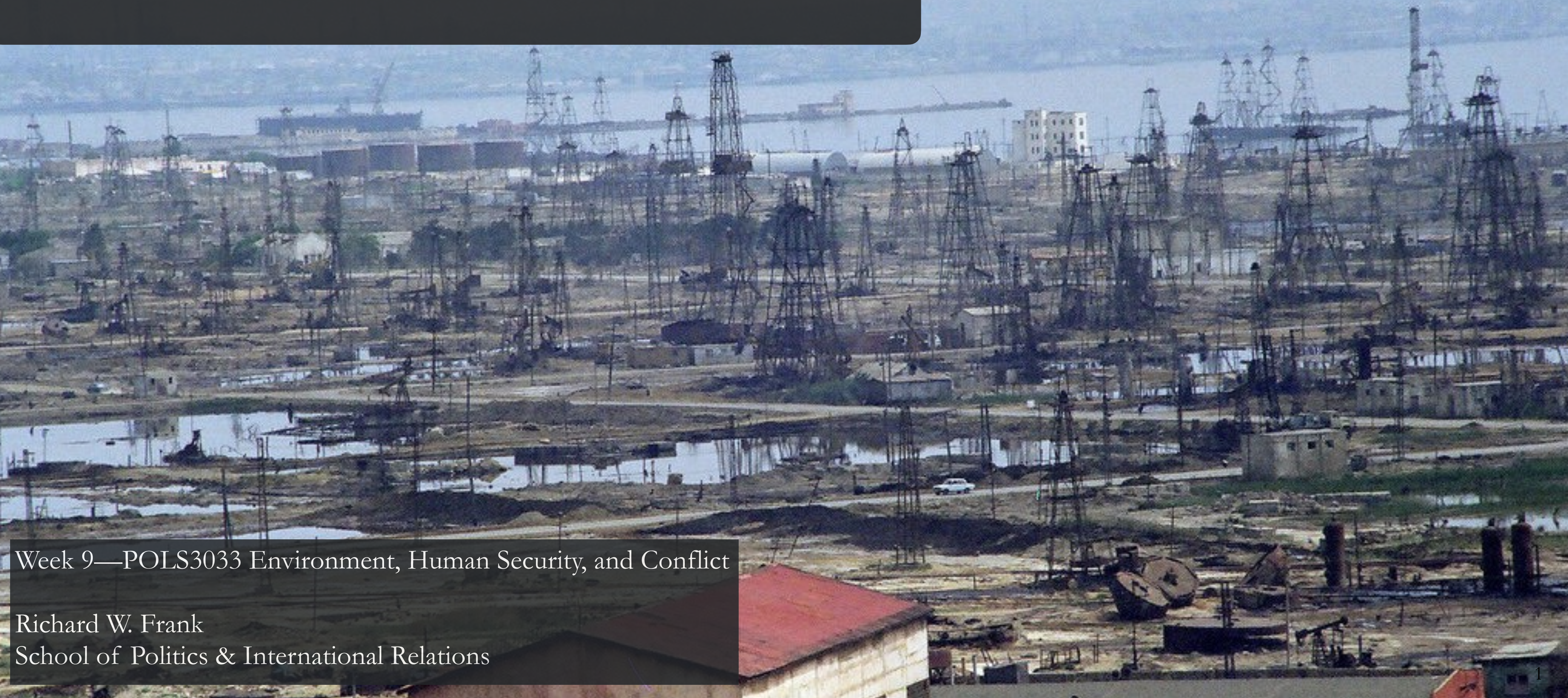


# Natural resource & conflict



Week 9—POLS3033 Environment, Human Security, and Conflict

Richard W. Frank  
School of Politics & International Relations



# 1. Natural resource & conflict: An introduction







# ACT's climate strategy hopes to reduce emissions

The Australian Capital Territory (ACT) is planning to phase out natural gas, electrify Canberra's bus fleet, and implement incentives for purchasing electric cars.



The [ACT government](#) has outlined its climate strategy for the period between 2019-25, presenting a clear focus on electrification in transport.

Andrew Barr, the ACT Chief Minister, said that the plan focuses on environmental targets as the territory hopes to cut 1990 emission levels by 50-60 per cent by 2025, and transition to net zero emissions by 2045.

By [Intelligent Transport](#)

18 September 2019

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# Today's motivating question

How do natural resources affect a country's political and economic stability?







HOME > EXECUTIVE LIFESTYLE

Disappointing stories reveal what it's really like to win the lottery

Katie Canales

Updated Mar 22, 2019, 5:34 AM



Andrew Jackson Whittaker.

Jeff Gentner/AP

▪

Lottery players everywhere dream of hitting a multimillion-dollar jackpot with a winning ticket.

▪

But there's a dark side to coming into a windfall of sudden wealth if you're not careful.



THE DEBATE | OPINION

# Afghanistan's Mineral Resources Are a Lost Opportunity and a Threat

Without a coherent strategy, Afghanistan's vast mineral resources represent both a lost opportunity and a threat to national security.

By **Ahmad Shah Katawazai**

February 01, 2020



“We are at risk of the curse of plenty,  
[the] curse of resources.”

— *President Ashraf Ghani*

Torn by four decades of war and desperate poverty, Afghanistan is believed to be sitting on one of the richest troves of minerals in the world. The value of these resources has been roughly estimated between \$1-3 trillion.

Afghanistan has vast reserves of gold, platinum, silver, copper, iron, chromite, lithium, uranium, and aluminium. The country's high-quality emeralds, rubies, sapphires, turquoise, and lapis lazuli have long charmed the gemstone market. The United States Geological Survey (USGS), through its extensive scientific research of minerals, concluded

Credit: [Freestock.ca](#)



Finance & economics | Economics focus

# The devil's excrement

Is oil wealth a blessing or a curse?

May 22nd 2003

Share



THREE decades ago, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) sent oil prices rocketing. By 1980, a barrel cost \$30, ten times the price in 1970. Consumers suffered, whereas oil producers reaped an enormous windfall. Many assumed then that oil was a gift of God that would transform poor countries into flourishing economies within a generation. Yet even during those heady early days there were doubts. Juan Pablo Pérez Alfonso, a founder of OPEC, complained in 1975: “I call petroleum the devil's excrement. It brings trouble...Look at this *locura*—waste,





An Atlantic horseshoe crab lies on the beach in Stone Harbor, New Jersey, not far from Delaware Bay.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOEL SARTORE, NAT GEO IMAGE COLLECTION

ANIMALS | CORONAVIRUS COVERAGE

## Horseshoe crab blood is key to making a COVID-19 vaccine—but the ecosystem may suffer.

Conservationists worry the animals, which are vital food sources for many species along the U.S. East Coast, will decline in number.

5 MINUTE READ

BY CARRIE ARNOLD



PUBLISHED JULY 2, 2020

Each spring, guided by the full moon, hundreds of thousands of horseshoe crabs clamber onto beaches across the U.S. mid-Atlantic to lay their eggs. For hungry birds, it's a cornucopia. For drug companies, it's a crucial resource for making human medicines safe.



# Today's puzzle

Having resources is usually considered an asset.

Why then is having natural resources often lead to negative outcomes (e.g. Dutch Disease, the resource curse, civil conflict)?



Course Outline

Week	Summary
<b>Section 1: Defining terms, actors, and interests</b>	
Week 1	Introduction, course overview, and conflict
Week 2	Economic development and economic instability
Week 3	Political institutions and instability
Week 4	Environmental change and scarcity
<b>Section 2: Causes</b>	
Week 5	Population
Week 6	Migration
	<i>Teaching break (no class)</i>
Week 7	Water
Week 8	Food
Week 9	Natural resources
Week 10	Natural disaster
<b>Section 3: Responses</b>	
Week 11	Domestic responses
Week 12	International cooperation



# Lecture question #1

Have you ever thought about the **globalized resource chain** that go into making your lives possible?

If so, what resources concern you the most for their **negative effects** on one of this class' three themes?

If not, why not?



# Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution

## UNCOVERING THE MECHANISMS

MACARTAN HUMPHREYS

*Department of Political Science*

*Columbia University*

The interpretation of the resource-conflict link that has become most publicized—the rebel greed hypothesis—depends on just one of many plausible mechanisms that could underlie a relationship between resource dependence and violence. The author catalogues a large range of rival possible mechanisms, highlights a set of techniques that may be used to identify these mechanisms, and begins to employ these techniques to distinguish between rival accounts of the resource-conflict linkages. The author uses finer natural resource data than has been used in the past, gathering and presenting new data on oil and diamonds production and on oil stocks. The author finds evidence that (1) conflict onset is more responsive to the impacts of past natural resource production than to the potential for future production, supporting a weak states mechanism rather than a rebel greed mechanism; (2) the impact of natural resources on conflict cannot easily be attributed entirely to the weak states mechanism, and in particular, the impact of natural resources is independent of state strength; (3) the link between primary commodities and conflict is driven in part by agricultural dependence rather than by natural resources more narrowly defined, a finding consistent with a “sparse networks” mechanism; (4) natural resources are associated with shorter wars, and natural resource wars are more likely to end with military victory for one side than other wars. This is consistent with evidence that external actors have incentives to work to bring wars to a close when natural resource supplies are threatened. The author finds no evidence that resources are associated with particular difficulties in negotiating ends to conflicts, contrary to arguments that loot-seeking rebels aim to prolong wars.

**Keywords:** *civil war; resource-conflict link; resource dependence*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In early April 1975, President Tombalbaye of Chad appealed on national radio for popular vigilance, warning that members of the army were plotting a coup against him. He explained that if anyone wanted to know *why* a coup was being plotted, the answer lay with the oil in the Doba fields in the south. This appeal turned out to be Tombalbaye’s last public address. On April 13, he was killed during Chad’s first suc-

AUTHOR’S NOTE: My thanks to Nicholas Sambanis, Iain Lustik, Robert Bates, Doron Hadass, Bryan Graham, David Hecht, Michael Ross, Jim Fearon, Habaye ag Mohamed, and Jeremy Weinstein for generous help with ideas and with data and to Brendan McSherry for terrific research assistance.

JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION, Vol. 49 No. 4, August 2005 508-537

DOI: 10.1177/0022002705277545

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Great abstract

Great introduction



example, describes externalities of the extraction process itself in Aceh and Papua New Guinea such as environmental damage and loss of land rights. Or finally, natural resource wealth may be seen as more unjustly distributed than other wealth—as has been claimed in Sierra Leone and Nigeria. In Niger, the insurgent groups stressed not just that the north received little investment from the political center in the south but also that the south relied economically on revenues gained from the uranium wealth of the north, with no visible returns to the north. Such are the fears presently in Chad: with no expectation that any of the oil revenues will accrue to their region, local leaders in the Doba area have petitioned to the oil corporations for direct compensation, in the form of scooters for each village leader.<sup>13</sup>

***The feasibility mechanism.*** Natural resources could provide a way to finance rebellions that have been started for other reasons, thereby increasing the prospects of success.<sup>14</sup> This can occur either through control of production during conflict, or, in principle, through the sales of booty futures. Insofar as natural resource dependence matters through feasibility effects, it is a “permissive cause” rather than a “root cause” of conflict. Some scholars argue that because motivations for conflict are ubiquitous only permissive causes of this form matter, nevertheless insofar as there is *variation* in motivation, the feasibility explanation implies that there is a need to take account of root causes when responding to conflicts. In principle, there should also be observable differences in the conduct of wars, and of negotiations, between those that are conducted to access resources and those that are financed by resources but conducted to achieve other goals (although of course motivations may change over time).

***The weak states mechanism.*** State structures may be weaker in natural-resource-dependent economies. There are two prominent variants of the argument, both of which focus on the strength of state-society linkages. One variant focuses on the society side of weak society-state relations and holds that when citizens are untaxed by governments, they have less power over them: they may have less information about government activity, weaker incentives to monitor government behavior, and fewer instruments at their disposal to withdraw support from governments; accordingly, resource-dependent states may have little compulsion to respond to the demands of their citizens or create structures that engage their citizens. The implications of these arguments are ambiguous insofar as they may result in greater insulation but less resilience of the state. The second channel focuses on the state side of state-society relations, arguing that governments that rely on natural resources rather than taxation have weakened incentives to create strong bureaucratic institutions.<sup>15</sup> The argument is a

13. Formally the Chad deal provides for 5 percent of revenues to be spent in the region of oil extraction in the south. Few in the south believe that the government, dominated by northerners, will implement this deal (interviews with village chiefs, Doba, April 2003).

14. As noted above, this interpretation of resources providing “opportunity” (as opposed to motivation) is indeed a “softer” interpretation of the result that is sometimes suggested by Collier and Hoeffler.

15. Although, as argued by Snyder and Bhavnani (2005 [this issue]), the degree to which resources lead to a weakened capacity for tax raising is partly endogenous to policy choices.

# Clear competing explanations

## Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution

### UNCOVERING THE MECHANISMS

MACARTAN HUMPHREYS  
*Department of Political Science  
Columbia University*

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JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION, Vol. 49 No. 4, August 2005 508-537  
DOI: 10.1177/0022002705277545  
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# An exemplary literature review

## What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?

Michael L. Ross

Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90095;  
email: mlross@polisci.ucla.edu

Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci. 2015.18:239-259. Downloaded from www.annualreviews.org.  
Access provided by Australian National University on 07/12/16. For personal use only.

Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci. 2015. 18:239–59

First published online as a Review in Advance on  
December 18, 2014

The *Annual Review of Political Science* is online at  
polisci.annualreviews.org

This article's doi:  
10.1146/annurev-polisci-052213-040359

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### Keywords

democracy, democratization, civil war, institutions, corruption, natural  
resources, oil

### Abstract

Since 2001, hundreds of academic studies have examined the “political re-  
source curse,” meaning the claim that natural resource wealth tends to ad-  
versely affect a country’s governance. There is now robust evidence that one  
type of mineral wealth, petroleum, has at least three harmful effects: It tends  
to make authoritarian regimes more durable, to increase certain types of  
corruption, and to help trigger violent conflict in low- and middle-income  
countries. Scholars have also made progress toward understanding the mech-  
anisms that lead to these outcomes and the conditions that make them more  
likely. This essay reviews the evidence behind these claims, the debates over  
their validity, and some of the unresolved puzzles for future research.



INTRODUCTION

Does natural resource wealth lead to political dysfunction? From 2001 to 2013, hundreds of academic studies addressed this question. There is now considerable evidence that under certain conditions one type of resource wealth—petroleum—tends to produce a “political resource curse.”

The resource curse might be defined as the adverse effects of a country’s natural resource wealth on its economic, social, or political well-being.<sup>1</sup> The term was first used in print by economic geographer Richard Auty in 1993 (Auty 1993). Over the last decade it has been used by both scholars and policymakers to explain a wide range of maladies in resource-rich countries, particularly in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and the former Soviet Union. New initiatives to stop the resource curse have been launched by the World Bank, the G20, and the United Nations Development Program. Two multistakeholder agreements—the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative—have been forged. Both the United States and the European Union have adopted new transparency laws that are explicitly designed to alleviate the curse in resource-exporting countries. Dozens of nongovernmental organizations, new and old, have devoted themselves to this issue.

The idea of a resource curse has also influenced many debates in political science—for example, on the causes of democratic transitions (Gassebner et al. 2012), the role of taxation in state-building (Brautigam et al. 2008, Smith 2008), the consequences of foreign aid (Bermeo 2011, Ahmed 2012) and the factors affecting the onset, duration, and severity of civil war (Fearon & Laitin 2003, Weinstein 2007). A large literature in economics asks how natural resource wealth affects economic growth (Wick & Bulte 2009, van der Ploeg 2011, Frankel 2012).

This review examines the political effects of resource endowments, particularly on government accountability, the quality of state institutions, and the incidence of civil war. It addresses three questions:

- What are the most robust findings on these issues?
- What are the major challenges to these findings, and how valid are they?
- What are the most important gaps in our knowledge?

I argue below there is strong evidence that one type of resource wealth—petroleum—has at least three important effects: It tends to make authoritarian regimes more durable; it leads to heightened corruption; and it helps trigger violent conflict in low- and middle-income countries, particularly when it is located in the territory of marginalized ethnic groups. The effects on authoritarianism and conflict appear to be recent phenomena, emerging after the 1970s.

There are three main debates about these effects. The first is about the conditions under which oil has these effects. Scholars generally agree that these effects are conditional and hence limited in scope, but there is no consensus over what those conditions are. A large fraction of the hypothesized conditions are measured in ways that are collinear, making it hard to distinguish among them. A second, related debate is over the mechanisms that generate these conditional effects, although on one issue—the relationship between petroleum and civil conflict—many studies now point to a similar underlying process.

The third debate is over whether the resource curse is real or illusory. Although most studies report evidence of some type of resource curse, a significant minority suggest that the appearance of a resource curse is a statistical artifact created by either endogeneity or omitted-variable bias. Others raise a second objection: that petroleum’s damaging effects may be real but are counter-balanced by beneficial effects that are commonly overlooked.

Debates

Research questions





# 1. Natural resource & conflict: An introduction





## 2. Natural resources: Defining our terms





# Defining natural resources

What is the **type** of resource?

- **Extracted** (e.g. minerals) rather than **produced** (e.g. last week's agriculture)

What is the salient **quality** of the resource?

- For example, quantity, value of production or export, or government rents

Method used to **normalise values**

- For example, fraction of GDP, exports, per capita, government revenue



# Types of natural resources

## Fuel minerals

- Oil
- Natural gas



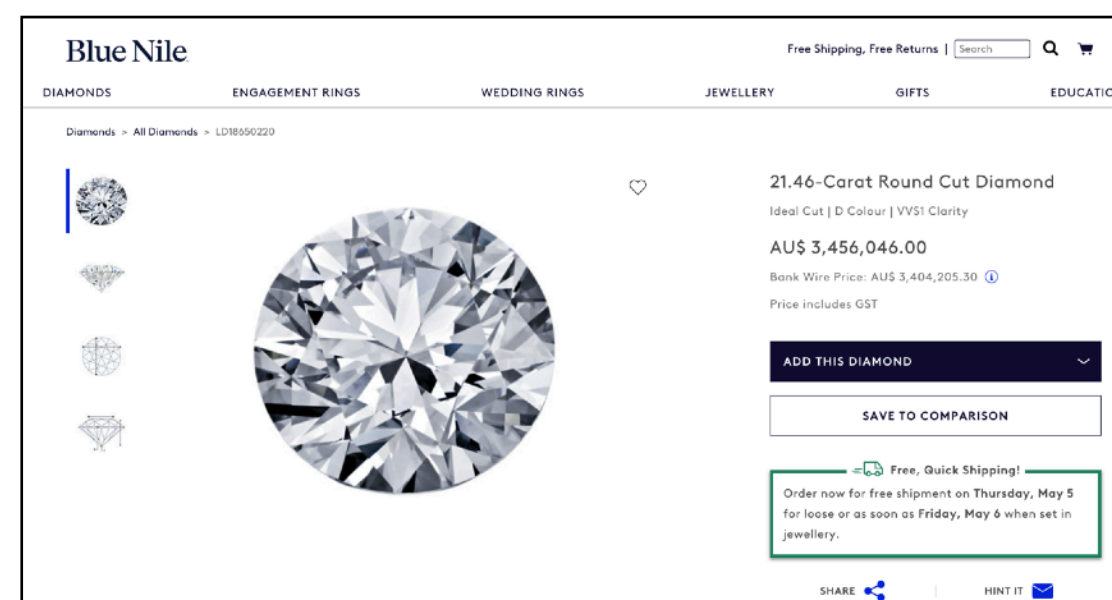
## Non-fuel minerals

- Gold
- Coltan
- Cobalt
- Tantalum



## Gemstones

- Diamonds, rubies, emeralds





# Resource rents definition

“[P]rofits above and beyond production costs, where the costs include a normal rate of return on the capital invested,” (Ross 2012:

35, quoted in Fails and Dubuis 2015: 704)



# Rentier effects

Resource revenue allow governments to **reduce taxes** as well as **increase public goods** and **private patronage**.

