

JUST PUBLISHED

La propriété intellectuelle contre la biodiversité ?

Géopolitique de la diversité biologique

[Intellectual Property versus Biodiversity: The Geopolitics of Biodiversity]

Multiple authors

The green and biotechnical revolutions emanating from the industrialized countries and promoted by the agribusiness and pharmaceutical corporations have increased, as never before, the commercial value of biological resources and, in turn, that of traditional knowledge. The countries of the South are home to 80% of the world's natural resources (often known by the indigenous peoples, who have developed traditional knowledge around their use), arousing the greed of many of these companies and leading to bio-piracy or bio-colonialism.

Today, what is different is that natural resources and traditional knowledge are being privatized, in part, because of the imposition of patents as well as titles to intellectual property, resulting in substantial monetary profit. To try to deal with this bio-piracy, the Convention on Bio-Diversity proposes, inter alia, "benefit sharing" between these companies and indigenous peoples.

Eighteen years after the entry into force of this convention, what conclusions can one draw? Is it really "fair" and "beneficial" for these peoples? Does it guarantee the pursuit of collective innovation? Does the commodification of nature really allow protection of bio-diversity? What dangers await these peoples and their environment? In the countries of the South, bio-diversity is threatened by privatization, whereas in the North, the imposition, for example, of a catalogue, certifications etc. on agricultural seeds has largely reduced biodiversity, as well as the freedom of small-holder farmers. On a broader scale, it seems that this situation in the North is a precursor of what will most probably occur in the countries of the South over the coming decades.

This book shows how imposing intellectual property rights on the traditional resources and knowledge that depend on bio-diversity has led to dramatic consequences for humanity. Are there alternative models for sharing resources and knowledge that function beyond the purview of the market and that could be effective in protecting bio-diversity? This book proposes several ways that might help us to escape from or, at least, rethink this logic of privatization and commodification of nature.

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Bulletin
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CETIM

EDITORIAL

To whom does natural wealth belong? It is a vast and thorny question which CETIM decided to address at its 2010 symposium, on November 5 and 6 in Geneva. More than a hundred participants attended the three conferences and four workshops organized with guests from Europe, Guatemala and Ecuador.

While not exhausting the subject (far from it), the symposium allowed a comparison of the situations faced by a several countries rich in natural resources, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Bolivia, Iraq, Guatemala and Ecuador, comparing the various policies – of (re)nationalization or privatization – implemented by their governments and debating the various options for respecting peoples' right to self-determination and full sovereignty over their natural wealth. The concept of public common was presented as a third, democratic way, as opposed to nationalization or the monopolization of these resources by transnational companies.

Given the extent of the subject matter and the multiple approaches possible, we found it appropriate to ask one of our partners, who has been defending and supporting indigenous people for a very long time, to share with us his analysis after the symposium. Alain Cassani's article below highlights the gap between a purely market approach to natural resources and the holistic vision present in many indigenous communities. In addition, the three symposium conferences may be watched on our website under the section "Multimedia".

This bulletin also presents some of our other recent activities relating to the question of people's sovereignty: a booklet on peoples' right to self-determination, a book on the impact of intellectual property on biodiversity and a conference organized with some fifteen organizations and unions to denounce an international meeting held by private companies and banks in Geneva to promote the business of renting and buying land on a large scale throughout the world.

We are presenting Alain Cassani's analysis drafted after the symposium: "To whom does natural wealth belong?" partly based on the various participants' interventions. Alain has long supported indigenous communities delegations – among which the U'wa and Emberas from Colombia or, recently, the Guaranis from Tentayape in Bolivia – during their campaigns in Switzerland or to the international institutions. He is an active militant working to make known their situations and claims.

Alain's uncompromising analysis highlights the contradictions between the development model promised by governments in their speeches, including the forward thinking ones, and reality. Moreover, Alain refrains from proposing solutions as there are no ready-made answers to complex situations in which the different social strata can have contradictory interests and diametrically opposed philosophies. In this context, peoples' dialogue and participation in decision making processes, at the national and international levels, are crucial. This is, indeed, the only acceptable way of defusing and avoiding conflicts, including armed ones, and massive violations of human rights (see our recent booklet "Peoples' right to self-determination" presented on page 6).

To Whom do Natural Resources Belong?

