THE IMPACT OF LA OROYA MINING TOWARDS ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

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ABSTRACT

La Oroya Mining is an accurate example that environmental degradation and human rights violations can happen as a cause and effect. Mining in La Oroya Peru is very famous because it is one of Peru's largest sources of income and is its trademark. Meanwhile, this mining is also proof that Peru continues its imperialism. However, it cannot be denied that the effects of mining itself have had an impact on environmental degradation and human rights violations in local communities. This mining has caused worrying short-term and long-term impacts. In this paper, the authors and team try to analyze using qualitative methods through secondary data from journals. The aim is to find key factors that cause and impact this environmental degradation and human rights violation. The team authors also try to connect with three International Relations theories, which are realism, constructivism, and green political theory to look at it from three different points of view to find out the details. Further, the author also tries to trace what actions the Peruvian people have taken, the involvement of the IACHR in this problem as an international organization, the participation of NGOs, and how it continues. Furthermore, the role of the government will also be explored whether they help in solving this problem or make it worse and continue. Lastly, team authors try to propose effective solutions that can be implemented to help solve this environmental problem.

Keywords: La Oroya, Mining, Environmental, Human Rights Violations, Peru

ABSTRAK

Tambang La Oroya adalah contoh yang akurat bahwa degradasi lingkungan dan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia dapat terjadi sebagai sebab dan akibat. Tambang La Oroya di Peru sangat terkenal karena menjadi salah satu sumber pendapatan terbesar Peru dan menjadi ciri khas tertentu. Sementara itu, tambang ini juga menjadi bukti bahwa Peru masih menjalankan praktik Imperialisme. Namun, tidak dapat dipungkkiri bahwa dampak dari tambang tersebut dapat memengaruhi degradasi lungkungan dan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia di komunitas lokal. Tambang ini telah menghasilkan dampak jangka pendek dan jangka panjang yang mengkhawatirkan. Dalam tulisan ini, tim penulis mencoba untuk menganalisis dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui data sekunder dari artikel jurnal. Tujuan dari tulisan ini adalah untuk menemukan faktor kunci yang menjadi penyebab dan berdampak pada degradasi lingkungan dan pelanggaran hak asasi manusia. Tim penulis juga mencoba menghubungkan pembahasan dengan tiga teori Hubungan Internasional, yaitu Realisme, Konstruktivisme, dan Teori Politik Hijau untuk melihat dari tiga paradigma yang berbeda dan mendapatkan informasi yang detil. Lebih jauh, tim penulis juga mencoba untuk mengikuti jejak langkah yang telah dilakukan masyarakat Peru, keterlibatan IACHR sebagai organisasi internasional dalam masalah ini, partisipasi NGOs, dan bagaimana keberlanjutannya. Selain itu, peran dari pemerintah juga ditelusuri untuk melihat apakah pemerintah membantu menyelesaikan masalah ini atau justru memperparah masalah. Terakhir, tim penulis mencoba untuk menawarkan solusi efektif yang dapat diimplementasikan untuk menyelesaikan masalah lingkungan ini.

Kata kunci: La Oroya, Tambang, Lingkungan, Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia, Peru

1. Introduction

The global inclination towards industrial advancement, development, and expansion has driven humanity to also prioritize the pursuit of economic growth and

resource extraction in order to quench the unstoppable thirst of industry. This has often exacted a heavy toll on the natural environment, leading to a never-ending struggle to balance the need of industrial

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progress with the preservation of the natural ecosystem. Throughout history, this uneasy equilibrium has constantly become a thorn in humanity's morality and conscience. However, nowhere has this delicate balance been more strongly evident than in the events of La Oroya, a charming mining town perched high in the Peruvian Andes. La Oroya's turbulent history is underlined by decades of environmental degradation, serving as a reminder of the double-edged relationship between industrial expansion and environmental neglect.

In this journal article, we hope to dig into the fateful La Oroya case, slowly unraveling the complex web of factors that contribute to the inevitable tragedy. The events began with the emission of toxic metals, poisoning the air, water, and soil of the surrounding region. It criticizes the evident complacency, or more accurately the complicity, of both the local and global actors. Their involvement, shedding light on their roles, further aggravates the situation. Moreover, this article seeks to dive into the aftermath of La Oroya, analyzing not only the ongoing environmental reconstruction efforts but also its broader discussions on environmental justice.

