

Challenges in Addressing The Ongoing Political and Resource Predation in The Democratic Republic of Congo

Noe Vyizigiro, PSCI 202 African Politics. May 11th, 2023. Prof. Edward R. McMahon

A long history of economic and political instability has shaped the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo today. A systemic exploitation has been endemic in the country since 1885, and an intergenerational culture of looking at the state as an individual property has developed. To understand DRC in the past and present, three main periods need to be considered. In the period from 1885-1908, DRC was governed by colonial powers that exploited natural resources, violated human rights, and subjugated the people. Colonization produced compounded consequences in the post-independence era, the authoritarian period (1965-1997), as well as the democratic period that followed. A sustainable solution has been elusive despite different majors taken to address exploitation, neopatrimonialism, and rent-seeking corruption. The failure of this process is a result of a lack of a collective mass in solving the problems that affect almost everyone. So, the currently underway political reforms should ensure that no one is left behind. A new culture of good governance must be adopted by the government to combat corruption. An anti-corruption government would lead to the development of a country that is committed to managing public funds well, ensuring the well-being of its citizens, as well as strengthening security within the country and at its borders.

Paper Structure and Motivation.

A country's economic and political development is driven by its governance. It is for this reason that these topics (economics and politics) tend to go hand-in-hand. A common belief is that good governance is a prerequisite for socio-economic development, a notion Kurtz and Schrank challenged in their article “Growth and Government ”. Kurtz and Schrank believe that good governance is more complicated than a causal effect of economic development; therefore, economic development is also a causal effect of good governance (Kurtz & Schrank: 2007). It is not the purpose of this paper to analyze the causes of good governance and economic development in detail. As a matter of simplicity, good governance and economic development are positively correlated. The study of economic development does not ignore governance, and the reverse is also true. As part of this paper, we attempt to understand ongoing political and resource predation in the Democratic Republic of Congo that dates back to colonial times. In this paper, there is no denying that there has been some improvement in social welfare and some efforts to make that happen. Independence and democratization are two remarkable changes that can lead to sustainable development, for example. Despite its natural resources and landscape, why is the DRC still the poorest country in the world? How have political challenges hindered economic development? In this paper, we explore the political history of the DRC and how it has hindered sustainable economic and political reforms that would make the country one of the richest in the world if successful. The introduction and general outlook of the country are presented in the first section of this paper. In the second section, we examine the political structures and economic situations under different political regimes over time, as well as the efforts to reform the political system and changes in power. As we begin our analysis, we begin with the Congo Free State regime under Leopold II and move on to the post-Congo wars regime

or to the current regime that started with President Joseph Kabila. A variety of challenges that hampered the implementation of sustainable reforms are addressed in this section. The third section discusses who has benefited and who has lost from those ongoing political tensions; it offers suggestions for improving the socio-economic welfare of millions of Congolese ordinary people who have been suffering for a very long time. Section 4 discusses potential future growth and what can be done to achieve it. The conclusion is found in the last section (section 5).

1. Introduction

The democratic Republic of Congo, located in eastern Central Africa, is the biggest country in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is the second-largest country in the African continent with a population of around 98 Million as of 2023 (World Bank). In terms of territory, DRC is as large as the 5 largest member states of the EU put together (France, Spain, Sweden, Germany, and Finland). Like other African countries, DRC suffered from colonial extractive systems for around 75 years, right after a century of slave trade done by the British, Dutch, Portuguese, and French. The country faced the worst colonial atrocities under Leopold II, who took the whole country as his territory and made concessions to private companies to extract resources that fired industrial sectors in the Western world. The Democratic Republic of Congo got its independence from Belgian colonial power in 1960, which was followed by lots of challenges in reconstructing the former colony.

Despite having one of the world's richest natural resources, the Democratic Republic of Congo is also one of the lowest-income per capita countries in the world. DRC is endowed with exceptional natural resources, including minerals such as cobalt, copper, gold, timber, oil, arable

