

# The Legal Perspective of Mining in Central African States

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## ABSTRACT

The mining activities which are mines extracted from the soil such as gold, diamond, cobalt, constitute a major part of natural resources in Central African states, and cannot be operational without laws and regulations attached to its exploration, exploitation and distribution process. The legal perspective of mining activities in Central African States are national, international laws and institutions, involved in regulating mining operations of Central African States which is the heart of Africa.

**KEYWORDS:** *legal perspective, mining*

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## INTRODUCTION

Central Africa covers a large physical area that can range from desert conditions to the north in Chad to tropical rain forests and mountains in the equatorial region of the Congo, the entire region is roughly the same size as the United States west of the Mississippi River<sup>1</sup>. Central Africa includes eleven states which are Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, the Republic of Congo, Rwanda and São Tomé and Príncipe<sup>2</sup>. Conversely, the region has advantages that distinguish it from the rest of the continent, Central Africa's pivotal and strategic position makes it a potentially preferred transit zone between regions of the continent<sup>3</sup>. Gold occupies a

dominant position among the eight most exploited metals in Central Africa, over thirty four African countries currently produce gold on an artisanal or industrial scale which represents almost a quarter of the world's total annual production<sup>4</sup>. Twenty of these thirty four countries produce over a ton per year, even though the extractive industries bring many benefits to host countries, such as government revenues, export earnings and economic growth, through production sharing arrangements, royalties and income taxes, as well as from field services, they employed less than 1% of Africa's workforce in 2010<sup>5</sup>. "The time is now ripe for Central African

<sup>1</sup> Available at <https://www.saylor.org/world-regional-geography-people-places-and-globalization/Central-Africa.html>, accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2021 at 12:54pm.

<sup>2</sup> Available at <http://www.wikipedia.org>, consulted on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 2021 at 5 pm.

<sup>3</sup> African Development Bank African Development Fund: Central Africa, Regional Integration Strategy Paper (risp) 2011-2015, available at

<https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Policy Documents/RISP>, consulted on the 10<sup>th</sup> March 2020 at 1:32pm.

<sup>4</sup> TOM LE QUESNE, ELOISE (K.), DEREK (W.), «The Implementation challenge taking stock of government policies to protect and restore environmental flows» wwf report, 2010, p.5.

<sup>5</sup>- Extractive Industries and Sustainable Job Creation, 17<sup>th</sup> Africa Oil, Gas and Mines Trade and Finance

countries to promote a veritable extractive industry that creates jobs and wealth", said Mr. Oumar Sinin, Chad's minister of energy and geology<sup>6</sup>.

The prospect of increased exploration of mining to meet future demand, calls for a sharper focus on mitigating the impact of mining, especially as mining moves towards new frontiers where past experience in managing these externalities may not suffice. These resources will need to be produced more sustainably through responsible sourcing, sound mining practices, robust environmental management, and greater consumer awareness of the effects of consumption<sup>7</sup>.

### Definition of mines

Mines are defined as a pit or excavation from which mineral substances are taken, or are ore deposits found within the earth. They are materials necessary for the development of the economic, social and environmental activities of states. In the legal point of view, the mining right is governed by the "mining code" and defines what a mine is and the conditions under which it can be exploited, or whose after-effects must be repaired or compensated. The term "minerals" refers to a variety of materials found in the earth, it includes precious metals such as gold, silver, platinum and base metals, which tend to corrode or tarnish their exposure to air, this is the case of iron and copper<sup>8</sup>. There are also industrial minerals, which are lime materials such as sand and stone, as well as fuels which refer to coal and uranium<sup>9</sup>. Cameroon mining code defines mining as all research, development, exploitation, processing, enrichment,

Conference and Exhibition, Khartoum, 23-26 November 2015 ,p.2.

<sup>6</sup> Available at <https://www.uneca.org/stories/central-africa's-extractive-industry-must-create-jobs-and-wealth>, consulted on the 15<sup>th</sup> may 2021 at 10pm.

<sup>7</sup> Mineral resource governance in the 21st Mineral resource governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, available at <http://www.unenvironment.org/news-and-stories/story/mineral-resource-governance-21st-century-conversation-antonio-pedro>, consulted on the 24<sup>th</sup> May 2021 at 7:04pm.

