





THIS YEAR,
GET HER
THE GIFT THAT SAYS
YOUR LOVE IS
FOREVER


A DIAMOND IS FOREVER

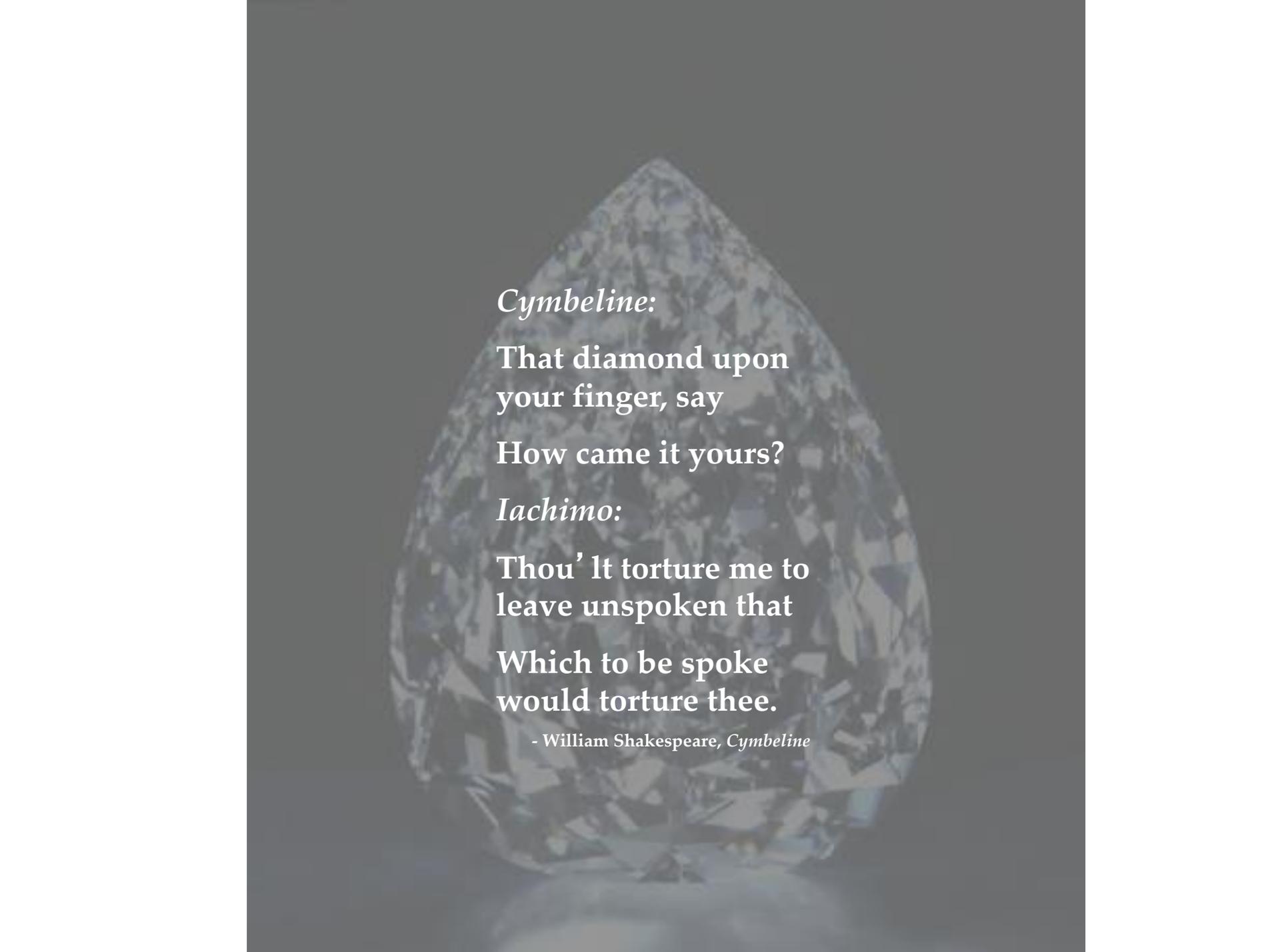


YOUR LEFT HAND SAYS "WE." YOUR
RIGHT HAND SAYS "ME." YOUR
LEFT HAND LOVES CANDLELIGHT.
YOUR RIGHT HAND LOVES THE
SPOTLIGHT. YOUR LEFT HAND
ROCKS THE CRADLE. YOUR
RIGHT HAND RULES THE WORLD.
WOMEN OF THE WORLD, RAISE
YOUR RIGHT HAND.


A DIAMOND IS FOREVER



THE NEW DIAMOND RIGHT HAND RING. CONTEMPORARY, FLORAL, MODERN VINTAGE AND ROMANTIC STYLES AT ADIAMONDISFOREVER.COM

A large, faceted diamond ring is centered in the background, set against a dark, gradient background. The diamond is a pear-cut shape with many facets, and the ring is partially visible at the bottom. The text is overlaid on the diamond.

Cymbeline:

That diamond upon
your finger, say

How came it yours?

Iachimo:

Thou'lt torture me to
leave unspoken that

Which to be spoke
would torture thee.

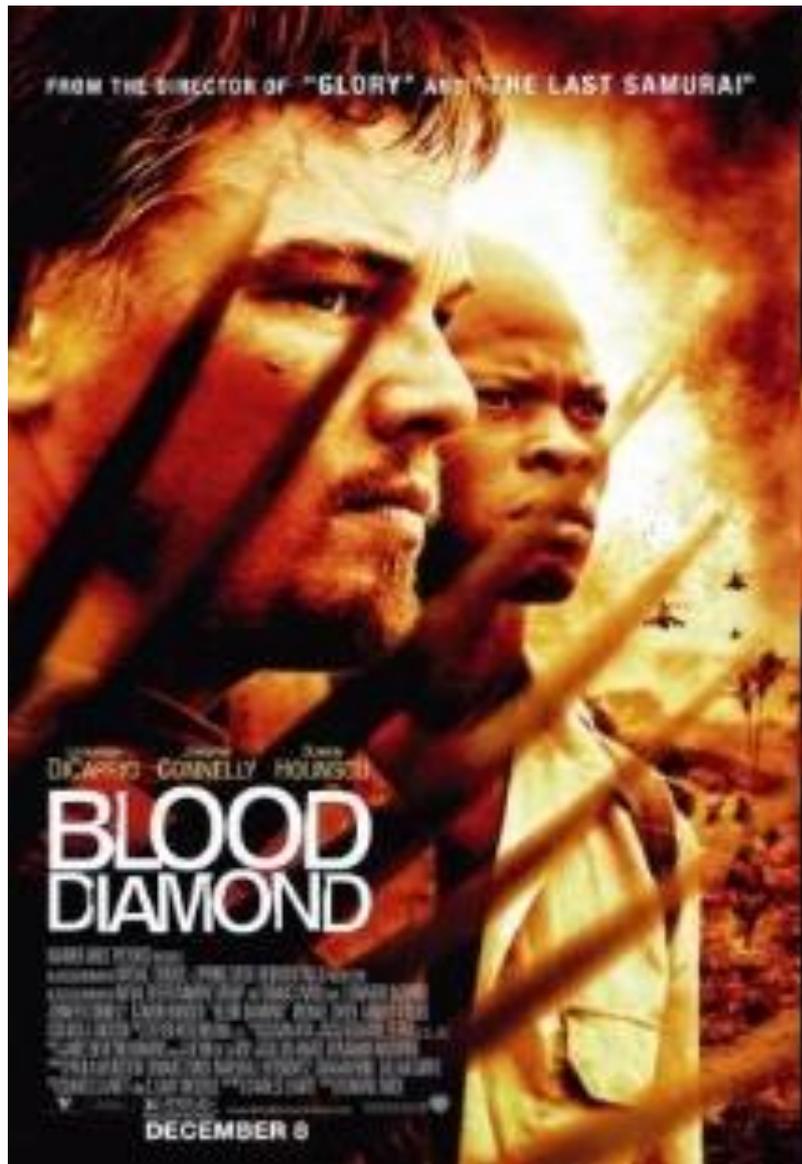
- William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*



"Little was known / of Sierra Leone / and how it connects to the diamonds we own / ... Over here, it's a drug trade / we die from drugs. / Over there, they die from what we buy from drugs. / The diamonds, the chains, the bracelets, the charms / I thought my Jesus piece was so harmless / 'til I seen a picture of a shortie armless."

*- Kanye West
'Diamonds from Sierra Leone'*





‘Blood diamonds’ are guerrilla’s best friend

- 21 September 2000 (The Scotsman)

ACROSS great swathes of Africa, diamonds fuel wars. Many a diamond ring slipped on to fingers of eager brides-to-be has first been first washed in African blood... where the sparkling stones have inspired murder, slave labour and wholesale economic collapse of legitimate states.

Curse of the Black Gold: 50 Years of Oil in the Niger Delta

by the photojournalist Ed Kashi



'PASSION, PERSEVERANCE, COURAGE' - Little White Lies

'THIS IS A VALUABLE FILM THAT NEEDS TO BE SEEN'  - The Skinny

BLOOD IN THE MOBILE

IS THERE BLOOD IN YOUR POCKET?



