

*Debating mining in Correa's
Ecuador:
social movements, constituent
assemblies and cabinet frictions*

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Outline

- Study Context
- Ecuadorian Context
- Mining geographies of the “long neoliberal night”
- Movement geographies of the “long neoliberal night”
- Movement actors in government
- Mining, the *Mandato Minero* and the economic model

Study context

- comparisons across territories
- interactions between territories and national dynamics

<i>National dynamics</i>	Peru	Bolivia	Ecuador	Colombia
<i>Mineral expansion</i>	•Cajamarca •Piura	•Oruro	•Cotacachi •Zamorra Chinchipe •Azuay	
<i>Oil/gas expansion</i>	•Camisea	•Tarija		•Magdalena Medio
<i>FTAs and agrarian economy</i>	•Ayacucho		•Chimborazo	

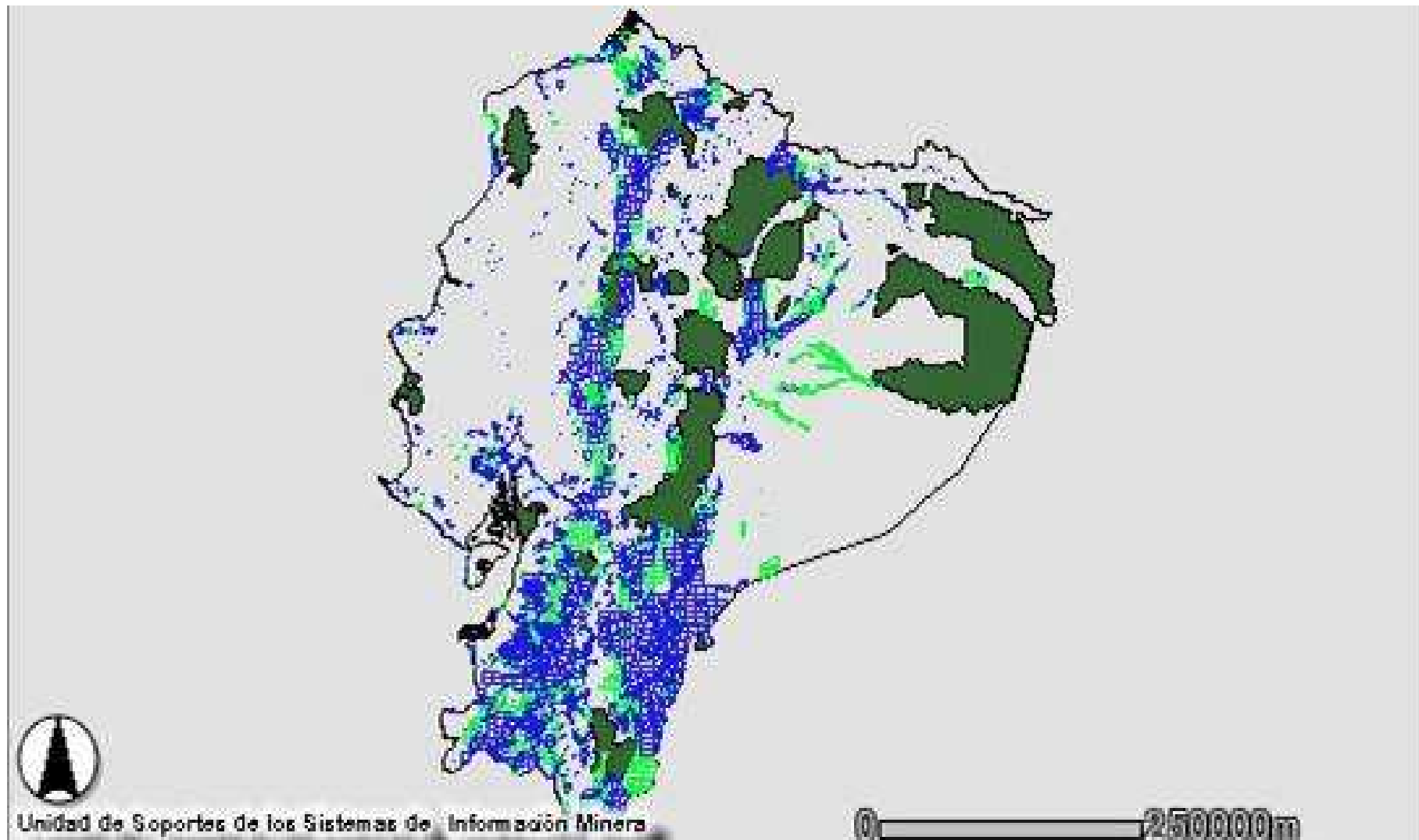
Ecuadorian Context

- Pre-hispanic and colonial mining
- The sad history of oil extraction
 - Pasivos ambientales y sociales
 - Ecuador's La Oroya and Pasco for the socio-environmental movements?
- Living the resource curse *en carne propia*?
- Mobilized (¿strong?) society, weak state