As we proceed with our analysis of the La Oroya case, it becomes clear that the case serves as a grim testament to the urgency of environmental violations done by governments and companies alike. Therefore, we have established the following research questions to help accompany our analysis: (1) What were the key factors, both local and global, that enabled the environmental violations in La Oroya to persist over time? (2) How did the heavy pollution caused in La contribute to environmental degradation, and what were its long-term consequences/effects? (3) What role did government policies and regulatory frameworks play in either exacerbating or La Oroya's environmental mitigating degradation?

2. Literature Review

In this section, the writing team wants to provide an overview or understanding of

the topic under study based on previous studies. The writing team divides the findings from previous writings into three sub-chapters, namely Government Policy; Critical Perspective; and Health Issue in La Oroya.

2.1. Government Policy

A relatively extensive line of research has been conducted on Latin America and its multiple environmental concerns that also involve complacent government policies and corporate greed, but do not focus precisely on the La Oroya case itself. Often, the La Oroya case appears to serve as a cornerstone or a referential example for the overall article that mostly focuses on the violations found in Latin America as a whole. One such paper "Review: Latin America's Transformative Extraction and Local Conflicts" reviewed by Barbara Hogenboom where, as the title suggests, primarily focuses on the extraction methods done by the governments and corporations alongside local conflicts the concern of environmental degradation (Hogenboom, 2015). The paper briefly mentions and refers to the La Oroya as a form of "wake-up call for Peru on mining risks" while also using the case as a comparison against the Yanacocha gold mine. Essentially, the article aims to procure a review of the extraction methods used in Latin America and how they impacted the local towards communities the environmental poisoning.

One article that does bring its focus on the La Oroya case is one "The La Oroya Case: The Relationship Between Environmental Degradation and Human Rights Violations" written by Paula Spieler (Spieler, 2010). Spieler proceeds to take two different perspectives in analyzing the case, that being the environmental degradation caused by the mine and its impact on the local communities, their health, and rights. Spieler underlined three main notions of the interrelation found between environmental degradation human rights: "1) the standalone right to a healthy environment, 2) environmental protection as a precondition to human rights realization, 3) or environmental protection as part of the enjoyment of human rights".

Spieler focused their research on connecting the environmental damage caused by the La Oroya mine and its impact on the locals and their human rights to health, safety, and life on those affected lands. Spieler also dedicated most of the case to the many appeals and legal actions done by the international community to correct the damage done by the Peruvian government.

In order to further emphasis the reason behind the blindness of the people towards the metallurgical complex in La Oroya, we derive from the journal article by the title of "The political economy of mining enclaves in Peru" authored by Dirk Kruijt, and Menno Vellinga (Kruijt & Vellinga, 1977). As the title suggests, the article mainly focuses on the economic reasonings as well as the implications of over dependency towards FDIs, in which the chosen subject country being Peru. It is found that the government of Peru had designed an economy that can be best described as extractionary paradise for FDIs and foreign companies that operate around extractive activities like mining. Peru had liberalized itself to accommodate for the entry of large companies, predominantly mining ones, into their country. The government's decision to liberalize the economy was a fatal mistake that led to the occupation of multiple FDIs, with La Oroya at its center of tragedy, maximizing export trades of resources in exploitative manner. and 1eft communities working around the are to simply accept the reality without much choice between starvation and survival for not only the workers, but to their families.

2.2. Critical Theory

From here, we will be taking not only realism that sets off from Dunne, Kurki, and Smith's (2010) book of International Relations: Discipline and Diversity and in the specific section talking about this paradigm, quoting directly that those who practice this ideology "recognize that communal bonds are fragile and easily undermined by the unrestrained pursuit of unilateral advantage by individuals, factions, or state" and constructivism that we derived

its understanding from the 'Politics' book written by Heywood (2004) as it mentions that the identity states create is based upon the inter-subjective awareness. We also attempted to see the case through the Green Political Theory in explaining the attempts taken by the IACHR in tackling the issue in La Oroya in complementing our finding with Jan Lust's article titled "Mining in Peru: Indigenous and Peasant Communities vs. The State and Mining Capital" that talks about the history of Peru's liberal policies resulting in massive local movements against them (Lust, 2014).