CO-PRODUCED BY CHILI FILM AND GEBRÜDER BEETZ FILMPRODUKTION IN ASSOCIATION WITH YOLE AFRICA DIRECTED BY FRANK PIASECKI POULSEN
PRODUCED BY CHRISTINA PIHL, PIA WIELSKOV, KATHRIN ISBERNER, KATHRIN KATONDOLO, SEKOMBI KATONDOLO, KATYA KATONDOLO, JENS ARENTZEN, PHILIP SWAINSON, MIKKEL SKOV PETERSEN, JESSE TYGE TRIER, MARK CRAEMER, RASMUS COLD, PHILIP LIPSKI, MARIA GILMANN, ANDERS HANSEN
EDITED BY KRISTIAN EIKNES ANDERSEN, JESPER DYBDAL, MORTEN HØJBJERG, MIKKEL AUDE, CASPER KLÆR, THOMAS SCHOUGAARD, CHRISTIAN BEETZ, OLE TORNBJERG, JENS ULRIK PEDERSEN
COPRODUCED BY DANISH FILM INSTITUTE
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS MICHAEL HASLUND CHRISTENSEN, WETTE HOFFMANN MEYER
CASTING BY MIKAEL K. EBBESEN
PRODUCTION DESIGNER MARK MANSFELD
COSTUME DESIGNER KAMILLA BRUUS
PRODUCTION OFFICE YOLE AFRICA
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS ADAM WALLENSTEN, LARS SKRÉE, FRANK PIASECKI POULSEN
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS MIKAEL K. EBBESEN
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS MARK MANSFELD, KAMILLA BRUUS
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS CHRISTINA PIHL, PIA WIELSKOV, KATHRIN ISBERNER, KATHRIN KATONDOLO, SEKOMBI KATONDOLO, KATYA KATONDOLO, JENS ARENTZEN, PHILIP SWAINSON, MIKKEL SKOV PETERSEN, JESSE TYGE TRIER, MARK CRAEMER, RASMUS COLD, PHILIP LIPSKI, MARIA GILMANN, ANDERS HANSEN
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS KRISTIAN EIKNES ANDERSEN, JESPER DYBDAL, MORTEN HØJBJERG, MIKKEL AUDE, CASPER KLÆR, THOMAS SCHOUGAARD, CHRISTIAN BEETZ, OLE TORNBJERG, JENS ULRIK PEDERSEN
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS DANISH FILM INSTITUTE
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS MICHAEL HASLUND CHRISTENSEN, WETTE HOFFMANN MEYER
CASTING BY MIKAEL K. EBBESEN
PRODUCTION DESIGNER MARK MANSFELD
COSTUME DESIGNER KAMILLA BRUUS
PRODUCTION OFFICE YOLE AFRICA
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS ADAM WALLENSTEN, LARS SKRÉE, FRANK PIASECKI POULSEN
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS MIKAEL K. EBBESEN
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS MARK MANSFELD, KAMILLA BRUUS
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS CHRISTINA PIHL, PIA WIELSKOV, KATHRIN ISBERNER, KATHRIN KATONDOLO, SEKOMBI KATONDOLO, KATYA KATONDOLO, JENS ARENTZEN, PHILIP SWAINSON, MIKKEL SKOV PETERSEN, JESSE TYGE TRIER, MARK CRAEMER, RASMUS COLD, PHILIP LIPSKI, MARIA GILMANN, ANDERS HANSEN
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS KRISTIAN EIKNES ANDERSEN, JESPER DYBDAL, MORTEN HØJBJERG, MIKKEL AUDE, CASPER KLÆR, THOMAS SCHOUGAARD, CHRISTIAN BEETZ, OLE TORNBJERG, JENS ULRIK PEDERSEN
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS DANISH FILM INSTITUTE
EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS MICHAEL HASLUND CHRISTENSEN, WETTE HOFFMANN MEYER

bloodinthemobile.com



The Genocide Behind Your Smart Phone

Our biggest gadget makers—including HP and Apple—may inadvertently get their raw ingredients from murderous Congolese militias. A new movement wants them to trace rare metals from ‘conflict mines.’

