

Under Which Circumstances Are Intra-state Wars Driven By Resource Curse?

A closer look on the abundance of resources in the
Democratic Republic of Congo and Ghana

Abstract

We predictably believe that immense natural resources would generate large revenues and wealth within a country. Nevertheless, a lot of evidences show the contrary. Empirical studies find that resource abundance, economic collapse, civil wars, and political instability are well correlated. This indeed creates a complex puzzle as to why natural blessing has not always brought wealth in most resource-rich countries. Instead, it appears to be a curse.

This paper challenges the prevailing understanding of natural resources as a precursor of armed conflict and an obstacle to peace and political stability. This is achieved through a comparative case study between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Ghana, testing resource curse theory from Paul Collier and Philippe Le Billon's hypothesis.

We come to find that resource curse leads to intra-state conflicts under certain circumstances, basically the colonial influence, geographic characteristics of the country, the stability in its governance, and its relationship with neighboring countries and in the international panel in general.

Key words: resource curse, lootability, intra-state conflict, DRC, Ghana

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFDL	l'Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre <i>(Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire)</i>
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ERP	Economy Recovery Program in Ghana
GALAMSEY	Illegal small-scale miners of Gold in Ghana
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERAHAMWE	Militia group that was behind much of the killings during the genocide in Rwanda
MPR	Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution <i>Popular Revolutionary Movement</i>
ONUC	Opération des Nations Unies au Congo <i>(United Nations Operations in Congo)</i>
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
ZAIRIANIZATION	A nationalistic economical policy of the Mobutu regime introduced in the early 1970s

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and Motivation

When taking a course like “Konflikt och samverkan i internationell politik” it is evidently relevant to seek for a deeper understanding of the nature and origin of conflicts in order to be able to prevent and resolve them. Intra-states conflicts have played a great role in shaping most of the established nations of today. At present, most of the countries engaged in such wars are just developing countries, a lot of them from the African region (Le Billon, 2001:562ff). Looking closely at these countries, one would notice that despite being classified as Third World countries, they have a lot of potential because of their rich natural resources. Most, if not all countries in Africa are rich in several minerals. Nevertheless, sustainable containment over these resources has remarkably been a complex dilemma for many African local authorities. This stresses the vulnerability and the risk of violence for armed insurgents resulting from the lootability of these resources; a fact that leads to political instability and economical turmoil for many countries who economically rely of the exportation of primary commodities (Le Billon, 2001:562f). Hence, intra-state conflicts are viewed as being deeply rooted in the struggle to control over these resources. Likewise, the well-known researcher Peter Wallensteen claims that conflicts arise when there are scarce of resources. Thus, “[...] when the parties adjust their demands so that there is no longer scarcity, the conflict disappears” (Wallensteen, 2007:14). Conflicts hence arise from the scarcity, and Wallensteen claims that abundance of resources makes the demands from each of the warring parties easier to meet and further easier to resolve the conflict (2007:14). Conflicts over abundant resources are hence more interesting to investigate.

To find out more about such a generalization, we think it is important to investigate under which circumstances abundance of resources can lead to intrastate wars. As many scholars claim that in the early decades of the new millennium wars will no longer be fought over ideology but over supplies of precious natural commodities, the main thrust in conducting this research is hence to deepen and broaden our understanding and investigate over the major facts that have respectively ignited internal hostilities in the case of the DRC, and how under these same facts has Ghana succeeded in maintaining its political stability and cooperation despite of its honey pot. These are some high points that have attracted our attention in willing to deepen our knowledge in researching about

this notorious phenomenon, intra-state conflicts, which stands today as a constant challenge in the development of many developing countries.

1.2 Purpose and Issue Framing

Under which circumstances are intra-state wars driven by resource curse?

Our question is neither concrete nor vague, because of the use of the term curse. This term could be interpreted in several ways. One of the interpretations is obviously a great amount of resources in an area. But it can also be taken as a curse of not having enough resources, having a specific resource, lacking another one, and a lot of other considerations. In that we will have to clarify the concept resource curse, meaning that we will explicitly and clearly explain what the expression resource curse really means. Considering the diversity in the type of resources, we want to focus on the lootable resources. As claimed by Le Billon the availability of lootable resources is a key element that favors intra-states conflicts (Le Billon 2001: 581).

1.3 Method and Theory

Comparative case study with Most Similar System Design as a strategy suits our research. We have consciously excluded the Most Different System Design to avoid the risk, as explained by Esaiasson et al, of getting an undesirable outcome of the empirical examination that can prevent us from earning a broad knowledge of the phenomenon in our research (2007:117), which is resource curse. The Most Similar System Design clearly outlines the result with a clean display of the explanatory factor when comparing two countries with similar basic characteristics (Landman, 2008:70), as we see in Ghana and the DRC. The two countries have not been chosen randomly but intentionally. They have very similar characteristics including the region they're located, history and colonial influence, and more importantly both are mineral-rich Third World countries. Nevertheless, despite of the similarities these two countries have experienced different political and economical development. While Ghana is viewed as a model for reformative politics (Herbst, 1993) in the African region, the DRC, instead, reflects deep misery and instability (Stearns 2001:5). The main problem with this strategy is, indeed, that even similar analysis units like DRC and Ghana can never be completely homogenous (Esaiasson et al, 2007:115).

Our aim is to conduct an explanatory case study with theory-testing ambitions. We test Paul Collier's and Philippe Le Billon's hypotheses about resource curse.

These two scholars are complementary to each other in their claims. Collier and Le Billon portray that abundance of natural resources are correlated to intra-state hostilities. In order to control comparable information, we brought forth following independent variables: geography, political economy, and external influence. The process in our research comprises investigating the veracity of Collier and Le Billon's statement. We are going to analyze Geography, as an independent variable, according to following sub variables:

- resources as proximate or distant
- resources as point or diffuse
- type of relief and land characteristics that are found in each country.

The next independent variable is Instability and Poverty / Stability and Prosperity, where we are going to outline the economical and political policies in each country in order to measure following sub variables:

- income gini coefficient
- the distribution policies
- clientelism
- stability of the government

Besides the theory from Collier and Le Billon, we are even going to dissect the colonial impact and external influence in each of these two countries, because we value these two as a significant facts to the stability of a country. This involves the political and economical relationship and interference with external actors like the West, Multinational Corporations, and even neighboring countries in the internal affairs of the DRC and Ghana. Finally, we are going to lift up conflicts that have occurred in respective countries post-Cold War era.

1.4 General Delimitations

Due to the limitations of both space and time allotted, and considering the immensity of the topic chosen, the time frame taken into consideration for the purposes of this term paper will be restricted from the collapse of the Soviet Union. That means the period going from the beginning of the nineties until the present time. As Kaplan claims, the end of Cold War lifted the lid off previous suppressed conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002: 8), our focus mainly involves conflicts from 1990 and onward.