lands, and very rich biodiversity, which most people are not benefiting from ([World Bank](#), 2023). DRC's top exports are copper and cobalt; the country is home to 70 percent of the world's reserves of cobalt, which is a key component in batteries (UNEP :2022). The country was the largest global producer of cobalt in the late 1980s and one of the largest of industrial diamonds and copper (Usanov et al: 2013). As of 2022, the mining industry accounts for more than 95% of exports (atlas of economic complexity: 2017). Despite the abundance of natural resources and good agricultural lands, the World Bank data classify the country among the five poorest countries in the world, with 62% of the population living below \$2.15 per day. DRC has been facing decades of conflicts and inequality, which has led to an extreme humanitarian crisis. The USAID report shows that 6.2 million people are internally displaced and 25% of the population face acute food insecurity in 2023 ([USAID](#):2023). The country has been experiencing lots of insecurity cases since it gained its independence from Belgium in 1960. Even if the current situation of the country seems alarming, DRC is still home to mineral resources, young labor force, and rich biodiversity. So, it is easy to question why the country is still such poor despite her rich land. It can be hard to understand the current political and economic situation of DRC without going back in time. Understanding the history of the country starting the slave trade era or post-colonial era is key to understanding the current political and economic situation and the challenges that the country has been facing to capitalize on its endowment. DRC suffered a series of political predation since Leopold II's regime and that has caused negative intergenerational effects on its economy, political, and security system. This paper analyzes ongoing exploitative political regimes over time in DRC and what have been challenges to sustainable change. The paper points out potential areas of growth and what can be done to start benefiting from those sources of growth.

II. *The History of Resource and political predation in DRC*

As a result of three periods, such as the colonial, post-colonial, and democratic periods, the DRC has evolved into what it is today. Starting in 1885 to 1908, The DRC was known as Congo Free State, run as a private property of the royal family of Leopold II, with promises to bring “civilization” to the Congolese people (Momobu:2023). Leopold’s true goal was exploiting and extracting, other than civilizing and investing. He designated a large part of the Congo Free State as concessions to private companies to extract natural resources. The world's largest supply of rubber was found at a time in DRC when bicycle and automobile tires, and electrical insulation, had made it a vital commodity in the West (BBC:2013). By the 1890s, the Congo Free State would become notorious for its cruel treatment of the Congolese, which included forced labor to harvest rubber, palm oil, and ivory in forests. Leopold had co-opted local leaders, working under his private army mercenaries’ pressure to force Congolese, innocent civilians, to harvest-gather quotas. If the condition is not met, one would face serious punishment. The rubber boom turned the Congo into a land of terror, where the most innocent people were flogged, tortured, and murdered for failing to produce enough rubber (Hochschild:1998). Throughout 1880 to 1920, approximately half the Congolese population died because of that concession and colonial system. Forced labor, disease, famine, and brutal violence, including cutting off hands, feet, and heads, resulted in the death of approximately 10 million people, which was almost half of the country’s population at the time (Hochschild: 1998). The concession was characterized by indirect rule, village chiefs were co-opted to enforce rubber collection quotas; they were forced to support the rubber regime as well as the tax system (Lowes and Montero: 2021). Lowes and Montero studied the consequences of this concession and colonial regimes on the country’s

political, economic, and social sectors. Based on their findings, village chiefs inside the former concessions are less likely to provide public goods, such as roads maintenance, conflict arbitration, and school maintenance, as they are coerced and co-opted to support the regime (Lowes and Montero:21). Leopold's regime ended in 1908 without any reconstruction and reparation in response to the labor and resource exploitation for 23 years. Local leaders who had been co-opted into his system remained the same and continued being exploited by the Belgian colonial system afterward that became interested in the mining sector.

The liberation of the DRC from Leopold was intended to put an end to brutality against Congolese civilians, but concessionary companies' management of the territory and people remained unchanged. In response to brutal violence against humanity under Leopold's government, the government of Belgium has to take back the colony. A few courageous individuals, such as George Washington Williams, who documented the abuses in Congo in the 1890s, and Roger Casement, a British diplomat who secretly investigated the abuses, finally helped uncover the truth about what was happening in the Congo Free State (Hochschild:1998). The reports from these people, including other independent researchers, drew attention on an international level, which resulted in Belgium taking the DRC out of the King's hands. The Congo Free State became Belgian Congo in 1908. This change in power was meant to reduce the violence; while atrocities were less extreme, the Belgian colonial rule was violently extractivist (Bak et al:2019). Local leaders were forced to comply with colonial power and serve them, which was another form of subjugation that eventually led to social divisions and completely altered the pre-colonial Kingdom regime. There was no solution to the people's problems in the Belgian colonial system; instead, a new form of exploitation was created, slightly different from

the previous one, but civilians continued to suffer as a result. Local leaders were the bridges to the resources, while ordinary people were used as tools for exploitation. Since colonial powers were primarily driven by wealth accumulation rather than social well-being, the colonial legacy continues to afflict the population even after colonization.