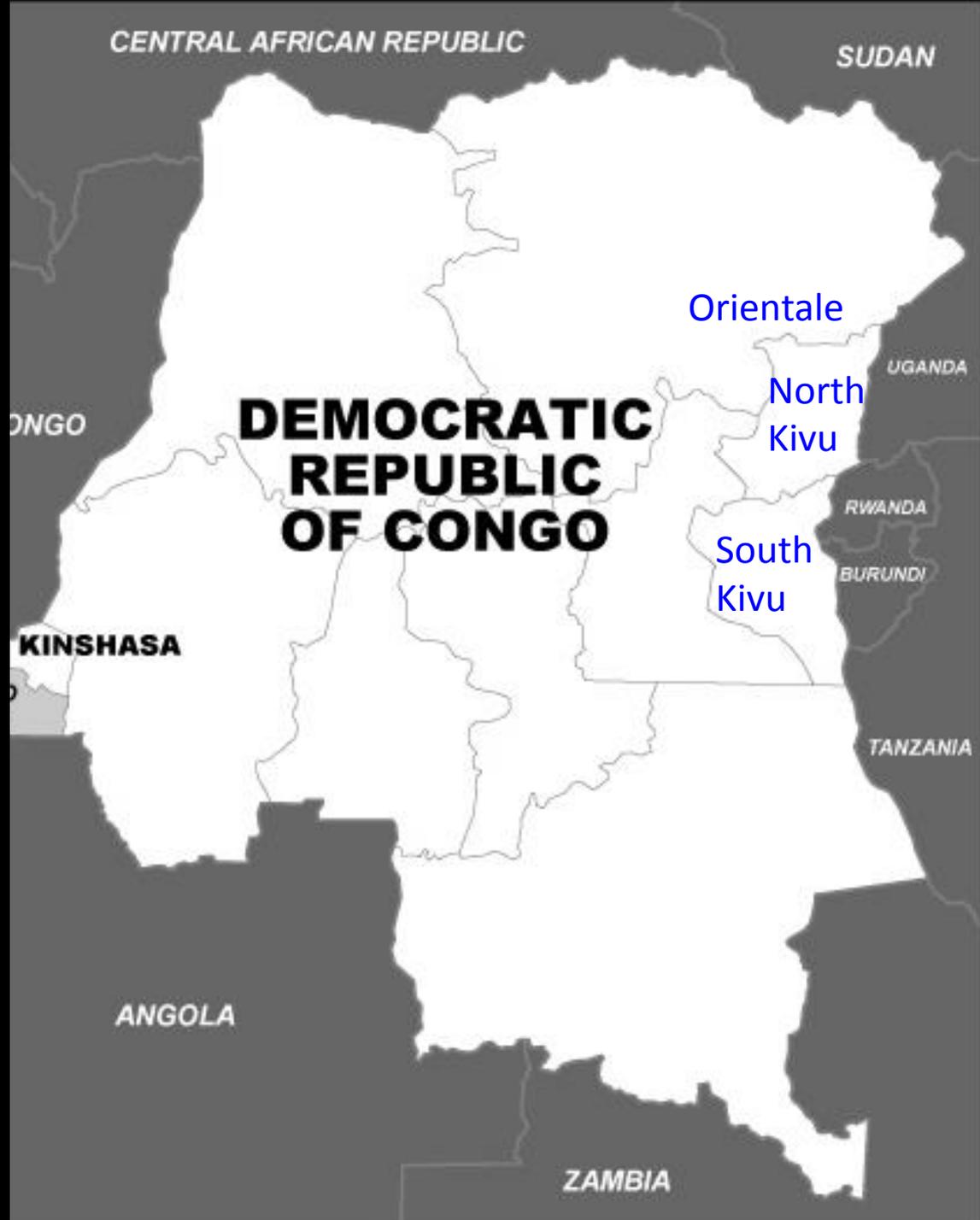
By Alan Mascarenhas July 16, 2010



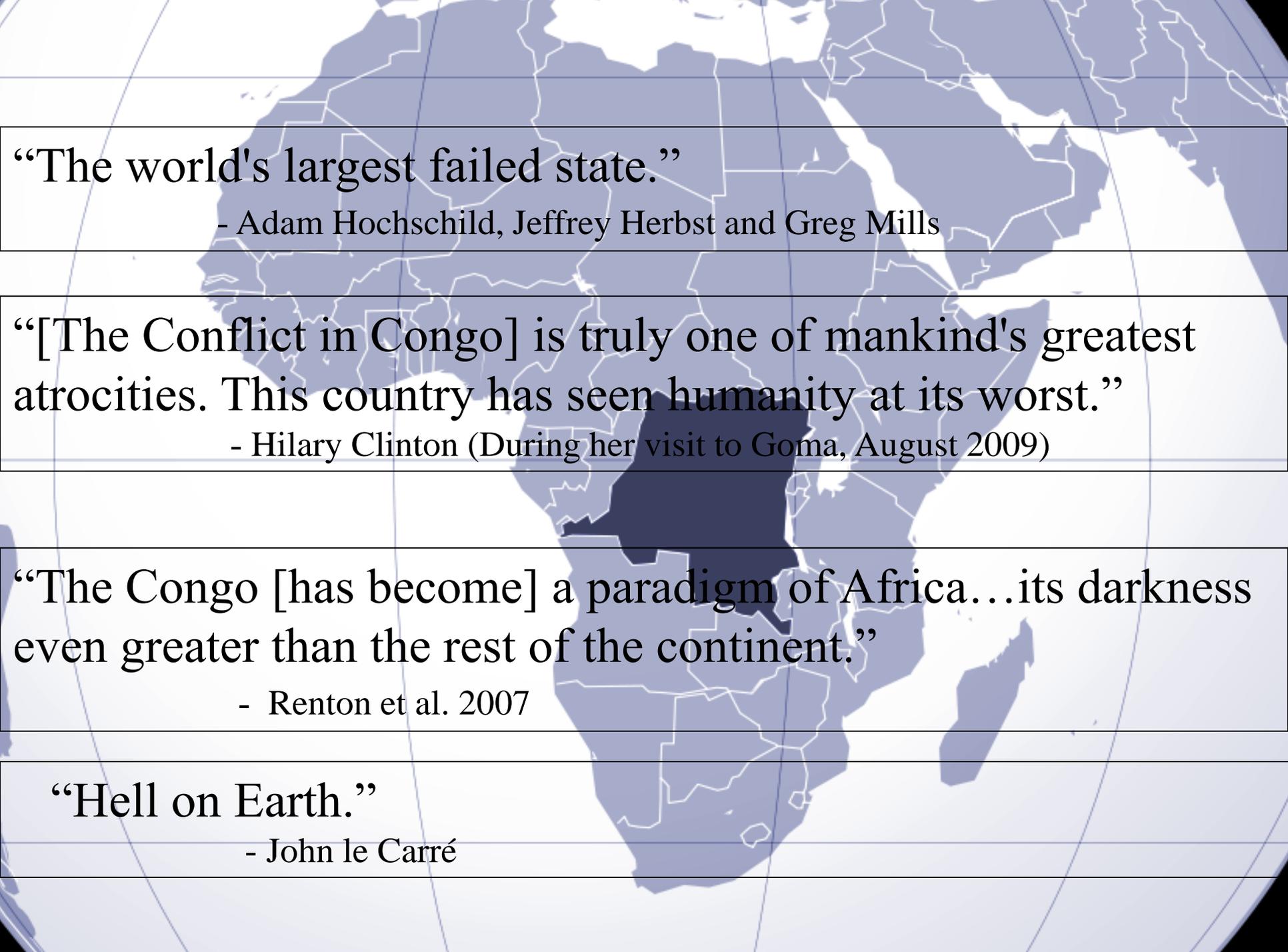
Congo's Curse: Unearthing the link between Natural Resources and Violent Conflict

Dr. Ann Laudati

Lecturer in Human-
Environmental Geography
School of Geographical
Sciences



lack of vegetation
political instability
nyagongo eruption king leopold
assassination of mobutu biggest country in Africa
pygmee group weak governance
uneven distribution of wealth wildlife
sparsely populated resource curse fairtrade production
minerals failed economy civil war
dictator failed state water plenty jungle diamonds
green inequality zaire corrugated iron roofs gorillas
low GDP dust drought TNCs equatorial debt coltan vast AIDS
disease humid mass conflict natural resource exploitation
crime guns environmental destruction heat LDC tribes
King Leopold wild dark
hot rural subsistence farming poor ebola
genocide Belgian Congo MNCs tribal war africa
colorful people kinshasa famine
red earth high infant mortality rate
oil gangs war low HDI water stressed
landlocked lack of democracy high population growth rate
child soldiers rainforest lack of investment
palace in the jungle with an airstrip central Africa
poverty conflict



“The world's largest failed state.”

- Adam Hochschild, Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills

“[The Conflict in Congo] is truly one of mankind's greatest atrocities. This country has seen humanity at its worst.”

- Hilary Clinton (During her visit to Goma, August 2009)

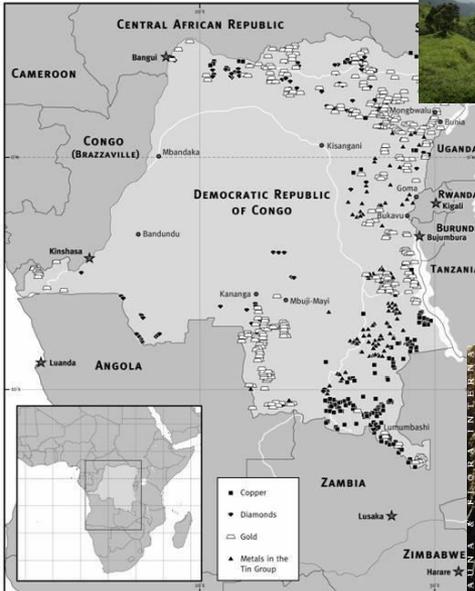
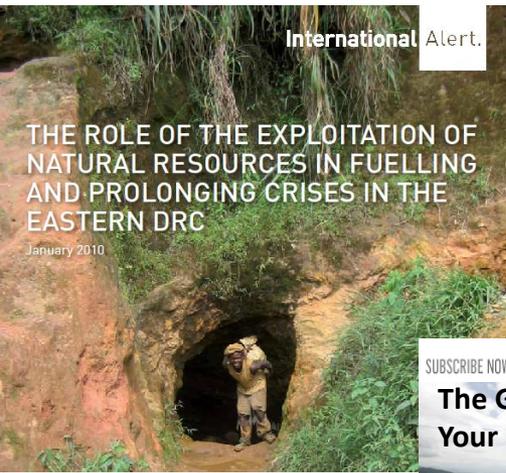
“The Congo [has become] a paradigm of Africa...its darkness even greater than the rest of the continent.”

- Renton et al. 2007

“Hell on Earth.”

- John le Carré

The (Re) Sources of Conflict



•‘engines of chaos’

- Katunga, 2006-2007:16

•‘a driving force behind the [second Congo] war’

- UN Mapping Report, 2010: 352

Major Mineral Deposits in the Democratic Republic of Congo

GLOBAL FREQUENCY OF CONFLICT ITEMS IN 2014 BY INTENSITY GROUPS

Conflict Item

(1) System/ideology (159)

(2) National power (96)

(3) Resources (96)

+ Territory (50) ?

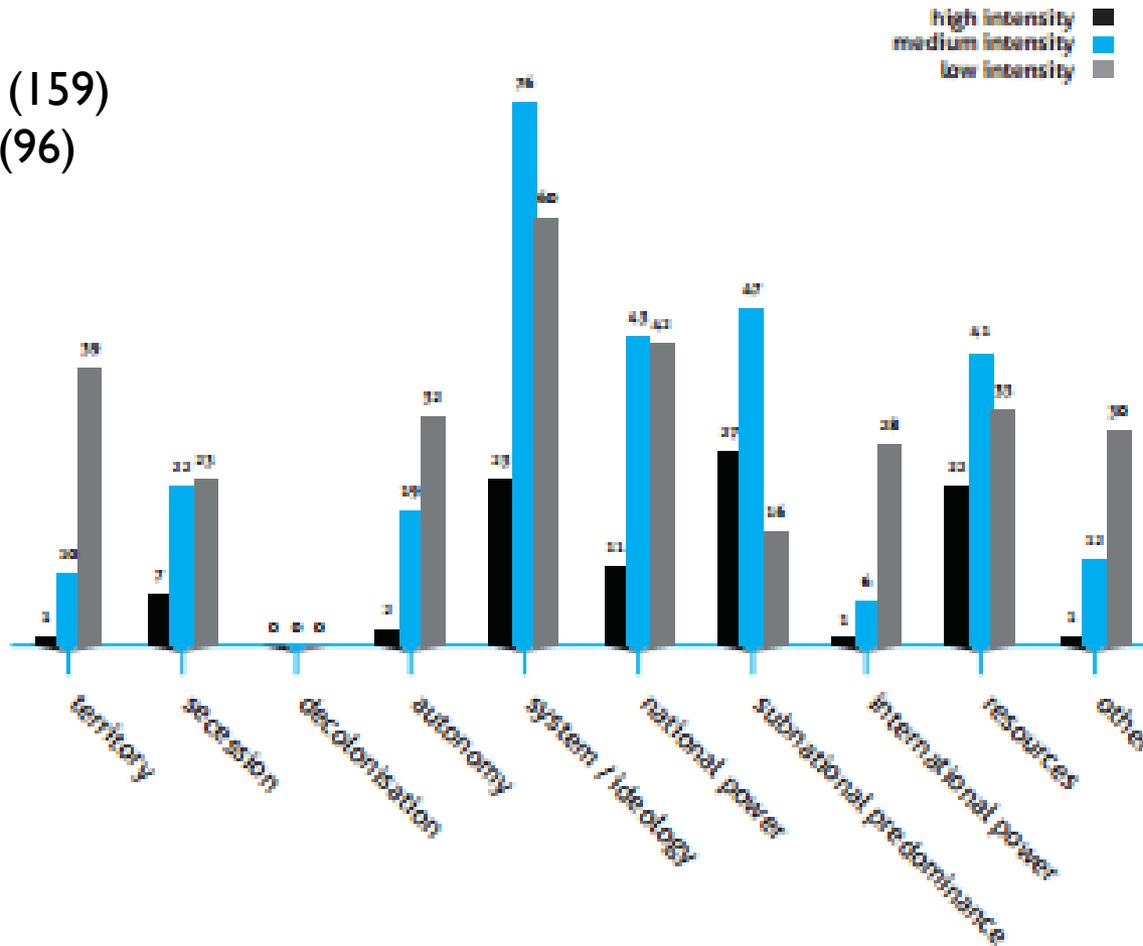


Table 1. Estimated Revenues from Selected Conflict Resources

Combatant	Country	Resource	Period	Estimated Revenue
UNITA	Angola	Diamonds	1992-2001	\$4-4.2 billion total
RUF	Sierra Leone	Diamonds	1991-2002	\$25 -\$125 million/year
Taylor	Liberia	Timber	Late 1990's	\$100 - \$187 million/year
Sudan Gov't	Sudan	Oil	Since 1999	\$400 million/year
Rwanda Gov't	DRC	Coltan	1999-2000	\$250 million total
Taliban	Afghanistan	Opium, heroin	Mid 1990's - 2001	\$30-\$40 million/year
Khmer Rouge	Cambodia	Timber	Mid 1990s	\$120 - \$240 million/year
Burma Gov't	Burma	Timber	1990s	\$112 million/year
FARC	Columbia	Cocaine	Late 1990's	\$140 million/year
Angolan gov't	Angola	Diamonds, oil	1992-1993	\$7 million and \$3.5 billion/ year
Kabila/AFDL	DRC	Diamonds, coltan, etc.	continuing	???

