



PRÉSENTATION DE DOCTEURE GISÈLE BELEM AUTEURE DU CHAPITRE 3 DE MINING IN AFRICA

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Mining in Africa. Regulation and Development

Campbell, Bonnie. (dir.), (2009), Copublication Londres : Pluto,
Ottawa : CRDI, et Uppsala : Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. 284p.

Treasures of the Earth. Need, Greed and a Sustainable Future

Ali, Saleem H. (2009), Yale University Press. 304p.

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Lieu : Lobby du Redpath Museum, Université McGill

Mining development and protection of the environment in Madagascar. The Tolagnaro QMM Project in the context of the Extractive Industries Review*

There is a paradox underlying why it is of interest to examine what is at stake in the Madagascar's reliance on mining for its development: the Grande île ["Great Red Island"] of the Indian Ocean possesses an exceedingly rich biodiversity, paralleled by a social context characterized by the substantial poverty of much of its population. The relationship between "natural resources" and "development" is therefore unavoidable when one tries to understand why a country that is home to such a variety of resources remains, despite everything, so economically poor. The Extractive Industries Review (EIR) has directly addressed the dialectic between the objectives of economic growth and the fight against poverty, as set out by the World Bank Group. The Malagasy case corresponds *a priori* to the spirit of the EIR with the adoption of legislation aimed at creating a balance between the imperatives of economic development and those of protecting the environment, within a perspective of sustainable development. Given the scope of foreign direct investments in the mining sector and the major leverage role this sector has acquired in the country's growth, the Malagasy government has adopted the priority objective of providing this sector with a legal framework that will act as an incentive to investors; to this has been added a juridical framework aimed at ensuring that mining sector projects conform to protection of the environment.

This chapter has made it possible to understand better how, within a context of redefining the role of the State and liberalizing the legal framework, foreign direct investments constitute a vector for important changes, not just for the national and regional economy, but for the social and environmental conditions in the area where a mining project is to operate. In the context of the Extractive Industries Review, our presentation of the case of QMM in Madagascar has allowed us to explore some of the stakes emerging from relations between certain groups of key stakeholders for setting up the project, by identifying how the promoters have attempted to generate the rural population's interest in the project, to convince them that it serves their interests and to mobilize them. The wave of reforms of the mining sector in Madagascar was a reaction to the influx of a large-scale project (QMM), which influenced the elaboration of Laws and Decrees regulating the mining sector, particularly with respect to the advantages provided to large-scale investors. The process by which different interests underlying the project converge (or fail to converge) has not just been a matter of answering the question of how to develop the Tolagnaro region. It has also proposed a set of hypotheses about the identity of the stakeholders involved, their objectives and their inter-relationships. Each stakeholder has its own interests, more or less well defined. This has enabled us to understand better why the promoters' presentation of the project of the mining operation as a "funnel" or an essential "gateway", in which each group has been invited to find its own self-interest.

As we show in this chapter, the "development model" on which the establishment of the Tolagnaro mining project is based on an equation that would like to see export growth as contributing to poverty reduction while at the same time protecting the environment. The introduction of the environmental protection dimension into the legal and regulatory framework of the mining industry was, in some ways, provoked by two factors: the extent of real risks of damage to the environment, as revealed by environmental impact assessments; and the need to reply to the government's environmental policy objectives (and consequently to answer the requirements of certain funding agencies and international organizations that allocate funds to the country in the environmental field). These conditions coincide with the core elements of the Extractive Industries Review on governance in the interests of the poor and the World Bank Group's interventions on environmental and social components. The QMM project, mediated by the reform of the mining sector, has moreover contributed to implementing a regulatory framework favourable to private investments in Madagascar's mining sector. This is consistent with the policy of economic liberalization, the explicit objectives of which are to transform the role of the State in the mining and industrial sector from that of *operator* which it had been to that of sector *regulator* and *promoter*, which in turn presupposes opening up to foreign private investments. Through the complexity, scope and potential difficulties of setting up a large-scale investment project, the case of Madagascar is symptomatic of the conditions in which the ways of addressing the problem of the mining sector is evolving in sub-Saharan Africa. Under these conditions, to what extent can the stakeholders affected by a mining project, both upstream and downstream, assert their competing interests in the dominant "development model"? The way the problem is broached has shown that the rural population is often put in the paradoxical position of being considered, because of their rural-traditional way-of-life, one of the principal causes of the environmental

problems and, concurrently, they are postulated to be the principal beneficiaries of solutions provided by an industrial mining project such as the one at Tolaganaro, which is presented as an “essential gateway” for their survival.