basins, for example, are shared by two or more countries mostly without adequate legal arrangements (World water council, 2007). In fact, however, most conflicts over water are resolved peacefully, perhaps because water is so important. There are more than 3,800 declarations or conventions on water. That so large a number of agreements exist for water clearly shows the potential for negotiated settlements in disputes over natural resources rather than violent conflict.

**Land:** Because of population growth and environmental degradation, land that can be used for personal, industrial, or agricultural purposes is becoming increasingly scarce or rare. Of course, possession of land means access to many other resources, such as minerals, timber, and animals, and land therefore often holds a high economic value. In addition, communities often have strong emotional and symbolic attachments to land and the resources on it. It is easy to see why competition for control of valuable land, including issues of government authority and regulation, can cause or sustain conflict (Bryant & Tangle, 1997).

**Timber:** Timber functions primarily as a source of income. As is the case with water, timber is an increasingly scarce resource. Although forests cover 30 percent of the world's land area, 46 percent of the old growth forests have already been destroyed. Population growth and industrialization are destroying rainforests and causing environmental degradation.



As a commodity that is easily accessible, easy to transport, adaptable, lucrative, and necessary for reconstruction and development, timber can play an important role in all stages of peace and conflict. Examples of conflict over timber can be found in Burma, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Liberia (Bryant & Tangle, 1997).

**Oil and Gas:** The two primary sources of fuel are oil (petroleum) a flammable liquid that can be refined into gasoline and natural gas, a combustible gas used for fuel and lighting. Fuel scarcity, or at least access to fuel, is one of the greatest concerns for developing and developed countries, given their dependence on energy sources. With a greater global rate of industrialization, many countries have invested in and paid particular attention to alternative types of energy such as nuclear, electrical, wind, and solar energy (Turner, 2007).

Many mainstream media sources and other organizations warn that easily accessible oil, especially in Saudi Arabia, is rapidly disappearing and that the world will soon face the end of the oil era. Furthermore, many of the world's largest petroleum reserves are located in areas suffering from political instability or conflict, such as Iran, Iraq, Nigeria, Venezuela, and Sudan. Thus the value and demand for fuel, especially petroleum, allows conflicts in these areas to have an impact on the global economy. On the other hand, the developed world's increasing demand for oil, and its search for supply security, can worsen existing conflicts (Burton, 1997).

As with rivers, oil fields and pipelines frequently cross borders, which often contributes to tensions but also puts a premium on cross-border cooperation.

After East Timor separated from Indonesia in 2002, for example, it renegotiated the agreement Indonesia had made with Australia over oil and gas rights in disputed areas of the Timor Sea. And several nations are involved in ongoing negotiations with various parties to build pipelines in the Caspian Sea region, including Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Russia (Varisco, 2010).

There are a number of new approaches to facilitate the best use of oil incomes, such as those supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which seeks to improve governance in resource-rich countries such as Nigeria, Azerbaijan, and Gabon and reduce the potential for fighting over access to revenues. Even with international encouragement, however, it has been extremely difficult for the Iraqis to negotiate impartial arrangements for sharing oil and gas revenues among the regions after the fall of Saddam Hussein (Oyeniyi, 2011).

**Minerals:** Minerals are naturally occurring substances obtained usually from the ground. According to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), valuable minerals become conflict minerals when their control, exploitation, trade, taxation or protection contributes to, or benefits from, armed conflict. Conflict minerals have varied commodity values and happen in many geographical locations, for example, diamonds in Western Africa, amber in Russia, and gold in Indonesia. While minerals such as gold and diamonds hold significant value as gems, all minerals generate revenue and power for governments, rebel groups, or whoever owns the land or has the ability legally or illegally to extract them (Collier, 2003).

Furthermore, conflicts over minerals do not necessarily stay within boundaries; neighboring countries sometimes compete for resource wealth and thus intensify conflict or prevent peace building.

Diamonds are the conflict minerals that have received the most attention. They have been used by several rebel groups in Africa as a source of income, including groups in Angola and Sierra Leone. They are easy to steal and easy to move to market and difficult to trace. Protests by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other concerned groups in the 1990s about the brutal human rights violations connected to the conflict diamond trade led to efforts by the international community to develop a certification system that has helped control their presence in the international market. There have also been proposals to develop a fingerprinting system that would define chemical impurities unique to each mining site; a national database would track each delivery of minerals (Collier, 2009).

Other examples of conflict minerals include coltan (tantalite, used in cell phones, computers, and game consoles) in the Democratic Republic of Congo and copper in Papua New Guinea.

### **2.3.2. Which minerals are conflict minerals?**

The minerals most commonly involved in resource conflicts are cassiterite (tin), coltan (tantalum and columbite-tantalite), diamonds, gold, and wolframite (tungsten). **Cassiterite** is needed to produce tin. It is also used in the manufacture of electronic goods, such as MP3 players. The world's largest cassiterite producers are China and Indonesia, followed by Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil.

For eastern DRC, however, cassiterite is the most important mineral in terms of quantity and price. **Coltan**, the nickname of a mineral extracted in Central Africa, belongs to a group internationally known as tantalum (Hoeffler, 2009).

**Gold** is used in jewelry, electronics, and dental products. It is also present in some chemical compounds used in semiconductor manufacturing. Major gold suppliers are South Africa, the United States, Australia, Russia, and Peru; and gold is an important export good in countries such as Uzbekistan, Ghana, and Papua New Guinea. For eastern DRC, almost all gold exports are illicit and undeclared; no reliable statistics are available (Collier, 2009).

**Wolframite**, an important source of tungsten, has a wide range of uses. It is also used in the metals industry, wherein composites are used as a substitute for lead, for instance in some gasoline refineries. Almost 78 percent of the world's production of tungsten occurs in China, but Europe imports large shares from Kenya and Tanzania. Tungsten's economic importance is very high, since substitutes are rarely available and impose much higher costs. This list of conflict minerals is incomplete, but it forms part of a wider context of natural resources that drive economic and political conflicts (Prendergast & Lezhnev, 2009).

Typically, conflict minerals except diamonds and gold for jewelry pass through a variety of intermediaries internationally before being purchased by multinational companies in electronic manufacturers and consumers. Not all mineral suppliers, however, are involved in conflicts.

In most cases, conflict regions act as buffer suppliers during peak times but not as main suppliers over a longer period. But rubies from Burma, which are being mined under inhuman conditions and profit the Burmese dictatorial regime, can be seen as a case where 90 per cent of the world market originates from one conflict region. Whether a given mineral and region are involved in conflict depends partly on prices, since price peaks attract revenue-seeking actors (Montague, 2002).

Some conflicts especially nonviolent ones are a typical side effect of most extractive industries and their commodities, hence good governance, including sound environmental management practices and control as well as the respect of social standards, can influence the scale of conflict or whether it even arises. Good governance at the national level and within extractive industries and sustainable resource management is needed to prevent negative consequences of minerals extraction and related conflicts (Bringezu and Bleischwitz 2010).

It is mainly used for capacitors in electronic devices, such as mobile phones, pagers, and personal computers. Future demand is expected to grow. For a long time Australia dominated the world market, but the production situation has changed significantly. Since late 2008, Africa, the lakes region including Mozambique has become a major, if not the largest, supplier of tantalum on the world market, followed by Brazil and a few other suppliers. Diamonds are used in jewelry and for some industrial applications. They were the first officially recognized conflict commodity, following observations of brutal civil wars in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Angola (Oyeniyi, 2011).