Rents can also raise **risks** of depending on one source of revenue (e.g. Venezuela).

Rent **diversification** helps reduce risk of authoritarian collapse. (Fails & DuBuis 2015)

- Fails & DuBuis (2015) look at five resources (coal, forest, mineral, natural gas & oil)
- It is unclear if their authoritarian regime failure includes conflict.



# Is our perspective on this affected by being in “the lucky country?”

“Australia is a significant exporter of natural resources, energy, and food. Australia's abundant and diverse natural resources attract high levels of foreign investment and include extensive reserves of coal, iron, copper, gold, natural gas, uranium, and renewable energy sources. A series of major investments, such as the US\$40 billion Gorgon Liquid Natural Gas Project, will significantly expand the resources sector.

For nearly two decades up till 2017, Australia had benefited from a dramatic surge in its terms of trade. As export prices increased faster than import prices, the economy experienced continuous growth, low unemployment, contained inflation, very low public debt, and a strong and stable financial system. Australia entered 2018 facing a range of growth constraints, principally driven by the sharp fall in global prices of key export commodities. Demand for resources and energy from Asia and especially China is growing at a slower pace and sharp drops in export prices have impacted growth.”

-CIA Factbook

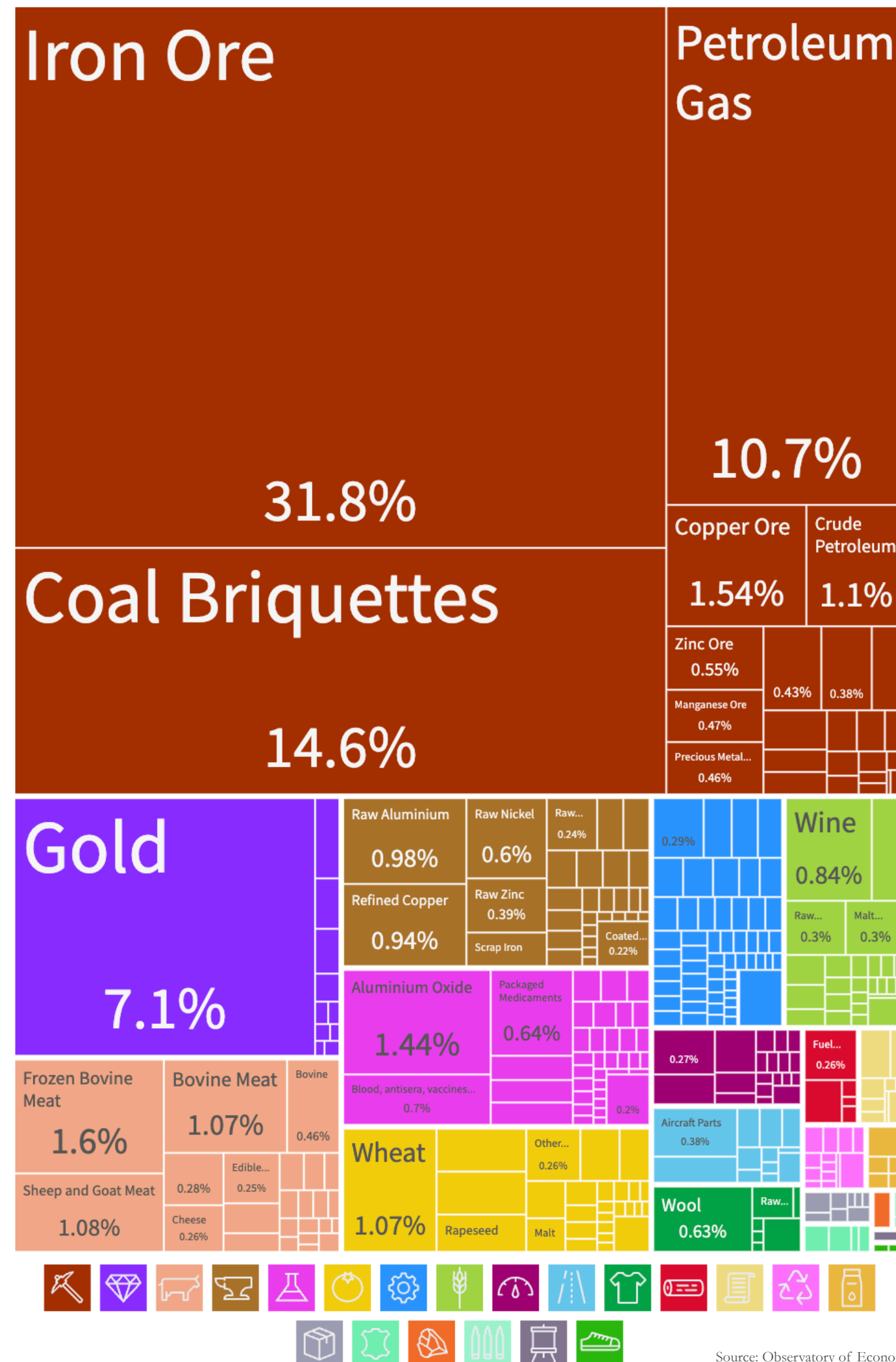


# Australia

### Exports (2020)

**[Click to Select a Product]**

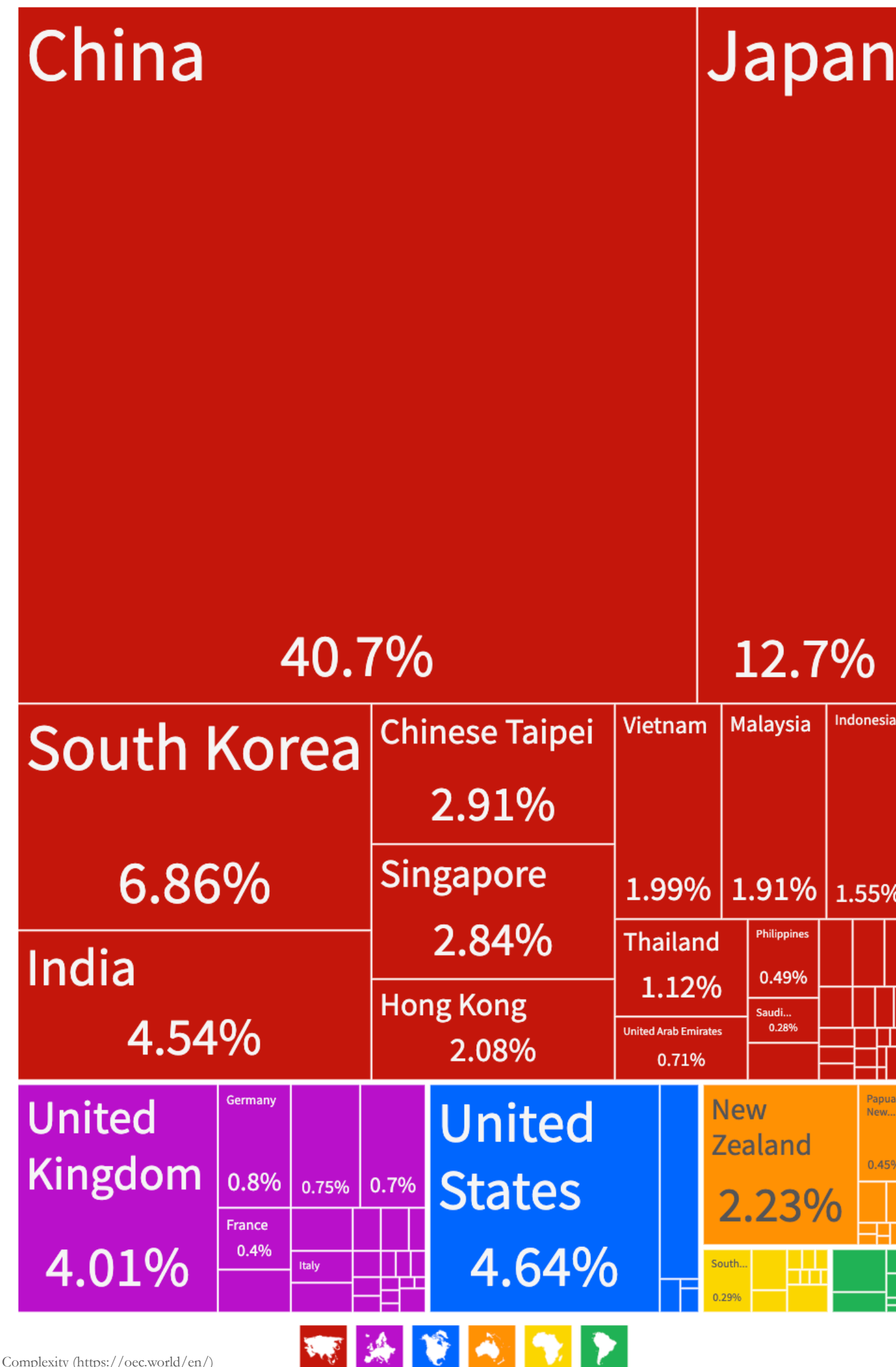
Total: \$250B



### Destinations (2020)

**[Click to Select a Country]**

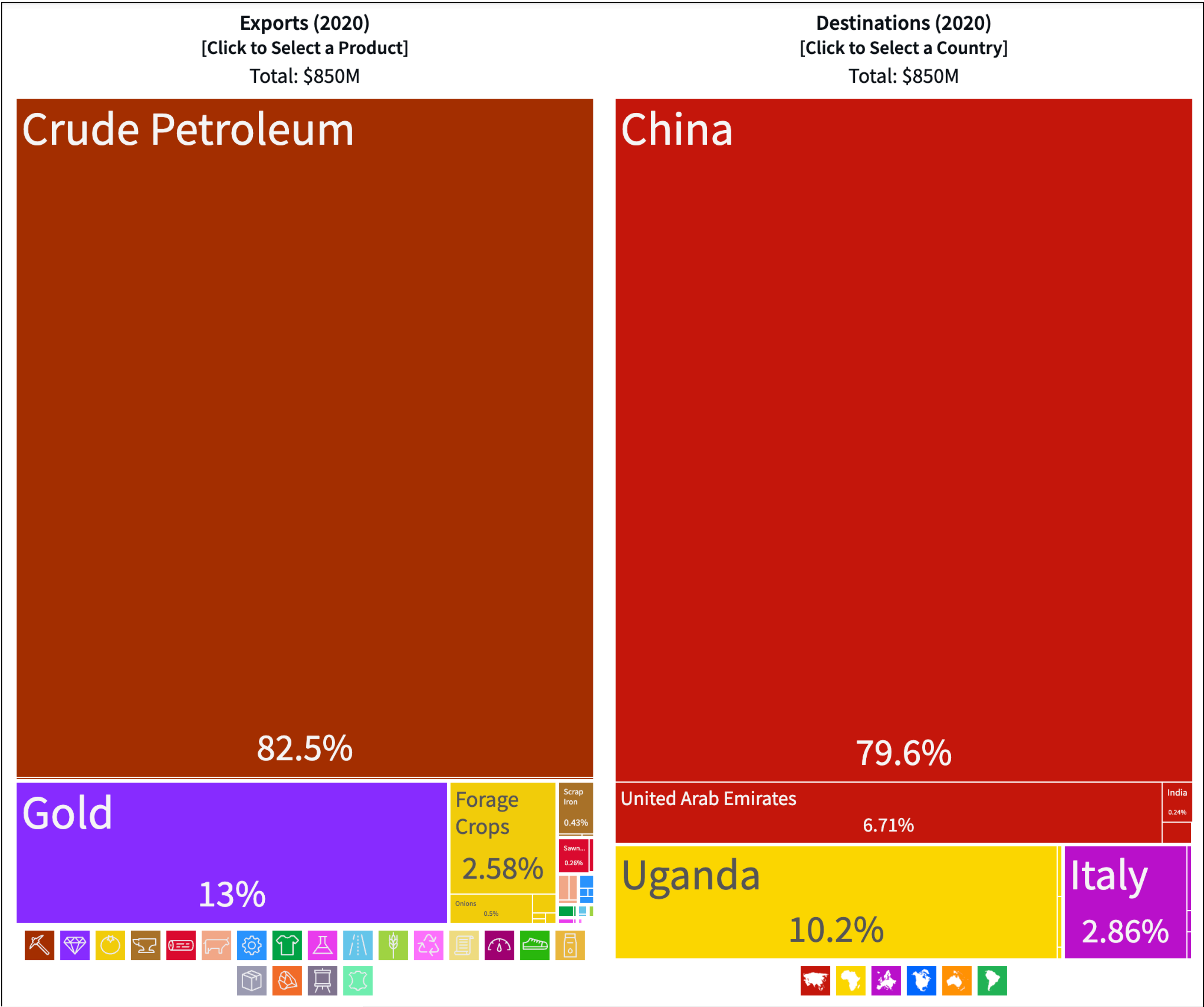
Total: \$250B



Source: Observatory of Economic Complexity (<https://oec.world/en/>)



# South Sudan



Source: Observatory of Economic Complexity (<https://oec.world/ssd/>)



# South Sudan

“South Sudan does have abundant natural resources. South Sudan holds one of the richest agricultural areas in Africa, with fertile soils and abundant water supplies. Currently the region supports 10-20 million head of cattle.

At independence in 2011, South Sudan produced nearly three-fourths of former Sudan's total oil output of nearly a half million barrels per day. The Government of South Sudan relies on oil for the vast majority of its budget revenues, although oil production has fallen sharply since independence.

South Sudan is [one of the most oil-dependent countries in the world](#), with 98% of the government's annual operating budget and 80% of its gross domestic product (GDP) derived from oil. Oil is exported through a pipeline that runs to refineries and shipping facilities at Port Sudan on the Red Sea.”

-CIA Factbook



# The resource curse—definition

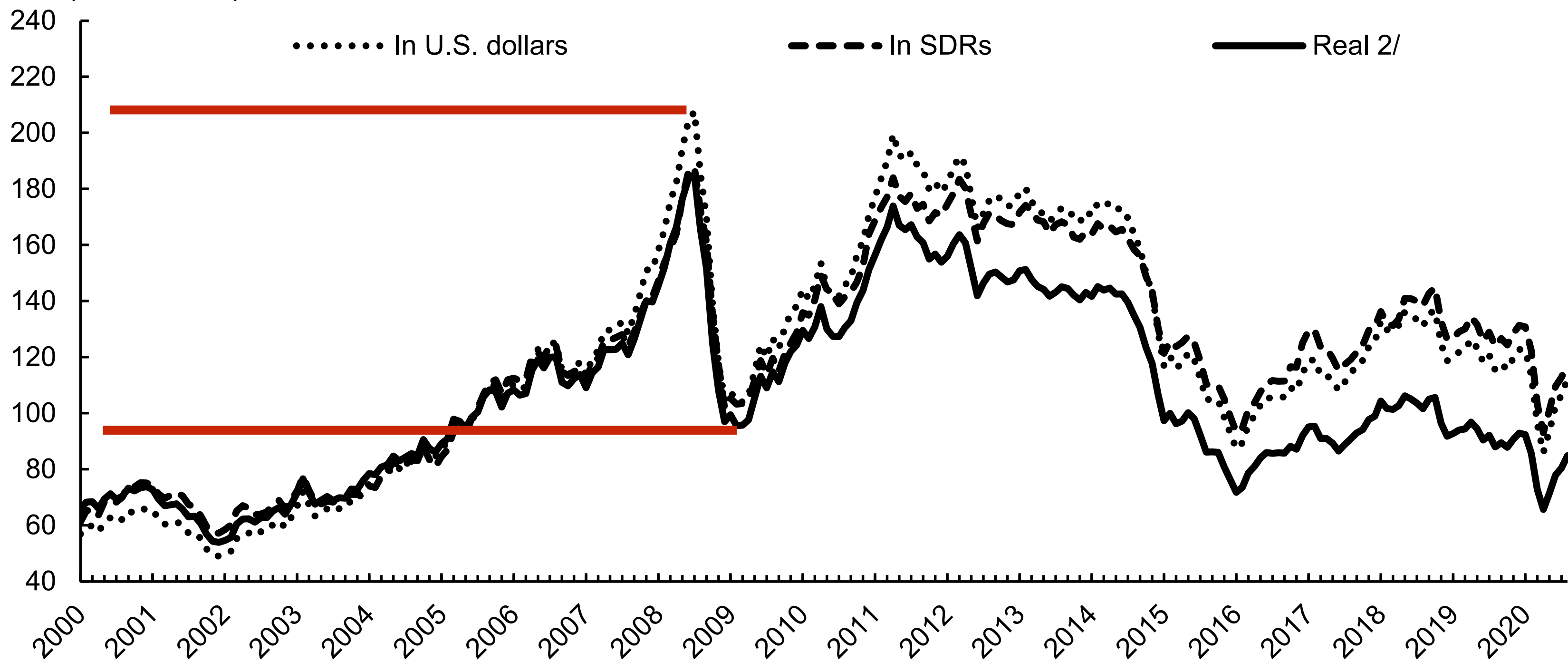
“The adverse effects of a country’s natural resource wealth on its economic, social, or political well-being.”

Ross (2015: 240; building on Auty 1993)



**Chart 1. Indices of Primary Commodity Prices**

(2016 = 100) 1/



1/ Combines indices of non-fuel primary commodity prices and energy prices.

2/ Deflated by U.S. CPI.



# Crude oil prices





## Lecture question #2

After last week's focus and this week's readings, do you buy the argument that **extractive** resources are more of a risk than **produced** resources?

Why or why not?



## 2. Natural resources: Defining our terms







# 3. Natural resources & conflict— mechanisms





An embarrassment of  
mechanisms



# How resources can affect conflict differently than regime stability & institutional quality

Other, non-petroleum resources, matter.

Effects are non-monotonic.

