

CANADIAN

DIAMOND

MINING

A Contemporary Analysis on
W.E.B Du Bois's Colour Line and
Double Consciousness

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Canadian Diamond Mining & Economic Activity in Angola

Capitalist Racism and a Contemporary Analysis on W.E.B. Du Bois's Double Consciousness and Colour Line

The intersectionality of race and class is ongoing through multiple generations, causing complex and multifaceted levels of discrimination. Intersectionality is a vehicle by which the underpinnings of social division and discrimination can be explained through applied frameworks. In the early 20th century, sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois discussed forms of “intersectional discrimination”¹ in his work, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Two prominent concepts in Du Bois’s work that illustrate the intersectionality of race and class include the ‘colour line’ and ‘double consciousness.’ The colour line alludes to the ideal of socio-economic and socio-political barriers existing among different racial groups in conjunction with class, while the theory of double consciousness connotes the behaviour of “always looking at one’s self through the eyes”² of a racist society. Du Bois’s 20th century work is complemented by and contrasted with Paula Butler’s analysis on Canadian colonial exploits in regions of Africa, which is evidenced in her work, *Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa* (2015). While Du Bois applied his two frameworks of the colour line and double consciousness through an African American perspective, Butler presents similar findings, through the viewpoint of an African Canadian lens. Butler’s analysis of these frameworks—through the case study of Angola in particular—serves to reinforce the relevance of Du Bois’s concepts in scenarios outside of American borders. The theories of

1 Crenshaw, Kimberle. (2002). Background Paper for the Expert Meeting on the Gender-Related Aspects of Race Discrimination. *Revista Estudos Feministas*. 10. 171-188.

2 Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), *The Souls of Black Folk*. Dover, 1994.



"THROUGH THESE NEOLIBERAL CAPITALIST ECONOMIC MEASURES, CANADA HAS POSITIONED ITSELF TO EXERT NEOCOLONIALIST TENDENCIES IN ANGOLA."

the colour line and double consciousness will be used in the contemporary study of Canadian mining activities in Angola to detail impacts of the intersectionality between race and class. In particular, aspects of Canadian mining including the Angolan Civil War, The Fowler Report, and Kimberly Process illustrate how Du Bois’s two frameworks can be applied to the intersectional lens of race and class. Butler juxtaposes Canada’s self-image as a “globally responsible state”³ with its actions as it engages in the neoliberal and neocolonial exploitation of African and Angolan resources. Neoliberalism entails free-market capitalism, and is positioned against “government spending, regulation, and public ownership.”⁴ Through these neoliberal capitalist economic measures, Canada has positioned itself to exert neocolonialist tendencies in Angola; instead of direct political or military control, Canada has employed neocolonial economic methods to gain access to Angola’s diamonds. Although Canada positions itself as a state that is not affiliated with extreme neoliberalism or neocolonialism in any form while concurrently campaigning against it, their exploits in Angola highlight the hypocrisy of their activism. Du Bois’s ideals of the colour line

and double consciousness act as foundational frameworks to analyze contemporary, hypocritical, Canadian economic activity in Angola through the intersectional lens of race and class. Ultimately, the linkage of Du Bois’s conceptual frameworks coupled with the intersectionality of race and class highlighted by Canadian economic exploits in Angola underline the belief that without the restructuring of neoliberal capitalist structures, nations such as Canada will continue exacerbating intersectional disparities tied to race and class through neocolonialism in predominantly underdeveloped countries such as Angola.

Canadian resource mining has become prevalent in Angola and can be attributed to the Du Bois’s colour line in a contemporary context, which encourages intersectional discrimination tied to race and class. The Canadian mining economy has been “a cornerstone of Canadian... society since the mid-1800’s.”⁵ Contemporarily, Canada has capitalized on the branding of diamonds in particular, to its economic advantage. The nation has become a “major diamond-producing country,”⁶ as it leverages its “racial associations among snow, whiteness, purity, and goodness”⁷ to market them as “clean diamonds”⁸ against the juxtaposition of “blood

3 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

4 Kenton, Will. “Neoliberalism.” Investopedia. Investopedia, January 29, 2020. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/n/neoliberalism.asp>.