## **2.4. Conflict mineral in Kivu**

The East of the DRC has encountered conflicts since the country gained its independence in 1960. The worse conflict hit the region in the late 1990's and is still going on. The area affected by the conflict in the east of the DRC is the Kivu region. With an estimated area of 120,000 Km square of land and 12 million inhabitants. The North and South Kivu region are bigger than Burundi and Rwanda combined and the region is not as densely populated as Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. The Kivu region is known for its highly fertile soil in the North and for having abundant deposits of valuable minerals such as Cassiterite, Gold, Coltan, Wolframite, Prochlor, diamonds, amethysts and tourmaline, dispersed throughout the North and South of the region (Edoardo, 2010).

The ongoing conflict in the Kivu region is among the deterrents for the region's social and economic development for decades. The death toll in the region as a result of the conflict is estimated at six million and counting. The region's citizens continue to go through psychological and physical sufferings including appalling women rape and forced displacement due to frequent wars that are continuously taking place in the region. The environment is also at stake as wherever displaced people are settling, deforestation is occurring. The ongoing smuggling of timber is exacerbating the environment. The eastern DRC conflict has turned the Kivu region into a hostile environment for investment despite its abundant resources which span from minerals, land, forestry, tourism attractions and a potential two billions barrels of oil deposits that lay deep in the Lake St Albert close to the border with Uganda.

While it is clear that Kivu has been losing enormously out of the ongoing instability in the region, claims that neighboring countries of the Kivu region, namely; Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda have economically gained out of that instability are unceasingly (Eichstaedt, 2011).

The DRC is one of the richest places in the world in terms of natural resources. Eastern Congo has a wealth of minerals including tin, tungsten, tantalum, and gold. All of these minerals are integral parts of the electronics we as consumers use every day such as our laptops and cell phones. Over 50% of the mines in eastern Congo are managed by various rebel and militia groups. These armed groups use tactics such as rape in order to control populations, to force people off of their land and to find cheap laborers (Turner, 2013).

Much of the profit that is made from the minerals is used to buy arms that further perpetuate the conflict in Congo. The eastern part of the DRC is experiencing a situation involving a serious humanitarian crisis. It is estimated that more than one million internally displaced persons in the country's four eastern regions, including about 80.000 in North Kivu and over 300.000 in South Kivu (Kalin, 2008).

In 2002, the various warring parties in the DRC signed a peace agreement, prescribing a formal cessation of the hostilities that had consumed the country since 1998. While the peace deal was successful in reuniting rival factions in a transitional government and producing credible elections in 2006, it did not bring an end to the violence.

Fighting escalated in the eastern Kivus region, reaching levels as high as they had been during the war (Cooper, 2003).

War in Congo is directly linked to the control of mineral resources used in the global economy that is mainly concentrated in the Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The DRC has valuable deposits of diamonds, Coltan, copper, tin, and cassiterite. About 80% of Colombite Tantalum of the world, used in phone and computer transistors, is found in Congo (Sullivan & Atama, 2010). Congo has most of the mineral resources that the global village needs to sustain the fast-growing technological advancements. All means, legal and illegal, have been used to access and extract these resources.

Generally, abundant quantities of coltan, diamonds, copper, cobalt and gold have been extracted from the Congo during the conflict and also the United Nations concluded that access to these minerals constitutes the main purpose of war (UN 2001, § 213). Diamonds and coltan, predominately from alluvial production, are counted among resources easily to be extracted profitably during conflicts, and thus they carry exceptionally high conflict potential.

From eastern Congo, minerals are transported through neighboring countries including Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi. Because export taxes from eastern Congo are much higher compared with those of its neighbors, the buying houses or “*comptoirs*” that export minerals have a strong incentive to underreport the quantity of minerals they process or,



at times, smuggle them across poorly regulated and often corrupt border crossings (Tegera & Johnson, 2007).

## **2.5. Economic growth and instability in the Kivu region**

The instability in eastern DRC has benefited the economies of Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. The high economic growths that are said to have been achieved by these countries from smuggling and trading the natural resources from eastern DRC region are not inclusive. The majority of the population from these countries have not truly benefited from their country's economic growth (Maphosa, 2012).

According to the International Monetary Funds, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda economies have on average expanded remarkably from late 1990's up until 2012. Burundi's growth was 3%, Rwanda's 8.5% and Uganda's 6.6%. However, these economic growths mask high inequalities in the human development of the citizens from these countries. The most recent human development report reveals that Rwanda and Uganda's human development index (HDI) levels have been increasing. However, when these HDI levels are discounted for inequality in education, health and income, the levels become low, as they were in 1980s. This means that the human development for the majority of the population in these countries has not improved despite the high economic growth said to have been achieved by smuggling and trading the natural resources from eastern DRC region (jambonews.net, 2014).

## **2.6. Main conflict actors**

### **2.6.1. Democratic Forces for Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)**

The FDLR is the largest armed group in the Kivus. It is a politico-military movement that originates from ex-FAR soldiers, ex-Interahamwe militiamen and Hutu civilians who fled from Rwanda to the DRC in the aftermath of the genocide in 1994. Many of its current members are too young to have participated in the genocide, but there are still exists a powerful core group of Hutu in leadership positions that were involved in the 1994 genocide (Wolters, 2004).

The FDLR is spread across North and South Kivu, with a more established presence and greater involvement in mining in South Kivu. Income from mining activities is an important motivating factor for FDLR. FDLR positions are clearly linked to the presence of natural resources. The FDLR has a history of serious human rights violations and existence has served as a pretext for Rwanda to interfere in the ongoing conflict on Congolese soil (Wolters, 2004).

### **2.6.2. National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP)**

The CNDP is a Tutsi-led political movement with a military wing called the Congolese National Army (ANC). Its chairman and military commander, General Laurent Nkunda was placed under house arrest by Rwanda in 2008 and claimed to protect the interests of Rwandophones in Eastern DRC. Bosco Ntaganda, who is indicted by the international criminal court (ICC), replaced Nkunda in January 2009 agreeing to steer the group toward peace. However, most observers believe the CNDP has retained its chains of command

within the army. In March 2009, the CNDP controls trade routes by collecting taxes at barriers on the transports of minerals, timber and other goods (Turner, 2007).

### **2.6.3. Mai-Mai Groups**

The Mai-Mai groups are traditional local defense militias formed on an ad-hoc basis by local leaders who arm young men in villages, often along ethnic lines. Most Mai-Mai groups are known by the name of their leader. Mai-Mai groups have become increasingly involved in the armed conflict over the past ten years (Turner, 2007).

They sometimes fight alongside the Congolese army against the CNDP or other Rwanda backed groups, and sometimes fight each other. The main Mai-Mai group is PARECO (Coalition of Patriotic Congolese Resistants), an alliance of several Mayi-Mayi groups loosely allied with the FDLR. PARECO claims it fights to defend the marginalized Congolese people who suffer from the enduring warfare between Nkunda elements and FDLR. PARECO is active in a few mining areas. In January 2009, PARECO followed the CNDP in announcing that it too would cease hostilities and join the ranks of the national army the Forces Armees de la Republique Democratique du Congo (FARDC) (Turner, 2007).

### **2.6.4. Congolese national Army**

The recent UN report (S/2010/596) establishes evidence of the involvement of the Congolese national army. Congolese army units are competing among themselves for control over mineral-rich areas; they collude with armed groups in order to attack rival

commanders, and they have gained control over large areas rich in natural resources in North and South Kivu provinces (UN, 2010).

## **2.7. (3Ts) minerals**

Before they are refined further up the supply chain, the minerals that are mined in eastern Congo are in ore or rock form. In this form, they are often given a different name.