<sup>8</sup> LASSANA(K.) «*Les industries extractives et l'environnement en Afrique: quelles reformes légales et institutionnelle au regard de la nouvelle vision Africaine des mines ? Les industries extractives et l'environnement en Afrique: quelles reformes légales et institutionnelle au regard de la nouvelle vision Africaine des mines?*» available at <https://www.cmdsdata.iucn.org/downloads/lsindustrie>, consulted on the 26<sup>th</sup> July 2021 at 7:14pm.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

transportation, storage, loading, commercialization, rehabilitation operations and closure of mining sites for mineral substances<sup>10</sup>.

### The legal regime of mines

African countries have resorted for several years to profit from natural resources by entrusting their exploitation to foreign companies, states, not having enough financial means to exploit the minerals themselves. Mining in these countries requires a mining agreement between the holder of the exploration permit and the state. This permit constitutes a unilateral administrative act, issued by the minister responsible for industrial mines and small mines or by his representative, at regional or provincial level, for artisanal mining. The mining license is granted unilaterally, suggesting a contract of adhesion, even if the mining agreement establishes a contractual relationship which contains clauses ranging from the feasibility study to the commercial production of the mine<sup>11</sup>.

The mining title confers rights on its holder and also imposes obligations whose non-compliance may give rise to sanctions, including non-renewal of the mining title. The mining title is an administrative act which grants certain rights to its owner. As a rule, these are rights to transform, transport and market mining products<sup>12</sup>.

It should be noted that the title can only be transferred when it is issued for logging operations. However, title concerning prospecting or research operations may not be the subject of a transfer, storage or marketing and dispose the right to exemption or reduction of tax charges during research and exploration mining.

However, the benefit of these rights is subject to compliance with the obligations contained in the mining agreement. In the event of non-compliance, states will reserve the right to oppose the renewal of the mining title, a situation that may be at the origin of a dispute. No one may undertake prospecting, research and exploitation activity on CEMAC territory without having first obtained a

<sup>10</sup> Law n° 2016 /017 of 14<sup>th</sup> December 2016 of the Cameroon mining code, p.2.

<sup>11</sup> KAM YOGO Emmanuel, *Manuel Judiciaire de droit de L'environnement en Afrique Institut de la Francophonie pour le développement durable*, (IFDD) 2018, p.88.

corresponding mining title, under the conditions set by the mining regulations in force<sup>13</sup>.

The ownership of mineral substances contained in the soil or in the subsoil, including groundwater and geothermal deposits, as well as related mining rights granted by the member states, constitute real property rights distinct and separate from rights arising from concession and land or surface property.

### **Classification of mineral resources**

Deposits of mineral or fossil substances which are not classified as quarries are considered as mines. Some deposits can be classified as quarries or mines depending on the nature of their content. Are classified as quarries, deposits of non-metallic mineral substances usable for building materials, stonework and viability, the ceramic industry, soil amendment, which are peat, sand, chalk, lime, gravel, limestone, laterite, sematic clays, diatomite, gypsum and feldspar.

Mining activities and industries concerned with the extraction of minerals also involves mining engineering which is the practice of applying engineering principles to the development, planning, operation, closure, and reclamation of mines. Some terms distinguish various types of mined minerals. Geologically, one can distinguish the following categories which are partitioned into minerals, which are naturally occurring inorganic elements or compounds having an orderly internal structure and a characteristic chemical composition, crystal form, and physical properties. These terms are often used in the industry to differentiate between fuels, metals, and non-metallic minerals. The metallic are of the ferrous metals (iron, manganese and tungsten), the base metals (copper, lead, zinc, and tin), the precious metals (gold, silver, the platinum group metals), and the radioactive minerals (uranium, thorium, and radium)<sup>14</sup>.

The non-metallic minerals also known as industrial minerals are non-fuel mineral ores that are not associated with the production of metals. These include phosphate, potash, halite, sand, gravel, limestone, sulfur, and many others. Fossil fuels also known as mineral fuels are the organic mineral substances that can be utilized as fuels, such as coal, petroleum, natural gas, coal bed methane, Gilsonite, and tar sands.

