

# EXTRACTIVISM

Extractivism Flying Adacemy Mexico 2025

## Extractivism, Energy Transition and Geopolitics

Campus Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Xochimilco

7-8 October 2025  
Mexico City

Program: [www.extractivism.de/flyingacademymexico](http://www.extractivism.de/flyingacademymexico)

## Conference Description:

The world is entering a new energy era. This transition substantially increases demand for raw materials essential to renewable energy and new technologies, even as fossil fuel consumption persists. Within this transformation, Latin America plays a crucial role due to its abundant natural resources, which hold nearly one-third of the global reserves of copper, bauxite, silver, coal, and oil, as well as over a third of the strategically critical minerals necessary for sustainable industrial transitions. The region also remains a vital supplier of global staple foods. Historically dominated by extractivist development models, Latin America finds itself repositioned in the current geopolitical landscape. Initiatives like Europe's "Green Deal" and "Global Gateway," the US Inflation Reduction Act, and China's Belt and Road Initiative reflect growing geopolitical interests. Trump's renewed presidency is further reshaping US-Latin American relations, marked by rising tariffs and heightened geopolitical pressures.

However, new resource flows remain largely unequal, offering limited transfer of technology or knowledge to Latin America, thus restricting local development opportunities. The impact on regional regulations, investment, and diplomatic relations remains uncertain. Yet, visible shifts are evident, such as Brazil's deepening ties with China, Argentina's openness to the US, and Mexico's and Bolivia's evolving strategies for extracting critical raw materials. Simultaneously, indigenous and peasant communities actively resist the expansion of mining and energy projects, illustrating tensions around resource governance. Meanwhile, governments and corporations legitimize ongoing extraction through environmental certifications and sustainability clauses—a phenomenon termed green extractivism. Therefore, Latin America faces multiple challenges. The region must navigate a complex new geopolitical dynamic with the Global North, requiring it to provide essential resources for the global energy transition. At the same time, this situation presents a geopolitical window of opportunity for Latin America's development. However, it remains unclear how the region can leverage this opportunity effectively through appropriate strategies and agency.

Our conference examines the circumstances under which structural transformations, reform strategies, and their agencies in Mexico and Latin America manifest. Specifically, we discuss the geopolitical and geoeconomic impacts, as well as the economic dimensions, in a comparative perspective with North Africa and the Maghreb. We discuss:

- Geopolitical shifts: What key geopolitical dynamics are currently shaping the region, and who are the potential winners and losers? Are there progressive Latin American and Mexican responses regarding regional integration or domestic structural changes?
- State strategies: How are Mexico and other Latin American countries adapting their economic, foreign, and development policies in response to these geopolitical challenges?
- Social and political actors: Which social movements, civil society actors, or economic groups drive these transformations, and who might resist or block them?
- State-business relations: How does the geopolitical reconfiguration influence state-business interactions, and in what ways do corporate interests impact, or even jeopardize, the region's path toward an energy transition?

## Conference Program:

### Martes, 7 de octubre 2025

9:00 horas	Inscripción
9:00 - 9:30 horas	<b>Bienvenido</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Angelica Buendia (UAM-X, México)</li><li>• Embajada de la República Federal de Alemania en México</li><li>• Michael Brüning (Fundación Friedrich Ebert, México),</li><li>• Hannes Warnecke-Berger (Extractivism, Alemania)</li><li>• Hans-Jürgen Burchardt (U de Kassel, Alemania)</li></ul>
9:30 - 10:30 horas	<b>Introducción al tema</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Aleida Azamar (UAM-X, México)</li><li>• Mariana Blanco (Fundación Friedrich Ebert, México)</li><li>• Hannes Warnecke-Berger &amp; Hans-Jürgen Burchardt (Extractivism, U de Kassel, Alemania)</li></ul>
10:30 - 11:00 horas	<b>Keynote I</b> Moderación: Gabriel Rosas (UAM-I, México) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Rachid Ouaissa (U de Marburg, Alemania): Geopolitics of Extractivism and Energy Transitions: What Can Latin America Learn from North Africa? (virtual)</li></ul>
11:00 - 11:30 horas	Pausa
11:30 - 13:30 horas	<b>Panel 1: Extractivismo y transición energética: retos geopolíticos para México y América Latina</b> Moderación: Carlos Cabrera (Fundación Friedrich Ebert) Discusión: Hannes Warnecke-Berger (U de Kassel, Alemania) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Juliana González Jáuregui (FLACSO Argentina/CONICET): América Latina en la nueva geopolítica de la transición energética: recursos estratégicos, desarrollo y autonomía</li><li>• Oscar Campanini (CEDI, Bolivia): Entre el oro y el litio. Presiones extractivistas del actual contexto geopolítico en el caso de Bolivia</li><li>• Jose Maria Valenzuela (U of Oxford, RU): Geopolitics, Energy Transition and the Mexican State</li><li>• Enrique Dussel Peters (UNAM, México): Security-Shoring e implicaciones para las relaciones socioeconómicas de México</li></ul>
13:30 -15:00 horas	Almuerzo