In eastern Congo:

Tin ore: *cassiterite*

Tantalum ore: “*coltan*” or *columbite-tantalite*

Tungsten ore: *wolframite* Cassiterite

### **2.7.1. Cassiterite**

Cassiterite is needed to produce tin. It is also used in the manufacture of electronic goods, such as MP3 players. The world’s largest cassiterite producers are China and Indonesia, followed by Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil. For eastern DRC, however, cassiterite is the most important mineral in terms of quantity and price (Collier, 2009).

### **2.7.2. Coltan**

Coltan is the nickname of a mineral extracted in Central Africa, belongs to a group internationally known as tantalum. It is mainly used for capacitors in electronic devices, such as mobile phones, pagers or monitors, and personal computers. Future demand is expected to grow (Perks, 2013).

For a long time Australia dominated the world market, but the production situation has changed significantly. Since late 2008, Africa has become a major, if not the largest, supplier of tantalum on the world market, followed by Brazil and a few other suppliers.

### **2.7.3. Wolframite**

Wolframite is an important source of tungsten and has a wide range of uses. It is also used in the metals industry, wherein composites are used as a substitute for lead in some gasoline refineries.

Wolframite was highly valued as the main source of the metal tungsten, a strong and quite dense material with a high melting temperature used for electronic filaments and armor-piercing ammunition, as well as hard tungsten carbide machine tools. In the World War II, wolframite mines were a strategic asset, due to its use in munitions and tools. High purity tungsten can be extracted from wolframite (Woody, 2013).

Some conflicts especially nonviolent ones are a typical side effect of most extractive industries and their commodities; hence, good governance, including sound environmental management practices and control as well as the respect of social standards, can influence the scale of conflict or whether it even arises. Good governance at the national level and within extractive industries and sustainable resource management is needed to prevent negative consequences of minerals extraction and related conflicts (Feil et al. 2010; Bringezu and Bleischwitz 2010). Once processed or smelted, the mineral ore becomes metals.

## **2.8. Summary**

Mineral resources have played a crucial role in fuelling protracted or prolonged armed conflict in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and elsewhere in African countries. Resource revenues obtained by looting, illegal charges or taxes and more sophisticated entrepreneurial involvement help foreign rebels and Congolese militia to finance violence and to withstand military defeat and pressure to lay down arms.

However, the regular armed forces are becoming equally involved in illegal exploitation of mineral extraction and trade. The thirst for resource revenues spurs or stimulates rivalry between regular army units and undermines effective command and control.

This chapter presents literature related to the study. The review is centered on Resources as trigger factors fueling conflict in Africa as well as in the conflict in the Kivus regions of the Democratic Republic of Congo. This literature also presents the actors to the conflict in Kivu as well as the conflict in some African countries having the link with mineral resources.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0. Introduction**

In this chapter, a research methodology is developed. This include the research design, research instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis and interpretation and the conclusion. Research methodology focuses on the discussion of fundamental principles, which underline the conception of the focus area of the study, and how the inquiry of the subject matter might be made (John &James, 1993).

### **3.1. Research Design**

Research design is the process of study that involves how to collect, present, analyze and interpret data to provide answer to the research problem. It's also involves development of a plan for enquiry to reduce bias and distortion (Opoku, 2000).Qualitative approach as well as desk research were used in this research.

#### **3.1.1. Qualitative method**

This approach puts emphasis on meanings, experiences and descriptions. Therefore, according to Denzil N. (2000), qualitative methods are typically more flexible that is, they allowed greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participants.

### **3.1.2. Research instruments**

For the better achievement of the desired objective of the research, the researcher used both primary and secondary sources of collecting data which include books, journals, articles, internet sites and dissertations.

## **3.2. Data collection**

The researcher sought to achieve the study objectives by using secondary source of data. Secondary source of data is also referred to as desk research and involves the use of data which has been collected from publications such as text books, newspapers, and various internet sites, professional journals written by different authors about the conflict related to minerals resources in the Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

### **3.2.1. Secondary source of Data**

The researcher used a desk based research which depends totally on the secondary source of data such as internet sites, textbooks, political sciences, publications and journals (Crouch & Housden, 2003).

### **3.2.2. Data analysis and interpretation**

LeCompte and Schensul (1999) define analysis as the process a researcher uses to reduce data to a story and its interpretation. Data analysis is the process of reducing large amounts of collected data to make sense of them. Patton, (1987) indicates that there are three things occur during analysis: data are organized, data are reduced through summarization and categorization, and patterns and themes in the data are identified and linked.



The research analysis section presented the findings and discuss them at the same time to avoid repetition.

### **3.3. Summary**

The research methodology detailed in this chapter lays down the procedures adopted by the researcher in gathering data. The techniques for data collection, presentation and analysis of the data so collected are discussed as completed by the researcher. The chapter brings out that the study is largely qualitative and uses desk research method. The next chapter will present with the results obtained thereof.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS**

### **4.0. Introduction**

This chapter will focus on the presentation and analysis of data collected. Data have been collected from collected publications, internet sites, journals, articles.

### **4.1. Collection of data**

In this study, researcher collected data from a number of authors who have spoken or researched on resources as source of conflicts in Africa and especially in the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Therefore the researcher used internet sites, journals and books to collect data. For the collection of data, ten authors have been selected according to the relevance of their studies.

### **4.2. Understanding the link between resources and conflict**

According to Paul Collier (2009), natural resources generate what economists term “rents” meaning profits that are much higher than the minimum level needed to keep the activity going. He argues that there are six ways by which natural resource rents increase the risk of violent conflict, four relate to political economy and two are straight economics. Let’s start with the political economy.

The most obvious way is that natural resource rents are a “honey pot”. Politics comes to be about the contest for control of these revenues. This produces a politics of corruption aided and supported by foreign corporate behavior and sometimes directly a politics of violence.

The stakes are highest in low-income countries because the control of the state implies massive revenues relative to other income-earning opportunities. Further, this politics of rent-seeking diverts the public arena from its normal function of achieving the collective action that is necessary to supply public goods, the social and economic infrastructure that all societies need. The society thus loses out twice over, in the struggle for resource rents other resources are dissipated, and the supply of public goods declines.

The second way by which natural resource rents increase the risk of war is through the detachment of government. Because resource-rich governments do not need significant other tax revenues they become detached from their electorates. In most societies, because electors have to pay high taxes, they scrutinize or examine the government to see how it uses their money. This was indeed how democracy developed in the West. In many resource-rich societies the resource rents are not seen as belonging to ordinary people in the same way as income taken from them in taxes hence the detachment. The government is able to ignore the concerns of the population. Mobutu's Zaire was a classic example of such detachment.

Even when neither of these first two effects directly leads to a civil war, they produce between them a dangerous combination of a dysfunctional politics of self-interest and a governing elite that is detached from the concerns of ordinary people. These two characteristics then combine with a third dangerous factor which is natural resources are usually found in only part of the country, often in a peripheral area. The people who live in this area are ready target for secessionist political movements.

Large natural resource rents not only make civil war more likely, they make it more likely that a civil war will be secessionist. Biafra, Katanga, Cabinda: Africa's secessionist wars have usually been related to natural resources.

The final political economy way by which natural resources increase the risk of civil war is that they provide an obvious source of finance for rebel groups. Even if the rebellion is not motivated by these rents it is greatly facilitated by them. From the proceeds leaders can purchase arms and pay recruits. Warfare is a costly business whereas thirty years ago rebel groups largely had to depend upon a friendly government for finance and armaments, now rebellion has been privatized, markets in natural resources and armaments have developed to the extent that rebel groups can be self-sufficient. Rebel groups gain access to natural resource rents in several ways.

