





LAND STATES WATCH

2019 Yearend Report

PANAP Land & Rights Watch 2019 Yearend Report

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PAN Asia Pacific

Address: P.O. Box 1170, Penang 10850, Malaysia

Tel: +604-657 0271 or +604-656 0381

Fax: +604-6583960 Email: info@panap.net

Editors: Arnold Padilla, Richard C. Cornelio Cover photo: Lucky E. Dela Rosa

2019 Yearend Report

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RESISTANCE AMID REPRESSION

It is no mere coincidence that the planet's spiral to a tipping point—as evidenced by global temperatures reaching historic highs and fires gobbling rainforests—plays out at a time of worldwide reckoning with authoritarian regimes built on populist zeitgeist. The surge of the latter has left vulnerable sectors, most especially the rural people and their advocates, doubly distressed in the face of an environmental collapse this brand of politics hastens and the erosion of democratic values it buffets to diminish people's rights.

The burning of the Amazon, for one, remains tragic and instructive. The fires may have been dampened, but the disaster they have wrought on many indigenous communities will stand in recent memory as yet another testament to the intersections between environmental catastrophe and a politics of exclusion driven by profits for a few.

"If I become President," said Jair Bolsonaro in February 2018, "there will not be a centimeter more of indigenous land." He later went on TV to "correct" himself, but in fact made his message worse by saying he had meant "not one millimeter."



The then 27-year congressman has since gone on to express even more incendiary remarks and to ride the wave of divisive sentiments to popular victory.

These declarations are nothing short of a threat. Roughly by the end of his first year in office, Bolsonaro has either reversed or relaxed environmental laws in favor of big agribusinesses and other private firms that back his regime. He has emboldened loggers, miners, and prospectors to pillage the Amazon, a home to over 400 tribes that have taken care of the rainforest for close to a millennium. They had the most to lose when, in August, fires—ignited mostly by retrograde actors to clear land for pastures—gutted and razed the Amazon.

Neither is the situation any less dispiriting for indigenous peoples, small and landless farmers and farm workers, and their supporters in other quarters of the globe.

More than 11 million forest dwellers in India have yet to come to terms with the top court's decision to drive them out of their homes. Eviction notices also hover over a host of villages in the Mekong region, where capital infusion from China translates into construction of roads and mega-dams at the expense of the lands and livelihoods of farming and indigenous communities. An emerging imperial power, China has leveraged so-called aid and investments in supposed development projects to make inroads in countries like the Philippines



where the United States, the former's rival, has long held sway.

Much vaunted prospects of progress, which these projects supposedly herald, provide a ready context for predatory governments and businesses to cannibalize what modest space for development has yet to be consumed by crises in the Global South. Populist incumbents like President Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines have sought to take advantage of these deals meant to seize agricultural and indigenous lands and resources in exchange for revenues.

At the losing end of such ventures stand not just vital ecosystems but also rural communities that are increasingly denied their

The Forest Guardians of Caru Indigenous Territory in Maranhao State protect the Tenetehara indigenous community from illegal loggers.

Brent Stirton © 2018 Getty Images for Human Rights Watch CCBY-NC-ND 3.0 US; cropped from original

rights to make use of and benefit from their own land and resources and all other basic requisites to a life of dignity.

No less than heads of states scapegoat peasants, national minorities, and their supporters with a blend of indifference and callousness, if not outright violence. Where right-wing agendas have made strides in coopting the public discourse, the government brands these sectors as enemies of progress. Others weaponize legal instruments and narratives of counterterrorism to legitimize and enforce a clampdown on progressive groups, including land rights defenders who risk life and limb in a climate of impunity.

This year's Land and Rights Watch of PAN Asia Pacific (PANAP) provides but a glimpse of the scale of these human rights abuses related to land conflicts and struggles in 23 countries from various regions. The actual figures are likely to be much higher owing to cases that must have gone unreported or unmonitored. All the same, the findings of this report demonstrate the human costs exacted when forces of reaction and tyranny become mainstream, with ruinous outcomes for the world's most disadvantaged sectors.

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CATASTROPHIC CONSEQUENCES OF DECLINING DEMOCRACIES



What is new about the political regression reverberating across the globe is not the rise of demagogues who assail the principles of inclusivity, solidarity, and justice. Such frontal assaults on the values at the heart of democracy have long been an authoritarian project, but the fatal blows they deal become more crushing in light of climate change finding more visible expressions of today's political crisis.

To be sure, there is nothing written in stone to impute environmental devastation solely to a right-wing rule. Yet the burning of the Amazon, a crucial carbon sink, for example, has been fueled by the oxygen of hate and bravado that Bolsonaro sustains to menace indigenous groups, who promote sustainable ways of managing their own ecosystems and defending their own communities against incursion and plunder.