5 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

diamonds produced in zones of savagery”⁹ such as Angola. Blood diamonds (or conflict diamonds) refer to “rough diamonds used by rebel movements or their allies to finance armed conflicts aimed at undermining legitimate governments.”¹⁰ The contrast between these images allow Canada to further gain economic advantage through distancing itself from nations like Angola who use diamonds to fund militaristic activities, underlining Du Bois’s notions of both colour line and double consciousness concepts; undertones of intersectional classism and racism are apparent in the marketing rhetoric of Canadian diamond producers.

Furthermore, the Canadian and Western perspective that Angola engages in ethically questionable activities with its diamond industry is hypocritical; this is especially the case when one applies a critical lens considering the foundational issues that plagued Angola and subsequently led it to a 27-year Civil War (from 1975-2002). After emerging from Portuguese rule, the start of Angola’s civil war acted simultaneously as a Cold War proxy between the communist People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the anti-communist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).¹¹ Portugal’s colonial rule over Angola ended in 1974, but the colonial roots of Angola remain: colonization had “resulted in the politicization of ethnicity by combining and placing vastly differing ethnicities under one centrally administered colonial territory.”¹² This consequently led to “aggravated ethnic cleavages by introducing and imposing racial and class divisions.”¹³ The colour line in Angola is two-fold: there exists ‘sub colour lines,’ that create divisions within one side of the line, as seen through ethnic and racial differences through Angola’s Civil War that created socio-political and socio-economic conflict based on race and class level within society. This subset of the colour line was caused by continued forms of domineering colonialism within the nation, primarily due to interests in lucrative natural resources such as diamonds. Additionally, the colour line is also one that separates Canada’s “racialized white settler cultural fabric”¹⁴ against “black”¹⁵ Angolans. While civil war should not be condoned, it is of significance to consider Canada’s privileged position of not having to partake in large scale, domestic, violent conflict due to its peaceful existence as a former colony under the British Empire. Additionally, one must consider that the blood diamonds Canada positions itself against were used to fight a “militaristic, brutal, and grossly corrupt”¹⁶ regime under MPLA leader José Eduardo dos Santos. Rather

9 *Ibid.*

10 “What Is the Kimberley Process?” Kimberley Process. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/what-kp>.

11 “The Angola Crisis 1974–75.” Office of the Historian. U.S. Department of State. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/angola>.

12 “The Angolan Civil War (1975-2002): A Brief History.” South African History Online, February 5, 2015. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/angolan-civil-war-1975-2002-brief-history>.

13 “The Angolan Civil War (1975-2002): A Brief History.” South African History Online, February 5, 2015. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/angolan-civil-war-1975-2002-brief-history>.

14 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

15 *Ibid.*

16 Sharife, Khadija. “Blood Diamond’ Regulation System Broken.” Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera,



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than objectively assessing the colonial underpinnings and social unrest driving Angola’s usage of its diamonds, Canada uses Angola’s historical colonial reality to reinforce and further engrain concepts of the colour line and double consciousness through prevalent rhetoric and the dichotomy between ‘white’ and ‘black’ diamonds for capitalistic economic gain, which can be viewed through the intersectional lens of racial- and class-based slandering of competitors.

Moreover, Canadian Robert Fowler, who was the nation’s Permanent Representative and Ambassador to the United Nations (UN) (1995-2000)¹⁷, published the Fowler Report in 2000, which voiced concerns surrounding the diamond “situation in Angola”¹⁸ and other parts of Africa, noting how diamonds played a “uniquely important role within UNITA’s political and military economy.”¹⁹ The report has since become a vehicle to facilitate the exacerbation of the inequality between Canada and Angola tied to intersectionality’s of race and class, rather than being used for its intended effect: to discourage “illegal trading activity”²⁰ and “curtail existing violations.”²¹ The diamonds had become a multidimensional tool to organize activity within UNITA, as they provided a source of steady cash revenue, allowing for the sustenance of its “political and military activities”²², and became a core component of “acquiring friends and maintaining military support.”²³ Additionally, the report chronicles diamonds’ importance “as a means of stockpiling wealth,”²⁴ contrasting the commodity with cash deposits, which leave financial traces, which was of particular importance in 1998, when UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi faced “international financial sanctions.”²⁵ Since 1993, the UN Security Council has imposed sanctions, making the sale or purchasing of blood diamonds “illegal and... condemning the sale of weapons to UNITA”²⁶; the blood diamond sale had previously led to UNITA becoming the “single largest producer of diamonds in Angola,”²⁷ allowing it to exchange its key commodity for arms.²⁸ However, in 2001, Canadian mining

July 25, 2011. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/07/2011721857193676.html>.