The economic model of "free" trade and its army of transnational companies aiming at the maximization of short term profits create the ideal environment for an unlimited exploitation of natural wealth. How, then, is it possible to organize peoples' resistance against a state which is selling its wealth to the highest bidder? Interventions at the symposium by representatives from resisting Guatemalan communities provide with some elements of an answer.

The symposium was also an opportunity to question more delicate and rarely raised subjects. Forward-thinking countries are attempting to escape from neo-liberal constraints. However, are their extraction policies (including nationalization programs) more respectful of human rights than those of transnational companies? We shall try to shed light on these questions through the cases of Bolivia and Ecuador.

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Guatemala: Communities resisting TNC and the central government

At peace after a long and gruesome war, Guatemala opened its doors to the neo-liberal extractivist industry; mining concessions, large dams, large scale African palm culture... threatening the very survival of many rural and indigenous communities in the country. Carmen Mejia and Maria Garcia Hernández, spokespersons for Maya communities resisting against mining operations – including the Marlin mine (see inset below) – brought evidence to bear at the symposium.

They were witnesses of the cheating and widespread special privileges in these types of concessions. In the Marlin mine case, the extractivist activity, destructive of collective resources, was concealed from the population until the end. Mine promoters, on the one hand, painted in glowing colors for the inhabitants the "development" of an improvement project for the region and, on the other hand, were pushing for the sale of individual plots, using a whole range of threats and aggressions against those who did not want to give up their land. Mining activity then triggered, among other things, water contamination by cyanide, illness and death in the population and among the local mine workers, finally the complete destruction of a mountain sacred to Maya tradition, etc.

Guatemala, together with Bolivia, is the American country considered to have the largest indigenous population divided among various ethnic groups, most of which of Maya origin. These communities, often heavily affected by war, are currently attempting to reconstruct themselves, to revive their own



CETIM CONFERENCE

Acquisition of agricultural lands versus small-holder families' rights

Within the framework of a coordination of 19 NGOs, last November in Geneva, the CETIM participated in the holding of a public conference and in the organization of a symbolic action to denounce the "Global AGInvesting 2010". This meeting, organized by Soyatech, a research and consulting company in the agriculture business, drew in more than 220 representatives of transnational corporations, banks and investment and pension funds, owners and developers of millions of hectares of agricultural lands throughout the world. The Rockefeller Foundation, UBS and the World Bank also took the floor, having paid more than 2,000 Swiss francs to attend.

For several years, there has been a steady increase in the leasing and purchase of agricultural lands in Asia, Africa and Latin America by governments as well as by private investors. A recent report by the World Bank listed 389 wide-scale acquisitions and leasing contracts of land in 80 countries. The agricultural lands negotiated, leased or sold since 2006 in Africa, Latin America and Asia cover some 50 million hectares. This corresponds to half the all the arable land in China or to the combined surface of existing arable land in France, the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy. This phenomenon is accelerating; in 2009 alone, 49 million hectares – 50 times the agricultural surface of Switzerland – were sold or leased.

Land is essential to the subsistence and identity of millions of persons, in particular in developing countries. This privatization of land is nothing other than a new form of imperialism and the corollary of the liberalization of agricultural markets orchestrated by the World Trade Organization.

The purpose of the coordination set up by the CETIM was to denounce the practices of agricultural land grabbing throughout the world, to prevent the holding of events of this sort in Geneva or elsewhere and to inform Swiss citizens of the dangers of the globalization of the agro-business.

CETIM ADVISES YOU THE FOLLOWING READINGS

L'Afrique du Sud

Le long chemin vers la démocratie

By Raphaël Porteilla

Since 1993, South Africa has undergone a metamorphosis. The nature of the political regime has changed, centuries-old habits have vanished, the very bases of social ties have been transformed, all without revolution or civil war. This book describes the transition period that followed the apartheid regime, the crises and the uncertainties arising from putting into place new institutions, their policies and results in terms of social justice and the people's standard of living.

Author of several books and articles on South Africa and a political institutions specialist, Raphaël Porteilla is the master of conferences in political science at the University of Bourgogne and a member of the Centre de recherche en droit et science politique (Dijon).

Price: CHF 16 / 10 €, 181 pages, ISBN: 978-2-88474-936-7, Infolio, 2010. It can be ordered from the website: www.infolio.ch.