<sup>13</sup> CAC, «CEMAC: Towards the adoption of the mining code», available at <http://www.cacinternational.com.org>, consulted on the 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2021 at 5:45pm.

<sup>14</sup> Law n° 2016 /017 of 14<sup>th</sup> December 2016 of the Cameroon mining code.

Ancillary installations and facilities are subject to the same legal regime as natural deposits of substances to which they relate. The national territory of each member state is subject to mining cadastral grid, according to the harmonized system capable of managing the problem of cross-border deposits, establishing clear provisions in the form, location and identification of the perimeters and to ensure the exclusivity of the mining perimeters, and to effectively solve the problem of encroachment and overlapping of mining titles<sup>15</sup>.

The rules relating to the use and superposition of mining titles are fixed in the absence of community texts, but by the national legislation of each member state. The modes of exploitation of mines are artisanal, industrial and small scale mining. The artisanal mining is exploitation whose activities consist of extracting and concentrating mineral substances and recovering market products using manual, traditional methods and processes. On the other hand the industrial exploitation are any exploitation based on the prior identification of a deposit, having the necessary fixed installations for the recovery, in accordance with the rules of art and of mineral substances exploited by industrial processes<sup>16</sup>.

### **I. The National Legal Framework of Mines in Central African States.**

The legal and regulatory framework governing the foreign or national investors, is bound by rules and regulations, and remains a major factor for the proper management of mineral resources. This legal framework may include codes such as the mining codes, environmental codes and the constitution which acts as a controller in the mining activities in Central African States.

#### **The Cameroon Legal Framework**

Cameroon has a subsoil rich in mining resources, particularly, bauxite, cobalt, gold, diamonds, iron and uranium, which have not been extensively exploited. So far bauxite reserves are located in the north of the country, in the region of Adamaoua, and in the southeast, around the city of Bafoussam<sup>17</sup>. The

<sup>15</sup> CEMAC, GIZ, «Projet de renforcement de la gouvernance des matières premières en Afrique Centrale» (REMAP), avant-projet du code minier communautaire de la CEMAC, p.12.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Available at <http://www.statisticalCameroon.org> energy survey (2012- 2015), visited on the 21<sup>st</sup> May 2021.

mining sector in Cameroon is regulated by Law n° 2016 /017 of 14<sup>th</sup> December 2016<sup>18</sup>.

### The Congo Brazzaville Legal Framework

Congo is a leading producer of diamonds and gold<sup>19</sup>. It also produces smaller quantities of copper, lead, zinc, construction materials, phosphates and uranium. The Congo Brazzaville mining sector is essentially governed by Law n° 4-2005 of 11<sup>th</sup> April, 2005, and Law n° 24-2010 of 30<sup>th</sup> December, 2010 fixing the rates, and rules for levying mining titles. The mining code applies to prospecting, possession, movement and processing of mineral or fossil substances across the country.

### The Burundi Legal Framework

Burundi has mineral resources such as gold, copper, uranium, limestone and many other mineral resources. In 2009, Burundi's mining, energy and manufacturing sectors accounted for 11% the country's GDP, in 2010, the production of peat increased by 16%, tantalum by 173%, niobium by 175%, tungsten by 35% and tin by 50%<sup>20</sup>. The Burundi mining sector is regulated by Law n° 1/21 of 15<sup>th</sup> October 2013<sup>21</sup>.

### The Chad Legal Framework

The mining code of Chad is established by ordinance n° 004 / PR/2018 of 21<sup>st</sup> February 2018. The code mainly governs prospecting, research, exploitation, holding, storage, transportation, processing, treatment, marketing, ownership of mineral substances, development, closure and rehabilitation of mines and quarries, the tax, customs and exchange regime applicable to these activities in the territory of Chad<sup>22</sup>.

### The Legal Framework of Central African Republic

The mining code of Central African Republic was adopted by the national assembly on the 29<sup>th</sup> April

2009 through Law n° 09-005<sup>23</sup>. It is regulated by law n° 09/005 of 29<sup>th</sup> April 2009 which regulates the prospecting, exploration, and exploitation of mineral deposits.