Although we try to present a balanced discussion on resource curse as a concept, and despite many independent variables that can be involved in such a research, we have opted to concentrate our research on geography, political economy, external influence, and colonial impact. Furthermore, we have decided to center our empirical analysis on coltan in the case of the DRC, and gold in the case of Ghana. We have opted for these two specific minerals because of the following similarities: both are non-renewable lootable resources, and found in abundance in respective countries.

Today, the most significant gold-producing country in West Africa is Ghana, which accounts for some 70% of regional output. Similarly, the DRC also stands

for 80% of world reserve of coltan. The lootability of gold, specifically in Ghana, is shown by the activity of Galamsey- the illegal small-scale gold mining where more than 100,000 operates as Galamsey using primitive techniques (Hilson, 2007:276- Harkinson, 2003- Boiko-Weyrauch, 2010, Coakley, 2003:1). Coltan is evenly lootable in the DRC. Artisanal small-scaling mining of coltan is widely spread in the Eastern part of the DRC, where coltan is abundantly found (Hayes & Burge, 2003:41f).

These are similarities that have motivated our choice in these two minerals. It is obviously significant to highlight that both minerals are of great economical interest.

1.5 Materials

Primary materials would have been desirable in our research. However these materials are basically accessible when researching within Africa. Nevertheless, a single part of our primary material consists of the well-known SVT foreign correspondent Lena Scherman. Indeed, our main material will be secondary. Mainly books, scientific articles, and statistics.

We recognize the fact of being aware that there may be underlying interests of sources and hence confront facts with other sources (Esaiasson et al, 2007:314 ff). CIA Factbook for example, can be bias, which can be offset by similar Internet sources. Independent sources are preferred. To judge the authenticity of secondary material is important. It is more common in secondary than primary materials that the fact gets distorted, and basic rules to avoid it, is to get the information confirmed by other independent sources (Esaiasson et al, 2007:319)

2 Terminology

2.1 Resource Curse

This term refers to the paradox that regions or countries with a huge quantity of specifically non renewable resources like fuels or minerals tend to have a meager economic growth and poor development standards than countries with fewer natural resources (Stevens, 2008).

2.2 Intra-state War

Since the end of Cold War, conflicts more frequently arises within states than between them. Civil war and intrastate war are distinguished. Peter Wallensteen writes that the “[...] feature of civil wars and other internal conflicts is primarily [...] found in the type of incompatibility and primary parties. Civil wars are a matter of keeping or taking control over a particular government and its state machinery. Furthermore, the primary parties are rooted within that same state.” (Wallensteen, 2007:123).

Meanwhile, UCDP defines intra-state conflict as confrontation between a government and a non-government party within a given state. Moreover, there are cases whereby foreign governments get involved and both sides receive troop support from other governments that actively participate in the conflict. In this case the conflict is connoted as intra-state conflict with foreign involvement (UCDP, 2011)

Since the pattern of the post-Cold War era shows that the intra-state conflicts are overrepresented, the current categorizing of conflicts remains unsolved. The distinction of different types of conflict is widely debated among scholars, and the disagreement is apparent. As conflicts tend to change character by time, it is also confusing to strictly categorize a certain conflict (Ramsbotham et al, 2005: 63-66). Thus, as our aim is to study conflicts within the state, we use civil war and intra-state conflict synonymously.

2.3 Lootable Resource

The lootability of resources is suggested by several scholars to influence civil- and intra-state wars. Michael L. Ross is one, among many, scholar who claims that the role played by natural resources in civil war depend largely on the lootability and to a lesser extent on the obstructability. He describes the lootability of a resource as “[...] the ease with which it can be extracted and transported by individuals or small teams of unskilled workers.” (Ross, 2003:446). Päivi Lujala refers to this profitable extraction by small-scale artisans as an “easily extractable resources” which is confirmed by earlier studies to influence intra-state conflicts (2010:15).

2.4 Clientelism

The concept of clientelism, or neo-patrimonialism, is a system “[...] of government based on personal rule in which the ruler dispenses offices and other benefits to subordinates in return for loyalty, support and services”(Ikpe, 2009:62). Clientelism emanates from a system that mutually benefits both the client and patrons, and is considered more strategic compare to neopatrimonialism. The crucial core in this concept however comprises the unequal distribution of an exploitative expenditure of public resources.

3 Theory

The main theoretical umbrella for intra-state conflicts related to the excess of natural resources is being portrayed by many researchers as resource curse. Our theory emanates from Le Billon and Collier. These are two prominent scholars who have conducted several researches regarding resource curse. Moreover, claims from Le Billon and Collier are complimentary.

The theoretical framework of the resource curse by Le Billon, professor at the University of British Columbia, includes several elements. According to Le Billon, "[...] armed conflict in the post-Cold War period is increasingly characterized by a specific political ecology closely linked to the geography and political economy of natural resources" (Le Billon, 2001:561). Geographically, a resource close to the capital city is less likely to be captured by rebels than a resource located close to the border. He therefore classifies resources as either proximate or distant. Le Billon writes; "The higher the availability of valuable resources at the periphery of control, the greater the likelihood of prolonged conflict" (2001: 570). Furthermore, he identified another classification as point resources or diffuse resources. The point resource is concentrated in an area and includes resources exploited by for example mining industries. Diffuse resource is widely spread, and mostly includes agricultural resources (Le Billon, 2001: 570). The geographic question of proximate or distant, diffuse or point is going to be used as sub variables in this study. Besides, many conflicts that are linked to abundance of resources depend not only on geographic aspects, but indeed, as expressed by Le Billon, there are even factors such as clientelism, the question of redistribution, and the political economy of a resource that are connected to these conflicts (Le Billon, 2001:568f). Those political and economical elements will therefore be investigated as well.

Consequently, Le Billon's statement assumes that countries possessing precious resources such as minerals tend to struggle over the control of such precious commodities.

Collier is another theorist who has done a lot of studies in depicting intra-state wars connected to natural resources. This professor of economics and director for the centre for the study of African economies at the Oxford University provides an overview on how huge amount of natural resources breeds armed conflicts, and how natural resources rich-countries have ended up being caught in a conflict trap (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002- Collier, 2007).

Collier claims that to explain the outbreak of civil wars we need to discover the circumstances which favor rebellion. He even adds that to be operational, a rebel organization must find means of survival and be able to face the government army. In order to accomplish that, rebel need to purchase military

equipments and manpower. Hence, this creates the need for a sustainable financial support.