The reprisals they face from powerful vested interests discount the decisive role they play in stewarding the planet. Even the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) recognized last August the land ownership rights of indigenous communities as a means to curb global warming.

Throughout much of mankind's history, however, indigenous knowledge of agricultural, livestock, and forestry practices have been more than overlooked, at the expense of the world's food systems and biodiversity.

Worse, the colonial project of grabbing indigenous land and resources persists apace, and along with it the relentless attacks against those who resist such ravaging.

It is a tragically familiar consequence of opposing wanton plunder and destruction which amounts to little more than normalized violence. It is a trend, too, whose warning signs have long been visible but simply taken on vast proportions lately, alongside the authoritarian tilt hardened by the rise of the far right.

In Indonesia, this increasingly rightward shift gains momentum with President Joko Widodo's re-election last April. He has kept on his campaign to boost the production of the country's palm-based derivatives for consumer goods, while displacing rural people from common forest and grazing lands and belching untold amounts of carbon dioxide to develop millions of hectares of land into massive plantations.

Around the same time the Amazon was going up in flames, Indonesia's palm oil and pulpwood sectors took advantage of the dry season to slash and burn trees to expand their plantations. The smoke spread out from the forest fires raging through parts of the islands of Borneo and Sumatra, shrouding hundreds of towns and even Indonesia's neighboring countries in a haze of acrid smog for several months now.

The haze, though a regular air pollution problem in Southeast Asia, has been exacerbated over the years by industrialized farming and the rapid conversion of tropical rainforests, lowland agricultural areas, and peatlands. Investments in enclosed monocrop plantations and invasive agribusiness infrastructure have not just radically altered landscapes but also driven many small-scale food growers off the countryside.

The landless face more risks than ever before, especially where the disregard for their rights converges with a conservative politics and an environmental emergency that the former heightens in the first place.

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DANGERS AND DECEPTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT DRIVE

The models of development favoring private profit have proven antithetical to the assertion of land rights yet advantageous to populist leaders who deceitfully claim to usher in prosperity for all. The latter's drive for clout and personal enrichment has left an open field for some of the world's major economies to further their market expansion by corporate takeover of lands and resources, to the detriment of local populations.

The relationship of China with other nations offers an illustrative case study. An emerging powerhouse, it has made its USD890-billion Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)—so far, the largest multilateral development and investment undertaking in the century—a major plank of its bid to augment industrial and military influence in the global arena. Even pre-BRI, however, China had been aggressive in brokering land deals for leases and concessions or the construction of agricultural parks and special economic zones (SEZs).

Its downstream neighbors in the Mekong have lately satisfied China's appetite for raw



materials and reserves for foreign exchange. Multimillion-dollar hydropower dams are set to be built at various points on the Mekong river and would entail the physical and economic dislocation of thousands of rural households without prior consultation or fair compensation. Meanwhile, in Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar, Chinese-owned firms operate on SEZs and economic land concessions (ELCs), looking to attract foreign investments.

China's vows of multilateral cooperation and unprecedented development find resonance in the populist pitches of political impresarios like Duterte. What little diplomacy he can endure rides on cozying up to China and tying his administration's centerpiece, though still



largely unimplemented, "Build, Build, Build" infrastructure program with the BRI.

China's portfolio in the Philippines thickens with the recent addition of the USD 238.9-million Kaliwa Dam, touted by the latter's top officials to be the answer to the water interruptions in the metropolis. The Chinese government will bankroll over 85% of its planned construction, for which the farms and ancestral lands of the Dumagat and Remontados indigenous groups will be run right over. About 20,000 individuals will have to be evicted and relocated, per estimates by local cause-oriented groups.

Such compromises attached to contracts with China preclude any equal footing that

Local authorities jailed Thein Tun, a farmer from Shan State, for a month for allegedly encroaching on the land he claimed to belong to his family for decades. This year, more farmers face threats of displacement as, according to the amended land management law, all unregistered tracts in the country had effectively been declared "vacant, fallow, and virgin."

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an open-borders route via the BRI envisions. Bolsonaro during his campaign took aim at China for this and passed up an invitation for engagement in the BRI. In reality, though, Brazil has long been in China's trade orbit.

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Fewer tensions exist between the two nations than Bolsonaro makes them out to be. China's trading partner for the latter's agricultural produce. For one. China-still at trade war with the US from where it imported sovbeans until recently-now buys from Brazil, hence tripling premiums on the latter's exports amid the weakening of its currency. This demand for sovbeans also contributes substantially to the criminal deforestation of the Amazon to give way to soy farming.