One is to run protection rackets against the companies or people who are the exporters, another is directly to operate extractive businesses, yet another is to sell concessions to mineral rights in anticipation of subsequent control of the territory. The prolonged viability of UNITA in Angola and the RUF in Sierra Leone; the violent gangs of the Nigerian Delta; and the successful rebellions of Laurent Kabila in Zaire (DRC) and of Denis Sassou-Nguesso in Congo Brazzaville, were all assisted by one or the other of these methods of natural resource financing.

According to Andrea Varisco (2010), the presence (or the absence) of natural resources has therefore no clear consequences on armed conflicts. The geographical characteristic and the nature of the natural resources is crucial. Lootable, distant and diffuse natural resources have a strong inter-relation with armed conflicts. The second set of elements concerns the political, economic and social characteristics of a country: the link between armed conflicts and natural resources is indeed reinforced when a government does not have a complete control over its natural resources, when the economy of a country is not diversified and when the degree of internal societal opposition in a state is high.

Considering the arguments above, mineral resources cannot necessarily cause armed conflict, but it depends of the characteristic and nature of the mineral resources whether it's lootable, distant and diffuse. In the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo, among others coltan is one of the lootable minerals which is linked to armed conflict in the area because of its nature and importance in the technology advancement.

#### **4.3. Causes of conflict in eastern Kivu**

The chronic instability in the Kivus has its roots in local disputes over land, citizenship, power, and identity, which over time have been tied to local, national, and regional political dynamics, exacerbating existing grievances and spurring or prompting more violence conflict (Small arms survey, 2013).

According to Oyeniya (2011), the major causes of conflicts in Africa can be summarized and classified as follows:

#### **4.3.1. Inter-state borders**

Inter-state borders which is common to many conflicts is the unsatisfactory nature of inter-state borders. Nearly all these borders were inherited from colonial times, and were the product of negotiations and treaties between the colonial powers, decided in Europe with the aid of poor maps and with scant attention to African peoples. At independence, the African governments shied away from making adjustments, and in any case, this was difficult as they did not all reach independence at the same time.

The existing state structures do not satisfy variously the aspirations for cultural identity, autonomy, economic democracy and self-determination of different nationalities co-existing with the contemporary states. Thus, the ease with which dissidents of a state are harbored in neighboring countries and guerrillas armed and trained there, is itself a cause of both internal and inter-state conflicts. Inter-state borders is one of the causes of the conflict in the eastern Kivu of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the border between Kivu and Rwanda.

#### **4.3.2. Ethnicity**

Ethnicity which is also among the major causes of conflict in Africa as well as in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kivu region. Rwanda's genocide was based entirely on ethnic tensions tracing back to Belgian colonial rule. In a country made up predominately of two major Ethnic groups, the Belgians openly favored the Tutsi's who were considered to look more European.

Tutsis were believed to be physically taller, with a longer nose and a longer neck. Traditionally cattle herders, throughout the colonial period, the Tutsis were given positions of greater stature and importance within the Belgian regime. The largest ethnic group in Rwanda, the Hutus were considered to be smaller, squatter, with rounder heads and to look more traditionally Bantu by the Belgians, and suffered continuous discrimination throughout the colonial period.

Yet, when the Belgians granted independence to Rwanda in 1962, they handed the government to the majority Hutu, realizing that Hutu power was inevitable as they made up over 80% of the country's population. By promptly switching their support in favor of the new Hutu political party, the Belgians reversed all praises formally given to the Tutsis and fuelled decades of tension between the two groups as they battled for power. This was a battle that would eventually result in decades of persecution for Tutsis at the hands of the Hutu government, and eventually lead to genocide.

In the aftermath of the 1994 Genocide, as Tutsi rebel soldier Paul Kagame, took control of the government and ended the violence in July, hundreds of thousands of Hutu extremists and murderers fled the country, crossing the border into the eastern regions of the Democratic Republic of Congo, supported by the country's ruler and President Mobutu. Making their homes in refugee camps along the border, Hutu extremists began to regroup and plan a new attack on the Tutsis of Rwanda. Concurrently, Mobutu began a process of persecution and violence against the native Tutsis of eastern Congo.

Named the Banyamulenge, these Tutsis had first arrived in the Congo in the mid 1920's, expanding in the 1950's and 60's as they fled persecution from the newly independent Hutu government. As the position of Tutsis became increasingly unstable in the region, the Banyamulenge people claimed to be citizens of the Congo or Zaire as it was known at the time, whilst Mobutu and the Hutu extremists of the refugee camps persecuted them as Rwandan Tutsis, giving them an ambiguous citizenship and setting them up for massacre.

#### **4.3.3. Military**

Military with inter-state aggression, annexation, intervention; for example, support for the rebels of other states, or for separatist movements.

#### **4.3.4. Political corruption**

Trends of events in the past three decades reveal that political corruption is the root cause of conflict in Africa. The contention here is that political corruption by sapping the economy of Africa renders the continent poor or worsens its poverty situation. And this renders most of the states in the continent incapable of providing the basic needs of the people. Burton's (1979, 1997) human needs theory on conflict and conflict management recognizes the indispensability of these needs, by pointing out that wherever such non-negotiable needs are not met, conflict is inevitable. Since political corruption is perpetrated by leaders entrusted with a nation's reserves, the masses normally react by engaging in violence.



According to the United Nations Human Development Report (Fapohunda, 2002: 26), sixty percent of Africans live in abject or hopeless poverty. The problem of poverty is compounded by the issue of corruption of the state resources, 37% of Africa's assets are held abroad; Fapohunda argues that this figure, the highest for any region in the world, was more of the fruit of corruption. Egbo (2002: 289) maintains that, this is public money tapped overseas by corrupt political and military rulers for their personal use, the problem of poverty and breakdown among most third world countries has its root in the illegitimate and arbitrary methods of these men.

The conflict in the eastern Kivu of DRC, rebel movements like FDLR could receive support from the Congolese National Army and vice versa and help each other plunder minerals to sustain their livelihood. Military cause is also one the major causes of conflict in the eastern Kivu of DRC.

It happened with Laurent Kabila who got support from Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and South Africa against Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda one side accusing Kabila of none respect of the signed agreement over accession of the portion of the land bordering Rwanda in the Kivu region. Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda are fighting and plundering for their own personal benefits.

#### **4.4. Consequences of the conflict in eastern Kivu**

The Democratic Republic of Congo has gone through two major wars, between 1996 and 1997 and between 1998 and 2008.

An estimated six millions of people died since 1998, largely because of lack of access to basic health care, sanitation, adequate nutrition, and infrastructure, especially by being displaced (Caritas Australia 2008).

There are about 1.15 million internally displacement persons (IDPs) and 300.000 refugees in neighboring states, and sexual violence is widespread (UNHCR, 2008). A UN report in 2001 showed that 6.000 people per day, or over two million per year are dying as a result of unhealthy water conditions. This report went on to state that over 300 million people in Africa still do not have reasonable access to safe water and that almost half of the people in Africa have suffered from water related diseases. The Democratic Republic of Congo is among those African countries that have unhealthy water conditions. While exact statistics are difficult to get because of the war situation, it is estimated that around 100 people per day mostly children die in the DRC due to unhealthy water conditions, mainly from the diseases mentioned above.