Collier emphasizes the causes of civil war by testing greed hypothesis. This theory focuses on the ability to finance rebellion. Collier gives a general guide which is reliable with economic models of risks of conflicts in which significant factors are mainly the financial opportunities for rebels, the social constraint, and geographic constraints which they face (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002:2). Collier's empirical analysis confirms that countries with abundant natural resources have a higher risk of conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002). This motivates our goal to conduct a part of our research from economical perspectives like income gini coefficient, distribution policies and stability of government.

3.1 Operationalization

Our quantitative sub variables are going to be operationalized by using reliable data index. Income gini coefficient is used in order to see indications of equality and measure "the deviation of the distribution of income (or consumption) among individuals or households within a country from a perfectly equal distribution" (UNDP, 2010). This creates an image of the distribution politics.

In order to measure the financial management in Ghana respectively in the DRC, we have opted to use the QoG data set, specifically the variable "Quality of Budgetary and Financial Management".

"This criterion assesses the extent to which there is: (a) a comprehensive and credible budget, linked to policy priorities; (b) effective financial management systems to ensure that the budget is implemented as intended in a controlled and predictable way; and (c) timely and accurate accounting and fiscal reporting, including timely and audited public accounts and effective arrangements for follow up." (Teorell et al, 2011:51).

Additionally, we are using the "ICRG Indicator of Quality of Government" to measure the quality of government in each of these countries. This variable includes "[t]he mean value of the ICRG variables 'Corruption', 'Law and Order', and 'Bureaucracy Quality', scaled 0-1. Higher values indicate higher quality of government." (Teorell et al, 2011:53). We believe that these are suitable indicators for effective and stable governance.

4 Democratic Republic of Congo

From its remarkable contribution to the Manhattan project (Fleckner & Avery, 2005:1) to its macabre Africa's First World War tragedy (McGreal, 2008), the Democratic Republic of Congo, or DRC in abbreviation, is clearly a country that sparks sensitive curiosity to conduct various researches. Its immense deposits of natural resources, like the coltan, among many other resources, have been a cause to nefarious hostilities that have affected the country in its contemporary history (Vesperini, 2001). The following lines scrutinize mainly the DRC geography, mining industry, and the coltan's location within the DRC in order to examine a possible correlation between these facts and intra-state conflicts. The DRC political economy and external influence are also analyzed. This indeed in order to understand significant indicators that are crucial for avoiding intra-state hostilities from happening when dealing with a resource in abundance that can be easily plundered as it is the case for coltan in the DRC.

4.1 Historical Overview

It is evident to review a country from its historical perspective in order to understand its social construction and be able to assess conflicts interpretation. The DRC came in contact with the rest of the world by 1482 when the Portuguese explorer, Diogo Cão, discovered the mouth of the Congo River (Britannica, "DRC", 2011). Year 1885, after the conference in Berlin, Congo, then called Congo Free State, became a private property of king of the Belgians, Leopold II (Hochschild, 1998:87), instead of becoming a colony as many of its African's counterparts. Congo endured that Belgian king's reign, during which he thoroughly exploited Congo's natural resources, mainly ivory and rubber (Hochschild, 1998:159f). Leopold II abused human rights as he mistreated Congolese, especially when they were unable to supply a requested quantity of rubber (Hochschild, 1998:165f).

This inappropriate conduct of the Belgian monarch resulted in both local and international protestation, which in 1908 forced King Leopold II to bequeath Congo to the Belgian State (Hochschild, 1998:94f). The Country became then Belgian Congo, on June 30th 1960 Congo became independent. Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba, respectively Congolese first president and first Prime Minister, were key figures in this achievement (Britannica, "DRC", 2011). Unfortunately within a short period of time, Congo experienced its first crisis. The

UN, under leadership of Dag Hammarskjöld, operated actively through ONUC, in order to reestablish stability in the newly independent Congo (Hagberg, 2008).

Lumumba was murdered in 1961, and Kasavubu was ousted in a coup d'état in 1965. Both events carried out by Joseph Mobutu, with probable involvement of Belgium and the USA (Britannica, "DRC", 2011). Mobutu ruled the DRC during 32 years in pure dictatorship, nepotism, and clientelism, with a single political party, the MPR. Known as Zaire under Mobutu's regim, the DRC has constantly been on the front pages of international news for many decades. At the collapse of the Soviet Union, Mobutu was constraint to adopt multi-party system. Yet he managed to cling on to its throne until 1997 when he was overthrown by Laurent Désire Kabila supported especially by Rwanda and Uganda. Kabila changed the country's name from Zaire to the Democratic Republic of Congo (Britannica, "DRC", 2011).

In 1998 a conflict broke out between the DRC and Rwanda when Laurent Desire Kabila ordered Rwanda troops out of DRC. Rwanda responded by invading the Eastern part of DRC with a pretext of hunting down the Interahamwe. This conflict has awfully led to what is known today as the Africa First World War. A conflict during which more than five million people have lost their lives (Stearns, 2011:327). Laurent Désiré Kabila was assassinated in 2001, and was replaced by his son, Joseph Kabila (Stearns, 2011:307). The latter organized and won Congo's first democratic multi-party elections since independence (Stearns, 2011:322). Despite a peace agreement signed in 2003 with its neighbors, the Eastern part of the DRC is still marked by constant unrest basically due to greediness over control of natural resources, mainly the coltan (Stearns, 2011:298ff).

4.1.1 The impact of the Belgian Colonization

The choice of colonial influence as a factor in our research is justifiable because many African countries' political stability and economic progress are heavily influenced by their relationship with former colonial powers. Colonial legacy has impacts on all spheres of social, political and economic life of every newly independent nation. This has long-term influence on major developments in the countries. In the case of DRC, Belgium bequeathed it with instability and established a tradition of exploitation and extraction that persists to date.

King Leopold II's colonial legacy has also contributed to the conflict. He created a tradition of destruction and extraction. His unfettered exploitation of resources such as rubber and ivory in the rain forests was a major source of revenue for Belgium. He employed forced labor in exploiting resources (Hochschild, 1998:172ff). Consequently, he established a trend that is being employed in the current conflict. Majority of the rebels who control coltan mining are from foreign countries and they sell the mineral to their mother countries. Just like Leopold II, they sometimes use forced labor in coltan mining by using

prisoners of war (Hochschild, 1998:189), thereby affecting the policy of unchecked extraction.

Furthermore, in addition to the DRC, Belgium had even Congo's neighbors, Rwanda and Burundi, as its colonies. Within these two countries, where live only two tribes, Hutus and Tutsis, Belgians have succeeded in sowing division and ethnical segregation, which later on led to a strong animosity between these two tribes (Scherman, 2011-05-04). Hatred between these two sworn ethnics enemies, combined with the assassination of former Rwandese Hutu president, Juvénal Habyarimana, set in motion what is known today as one of the most horrifying event in the world's contemporary history: The Rwandan genocide. This led to a demographic imbalance in Eastern DRC as a result of influx of about 1.2 million refugees. Hence the flow of Rwandese refugees to the DRC, from this conflict, has turned to become a threat to the security of the DRC (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:222-224).