Chinese President Xi Jinping arrives at a branch of Heilongjiang

Farms in the northeastern town of

Jiansanjiang, also known as China's

"green rice city," in September 2018.

agricultural modernization, for which outward agribusiness investments are

His government has lately stressed

strategic ties extend to Brazil, as the chief

China's crystallizing global influence escalates rural unrest in countries in the Global South, like Brazil and the Philippines. The two seem at first to have the upper hand in deciding whether to let China in, but it is in fact their economies that are sold out as costs of admission to China's market and their peoples wagered in the process, mainly the communities of farmers and indigenous minorities.

The reality on the ground resembles nothing like the populist leaders' promise of shared wealth. This is to speak nothing yet of the impunity with which their governments continue to blast the rural communities. With state forces springing into action at their behest, the repressive environment they are bent on breeding compounds the many social and economic woes that hound their countries' most marginalized.



CHALLENGING THE CLIMATE OF IMPUNITY

The top five countries that have registered the highest number of land-related killings since 2017, based on PANAP's monitoring, have also seen populists inch to electoral posts and eventually seize power. The public frustrations they tap into magnify the chasm between a mainly liberal elite and the majority that sense precarity and feel deserving of redress for the hard knocks and historical injustices dealt them.

The same sentiments compelled many Mexican voters to install Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, who is known by the acronym AMLO, into presidency in 2018. He trumpets supposedly left-wing politics, with a focus on improving the lot of the poor, but has pivoted to a pro-business slant that nowhere near upsets the local oligarchy like he initially promised.

One of AMLO's biggest infrastructure projects, the Mayan Train, a railway line that would cut across the Yucatan peninsula, provoked outrage among indigenous groups who had not been consulted on the project's prospects. Under his term, indigenous activists who oppose such ventures have also fallen victim to attacks by unknown assailants. Their deaths cast a pall on the people's confidence in his rule.

A growing disillusion with a strongman regime also characterizes public reception of the continuing stint of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, a Hindu nationalist, in India. In 2014, tens of millions of farmers and Dalits, known before as "untouchables," who comprise the country's majority, pinned their hopes on Modi's campaign promise of at least a 50% increase of profit for farmers, among other things. And though he later failed to deliver on this, he deflected backlash by playing up a jingoist campaign that put national security at the top of his reelection platforms, in early 2019, amid a much-dreaded nuclear arms race against Pakistan.

Modi's agrarian policies all the while stoked rural distress as India's unemployment rate worsened and economic growth faltered. Recently released data from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) indicate over 31 farmers killed themselves in despair over mountains of debts in 2016. These numbers are still feared to swell unless Modi junks bungled land-related programs in favor of substantial, rights-based reforms.

The sort of legal changes railroaded by most populist leaders, however, serve to entrench, by design, the stranglehold of big corporations on the public coffers. Bolsonaro of Brazil, for example, has encouraged the ruralista bloc, a group of agro-industrial lobbyists and policymakers in Congress, to steamroller environmental safeguards to say that practically no ancestral domain or protected reserve is off-limits in his administration's efforts



at so-called development. His rhetoric cannot be dismissed as empty talk as it has found violent translation in the deaths of tribe leaders reportedly at the hands of armed miners.

The murders of social leaders have risen steeply in Colombia, too, as armed groups aim to gain greater territorial control. The latter comprise criminal gangs that terrorize indigenous communities in the absence of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), which disarmed in 2016 as part of the peace accords.

Human rights groups slam President Ivan Duque's right-wing government for failing to follow through on the implementation of the peace deal, which should have stemmed the attacks on and persecution of the country's social leaders. The military have meanwhile proven inadequate to the task. This sense of victimization has moved indigenous communities to transpose their anxieties into action, triggering a series of the most massive protests yet in city centers and conflict zones since Duque's ascent to office.

This year indeed demonstrated the people's show of force in standing up for the democratic principles they had seen eroded by populist advances.

The peasant sector in the Philippines provides a prominent example, living and toiling as they are in the world's most dangerous country for advocates of land and resource rights.

It is now the third consecutive year that the Philippines has ranked first on PANAP's list of countries with the most number of cases and victims of killings related to land disputes: a total of 50 individuals from January till the end of November 2019, which roughly translates to one Filipino land defender killed every week. This rate of death toll outpaces last year's frequency of one land defender murdered every two weeks in the Philippines.

Last March 30, not even a whole day since the Day of the Landless, the massacre of 14 farmers in three areas in Negros island, a hotbed of rural conflicts in the central Philippines, echoed the drumbeat of the government's counterinsurgency operations. Duterte has been mobilizing the police and military in perpetrating attacks on peasants whom they stigmatize as armed communist insurgents.

The climate of impunity created by such smear campaigns clears a fertile ground for not only killings but also legal persecution of groups supportive of peasant and workers' causes. This was most particularly evident in the arrests of 54 activists and community leaders during the raid on the offices of progressive organizations in Negros island last October 31. Their illegal arrests based on what human rights activists claimed were planted evidence represented a breach of



the rule of law, which the Duterte government routinely flouts.