Pressions sur les terres

Devenir des agricultures paysannes

Points de vue du Sud

Multiple authors

The food crisis has cast a harsh light on the aberrations of the agricultural development model promoted in the South. Although record harvests have been registered, hunger progresses. Imposed under conditions of extreme inequality the liberalization of agricultural markets and the concomitant withdrawal of public support have led to the marginalization of the small holder farmers of the South, unable to deal with globalized competition. Of course, the international institutions today recognize today the role of the agricultural families and small farmers in the struggle against poverty, as well as in the preservation of biodiversity, but the question of control of land remains largely neglected.

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the hydrocarbon development contracts with the transnational corporations. However, rather than an outright nationalization in the strict sense, it opted – through pragmatism – for contract renegotiation with the transnationals. The mining and petroleum exploration projects are on a roll, and the government's statements intended for the domestic audience are so much oriented to ecology as to extractivism.⁴ The new Bolivian constitution, moreover, states explicitly that the role of the government is also to promote industrialization of the country. How is this divergence to be understood?

Eduardo Gudynas' analysis⁵ fits in here perfectly: one must realize that Evo Morales' social policy – like that of the Brazilian and Venezuelan models – is directly linked to income from the extraction of raw materials: this allows the government to finance all its social programs (schools, retirement, health care...), which should be welcomed. This link results in a displacement of the domestic debate: it is not the “primary extractive export”⁶ model that is being challenged by the majority of citizens but only the distribution of the subsidies to the various beneficiaries. This option creates a new interdependence between the extraction of raw materials and social policy. It leads to the paradox of a facilitated increase of development because it is less conflict-prone than in brutally neo-liberal countries.⁷

But if the extractivist mega-projects promoted by the government often make sense to one part of the population – a majority of whom are Andean – they generally mean destruction for another, especially in Amazonia and in Chaco. For the peoples living in and from the forest in particular, the social intentions of the Morales government will not prevent the roads (for the extraction and transport of raw material in their territories) from bringing their lot of unscrupulous “fortune seekers”. Neither will the nationalized exploitation of the hydrocarbons stop the environmental disasters and the illnesses inherent in these activities. Nor will energy production from dams impede the destruction of the rich fluvial ecosystems, making seasonal fish migration and fertility bringing floods impossible.⁸

By defending both “Buen Vivir”, the right of indigenous peoples and Mother Earth, all while favoring the primary extractive export development model and Western style industrialization, would not the Bolivia of Evo Morales violating its own commitments in order to assure its people wellbeing? How is such a dilemma to be resolved?

The Yasuni-ITT Project: Prefiguring a post-extractivist era?

Regarding natural resources policy, the Ecuador of Correa bears a remarkable resemblance to the Bolivia of Morales. In recognizing the rights of nature,⁹ the Ecuadorean constitution is currently the only one in the world that is not anthropocentric. Nonetheless, the laws favoring mining and the use of water resources by the mining industry have been passed, to the great dismay of the indigenous organizations. The mega-projects continue, and the protests of significant social sectors are silenced when they oppose the extractivist model.¹⁰

But beyond these contradictions, might it be in this country that could be elaborated projects capable of conciliating the antagonisms noted above, allowing a liberation from the dependence on non-renewable resources to assure a fair well-being for the entire population? The Yasuni-ITT Project (see inset) presented by Alexandra Almeida and Mattieu Le Quang¹¹ during the symposium gives a glimpse of a possible way out from extractivist domination and the commodification of natural resources.

In fact, Yasuni-ITT Project brings to the question of natural wealth a real innovative and revolutionary vision in more than one way: instead of proposing to compensate for the toxic Co² emission, it aims to avoid them at the source. It thus does not fit into the emerging carbon markets derived from the Kyoto treaty, which allow the countries of the North to externalize to the countries of the South their right to pollute. On the contrary, it obliges the industrialized countries of the North to face up to their responsibilities by contributing to repairing the situation for which they are historically responsible owing to their having stolen, pillaged and overexploited the natural resources of the countries of the South for centuries in order to assure their industrial growth.