4.2 Geography

As Collier points out, geographical aspect is undoubtedly a relevant factor to scrutinize when researching on the abundance of resources and intra-state conflicts (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004:564). Thus, under this heading, we focus on location of significant amount of the coltan in the DRC. We highlight even the Congolese governmental regulations of the coltan industry. Furthermore we are also going to lift up whether the coltan's location distant or proximate from the capital and the spread of this mineral.

4.2.1 Land Geography

The geography of DRC has also negative influence on the coltan conflict, and hence its significance as a variable. The country is located in a region that has experience ethno-political conflicts for a long time. The instability created by the regional conflicts spill into DRC, thus perpetuating a conflictual environment within which the coltan crisis thrives.

Almost the size of Western Europe (Stearns, 2011:4), approximately eighty times bigger than its former colonizer, Belgium (Hochschild, 1998:87), the DRC is simply a non measurable mass of land. Located in the central part of Africa and surrounded by nine countries: Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Republic of Congo, Central Africa Republic, Tanzania, Angola, and Zambia, the DRC is a country with a complex geopolitics and geostrategic. It is in the Eastern part of the DRC, in the province of Kivu, precisely in district like Masisi, Lugushwa, and Kalima that coltan is found abundantly (Tegera, 2002:5).

More than 1500 kilometers separate this rich-coltan province from the Congolese capital city, Kinshasa (Globefeed).

The DRC tropical forest covers a huge part of the country with trees that reach the heights of 50 meters. There live different species of wild animal and vegetations woodlands and grasslands characterize the Congolese tropical climate zone. The Eastern part of the DRC is majorly covered by grasslands, tropical rainforest forest, highest mountains, and even volcanoes (Britannica, “DRC”,2011).



The geography of the DRC is a favorable factor for rebel movement in the country. One of the most suitable factors in the country’s geography to rebel movement is its dense rainforests that provide a perfect cover for rebel fighters in the country (Palka & Galgano, 2005:123).

4.2.2 Coltan Industry in the DRC

Classified as a strategic mineral by the Pentagon (Tegera, 2002:5), this rare mineral is used in the manufacturing of GPS or missiles guidance systems, mobile phones, pacemakers, laptops, and many other electronic products such as video cameras or DVD players (Scherman, 2011-05-04). It is in the Eastern part of the DRC that are deposited approximately 80% of the world’s reserves of this extremely useful mineral (Vesperini, 2001).

The mining industry is the source of most export income of the DRC. The government’s review of mining contracts in 2006, and the fall of price for the DRC’s key mineral in the global market has waned productivity in 2009. However the increasing of mineral price around mid 2009 improved mineral exportation of the DRC, and funds from the IMF improved foreign reserves. Insecurity and lack of infrastructures are some of major factors that pose a threat to foreign investment in the DRC (CIA, “DRC”, 2011).

Coltan mining in the DRC is hard work but pays quite well according to the standard of life in this country. While the average Congolese worker earns approximately 10 US\$ per month, a coltan miner can earn close to 50 \$ a week (Oppong et al, 2007:86). Evidently coltan’s economic interest is too high for it to escape from the sight of many predators and mineral hunters. The Rwandan Army, a fervent plunderer of this Congolese mineral, made close to 250 million US dollars in 18 months through the sale of coltan, even though coltan is not found in Rwandan soil. The UN Security Council asserts that global demand for coltan is relatively a reason for the ongoing conflict in the Eastern part of the

DRC. Rwandan, Burundian, and Ugandans armed forces loot coltan from the DRC and use a part of the revenues to protect and secure the plundering of this resource, and hence sustain the conflict (Oppong et al, 2007:86).

4.3 Instability and Poverty

The Congolese people have helplessly and hopelessly witnessed how, years after years, their natural resources are despicably being used for the benefit of the former colonial power, rebel groups, neighboring countries, and even Multinational Corporations. Indeed Economic interest on coltan and its lootability have been major reasons behind hostilities over this valuable mineral. Consequently, the country has been constantly sinking into deep poverty. Despite of being sufficiently rich in natural resources, the DRC stands today as the poorest country in the world (Global Finance, 2011). This part of our paper presents the DRC in some of its political economy structures.

4.3.1 Political Economy

Political economy is also an important variable to scrutinize. The country needs revenue from Multinational Companies, which are at the centre of the conflict. On the other hand, Rwanda and Uganda view Eastern DRC as a natural economic backyard and their interests in the region's minerals aggravate the conflict (Nest, 2011:66).

Mobutu Sese Seko ruled the DRC with diverse nefarious political and economical reforms. One among many is "Zairianization", introduced in the early 1970s. This policy curbed foreign investment in Zaire, ultimately favoring a form of monopoly of foreign capital inflow on the part of various development cooperation funds (Smith et al, 2010). During Mobutu's administration, most development projects were financed by foreign development agencies rather than by the government. However, in the 1990s, majority of these agencies left the country, thereby leaving the government with the heavy burden of financing almost all of the country's development projects. By 2000, the NGOs for development's contracts expired, further incapacitating the government in delivering development needs of the nation (Reno, 2001:85). The new government turned its attention on mining by entering into deals with Multinational Corporations. This escalated competition for coltan mining fields with illegal miners. This competition continues to sustain the conflict.

The much-needed foreign currency by the DRC government to meet its security needs adds to the conflict. Coltan mining is a lucrative venture which the government cannot simply ignore. However, the sector is equally attractive to the neighboring countries such as Rwanda and Uganda.

4.3.2 Distribution Policies

Last year DRC's GDP was evaluated to \$23.58 billion, and its industry sector stands for 26 % of the GDP (CIA, "DRC" 2011). The DRC is considered to be one of the richest countries in the world in terms of mineral resources. Its immense deposits of raw minerals like copper, cobalt, gold, diamonds, coltan, and many other minerals are valued to be worth approximately US\$ 24 trillion. This corresponds to both USA and Europe gross domestic product (News about Congo, 2009).

DRC economical activities happen in the informal sector, which are not recorded in the country's GDP. Besides, lack of transparency and corruption within government sectors are persistent problems for the Congolese mining in particular and the whole economy in general. Economic growth dropped to less half its 2008 level following the 2009 global crisis. But it increased to 6% in 2010 (CIA, "DRC" 2011) Income gini coefficient allows us to measure equality and "the deviation of the distribution of income (or consumption) among individuals or households within a country from a perfectly equal distribution" (UNDP, 2010). This creates an image of the distribution policies. In 2006 UNDP estimated the gini index for the DRC at 44.4 (UNDP, 2010). Still much effort is to be done in the DRC in order to decrease inequality. Approval of poor governance in the DRC can be displayed by the number 0.1111 of 1 in "Indicator of Quality of Governemnt". Furthermore, 2.5 in "Quality of Budgetary and Financial Management" (Teorell, 2011), which is indicated on a good governance; especially in the African context.