- In Ross et al. 90% of cases, the looted commodity was a type of resource that can be easily extracted (gemstones 5x; drugs 4x; timber 2x)



WordItOut

“Diamonds are sexy and logs are not.”

- Yearsley, 2000; Cited in Le Billion 2003:271)

DR Congo bans mining in eastern provinces

Mining in three provinces of eastern Democratic Republic of Congo has been banned by President Joseph Kabila.



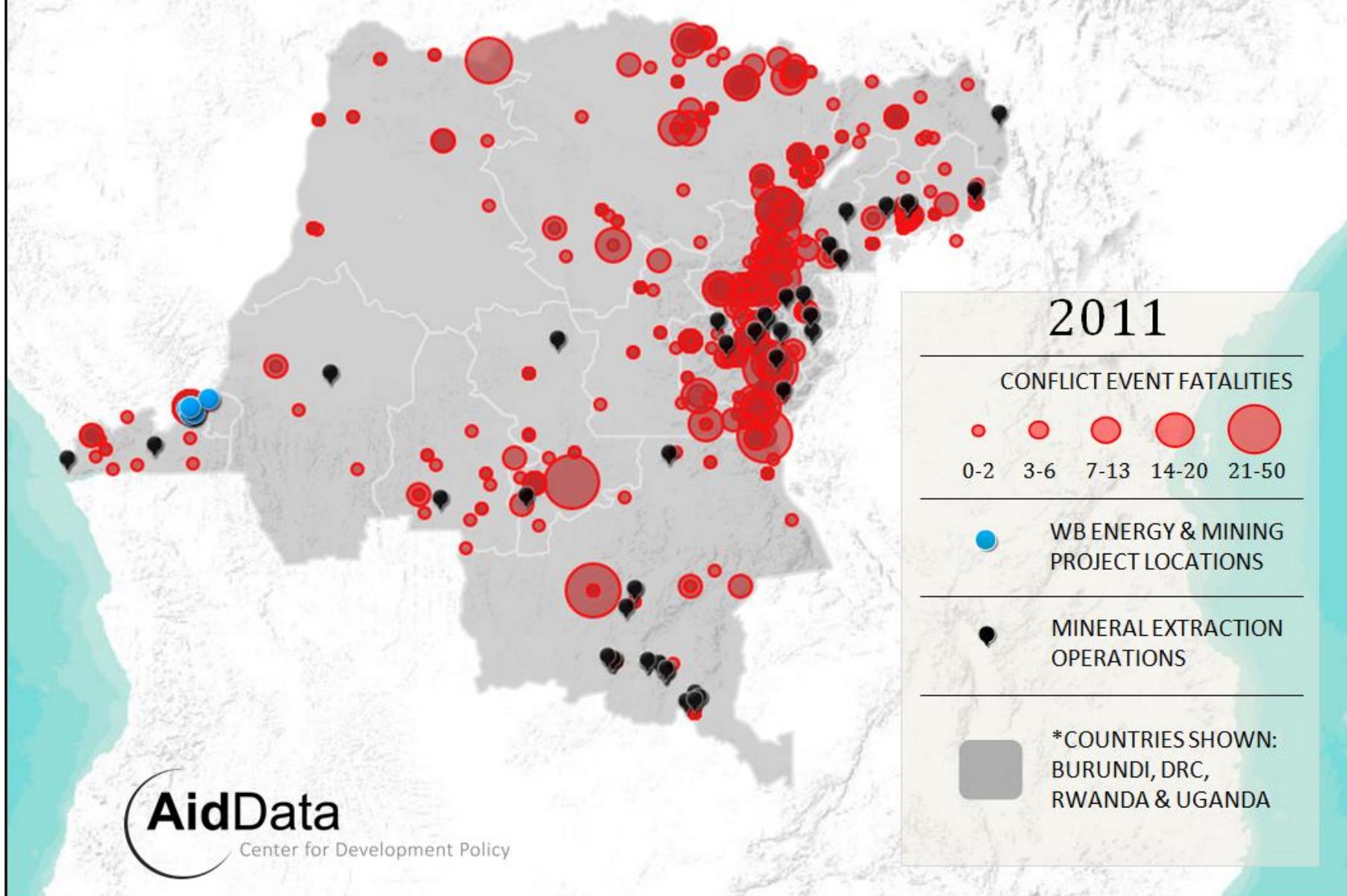
Joseph Kabila Mr Kabila said there was a "mafia" controlling mineral mining in DR Congo



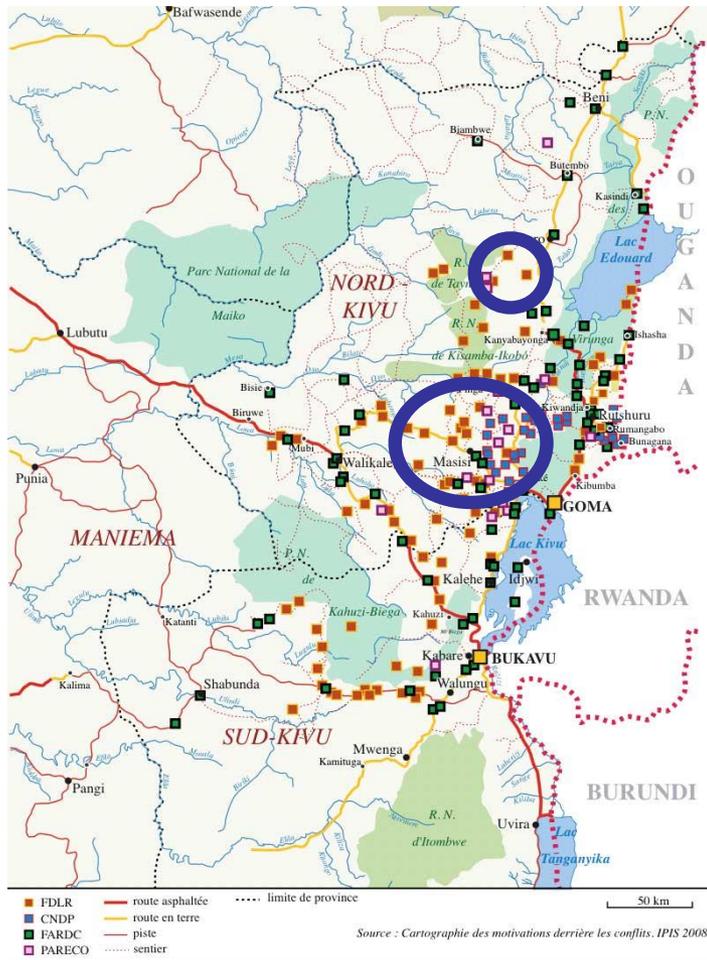
Congo mining ban hurt more than it helped

A Congo mining ban, instituted recently and meant to halt financing for rebel movements, has hurt everyday Congolese who rely on mining for their livelihood.