This project proposes integrating indigenous peoples into the preservation and management of biodiversity, contrary to the exclusion of these peoples, by market solutions that aim to reduce Co² emissions.¹²

By allocating money received for the non-development of petroleum for creating sources of renewable energy, it prefigures the transition from a growth society to a society of “good livelihood”.¹³ It thus breaks with the colossal financial, human and environmental costs of exploiting raw materials by channeling henceforth these resources into the transformation and remaking of the energy matrix.¹⁴ By creating a subtle articulation between indigenous inhabitants, the Ecuadorean government, donor countries, the U.N. (the UNDP in particular) and the planet itself, it offers a heretofore unknown conciliation of



generally opposed interests. By so doing, the Yasuni-ITT Project prefigures a new relation of planetary interdependence in the respect of all its constituent elements. This relation is no longer based on competition but on solidarity among the living.

In conclusion, in spite of its contradictions, the Yasuni-ITT Project could well constitute an embryonic move beyond current struggles for the taking over of natural resources. This project has the potential to conciliate “good livelihood” and development, public commons and national sovereignty, general interest and local autonomy.

At the invitation of Mr Le Quang, it is now up to the world's civil society the take on this project by bringing into the political arena, both to give it life and to allow it to take hold elsewhere¹⁵ – the process is underway – and to finish with the neologism coined by the Acción ecológica d'A. Almeida: “Let's yasunize the World!”

¹ According to the definition of the Ecuadorean government that “practices” this concept: “The concept of Buen Vivir or ‘Sumak kawsy’ means ‘full life’ as interpreted by the indigenous vision of the cosmos, and it is attained when harmony exists between human beings and their past, with their kind, their communities, their cultural roots, with their spirituality and also with nature, in an intergenerational perspective ... the orientation of “living well” goes further than the developmental idea that has dominated for the past sixty years, based on an extractivist vision of natural resources, the expansion of agricultural lands and the massive and intensive exploitation of mining and fishing resources”. Translated from www.Yasuni-itt.gov.ec.

² V. Silvia Molina, “L'IIRSA; un monstre né de la globalisation” in *Le Courrier*, 22 June 2010.

³ For details on this conflict: www.matteodean.info/2010/05/la-mesa-18-en-la-cumbre-de-los-pueblos.html (in Spanish and English).

⁴ In keeping with the slogan: “Queremos socios, no patrones”.

⁵ He works for the Centro Latino Americano de Ecología Social (CLAES) in Montevideo (Uruguay) and is the author of *El nuevo extractivismo del siglo 21: Diez tesis urgentes sobre el extractivismo bajo el progresismo sudamericano actual*, v. <http://ircamericas.org/esp/6615>.

⁶ In other words, the extraction of natural resources for export without any processing.

⁷ Consider the situation of the Peru of Alan García, who has clearly announced his contempt for the “lazy and inept” Amazonian populations and thus his intention to give concessions on the bulk of the forest to transnational corporations. They are considered to be the only ones able to “develop” resources. Whereas in Bolivia, the social actors are seeking to obtain their part of the pie, in Peru, the resistance to the exploitation of resources is head-on.

⁸ *Le Courrier*, 22 June 2010, “Isiboro Securé, le paradis indigène que menacent Lula et Evo Morales”; also the dramatic situation of the last Guarani de Tentayape communities – declared “Bolivian Patrimony” – abandoned by the government for the profit of the Repsol oil company.

⁹ Art. 71. “La naturaleza o Pacha Mama, donde se reproduce y realiza la vida, tiene derecho a que se respete integralmente su existencia y el mantenimiento y regeneración de sus ciclos vitales, estructura, funciones y procesos evolutivos. Toda persona, comunidad, pueblo o nacionalidad podrá exigir a la autoridad

pública el cumplimiento de los derechos de la naturaleza.(...) Los servicios ambientales no serán susceptibles de apropiación; su producción, prestación, uso y aprovechamiento serán regulados por el Estado.”

¹⁰ Especially, the CONAIE (Ecuadorean Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities) with a major mobilization ability (*Le Courrier*, 3 October 2009) and Acción ecológica, which has fought to recover its legal personhood suspended by the Correa government.

¹¹ The first is in charge of the Yasuni campaign for the Ecuadorean NGO Acción ecológica and the Oilwatch network, the second is an associate researcher at the FLASCO-Ecuador and a political science doctoral candidate. V. his internet site: <http://projetitt.vacau.com/wordpress>.