17 “Robert Fowler.” Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. University of Ottawa. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://socialsciences.uottawa.ca/public-international-affairs/people/fowler-robert>.

18 Fowler, Robert. “Final Report of the UN Panel of Experts (‘The Fowler Report’).” Global Policy Forum, March 10, 2000. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/202/41606.html#three>.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.*

22 Fowler, Robert. “Final Report of the UN Panel of Experts (‘The Fowler Report’).” Global Policy Forum, March 10, 2000. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/202/41606.html#three>.

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*

26 Harvey, Jennifer. “Blood Diamonds.” Blood Diamonds. Stanford. Accessed April 4, 2020. [https://web.stanford.edu/class/e297a/Blood Diamonds.htm](https://web.stanford.edu/class/e297a/Blood%20Diamonds.htm).

27 “Conflict Diamonds’ Evade UN Sanctions.” Africa Renewal. Africa Renewal, December 2001. <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/december-2001/conflict-diamonds-evade-un-sanctions>.

28 Briggs, Nicholas S. “Conflict Diamonds in West Africa.” Stanford. Accessed April 4, 2020. [https://web.stanford.edu/class/e297a/Conflict diamonds in West Africa.htm](https://web.stanford.edu/class/e297a/Conflict%20diamonds%20in%20West%20Africa.htm).



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companies such as SouthernEra Resources Ltd, "struggling to find a place within the evolving worldwide diamond industry,"²⁹ partnered with Lev Leviev, an investor known as the "King of Diamonds,"³⁰ to benefit from the highly criticized Angolan diamonds. Leviev came to the "rescue of Canadian companies with projects in Angola,"³¹ with his past experience in the industry earning himself "contacts at the very highest levels,"³² and a 33 percent stake in the "Camafuca diamond mine in Angola."³³ Bilateral agreements with Leviev resulted in Toronto-based SouthernEra acquiring a "32 percent stake"³⁴ in the Camafuca mine, with the Angolan government owning "the remaining 35 per cent."³⁵ While Angola cannot be absolved of any fraudulent, illegal, and unethical behaviour involving the diamond trade, notable Canadian hypocrisy stems from the notion that as investors, Canadians are too, a party that suffers from malpractice in the Angolan diamond industry, with the complete knowledge that domestic and foreign supporters of UNITA are becoming their diamond exploits' potential new buyers. Canadian economic presence became increasingly influential in the Angolan diamond market of diamonds, as Canadian diamond importers have aimed to contrast clean diamonds against blood diamonds, instilling a "deep-rooted sense of racial hierarchy... in which Blackness/Africanness is equated with savagery and evil and whiteness/Canadianness with reason, heroism, and civility"³⁶. Rather than intervening with non-violent measures to deescalate and prevent the civil war, Canadian industry has profited from the same diamonds, whose sale Canadian representative Fowler had advocated against. Canada thus became a state with undertones of "colonialist, white supremacist violence"³⁷. Canadian actions in Angola have clearly are embedded with implications of inequality stemming from the intersection of race and class through Canadian reluctance to endorse sovereign Angolan mining when Canadians do not act as stakeholders, establishing a racial hierarchy that reinforces class division based on colour. Instead of moral intervention in accordance with the Fowler Report, Canada has chosen a route of economic opportunism.

What further damages seemingly the altruistic motives of the Canadian government and Fowler Report in advocating for the suppression of illegal diamond transactions are actions in a 2018 contract signed by Canadian company Tango Mining Limited to "explore a diamond concession in Angola... in the Lauchimo river basin".³⁸ By providing

29 Robinson, Allan. "The High-Risk World of the King of Diamonds." The Globe and Mail. The Globe and Mail, April 12, 2018. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/the-high-risk-world-of-the-king-of-diamonds/article4151048/>.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Robinson, Allan. "The High-Risk World of the King of Diamonds." The Globe and Mail. The Globe and Mail, April 12, 2018. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/the-high-risk-world-of-the-king-of-diamonds/article4151048/>.