Mining geographies of the “long neoliberal night

- Early geological surveys
- Prodeminca and its heritages
 - Royalty and concession rules
- The Chamber of Mining: defending Prodeminca’s heritages
- Concessions

Mining concessions, 11-2007

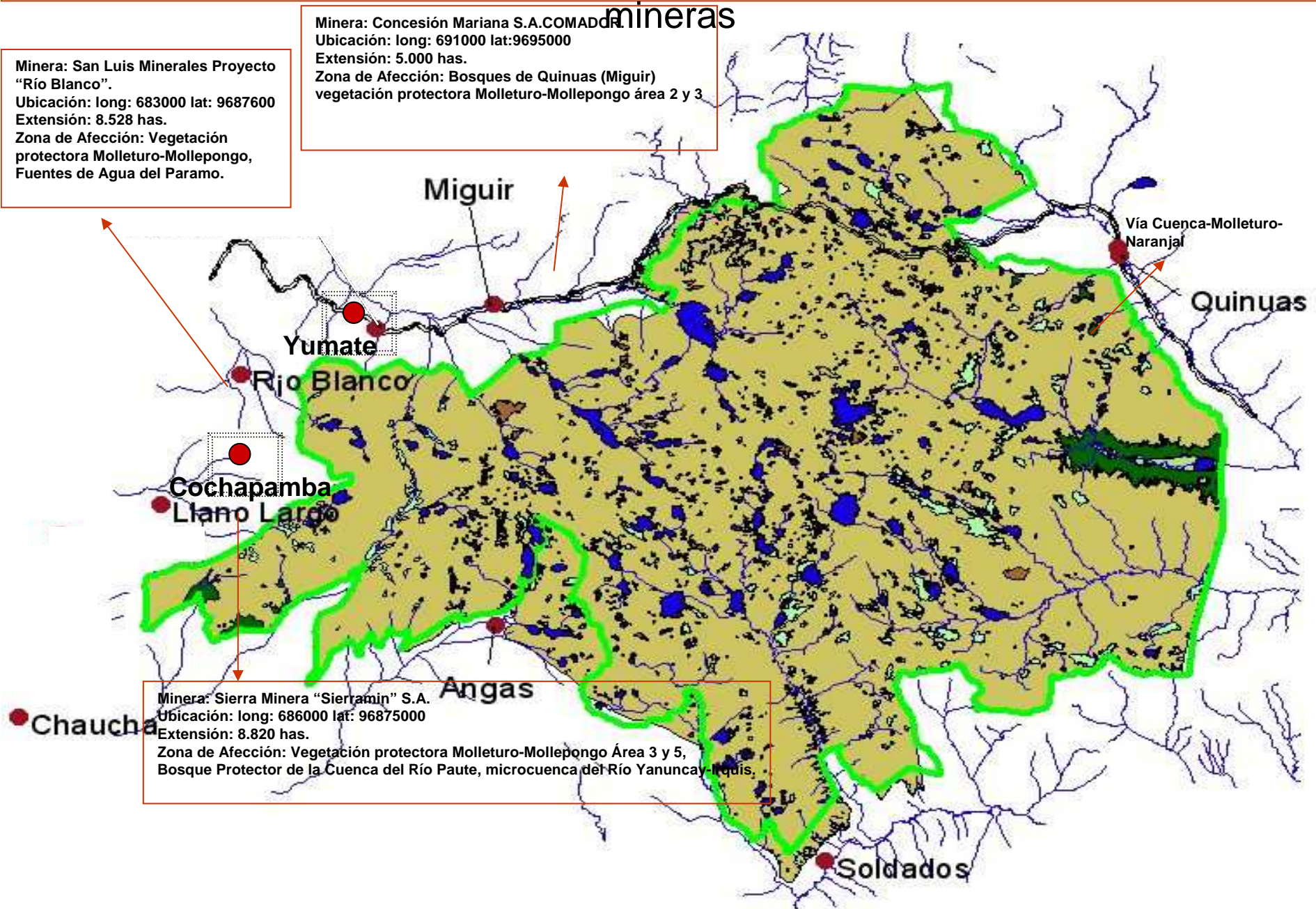