Location matters (e.g. off/on-shore, periphery/central)



# Natural resources & conflict onset

## Humphreys' 2005 possible mechanisms

**Greedy** rebels

Greedy outsiders

Citizen and elite **grievances**

Feasibility/start up costs (aka. “**booty futures**”)

**Weak states** (opportunity)

Sparse trading networks



# Natural resources & conflict duration

## Humphreys' 2005 possible mechanisms

Feasibility

Military balance

Lack of cohesiveness

Side rent payments

International interventions



# Other explanations

**Declining rents** can cause conflict.

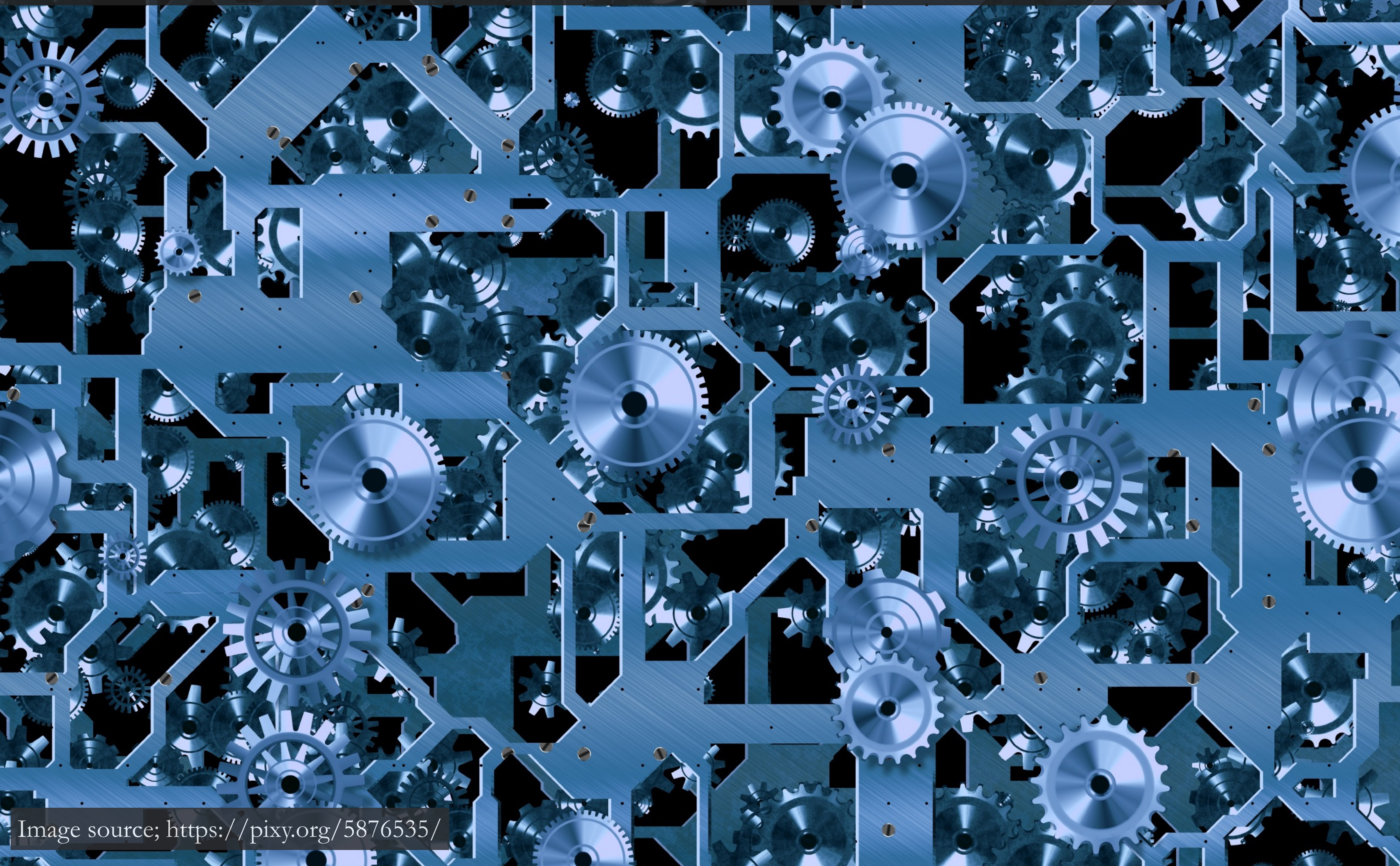
As **risk of conflict** increases resource rents decrease (endogeneity).

**Government weakness** causes both resource rents and conflict risk (spuriousness).

Do **spikes or dips** in rents matter or how much they are? (levels vs. change)



### 3. Natural resources & conflict— mechanisms





## 4. Oil and conflict



Image source: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/navy-aware-reports-incident-gulf-oman-n1017066>



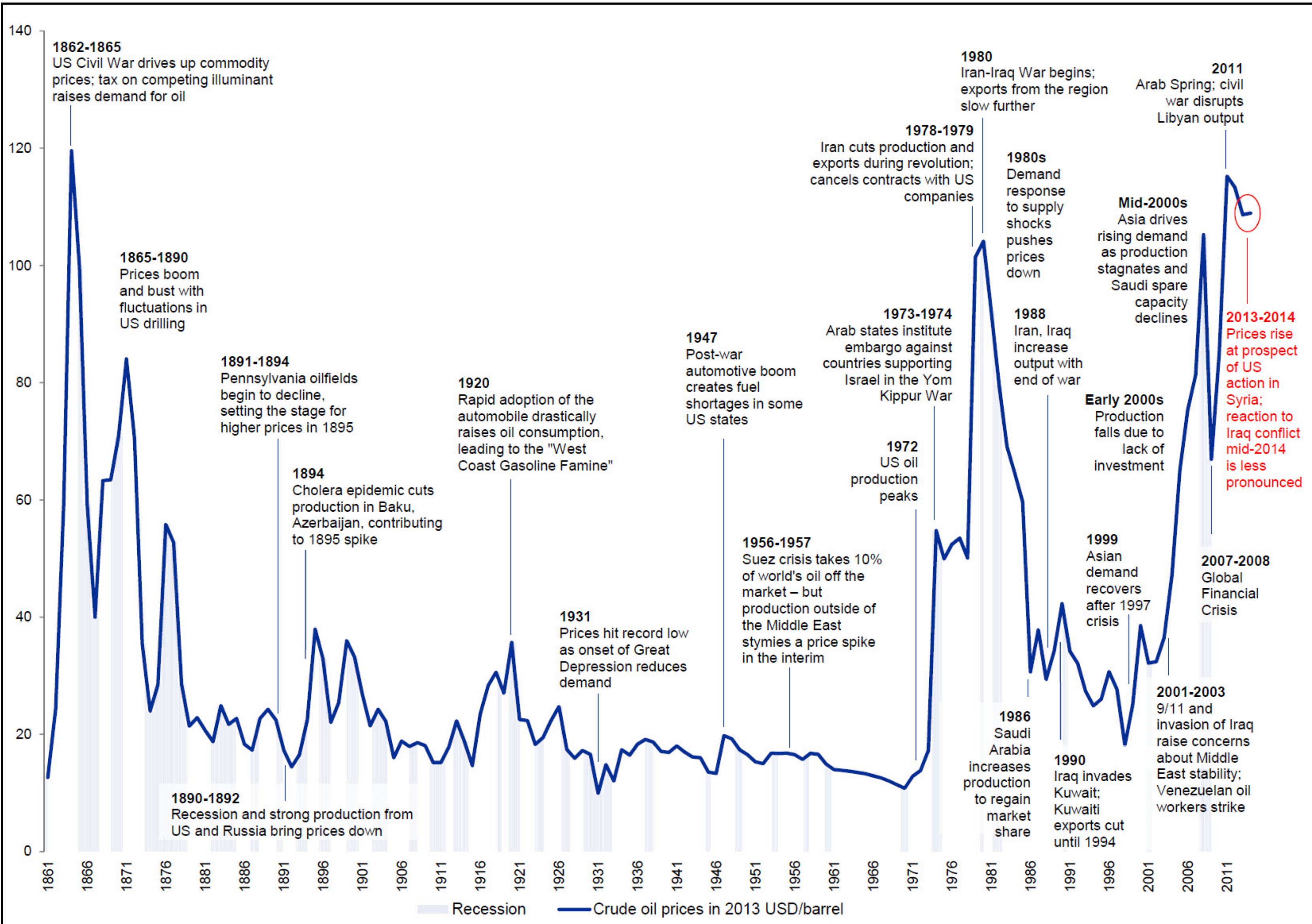
# Oil, democracy, institutions, & conflict

Oil dependence is one of the few robust correlates of **regime type**. (Ross 2015: 243)

Oil is a predictor of **regime stability**, both for democracies and autocracies.

Oil increases **corruption**.







➞

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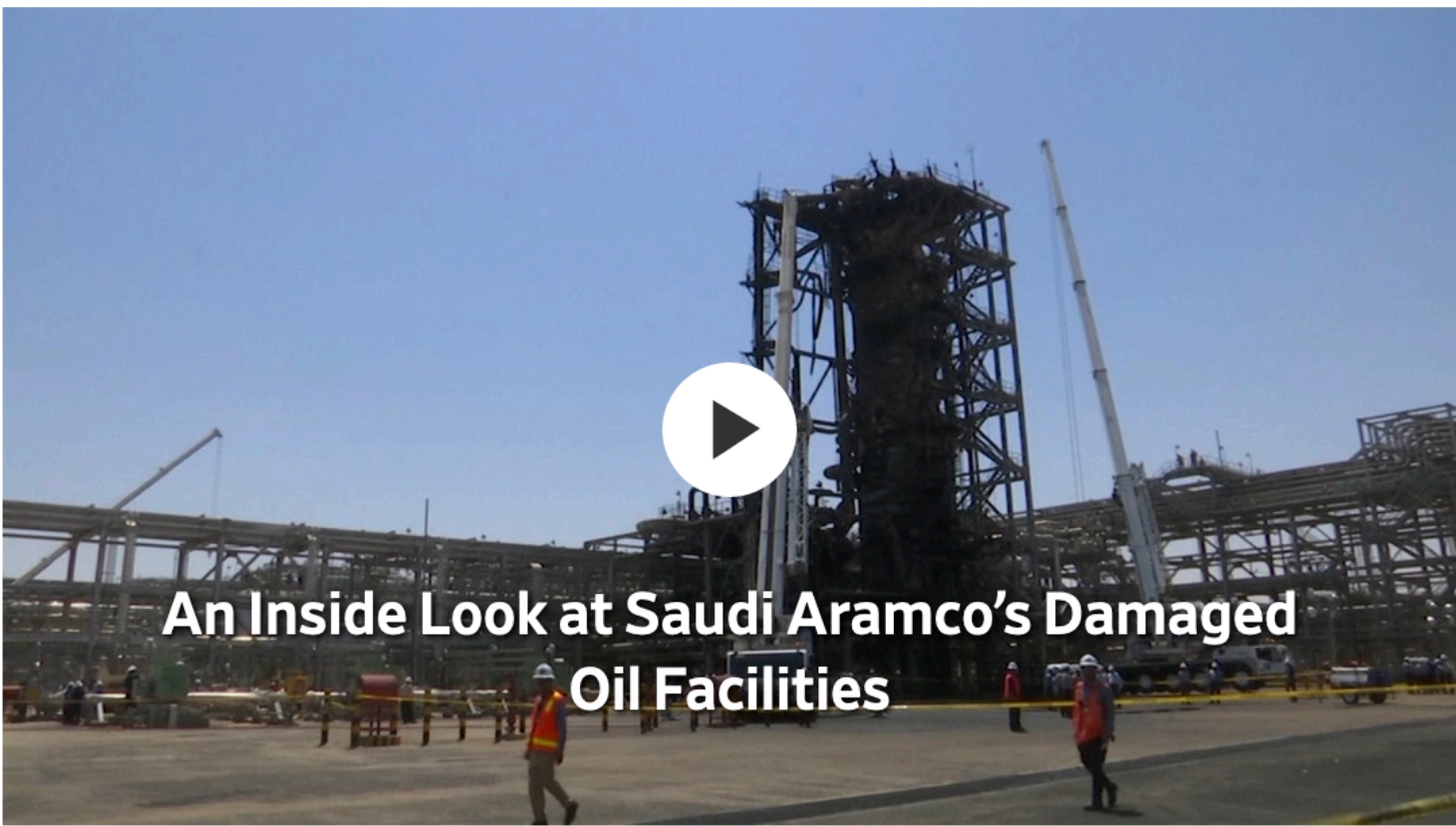
AA

TEXT

WORLD | MIDDLE EAST

# Attacks on Oil Facilities Threaten Fragile Saudi Economy

Kingdom, which earns two-thirds of its revenue from crude sales, lost half its production at a time when foreign investment was down and consumers suffered from low prices



Aramco officials say they are working 24/7 to repair their damaged oil facilities. Saudi Arabia invited WSJ's Rory Jones to see the Khurais oil field and Abqaiq processing plant to show Aramco's efforts to get back to full production and rally international support against Iran ahead of a meeting next week at the United Nations. Image: AP

By *Rory Jones*  
Updated Sept. 25, 2019 12:36 pm ET

JEDDAH, Saudi Arabia—The attacks on Saudi Arabia's oil facilities delivered a shock to the kingdom at a moment of economic fragility, with its attempts to jump-start nonoil industries struggling and foreign investment down.

Even before the Sept. 14 attacks took out half the country's oil production, nonoil exports were trending down in almost every month this year, according to Saudi bank Jadwa Investment.

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Opinion: Bolsonaro's Free Market Fight Against Socialism in Latin America

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The Seven-Year Auto Loan: America's Middle Class Can't Afford Its Cars
2.

Tense Relationship





WORLD

# Saudi Arabia Opens Kingdom to Foreign Tourists

Introduction of tourism visas comes at a moment of economic fragility for the kingdom



Participants attend the launch of the new tourism visa at Ad Diriyah, a Unesco-listed heritage site outside Riyadh on Sept. 27. PHOTO: FAYEZ NURELDINE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

By *Donna Abdulaziz*

Updated Sept. 27, 2019 1:52 pm ET

JEDDAH, Saudi Arabia—Saudi Arabia is opening the ultraconservative kingdom to tourists for the first time, easing restrictions for foreign visitors as part of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman’s initiative to diversify the oil-dependent economy.

Visas had been restricted to Muslim pilgrims and business and diplomatic visitors, but on Friday the kingdom said its new online visa portal would be open to visitors from 49 countries, including the U.S. and major European and Asian countries.

“Opening Saudi Arabia to international tourists is a historic moment for our country,” said Ahmad al-Khateeb, chairman of the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage.

## Welcoming Guests

The tourism economies of Saudi Arabia and its neighbors have grown in recent years.

The change to visa rules

comes two weeks after

[debilitating attacks on](#)

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4.

Hong Kong Protester Shot by Police Amid Widespread Violence
5.

Judge Rules Harvard’s Race-Conscious Admissions Constitutional



POLITICS

# US-Saudi Arabia seal weapons deal worth nearly \$110 billion immediately, \$350 billion over 10 years

PUBLISHED SAT, MAY 20 2017 11:54 AM EDT | UPDATED MON, MAY 22 2017 11:03 AM EDT



Javier E. David  
@TEFLONGEEK

SHARE



The United States sealed a multibillion arms deal with Saudi Arabia, the White House announced on Saturday, a move that solidifies its decades-long alliance with the world’s largest oil exporter just as [President Donald Trump](#) begins his maiden trip abroad as leader of the free world.

The agreement, which is worth \$350 billion over 10 years and \$110 billion that will take effect immediately, was hailed by the White House as “a significant expansion of...[the] security relationship” between the two countries.

Simultaneously, Saudi Arabia is in a broad-based push for economic reform, and as part of that effort signed a flurry of deals with private U.S. companies worth [tens of billions of](#)

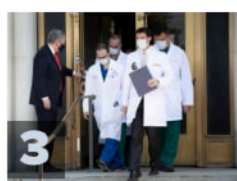
## TRENDING NOW



Trump urges Congress to pass new coronavirus stimulus: ‘GET IT DONE’



Dow futures rise 200 points in overnight trading as investors monitor Trump’s health



Trump put on steroid recommended for severe Covid-19 cases, even as doctors share upbeat outlook



Coronavirus updates: Trump says he has ‘learned a lot’ about virus, drives by supporters outside Walter Reed



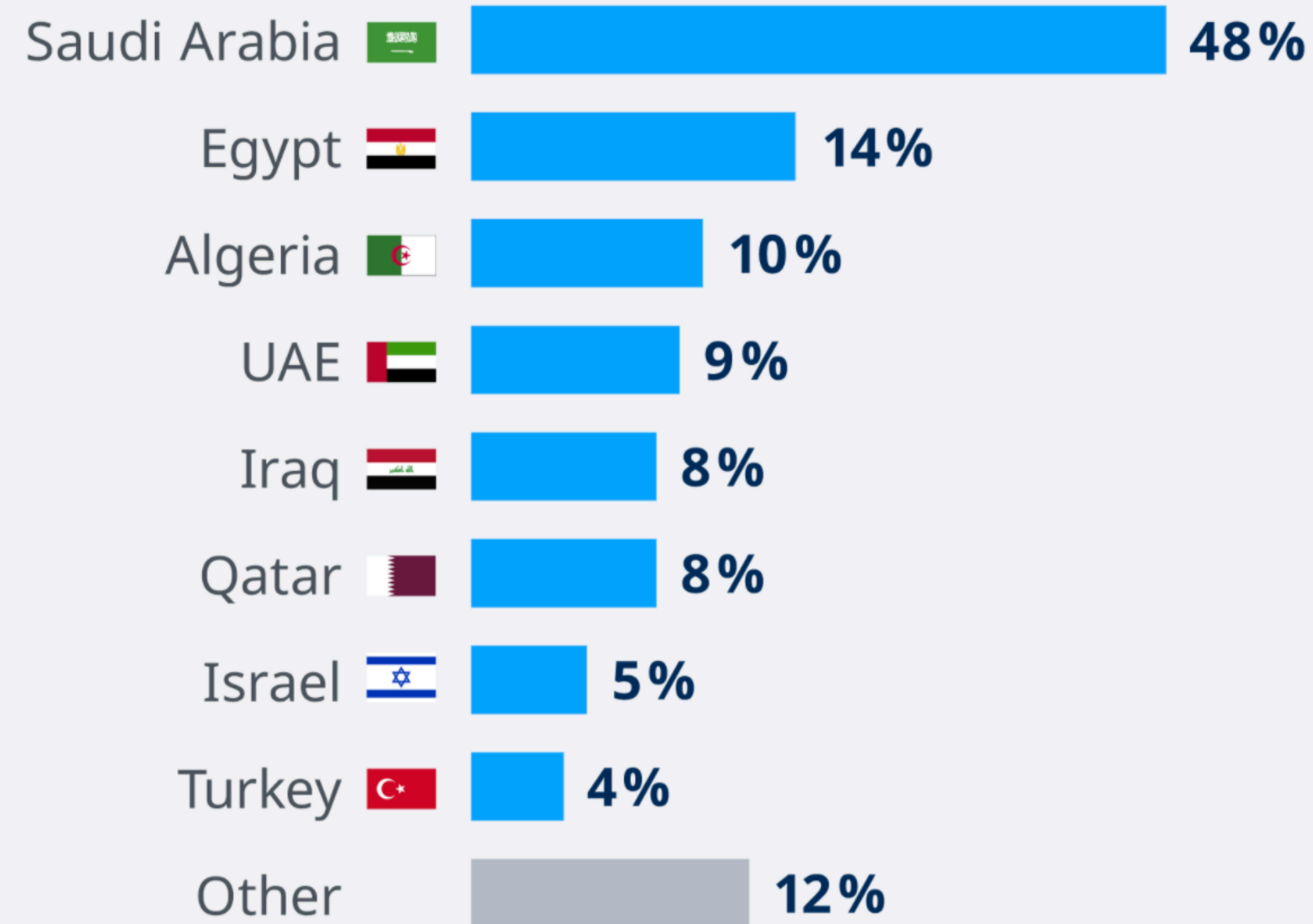
New York City is ‘on the edge of a precipice’ as coronavirus cases grow, former CDC director says

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## FROM THE WEB



## Top arms recipients in Middle East and North Africa



Source: The Mideast Arms Bazaar report (2015 - 2019),  
Center for International Policy; SIPRI.



# Saudi Arabia Just Crushed U.S. Crude Oil Prices Again

Global oil demand is faltering, and Saudi Arabia just slashed prices to two of the world's biggest customers.



**Jason Hall** (TMFVelvetHammer)  
Sep 8, 2020 at 2:50PM  
[Author Bio](#)

The crude oil recovery has hit its first big speed bump.