15:00 - 17:00 horas

### **Panel 2: Estrategias geopolíticas para México y América Latina**

Moderación: Jennifer Isunza (UNAM, México)

Discusión: Alfredo Valadez (Zacatecas)

- Bruno Theodoro Luciano (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Bélgica): Between Neoextractivism and Green Colonialism
- Luis Miguel Galindo (UNAM, México): The Political Economy of the Just Climate Transition
- Yolanda Mexicalxóchitl García Beltrán (COLMEX, México): Un diagnóstico general de la extracción de litio en América Latina
- Isidro Téllez (UNAM, México): La industria minero-metalúrgica del cobre en México: dinámica y desafíos territoriales

17:00 - 19:00 horas

### **Panel 3: Acción colectiva, movimientos sociales y resistencia**

Moderación: Noé Ramos Reyes (UAM-X, México)

Discusión: Beatriz Olivera (UAM-X, México)

- Darcy Tetrault (Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, México): El metabolismo social de los conflictos socioambientales en la frontera extractiva de México
- Dennis Armando Valvert Gamboa (Universidad Rafael Landívar, Guatemala): Geopolítica y agroextractivismo
- Ricardo Junior Assis (Universidade Estadual de Goiás, Brasil): Construyendo resistencia a la megaminería en Brasil
- Carlos Rodríguez Wallenius (UAM-X, México): Tensiones socioterritoriales por la integración del sistema de ferrocarriles en la región sureste de México

20:00 horas

Cena

**Miércoles, 8 de octubre 2025**

9:30 - 11:30 horas	<b>Mesa redonda: México y América Latina en la encrucijada: extractivismo, transición energética, retos y oportunidades geopolíticas</b> Semarnat, Sener, Senado de la República (pendiente confirmación)
11:30 - 12:00 horas	Pausa
12:00 - 14:00 horas	<b>Panel 4: Coaliciones políticas y estrategias geopolíticas</b> Moderación: Eric Jiménez Morales (UAM-X, México) Discusión: Mariana Blanco (Fundación Friedrich Ebert, México) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Bruno Milanez (Universidad Federal de Juiz de Fora, Brasil): De destructores de presas a salvadores del planeta: La renovación de la imagen del sector minero brasileño</li><li>• Aaron Schneider (U of Denver, EEUU): Digital Capital and the State: Politics of Digital Policy in Developing Countries</li><li>• Luíza Cerioli (U de Kassel, Alemania): ¿Ventanas verdes o trampas extractivistas? Brasil entre la oportunidad y la continuidad en medio de una transición energética global geopolitizada</li><li>• Isabelle Rousseau (COLMEX, México): México, entre el “Carbon Lock-In” y la transición energética: Estrategias empresariales diferenciadas (2012-2024)</li></ul>
14:00 - 15:30 horas	Almuerzo
15:30 - 17:00 horas	<b>Keynote II</b> Moderación: Eduardo Gudynas (Centro Latino Americano de Ecología Social, Uruguay) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Aleida Azamar Alonso (UAM-X, México): Entre la retórica de la descarbonización y la intensificación extractivista de la transición energética</li></ul>
17:00 - 18:00 horas	<b>Exposición fotográfica</b> de Alfredo Valadez (Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas y corresponsal del periódico La Jornada, México)
19:00 horas	Cena