Though Duterte made plain during his presidential campaign his penchant for bluster and intimidation, these systematic assaults on people's rights midway through his term exceed any expectations of what his administration would prove. Taking a cue from other populists, he once similarly fancied himself the authentic voice of Filipinos and the sole harbinger of solutions to the country's myriad problems.

That he went on to renege on his pledges serves as a caution against taking for granted the rights of the disenfranchised. The likes of him embody a dangerous threat to the architecture of democracy and are poised to wreak greater havoc—particularly on the dignity and welfare of farmers and farm workers, indigenous peoples, and land activists—lest the people leave no room for complacency in their fight for what is just and right.

Perhaps an optimistic way to view all this is as a test of resolve.

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Any case for hope to be made hinges on the enduring assertion of the rural people's collective rights and aspirations for a politics of change.

After all, the resurgence of authoritarian regimes only matches the refusal of various mass movements to surrender the people's democratic rights.

In the Philippines, land occupation and cultivation campaigns are making dents on land grabbing endeavors. Tens of thousands of farmers stand cheek by jowl with civil society members in the streets of India and Indonesia, in reaction to legal frameworks reformed to disfavor the agrarian sector.

Across much of Latin America, indigenous groups keep up the spirit of protests and consummate a longstanding struggle against the utterly failed neoliberal policies of liberalization, deregulation, and privatization. Elsewhere, landmark victories in the courts have been clinched and are starting to exert an emphatic pushback against laws meant to wreck the environment and dispossess communities further.

The coming year shall see a renewed commitment to articulating an alternative vision of societies where rights are recognized rather than undermined, where people-centered development is promoted rather than perverted. It is a commitment to tumbling boundaries erected by exponents of vilification and narrow self-interest.

Enraged and energized in resistance, the people have nothing more to lose in carrying on their struggles for land and resources, until a future built on justice could only look ever more possible. •

IN NUMBERS

MONITORED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RELATED TO LAND CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES IN 2019*







The massacre of 14 farmers in Negros Oriental, an island province about 850 kilometers south of Manila, in the central Philippines, could not be a more alarming reminder of the worsening human rights situation Filipino farmers face. Elements of the Philippine National Police (PNP) carried out alleged anti-criminality operations in search of loose firearms that led to the reported fatalities, including the arrests of at least 12 local peasant leaders.

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trom January 1 to November 30, 2019

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FIGURE 1

NUMBER OF CASES AND VICTIMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLAT RELATED TO LAND CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES, BY SECTOR





NUMBER OF VICTIMS: 108

People

36

Farm workers

49



23









32 CASES



NUMBER OF VICTIMS: 152

22

Farmers,

82

47

Unspecified





NUMBER OF VICTIMS: 4056



THR PHY

NUN

12

Farme Farm v



DISPLACEMENT **5 CASES**

Farme

700

1260



IONS

JANUARY TO NOVEMBER 2019

EATS, HARASSMENT, SICAL ASSAULT

CASES

IBER OF VICTIMS: 24

ous



₋and activists •



, orkers



Unspecified sector





ous



Land activists



s, orkers



Unspecified sector **2096**



AL CASES: 138

November 30, 2019, PAN Asia Pacific (PANAP) monitored a total of 138 cases of human rights violations related to land conflicts and struggles in 23 countries worldwide. During the same period in 2018, the number of monitored cases was pegged at 128 cases in 21 countries.

From January 1 to

2019 Yearend Report

As shown in **Figure 1**, more than half of the monitored cases – 84 – were killings which took 108 victims in 14 countries from January to November 2019.

The second most prevalent violation were arrests, detention and legal persecution with 32 cases and 152 victims in 11 countries. Meanwhile, 17 cases of threats, harassment and physical assault were also monitored with 24 victims in nine countries. Lastly, 5 cases of displacement had around 4,056 victims in three countries during the same period.

See Annex 1 for the per country breakdown of each of the monitored violations.

FIGURE 2 JAN-NOV 2019

NUMBER OF VICTIMS OF KILLINGS RELATED TO LAND CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES, BY GENDER AND SECTOR



Farmers, farm workers



Indigenous people



Land activists



TOTAL NUMBER OF VICTIMS: 108

Of the 84 victims of killings, more than half or 49 were farmers and farm workers; 36 were indigenous people; and 23 were land activists, as illustrated in **Figure 2**. By gender, 94 victims of killings were male and 14 were female.

There was a notable increase this year in the number of cases and victims of killings related to land conflicts and struggles compared to 2018. As earlier noted, there were 84 cases of killings with 108 victims in 14 countries from January to November 2019. During the same period in 2018, there were 57 cases of killings with 91 victims in 14 countries.

But note that such increases were mainly pushed by the further deteriorating human rights situation faced by rural communities in specific countries where such atrocities are heavily concentrated.