## II. The Regional Instruments of Mines in Central African States

The Central Africa region constitutes the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) which establishes rules and regulations to govern its member states. It is up to each country to create a line of conduct and applicable laws, within a certain time. It is followed by the constitutionality block, and where the standards put into effect at community level (ECCAS) must be ratified, and applied by all member countries in a direct and mandatory manner<sup>24</sup>. In regard to the mining activities in Central African States there exist some regional instruments which regulate the mining sector of the eleven Central African States.

### Africa Mining Vision

More precisely, the primary focus of the governments in African countries was seen to rest on how to take into consideration a precise set of concerns, aimed at attracting investment and reducing investment risk for private mining companies<sup>25</sup>. The significance of the Africa Mining Vision (AMV) is due to both its Pan African and its national dimensions, this constitutes a blueprint for the whole continent and serves as a guideline for the national implementation at the same time<sup>26</sup>. The AMV has several key strengths, it upholds the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) for communities affected by mining projects, it was established by the African Union (AU), with political buy-in at the continental level<sup>27</sup>. It could potentially transform Central Africa's mineral sector, given the emphasis on building an array of linkages, promoting local value addition and economic

<sup>18</sup> The mining sector in Cameroon is regulated by Law n° 2016 /017 of 14<sup>th</sup> December 2016 of the Cameroon mining code.

<sup>19</sup> MUSHEMEZA (E.), OKIIRA (J.), «Local Content Frameworks in the African Oil and Gas Sector Lessons from Angola and Chad» Kampala, ACODE Policy Research Series n° 72, 2016. p.13.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> The Burundi mining sector is regulated by law n° 1/21 of 15<sup>th</sup> October 2013.

<sup>22</sup> African mining legislation Atlas, available at <https://www.a-mla.org/countries/Chad>, consulted on the 18<sup>th</sup> March 2021 at 6:49pm.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> BONNIE (C.), «Factoring in Governance is not enough. Mining Codes in Africa, Policy Reform and Corporate Responsibility», Université du Québec, vol.18, n° 3, 2003, p.8.

<sup>26</sup> BOHNE (A.), THIAM (I.), «The African mining vision; can business as usual be visionary perspectives from four regions», Berlin, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, 2018, p.4.

<sup>27</sup> –USHIE (V.), «From aspiration to reality Unpacking the Africa Mining Vision», Oxfam International, 2017, p.23.

diversification, by covering the entire mineral value chain, it enables the utilization of natural resources wealth for sustainable development in a holistic way<sup>28</sup>. Among all continents, Central Africa is not deprived from ecological and environmental difficulties in fact is important to signal that, Central Africa is exposed to so many environmental disasters<sup>29</sup>.

#### a. The establishment of intra-regional synergies

The Africa mining vision establishes intra-regional synergies, with the aim to set up strategies for the proper management of mining activities among the member states. Such strategies set out the national or regional frameworks for investments in research and innovation not only from member states, but from all funding sources. In reducing transaction costs, establishing intra-regional synergies, enhancing competitiveness and realizing economies of scale that would catalyze minerals and cluster development should not be underestimated. However, for goods, services, capital and other factors to freely flow in the regional spaces, there is need to expedite intra-regional harmonization of laws, regulations and fiscal regimes, among other critical factors<sup>30</sup>.

#### b. The common tax system

Regional cooperation under the auspices of regional economic communities (RECs) is necessary for a number of reasons; the formation of regional economic areas involves a common external tariff, tax convergence, and free circulation of goods, capital and persons, common standards that apply to mining and other sectors. Mineral products exported by landlocked countries use regional infrastructure, the energy security of major industrial sites may depend on regional connections and common hydroelectric plants<sup>31</sup>. Cross-border trade in high-value products, whether informal or criminal, requires close cooperation between enforcement services, few countries possess training capacities for all the skills required at the various levels of specialization, regional university cooperation could fill the gap in all regional sectorial policy<sup>32</sup>. The main objectives of the AMV are transparency, equity and optimal

exploitation of natural resources; it puts emphasis on the integration of mining enclaves, into local and national development objectives<sup>33</sup>.