The surge in COVID-19 cases in many parts of the world, the end of a weak peak-summer demand season in the Northern Hemisphere, and the cessation of record crude purchases by Chinese refiners in the second quarter have created a chain of events that has crude oil futures cratering on Sept. 8. At this writing, Brent crude is down 4.5% to \$40.13 per barrel, while West Texas Intermediate futures are down a brutal 7% to \$37.02 per barrel.

Today's massive sell-off comes after news over the weekend that Saudi Arabia was cutting crude prices for October shipments to both Asian and U.S. refining customers. This marks the first time since early in 2020 that the petro state has lowered prices for crude shipments to the U.S., putting its selling price to Asia back below the country's target benchmark as Chinese shipments weaken after months of stockpiling.



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Stock Advisor launched in February of 2002. Returns as of 10/05/2020.

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\$9.87 \$0.19 (1.96%)



**Apache Corpo...**  
NASDAQ:APA



**Murphy Oil Co...**  
NYSE:MUR





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# Saudi Crown Prince Says Khashoggi Was Killed ‘Under My Watch’

Mohammed bin Salman acknowledges murder that brought international censure, in PBS interview



Representatives of Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the U.S. have been at odds about what happened to missing Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, until Saudi Arabia confirmed that he was killed in its consulate in Istanbul. Here’s how each country’s narrative unfolded. Photo: George Downs/The Wall Street Journal (Originally published Oct. 22, 2018)

By [Jared Malsin](#)

Updated Sept. 26, 2019 12:07 pm ET

Saudi Arabia’s Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman acknowledged that the 2018 murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi happened under his watch and that responsibility falls on him, addressing an incident that evoked international criticism of the kingdom.

Mr. Khashoggi, a critic of the Saudi leadership, was brutally killed by government agents inside the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in October 2018. A CIA assessment concluded last year that Prince Mohammed

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News | Houthis

# Saudi-led coalition attacks Houthi positions in Yemen's Sanaa

*Reports say at least five air attacks hit near Sanaa airport, while others target northern and central parts of city.*



Fire is seen at one of the sites of Sunday's Saudi-led air raids in Sanaa [Khaled Abdullah/Reuters]

13 Sep 2020



The Saudi-led coalition has launched 11 air raids on the positions of Houthi rebels in the Yemeni capital Sanaa, according to the Houthi-run Saba news agency.

Five of Sunday's attacks hit the vicinity of the Sanaa airport, while others targeted the northern and central parts of the city, Saba reported, citing a security source.



# War Crime Risk Grows for U.S. Over Saudi Strikes in Yemen

State Department officials have raised alarms about the legal risk in aiding airstrikes that kill civilians. The Trump administration recently suppressed findings as it sold more weapons to Gulf nations.



Burying a child who was killed in an airstrike in Sana, Yemen, in 2017. Yahya Arhab/European Pressphoto Agency

By Michael LaForgia and Edward Wong

Published Sept. 14, 2020   Updated Sept. 16, 2020

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131

WASHINGTON — The civilian death toll from Saudi Arabia’s disastrous air war over Yemen was steadily rising in 2016 when the State Department’s legal office in the Obama administration



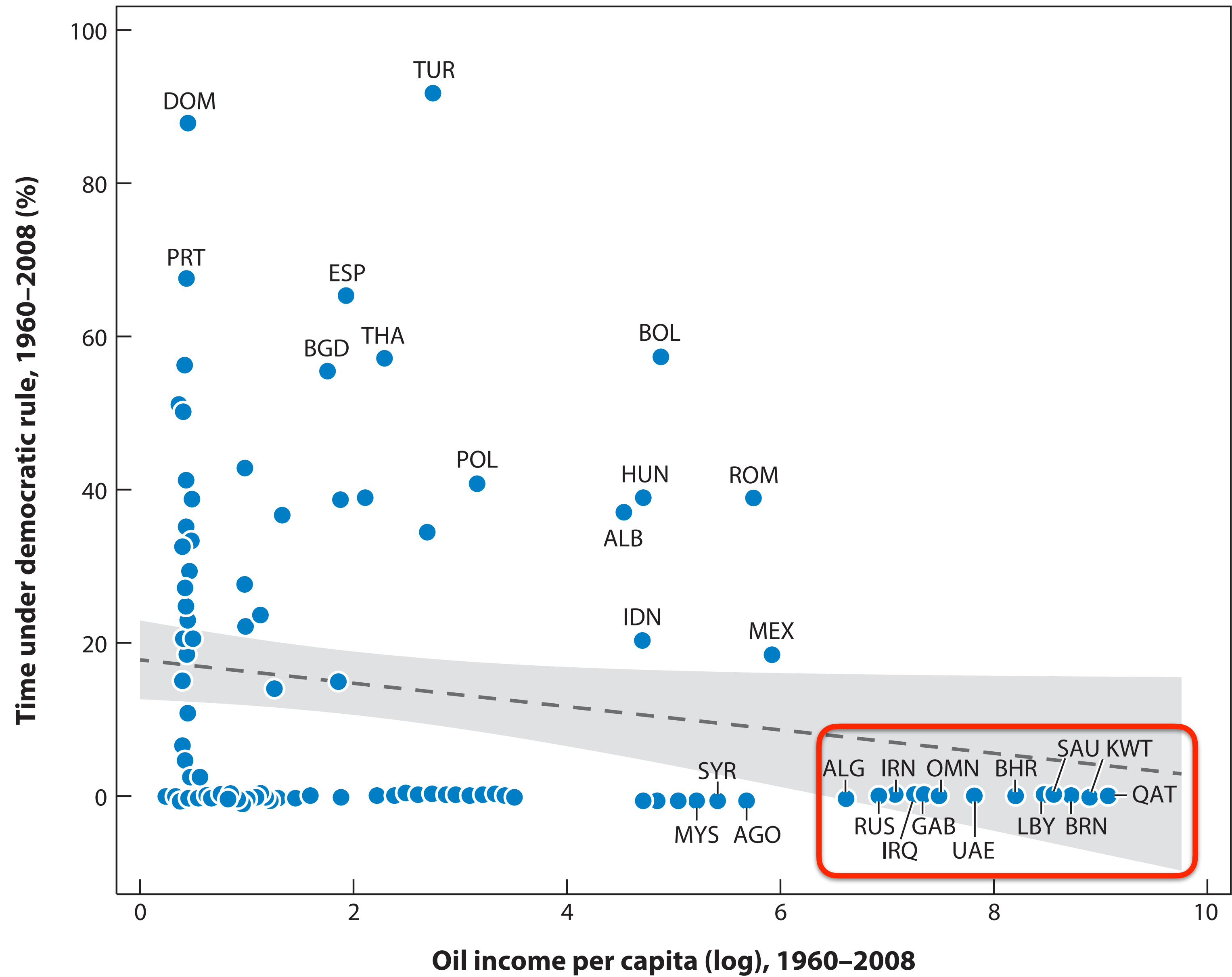
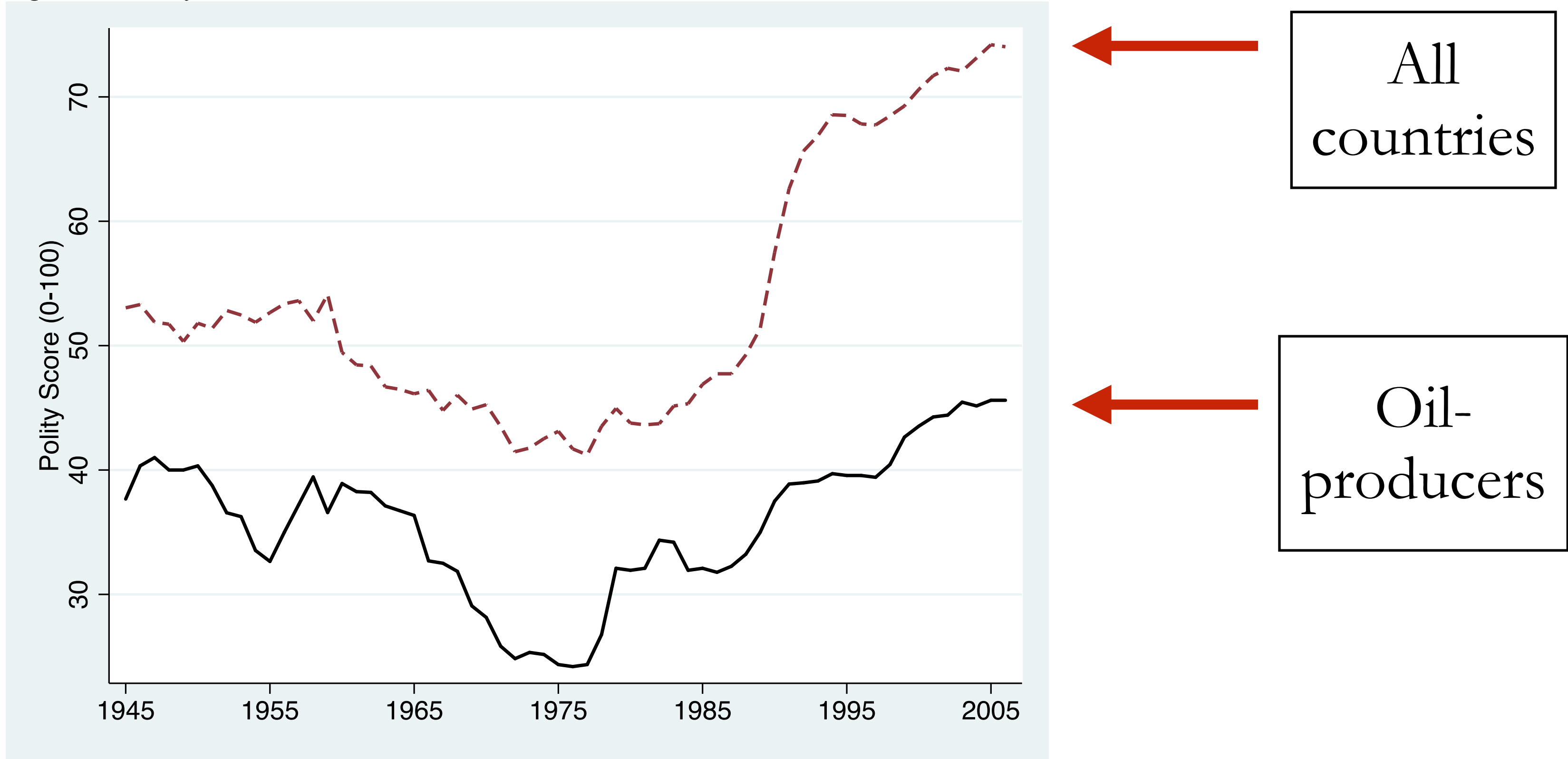




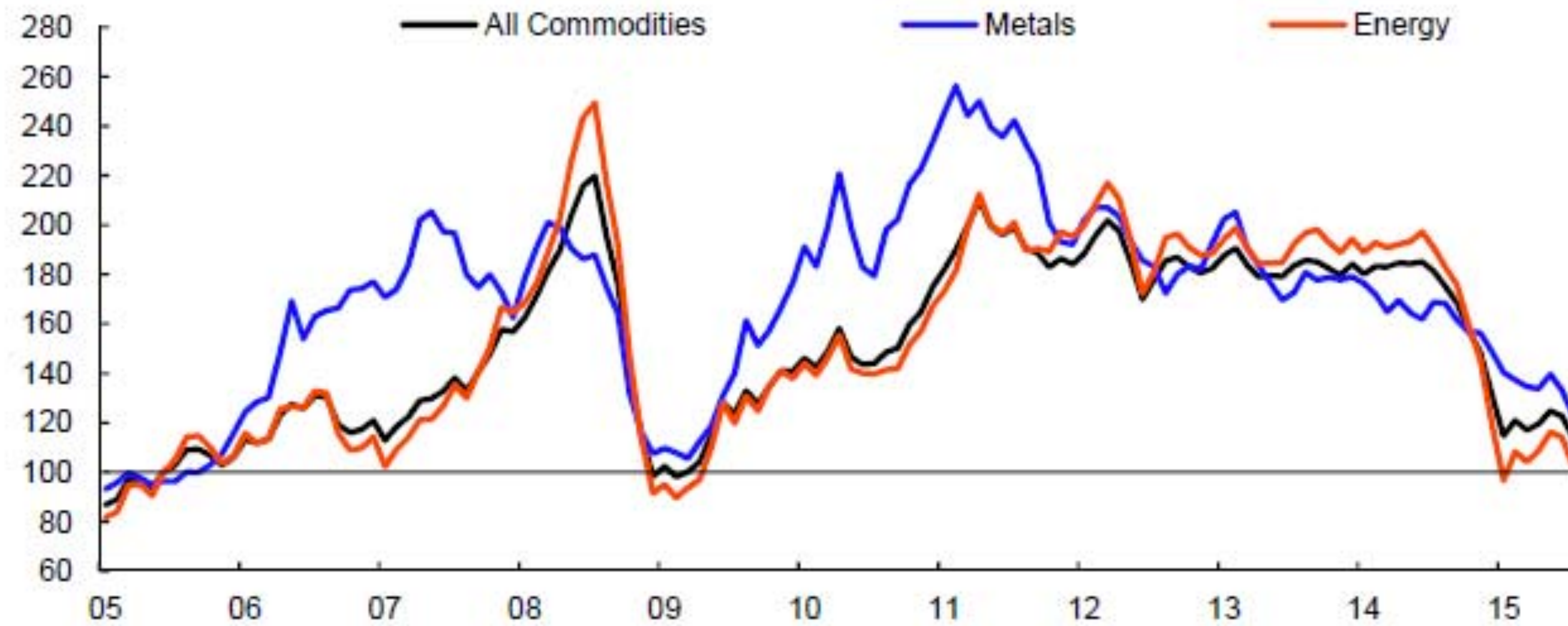
Figure 5: Polity scores of oil-reliant and non oil-reliant countries, 1945-2006



The solid black line shows the mean polity score (on a 0-100 scale) of the 34 oil-producing countries that Haber and Menaldo identify as “resource reliant”; the broken line shows the mean polity score of all other countries.



## Commodity Price Indices (2005=100)



Source: IMF, Primary Commodity Price System.



# Lecture question #3

Do you know where the petrol Canberran's put in their cars comes from?

Try Googling/Duck Duck Go-ing: "Where does Australia's petrol come from?"

Click on the 24 Feb 2022 article by Vlado Vivoda at *The Conversation* and have a quick read.


Had you thought about the potential for petrol supply disruption in Australia?

Do you think that international sources of disruption are something we need to change domestic policies to address? Why or why not?



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South Sudan Is Collapsing Thanks to Corruption Over Oil

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## 4. Oil and conflict



Image source: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/navy-aware-reports-incident-gulf-oman-n1017066>



## 5. South Sudan's oil & conflict





# South Sudan:

## A case study of resource and conflict interdependence








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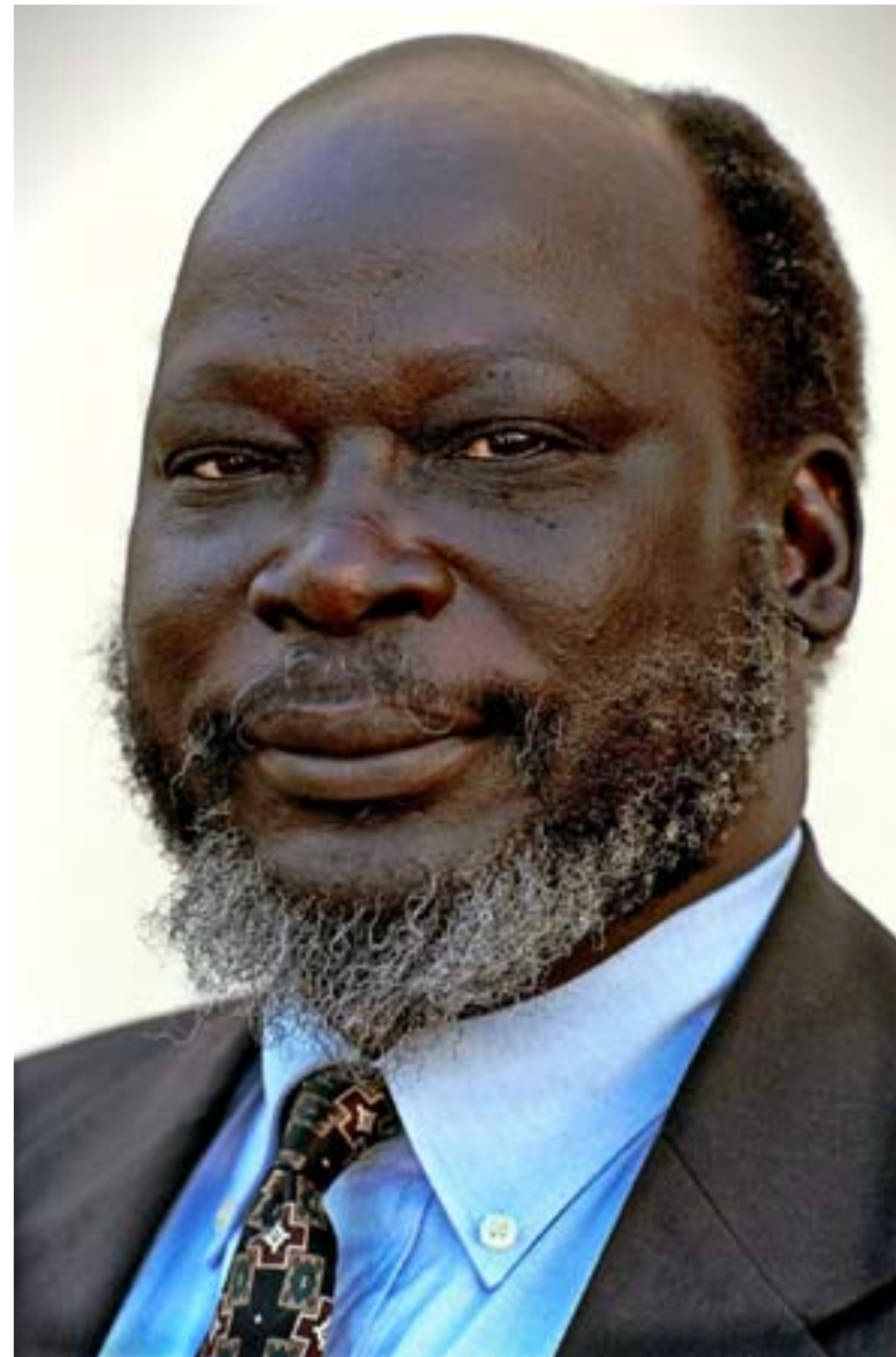
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President Salva Kiir