35 Ibid.

36 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

37 Ibid.

38 "Canada's Tango Mining Signs Another Diamond Mining Agreement in Angola – Macauhub." MacauHub, September 12, 2018. <https://macauhub.com.mo/2018/09/12/pt->

“capital expenditures,”³⁹ the company is entitled to receive “60% of the value of the sale”⁴⁰ of “semi-industrial exploitation of diamonds.”⁴¹ It can be implied that political parties like UNITA may not have the financial capital to buy these diamonds and sell the commodity for military equipment, and thus, Canada, by virtue of foreign direct investment (FDI) and the reselling of mined diamonds, eliminates the blood diamond trade that has lingered in Angola for multiple generations throughout its civil war and afterward. However, Canadian activity in the region also signals the economic exploitation of Angola; financing diamond exploration in the country has subsequently “generated lavish profits for a group of elite whites,”⁴² demonstrating the continuing intersectionality of race and subsequently class, as black Angolans are removed from the profits. The profiting of 60% speaks to the larger issue of continued colonialism in Angola: the vehicle of Canadian neocolonial economic exploitation in the diamond industry. Canada depicts itself as “possessing superior moral sensibility and technical standards”⁴³ based on the ideal of “global white supremacy”⁴⁴, leaning upon the pre-existing historical stigmas of world institutions and normative human practices being based on the “world of the white man.”⁴⁵ SouthernEra and Tango Mining’s funding of the diamond projects underlines Du Bois’s colour line of historical unequal socio-economic opportunity due to generational pre-existing hierarchies in race that ultimately can work to facilitate resource exploitation and further class division.

In 2018, Canada’s mining industry accounted for 5% (\$97 billion) of its total Gross Domestic Product (GDP)⁴⁶, while “extractive sector companies” such as SouthernEra and Tango Mining reported payments of “\$10.4 billion to Canadian governments.”⁴⁷ Through private investment to procure diamonds in the region, Canada joins forces with the same hierarchy—the Angolan government—that Canada seeks to discredit as bad actors, causing internal turmoil and accompanying the rise of “rebel movements”⁴⁸ through the business of blood diamonds. The emerging Canadian presence in Angolan diamond mining through the unequal distribution of profits further support the conclusion that “Canada is an aggressive colonialist nation”⁴⁹ in Angola, with a “mesmerizingly humanitarian appearance”⁵⁰ exhibited through vehicles such as their historic image as a nation

canadiana-tango-mining-assina-mais-um-contrato-para-explorar-diamantes-em-angola/.

39 Ibid

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Du Bois, W. E.B. (William Edward Burghardt), *The Souls of Black Folk*. Dover, 1994.

46 “Facts and Figures 2019.” The Mining Association of Canada. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://mining.ca/documents/facts-and-figures-2019/>.

47 Ibid.

48 “What Is the Kimberley Process?” Kimberley Process. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/what-kp>.

49 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

50 Ibid.



"THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN CANADIAN ALTRUISM AND CANADIAN ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION IN ANGOLA IS EVIDENTLY DISPLAYED AS THE COUNTRY ENGAGES IN ITS AFOREMENTIONED NEOCOLONIAL ACTIVITIES IN ANGOLA..."

“free... of chattel bondage”⁵¹ and the UN published Fowler Report. The dichotomy between Canadian altruism and Canadian economic exploitation in Angola is evidently displayed as the country engages in its aforementioned neocolonial activities in Angola, after witnessing Angola’s “geological potential”⁵² as a “mineral-rich”⁵³ nation. Butler labels economic investment in Angola as “full of risk and danger”⁵⁴ from an

investment lens; the other danger, however, is the continued exploitation of the African continent through Canadian mining activities encouraging neoliberal and neocolonial practices, further expanding the disparities stemming from intersections of race and class with respect to racial and class-based inequalities.