¹² Regarding the tropical forests, especially the highly contested REDD projects, which consist of quantifying the value of forests as “carbon sink” while excluding or indemnifying the peoples living there for not continuing their hunting, fishing, farming and gathering activities, thus denying them implicitly their rights to the land and its natural resources.

¹³ “La no extracción de crudo a cambio de contribuciones abre una gama de oportunidades para lograr el Buen Vivir.”, v. the government site of the Yasuni ITT Project: www.Yasuni-itt.gov.ec.

¹⁴ It is worth noting that in spite of the contradiction relative to this subject, Ecuador is the hydrocarbon-producing country that has had the greatest number of disastrous experiences in this area. A. Almeida points out that for the time being there are no other examples elsewhere in the world that correspond so much to the desire for change on the part of the overwhelming majority of peoples and social movements, mobilizing on climate and biodiversity issues.

¹⁵ At present, similar projects are planned in other regions of the world offering similar potential (as in Bolivia – the Madidi Reserve, similar to Yasuni – in Acre state in Brazil, in Nigeria and in Indonesia).

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Yasuní-ITT Initiative: The First Step toward World Public Commons?

The Yasuní-ITT Initiative, promoted by Ecuador's social movements and the Correa government, involves giving up exploiting the petroleum reserves found in the Yasuní natural park, in the name of preservation of biodiversity, the struggle against global warming and respect of the indigenous communities concerned. But, in return, Ecuador, citing the principle of co-responsibility for global environmental problems, requests the international community to contribute 50% of the financial profit forgone by not developing these petroleum reserves, to wit \$ 3.5 billion in current value.

Ecuador has an economy based primarily on petroleum income. Thus, in 2008, oil represented 22.2% of the GDP, 63.1% of exports and 46.6% of the government's general budget. The oil reserves in ITT represent some 20% of the country's total proven reserves. It is thus a major financial windfall that a country as poor as Ecuador cannot simply ignore. However, the Ecuadorean government's proposal is to not pump this oil.

In fact, favoring the biodiversity preservation of the Amazon region would result in benefits for all of humanity. Thus, according to the Ecuadorean government, it is reasonable to appeal to co-responsibility and thus other countries' participation, particularly those that pollute the most. It is a proposal that aims to fight against global warming and against the loss of an abundantly rich biodiversity, to prevent the emission of CO₂, to prevent deforestation and soil pollution.

Financing

On 3 August, a crucial threshold was crossed in the implementation of the Yasuní-ITT Initiative: the signing, by the Ecuadorean government and the United Nations Development Program, of an agreement to establish a fund to collect money allowing for this utopian project to become reality. To date, Chile has made a contribution – US\$ 100,000 – towards its realization. On 10 November, Spain announced its support in the form of a pledge of \$ 1.4 million, Italy is negotiating the cancellation of Ecuador's 35-million-dollar bilateral debt, the Rhone-Alps region has voted to authorize a 150,000-euro program pending further deliberation in March-April 2011, Belgium's Wallonia region gave 300,000 euros last December. Germany, which in April 2010 pledged to give 50 million euros per year for 13 years, has since withdrawn its support of the project, a withdrawal which seems related solely to geopolitics according to M. Le Quang.

LAST CETIM BROCHURE

*The right of peoples to self-determination
and to permanent sovereignty over their
natural resources seen from a human rights
perspective*

Since the entry into force of the United Nations charter in 1945, it has constituted the legal and political basis of the process of decolonization, which witnessed the birth of over 60 new states in the second half of the twentieth century.

During the later decades, several dozen countries were created on this basis, concretizing the right to self-determination of peoples officially considered colonized or not. In practice, the creation of a new country does not always correspond to objective and legal criteria. In fact, this right can be manipulated by several powers (regional or international) or by powerful private interests. Thus, a new country can be created and recognized by a single other country or by a group of countries. A country can even be created against the will of the majority of its people, as was the case with Bosnia. In other words, one must treat the "right to self-determination" with great care. It should be noted, however, that it is not necessarily easy to obtain recognition of such a unilateral creation, even when it is justifiable. To be admitted as a member to the U.N., a new country must be recognized by other countries; the Security Council (without the veto of one of the five permanent members) must recommend that the General Assembly admit the new country; and a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly must vote for admission.