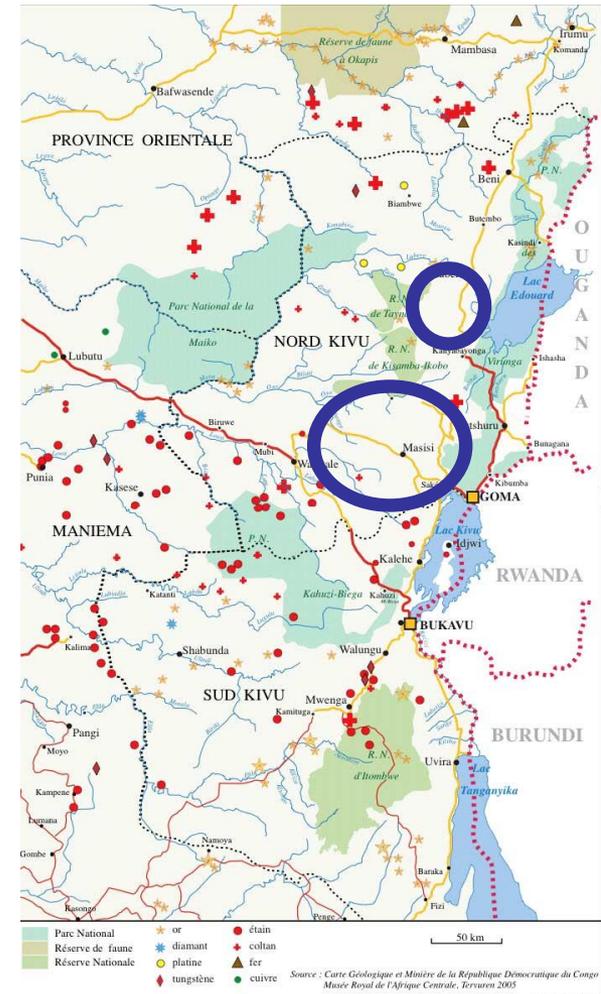
ARMED CONFLICT, MINERAL EXTRACTION, & WORLD BANK ENERGY & MINING PROJECTS IN CENTRAL AFRICA*



Some of the worst forms of violence and insecurity today exist in mineral poor regions



N. et R. FOURTIER



N. et R. FOURTIER



Democratic Republic
of the Congo

Congolese rebels cash in on gorilla tourism to fund insurgency

National park guides charging less to see rare animals have defected to group
accused of war crimes

Pete Jones in Kampala

Friday 19 October 2012 16.46 BST



< Shares

4



Mountain gorillas are the main attraction for tourists at Virunga national park in the Democratic Republic of Congo where they pay more than \$350 a day for a tour. Photograph: Eric Lafforgue/Gamma-Rapho/Getty Images

A Congolese rebel group accused of killings, mass rapes and other atrocities is taking groups of tourists on gorilla treks to the Virunga national park and using the proceeds to fund its insurgency.

Securing Livelihoods From Insecurity

“Viable economic opportunity in the face of wider...inequalities created by the looting of their country’s resources.”

- Vlassenroot 2002

- Decision to join/remain tied to concerns of household security
- Reproduces armed leaders and international communities (?) actions on a small scale

“In Congo, if someone starts an armed group or kills people, they have a better chance of becoming a senior minister or a general than being put behind bars.”

- Anneke Van Woudenberg, Human Rights Watch, January 2008

Entrepreneurs of Violence

“Viable economic opportunity in the face of wider...inequalities created by the looting of their country’s resources.”

- Vlassenroot 2002

- Decision to join/remain tied to concerns of household security
- Reproduces armed leaders and international communities (?) actions on a small scale

lack of vegetation
political instability
nyagongo eruption king leopold
assassination of mobutu biggest country in Africa
pygmee group weak governance
uneven distribution of wealth wildlife
sparsely populated resource curse fairtrade production
minerals failed economy civil war
dictator failed state water plenty jungle diamonds
green inequality zaire corrugated iron roofs gorillas
low GDP dust drought TNCs equatorial debt coltan vast AIDS
disease humid mass conflict natural resource exploitation
crime guns environmental destruction heat LDC tribes
King Leopold wild dark
hot rural subsistence farming poor ebola
genocide Belgian Congo MNCs tribal war africa
colorful people kinshasa famine
red earth high infant mortality rate
oil gangs war low HDI water stressed
landlocked lack of democracy high population growth rate
child soldiers rainforest lack of investment
palace in the jungle with an airstrip central Africa
poverty conflict

Humanity's Entitlement: Opportunity to Plunder in Eastern Congo

"Had King Leopold's rule lasted another 10 years, one would have no longer found ivory or rubber, or perhaps a single native in the country".

- Alex Delcommune (Rubber Baron)



"...unlike other great predators of history, from Genghis Khan to the Spanish conquistadors, King Leopold II never saw a drop of blood spilt in anger. He never set foot in the Congo. There is something very modern about that, too, as there is about the bomber pilot in the stratosphere, above the clouds, who never hears screams or sees shattered homes or torn flesh."

- Adam Hochschild



IN THE RUBBER COILS.

From - The Congo - "First" Sale.

CONGO COMBATANTS

The following is a partial list of combatants, their backers and personnel operating in eastern C

CONGO

FPJC: Popular Front for Justice in Congo (Ituri). About 200 members

CONGO

MONUC: U.N. Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. 21,571 soldiers, civilians, monitors and police

CONGO

FARDC: Congolese national army 150,000, including newly merged militias

UGANDA

ADF/NALU: Allied Democratic Forces/National Army for the Liberation of Uganda. About 200 members

UGANDA

LRA: Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda). About 800 members

RWANDA

CNDP: National Congress for the Defense of the People (Rwanda). About 6,000 combatants have been on an "accelerated integration" process to join Congo's national army.

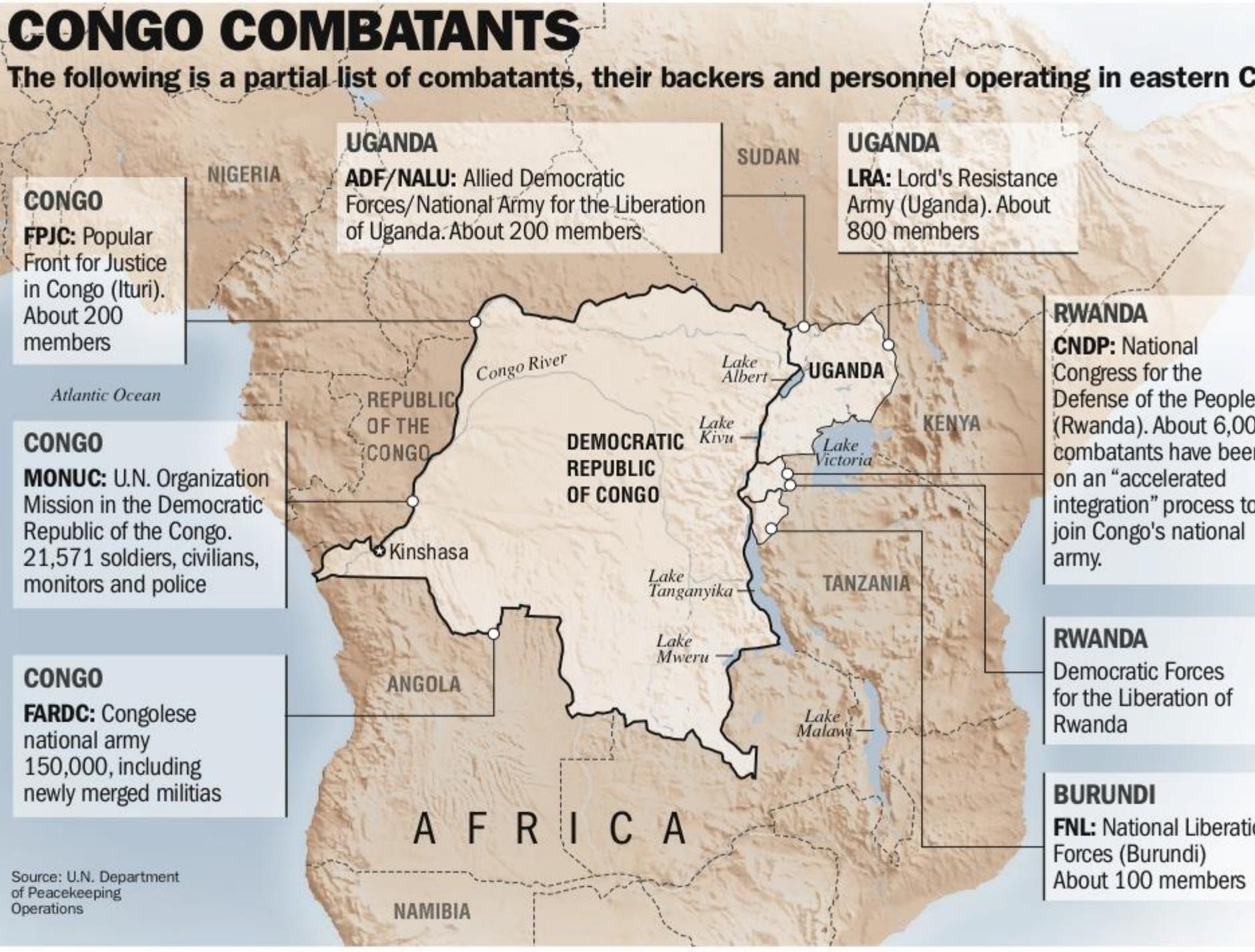
RWANDA

Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda

BURUNDI

FNL: National Liberation Forces (Burundi) About 100 members

Source: U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations



Out of Thin Air: Uganda's Goldmine

Year	Production (tonnes)	Exports (tonnes)	Difference (tonnes)
1994	0.001627	0.02159	0.019963
1995	0.0015	3.1	3.0985
1996	0.003	5.1	5.097
1997	0.0064	6.8	6.7936
1998	0.00815	5.0285	5.02035
1999	0.00473	11.4	11.39527
2000	0.00441	10.8	10.79559

- Between 1994 and 1996 Uganda's gold exports shot up from \$12.4 million in to \$110 million (10x)
- From 1997 to 1998, the annual volume of Uganda's diamond exports jumped from approximately 1,500 carats to about 11,300 (8x)
- Between 2000-2005 Uganda exported 60 million dollars worth of gold annually, even though the country only produces some 25,000 dollars worth of the metal and records no legal imports (i.e. in 2004 despite reported domestic production of only 1.4 tons but gold exports of 7.3 tons).