John Garang



Riek Machar

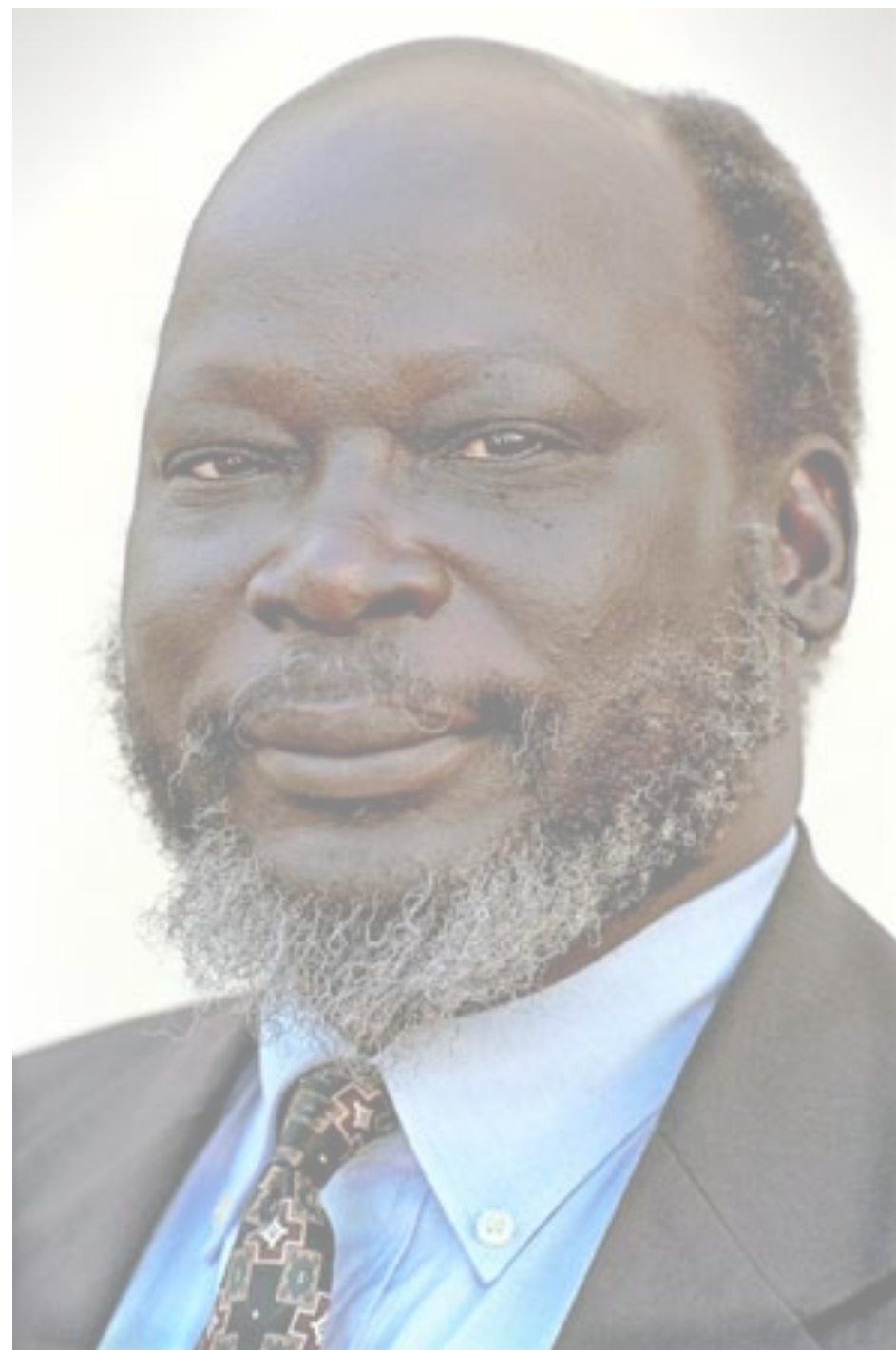




President Salva Kiir



John Garang



Riek Machar





Start / Country

South Sudan

Number of Deaths



- ☒ Total Number of Deaths  
12 655
- ☒ State-Based Violence  
5 530
- ☒ Non-State Violence  
4 401
- ☒ One-Sided Violence  
2 724

(Hold Ctrl and click entities below to open in new tab)

Actors

▼ Show

- Government of South Sudan
- Agar Dinka

State Based Violence

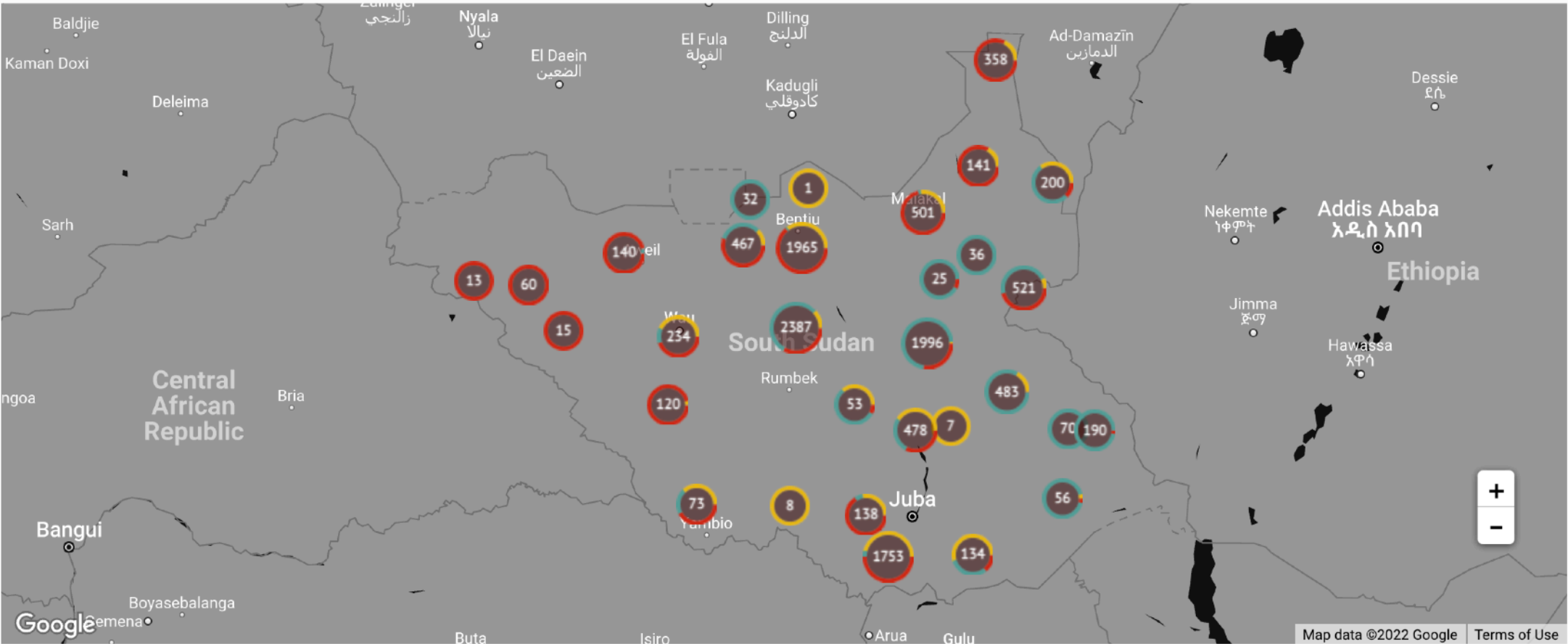
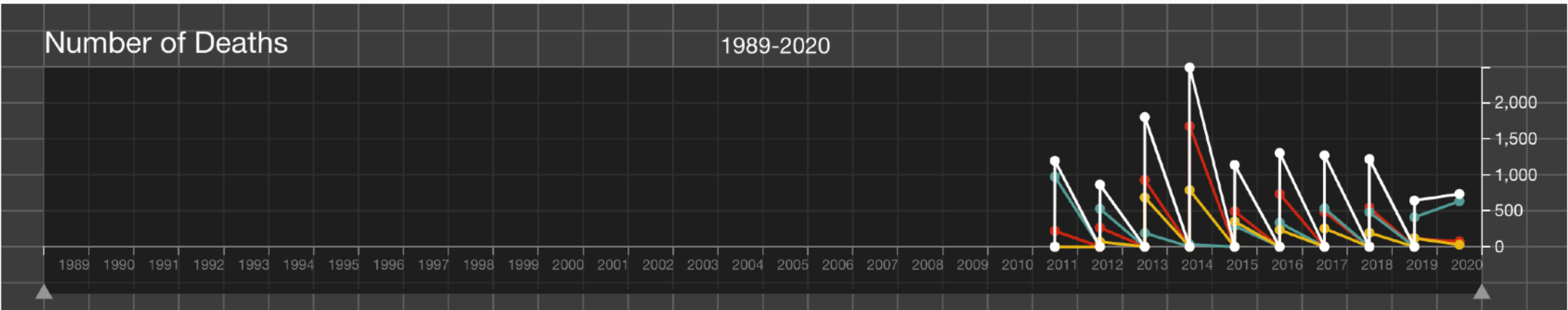
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- South Sudan - Sudan
- Government of South Sudan - Government of Sudan

Non-State Violence

▼ Show

- Agar Dinka - Gok Dinka
- Aguok - Apuk Giir



SUMMARY

South Sudan gained independence from [Sudan](#) on 9 July 2011, after a huge majority of the population in the then-southern region of Sudan voted in favor of this in a referendum six months earlier. The creation of South Sudan has decades-old roots in a [large-scale conflict](#) between the [Government of Sudan](#)





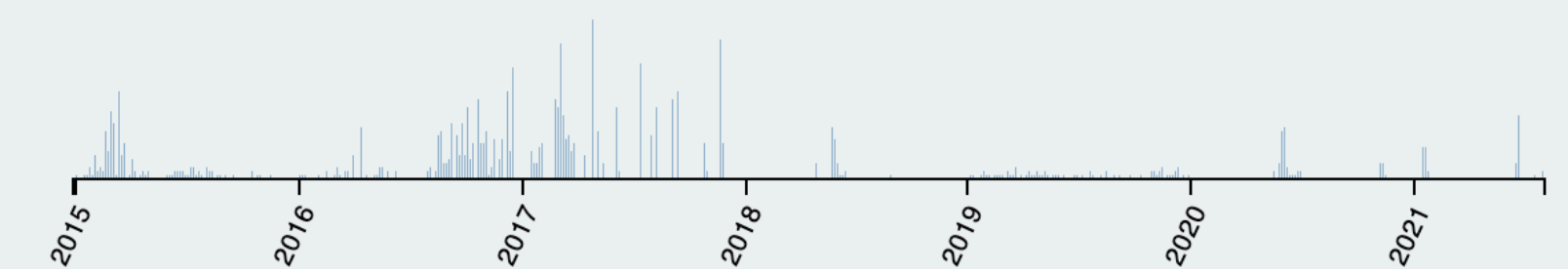
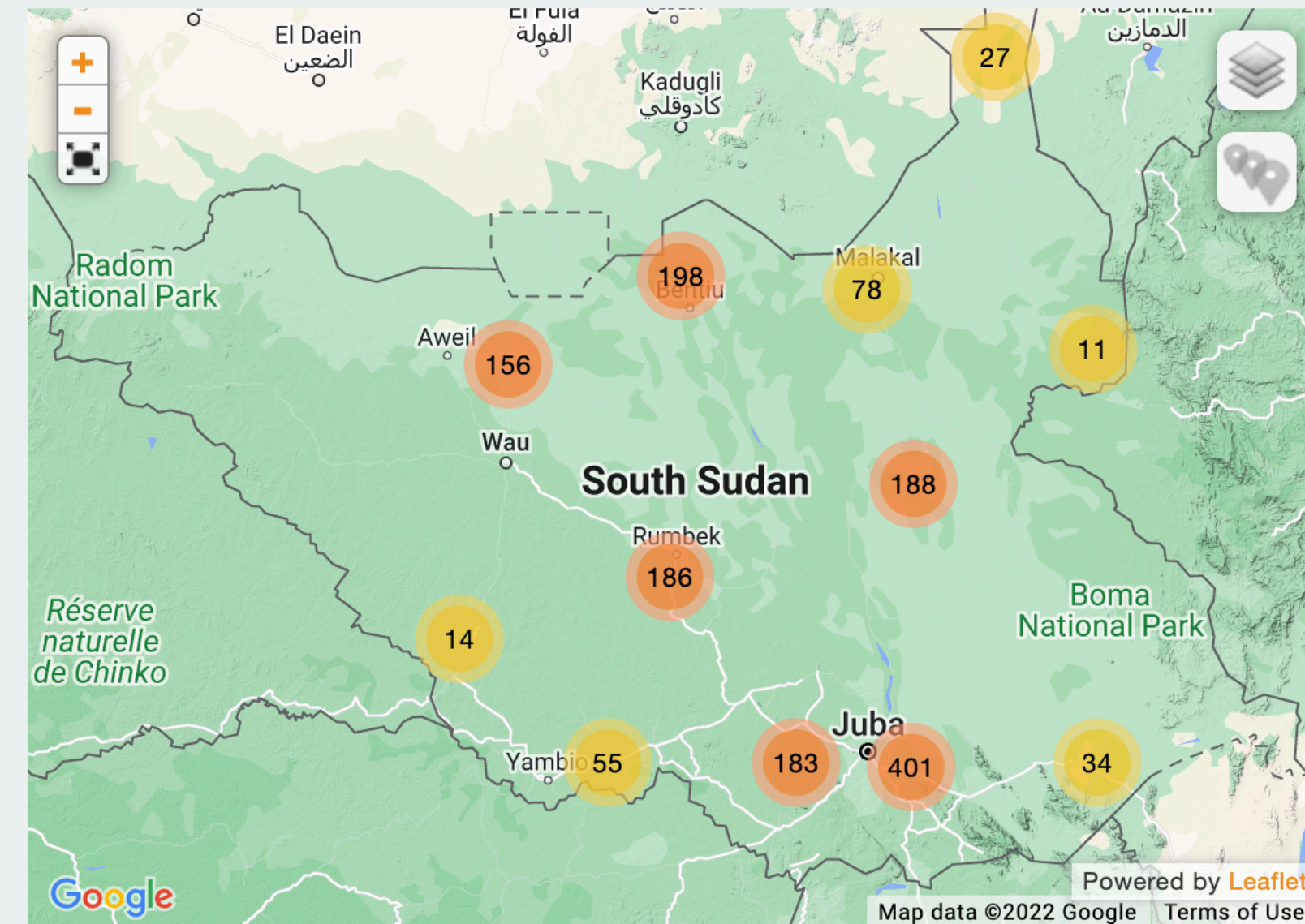
*Towards better and balanced development*

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## Mapping Conflict Violence in South Sudan

Reset filters



Incidents This Month

0 Incidents

Incidents Last 3 Months

0 Incidents

Total Incidents Reported

1585 Incidents

Source: <http://www.cepo-southsudan.org>



26 Aug 2016

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## Oil Company Warns Citizens To Keep Off Oil Fields For Safety

Dar Petroleum Operating Company (DPOC) based in Paloch oil fields has warned the community at Paloch staying at the oil well areas to move to a safer environment.

29 August 2013      



Paluoch oil field view. [Jacob Achiek Jok]

By **Jacob Achiek Jok**

**BOR, 29 August 2013 [Gurtong]** – DPOC authorities reported to the team lead by Melut County commissioner, Akuoch Teng Dieng to assess the areas where communities are residing.





# South Sudan Oil Field Becomes Battleground as Economy Reels

by Ilya Gridneff

May 26, 2015 — 7:00 AM AEST *Updated on* May 26, 2015 — 10:36 PM AEST



■ An oil processing facility in the Upper Nile, Sudan. Photographer: Trevor Snapp/Bloomberg



After 17 months of civil war spanning a swathe of South Sudan bigger than Syria, President Salva Kiir's survival may hinge on the fate of a single oil field.

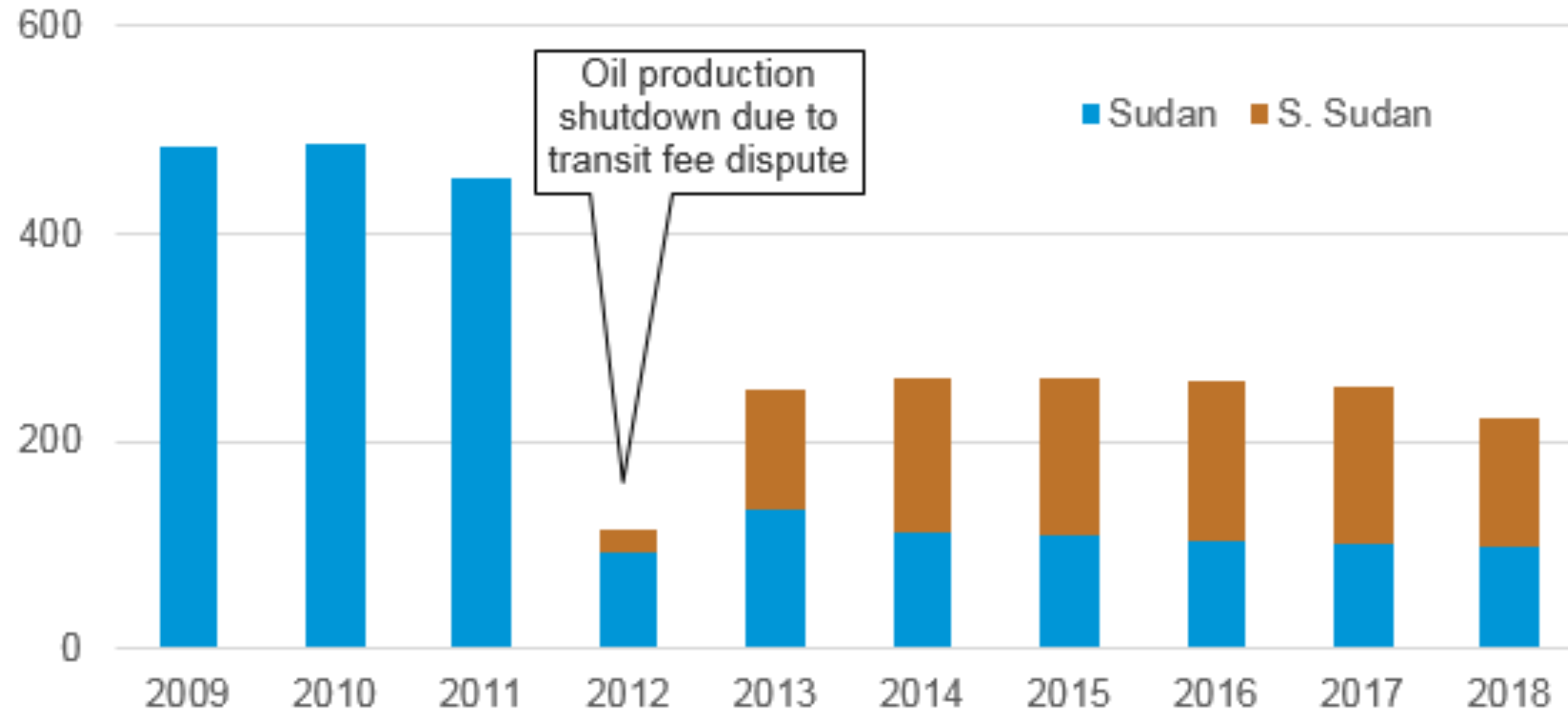


Paloch in Upper Nile state, the only region still pumping crude in a nation with sub-Saharan Africa's third-largest reserves, has re-emerged as the rebels' prime target.