The regional integration of member states is to harmonize the industrialization policies in the sub-region, thus it engages in communicating their development plan and executor programs to the general secretariat, with the aim to harmonize the development in the sub region. In the other wards the regional integration serves to promote the creation of great industrial units and a center of industrial development<sup>34</sup>.

#### The Kimberley process

Regarding the other form of transparency initiative, the Kimberley process states that, “*there is need to promote good governance on how resources are managed and affirmed that Central Africa’s resources belong to both present and future generation*”<sup>35</sup>. The Kimberley process first took shape in May of the year 2000, when representatives from several African countries met in Kimberley in South Africa, to discuss ways to stop the trade in conflict diamond and ensure that diamond purchases were not financing violence, by rebel movements and their allies seeking to undermine legitimate government<sup>36</sup>. Under this scheme member states can certify their diamonds as conflict free before entering the international market, this initiative was developed

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> ABDULLAH (B.B.), «*La protection de l’environnement dans le processus d’intégration sous régional en Afrique Centrale*», Edi livre, 2018, p.18.

<sup>30</sup> Africa Union, «*Africa Mining Vision*», February, 2009, p.5.

<sup>31</sup> Committee for International Cooperation and Development (CICID), «*Mineral resources and development in Africa*», 2008, p.37-38.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> GIBERT (M.), «*Global and regional mechanism for governing the resource curse in Africa*», University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2014, p.3.

<sup>34</sup> Communauté Economique Des Etats De L’Afrique Centrale C.E.E.A.C. Instituant la Communauté Economique Des Etats De L’Afrique Centrale (C.E.E.A.C) p.27/28.

<sup>35</sup> Kimberley Process, «*Through an African lens, reimagining responsibilities and definition in an changing mining sector*», report produced by the Southern Africa resource watch, in partnership with the open society initiative for southern Africa, 2013, available at <https://www.sarwatch.co.za/> consulted on the 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2021 at 2 pm.

<sup>36</sup> AUDRIE (H.), «*The successes and failures of the Kimberley process certification scheme in Angola, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe*». Global Study. I. REV .137(2016), available at <http://www.wustl.edu/law-global-studies/vol-15/iss-8>. <https://www.sarwatch.co.za/>, consulted on the 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2021 at 2 pm.

from UN resolutions aimed at limiting conflicts and atrocities linked to diamonds<sup>37</sup>.

The Kimberley process is important because it contributes to the reduction of illegal exploitation of diamonds in Central African states, thus causing the illicit diamonds from international markets to drop. In Angola, the authority responsible for implementing the Kimberley process certification scheme is the ministry of geology, mining and industry, which created the Kimberley process national commission, in charge of all Kimberley process issues and procedures, by basing on Kimberley process core documents<sup>38</sup>. In the case of Cameroon, in 2003 the head of state signed Cameroon's instrument of accession to the Kimberley process. In July 2007 the ministry of mines and technological development started with the expertise of the office of geological and mining research study by Decree n<sup>o</sup>. 2011/3666/PM of 02<sup>nd</sup> November 2011, on the establishment, organization and functioning of the Kimberley process certification system in the Republic of Cameroon. From the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> of June Cameroon was accepted as a participating country at the intersessional meeting, and on August 14<sup>th</sup> was the official notification of the admission of Cameroon as a member of the Kimberley process<sup>39</sup>. Apart from the Kimberley process initiative, there equally exists the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative which regulates mining activities in Central African States.

**The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative**  
Transparency is a very important factor in the rational management of extractive industries in Central Africa region. It is frequently thought that the extractive industries transparency initiative (EITI) was launched in 2002, since the former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair anticipated outlining the idea of the initiative, in a speech at the world summit on sustainable development in Johannesburg 2002. This helped to establish the extractive industries transparency initiative (EITI) in 2002<sup>40</sup>. The EITI seeks to create that missing transparency and accountability due to the fact that is a voluntary initiative, supported by a coalition of companies, governments, investors and

civil society organizations<sup>41</sup>. The EITI aims to improve the transparency of revenues yielded from extractive activities which are rich in oil, gas and mining resources<sup>42</sup>.