The branches of Green Political theory have then developed into a much more complex division that is opposing, yet centers their ideas upon 'nature'. This was discussed in the article written by Andrew Vincent to elaborate on its divisions and the dynamics within the theory (Vincent, 2003). First, are the radical ecocentrics that are entirely naturecentrism and human-considering the latter as villains that kept on destroying the former. The second approach is based upon reformist paradigms that enmesh traditional politics into green theory. They see that both nature and humans are co-dependent. It promotes the idea that the state could be an instrument to control the immense growth of industrialization. Further division under the second approach was considered when anthropocentrism entered the scene, and as the name suggests, pacing humans as the center of nature. A rather extremist approach was taken by 'deep anthropocentrism', while reformists once again tried to mediate the two or what is called 'pliant anthropocentrism'. Both also have many conflicting ideas pitted against each other in their development.

2.3. Health Issue in La Oroya

Another article we have come to find and include is the article by the title "The Paradox Between Health and Work of The Metallurgical Complex In La Oroya" authored by Israel Mallma (Perez & L, 2021). The author of the article chose to take a much more in-depth look into the paradoxical balance between the important demand for health and its equally strong demand for work or jobs. The article shows the dynamics of the

issue, how it came to be, and how it was partially, in the strictest of technicalities, the fault of the very community of families and workers. This is described in the way the La Oroya smelter was purchased by the US company Doe Run Resources Corporation / Renco Group Inc. or otherwise known as Doe Run. Doe Run's purchase of the smelter came at a time when regulations on mining and human rights institutions began to be introduced into Peru, despite it being largely ineffective. In response, Doe Run feared climate and health protests disrupting their operations in La Oroya. However, instead of a systemic response, defense came directly from the workers of La Oroya and their counter-protesting families, that disruption of operations would cost their jobs and subsequently, their livelihoods. This is the core of the paradox that the author of the article wishes to uncover and display. Article displays the deep causes underdevelopment in Peru and how it led to the tragedy of La Oroya, how desperate people were to be employed to support their families that they would willingly turn a blind eye to the clear problems that were rooted in the La Oroya smelter.

The Peruvian Government has also fully supported the Doe Run in all their efforts, which can be viewed from a politicaleconomic standpoint as they are heavily dependent on foreign companies coming in and taking parts of the sector with the aim of maximizing the value of the country and the growth of its economy. These, of course, are all hopes that only resulted in the lack of freedom for the people to really choose. Essentially, the Government has effectively created a system in which the economy is foreign investors dependent on companies ripping off their natural resources and getting a percentage of the extracted funds while crushing any opposition to the system itself. This leaves the people of Peru with little to no choice but to accept the dependencies and work for these mines, in spite of its negative effects on their health, rights, and surrounding environment.

The article also includes a number of collected data on the impacts on health and

the environment that the La Oroya tragedy inflicted on the surrounding community and region. The gathered data suggested that the health impacts of the tragedy could be identified through the difference in blood levels found in newborns whose mothers came from 2 separate locations of La Oroya Nueva and La Oroya Antigua. Newborns from La Oroya Nueva showed lower blood levels of 8.39 µg / dL, while newborns from La Oroya Antigua showed blood levels of 10.28 μg / dL (Custodio, Peñaloza, Orellana, Aguilar-Cáceres, & Oré, 2021). This data was also derived from another article focused on researching human risks from heavy metals poisoning that used La Oroya as a case study example. The article ends with the conclusion that a balance between both the need for people to survive and the need for environmental preservation must be met in order to ensure prosperity and survival for not only the community but also the local environment. The author proposes recommendations of solutions that could be taken into account, like the development of the local economy and society, and the need to reform several laws that could help mitigate any future private businesses from gaining significant control and influence over the community it affects. The author also includes the reviewing of agreements or free trade deals to ensure the ultimate protection and prioritization of human well-being and human rights.

Another academic journal that can be derived and holds some similarities to the points discussed in the previous article, under the title of "Toxic Talk and Collective (In) Action in a Company Town: The Case of La Oroya, Peru" authored by Pamela Neumann. The journal article itself takes a dive into the situation of the local communities of LA Oroya, how they all reacted to the mining operations, and how they were all collectively indirectly involved in the contamination of the environment and their own homes. Describing it as a form of "constructed perceptions of threats and opportunities" that the community members had subjugated themselves as a result of the government's severe dependence on FDI and foreign companies operating in

the mines (Neumann, 2016). The article also dives deep into the health implications that the people from La Oroya had experienced, going so far as to interview some former residents.