4.3.3 Clientelism

The practice of clientelism, whereby the DRC government distributes mining favours to companies that are sponsored by states supporting the government against rebels prolongs the conflict. The government has been harshly criticised for being held captive by Multinational Companies that engage in mining. Therefore, the conflict continues because the government cannot expel the companies since their sponsoring states finance the DRC's security needs (de Waal, 1997:235).

4.4 External Influence

Under this subheading we mainly focus on the role played by international corporations, the West, and other neighboring countries like Rwanda, which not only made the most out of the political chaos in which the country has long been immersed, but were also silent accomplices in serious human rights violations committed in the exploitation of this bloody coltan (HRW, 2001:16f).

4.4.1 Involvement of the West and regional impact

The United Nations committee investigating the plunder of gems and minerals in the Congo pointed out many firms involved in the smuggling of the DRC's coltan. Cabot, Eagle Wings Resources International, and George Forrest Group are some of many Multinational Corporations who are accused of having their hands in the Congolese coltan. Even the giant mobile phones and electronic devices maker, SONY, has been listed in this category, despite the fact that it denied involvement in the smuggling of the DRC's coltan (Lasker, 2008). Indeed many corporations are indirectly incorporated in the smuggling of the Congolese coltan. Yet all foreign forces involved in the smuggling of this coltan conflict deny exploiting DRC's coltan (Oppong et al, 2007:86).

Beyond security and geopolitics reasons to move into the Eastern part of the DRC, some part had clearly their hidden agenda: economic and financial objectives. The Rwandan government, for instance, justified their invasion of the DRC with the pretext that they were hunting down Interahamwe who committed atrocities during the 1994 genocide that killed over 800,000 people. Yet, according to the UN, the Rwandans were shedding blood for The DRC minerals that pockmarked the volcanic mountains of DRC's Eastern regions, especially the coltan (Lasker, 2008).

4.5 Coltan conflict

These hostilities broke out in 1998, and a cease fire was signed in 2003 (Nest, 2011:75). However, despite of a peace accord, there are still some hostilities in motion in the Eastern part of the DRC to date.

Nest asserts that natural resources have caused a lot of conflicts, and it is not unusual that the search for coltan has sparked an atrocious conflict in the DRC. Will the global demand for cell phones keep the coltan conflict in the DRC rocking? The coltan conflict in the DRC is a tremendous illustration of the new type of conflicts where belligerents don't fight over ideology, but indeed they battle for their private enrichment (2011:66). A more remarkable contention in this conflict is the escalating violence on civilians, especially on women. Armed militias have given themselves into female civilians in what can be seen as the worst sexual abuse cases in the world's modern history. This has made the DRC "the worst place on earth to be a woman" (Nest, 2011:67). More even, the world's capital of rape, as once annotated by Margot Wallström, UN's in charge and representative on sexual violence in conflicts zones (BBC, 2011). Statistics of the rape cases in the DRC under this coltan conflict are notoriously difficult to estimate. Nevertheless, the UN presumes that more than 200 000 women have been victims of sexual violence since the conflict's outbreak in 1998 (Stearns, 2011:364). Incapability of the DRC's government military forces to contain

foreign aggression from neighboring Rwanda and Uganda makes it easy for militia groups to sustain hostilities in the country (Nest, 2011:67).

5 Ghana

Ghana is considered as one of the most remarkable African countries. The wealth and prosperity of this country is well correlated to its history. Even before the British's arrival in 1876, Ghana, then known as named the Gold Coast, had already made use of its important quantity of gold, which was significant for both its societal and economical development (Britannica, "Ghana", 2011). Even though cacao today has become a significant export commodity for the country, Ghana is still considered as the second leading gold producer in Africa (Coakley, 2003:17.1). Nevertheless, despite of the abundance of gold, the country in modern history has not yet experienced any conflict that is inter-related to its valuable resources (Langer, 2009:541).

The following text examines firstly the history and colonial era of Ghana. The geographical and industrial characteristics will then be the next step in order to examine the relation to intra-state conflicts. Even the location and spread of gold's industries are outlined. Thereafter, in the last section the stability of government will be analyzed. Eventually, we will analyze if there has been any conflicts linked to the abundance of gold in Ghana.

5.1 Historical Overview

The mineral wealth in Ghana, specifically gold, has since long time ago played a huge role in opening the way for contacts between Ghana and the rest of the world. The lucrative gold trade started when the Portuguese reached the coast of Ghana at 1471 (Britannica, "Ghana", 2011). However, Ghana did prospect and exploit gold in the pre-colonial era. Before even Ghana could be occupied by foreigners like the Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch and then British, the Ancient Kingdom of Ghana had already developed "semi-sophisticated" societies which had well-developed political and economic structure (Hilson, 2002:16). When Ghana achieved independence in 1957 the country has experienced colonization for long, and " [...]by 1874, the British were the only Europeans in the Gold Coast and thus made it a crown colony." (Ghana Government Portal, 2011). However, as the European interest in West Africa and the gold increased in the 15th century, gold trade and expeditions into Ghana advanced. As Hilson describe, the European trade with gold continued and developed until the slave-trade emerged and took attraction from the gold mining (2002:17-19). When the British established the Gold Coast Colony small-scale gold mining underwent a development to large-scale and growth of industries (Hilson, 2002:20).

5.1.1 The impact of the British Colonization

British mining and commercial activity in Ghana continued until the mid 19th century when the Ghanaian discontent became widely spread, and the struggle for independence at high pace. Pan African leader and nationalist, Kwame Nkrumah, led Ghana to independence (Britannica, “Ghana”; 2011). He was active in the first political party in Ghana, formed 1947 (Ghana Government Portal, 2011). The British respond to the Ghanaian nationalistic movement and its demands for autonomy consisted of a transition of power to the local inhabitants.

Yet, the British left Ghana in relatively good condition, with governmental organs such as a legislative council, Supreme Court. Moreover, the British encouraged officials “[...] to work through and with authorities in the country” (Britannica, “Ghana”, 2011). The following decade was an economic down spiral. This institutional encouragement by the British has however influenced the structure of the Ghanaian society. The British heavy investment in the Southern parts of Ghana, has however, influenced the socio-economic split between the North and South. As the exploitable resources are mainly located in the Southern and Western parts, the British commercial interests were mainly focused in those parts, while the Northern populations were used as cheap labour (Langer, 2009:537). This unequal policy of the British turned to become an evident factor for the North/South split today, when the post-colonial economy had an “tendency to favor the South over the North in terms of the location of economic activities” (Langer, 2009:537).