**Figure 1. Crude oil production in Sudan and South Sudan**  
thousand barrels per day



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

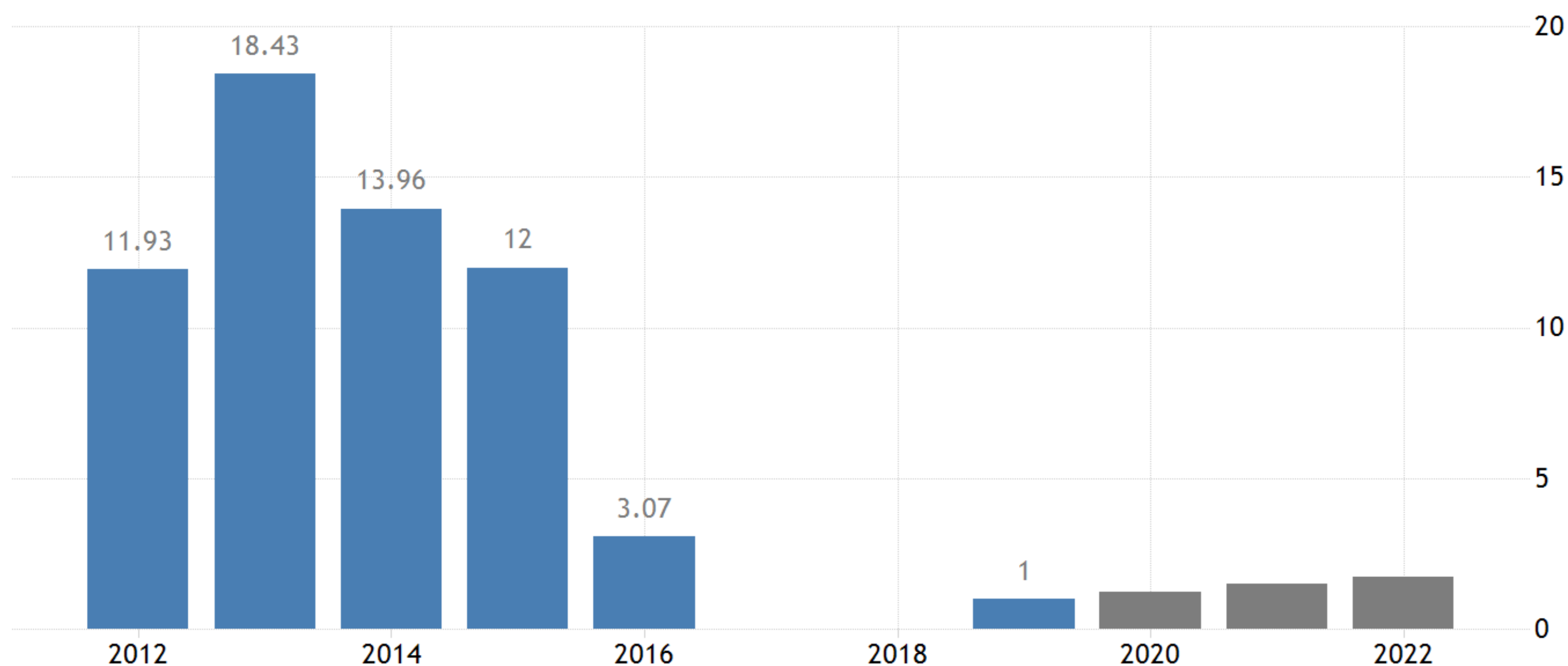


## South Sudan GDP

Summary Forecast Stats Download ▾

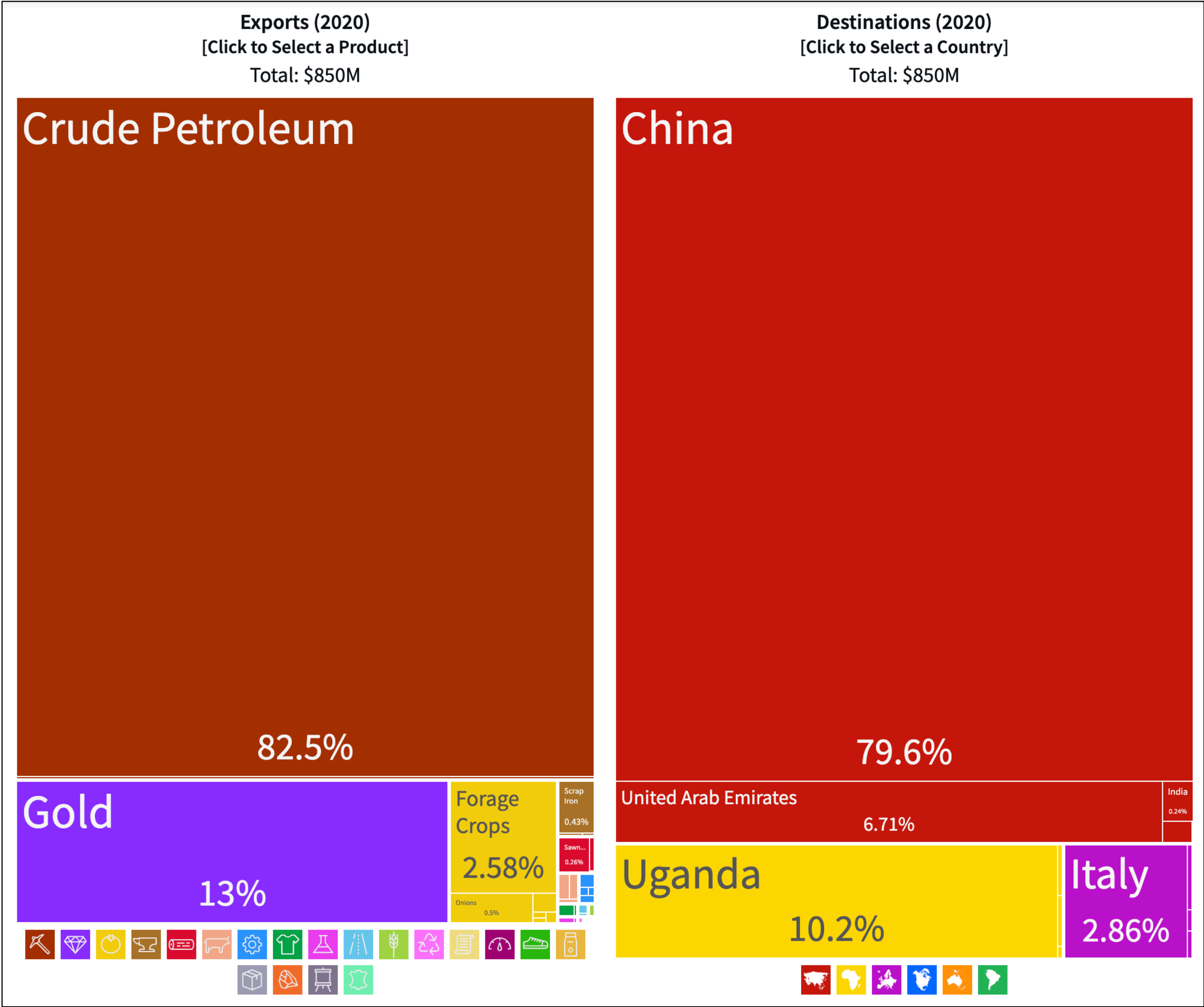
The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in South Sudan was worth 1 billion US dollars in 2019, according to official data from the World Bank. The GDP value of South Sudan represents less than 0.01 percent of the world economy. source: World Bank

10Y 25Y 50Y MAX Chart Compare Export API Embed





# South Sudan





# South Sudan Oil Consortium Funded Militias Accused of Atrocities, Report Says



Soldiers from the Sudan People’s Liberation Army at an oil facility in South Sudan in 2014. Much of the government’s wealth comes from oil revenue.  
Andreea Campeanu/Reuters

By Megan Specia

Sept. 19, 2019

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LONDON — A South Sudanese oil consortium directly financed militias accused of committing atrocities in the country’s civil war, [according to an investigative report](#) released on Thursday amid growing calls for accountability for the conflict’s human rights abuses.

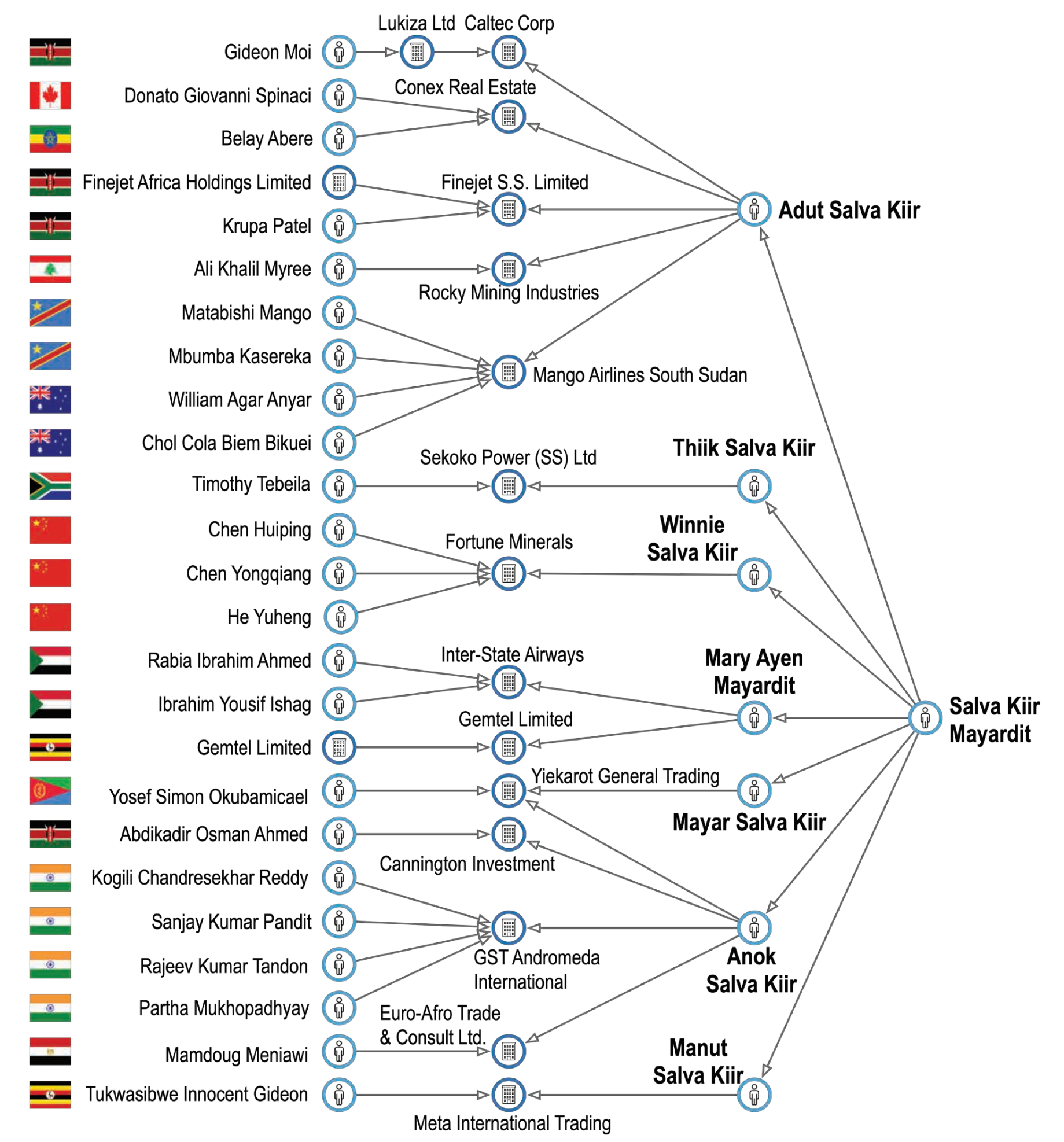
The report by a watchdog group linked the consortium, Dar Petroleum Operating Company, in which Chinese- and Malaysian state-owned oil companies have large stakes, to episodes of violence, corruption and environmental degradation. It also outlined ties between forces loyal to the government of President Salva Kiir and the company, a relationship apparently forged in an effort to protect the oil fields and keep revenues flowing.

South Sudan’s oil fields, the primary source of the government’s wealth, have long been one of the pathways to finance the civil war. But the detailed report by the watchdog group the Sentry, released at a news conference in London on Thursday, attempts to further shore up the evidence of the international players believed to be complicit in the civil war, which has lasted six years, almost as long

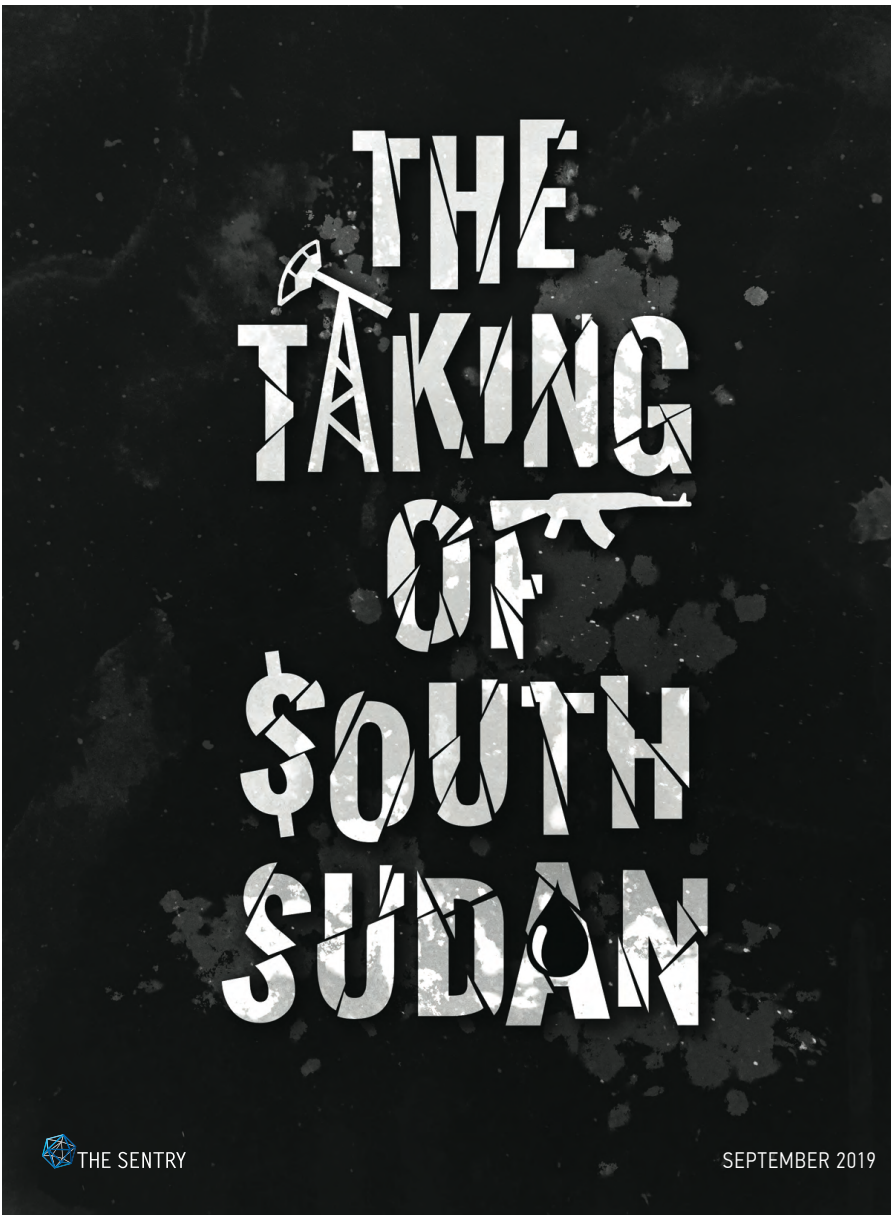


**Kiir's global corporate network**

Members of President Kiir's immediate family are shareholders and directors in companies alongside dozens of foreign nations from 13 different countries.\*



\*These relationships represent shareholder, directorship, or beneficial ownership of the given company according to corporate documents on file with The Sentry.





#WORLD NEWS MARCH 22, 2017 / 4:06 AM / 5 MONTHS AGO

# South Sudan says will boost security in oilfields after kidnappings

Denis Dumo

2 MIN READ



**PALOCH OILFIELD, South Sudan (Reuters)** - South Sudan promised to increase security at oil installations on Tuesday, days after rebels kidnapped four oil workers including a Pakistani national in an effort to force foreign companies to leave the country.



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**Paloich**  
South Sudan

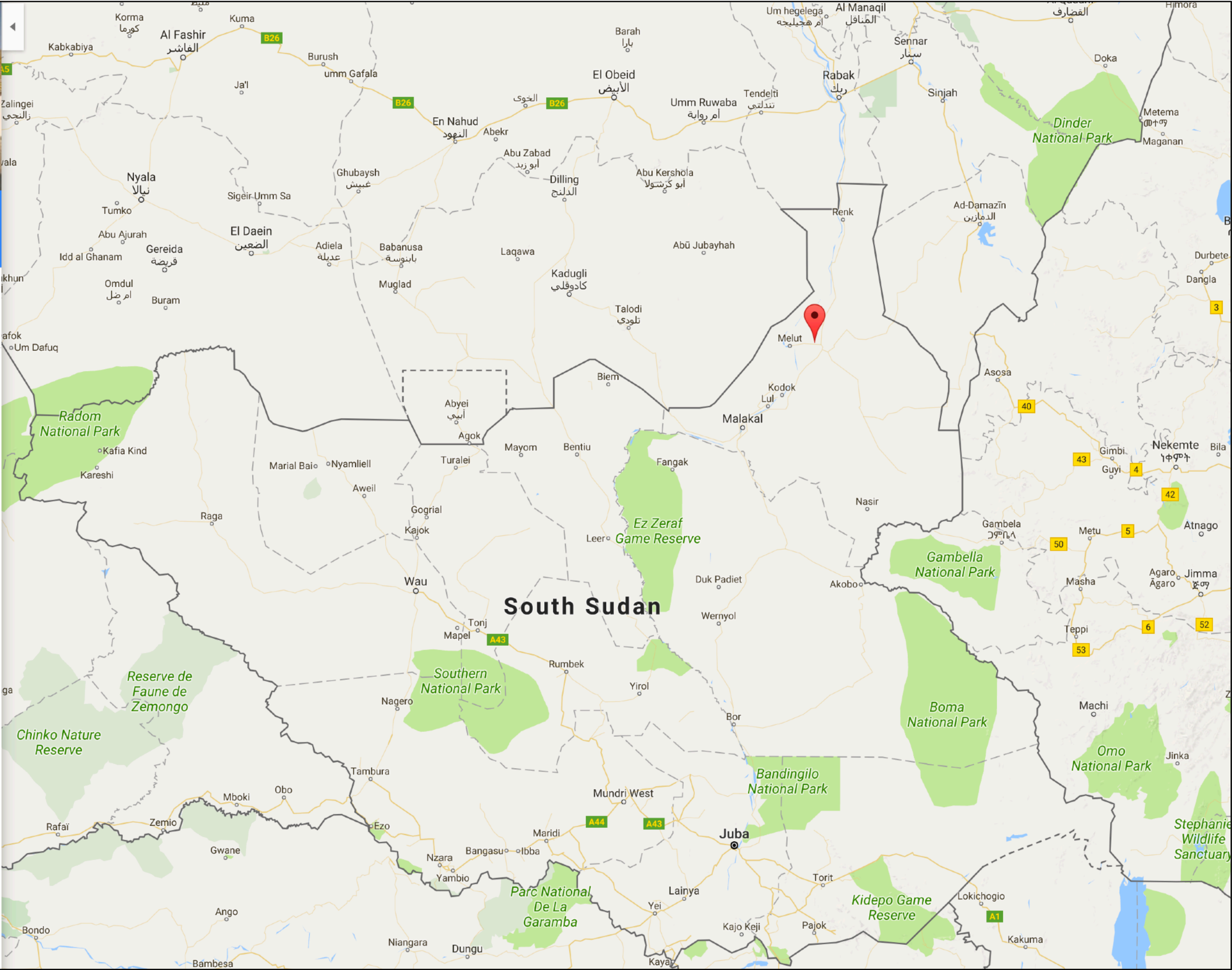
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Quick facts

Paloich refers to an area in South Sudan in Eastern Nile that includes oil-related Paloich Airport and adjacent Palogue oil field. [Wikipedia](#)





SOUTH SUDAN IN FOCUS

August 27, 2020 3:30 PM

David Mono Danga

# South Sudan Residents Protest Oil Facilities

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In this photo taken Sept. 27, 2018, a reservoir of polluted water next to an oil field is seen from the air in Palouch, South Sudan.