3. Research Method

research team employs The qualitative methods in this research, recognizing that data grounded in economic reasoning or logic can be enriched through interpretative analysis within the framework of global political contestation. approach enables a deeper exploration of the phenomenon or case under investigation. Furthermore, constraints faced by the researchers in gathering field data necessitate reliance on qualitative data and secondary sources, such as literature reviews and official government reports. To present the findings, the researchers adopt a descriptiveexplanatory approach, ensuring consistency with the literature review, which serves as the primary source of analysis.

4. Result and Discussion

The beauty of La Oroya hidden in the Andes has attracted many, Peruvian including foreign enterprises to extract its resources to feed their thirst for profit. The government has unfortunately given them leverage with policies-allowing them to slowly destroy the environment and the health of people that are living there as the La Oroyans compensate for the repercussions of metallurgical complex operations. Additionally, not many have paid special attention to the conditions there and the impacts they projected upon the lives of people residing there, both indigenous and non-indigenous who work under Doe Run. The saddening truth of its nature was destroyed, which is a crucial element in sustaining people's lives. Tracing back to the history of how it started, the government did not understand the problem's urgencykickstarted by Alberto Fujimori's liberal policies by controlling the mining industries and instead proceeded to give them leeway to continue their operations, even expanding them.

The impacted local communities who are on the sidelines eventually retaliated in response to the environmental degradation concerns and this was a wake-up call for the state as the issue grew from environmental to human rights violation. Spieler mentioned three main notions of its interrelation which are first, the standalone right to a healthy environmental environment; second, protection as a precondition to human rights realization: and third is the environmental protection as part of the enjoyment of human rights and how efforts that were taken by the international community in giving light to the case. With the help of Israel Mallma, we were able to take a deeper look at the paradoxical balance between the demands of health and job or work. In contrast with the previous articles, this one has put the community of families and workers as one of the actors that led this issue to happen, especially when the mining company set their place in La Oroya when Peru was formulating policies that included human rights towards mining activities which has made Doe Run weary of the protests that might erupt. Different from their expectations, the people were in turn protesting how disruptions of operations would lose them their jobs and most importantly, their livelihoods which shut their eyes to what the consequences of work entails.

Trapped with the situation and the government's stern policies that made the country depend on foreign companies, they are left with no choice but to give in. The work they were desperately doing has failed to make them realize how dangerous metallic poisoning is where cases of newborn low blood levels are found in both La Oroya Nueva and La Oroya Antigua. Through the three lenses of paradigms of Realism, Constructivism, and Green Political Theory, we wanted to see how the case developed from these different perspectives to make our research more comprehensive. In realism, we see how the Peruvian government only puts forward its interest in maintaining control and exploiting its resources for the sake of prosperity and survival to balance external growing powers and show that it can stand out among them.

The standoff between the state and the local communities has provided us with the ideology's notion that the parties involved are fighting off their interests which has yet failed, where IACHR and the local communities witnessed their effort reaped no fruits of joy against the primacy of the actor that possess true power and true sovereignty. This is synonymous with constructivism where the interaction between the states has shaped the Peruvian identity and they pay less attention to other ideas as they are focused on what has been ascribed to them, away external help of the pushing international institutional to reshape their identity-stopping IACHR and media that tries to bring up this issue. Green Political Theory here has further reiterated the two where economic development is prioritized by the government primarily with the history of the neoliberal policies has come to fruition from the oil shock up until the market liberalization that puts a halt to the implementation of recommendations given by IACHR-shutting them from the realities it ensues.

However, IACHR's effort is the highlight of the theory, especially with the pliant approach of anthropocentrism where tools utilized thev are to control industrialization through pressure towards the government with the legal instruments and circling back to Mallma's article, they have enforced the suggestion forwarded to the government of law reforms and reviewing of agreements to uphold human rights and environment as a priority. Nevertheless, only up to this part that the local communities were able to enforce their power as sanctions were proven to be immutable towards the state and the people still have high levels of contaminants within their bodies as a result of the exposure from the smelter plants and its operations in La Oroya. We see how the Peruvian government still holds control and none of the complaints matter to them since their focus was fixated upon the growth of their economy for a long time. This is the reality that the La Oroyan lives in and as pessimistic as it sounds, the efforts made by the local communities and IACHR should be applauded in making a benchmark and a warning for the state to develop their policies to be more environmentally and human rights friendly by reviewing their laws that were set upon one identity they were enclaved in.