5.2 Geography and Mining Industry

The following part will explain the location of important gold mining fields and the governmental regulations of the gold industry. Additionally, the point of resources will also be investigated.

5.2.1 Land geography

The neighborhood is constituted by Burkina Faso in the North, Togo in the East, Cote d'Ivoire in the West, and the Atlantic Ocean in the South. Ghana is indeed well located for sea trade.

The elevations in Ghana are not higher than 900 meters, which makes the country considerably flat (Britannica, “Ghana”, 2011). The weather is one significant reason for the North and South division in Ghana, both geographically and economically. Along the Southeast cost the weather is tropical and warm and on the contrary, hot and dry in North. This contributes to the forest in the Southwestern parts, while the North consists of semi-deciduous forest (CIA, “Ghana”, 2011). Besides the benefits of cultivation climate in the Southern parts,

the gold deposits is mainly found in gold rich regions like the Ashanti and Western, and partly the South (Langer, 2009:537). This is described in the following heading.

5.2.2 Gold Industry in Ghana



It is not an astonishing fact that the yellow color in the flag of Ghana symbolizes the country's mineral wealth (CIA; "Ghana", 2011). Minerals, specifically gold that is recognized as an important commodity for export, is predominately found in the Southern and Western parts of Ghana. (Hilson, 2002:14).

As described in earlier chapters, the early gold industry provided wealth, but has also attracted foreign merchants and colonizers. Despite the vast amount of gold, the mining industry hasn't undergone a smooth development. As Hilson explains, in the 1960s and 1970s the Ghanaian government nationalized and took control over the mineral industry in order to encourage economic growth (2002:22). The efforts did slightly of improvements, anyhow. Quickly, Ghana experienced a rapid decline in production, followed by another economic breakdown due

to the governmental agenda (Hilson, 2002:23). It was not until the late 1980's and early 1990's that Ghana experienced a change. The Economic Recovery Plan, ERP, a program under guidance of IMF and World Bank, initiated adjustments of economic policies, privatizations, and liberalizations. This resulted in a rapidly growth and the gold production increased 700% since 1983. In 2002 gold accounted for 37% of the national export and 97% of the mineral export (Hilson, 2002:25). This numbers makes gold into one of Ghana's most important product. Despite the fact that Galamseys operate actively, majority of gold extraction and mining is industrially regulated. The most remarkable negative effect from this illegal Galamsey-gold mining is however the poisonous side effects. Besides, there have also been complains about mistreatment and discrimination with foreign companies, which are not cooperative with the Galamsey. The environmental harm is another consequence of the gold industry (Harkinson, 2003). However, no civil conflict has so far occurred.

The industrial gold mining in Ghana is basically owned by six industrial companies which stand for 90% of the total production (Snyder & Bhavnani, 2005:24).

The largest companies are Gold Fields Ltd, which own Ghana's largest mine located in Tarkwa. This field is located 200km from the capital Accra, and Tarkwa holding for "15.3 million gold ounces and a Mineral Reserve of 9.9 million ounces." (Mbendi, 2011). About 300km west of Accra, Damang Gold Mine is located and good for 4.7 million gold ounces and owned by the Gold Fields. The majority of the gold mining companies operate within 200-300km from the capital (Mbendi). The Ashanti-belt, which is located in the middle South, is the most significant gold-bearing belt in Ghana. In the mid-Western part is Sefwi-Bibiani belt which is the second largest (AGG, 2011- Hilson, 2002:13ff). Even though some gold can be found in the Northern part of Ghana, more specifically in the Bolgatanga province, the distance from Accra is not more than 810 kilometers (Ghananet, 2011). Additionally, the transport system can handle about seven million tons of import and export traffic due to railways, trunk road and urban roads. Ghana has well developed transport system and infrastructure, and the government spends 9% of its GDP for transportation (Adanu, 2006:281ff).

5.3 Stability and Prosperity

The picture of the Ghanaian wealth and prosperity is widely spread among scholars due to the economic and institutional reforms (Herbst, 1993:4, 13f). Nevertheless, the division between the Northern and Southern parts of the country in terms of economic development has not yet achieved the same attention. Though, thousands of Ghanaians work as illegal small-scale gold miners called Galamsey, big industries still stand for most of the country's gold production and national income. In this subchapter the Ghanaian economic and political characteristics will be explained. As claimed by Snyder and Bhavnani, it is not only the geographical characteristics of a resource that leads to resource curse; other significant influences are related to the economical and institutional structure (2005:563-597).

5.3.1 Political Economy

The post-colonial period in Ghana was filled with military coups, including different attempts to arrange the fiscals and political structure. Despite political efforts to reestablish a stable civil society and development projects trough out the post-1957 period, economic turmoil and corruption was still an obstacle. This paved way for reoccurring military coup. Both Nkrumah and colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong approached a statist way for economic development, which led to an economic disaster in 1960's and the 1970's (Langer, 2009:538). For example, the export, as a proportion of GNP, dropped from 20% in 1972 to 3.3% in 1982, and the import underwent the same downward spiral (Hilson, 2002:23).

This was followed by the economic recovery due to the cooperation in the 1980's with IMF and the World Bank. Simultaneously, Rawlings government implemented the ERP in 1983 in order to initiate a process of structural adjustments. ERP did not, however, succeed considerably, but influenced the 1990's and 2000's movements toward privatizations, and improved the odds for Ghana to entry the international capital market. This in turns helped increase production and export figures in some industries and succeeded in attracting foreign investment (Hilson, 2002:24, Arthur, 2006:37). The ERP also initiated US\$4.2 billion to rebuild the infrastructure of industries. Furthermore, as a result of the widening gap in social inequality, the government later initiated other structural adjustment to benefit those who didn't during the ERP in the 1980's and 1990's (Clark, 2010)

The social aspects of the economy are recognized and the important improvement of public services is taken into consideration in order to avoid an intra-state conflict related to economic disparities (Snyder, Bhavnani, 2005:570f). Gold owned a great role in the economic recovery, since the mining and gold sector has received 4 billion invested US dollars annually during 1983 and 1998. Since the implementation of the ERP the growth of gold production is estimated to over 700% (Hilson, 2002:24). The gold extraction in Ghana became industrially regulated (Snyder & Bhavnani, 2005:580), which has improved the governmental capacity to tax and control the gold revenues and eliminate smuggling of the lootable resources (Callaghy, 1990:276).

5.3.2 Distribution Policies

The Ghanaian GDP stood for \$38.24 billion last year, and the industrial sector was evaluated at 24.7% of the GDP, which employs 15% of the population (CIA, "Ghana", 2011). The importance of the revenues from the industry sector is prominent, and how the government distributes resources is an important factor to highlight.