The Discourse of the Rwandan Genocide: Excuse to Plunder ?

- Recorded coltan production soared from 147 tonnes in 1999 to 1,300 tonnes in 2001
- Rwanda mined 283 tonnes of cassiterite in 2003 but officially exported 1,458 tonnes.
- Rwanda's diamond exports increased from 166 carats in 1998 to 30,491 in 2000

Number of Diamond Mines in Rwanda: 0

FDLR and Rwanda's Concern for Security: Legitimate Enemy or Legitimate Excuse ?

“We haven't fought much with the RPA [the Rwandan army] in the last two years. We think they are tired of this war, like we are. In any case, they aren't here in the Congo to chase us, like they pretend. I have seen the gold and coltan mining they do here, we see how they rob the population. These are the reasons for their being here. The RPA come and shoot in the air and raid the villagers' houses but they don't attack us anymore. If you are lucky and you have a big brother in the RPA, he might be able to get you some food and ammunition”.

- Rwandan Rebel (2002)

The Complicity of Silence and the Genocide Credit

The 1994 genocide has become an ideological weapon allowing the RPF (Rwanda Patriotic Front) to acquire and maintain victim status and as a perceived form of compensation, to enjoy complete immunity.

- Reyntjens 2009:32

- Despite “second Rwandan genocide” = death of 235,000 Hutu in the eastern Congo (Emizet 2000) the U.S. State Department has indicated that it is unlikely to recommend sanctions against Rwanda
- U.S. aid to Rwanda has quadrupled over the last four years (2009)
- Two days after UN resolution 1493 imposed an arms embargo on groups involved in the conflict, the US lifted its own bilateral arms embargo on Rwanda (2003)

Condoning Criminality? : America and the Continuation of Conflict

Finding 1 – Due to the continuing legacies of its Cold War policies toward Africa, the U.S. bears some responsibility for the cycles of violence and economic problems plaguing the continent. Throughout the Cold War (1950-1980s), the U.S. delivered over \$1.5 billion worth of weaponry to Africa. Many of the top U.S. arms clients – Liberia, Somalia, the Sudan, and Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo or DRC) – have turned out to be the top basket cases of the 1990s in terms of violence, instability, and economic collapse.

Finding 2 – The ongoing civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) is a prime example of the devastating impact of U.S. arms sales policy on Africa. The U.S. prolonged the rule of Zairian dictator Mobutu Sese Selo by providing more than \$100 million in weapons and \$200 million in military training. Mobutu used his U.S.-supplied arsenal to repress his own people and plunder his nation's economy for three decades, until his brutal regime was overthrown by Laurent Kabila's forces in 1997. When Kabila took power, the Clinton administration quickly offered military support by developing a plan for new training operations with the armed forces.

Finding 3 – Although the Clinton administration has been quick to criticize the governments involved in the Congo War, decades of U.S. weapons transfers and continued military training to both sides of the conflict have helped fuel the fighting. The U.S. has helped build the arsenal of rebel governments directly involved in the war that has ravaged the DRC since Kabila's ouster. U.S. military transfers in the form of direct government-to-government weapons deliveries, commercial sales, and International Military Education and Training (IMET) to the states directly involved have totaled more than \$125 million since the end of the Cold War.

Finding 4 – Despite the failure of U.S. policies in the region, the current administration continues to respond to Africa's woes by helping to strengthen African militaries. As U.S. weapons deliveries to Africa continue to rise, the Clinton administration is now undertaking a wave of new military training programs in Africa. Between 1991-1998, U.S. weapons and training deliveries to Africa totaled more than \$277 million. In 1998 alone, direct weapons transfers and IMET training totaled \$20.4 million. And, under the Pentagon's Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) program, U.S. special forces have trained military personnel from at least 12 of Africa's 53 nations, including troops fighting on both sides of the DRC's civil war – from Rwanda and Uganda (supporting the rebels) to Zimbabwe and Namibia (supporting the Kabila regime).

Finding 5 – Even as it fuels military build-up, the U.S. continues cutting development assistance to Africa and remains unable (or unwilling) to promote alternative non-violent forms of engagement. While the U.S. ranks number one in global weapons exports, it falls dead last among industrialized nations in providing non-military foreign aid to the developing world. In 1997, the U.S. devoted only 0.09% of GNP to international development assistance. The lowest proportion of all developed countries. U.S. development aid to all of sub-Saharan Africa dropped to just \$700 million in recent years.

- US DoD special forces provided basic training to the Rwandan army in the late 1990s
- US government opposed a UN investigation into atrocities in the DRC and requested President Kabila not to cooperate with the investigation
- US military assistance amounted to US\$4.8 million for Uganda, while weapon purchases from the US amounted to US\$7.7 million (2005)
- U.S. aid to Rwanda has quadrupled over the last four years (2009)
- The U.S. State Department has indicated that it is unlikely to recommend sanctions against Uganda/Rwanda

HOME » NEWS » WORLD NEWS » AFRICA AND INDIAN OCEAN » RWANDA

Rwanda and Uganda supplying Congo rebels with weapons, says UN

Two of the biggest recipients of British aid in Africa have broken a United Nations arms embargo by supplying rebels in the Democratic Republic of Congo with weapons and ammunition, a Security Council investigation found last night.

82 42 0 3 127 Email



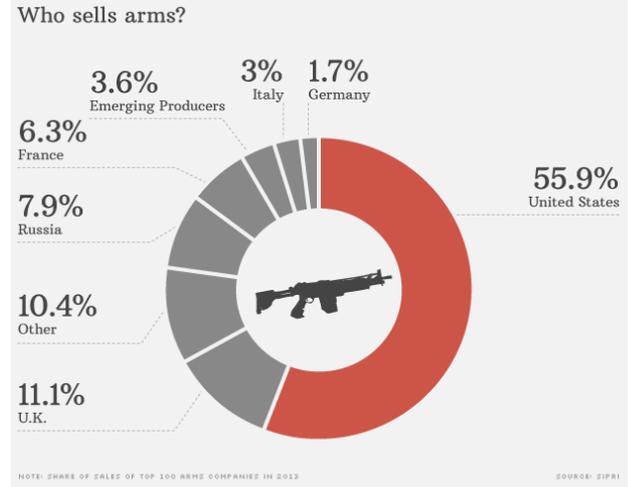
M23 rebels sit at the back of a pick-up truck captured a week before and formerly used by the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo, as they carry supplies through Bunagana Photo: AFP

By David Blair

Print this article

“...the United States regularly transfers weapons to countries that its own State Department lists as violating human rights standards.”

- Deen: IPS: 19 July, 2010



Small arms, ammunition, and other military supplies made within the continent also have played a significant role in these troubled areas. The government-owned Zimbabwe Defense Industries (ZDI) has profited considerably from the DROC conflict. ZDI provided about \$250 million worth of arms to the ADFL (the Kabila-led armed force) during its 1996-97 campaign against Mobutu. Within the first few months of the current round of fighting, which began in August 1998, ZDI supplied Kabila with more than \$90 million in arms. The DROC reportedly will repay ZDI with revenues from future mineral production.

US State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research

Multinational Companies: Investing in Conflict

In 1999 - RCD-Goma's financial arm – known as SONEX – received \$5 million in loans from Citibank New York

"It is a good moment to come: it is in difficult times that you can get the most advantage."

- Investor

PricewaterhouseCoopers International is a shareholder involved in the niobium/tantalum mine at Lueshe (occupied by Rwandan Tutsi rebels)

"[We are] well-positioned to benefit from the timely economic, social and political recovery of the DRC."

- Banro (Canadian mining company)

Entrepreneurs of Violence

The war in the Congo in 1996 was not, as many have contended, uniquely about minerals (Collier 2000, UN panel of Expert on Illegal exploitation of the resources in Congo 2004).

Use of violence for political and economical gain the Mai Mai were thus considered “liberators”, and guardians of “tradition” against the Tutsi occupying oppressors (Jackson 2001, Raeymaekers 2007).

On a more fundamental level, as many social scientists have noticed, it is often that which is most blatant that goes unnoticed, for it has acquired the quality of “normalcy.”