The Kimberley Process (KP) acts as a governing body and legislature that denotes the fair trade of diamonds, but simultaneously supports the continued inequity stemming from intersectional disparities of race and class among Angolans as it refuses to recognize troubling trends like tax evasion and human rights violations. The Kimberley Process, created in 2003, is an “international multi-stakeholder

initiative... created to increase transparency in the diamond industry to eliminate trade in conflict diamonds.”⁵⁵ However, the initiative has become a framework to satisfy neoliberal capitalist structures and reinforce inequalities tied to intersections of race and class in Angola. Between 2001 and 2008, \$3.5 billion in KP-certified diamond profits “simply vanished,”⁵⁶ the subject of tax evasion havens such as Dubai and Switzerland.⁵⁷ In

51 Whitfield, Harvey. (2007). Black Loyalists and Black Slaves in Maritime Canada. *History Compass*. 5. 1980 - 1997. 10.1111/j.1478-0542.2007.00479.x.

52 “Anglo American Has Its Eye on Angola.” *Canadian Mining Journal*, September 25, 2018. <http://www.canadianminingjournal.com/news/anglo-american-has-its-eye-on-angola/>.

53 Campbell, Bonnie. “Peace and Security in Africa and the Role of Canadian Mining Interests: New Challenges for Canadian Foreign Policy.” *Labour, Capital and Society / Travail, Capital Et Société* 37, no. 1/2 (2004): 98-129. Accessed April 10, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/43158567.

54 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

55 “Conflict Diamonds.” De Beers Group. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://www.debeersgroup.com/building-forever/reporting/confidence/conflict-diamonds>.

56 Sharife, Khadija, and John Grobler. “Kimberley’s Illicit Process.” Edited by David A. Andelman and Yaffa Fredrick. *World Policy*. Accessed April 4, 2020. <http://worldpolicy.org/kimberleys-illicit-process/>.

57 Ibid.

excluding tax avoidance from the “definition of ‘conflict diamond,’”⁵⁸ the KP expresses indifference toward intersections of class and race in Angola, with its concerns centered around how these conflict diamonds can be taken out of Angolan hands without equitable payment. Economic- and class-related interests among elite members of the KP imply that “a special pariah group at the bottom acts as a kind of lightning rod for the frustrations and hostilities of all the higher groups... this pariah group (being) the black sub proletariat”⁵⁹ in Angola. When UNITA was mining diamonds to fight government brutality and corruption, it was categorized as unequivocally unjust by the Fowler Report and KP, but tax evasion that results from large-scale diamond selling is not recognized through a similar lens. The KP represents institutional, capitalist failure, reaffirming how neoliberalism has exacerbated “uneven development”⁶⁰ along intersectional fault lines of race and class in Angola. The KP system “does not even explicitly articulate a human rights provision, preferring to focus on, and protect, the rights of governments,”⁶¹ which is somewhat in contrast to the government deregulation pillar of neoliberal ideology. Neoliberal organizations such as the KP are hostile to movements that seek to install greater social justice and substantive democracy; the ideology of neoliberalism aims instead to enforce inequality stemming from class-race intersectionality and economic stratification, evidenced by scenarios such as Canadian neocolonialism in Angola.

In addition, Du Bois’s theory of double consciousness is prevalent in Canadian mining activity, as Butler outlines perceived injustices against African miners who suffer “high fatality and injury rates”⁶² in countries such as Angola, connecting to the Canadian lack of cognizance toward intersections of race and class. In 2007, Amnesty International reported 3.7 million people had died in Angola and other neighbouring African countries in “conflicts fuelled by diamonds”⁶³ despite the introduction of the KP. While the civil war in Angola ended in 2002, the aforementioned examples of Canadian investment highlights the continued presence of Canadian mining activities despite the decrease in the percentage of blood diamonds relative to total diamond exports in Angola decreasing from “15 percent to just 1 percent.”⁶⁴ Canada’s continued presence in the region underlines the shortcomings of the KP, showing that the KP is not a human rights provision advocating for the eradication of intersectional discrimination connected to race and class through “transparent global

58 Ibid

59 Wilson, Carter A. *Racism: From Slavery to Advanced Capitalism*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1998.

60 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

61 Sharife, Khadija. “Blood Diamond’ Regulation System Broken.” Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, July 25, 2011. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/07/2011721857193676.html>.

62 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

63 “Blood Diamonds Are Still A Reality.” Amnesty International, January 25, 2007. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol30/002/2007/en/>.