According to UNDP, the income Gini coefficient index for Ghana is 42.8 (2006) which places Ghana at the 130 place in the world and not too far away from DRC with 44.4 (UNDP, 2010). Despite this numbers, Ghana seems to have succeeded better to decrease the gap of inequality.

Currently the Ghanaian economy is based on export, with the agricultural and mineral production accounting for the greater part of the country's government revenue. The improvement and recovery of the national economy started in the early 1990's due to ERP and political reforms resulting in stability and economic development (Herbst, 1993:13f). Additionally, the economic reforms in the 1990s led to a decline in national level of poverty. But, as stressed by Langer, this poverty-reduction was not evenly distributed among the Southern and Northern parts (2009:538).

Gold mining companies established in Ghana pays 3% of the gross earning to the government, which in turns use the money for "environmental restoration" and

“government programs nationwide” (Harkinson, 2003). The transparency of the Multinational Companies in Ghana makes them easy to tax, which in turns leads to an increased tax collection (Callaghy, 1990:276).

John Kufour, who took over the Presidency after Rawlings 2001-2009, have further worked with the poverty problem, addressing the need for improvements in the health, infrastructural and education sector (Langer, 2009:539). He also announced a plan in 2002 to deal with the Galamseys. The idea was to give land to Galamsey miners if they “formed collective associations” (Harkinson, 2003). But still, a large amount of land is sold to large gold mining companies, and this is one of the reasons that the Galamsey still operate actively (Bioko-Weyrauch, 2010). Despite the weak success in economic redistribution and the remaining gap between the North and South, the governmental efforts to reduce the social costs of the economic reform programs has, as Herbst claimed, led to ambitious welfare program that signalizes to the population that “[...] government understands the deprivations people have been forced to undergo” (Herbst, 1993:53). The claim of good governance is strengthened by the number 0.42 of 1 in “Indicator of Quality of Government” in Ghana, and furthermore 3,5 in “Quality of Budgetary and Financial Management” (Teorell, 2011), which indicated on a good governance; especially in the African context.

5.3.3 Clientelism

Post-1957 Ghana had a clientist system where politicians enriched themselves and those belonging to their own ethnic group. This led, among other reasons, to one of the lowest ranking of growth out of 32 countries (Herbst, 1993:15).

The Nkrumah regime developed a clientelistic system with traditionally neopatrimonial characteristics, and the governmental revenues were used to pay the clients in exchange for mutual trust (Sandbrook & Oelbaum, 1997:612).

Nevertheless, as Langer claims, the neopatrimonialism was not characterized by ethnicity (Langer 2009:543), which substantially can be considered as influential on the development on the relatively low occurrence of ethnic conflicts. Herbst acknowledges the importance of the ERP and budget of 1983 to reform the clientelistic system, but as Sandbrook and Oelbaum recognize the clientelistic system under the rule of Rawlings was not fully eliminated (1997:608f).

5.4 External Influence

Located on West Africa's Gold Coast, Ghana earns the majority of its foreign exchange from gold, most of it extracted by Multinational Corporations. On one side, the government claims that these companies funnel money into public coffers and minimize environmental impacts. But on the other side, disaffected

villagers say that the firms have ravaged their lands and given little in return (Harkinson, 2003)

The basic external involvement consists of the cooperation with the World Bank and IMF, sought to adjust structures and economic policies. Nevertheless, the loans and aid given by IMF and World Bank came with demands. The privatizations and liberalizations have endured a lot of criticism; but the better demands consist of democracy and transparency impact (Sandbrook & Oelbaum, 1997:614). The external involvement in Ghana is therefore mainly political and economical- but not that exploiting as in the case of DRC.

5.4.1 Neighboring impact

Despite of minor border conflicts with some of its neighbors, respectively Togo and Ivory Coast, Ghana has generally been in a peaceful relationship with its neighbors (Owusu, 1994).

5.5 Intra-state conflicts

Despite the lucratively and lootability of gold, it hasn't yet give reason for people to fight over these valuable resources within the state.

5.5.1 Ethnical Conflicts

Ghana is a multiethnic country and consists of four main ethno-cultural groups (Langer, 2009:535). The main conflict since independence in Ghana is ethnical and appears between the Ewe people and Akan/Ashanti people. Akan is the largest ethnical group in Ghana. This group represents half of the Ghanaian population. Akan are mainly located in the Southern part of the country. Ashanti people are a subgroup of the Akans. Besides the Mole-Dagbanis, the Ewes comprise 13% of the population and are dominantly found in the Southern and Eastern part of Ghana (Langer, 2009:535ff). Despite the cultural, ethnical, and religious diversity the main spit is socio-economic. This is noticeable in the deprived North and wealthier South. As emphasized by Arnim Langer, the Southern parts are considerably wealthier because of the concentration of resources and minerals due to cropping-friendly weather (Langer, 2009:537).

In the middle belt of the country the cacao farming Ashanti people benefit from political reforms, but most of the top government positions is held by Ewes (Herbst, 1993:86ff). As summarized by Langer, “[..] while there have been political tensions over the years, these have not erupted into serious political violence at the national level, nor even threatened to do so” (2009:541). Even the

Nkrumah ambition of creating an equal state where no ethnic group or religion was given more status, is an indicator of good governmental policy which includes all groups in order to promote a united Ghana. Thus, avoiding secessionist conflicts. Despite the degree of success in the efforts of poverty-reduction and gap-decreasing between North and South, the symbolic impact is substantial in order to understand the dormant ethnical tensions and absence of conflicts (Langer, 2009:542ff). Consequently, no conflicts have occurred from 1990 onward.

6 Analysis

To sum up our research, we can conclude that intra-states conflicts can certainly be driven by resource curse under following circumstances: colonial impact, geographical structures that tend to favor rebel movements, a scrambled political economy of the country, and interference in the domestic affairs of the country from external power.

Colonialism has certainly shaped the future of these two countries. When Ghana achieved independence in 1957 the British already had structured the Ghanaian society with for example legislative council and a supreme court. The British had previously encouraged politicians to work through and with the governmental institutions. Though Ghana has experienced turmoil in the aftermath of its independence, it hasn't developed into an unwavering conflict, which could have ruined the stability of the country both in the short and long term. Moreover, the colonial power maintained the Ghanaian gold industry at a better shape, improved, and developed it.

The DRC's colonial legacy, on the contrary, has many of negative scars. Failure by Belgium to effect peaceful transition from colonialism to independence can be blamed for the numerous armed conflicts the country has experienced, the coltan conflict being one of them. At independence, Belgium created two conflicting centers of power, with Partrice Lumumba as the Prime Minister and Kasavubu as the President. The ensuing power struggle between the two dipped the country into armed conflict. The conflict enabled Mobutu Sese Seko to seize power in 1965 and establish undemocratic rule. That incumbent authoritarian regime led to a cycle of revolts and rebellions, which created, hence, a history of intervention by foreign forces in the country. This established a trend in which foreign fighters infiltrate the country to exploit its natural resources. Indeed, as we observe today, much of the Congolese coltan mining is controlled by militias from Rwanda and Uganda.