It was only through the end of colonial power that Congolese people could regain their dignity and sovereignty, yet that was like going one step forward and two steps backward. DRC gained its independence in 1960, which was technically supposed to restructure the country's political system and get rid of all colonial influence and legacy. However, due to the strong colonial presence in the country for decades, post-colonial leaders could get inspiration anywhere else other than from the West. The success of the governance that followed right away was unlikely. So, people continued to suffer from the consequences of exploitative and irresponsible governance. In the years that followed, the DRC experienced a series of coups d'etat and civil wars. The colonial system hardened and engineered ethnicity, reorganized societies, and hierarchized people according to their race and status to manage them and their property.

The post-colonial period was characterized by a sharp decrease in the economy, and infrastructure, and an increase in hunger in DRC. In the early 1960s, per capita, GNI was double that in South Korea and three times as high as in Botswana (Usanov et al: 2013). But, by the 1990s, the DRC was one of the lowest-income countries in the world with too many debts and back roads and other infrastructure. The departure of the colonial system after years of extraction, and social and political disruption can explain this current economic situation and the

gradual decline in the GNI per capita in DRC. In her article, Matti shows that the DRC was regarded as one of the most promising countries in Africa; in addition to that, the Belgian Congo enjoyed one of the best welfare and infrastructure systems in Africa, which was financed through the extraction of the country's natural resources (Matti: 2010). These infrastructures were built in the colonizers' interest to facilitate mining and trade. Colonization's goal was not to invest in human capital, so the departure of foreign companies, and workers led to a decline in productivity. They left people with not enough skills and capital to start where they had left off for the benefit of all Congolese. For example, of 5,000 government jobs pre-independence, just three were held by Congolese and there was not a single Congolese lawyer, doctor, economist, or engineer (BBC:2013). Poor governance that continued is also a key to the economic decline. Lowes and Montero note that those leaders co-opted by the colonial system are less likely to provide public services; they were more likely to remain in power and continue acting similarly as before, by subjugating ordinary people and extracting based on their roles. Congolese people were kept at an infantile level of development that suited the rulers and mine owners but made sure that when independence came there was no home-grown elite who could run the country (BBC:2013).

Even if Independence marked a great step forward, a colonial exploitative legacy was still present in the fully independent country in the form of predation and rent-seeking. Five years after the independence, Joseph Mobutu became Congolese president, ruling in an authoritarian and Kleptocratic fashion for the next 32 years (Matti:2010). Even though the country was independent, Mobutu's regime mirrored Leopold's and expressed colonial heritage. The long-term power of Mobutu required the establishment of a support system, which included some

Congolese elites and armed forces (Bak et al:2019). A large amount of natural resource income was controlled by this patronage. A hallmark of the DRC's political economy since the late 19th century was elite state capture, and Mobutu's government is best described as neo-patrimonial (Bak et al:2019). Former institutions have been captured by networks of power. A small percentage of the Congolese population benefited from corruption and patrimonialism during his period, as they became cornerstones of the Congolese political tradition. While Mobutu's corruption was significant, the establishment of a political tradition of corruption and patrimonialism was more persuasive (Matti:21). Same as the colonial system, Mobutu has to rely on indirect rule; he abandoned his direct control over the peripheries of the country in favor of a system of indirect control; there was a system of rapportage, which is the flow of money from the bottom to top of the network's hierarchy (Stepherd:2019; Bak et al: 2019). Patronage and rapportage thus underlie the continuation of predatory institutional behavior, which has taken another form of internal colonization and exploitation of public goods without giving back to the community. The system could not be tolerated and had to be overthrown.

In theory, post-Mobutu political and economic reforms seem very promising; however, their implementation and results are not addressing the underlying problems. Under Mobutu's authoritarian regime, the economy collapsed, resulting in debt crisis and foreign aid dependence. His regime had raised a lot of backlash. So, the removal of this kind of government was a big achievement for the country, leading to a new era of socio-political-economic freedom. People were eager to see a change; as unrest grew, the regime cracked down harder and harder until it fell in 1997 (Smith: 1997). DRC entered into a new system with goals to prioritize "democracy".

Seeing changes in power was a source of optimism for the population of DRC because they believe in the power of governance to bring changes.