64 Sharife, Khadija. “Blood Diamond’ Regulation System Broken.” Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, July 25, 2011. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/07/2011721857193676.html>.

diamond trade”⁶⁵, but rather an organization that “protect[s]... the rights of governments”⁶⁶ and their ability to procure diamonds under the façade of preventing the awakening of a dormant civil war. The aforementioned fatalities and injuries underline the notion of Canada achieving “discourses and practices of ‘colour-blindness’ or ‘racelessness’ that allow (their) white racial power to be sustained in the guise of neutral, non-racial, economically rational practices.”⁶⁷ The notions of ‘colour blindness’ and ‘racelessness’ allude to neo-colonial Canada’s negligence in refusing to acknowledge racial undertones in their mining practices, further resulting in unethical practices such as child labour in Angola. In the Lunda Norte province in Angola where both Canadian companies Southern Era and Tango Mining operate⁶⁸, 46% of miners have been found to be between the ages of 5 and 16.⁶⁹ Angolan children are tasked with “performing the most dangerous activities,”⁷⁰ with the “impact of land mines”⁷¹ perilous to child health, leading to multiple “social atrocities.”⁷² Du Bois’s concept of double consciousness and the colour line is prevalent in this scenario;



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Angolan children are seen as dispensable workers, confined to “working

65 “What Is the Kimberley Process?” Kimberley Process. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/what-kp>.

66 Sharife, Khadija. “Blood Diamond’ Regulation System Broken.” Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, July 25, 2011. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/07/2011721857193676.html>.

67 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

68 “SouthernEra Gets Green Light for Camafuca.” Canadian Mining Journal, August 10, 2005. <http://www.canadianminingjournal.com/news/diamond-development-southernera-gets-green-light-for-camafuca/>.

69 “Diamond Mining in Africa.” Brilliant Earth. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://www.brilliantearth.com/conflict-diamond-child-labor/>.

70 Ibid.

71 Jean-Louis Arcand, Aude-Sophie Rodella-Boitreau, and Matthias Rieger, “The Impact of Land Mines on Child Health: Evidence from Angola,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 63, no. 2 (January 2015): 249-279.

72 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

as miners⁷³ due to their low class standing and racial inferiority. Their unfortunate socio-economic predicament (the colour line) intersects with their race through the “dehumaniz[ation] (of) non-whites⁷⁴ arising from “white supremacy,⁷⁵ separating “forms of humanity and treat[ing] them differently⁷⁶ (double consciousness). Doing little to dissuade this behaviour, the KP focuses its wrath on nations mining these diamonds and which entities they are being sold to, neglecting the foundations of child labour on which these diamonds are mined in Angola. Canadian mining activities in Angola illustrate the hypocrisy in advocating for the eradication of the sale of blood diamonds while concurrently using the newly opened diamond market to engage in neocolonial human rights abuses and take advantage of Angolans based on their class and race, further intertwining the intersectionality of these two forms of discrimination.

Further, the Canadian commercial practices in question are objectively unjust; the concept of having multiple social identities owing to double consciousness that are tied to differing levels of moral codes complicates the seemingly objective nature of these injustices. Although these workers are not Canadians (in contrast to Du Bois’s example of African Americans in *The Souls of Black Folk*), they are conflicted between the persona of their race (rooted in historical subjugation) and their contemporary human rights as citizens of their state in Angola. In connection with double consciousness, Du Bois alludes to the concept of “the veil⁷⁷, which, in the case of Angolan child miners, limits their ability to see their role in society, which is removed from how white Canadians “define and characterize them⁷⁸. In this way, the white Canadian can see outwards, but not inwards without a racial and classist inferiority complex being attached to his/her vision and societal understanding. Butler conveys the notion that racial hierarchy can be “ideologically useful for capitalism⁷⁹ as well as for neoliberal classist “structures of subordination,⁸⁰ which allow for “institutionalized ideologies,⁸¹ justified oppression, and the exploitation of lower-class workers in Angolan regions under the guise of coloured workers being of less importance to society based on the intersectional discrimination of race and class, “unlike their white counterparts.⁸² Canada’s reluctance to let UNITA challenge the single party system in Angola (irrespective of their medium and usage of diamonds as a source of funding) and their endorsement of child labour through the Angolan

73 “Diamond Mining in Africa.” Brilliant Earth. Accessed April 4, 2020. <https://www.brilliantearth.com/conflict-diamond-child-labor/>.