The Conflict in Congo is notorious for serious violations of human rights, including violence against women and the use of child soldiers. Since 1996 the International Rescue Committee has calculated that approximately 5.4 million people have died from water related causes. Many women have been raped by members of the various armed forces, including the United Nations peacekeepers. Many more women have been subjected to intra-community and intra-household violence in an environment where traditional social constraints and controls are in disarray or confusion.

A survey in North and South Kivu provinces and Ituri district among 998 Congolese males and females aged 18 years and older found that 39.7% of women and 23.6% of men reported to have been subjected to sexual violence during their lifetime (Johnson et al. 2010).

As stated above, the Democratic Republic of Congo, through war has experienced, notorious consequences, socially, economically and politically. People had to leave the country and seek refuge in neighboring countries, families were torn apart, sexual violence, control over mineral resources rich areas, forced labor, political instability and leadership crisis, increase in corruption, and above all the conflict has made the region ungovernable.

#### **4.4.1. Killing and displacement**

The people of the Democratic Republic of Congo have suffered immensely throughout the colonial times and in the post-independent era. The continuation of exploitative colonial legacy by the leaders of the independent DRC brought a trail of death, destruction and underdevelopment for the people. The ongoing conflicts have aggravated the situation. It has claimed numerous lives and plunged the resource rich country into chaos and critical underdevelopment. An indication of the human cost of the conflict can be determined by the following facts: on August 27, 1998, just a few days after the beginning of the civil war, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World service reported that

rebels and their Rwandan and Ugandan allies killed 200 civilians in Kassika in South Kivu (Shekhawat, 2009).

This was one of the killings, called the massacre of Kassika. Later on, 818 other civilians were killed in the massacre of Makobola in the town of Makobola. Their houses were burnt and almost at the same time fifteen women were buried alive in Kamituga. As early as February 1999, thirty people were killed at Kilambo in North Kivu by the *Rassemblement des Congolais pour la Democratie* (RCD), backed by the Rwandan army. RCD rebels and the Rwandan soldiers and militias tied up men, raped women in front of their sons and husbands, and killed them. In May the same year, the RCD with its Rwandan allies killed at least thirty villagers in Katogota, south Kivu (Human Rights Watch 2001). In late 1999, the RCD with their allies sexually tortured and buried many women alive in Mwenga (*Association Africaine de Defenses des Droits de l'Homme*, ASADHO, 2000).

United Nations in March 2005 described the crisis in the eastern Congo, as the world's worst humanitarian crisis. Since 2000, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) has documented the humanitarian impact of conflict through mortality surveys. The first four studies, conducted between 2000 and 2004, estimated that 3.9 million people had died since 1998. About 10 per cent of all the deaths were due to violence and 90 per cent were due to diseases like malaria, diarrhea, pneumonia and malnutrition.

The fifth survey, covering the period from January 2006 to April 2007, concluded that 5.4 million deaths have occurred between August 1998 and April 2007, with as many as 45.000 people dying every month. As with previous IRC studies in the DRC, the majority of deaths have been due to infectious diseases, malnutrition and maternity related problems. In June 2007, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs put the figures of internally displaced persons at 1.16 million. The UNHCR put the figures for Congolese refugees in the neighboring countries of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda at 310.000 in October 2007 (UNHCR, 2007)

#### **4.4.2. Impact on women**

The troubled situation has made the life of women more precarious or dangerous. Besides getting killed and injured, hundreds of thousands of women and girls have been raped in the country. There are at least 40.000 survivors of sexual and gender-based violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo according to a report of the World Health Organization published in 2005. According to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence, Yakin Erturk, who toured eastern Congo in July 2007, violence against women in North and South Kivu included unimaginable brutality. All armed forces involved in the conflict are guilty of sexual crimes. Case of making women sexual slaves and thereafter the inhuman behavior of the captivators too were reported from the country.

Most victims, as ever, are women and girls, some no more than toddlers, though men and boys have sometimes been targeted too. Local aid workers and UN reports inform of gang

rapes, leaving victims with appalling physical and psychological injuries, rapes committed in front of families or whole communities; male relatives forced at gunpoint to rape their own daughters, mothers or sisters; women used as sex slaves were forced to eat excrement or flesh of murdered relatives. Some women victims have been murdered by bullets fired from a gun barrel shoved into their vagina (Shekhawat, 2009).

Although rape has long existed in the past in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Kivu region, it has been regarded as a deeply reprehensible act and an extreme humiliation for the victim, her family and her husband especially. The humiliation aspect of rape is still very much alive today in the DRC; most communities stigmatize women who have been raped and hold them accountable for the shame and humiliation that they have suffered (Swatuk, Schnurr & Matthew, 2012).

#### **4.4.3. Economic impact**

As in all violent conflicts, the protracted conflict in the DRC has dramatically reduced the production capabilities of the government's ability to collect much needed revenues for economic development. Consequently the ability of the government to raise revenues through a functional tax system has led to a substantial increase in external debt (Albert, 2012).

The conflicts have dramatically reduced national output and government revenue, and increase external debt or obligation. Foreign business houses have curtailed operations due to an uncertain atmosphere, lack of infrastructure, and a non-conducive and difficult work environment. There has been an increase in unemployment. A country rich in natural

resources has become one of the least developed countries. The infrastructure in terms of road density, electrification and water supply remains poor (Oyenyi, 2011).

The country is the world's largest producer of cobalt, and a major producer of copper and diamonds but the resources of the country have been a curse and brought misfortunes for the natives and all the benefits have gone to the outsiders. Resources have been used to fuel conflict and not to get people out of poverty.

In 2007, the Human Development Index ranked the country at 168 position out of a total of 177 countries. The unstable situation has provided a fertile ground to the stakeholders to exploit the natural wealth of DRC with impunity. As Reyntjens wrote: "Entrepreneurs of insecurity are engaged in extractive activities that would be impossible in a stable state environment. The criminalization context in which these activities occur offers avenues for considerable factional and personal enrichment through the trafficking of arms, illegal drugs, toxic products, mineral resources and dirty money (Reyntjens, 2007).

A United Nations report published in April 2001 clearly pointed that all the parties involved in the conflict profited by looting resources of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The overall situation hence remains fragile and poverty is all pervasive. The words of Jan Egeland, the then United Nations under Secretary General for humanitarian affairs are worth quoting: "there are few places on earth where the gap between humanitarian needs and available resources is as large or as lethal as in Congo (UN, 2001)"

The DRC is emerging from a decade of political instability and violent conflict that has led to the near-collapse of the economy, and caused the annual per capita income to fall to \$120 in 2005. Experts have described this as development in reverse.

The country has the second largest swath of rainforests in the world. With 86 million hectares of area covered by rainforests, the Democratic Republic of Congo accounts for over half of the total remaining rainforests in the Central African Region (Woody, 2013).

Congolese forests are a vital resource, both for the Congolese people and the global environment. About 40 million rural Congolese depend on the forests for their food, income, energy, shelter, medicines and cultural needs. The United Nations peace-keeping forces too have been accused of adding to the woes of the people. An internal United Nations report obtained by the BBC reveals widespread and inherent corruption diffusing the procurement department in Kinshasa, the capital city of the Democratic Republic of Congo (UN, 2007).

According to a 2007 report of the Human Rights Watch from December 2004 to August 2006, around 140 allegations of sexual exploitation involving United Nations personnel were recorded in Congo. A BBC report accused United Nations troops have been involved in arming militia groups and smuggling gold and ivory. Earlier the peacekeepers in the Democratic Republic of Congo were also accused of perpetrating widespread abuse of refugees and indulging in sexual violence (HRW, 2007).