In the Philippines, for example, from 21 cases and 33 victims of killings in 2018, the country posted 38 cases and 50 victims of killings in 2019. This means that one Filipino farmer, farm worker, indigenous person or land activist is being killed every week this year, compared to an average of one victim every two weeks last year.

Another is Colombia, which had three cases and five victims of killings last year and 21 cases and 27 victims this year. Brazil, meanwhile, posted five cases and five victims in 2018 and seven cases and nine victims in 2019. The Philippines, Colombia and Brazil remained the three deadliest countries in the

world for farmers, farm workers, indigenous people and land activists.

Rounding out the top counties in terms of number of victims of land-related killings, as shown in **Figure 3**, were Honduras with four victims and Guatemala, India, Indonesia, and Mexico with three victims each. Meanwhile, Cambodia, Congo, Costa Rica, Palestine, Peru and South Africa each had at least one victim of land-related killings.

Looking at regional data, killings are the most prevalent form of human rights violations against rural peoples and their supporters in Latin America. More than 70% of monitored cases in Latin America were killings.

On the other hand, most of the monitored cases in the Asia Pacific were also killings although with less concentration (56%) as compared to Latin America. Another significant chunk of land-related human rights violations in the region were cases of arrests, detention, and legal persecution, accounting for 32% of the total monitored cases in Asia Pacific.

The number of people arrested, detained and persecuted through trumped up charges in Asia Pacific reached 114 led by India with 49 victims and the Philippines with 48 victims. The rest were from Laos (eight victims); Cambodia (five); Egypt (three); and Kuwait (one).

Compared to the same period in 2018, the number of cases of arrest, detention and legal persecution worldwide declined (from 37 cases to 32 cases in 2019) but the number

of victims of increased (from 136 victims to 152 victims). The number of monitored cases remained the same (11 countries).

Latin America (eight cases, 14 victims) and Asia Pacific (seven cases, seven victims) also accounted for the bulk of the monitored cases of threats, harassment and physical assault related to land conflicts and struggles. Colombia topped this list in terms of number of victims with nine, followed by the Philippines with five victims. Other countries with monitored similar cases were Brazil, Cameroon, Chile, Congo, Guatemala, India and Indonesia.

Threats, harassment and physical assault actually eased this year compared to 2018 with the number of cases (from 23 cases last year to 17 in 2019) and victims (from 49 victims to 24) both declining. The number of monitored countries, on the other hand, slightly increased from eight to nine during the periods being compared.

The Philippines, Colombia and Brazil, meanwhile, also accounted for the monitored displacements of rural communities due to land conflicts and struggles from January to November 2019. Most of the victims were from the Philippines (2,796 people) with three monitored cases. Colombia and Brazil each had one case with 700 and 560 victims, respectively.

Compared to 2018, the number of monitored displacements this year went down in terms of cases (from 11 cases to five); victims (from 9,288 victims to 4,056); and monitored countries (from four countries to three).

FIGURE 3

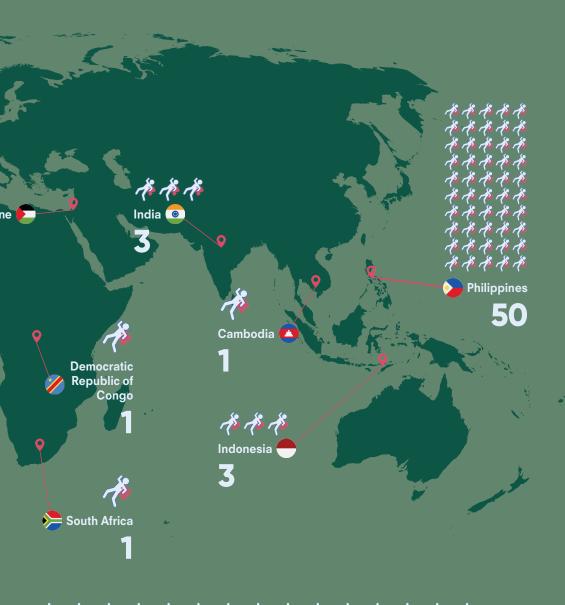
18

NUMBER OF VICTIMS OF KILLINGS RELATED LAND CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES, BY C



'ED TO Duntry

JANUARY TO NOVEMBER 2019



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Figure 4 illustrates that state forces continue to commit atrocities against farmers, farm workers, indigenous people and land activists engaged in asserting the people's rights to land and resources. In

2019, the police, military and paramilitary were reportedly involved in 60 such cases of human rights violations. These included 18 cases of killings; 32 cases of arrests, detention and legal persecution; five cases

FIGURE 4

NUMBER OF CASES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RELATED TO LAND CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES, BY **ALLEGED PERPETRATOR JAN-NOV 2019**