Despite political reform efforts, it is still like taking one step forward and two steps backward. As Mobutu did not leave behind some aspects of colonialism in his regime, the post-Mobutu regime still has some aspects of the Mobutu government. The entrenched rent-seeking behavior, corruption, and the patrimonial network did not simply disappear with the removal of Mobutu (Matti:21). This new regime, that started in 1997, faced a series of civil wars and continual predatory behavior, which is now in the form of corruption from top to bottom of the network. So, corruption and climate insecurity are key to explaining the current underperformance of the DRC. Mobutu's successor Kabila did not change rent-seeking behavior. He did not fully change Mobutu's regime and his culture of accumulating wealth from what's meant to be a citizen's share. According to the Congo research group's 2017 report, the Kabila family has limited or full ownership of more than 80 companies, active in industries such as farming, mining, banking, real estate, airlines, and telecoms, and holds more than 71,000 hectares of farmland. During his tenure, an estimated US\$4 billion went missing per year due to opaque public procurement practices, misappropriation, and manipulation of contracts, which corresponds to around 20 percent of the government revenue (Englebert 2014). This is one example from one member of the patronage network, which can help predict what other members are doing as well. As a result, there is still a resource appropriation culture among a few people, as there was during colonialism and under Mobutu.

Post-Mobutu political and economic state-building reforms faced lots of challenges that hampered their success. After the first and second Congo wars that caused DRC to persistently remain a failed state, the government, working with international communities, went through a series of reforms. Since President Joseph Kabila came to power in 2001, the international community invested significantly in efforts to reconstruct the Congo, which unfortunately has not achieved the expected results (Trefon, 2010). DRC relied on the international community, which has limited power to sustainable state building. OECD experts highlight the power of the domestic government in building the country. They claim that the process of state-building is largely domestically driven and international state-building assistance has only a limited role to play (OECD, 2008). The weakness of the domestic government in addressing and maintaining what is needed to build the country has handicapped the development and maintained the colonial legacy of political predation. Since 1960, the day of independence, the Democratic Republic of Congo have failed to produce lasting positive development results, mainly because of the political context of corruption, incapacity, and conflict (Lancaster, 2009). Trefon claims that corruption, exploitation, and predation are the dominant explanations accounting for the persistence of the Congolese state in general and the administration in particular (Trefon, 2009b). Aside from the civil wars that severely destroyed the country and caused extreme hyperinflation, the country's weak institutions, and ongoing mismanagement of resources—which prevented it from saving and investing the natural resource revenue—contributed to the country's vulnerability.

A political reform to decentralize the government through strengthening local and provincial governance was adopted in 2006, but it was also flawed. Instead of improving

governance, the reform has worsened the extent of corruption and enabled provincial elites to enrich themselves by increasing their rent-seeking activities (Bak et al:2019). Decentralization did not fix neopatrimonialism, it increased bureaucracy that those in their post take advantage of to fend for themselves. The personal survival of the stall in that centralized regime is an obvious reason accounting for the persistence of the administration's "street-level Bureaucrats"(Trefon:2010). Trefon raises an extreme view of the government of Congo by a big number of the Congolese when showing that administrative service providers in Congo are perceived as "unmanageable, undisciplined, mercenary, corrupt, and quite simply useless" (Trefon:2010). It is a common sentiment among the public because those in power seem to take advantage of their position by taxing people incorrectly and asking for bribes.

This may seem like a drastic description of the government, but corruption has been ingrained from generation to generation in the DRC. In 1976, Mobutu delivered a speech that tactically approved corruption and predation by using the term "débrouillez vous" or "fend for yourselves" (Bak et al:2010). Graft was his first choice as a way of rewarding friends, those in his patronage network, and disarming foes. He suggested only that it be done discreetly. "If you want to steal, steal a little in a nice way," he once said. "But if you steal too much to get rich overnight, you'll be caught." (Smith:1997). Ever since, DRC has had a semi-official policy of allowing petty corruption instead of proper wages, which has become a norm. Bribery has become the means for civil servants to "find themselves"(Bak et al: 2019); so there is a high level of informal extraction and bribery. This form of extraction involves traffic police officers that ask for bribes from small traders, and informal tax, on informal borders. Bribery rates are high in every sector: 75% of citizen report having paid bribes to the police; 72% to access

utilities such as water and electricity; 70% to obtain identification papers; and 59% paying bribes to public schools (Bak et al.: 2019). Administrative reforms have been on the political agenda in DRC for so long. The good governance initiatives, including efforts to combat corruption, designed by Washington, Paris, or Brussels, erroneously considered problems of Congolese service delivery more as technical problems rather than political ones (Anderson, 2005; International Crisis Group, 2006; Trefon, 2007). Many reform approach that has been applied in DRC theoretically make sense, but an expected or successful implementation has not yet materialized because of the absence of a motivated administrative structure. The success of those reforms has been hampered by the absence of follow-up policies, which are supposed to be done by those in power to make sure all reforms are being maintained in all sectors.