At a time when the pillaging of the South's natural resources has taken a new turn for the worse – with, for example the highly questionable acquisition of millions of hectares of land by foreign countries or transnational corporations – it is necessary to revitalize the right of peoples to sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources, which is an essential component of the right to self-determination. It is this last aspect – the right of peoples to this sovereignty – that is central to protecting the affected peoples. This will constitute the connecting thread of the discussion presented in this publication.

This brochure, as other CETIM publications on human rights, is available in French, English and Spanish on paper or on our website: www.cetim.ch/en/publications_brochures.php



culture and traditions. In this respect, it is worth noting that the two speakers explained their relationship to natural wealth as built on a basis completely different from that of the prevailing system (supported by the government): territory and its wealth form a whole, including the sky and sub-strata; land is the mother of all life, oil its blood, ore its bone... The exploitation of its wealth is therefore perceived as an intolerable aggression, destructive of life itself.

It is clear that in this country no consideration of the communities' claims regarding natural wealth will be possible without an intense fight; but the heart of Maya culture and the numerous rural and indigenous communities involved have also created mutual assistance networks capable of forming an alliance while reviving the foundations of Maya society and its holistic vision of life.

Faced with the brutal imposition of extractive activities by the transnational corporations in collusion with the central government, the resistance organized: the results of "consultas", set up according to ancient Mayan traditions of participatory democracy, gave birth to the "non-extractivist" demands of these communities that want to orient their development in harmony with life. An overwhelming majority have been against mining operations. The struggle to have this process officially recognized by the official system continues.

Bolivia: Behind the international image, extractivism continues

In the constellation of new forward-thinking Latin American countries, Bolivia aroused attention with the election of a president who, from the start, presented himself as the voice of indigenous, colonized cultures. It is also the first country to have incorporated the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People into its "pluri-national" constitution.

At the international level, the Bolivian government tries to stand out as the leader of a non-commercial, non-human-centric vision of life on earth. By convening a "Peoples' World Conference on Climate Change" in April 2010 in Cochabamba to promote, among other things, the rights of "Pacha Mama" (Mother Earth) and an international court for climate justice, as well as by convening a world referendum on climate, Evo Morales' Bolivia aims at catalyzing the aspirations of social movements that attempted in vain to bring their claims and proposals to bear at the Copenhagen 2009 climate summit; all of that by leveraging the "Buen Vivir" concept – a notion existing in numerous Amerindian, indigenous cultures – a search for harmony and equilibrium for life overall, and not growth based on the unrestrained exploitation of raw materials.¹

However, despite all these engagements and international declarations, the Bolivian government has failed to systematically consult the people affected by oil, mining, road, gas and large dam projects. It has not yet concretely challenged the major infrastructure projects of the South American Regional Infrastructure Integration Initiative (IIRSA), a vast construction program for physical and energy interconnections, in particular in the tropical and Andean regions,² that connected progressively Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. During the Cochabamba Summit, the Bolivian government refused to address its natural wealth exploitation policy by excluding from the start from the official "Table 18" framework a platform aimed at addressing domestic violations of the rights of indigenous people to natural wealth, as well as violations of the rights of Mother Earth in Bolivia.³

But what, then, is the domestic political reality of the current Bolivian government regarding natural resources? This is the subject dealt with by the doctoral candidate in sociology Hervé do Alto during the symposium, who analyzed in particular hydrocarbon policy, indicative of the current overall natural resources policy in Bolivia. Like Venezuela and Ecuador, the Morales government initially reconsidered

Guatemala : Indigenous Struggles against Goldcorp

In the San Marcos department of Guatemala, the indigenous communities have been fighting for years against human rights violations arising from the silver and gold mine operations – the Marlin mine – run by the Canadian company Goldcorp and its subsidiary Montana. In 2003, without the indigenous communities being consulted, the corporation obtained a concession to operate the Marlin mine. Since the beginning of operations, in 2005, the right to food, the right to water, the right to adequate housing and the right to health of the local communities have been threatened. Besides the human rights violations of the local indigenous communities, NGOs have denounced the tiny portion of the income derived from the exploitation of natural resources that has been allocated to improvements of the well-being of the population in Guatemala. In the mining sector, the foreign corporations pay a mere 1% of their income to the state. For further information on this country and this case, we strongly encourage you to watch Gregory Lassalle's film: *The Business of Gold: Chronicle of a Conflict* (2009).