MILITARY, PARAMILITARY. POLICE

60 CASES

Killings

18

Displacement

5



Threats, harassments, physical assault

5

Arrests, detention, legal persecution

32







PRIVATE SECURITY

7 CASES

Killings

5

Displacement

0



Threats, harassments, physical assault









UNIDENTIFIED

71 CASES

Killings

61

Displacement

0



Threats, harassments, physical assault

10



legal persecution



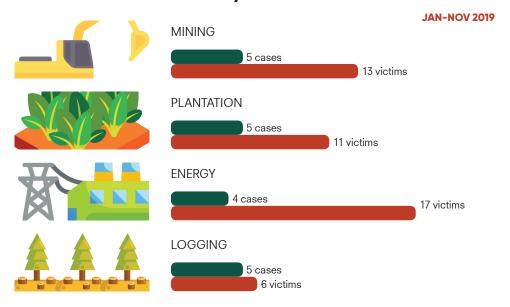






FIGURE 5

NUMBER OF CASES AND VICTIMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RELATED TO LAND CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES WORLDWIDE, BY IDENTIFIED INDUSTRY



of threats, harassment and physical assault; and five cases of displacement.

In addition, private security personnel of companies and individuals involved in land conflicts and disputes with rural communities were involved in five cases of killings and two cases of threats, harassment and physical assault.

It is important to note that majority of the cases of human rights violations (71 cases) were committed by unidentified perpetrators, including 61 of the 84 cases of killings. These present additional challenges to the quest for justice for the victims and their families.

A lion's share of the monitored cases (119 out of the 138 cases) of human rights violations related to land conflicts and struggles were not identified with specific industries. But among the cases with identified industries, mining, plantation, energy and logging emerged as the top industries with monitored incidents of human rights atrocities, as shown in **Figure 5**.

Women farmers, farm workers, indigenous people and land activists continued to face attacks in their human rights in 2019. As illustrated in **Figure 6**, the most common type of human rights violations that women faced were arrests, detention and legal

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persecution (15 victims), based on data where gender disaggregation is possible. The said figure is half of last year's number (31 victims). Further, women victims of arrests, detention and legal persecution were concentrated in the Philippines (nine victims) Cambodia (four victims).

The number of women killed in the context of land disputes reached 14 from January to November 2019 (half from Colombia) while those who faced threats, harassment and physical assault reached 10 (again half were Colombian women). For comparison, the number of women killed during the same period in 2018 was also 14 while there were 7 women victims of threats, harassment and physical assault.

(Annex 2 breaks down the number of women victims per country and per type of violation.) •

NOTE:

Land & Rights Watch (LR Watch) is an initiative of PANAP and our partners and networks under the No Land, No Life! Campaign to closely monitor and expose human rights abuses against communities opposing land and resource grabbing.

PANAP culls the data and information from online news and articles and reports from our partners and networks. Because of this limitation, the LR Watch does not claim to represent the true global extent of human rights violations that are related to land and resource grabbing and similar conflicts in the rural areas.

However, the compiled data through the LR Watch help provide a glimpse of the alarming state of human rights confronted by indigenous peoples, farmers,

FIGURE 6

NUMBER OF IDENTIFIED WOMEN VICTIMS
OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RELATED
TO LAND CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES, BY
TYPE OF VIOLATION

JAN-NOV 2019

KILLINGS: 14



ARRESTS, DETENTION, LEGAL PERSECUTION: 15



THREATS, HARASSMENT, PHYSICAL ASSAULT: 10



farmworkers and others in the rural communities around the world that are defending their right to land and resources.

If you have corrections and/or clarifications about our data, or if you want to share a case in your country that has not been reflected our monitoring, please contact us at nolandnolife@panap.net.

BEHIND THE NUMBERS

MONITORED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RELATED TO LAND CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES IN 2019



After the discussion of the country's human rights situation at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) in Bago Aguán, Honduras, protesters hold a vigil at the gates of the Organization of American States (OAS) in commemoration of the slain indigenous and environmental rights activist Berta Cáceres, April 5, 2016. More than three years since her death, the seven men found guilty of her murder have at last been sentenced to 30 to 50 years.

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Victims of land-related human rights violations come from different sectors and industries, but all view their struggles as literally a matter of life and death. While the following pages cannot convey the full viciousness of the crimes against land rights defenders, the stories of several of this vear's fallen or besieged champions of the rural people capture the latter's persistence to fight for their democratic rights, unflaggingly and uncompromisingly.



GOLFRID SIREGAR

Lawyer, environmental campaigner, activist

INDONESIA | In the early morning of October 3, a passing rickshaw driver found land rights defender Golfrid Siregar, 34, lying unconscious next to his motorbike in an underpass in Medan, a city on the island of Sumatra. He sustained severe injuries to the head to which, three days later, he succumbed at the hospital.