III. Winners and Losers

Administrative reform has been on the political agenda in Congo since independence in 1960, but ordinary people have been left out, making them the most vulnerable and losers. Administrative reform was also on the agenda at the National Sovereign Conference in 1993, but the resolutions agreed upon were never implemented (Trefon: 2010). A major beneficiary of the reform process should be the Congolese people, who are absent from the negotiation table. Decisions are made without consulting them, so without taking stock of their needs and expectations (Trefon:2010). During Congo's Congo Free State, the extractive and brutal regime of Leopold II negatively impacted ordinary people because they worked under pressure without pay and had to lose their property. In Belgian Congo as well, ordinary citizens were subjected to terrible atrocities, social order was disrupted, and they were required to submit. So, one of the most notable political reforms was the Declaration of Independence. Subjugation and human

rights violations have improved in post-colonial times, but citizens still lack political freedom; they have not reaped the benefits of their natural resources. In the end, decolonization was completed by signing an agreement between Congolese elites and Belgian colonizers. There was no involvement of ordinary Congolese people, so it would only make sense for them to submit to those deemed to have “fought” for independence. Although Mobutu's fall brought evolution, ordinary citizens are still suffering because of the corrupt leadership. As a result, they are not taking full advantage of public services, such as health care, infrastructure, and revenues from natural resources. It is ordinary citizens who are the most vulnerable to ongoing conflicts over natural resources. They are political victims. Most of the winners are still a small group of sector leaders, patronage networks, and high-ranking military officials.

IV. Hope for the future and what can be done differently.

While there are identifiable patterns of Congolese political culture, there has also been significant evolution since the collapse of the Mobutu dictatorship. Today, people believe that a less corrupt and more efficient administration is possible, despite the overwhelming political challenges that need to be resolved before this drastic change could become a reality (Trefon:2009). The post-Mobutu regime has brought up different changes, including a multi-party political system. Even if political parties tend to be suppressed by those in power, opening space for other parties to join the political system is good progress. Several other major reforms have been undertaken, including reducing corruption and bringing the government closer to the people. There is a shift from the old structuralism to the new structuralism with a free and private market. Full or partial privatization of services is increasingly on the reform agenda, as is the increased involvement of international agencies and NGOs to deliver services and monitor their

quality(Trefon:2009). According to the IMF report in 2022, reforms in the mining sector and increase performance in other sectors have shifted the economic growth from 1.7% in 2020 to 6.5% in 2021 (Nolin:2022).

Although the country has improved, it has suffered decades of wars, poor governance, exploitation, and underinvestment, so practical reforms should be the main priority of Congolese and international communities that are currently helping the country. The problem in DRC must be thoroughly analyzed, not only by those on top but also by all citizens, for reforms to be successful. So far, attempts at administrative reform have failed, largely because of the absence of adequate sociological feasibility studies (Trefon: 2009). Ordinary citizens, especially those in rural areas, should not be ignored as the country moves toward democracy and decentralization. By involving them in the process, relevant issues can be addressed, and their needs will be met, resulting in inclusive economic diversification and growth. Redistribution of power should be the goal of political reform. The history of Zaire shows that administrative reforms tend to be strategic positioning rather than real changes in the distribution of power' (de Saint Moulin: 1988). Power would be distributed based on the performance of each individual and meritocracy, only assigning posts based on performance. So, none should be left behind in solving underlying political, security, and economic issues of DRC. As Trefon suggests, international partners and the Congolese authorities share responsibility for failing to bring about genuine political change and institutional reconstruction. The former has underestimated the complexities of Congolese political culture, while the latter deliberately hamper reform (Trefon:2010). A Genuine focus should mainly be on increasing transparency, the rule of law, and checks and balance in all sectors of the country.