While EITI maintains a particular focus for minimum reform, disclosure and independent auditing of revenues flows from companies to governments, it does not dictate the way in which the overall problem of the responsible management of natural resources should be addressed, instead, it seeks to create favorable conditions for different actors to debate on the most effective approaches of the particular problem at hand, given the circumstances of each country<sup>43</sup>. According to article 142 of the Cameroon mining code of 2016, the holders of the mining titles operating in Cameroon shall be obliged to comply with international commitments made by the state and applicable to their activities to improve governance in the mining sector, particularly those relating to the Kimberley process (KP) and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)<sup>44</sup>. In addition to these initiatives there exists the potential CEMAC mining code.

#### **The potential CEMAC mining code**

CEMAC plays a role of support to member states for the promotion and protection of investments in the mining sector, with a view to guarantee the development of the mining sector. Each member state shall lay down in its legislation, bodies involved in the management of the mining sector as well as their attributions. The German cooperation (Gesellschaft International Zusammenarbeit) (GIZ) with one of its objectives in "*strengthening the governance of commodities in Central Africa*", could be an important tool for the continuous reduction of

<sup>37</sup> Available at <http://www.eisourcebook.org>, consulted on the 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2021 at 2 pm.

<sup>38</sup> Angola Annual Report 2011.

<sup>39</sup> Available at <http://www.min-midt.gov.com> consulted on the 20<sup>th</sup> July 2021 at 2pm.

<sup>40</sup> EMMA (W.), «*Transparency can it work for sustainable development*» p.1, available at <https://www.iied.org>, consulted on the 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2021 at 5pm.

<sup>41</sup> The extractive industries transparency initiative source book, March 2005, international EITI secretariat in UK, available at <http://www.eiti.org>, accessed on the 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2021 at 11.25 am.

<sup>42</sup> EITI, committee of the extractive industries transparency initiative source book, March 2005, international EITI secretariat in UK, available at <http://www.eiti.org>, accessed on the 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2021 at 11.25 am.

<sup>43</sup> GALVÃO FERREIRA (P.), «*Extractive industries transparency initiative (EITI); Using a global public-partnership to facilitate Domestic Governance*» available at <https://www.eiti.org/homepage>, accessed on the 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2017 at 11.35 am.

<sup>44</sup> Article 142 of the Cameroon mining code of 2016.

poverty<sup>45</sup>. According to the state's reports, the six countries of CEMAC zone currently use six separate mining codes which affect the adoption of common policies of mining in the sub-region and reduce the chances of industrial exploitation<sup>46</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

A central standard of contemporary extractive law, local content is the contribution of mining industries for the socioeconomic development of neighboring populations, with the effect to overcome the paradox of the abundance of resources, so derived from Central African States. This content should be detailed and must appear on the mining agreement. The legislator requires that the exploitation of resources be accompanied by the benefits of economic, social, cultural, industrial and technological operations. Priority is thus given to local residents during the exploitation of resources and a financial contribution is paid into a special account by mining companies<sup>47</sup>. Holders of mining rights are required, in the exercise of their activities, to give priority hiring, with equal qualifications and skills, to nationals of the member state of the place of activities. The member states, in accordance with the texts in force within CEMAC, as well as the vision of the African Mining regime, guarantee the implementation of the mechanisms and conditions for granting certain mining rights and titles, allowing the participation and involvement of their nationals in formal mining activities. The Legal perspective of mining in Central African States requires legal enforcement for a better outcome.

<sup>45</sup> CAC, «CEMAC: Towards the adoption of the mining code», available at <http://www.cacinternational.com.org>, consulted on the 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2019 at 5:45pm.

<sup>46</sup> CEMAC, «Countries adopt draft mining code», journal du Cameroun, available at <http://www.journalduCameroun.com>, consulted on the 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2020 at 4: 51pm.

<sup>47</sup> Lamine Défoukouémou Himbé, *The new Cameroonian mining code, at the heart of the standards of contemporary extractive governance*. 2018. <halshs-01664344v2> p.3 .

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