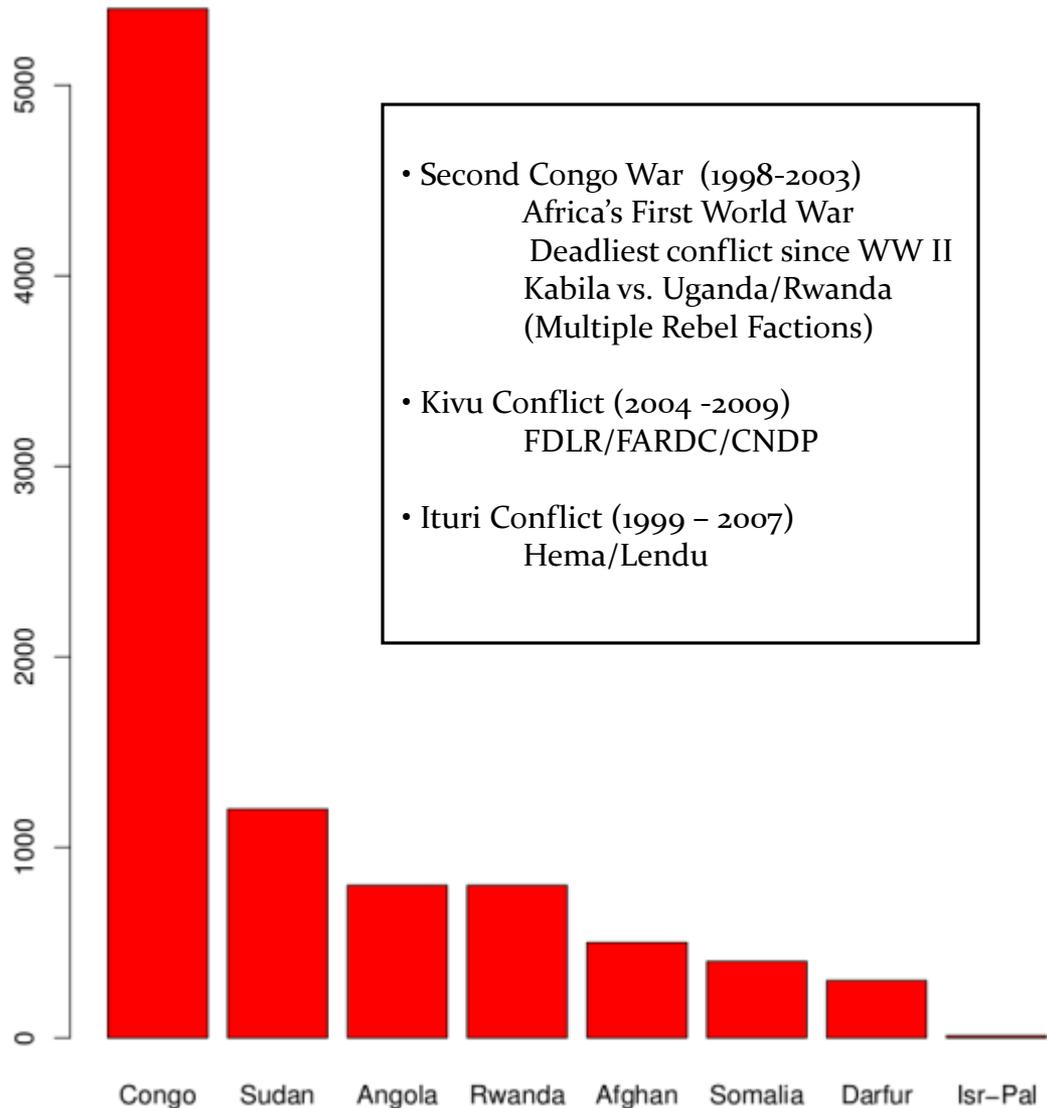
- Peter Uvin

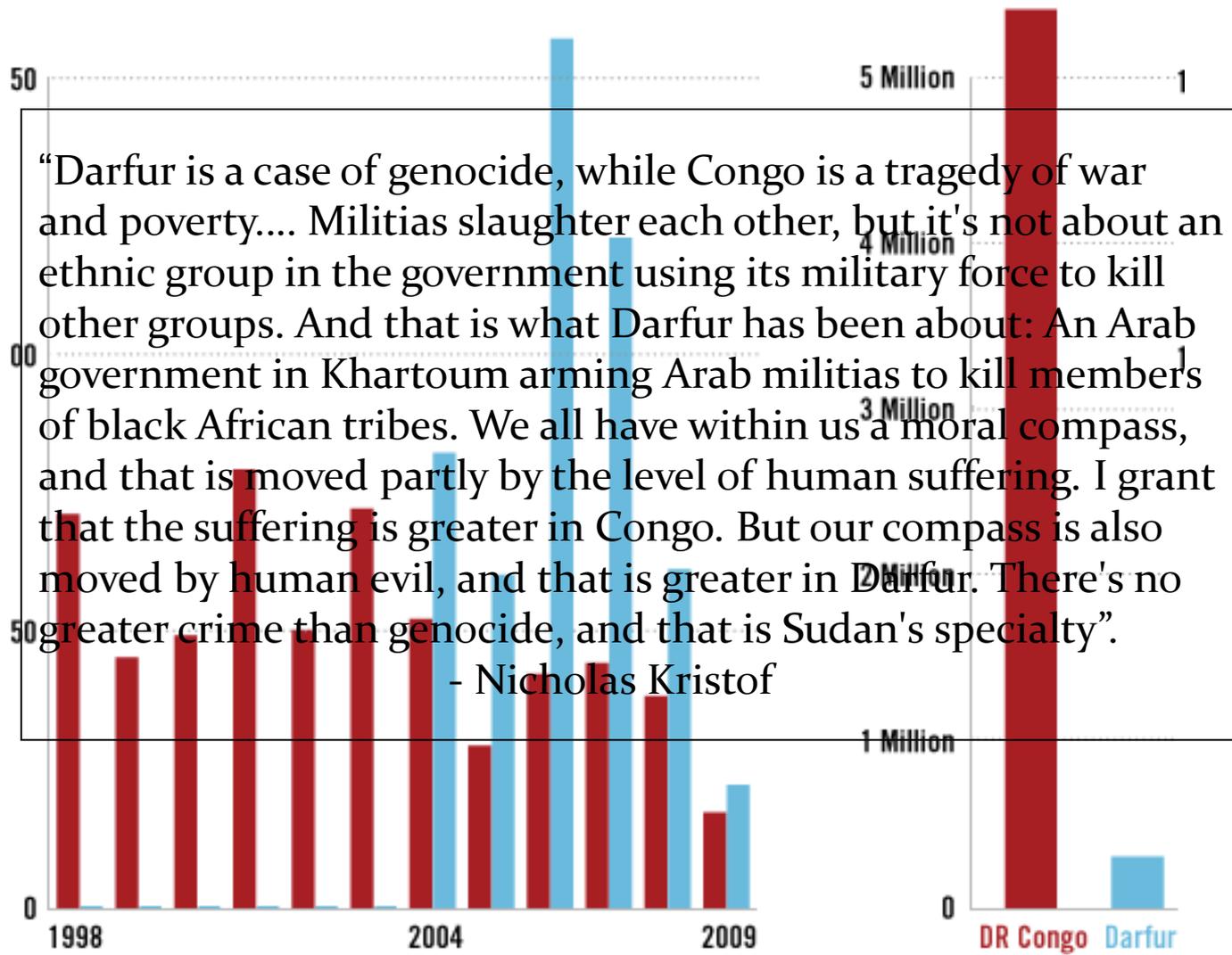
The Forgetting of Congo

“In a matter of six years, the world lost a population equivalent to the entire country of Ireland or Los Angeles. How many innocent Congolese have to perish before the world starts paying attention?”

(IRC)

Deaths in Eight Modern Conflicts (in thousands)



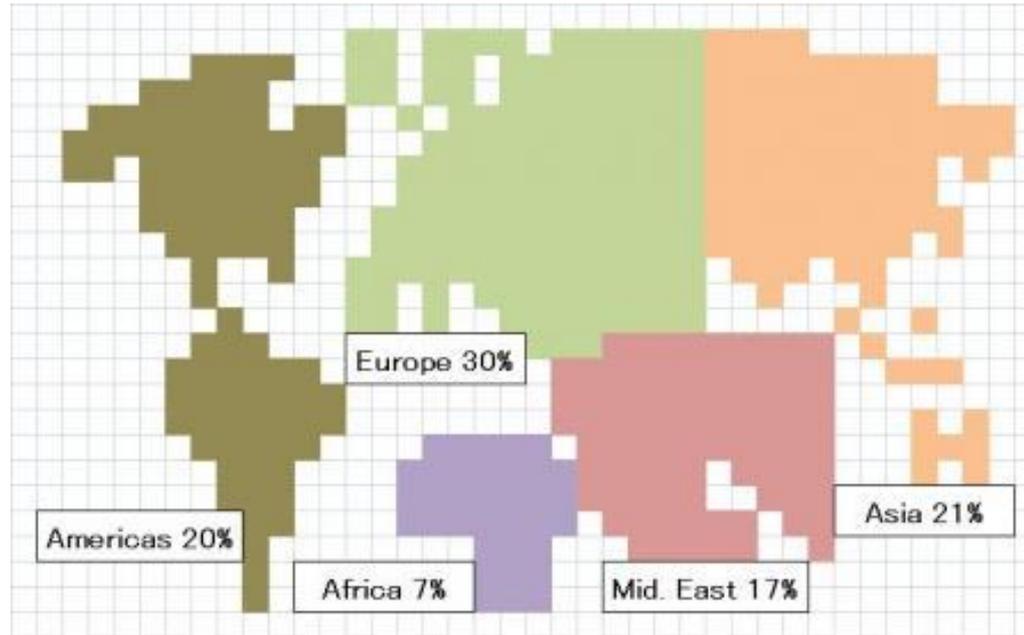


“Darfur is a case of genocide, while Congo is a tragedy of war and poverty.... Militias slaughter each other, but it's not about an ethnic group in the government using its military force to kill other groups. And that is what Darfur has been about: An Arab government in Khartoum arming Arab militias to kill members of black African tribes. We all have within us a moral compass, and that is moved partly by the level of human suffering. I grant that the suffering is greater in Congo. But our compass is also moved by human evil, and that is greater in Darfur. There's no greater crime than genocide, and that is Sudan's specialty”.