4.1. Realism Perspective

The La Oroya case is a prime example of corporate greed and government complacency when it comes to the issue of environmental degradation. Their incessant pursuit of industrial advancement to feed their own interests at the cost of the ecosystem is a tale often repeated and never corrected. These actions and cases are clear-cut examples ofthe theory of realism, in which the state actor would actively pursue their own interests above all else. In the La Oroya case, the Peruvian government is driven by national interests that may further national economic development and revenue generation. This is further underlined by the government's aim to maintain its control over its own resources to exploit and use for its own survival and prosperity.

The conflict itself is divided amongst the Peruvian government and the local communities over their own interests like health and safety from the locals, and profit and industry from the government. This promotes the realism notion of parties/actors facing each other off in an attempt to prioritize their own interests. Additionally, despite all petitions and the involvement of the IACHR, the Peruvian government still failed, or rather refused,to comply with any of the precautionary measures that had been agreed upon and listed in the Articles of the ACHR, namelyarticles 1, 5, 8, 11, 13, and 25 ("American Convention on Human Rights: 'Pact of San José, Costa Rica'. Signed at San José, Costa Rica, on 22 November 1969," n.d.). This alleged violation was led under petition by multiple civil against protested societies that the government's lack of accountability AIDA, CEDHA, SPDA, and Earthjustice. Despite this petition and the IACHR's constant pestering of Peru's revisions, Government for precautionary measures, and visits to test the government's cooperation in implementing the

needed solutions, the state of Peru still ignored them and continued on with its interests. This further promotes the ideas of realism that display the true actors in charge being those with power and true sovereignty, the state. Organizations and institutions are simply empty shells that hold no true strength or power over a state, there is no bargaining power to them.

4.2. Constructivism Perspective

The La Oroya case can also be observed from other perspectives that could be seen with the eye. Constructivism emphasizes actors which represented Peru as the state, activist networks involvement, IACHR as the international organizations and who are also included. NGOs Constructivism itself points towards norms, history, social structure interest. interactions all forming a collective identity. Based on this perspective, the La Oroya case was caused by Peru's government who has national interest in advancing their mining sectors without putting a concern towards the environmental sustainability and people's health and safety there.

Peru's interest and identities was shaped by their social interaction with another state. These interests and state identities lead to prolonged environmental issues and even human rights violations. But it seems that this fact is covered by a very strong Peruvian identity. States are willing to sacrifice quite a bit to achieve what they want. Currently, Peru has been acknowledged as one of the states as a mining producer with great income. It has shown concrete proof that Peru was known by their identities and history as a mining producer for decades and cultivated strong ties and relationships with foreign companies based on mining operations like the Doe Run. Constructivism also emphasizes international institutions that can reshape state interests and identities. generate shared However. IACHR's involvement and NGOs such as the media and civil societies who try to bring up this issue could be seen as stuck.

Both are trying to process with Peru to solve this prolonged issue for the sake of environmental sustainability but still have not reached the best midpoint. Peru's government still refuses to obey the proposed solutions given by the IACHR because they have a firm believe that the cessation of mining operations would only damage their national interests and economic stability, they believe that it can be salvaged overtime and that it is in the best interests of Peru, as a predominantly mining-based country, to continue the mine for the greater good of the state and its people. The other actors like the IACHR and the NGOs involved think otherwise, thus their insurance to halt operations committed in La Oroya conducted by the government of Peru.

4.3. Green Political Theory Perspective

The case also can be seen from another perspective which is the Green Political Theory, that dates back to the 19th Century revolts against industrialization. It allegesthat the expense of economic development is the deterioration of the environment, which is clearly seen with the government ignoring the pleas of the La Oroya workersand community, who were suffering in 1999 until the petition conducted by a number of civil societies was admissible to IACHR in 2009. Within this period, Peru has accelerated their economy through ambitious reforms with introduction of the Fiscal Responsibility Law in 1999 (modified in 2013) and the formal introduction of inflation targeting in 2002 in regard to their economic stagnation post-World War II and repercussions from the oil shock back in the 1970s ("Peru - United States Department of State," 2021).