#### **4.5. Factors contributing to the conflict**

It is important to stress that natural resources are not the root cause of the conflict, but just one of the factors that can be used to explain the ongoing conflict. The functioning of Congolese state itself has been characterized by weak governance, corruption, lawlessness and impunity.

Furthermore, the conflict has a significant regional dimension as a result of foreign rebels seeking shelter in eastern DRC, as well as the country's lengthy and absorbent borders, the refugee problem in the Great Lakes region, and neighboring countries that continue to stir up instability in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Matthysen &Montejano, 2013).

##### **4.5.1. Cold war**

According to office of historian, bureau of public affairs, USA, cold war is the ideological conflict between the big powers over the influence of ideology. The decolonization of Sub-Saharan Africa from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s resulted in several representation Cold War confrontations between the United States and the Soviet Union over the dozens of newly independent, non-aligned nations. The first such confrontation occurred in the former Belgian Congo, which gained its independence on June 30, 1960.

In the months leading up to independence, the Congolese elected a president, Joseph Kasavubu, prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, a senate and assembly, and similar bodies in the Congo's numerous provinces (Alemazung, 2010).

The Eisenhower administration had high hopes that the Republic of the Congo would form a stable, pro-Western, central government. Those hopes vanished in a matter of days as the newly independent nation descended into chaos. On July 5, Congolese soldiers in the *Force Publique* revolted against their white Belgian commanders at the Thysville military base, seeking higher pay as well as greater opportunity and authority. The uprising quickly spread to other bases and violence soon broke out across the nation.

Thousands of Europeans primarily Belgians fled, and stories of atrocities against whites surfaced in newspapers around the globe.

Unable to control the indigenous army renamed the Congolese National Army, the Belgians brought in troops to restore order without seeking permission to do so from either Kasavubu or Lumumba. In reply, the Congolese government appealed directly to the United Nations to provide troops and demanded the removal of Belgian troops. On July 13, the United Nations approved a resolution which authorized the creation of an intervention force, the Organizations des Nations Unities au Congo (ONUC), and called for the withdrawal of all Belgian troops. Two days earlier, the wealthy Katanga province had declared its independence from the Republic of the Congo, followed in August by South Kasai province (Alemazung, 2010).

While the United States supported the U.N. effort, members of the Eisenhower administration, increasingly concerned that the Congo crisis would provide an opening for Soviet intervention, sought a diplomatic solution to the crisis.

Lumumba was invited to visit Washington in late July, in the hopes that the United States could exert a moderating influence on the prime minister. The visit underscored the futility of that effort. Reports from Lawrence Devlin, the CIA Chief of Station in Leopoldville actual Kinshasa, described the situation in the Congo as a classic Communist takeover. The reports, coupled with the arrival of Soviet bloc technicians and materiel, convinced members of the national security team that Lumumba had to be removed.

A flurry of U.S. diplomatic activity in support of unseating Lumumba ensued. Plans were also developed to assassinate Lumumba if necessary. On September 5, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba from the government but Lumumba ignored the decree and dismissed Kasavubu. Lumumba's supporters in the Congo and abroad were irritated and pledged to support his return to office. In an attempt to avoid civil war, Colonel Joseph Mobutu of the Congolese National Army (CNA) orchestrated a coup d'état on September 14, and ordered the Soviets out of the country. Mobutu's early efforts to support a pro-Western government and his ties to the military placed him in good stead with Devlin, who informed Mobutu of a plot to assassinate him on September 18. Lumumba, who was blamed for the plot, was arrested and ultimately killed on January 17, 1961 (Alemazung, 2010).

Over the next four years, as the Republic of the Congo installed a series of prime ministers, the United States repeatedly attempted to create a stable, pro-Western regime through vote buying and financial support for pro-Western candidates. Mobutu also received funds to help him gain the loyalty of the CNA and avoid rebellion in the ranks. Neither effort

succeeded in quelling the seemingly endless unrest in the volatile provinces. Concern over the instability that would occur following the departure of U.N. troops led the Kennedy administration to sign bilateral military agreements with the Republic of the Congo and resulted in a May 1963 visit to Washington by Mobutu, who met with President Kennedy on May 31.

Support for the Congo continued unabated during the Johnson administration. U.S. military assistance increased dramatically in response to the fall of Stanleyville (Kisangani) to rebel forces on August 4, 1964. Planes provided by the Department of Defense, flown by pilots supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency, augmented the CNA's efforts against an increasingly robust rebel insurgency, which received support from neighboring African nations, the Soviet bloc and Chinese Communists. The United States also made diplomatic approaches to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to secure support for the Republic of the Congo. By late October, the situation in Stanleyville was dire. On October 28, the rebel army commander placed all Westerners in the area (including a number of Americans) under house arrest. Smaller but significant numbers of hostages were seized in other cities under rebel control (Alemazung, 2010).

A joint U.S. - Belgian effort to rescue the hostages in late November, Operation Dragon Rouge, succeeded but severely damaged Prime Minister Tshombe, who was viewed as incompetent by both Kasavubu and Mobutu. He was dismissed in October 1965 and once again, the nation teetered on the brink of civil war. Mobutu orchestrated another coup

d'état on November 25, 1965, removed both the President and Prime Minister, and took control of the government.

Despite periodic uprisings and turmoil, Mobutu ruled the Congo renamed Zaire in 1971 until the mid-1990s. Viewed as mercurial and occasionally irrational, Mobutu nonetheless proved to be a loyal ally against communist violation in Africa.

As such, he received extensive U.S. financial, material, and political support, which increased his stature in much of Sub-Saharan Africa where he often served the interests of administrations from Johnson through Reagan.

As we see in the argument above, conflict started long time in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the eastern DRC and the cold war, the war of ideology between the big powers (America, Russia, France, and Britain) is still continue until today and the conflict in the eastern Kivu of the Democratic Republic of Congo is one of the good example where indirectly super powers are fighting over ideology and world economic leadership.

#### **4.5.2. Poverty**

Poverty undermines people's liberty to make decision over and shape their own lives; it robs them of the chance to decide on matters of basic importance to them. Poverty in essence is the lack of power and choice and lack of material resources, it is often said that beggars have no choice and poverty makes one a beggar (Restrepo, et al., 2008).

Ted Gurr (1970) agree that poverty as a result of lack of human needs lead to reactions that result in conflict. The human needs theory supported by Burton (1970) argues that

there are conflict and instability in developing countries because people are denied not only their biological needs, but also psychological needs that relate to growth and development. The overriding importance of this theory is that it understands that needs, particularly basic needs (such as food, water, shelter and health) unlike interest cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained for; thus any attempt to do this, leads to conflict. Therefore, when the poor are in the majority and have no prospect of ameliorating their condition, they are bound to be restless and seek restitution through violence. No government can hold stability and peace when it is created on a sea of poverty.

The argument and theory supported above on poverty really applies to the actual situation in the Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo in such a way that because of poverty citizens are fighting over resources, people engage in illegal activities, still and kill each other for instance after disputing ownership over the land which result to families conflict.

#### **4.5.3. Leadership crisis**

Leadership plays an important role in every human endeavor for order and progress. It is of huge significance and very important in guiding every human society on the path of growth and development. Without leadership, no military action, no national life, and no social life are possible (Maurois, 1960).