Residents around South Sudan’s Palouch and Melut oil fields in Upper Nile state demonstrated Wednesday for a third consecutive day against environmental

Related



■ WORLD / AFRICA

# Somewhat peaceful South Sudan expecting FDI of \$1bn this year

SA plans to invest \$1bn partly for oil exploration, and MTN will spend \$30m on its telecoms network in South Sudan, one official says

31 JULY 2019 - 16:59 by OKECH FRANCIS



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# China urges South Sudanese parties to expedite resolution of outstanding issues

By Xinhua News Agency



South Sudan’s former warring parties have been urged to hasten the resolution of outstanding issues within the signed 2018 peace agreement to realize peace and stability after more than six years of conflict.

Hua Ning, Chinese Ambassador to South Sudan said he was pleased with the positive gains achieved since the signing of the revitalized peace deal in Sudan, but also urged the parties to move fast to conclude the remaining issues.

“China hopes the various parties in South Sudan will continue to consolidate the fruits of peace, accelerate the resolution of the remaining issues, completely eliminate conflicts, and achieve national peace and stability,” Hua wrote in an opinion published in the local Dawn newspaper in Juba on Wednesday.

“We are pleased to see that breakthroughs have been made in the peace process in South Sudan this year, with the successful formation of a new transitional government, progress in the formation of local governments, and overall compliance with the ceasefire,” he added.

Hua disclosed that the peace process in South Sudan is promising but still facing many challenges.

President Salva Kiir and his first vice president Riek Machar are yet to establish the transitional parliament, debate and pass the amended constitution, as well as train and unify the army despite having formed the new transitional unity government in February.

Hua said China is committed to working with all stakeholders to advance the peace process, develop the economy, and promote people’s livelihood.

He said that the year 2021 will mark the 10th anniversary of the independence of South Sudan and the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and South Sudan.

“It is also the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. These are grand events for both China and South Sudan,” he said.

Hua revealed that China will provide 50 million U.S. dollars to the China-FAO South Sudan Cooperation Trust Fund, over a period of two years to help with COVID-19 response and the recovery of the economy.

“Despite the adverse effects of COVID-19, China continues to actively promote cooperation with South Sudan in the fields of education, health, energy, and infrastructure, striving to improve people’s livelihood and promote economic recovery,” he added.

In late August, the Chinese medical expert team arrived in the youngest nation to share their experience and practices with South Sudan in combating the COVID-19 pandemic.

Beijing has already donated 3,000 tons of rice to South Sudan for flood relief and the unification of the army.





YouTube<sup>AU</sup>



## Making Resources Work for People - Part 1

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## 5. South Sudan—Oil and conflict





## 6. International efforts against the resource curse



Image source: NPR (<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/07/27/487625112/report-u-n-peacekeepers-did-nothing-as-south-sudanese-soldiers-raped-women>)



# Less savoury...



International companies and governments **fund repressive states and armed groups** to extract resources.

Sometimes with side payments...

## Elf's legacy in Congo

The trial of 37 former senior executives of the now-defunct Elf, for 'misuse of company assets' to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars, ended in Paris in mid-November 2003 with the conviction of 30 of the accused.<sup>9</sup> The 600-page indictment listed allegations of corrupt behaviour by top Elf officials including siphoning-off commissions into secret bank accounts, buying multi-million dollar properties and expensive jewellery and embezzling money for divorce and alimony fees.<sup>10</sup> The penalties handed down included fifteen prison sentences, seven suspended sentences and heavy fines. Loïk Le Floch-Prigent, former chief executive of Elf, was given a five-year sentence and a US\$471,000 (€375,000) fine; Alfred Sirven, his right-hand man, was also sentenced to five years and fined

1000. Alfred Sirven held the then all-time title of *Directeur des Affaires Générales* (Director of General Affairs), and André Tarallo, known as 'Mr Africa', was a former president of Elf's subsidiary, Elf Congo. André Tarallo admits to acting as Elf's 'secret financier' until 1989, a role he testifies was then taken over by Sirven.<sup>15</sup> His role was to liaise with 'existing heads of state' whilst Sirven developed contacts with opposition leaders.<sup>16</sup> The secret payments and oil-backed loans began in the early 1970s but the company's



Convicted: Elf's Tarallo, Sirven and Le Floch-Prigent. Credit: AFP/Getty Images







# GNI per capita, PPP (constant 2017 international \$) - Equatorial Guinea

International Comparison Program, World Bank | World Development Indicators database, World Bank | Eurostat-OECD PPP Programme.

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# African dictator's Malibu-based son forced to hand back \$30m in assets to people of Equatorial Guinea (but he's allowed to keep his prized Michael Jackson's crystal glove)

- Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mangue will surrender more than \$30m in assets
- These include mansion in Malibu, Ferrari and Michael Jackson memorabilia
- But he will able to keep singer's famous crystal-encrusted 'Bad Tour' glove
- This is because item remains outside the U.S., alongside his 'Thriller' jacket
- Instead, 42-year-old must pay further \$1million to cover value, say officials
- Most of 750,000 people in Equatorial Guinea are currently living in poverty

By SOPHIE JANE EVANS FOR MAILONLINE   
PUBLISHED: 14:26 +11:00, 14 October 2014 | UPDATED: 20:38 +11:00, 14 October 2014

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The Malibu-based playboy son of an African dictator is being forced to surrender more than \$30million worth of his assets after allegedly stealing money from his own country.

Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mangue, the son of the Equatorial Guinea president, must sell his mansion in California, his Ferrari and most of his Michael Jackson memorabilia under the settlement.

However, he will be able to keep the singer's famous crystal-encrusted 'Bad Tour' glove, a jacket used during the 'Thriller' tour and a \$38.5million Gulfstream jet, as they remain outside the U.S.





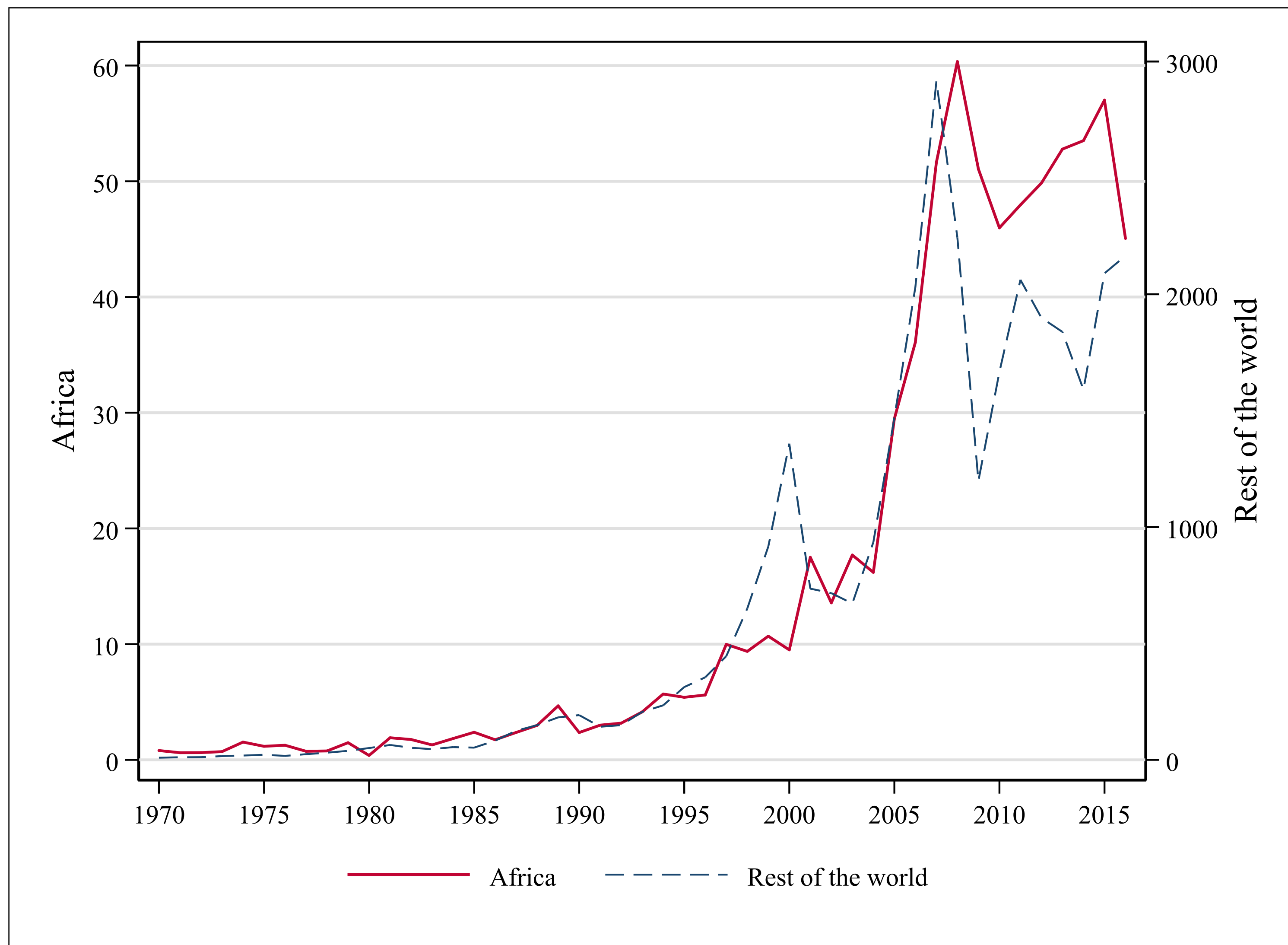
# FDI projects, 2003-2017



Data source: FT Markets

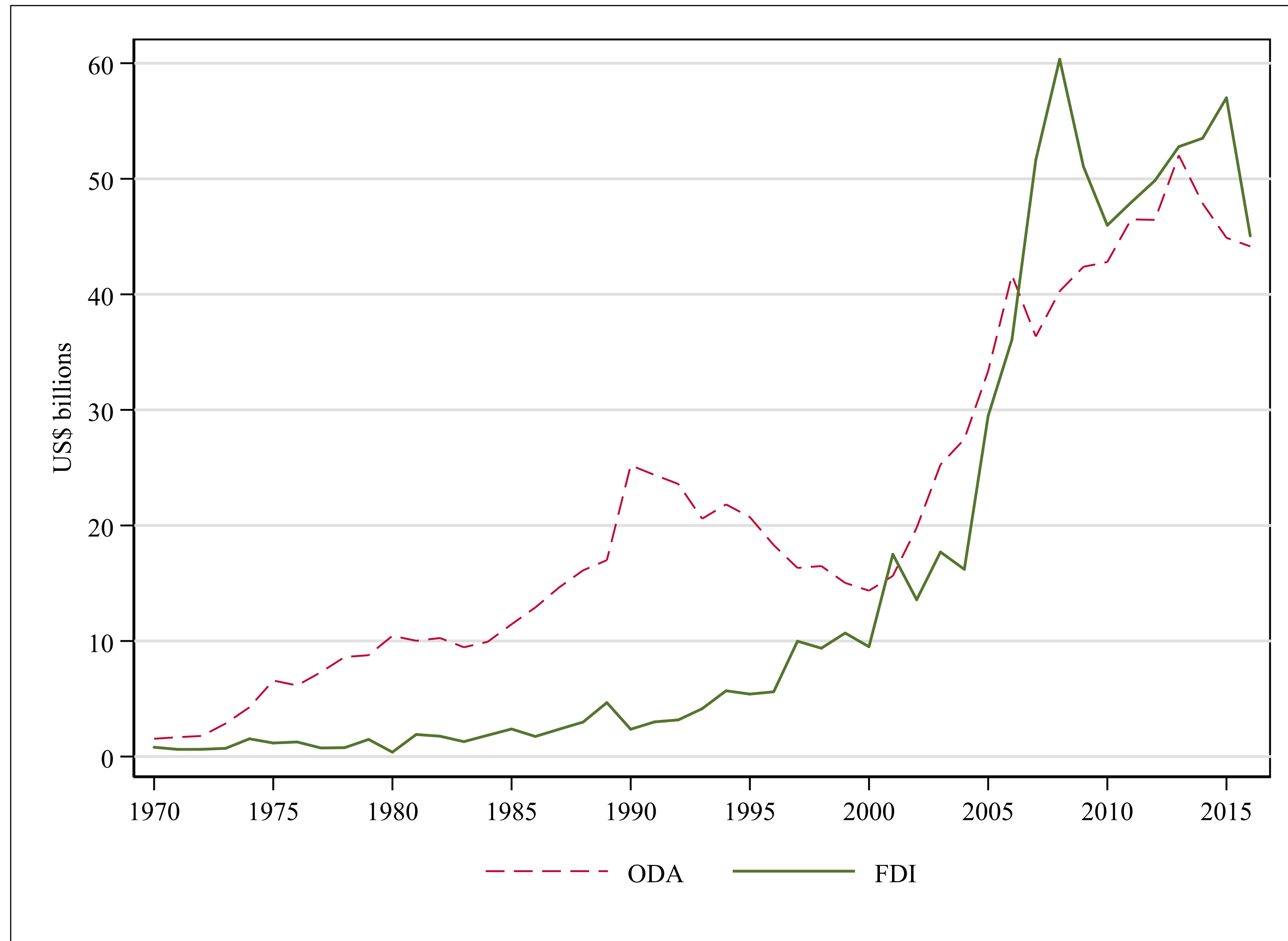


# FDI to Africa





# More FDI to Africa than aid

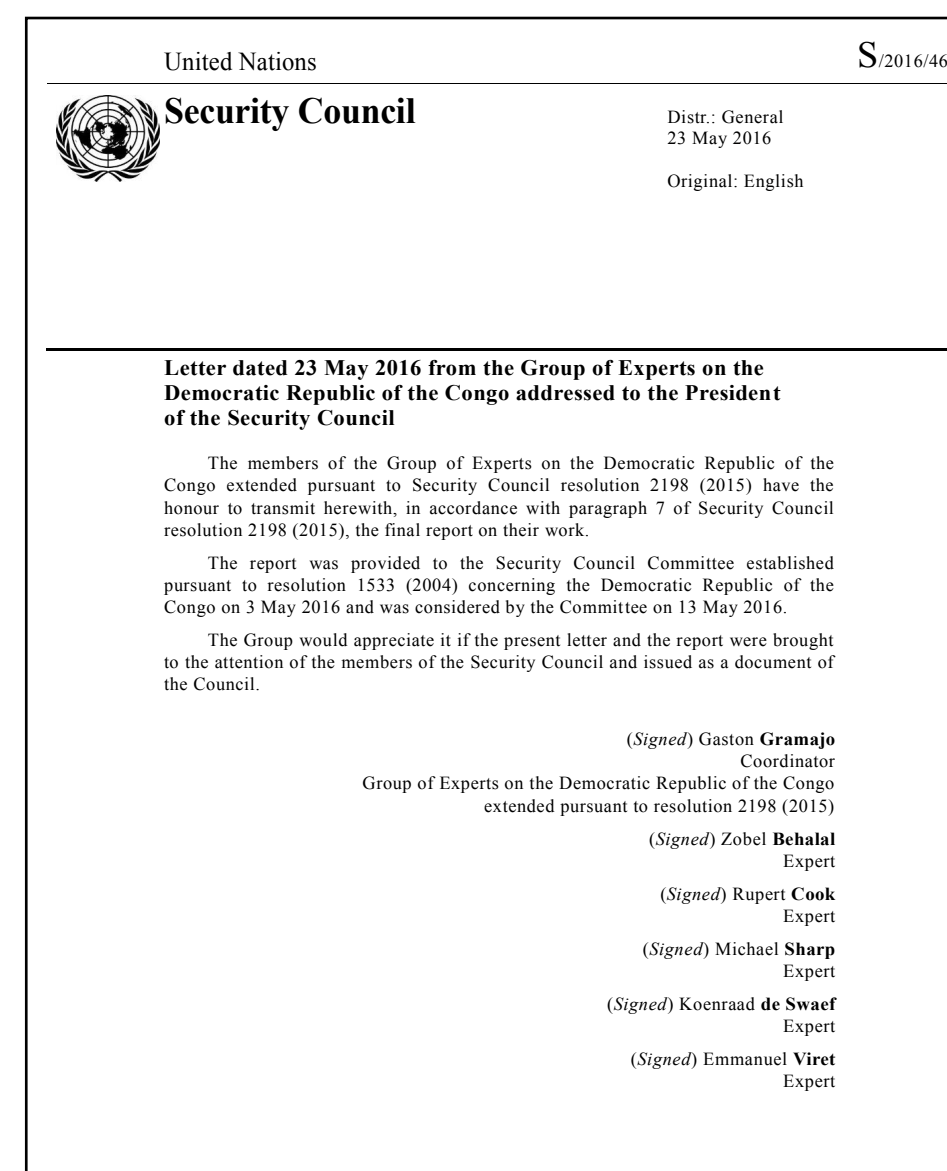
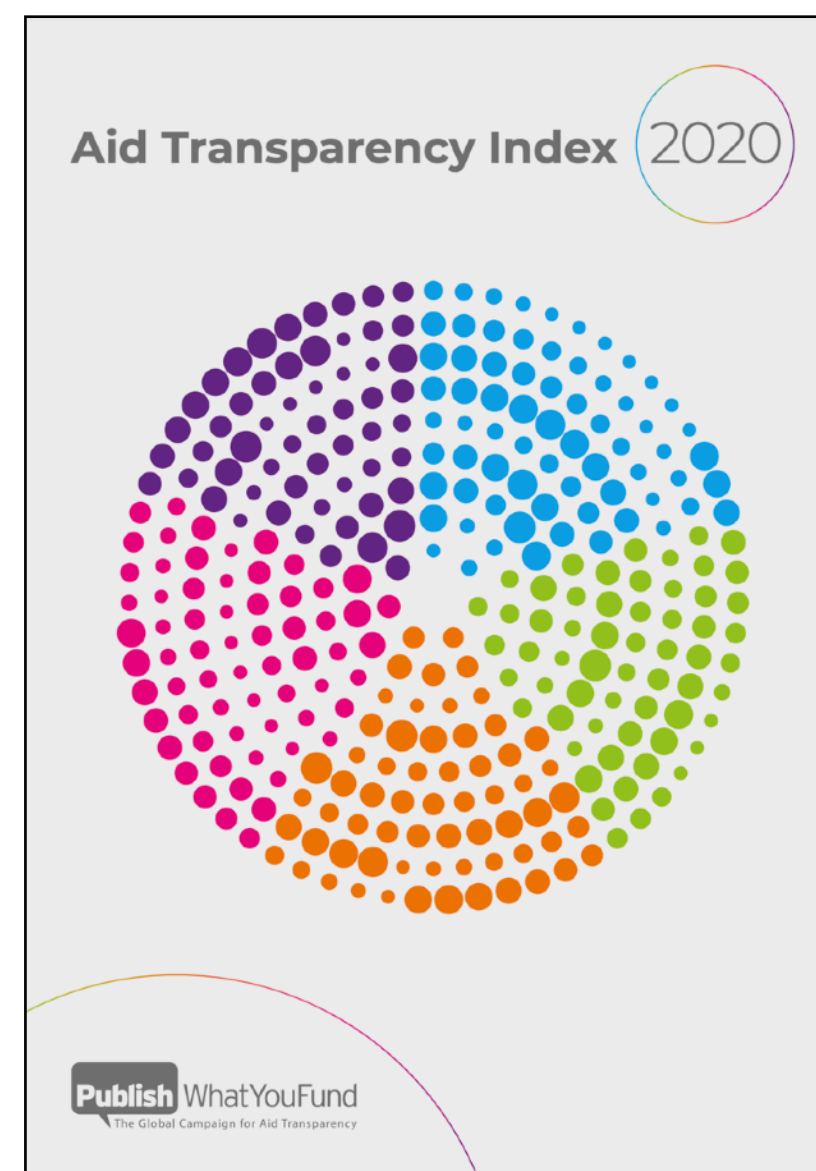




# More savoury

The United Nations Security Council, World Bank, and other IO's have tried to increase **transparency**.