Geography is evidently another factor that can breed resource curse phenomenon. Concerning Ghana, gold is mainly found in the Southern and Western parts, predominantly in an area 200-300 kilometers from the capital city Accra. Even though gold can also be found in the Northern parts of the country, it is not more than 810km driving distance from Accra. This fact classifies gold into a proximate resource in Ghana. Moreover, gold is also a point resource found in certain areas, even though alluvial gold has a diffuse characteristic. The proximate distance increases the ability of the government to control the resources. On the other side, the DRC's geographical characteristics and coltan's location have even facilitated the outbreak of hostilities. The coltan is abundantly found in the Eastern province of Kivu, which is located more than 1500 kilometers away from

the capital Kinshasa. Distance decreases the ability of the government to control the resources. Furthermore, political instability in the neighboring Rwanda, with its capital city close to Kivu, gives instead Rwanda extra power to conquer and plunder the Congolese coltan. It is even noticeable that the DRC's jungles harbor considerable source of sustenance for rebels in terms of food, like wild animals and vegetables. Rebels can therefore survive in the jungles for a long time without external food supplies. Indeed, many rebel movements have established their bases deep in the rainforests, which is more secure than putting up rebel camps in the open grasslands.

Due to the infrastructure and facility in the transport system, the Ghanaian government can strengthen control over gold mines with ease. This depends on the country's relief that is basically flat. Besides, Ghana's elevation does not exceed 900 meters, and the trafficable environment enables the governmental control. Lack of good infrastructures in the DRC, especially dilapidated and impracticable roads, to connect the rich-mineral province to the capital has eased militia ambitions to take control over province with minerals where the central government has less power and hence less control over the coltan.

Another important factor is the extraction mode; in Ghana mostly, but not all, of the gold is mined through industries, either regulated by the Ghanaian government or multinational cooperation's. Due to the institutional structure and proximate distance of the gold industry, the government can tax the companies in the country, which in turn strengthens the Ghanaian welfare system. The conflict in the DRC is compounded by fact that the country is vulnerable to rebels as a result of weaknesses occasioned by years of economic devastation and government inefficiency. According to QoG dataset, Ghana's Quality of Government is ranked 0.42 while the DRC is rated to 0.111. This implies that Ghana has better quality of institutions than the DRC. Even the budgetary and financial management is better handled in Ghana than in the DRC. Respective figures are 3.5 and 2.5.

Additionally, influence of external actors plays a major role in the stability of a country rich with minerals. The gold in Ghana has not been a major target from either the West or its neighboring countries.

Meanwhile, in the DRC the plundering and looting of coltan as condemned by numerous non-governmental organization reports shows clearly how external influence plays a major role in the ongoing coltan conflict in the DRC. From the coltan mines in Kivu where this rare ore is abundantly being looted, up to our splendid laptops and cell phones, the Congolese coltan traverse a large chain before reaching its main destination within USA, Europe and Asia. This creates a complex puzzle on whom to hold accountable. The UN asserts that mining companies directly and indirectly propelled the war, destabilizing the DRC government, and using the conflict to keep the coltan being illegally exported at low cost. The UN has even accused some companies of supporting some parties involved in this conflict.

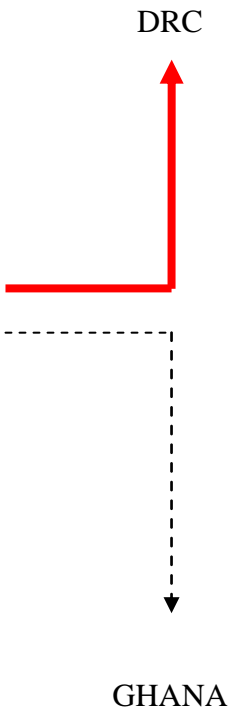
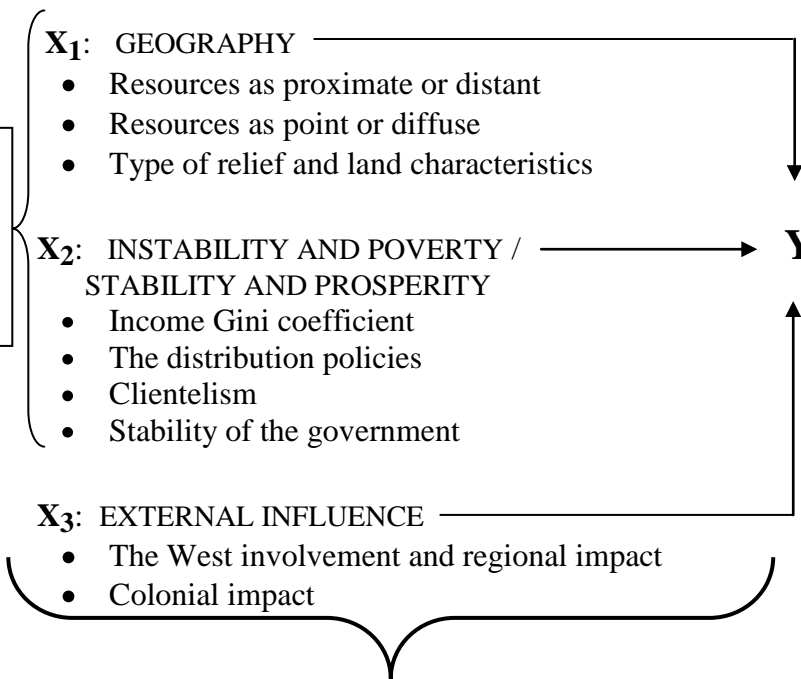
As a result, Ghana hasn't experienced any intra-state conflict since 1990 despite of its abundance of gold. Factors mentioned above combined has led to an intra-state conflict, in the DRC, that is known today as the deadliest conflict of the

20th century after World War II (Robinson, 2006). The abundance of coltan in the DRC that was naturally meant to bring economic growth and prosperity has instead turned to be a curse.

We therefore agree with Collier and Le Billon's hypothesis that abundance of resource can lead to conflict, provide that some conditions are fulfilled, as those we have outlined in our research. In that, in the following figure, we summarize Collier and Le Billon's theory, the external influence, and display how this has led to hostilities in the case of DRC.

Y: DEPENDENT VARIABLE
X: INDEPENDENT VARIABLE (S)

Le Billon and Collier's theory is therefore approved



⇒ **RESOURCE CURSE**

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