According to the Department for International development (2009), (DFID), State weakness can create the conditions for violent conflict. Political institutions that are unable to manage differing group interests peacefully, to provide adequate guarantees of

group protection, or to accommodate growing demands for political participation, can fracture societies. There is a degree of consensus that there is a U-shaped relationship between levels of democracy and likelihood of violent conflict. While mature democracies are able to manage tensions peacefully through democratic inclusion, stark autocracies are able to repress violence and manage conflict through force. The most vulnerable states are those in political transition.

Uncertainty and collective fears of the future, stemming from state weakness, clientelism and indiscriminate repression may result in the emergence of armed responses by marginalized groups and nationalist, ethnic or other populist ideologies.

A social contract is a framework of rules that governs state-society relations and the distribution of resources, rights and responsibilities in an organized society. How a government spends public revenue, regardless of whether it comes from taxes or from natural resources, is significant. If it spends it equitably on social welfare and satisfying basic needs, conflict is less likely than if it appropriates revenues for corrupt or fractional purposes. Corruption undermines public trust in government, deters domestic and foreign investment, exacerbates inequalities in wealth and increases socioeconomic grievances. Equally, the inability of states to provide basic services, including justice and security, to all its citizens reduces state legitimacy and trust in state institutions, weakening or breaking the social contract (Maphosa, 2012).

The arguments above fit the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo in terms of selfishness of the government, incapability of providing human security, social welfare,

in the contrary the government is busy being corrupted and directed from outside by the West or super powers and thus satisfy its desire to the detriment of the population and even massacre like what happened recently in Kinshasa where the government has been accused of being responsible for the killing of millions Congolese people. Leadership crisis can lead to violent conflict as well (Oyeniya, 2011).

In some cases, ruling groups may resort to violence to prolong their rule and maintain opportunities for corruption. This can in turn provoke violent rebellion by marginalized groups.

#### **4.5.4. Colonial legacy**

Joy Alemazung (2010), states that colonial legacy is the sum total of the political structure, culture and general polity handed over to the elite nationalist rulers or that which was left behind by the colonial administrators, neo-colonial nationalist leadership, which affected post-independent Africa and still has an impact on contemporary African states and politics. The colonial ruling style of oppression of the colonial administration that was imposed on African states by the new African nationalist rulers was not based on the choice, consent, will and purpose of the African people.

In other words, and considering the fact that some post-independent rulers run their states as if it were their personal property, colonial legacy is the inheritance of the state that belonged to the colonial administration from this administration by the post-colonial rulers in Africa.



The arguments above really reflect the situation in DRC today. The DRC for instance was King Leopold's personal property and after the DRC gained independence in 1960, President Mobutu Sese Seko ruled the state as if it were his personal property and until today the DRC is experiencing the same problem with the current government.

The selfish and exploitative character of the master-colony relationship that reigned in the colonialism time continued in different forms even after colonialism was long gone, and continues to impact contemporary African politics Alemazung, 2010).

The colonial impacts on post-colonial states in Africa are categorized in this section as colonial legacies. Some of these legacies include: neo-patrimonialism and clientelism, neo-colonialism continuity in continuation of western control and dominance, authoritarianism, ethnic division and rivalry. Ethnic divisions and the state conflicts resulting from ethnic rivalry is one of the major difficulties African states have had to deal with. Ethnic division is one of the leading legacies of colonialism which one always comes across when assessing the colonial impacts on the continent. African authors as well as non-African scholars concerned with African politics blame the ethnic divisions and rivalry amongst the nations in Africa on the arbitrary boundaries and cultural differences created and imposed upon these peoples by the colonial masters (Mahoso, 2010).

When scrutinizing problems and causes of ethnic conflicts in Africa for example, the conventional explanation relating to external factors contributing to the ethnic conflicts, is that, the polarization of ethnic communities and the outbreak of ethnic violence are a

legacy of colonialism which ignored cultural differences during the creation of artificial state borders (Amoo, 1997).

According to Shillington (1989), the colonial masters emphasized the distinctions between the different ethnic groups, thereby strengthening tribal differences and rivalries between these groups and preventing them from forming a united opposition against the colonizers. Ethnic divisions thus, contributed to the formation of parties along ethnic lines, which later contributed to the marginalization of parties which refused to be co-opted into the ruling party: consequently, ethnic division and rivalry can be seen as a major trigger and cause of conflicts on the continent.

#### **4.5.5. Economic legacy**

The economic legacy of conflict prolonged civil war is development in reverse (Collier et al, 2003). Following are some of the specific consequences:

**Economic decline:** The economy usually declines relative to its peacetime trend such that by the end of a conflict the economy is significantly smaller than it would have been had peace been maintained. Understanding this economic contraction process is helpful in designing remedial policies for the post-conflict phase.

**Infrastructure:** The most obvious legacy of conflict is destruction of public infrastructure. However, infrastructure does not only deteriorate as a result of direct damage from conflict. As the government shifts expenditure towards the military, public

investment and expenditure on maintenance are squeezed. The post- conflict legacy of these effects is an acute shortage of public capital.

**Military spending:** During civil war, military spending inevitably increases as the government attempts to enhance its capacity to resist the rebellion. High military spending during conflict is hard to reverse. During the post- conflict decade, military spending is usually maintained at a high level, with little peace dividend being taken.

This is in part a corollary of the high risk of reversion to conflict: governments respond to risk by increasing military spending (Collier et al, 2003).

#### **4.5.6. Minerals Trade**

The minerals trade is one of several factors that contribute to continuing human abuses and conflicts in eastern DRC. According to U.S. officials and NGO representatives, while the minerals trade is one of several economic activities perpetuating conflict by providing resources to both illegal armed groups and some Congolese national military units, it is not the root cause of conflict but a consequence of violent conflict resulting from the breakdown of the rule of law (Yager, 2011).

#### **4.6. Resources in Kivu**

According to Hochschild (2004), diamonds, zinc, manganese, uranium, gold, niobium, copper, cobalt, and cadmium deposits are the major resources found in the eastern Kivu. Particularly important for high-technology is tantalum, more commonly known as coltan. The DRC possesses 80% of the world's known reserves.

Tin, tantalum, tungsten and niobium are all in demand from the international electronics industry, while gold mainly goes to home smelters in the Middle East and East Asia that supply local jewelry markets. Coltan is the major resource and high valued commodity in the eastern Kivu because of its importance in the manufacturing of almost all technological gadgets (laptop, cell phone, computer, etc. (Hochschild, 2004).

#### **4.7. Coltan's connection to the conflict in the Kivu eastern Congo**

According to Arthur Usanov and Magnus Ericsson (2013), coltan has mostly contributed to the conflict in the DRC, where it is often thought to have provided motivation and means for numerous armed groups to engage in violence. It was listed as one of the DRC's conflict minerals along with tin, tungsten and gold. Rwanda also played a more direct role in coltan exploitation, especially through the activities undertaken by the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). The army provided protection to the miners and companies extracting coltan in exchange for sharing their profits. During the coltan boom, Rwanda even moved prisoners to the Congo, and used them for mining coltan in exchange for reduced sentences and small cash allowances.

According to the UN Group of Experts, the Rwandan government set up a Congo Desk within the RPA's external Relations Department, which was tasked with overseeing the mining of Congolese resources and facilitating trade with Western companies. Coltan mined in the Democratic Republic of Congo was often transported to Rwanda's capital Kigali with RPA helicopters. The RPA was closely involved in the operations of

companies that were buying and exporting coltan, such as Rwanda Metals and Grands Lacs Metals (Usanov & Ericsson, 2013).

#### **4.8. Summary**

The source of many armed conflicts in Africa and specifically in the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo, is usually the control of natural and mineral resources.