- Nicholas Kristof

Media Inadequacies or Intuition?

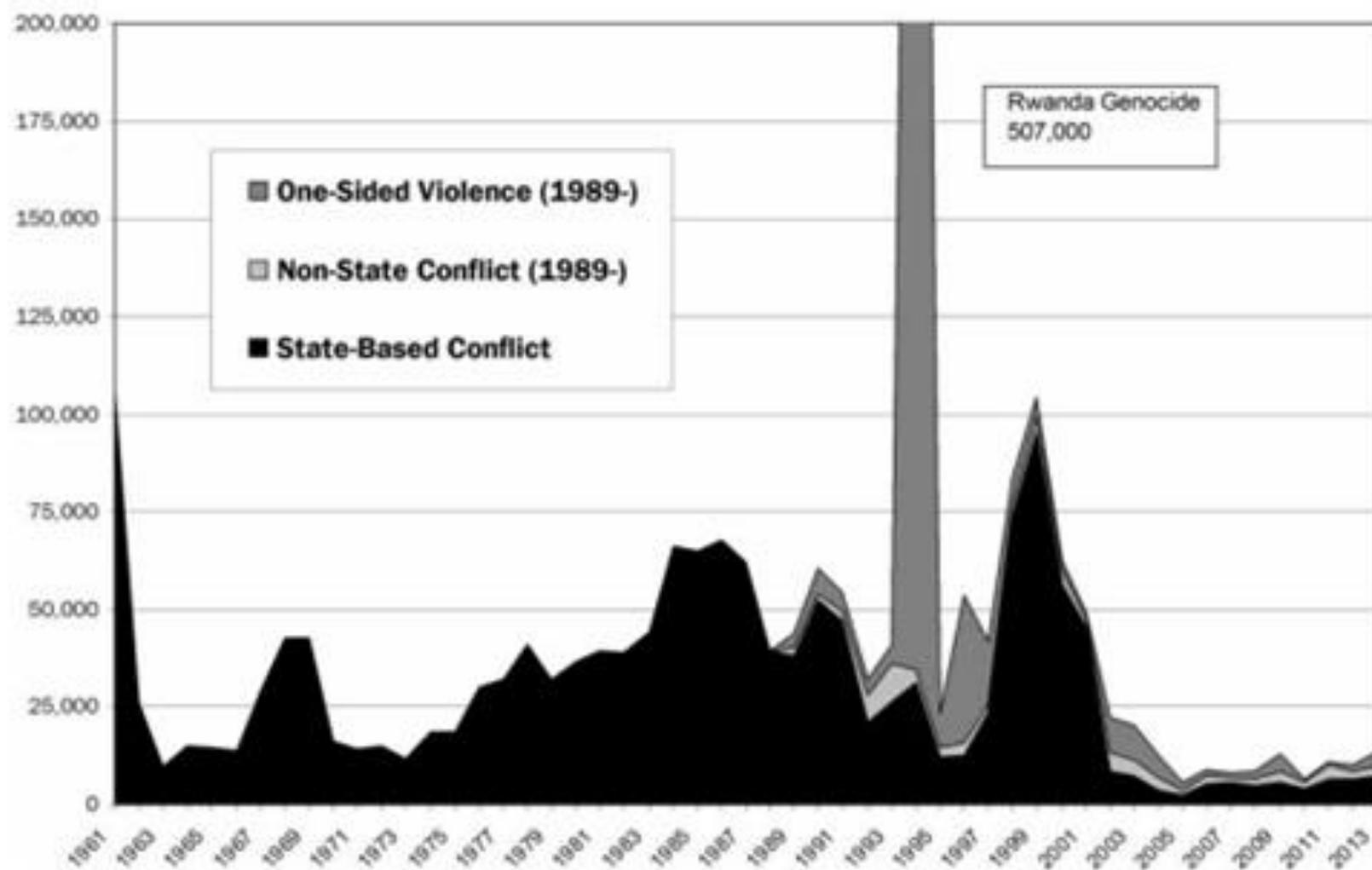
The world according to the New York Times (2000):



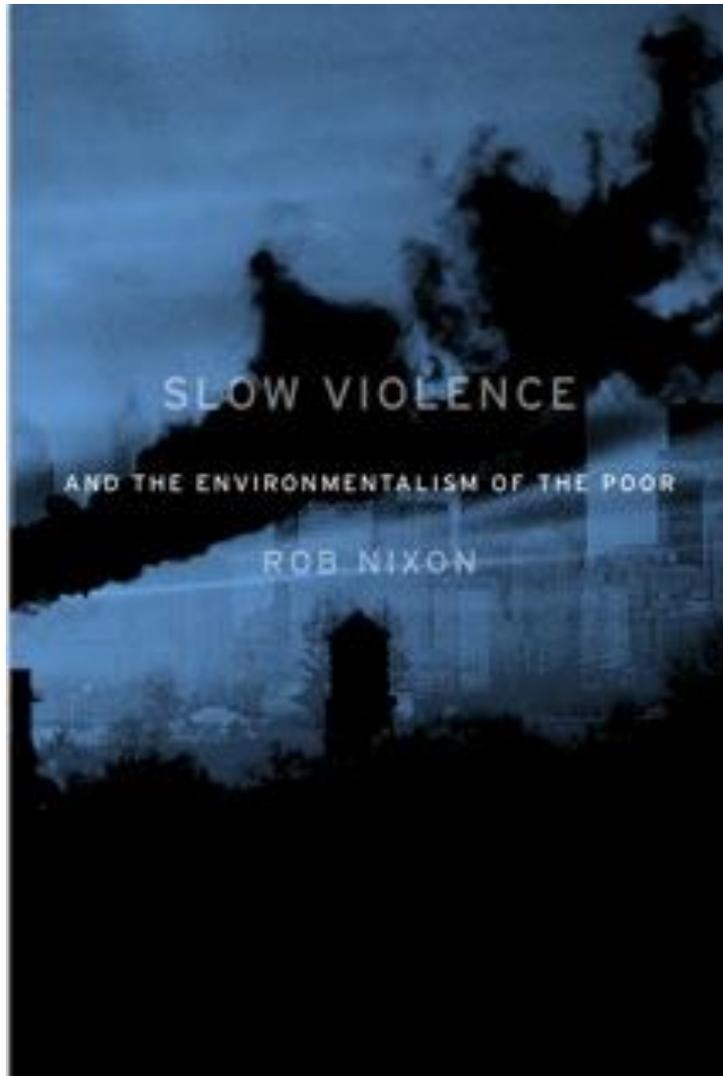
“The death toll from conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is literally one thousand times greater than that in Israel-Palestine, yet it is the latter that is the object of far greater media coverage ... [African] conflicts are frequently brushed off and dismissed as being chaotic, or worthy of some vague pity or humanitarian concern, but rarely of any in-depth political analysis.”

- Virgil Hawkins (2008) *New World Maps, Stealth Conflicts*

AFRICA BATTLE DEATHS (UCDP), 1961-2013



Source: UCDP (2014); PRIO (2009)



Falling bodies, burning towers, exploding heads have a visceral, page-turning potency that tales of slow violence cannot match. Stories of toxic buildup, massing greenhouse gases, or desertification may be cataclysmic, but they're scientifically convoluted cataclysms in which casualties are deferred, often for generations. In the gap between acts of slow violence and their delayed effects both memory and causation readily fade from view and the casualties thus incurred pass untallied.

“You in your fancy
Material world
Don't see the links of chain
Binding blood

Our own ancestors
Are hungry ghosts
Closets so full of bones
They won't close

Call it upward mobility
But you've been sold down the river
Just another form of slavery
And the whole man-made white world
Is your master”

- Tracy Chapman, *Material World*, 1989



Resources can lead to conflict if ...

- ... they are scarce
- ... they are valuable
- ... they are abundant
- ... they can be looted
- ... their ownership is disputed

A Material World ?:

Challenging the Case for Natural Resources

“You in your fancy
Material world
Don't see the links of chain
Binding blood

Our own ancestors
Are hungry ghosts
Closets so full of bones
They won't close

Call it upward mobility
But you've been sold down the river
Just another form of slavery
And the whole man-made white world
Is your master”

- Tracy Chapman 1989

We are not dealing, in other words, with “lands of famine” becalmed in stagnant backwaters of world history, but with the fate of tropical humanity at the precise moment (1870–1914) when its labor and products were being dynamically conscripted into a London-centered world economy.¹⁷ Millions died, not outside the “modern world system,” but in the very process of being forcibly incorporated into its economic and political structures. They died in the golden age of Liberal Capitalism; indeed, many were murdered,

Alex De Waal

We are not dealing, in other words, with “lands of war” becalmed in stagnant backwaters of world history, but with the fate of tropical humanity at the precise moment when its labor and products were being dynamically conscripted into a Western-centered world economy. Millions died, not outside the “modern world system,” but in the very process of being forcibly incorporated into its economic and political structures. . . also known as Liberal Capitalism; indeed, many were murdered. . .