So have non-governmental organisations like Publish What You Fund





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Sep 28

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New guidelines to promote transparency on commodity trades

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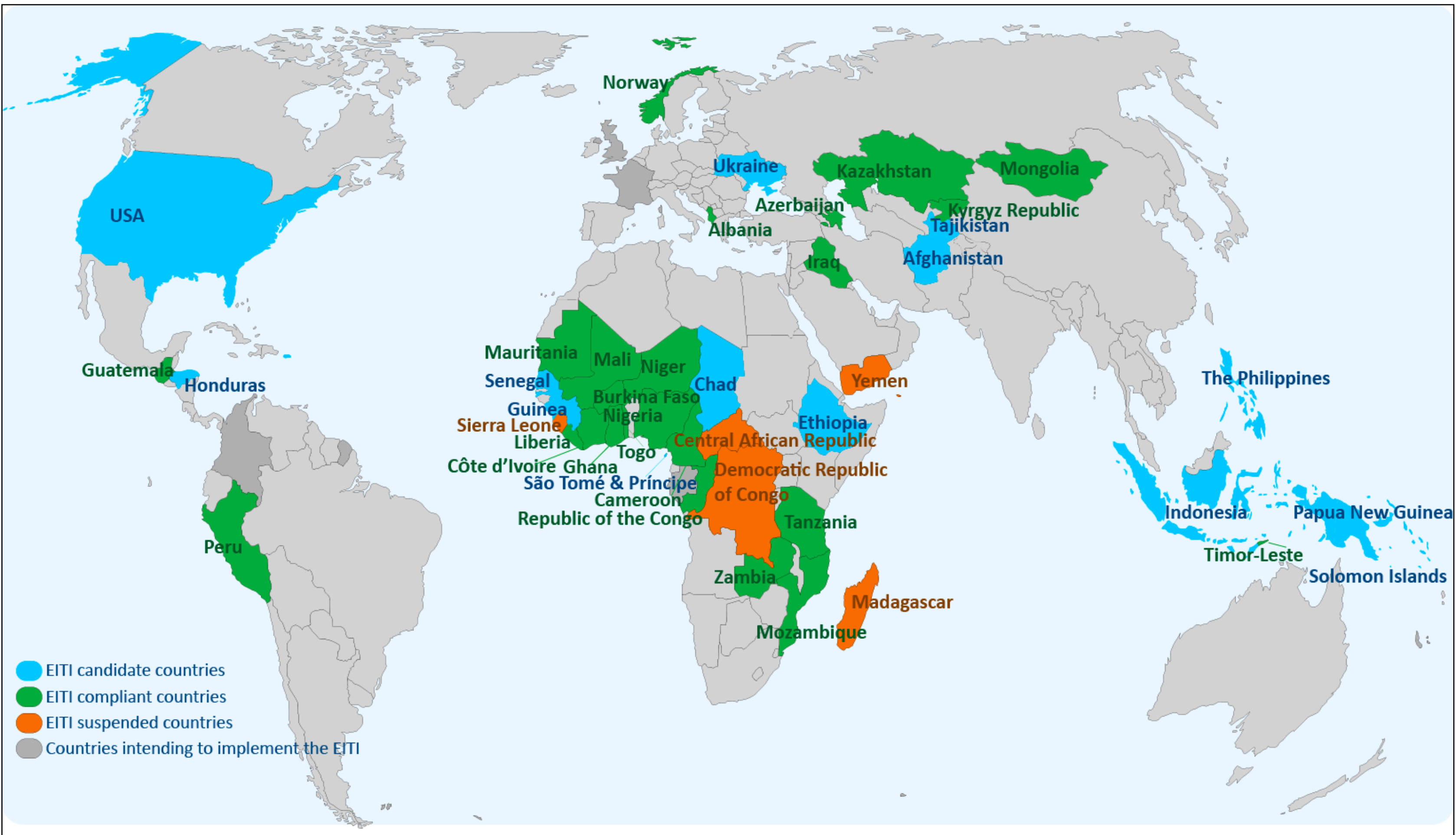
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# Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)





# Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)

Formation: 2003

Global standard to promote open and accountable  
management of natural resources

56 implementing countries with 31 compliant with 2011  
rules



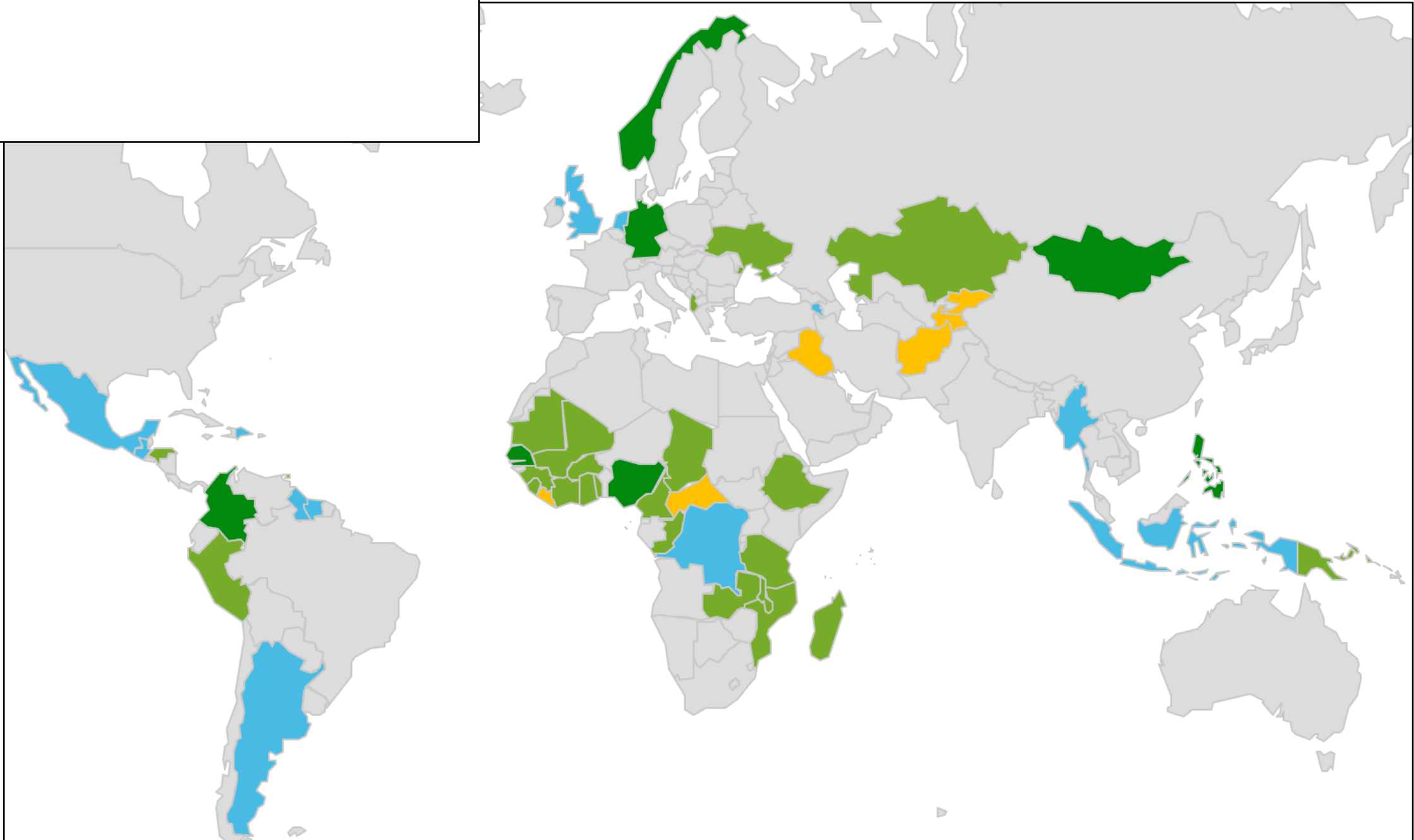
# EITI compliant & candidate countries

## Implementation status










Overview on how countries are progressing towards meeting the 2016 EITI Standard.

[Country statuses explained](#)

- Yet to be assessed against the 2016 Standard
- Satisfactory progress
- Meaningful progress
- Inadequate progress / suspended
- ⚡ Suspended due to political instability
- 🕒 Suspended for missing deadline





 Afghanistan	 Ghana	 Mongolia	 Sierra Leone
 Albania	 Guatemala	 Mozambique	 Solomon Islands
 Armenia	 Guinea	 Myanmar	 Suriname
 Burkina Faso	 Honduras	 Niger	 Tajikistan
 Cameroon	 Indonesia	 Nigeria	 Tanzania
 Central African Republic	 Iraq	 Norway	 Timor-Leste
 Chad	 Kazakhstan	 Papua New Guinea	 Togo
 Colombia	 Kyrgyz Republic	 Peru	 Trinidad and Tobago
 Côte d'Ivoire	 Liberia	 Philippines	 Ukraine
 Democratic Republic of Congo	 Madagascar	 Republic of the Congo	 United Kingdom
 Dominican Republic	 Malawi	 Sao Tome and Principe	 United States of America
 Ethiopia	 Mali	 Senegal	 Yemen
 Germany	 Mauritania	 Seychelles	 Zambia



Why is transparency of resource rents seen as being so important?



# The Cullinan diamond

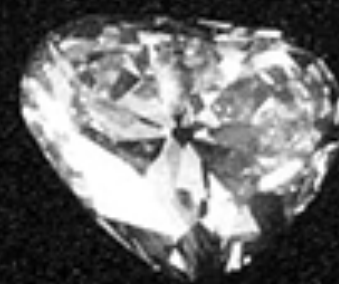
Largest gem-quality diamond in the world  
(3,106.75 carats).

Discovered 1905 in South Africa.

Value: **USD\$2 billion**









# Sceptre with the Cross

530 carats









# Cullinan mine

*South Africa*

Currently 747m deep

Can go to 1,000m







Premier Diamond Tours

4.8 ★★★★★ 6 reviews

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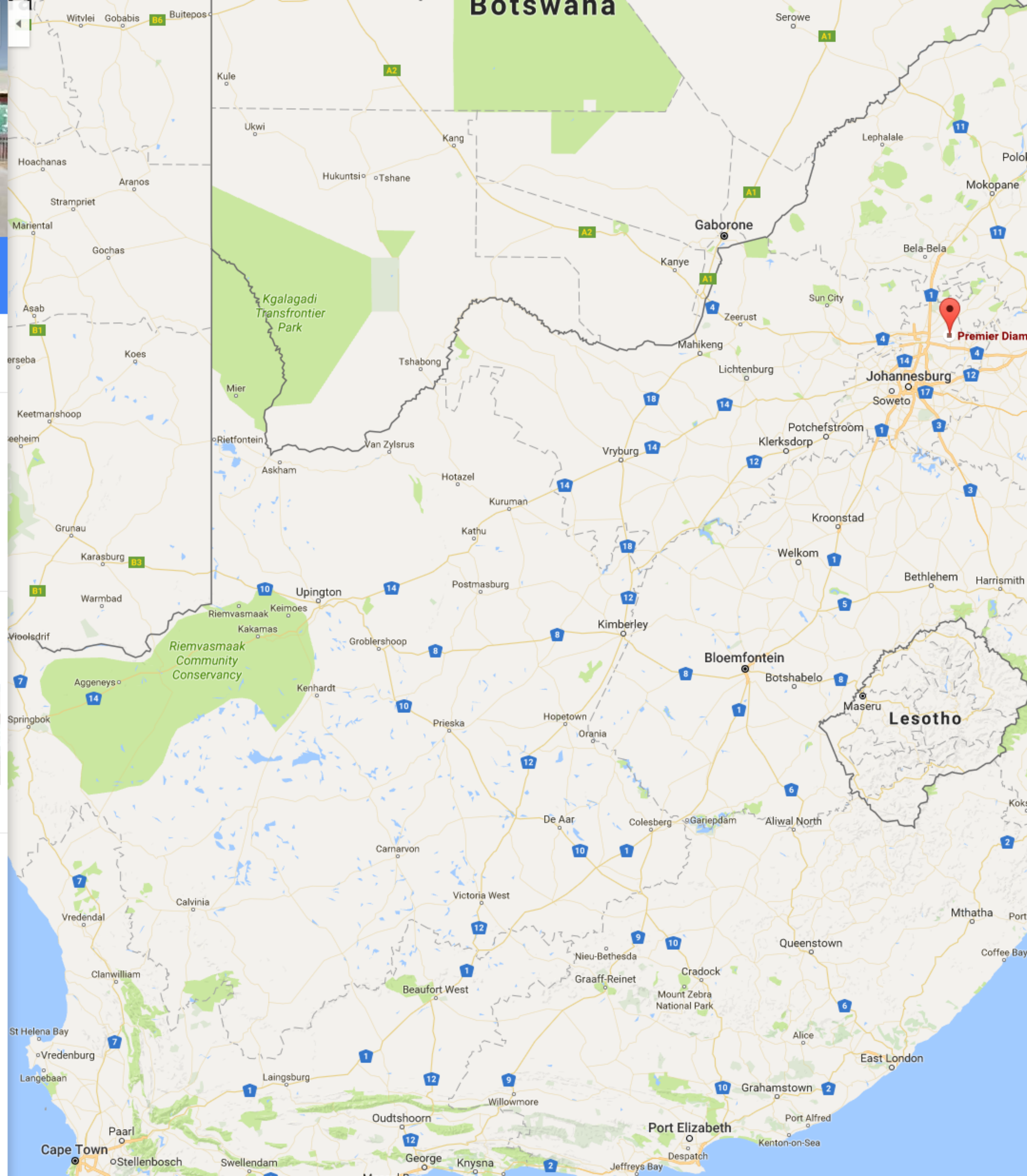
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# Alluvial diamond mine Koidu, Sierra Leone





Koidu Holdings

Koidu Holdings

4.0 ★★★★★ 7 reviews

Mine

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3★

2★

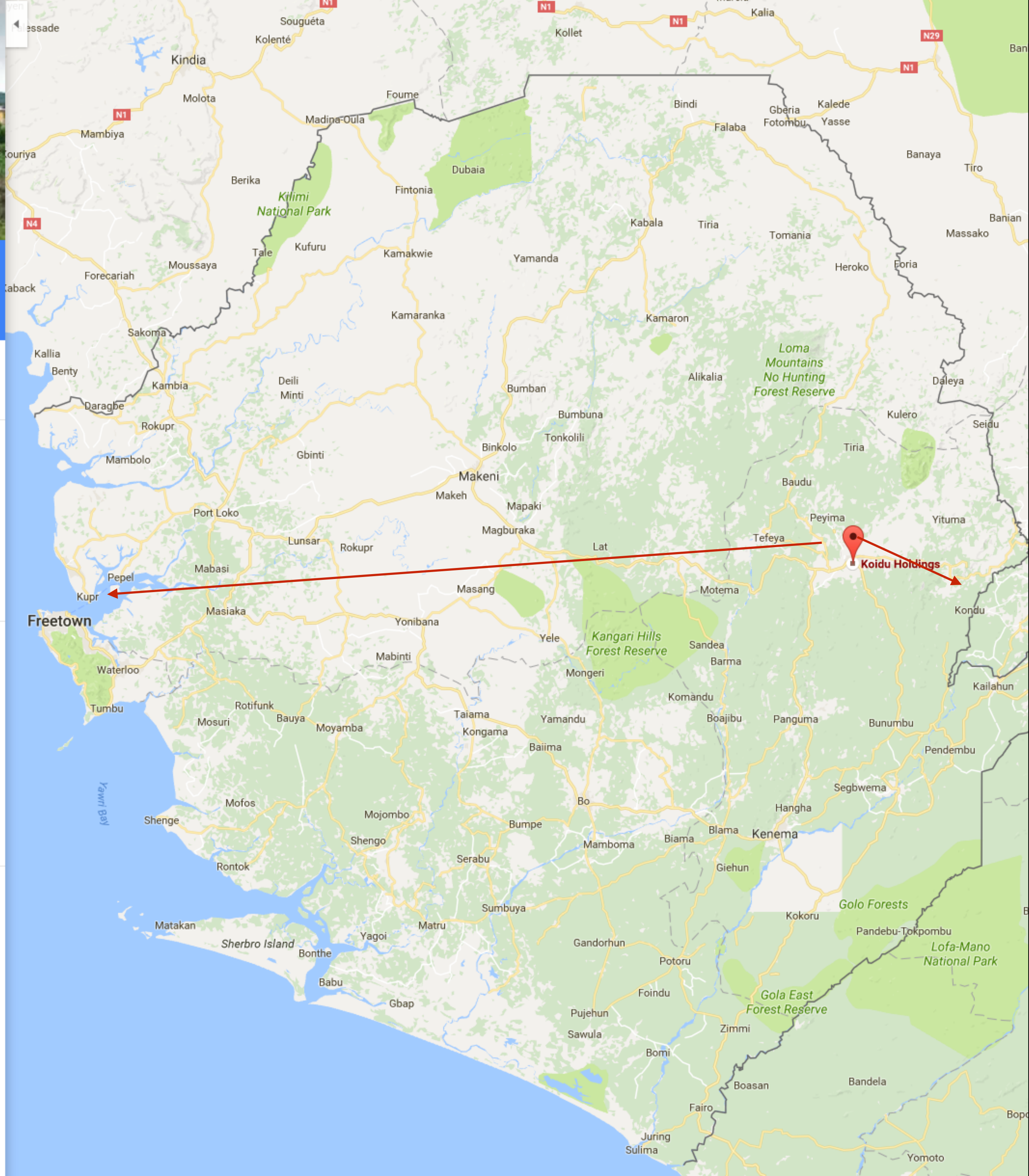
1★

4.0

★★★★★

7 reviews

WRITE A REVIEW





# Kimberley Process

Launched in **2003**

**Narrow definition** of what constitutes a conflict diamond

“rough diamonds used by rebel movements to finance wars against legitimate governments’.” Applies only to rough diamonds

The Kimberley Process **Certification Scheme** (KPCS) outlines the rules that govern the trade in rough diamonds.

As of November 2013, there are **54 participants** representing **81 countries**, with the European Community counting as a single participant.

The participants include **all major rough diamond producing, exporting and importing countries** (99.8%).

**Global Witness** suspended their involvement in 2011.



# Conclusions

**Motivating question:** How do natural resources affect a country's political and economic stability?

**Multiple mechanisms** by which natural resources can affect political institutions and political stability.

**Oil** has had the greatest effect.

A mix of small and large-scale **international efforts** have been undertaken to increase transparency.

Unclear what effects **transparency** will have.



## 6. International efforts against the resource curse



Image source: NPR (<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/07/27/487625112/report-u-n-peacekeepers-did-nothing-as-south-sudanese-soldiers-raped-women>)