Data collected from desktop research was analyzed and presented in this chapter. The next chapter therefore focuses on the recommendations that the researcher believes are worthy effecting and the conclusions.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY**

### **5.0. Introduction**

This chapter gives a brief summary and written conclusions derived from the study and makes recommendations based on the study carried out. The purpose of the study was to find out the relationship between resources and conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo with Kivu region as case study. The study intended to understand the significance of the data collected from the desktop research where books, journals, publications and internet were involved.

### **5.1. Summary**

For more than a century, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been plagued by regional conflict and a deadly scramble for its vast natural resources. In fact, greed for Congo's natural resources has been a principal driver of atrocities and conflict throughout Congo's tortured history.

In the eastern Congo today, these mineral resources are financing multiple armed groups, many of whom use mass rape as a deliberate strategy to intimidate and control local populations, thereby securing control of mines, trading routes, and other strategic areas.

The Democratic Republic of Congo is home to many mineral resources such as diamonds, copper, gold, tin, coltan and others.

The Democratic Republic of Congo is so rich and abundant in these resources and especially coltan which is very needed in the global market; however, the DRC itself and its citizens are extremely poor. Other countries such as Uganda and Rwanda are the countries benefiting from these abundant minerals. This globalization war is just doing just as much harm to for the DRC as it is good.

The research found out that resources in eastern Kivu region of DRC have played a role in the conflict in the eastern Kivu region because of the usage and importance that the minerals represent in the global market and in the whole world. Therefore there is a strong relationship between conflict in the eastern Kivu and the resources concentrated in that particular area, conflict which is responsible for political and economic instability in the region, as all the mineral proceeds exploited in the region do not benefit the locals but only exacerbate the conflict in the region.

As the collapsed Congolese state is not able to control the eastern part of the country, foreign armies and private military companies capture resource rich areas to conduct resource exploitation. Diamonds or other valuable resources become the major prize of conflicts.

In local areas, a large number of unofficial airfields were constructed as direct links to global demand of valuable resources and supply of weapons. Valuable resources were also transported to neighboring trans-shipment centers particularly eastern border towns in the Congo, as well as Kigali in Rwanda, Kampala in Uganda, which provided ties to the world market.

Countries like Rwanda and Uganda are even exporting resources which cannot be found within their territories. Since the beginning of the conflict, both countries show suspicious irregularities of this kind in their export statistics. At the same time, both small countries have large and well equipped armies, which were partially financed by illegal resource exploitation in the eastern Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

And trade is not the only way of financing the perpetuation of war, additional ways include conventional measures like raising taxes, tapping new resources of credit, or gaining support from a diaspora, as well as much more illegal activities like misappropriating relief supplies and redirecting official aid money into the war economy plundering of people and shops, trafficking of humans and drugs, and developing the black market all contributing to general insecurity.

The economy of the country was channeled to the conflict area providing armaments in order to end the conflict and stabilize and normalize the situation in that particular part of the country and affect both national and local economy as a result.

The link between resources and conflict in the eastern Kivu may also be seen in this case through technology advancement which require the specific minerals found in the Kivu region, such as the 3Ts minerals that are really on demand on the global market and therefore attract nations around the world. Minerals are really at the center of the conflict in the DRC both intra-state and inter-states.



Profit from the mineral trade is one of the main motives for armed groups on all sides of the conflict in eastern Congo. Armed groups earn hundreds of millions of dollars per year by trading four main minerals: the ores that produce tin, tantalum, tungsten, and gold.

## **5.2. Conclusion**

The conclusion of this study focuses on answering the research questions of the study. It focused on the relationship between resources and the conflict in eastern Kivu of the Democratic Republic of Congo. It also look at the main actors and their benefits and finally the consequences of the conflict in that particular region.

In line with the research carried out, it is a fact that mineral resources are really affected the conflict in Africa as a whole and particularly in the eastern Kivu of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Resources are still the fuel of conflict and generally of violence and the weakness of the state in the Congo and the major channel how to utilize these resources are world markets.

Research has shown that natural resources may constitute a blessing for populations located in the area of mineral wealth, because resource-greedy entrepreneurs will deploy means to protect their source of income. The same resources, however, can be characterized as a curse for the wider geographical area, because the intensity of conflict in surrounding areas is likely to experience an increase. This spatially nuanced view of the conflictive role of mineral activities suggests that policies aimed at increasing

transparency of mineral resources and possibly at reducing the exploitation of mineral resources may reduce conflict at the global level while at the same time generating tensions at the local level. To avoid tensions, such regulations need to be accompanied at the local level by improved alternative income such as agricultural sector to complement such policy action.

Alternating collaborations of warlords, rebel armies, private military companies and corrupt governments in large parts of Central Africa on the one hand and demand from booming global markets on the other, definitely contribute to a large extent to the perpetuation of violence in the Congo.

Highly demanded and strategically important resources were controlled by elites (African or European) by means of crude or rough violence. More or less legal networks put these resources on the world market where they were demanded by global actors. Hence, once more, only a few African elites and global actors benefited considerably whereas at the same time the Congolese population had to suffer terribly.

Both, African and global actors have also consciously used violence to maximize their profits, whereby direct violence has usually come from visible actors in the Congo and indirect violence has often been directed by global external actors.

The researcher concluded that because of the conflict linked to the minerals resources in the eastern Kivu region of the DRC, people die every day, others are sick and can't access medical care, women are being raped, the country itself is not developing and the economy is not stable, people are migrating in the nearby countries to seek refuge as a result.

Thus the Congo in the eastern Kivu serves as an important analytical reference for the resources conflict related.

Mineral resources have played a crucial role in fuelling protracted armed conflict in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Resource revenues obtained by looting, illegal levies and more sophisticated entrepreneurial involvement help foreign rebels and Congolese militia to finance violence and to withstand military defeat and pressure to lay down arms.

The regular armed forces are becoming equally involved in illegal exploitation of mineral extraction and trade. The thirst for resource revenues spurs opposition between regular army units and undermines effective command and control.

### **5.3. Recommendations**

In this section, the researcher identifies several issues that have emerged through the analysis and pull out recommendations.

The study recommend as follow:

- All mining companies that are extracting minerals from Congo and especially in the eastern Kivu establish a refinery plant in order to create jobs and reduce poverty and therefore develop the region economically.
- The Great Lakes Region Countries should adopt peaceful ways of resolving conflicts that can lead to development.

- African Leaders to fight by all means for the development of their respective nations as well as for the continent of Africa.
- African Leaders to stop putting or prioritize their own interests but the interests of the country and the citizens.
- The government should prioritize the welfare of the citizens by providing jobs and increasing the salary of the soldiers so that to avoid rebellion or intra-state conflict.
- Policy regulating the political and economic relationship between and within the country must be put in place.

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## Appendix 1: Map of Kivu



## Appendix 2: Permission to undertake research



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### INSTITUTE OF PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN


**Re: Permission to Undertake Research for Dissertation at Africa University**

Jean Claude Katembo Kanema student registration number 130138 is a student at Africa University. He is enrolled in a degree program in Peace and Governance and is currently conducting research for his project, which is required for completion of the program in June 2015. The research topic is "An Investigation on the Negative Impact of Globalisation in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Case Study of the Conflict in the Eastern Kivu Region". Jean is expected to undertake this research during the period March-May 2015 before the dissertation can be submitted to the Faculty in June 2015.

The student will share with you the results of this research after its approval by the Institute.

We thank you for your support and cooperation regarding this research.

Yours sincerely

  
**Prof. P. Machakanja**  
Director

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