V. Conclusion

Poor governance, corrupt and predatory systems have been the main causes of problems in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Rent-seeking and economic predation have evolved systemically since the colonial era. By giving concessions to private companies during Leopold's regime, the government exploited the country and committed one of the worst crimes against humanity. The Belgian colonial power continued to exploit and divide society, forcing people to follow their orders. Concessionary companies continued to manage the territory and populace for the sake of maximization of profits, which resulted in a chaotic post-independence era. Following colonial rule, Mobutu's regime brought a rapid economic decline that made DRC a failed state from 1900 to 2000. Utilizing a patronage system composed of government officials, military officials, and government-allied private companies, he exploited the resources. That mismanagement led to poor infrastructure, poor sanitation, poor education, and poor healthcare. Intergenerational political predation or corruption hampered the post-Mobutu regime's reform efforts. The lack of transparency and inclusivity is a major challenge in those reforms. Taking action against corruption should not leave anyone behind. Inclusion should be a key component of a pragmatic reform system. My recommendation is to implement a user-friendly and cost-effective technology that can help people report corruption cases and to formulate an anti-corruption justice system that will handle the cases appropriately. A commitment to good governance and the use of technology can reduce corruption, enabling economic growth. Congo could transform from one of the poorest countries to one of the richest countries if it was free of corruption and managed its natural resources well for the benefit of all Congolese.

References:

1. Lowes, Sara and Montero, Eduardo, Concessions, Violence, and Indirect Rule: Evidence from the Congo Free State (October 2020). NBER Working Paper No. w27893, Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3705104>
2. Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost : A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* / Adam Hochschild. Houghton Mifflin, 1998. EBSCOhost, discovery.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=779b5dc0-4d3d-3540-9011-f02f550857b8.
3. Bak, Mathias, et al. *Democratic Republic of the Congo: Overview of Corruption and Anti-Corruption*. Transparency International, 2019. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep20485>. Accessed 5 May 2023.
4. Usanov, Artur, et al. "The Democratic Republic of Congo." *Coltan, Congo & Conflict: POLINARES CASE STUDY*, Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, 2013, pp. 29–41. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12571.6>. Accessed 5 May 2023.
5. MATTI, STEPHANIE. "Resources and Rent Seeking in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2010, pp. 401–13. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27867932>. Accessed 8 May 2023.
6. Trefon, Theodore. "Administrative Obstacles to Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo". *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 2010. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0020852310381213>
7. OECD (2008) Concepts and dilemmas of state building in fragile situations: From fragility to resilience. *Journal of Development* 8(3): 1–82.
8. Lancaster C (2009) How smart are aid donors? In the case of the United States. In: Joseph Rand Gillies A (eds) *Smart Aid for African Development*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 31–48.
9. Trefon T (2009b) Public service provision in a failed state: Looking beyond predation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Review of African Political Economy* 36(119): 9–21.
10. Smith, J.Y.: "Congo Ex-Ruler Mobutu dies in exile". *Special to Washington Post*, Monday, September 08, 1997. Page A01. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/congo/stories/mobutu090897.htm>

11. Anderson L (2005) International Engagement in the Failed States: Choices and Trade-offs. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
12. International Crisis Group (2006) Escaping the Conflict Trap: Promoting Good Governance in the Congo. Africa Report 114. Nairobi/Brussels
13. Trefon T with Ngoy B (2007) Parcours administratifs dans un Etat en faillite: Ré cits Lubumbashi (RDC). Tervuren/Paris: MRAC/L'Harmattan
14. USAID, the Democratic Republic of Congo: <https://www.usaid.gov/humanitarian-assistance/democratic-republic-of-the-congo>
15. UN Environment Program: "Can The Democratic Republic of Congo's Mineral Resources provide a Pathway to Peace?". 20 Sept 2022. <https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/can-democratic-republic-congos-mineral-resources-provide-pathway-peace>
16. World Bank. "The World Bank in DRC" 2022, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/drc/overview#:~:text=DRC%20ranks%20164%20out%20of,the%20SSA%20average%20of%200.4.>
17. Kurtz, Marcus J., and Andrew Schrank. "Growth and Governance: Models, Measures, and Mechanisms." *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 69, no. 2, 2007, pp. 538–54. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2007.00549.x>. Accessed 9 May 2023.
18. Momobu, Samuel. "Congo Free State (1885-1908)". Black Past.2023 <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/congo-free-state-1885-1908/>
19. **de Saint Moulin s.j., L.**, (1988), Histoire de l'organisation administrative du Zaïre, *Zaïre-Afrique*, 224, 197–222
20. Trefon, Theodore "Public Service Provision in a Failed State: Looking Beyond Predation in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Review of African Political Economy":2009, 36:119, 9-21, DOI: [10.1080/03056240902863587](https://doi.org/10.1080/03056240902863587)
21. Nolin, Guillaume; Toure, Aminata; Zerbo, Solo: "The democratic republic of Congo's growth is among the highest in the region amid significant challenges" International Monetary Fund, July 25th, 2022.
22. BBC, "DR Congo: cursed by its natural wealth", BBC Journal, October 9, 2013. <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-24396390>