Situación actual del Parque Nacional Cajas con respecto a las actividades

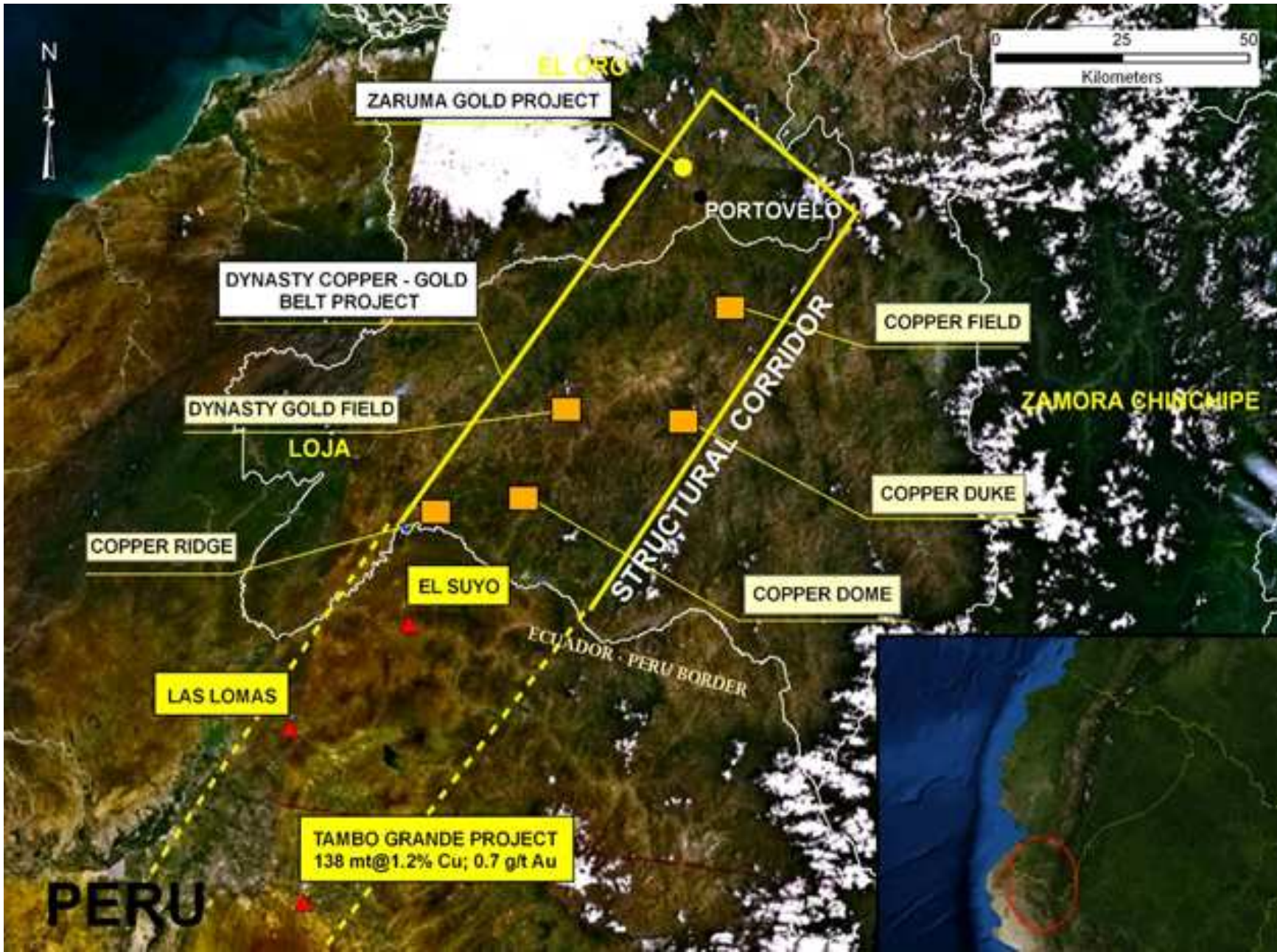
Minera: San Luis Minerales Proyecto "Río Blanco".
Ubicación: long: 683000 lat: 9687600
Extensión: 8.528 has.
Zona de Afección: Vegetación protectora Molleturo-Mollepongo, Fuentes de Agua del Paramo.