The local police initially assessed Siregar's injuries to have resulted from either a motorbike accident or a run-in with robbers. His personal belongings like laptop computer and wallet were missing.

Colleagues and fellow activists called into question this preliminary report, noting that the assailants would have made off with Siregar's motorbike as well, or that a bike crash should have left marks and bruises all over his body, too, rather than just on the head. They suspect instead that he fell victim to a

politically motivated attack given his profile and background.

A lawyer by training, Siregar served as the coordinator of the legal aid team at the local chapter of the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (Walhi), the country's largest environmental nonprofit. He assisted local communities locked into lawsuits over land disputes, usually with oil palm plantations.

At the time of his death, he was working on a legal complaint against a controversial hydropower project run by China-bankrolled PT North Sumatra Hydro Energy. The plant's construction poses threat to the local habitat of Tapanuli orangutan, the world's most endangered giant ape. Though the case of Siregar's death is now closed, human rights groups like Amnesty Indonesia remains skeptical of the official police narrative. They assert that his death is the latest in an alarming trend of cases of violence against Indonesian activists carried out under suspicious circumstances.•

24



LUIS FERREIRA DA COSTA

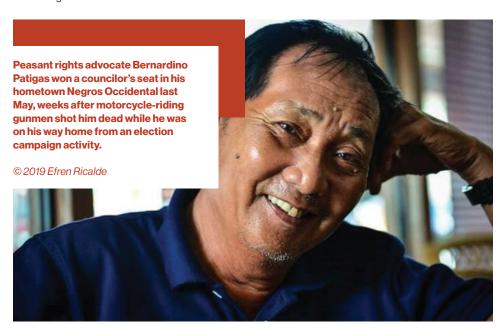
Mason, human rights defender, landless rural worker

BRAZIL | On July 18, during a protest against denied access to water, healthcare, and education in the Marielle Vive Camp in Sau Paulo, a Mitsubishi L200 pickup truck barreled through the protesters occupying the road, injured four individuals, and killed Luis Ferreira da Costa, 72. He was rushed to the hospital but died on the way over, leaving behind ten children.

A mason by training, da Costa helped set up the Marielle Vive Camp on the periphery of an abandoned farm in April 2018. He was among the first settlers in the area, together with roughly 700 campesino households, members of Brazil's largest agrarian group, the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST). There are now more than a thousand families residing in the camp and practicing sustainable agriculture.

His colleagues at the MST tell of how da Costa described himself as "a warrior" for dignified housing. He believed in the struggle for land security and opposed agribusiness models, which have lately been favored by President Jair Bolsonaro's repressive policies and reversed pro-peasant initiatives.

At the protest, minutes before his death, da Costa helped distribute pamphlets to cars passing by their contingent to explain their calls. The police were able to arrest the armed truck driver, who witnesses had heard say he would "run over" the protesters. The MST later called on public officials to end the smear campaigns and stigmatization that create a climate of impunity against landless peasants.



BERNARDINO "TOTO" PATIGAS

Peasant leader, human rights advocate, city councilor

PHILIPPINES | On April 22, in broad daylight, two unidentified gunmen shot to death Bernardino "Toto" Patigas, a peasant rights advocate and a city councilor in Escalante, Negros Occidental (around 740 kilometers south of Manila). Patigas, 72, suffered from a gunshot to the leg and died of a head-shot in the midst of the campaign season for the May 13 midterm elections.

He had survived the Escalante massacre in September 1985, when the government's paramilitary forces gunned down protesters, mostly farmers and sugar workers, at an indignation rally on the 13th anniversary of the Martial Law declaration. Patigas later became a regional coordinator of the progressive party-list Bayan Muna before his appointment

as the secretary general of the Northern Negros Alliance for Human Rights (NNAHRA).

Even when he ventured into local politics, Patigas remained actively supportive of human rights work, particularly the struggle of farm workers in Negros, the country's heartland of large sugar plantations. He was staunch in his belief in social justice despite constant political vilification, from threats and fabricated charges to outright red-tagging.

In April last year, posters accusing local personalities of links to the insurgent group in Negros listed his name and those of more than 50 others, including human rights lawyer Atty. Benjamin Ramos, who later fell victim to extrajudicial killing in November last year. Patigas was the 48th human rights advocate killed in the line of work in the Philippines, according to local human rights watchdog Karapatan.•



Friends and family mourned the passing of activist Arnulfo Cerón Soriano, whose body the authorities found in a grave near Tlapa City in Guerrero, a state in western Mexico, over a month since he was reported missing.

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ARNULFO CERÓN SORIANO

Human rights defender, indigenous community organizer

MEXICO | On October 11, 2019, Arnulfo Cerón Soriano was not able to arrive in Tlapa de Comonfort, Guerrero where he planned to attend a conference. His vehicle was found abandoned the next day, with the keys still in the ignition. His family and friends later reported he was missing, but the probe on his disappearance only took off upon mounting pressure from human rights organizations in Mexico. More than a month since his last known whereabouts, Soriano was found buried under several tons of soil in El Alguaje colony in Tlapa, Guerrero.