Considering the crisis, the Peruvian government creates a leeway for foreign enterprises to enter their market like many countries did by liberalizing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the 1980s. It dates back Alberto Fujimori's administration under during the 1990s which wasstrongly oriented to neoliberalism-derived from imperialism, and his predecessors that have taken the baton of presidency have continued to institutionalize and created a deeper and broader scope of his policies. It became a powerful ideology to the extent that those who oppose it will face consequences. This could place emphasis upon the delay of the government's response towards

the complaints from the La Oroyan people.

However, we could see how the NGOs in Peru were attempting to reach the IACHR through the lenses of this theory using the Pliant approach of anthropocentrism andthey could be understood as a 'tool' incontrolling the impacts of industrialization by pressuring the Peruvian government with the legal instruments. However, the Protocol of San Salvador did not subject the environment as a subject of law, rather as an attribute of consequences from exercising human rights and the NGOs and IACHR use this as a leverage to give sanctions towards the state, although it did not lead up to satisfactory results, where in 2009 the participants of medical test results still have shown high levels of contamination from their exposure of the hazardous elements in the metallurgical complex.

5. Conclusion

Concluding this journal, team authors have tried to dig down deep and find facts about this prolonged issue which also has aligned and answered research questions attached in introduction. With how the case has developed, the state has rationally chosen to continue with the mining operations. The impacts of imperialism have further made them blindsided by the fact that La Oroya mining has created bad environmental degradation and human rights violations towards the people who live there. As has been explained in detail in the discussion, this has become quite a worrying and shocking problem, especially since the metal levels in contaminated newborn babies show that from the start, they do not have fully human rights to live a decent and healthy life.

The fact that these environmental degradation and human rights violations will continue for years to come is something we cannot predict. Local and global factors such as pressure from local people who need work in mining, despite knowing the impact is very deadly for them, and the desire stemming from greed of the government to promote Peru's economic growth make hopes of solving this problem increasingly smaller. The heavy pollution caused in La Oroya caused

multiple health implications to the local communities, like blood levels of the workers in the area rising or falling abnormally. Moreover, evidence of 2 year old babies born in La Oroya Nueva had a blood level of 8.39 μg / dL where normal is 10-14 μg / dL. The smelter plants have an impact on the quality of the environment such as the air they breathe in, the water they drink, the land they use, which is very unsuitable and contaminated.

In the short term, this is very dangerous but the government and involving factors like the demand for FDI and jobs have left the community with no other option but to remain silent for the sake of their own livelihoods. In the long term, this problem will be very serious because people could be affected by more serious and progressive diseases stemming from those original complications during La Oroya. Seeing this happen, the team authors have dug down the causes of this happening from 3 points of view, which are realism, constructivism and green political theory. The government did not play an important role in taking steps to resolve this problem. On the contrary, the government is busy advancing the country's economy, making large profits from this mine, opening bigger gates for foreign companies to enter, and ignoring any complaints or protests from the public regarding this problem, all in the name of national interests.

The government has indirectly created a system that is severely dependent on foreign companies, blinding the people and restricting them from any criticism. If this mining sector is taken away, then the smoke from stoves in the homes of people in Peru will not be able to rise and they will not be able to survive for themselves. The government does not take considerable account of its own people. Worst yet, environmental degradation and violations of human rights are increasing day by day. The government seems to be blinded by national interests and are perpetually stuck in this dependency with FDIs, in order to advance market liberalization.

The community does not hold any power to fight the government itself. Therefore, if there is a moment of realization to make a change that reverses the damage done

or at the very least mitigate any future ones, the government must move and take part significantly in reforming their system. The government has control over it, the government should be able to review laws that can mitigate private businesses so that in the future they do not gain full control over these mining areas and have a significant influence on the affected communities. Free agreements regarding the restrictions that need to be applied in conducting business to protect the environment and human rights also need to be made, and this is very crucial in La Oroya. There must not be a repeat of La Oroya, where government oversight, economic greed, humanitarian expense under profit.

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