Mineras
Minera: Concesión Mariana S.A.COMADRA
Ubicación: long: 691000 lat:9695000
Extensión: 5.000 has.
Zona de Afección: Bosques de Quinuas (Miguir)
vegetación protectora Molleturo-Mollepongo área 2 y 3

Minera: Sierra Minera "Sierramin" S.A.
Ubicación: long: 686000 lat: 96875000
Extensión: 8.820 has.
Zona de Afección: Vegetación protectora Molleturo-Mollepongo Área 3 y 5,
Bosque Protector de la Cuenca del Río Paute, microcuenca del Río Yanunca y Iquis.



- We count some 32 junior/mid-size exploration companies
 - Larger companies appear cautious
- The Canadian connection:
 - Company players
 - The active embassy
- Majority are active in Ecuador only
 - But note, earlier periods of Newmont, RTZ, BHP etc. presence
- We count 26 of these in South of Ecuador
 - Border issues
 - Cordillera del Condor issues



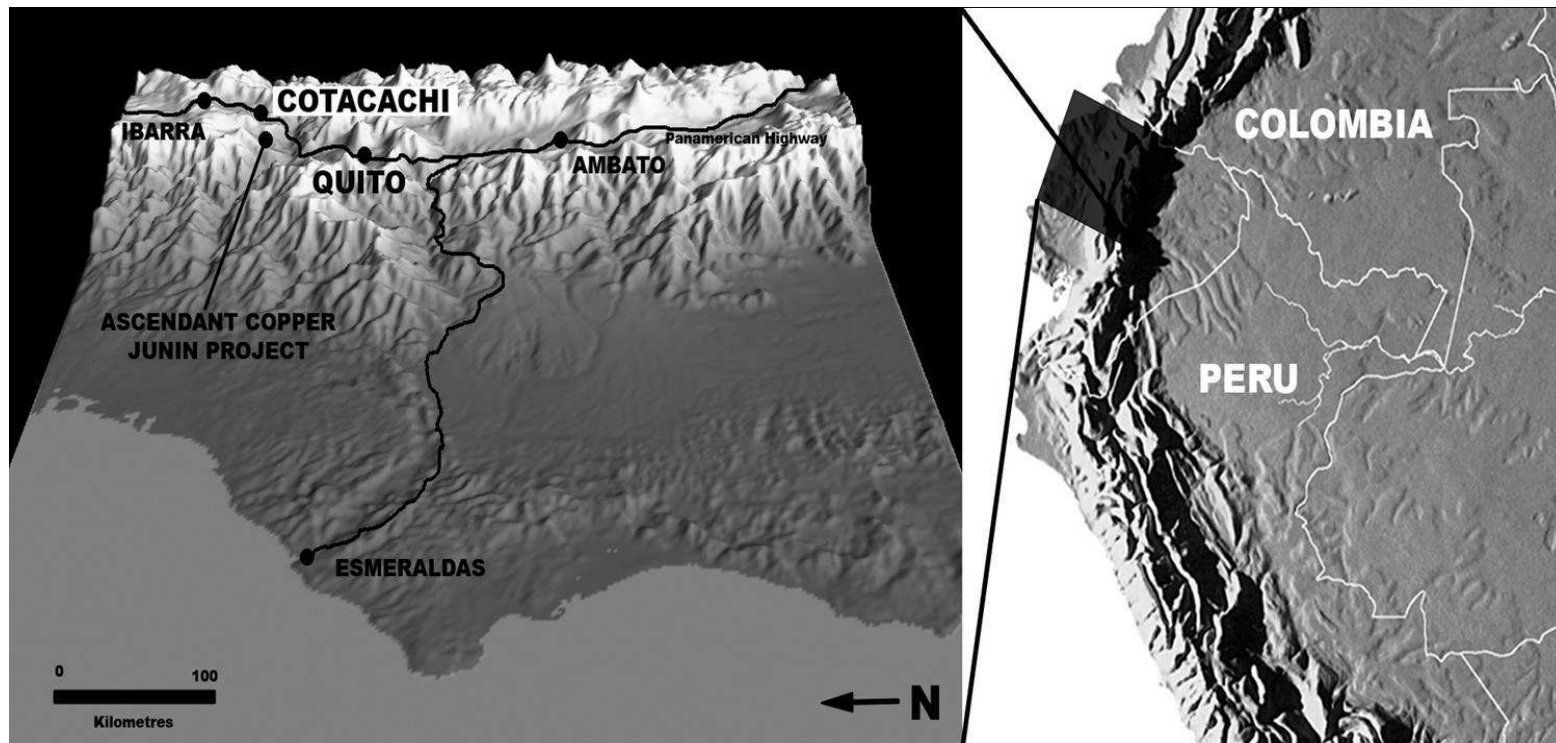
Source: Dynasty Metals and Mining

- Ecuacorrientes (Mirador)
 - Zamora Chinchipe
 - 11 concessions totaling over 50,000 hectares.
- Aurelian (Fruta del Norte)
 - Morona Santiago/Zamora Chinchipe
 - 38 mineral concessions totaling over 95,000 hectares
- IMC Gold (Rio Blanco)
 - Azuay
- IAMGold (Quimsacocha)
 - Azuay
- Dynasty (Zaruma, Dynasty)
 - El Oro, Loja
- Ascendant
 - Imbabura

Movement geographies of the “long neoliberal night

Cotacachi-Intag

- The unlikely home of an emblematic mining conflict



Articulating movement

- From Intag up
- From Acción Ecológica out (CONAIE links)



- New mining movements in the South: the Coordinadora Nacional por la Defensa de la Vida y la Soberanía



- Tensions in movement
 - From the Coordinadora to the Resistencia del Sur
 - Attitudes to the Asamblea
 - Attitudes to alternatives (c.f. Cajamarca)





Movement actors in government

- Local government
- Correa's cabinet
 - Social movement organizations/intellectuals in government
 - Tensions in *movimientista* government: the ITT moment
 - Ishpingo-Tambococha Tiputini, Yasuni)
- Movement actors and the Constituent Assembly

- Constituent Assembly
 - Part of Correa's platform
 - Elected September 2007, Convened November 2007
 - Alianza País, 74 of 130 *asambleistas*
 - Legislative power; drafting new constitution in 6 months, due May/August 2008; then subject to referendum
 - 10 mesas:
 - Mesa 5, Natural Resources and Biodiversity, Monica Chuji
 - Mesa 7, Development Model, Pedro Morales
 - Mesa 10, interim legislation
 - Advisors
 - Green ministers re-constituted in assembly and as assembly advisors?

- Presidency of Asamblea, Alberto Acosta (ecological economist; former Minister of Energy and Mines)

- "Ideally, I would prefer to stop all large-scale mining," Acosta, a former energy and mines minister who quit to run for the assembly, told Reuters. "But at least by stopping open pit mining, we can protect our natural wealth."

Acosta to Reuters, 22-8-07

- Acosta's advisors include:
 - M.F. Espinosa (to Feb 2008); Esperanza Martinez; Pablo Ortiz

Mining, governance and the economic model

- Fractures in the Ecuadorian model
 - Worrying about the post-petroleum economy
 - Correa's change of (dis)course: substituting minerals for oil?
- Tensions in government: Executive/Assembly rifts
 - Parallel processes of constitution writing?
 - Differing public discourses on ITT and mining
 - What is the *mandato minero* of April 2008?
 - First step towards an Ecuador without large scale mining?
 - Beginning of a state run mining sector?
 - A rationalization that will favor selected international companies?
 - A reflection of a weakening in Correa's power?
 - A Blair-Brown fudge in Ecuador?

- Mining and arguments over the model inside government
 - Arguments over the extractive model
 - Acosta said on Friday he will also propose a ban on open-pit mining (Reuters, April 18, 2008)
 - "We will try to have a new legal framework ready as soon as possible... We welcome foreign investment." Correa, Reuters April 26th, 2008
 - Correa supported "the development of responsible mining." (Reuters, April 25th, 2008)
 - Arguments over growth and fiscal strategy
 - Argument over ownership
 - A State Mining Company (Mandato Minero)
 - Community shares in mining projects (Correa, Reuters, April 26th, 2008)
 - Will more nationalist-populist ownership arrangements open the path for open cast mining?
- Mining and arguments between government and movements
 - How will (fractions of) movements respond?
 - How will ownership proposals affect relationships between communities, leadership and movement organizations?
 - Does the *mandato minero* buy time to weaken movements?