74 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Blumenfeld, Warren J. “A Tiered System of Justice, the Veil, & ‘Double Consciousness.’” *HuffPost*, *HuffPost*, 17 Aug. 2016, www.huffpost.com/entry/a-tiered-system-of-justice_b_7995674.

78 Ibid.

79 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

80 Crenshaw, Kimberle. (2002). Background Paper for the Expert Meeting on the Gender-Related Aspects of Race Discrimination. *Revista Estudos Feministas*. 10. 171-188.

81 Hunt, Michael H. *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Yale University Press, 2009.

82 Davis, Angela. *Women, Race, and Class*. Penguin, 2019.

regions in which their companies mine directly contradicts Canadian self-declared support for “multilateral system[s] and regional programs that benefit Angola⁸³ and instead pushes Angola towards further stagnation tied to its “sluggish, authoritarian past.⁸⁴ Du Bois’s notions of double consciousness and the veil are compelling, particularly when they concern a nation such as Canada whereby actions and words are juxtaposed in the context of neoliberal and neocolonial intersections between race and class. The intersecting of race and class throughout the “hierarchical relations⁸⁵ between Canadian mining entities and the Angolan people is in stark contrast to the conflict-averse and “globally responsible⁸⁶ identity Canada aims to project, uphold, and convey in world institutions such as the UN; rather, the study of Angola has demonstrated Canada to be a state involved in neocolonial economic mining activities that widen the intersectionality of race in class in the region.

The intersectional theories of the colour line and double consciousness, presented by Du Bois in the 20th century, have continued to remain relevant in the neocolonialist spheres of the 21st century; the case study of Angola underlines Canadian neoliberal, capitalist structures that facilitate diamond mining and resource exploration in the region. The colour line and double consciousness in Angola act as mutual reinforcements to quell entities and agents of change seeking to rebel against intersectional classism and racism, evidenced by the Angolan Civil War, the Fowler Report, and the Kimberley Process. The institutionalized restructuring of the outdated, racialized, and classist Kimberly Process and other aforementioned organizations is of paramount importance in the fight to combat neocolonial practices in underdeveloped regions such as Angola. Inadequate infrastructure for Angola to acquire their own natural resources on a large-scale leads to a reliance on exploitative foreign direct investment by countries such as Canada, and is detrimental to efforts to eliminate discrimination tied to the intersectionality of race and class in Angola. The continued exploitation of the region and its workers will result in an increasingly widening divide between members of various racial and class identities; it will prolong the intersectional inequality stemming racism and classism that continues to be unjustly rooted in historical and cultural norms that arose from colonial foundations. Canadian mining activity in Angola suggests a dichotomy between how nations present themselves with ethical values at global governing bodies such as the UN, while simultaneously choosing to continue engaging in colonial behaviour outside of their borders. The restructuring of the system that gives rise to such policies and ideology is critical in the eradication of discriminatory practices in the diamond industry in Angola, which heighten the injustices

83 “Canada-Angola Relations.” Government of Canada. Global Affairs Canada, April 9, 2020. https://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/zimbabwe/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/canada_angola.aspx?lang=eng.

84 Harding, Andrew. “Angola’s João Lourenço – The Man Taking on Isabel Dos Santos.” *BBC News*. BBC, January 27, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-51221737>.

85 Bexell, Magdalena. “Global Governance, Gains and Gender.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 3 (September 2012): 389–407. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2012.659855>.

86 Butler, Paula. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

occurring between the intersectionality of race and class; there is much progress to be achieved through the “union of intelligence and sympathy across the color-line.”⁸⁷ Du Bois’s theories of the colour line and double consciousness continue to be of relevance in a contemporary context and can be used as vehicles to detail the impacts of continued Canadian neoliberal and neocolonial economic exploitation of diamonds in Angola; without the fundamental restructuring of neoliberal, capitalist institutions, neocolonial injustices and inequalities resulting from the intersectionality of race and class will continue to heighten within Angola, and beyond.

87 Du Bois, W. E.B. (William Edward Burghardt), *The Souls of Black Folk*. Dover, 1994.

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