Soriano's death struck a chord among the Naua people of the region of La Montaña, Guerrero, where he belonged and which he organized with the help of the Popular Front of the Mountain (FPM) and the Movement for the Freedom of Political Prisoners of the State of Guerrero (MOLPEG). His skills as a

lawyer found purpose in defending the rights of the different colonies and communities in the region, especially indigenous people. He also once helped in the search of 43 missing students in Iguala, Guerrero in 2014.

The disappearance and death of Soriano happened in the context of greater impunity in the country, with similar crimes going unreported or uninvestigated. Killings of other community leaders and human rights defenders in Guerrero have also been documented and provide a grim environment for human rights advocates to carry out their work.

In the days before Soriano's body was found, his friends and kin received calls and threats that human rights organizations now worry about.

"Authorities must redouble their efforts to investigate his disappearance and death, holding those responsible to account, and ensure the safety of Arnulfo's family and organizations that support him," said Amnesty International in an urgent appeal.



have yet to be released as of writing. Amid state surveillance, they had allegedly planned to stage demonstrations denouncing land grabs, deforestation, dam construction, and mass displacement.

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LAO PRO-DEMOCRACY ACTIVISTS DETAINED BEFORE PLANNED PEACEFUL PROTESTS

LAOS | Human rights groups decried the arrests in Vientiane of a group of Lao activists, who were discussing plans to hold protests against land grabs and rural displacement, among others, at four locations during the That Luang festival. But the arrests last November 12 are just the known cases of persecution in a country notorious for labelling as national security threats even the slightest dissent.

The arrested individuals were identified to be Sounthone Fasongsav. Khamkone Phanthavong, Kiettisack Hakmisouk. Boungnone Phanthavong, Chiengsone Phanthayong, Santinoi Thepkaysone, and Santinoi's wife whose name was not disclosed. Six of them have already been released, per latest reports. The rest, as of press time, now join a growing list of activists who have been detained for expressing criticism of the government or simply rallying for the recognition of the rights of the country's most deprived.

In Laos, where the state heavily influences if not controls traditional channels of

communication like the press, very few venues are at any cause-oriented group's disposal to get its message across—even fewer still for those involved in such contentious campaigns as peasants' rights to land and resources.

Land has figured strikingly in drawing in foreign direct investments under the current administration's 'Turning Land into Capital' policy. Yet the specifics of such a policy appear dim, even to investors, as it has largely never been written down. It has been interpreted and implemented in rather multifarious ways. Civil society organizations (CSOs) find it more difficult to formulate policy recommendations as this pro-businesses project's impacts on rural communities are harder to document, much less assess.

A number of Lao citizens who have come out to publicly denounce land grabs in particular have not been heard from since. The country's opaque judiciary has not made available any reliable statistics on how many political prisoners are being held. This crackdown on progressive individuals runs counter to the right to free expression, association, and peaceful assembly as protected by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), to which Laos is a party. •

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TURNING THE TIDE OF TYRANNY

If this year's trend of land-related human rights violations goes unchecked, scores more from the rural people's ranks might as well be statistics in the making. For hundreds of them, the setbacks and crises of 2019 tested governments' readiness to safeguard people's rights, yet found traditional institutions of accountability woefully inadequate. The world in 2019 could have only reinforced their resolve to fight for their rights themselves, to reiterate the truth of their equal humanity, to refuse to be brought to heel.

While the costs of standing up and speaking out against injustice may have grown this year, so too did the number of land rights defenders who exhaust every avenue for struggle. Faced with vicious attacks against their rights, many of them have rallied to the banner of activism and resistance. Their

Excerpt from a letter from indigenous women of Western Amazon:

"We must unite to protect nature, to defend our territories against extractive industries and combat inequality and injustice. And for this reason, we do not want it to be only women joining this struggle: this struggle belongs to everyone. It is for life, harmony and peace in the world."

Amazon Frontlines © 2018



campaigns gathered greater steam and magnitude throughout the year. The political,

magnitude throughout the year. The political, social, and cultural gains they have scored so far provide a counterweight to the renewed efforts by proponents of private profit, endorsed or represented by populist and

authoritarian forces, that continue to thrust their sectors to destitution. Their actions, in response, affirmed with greater urgency all the democratic principles now under siege, taking on both the courts of law and the parliament of the streets.

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CONFRONTING ABUSERS, NOTCHING VICTORIES

Where few institutions extend a vigorous defense of their rights to ancestral territory, indigenous people mobilize themselves to toppling barriers to justice and to reclaim their right to self-determination as provided for even by certain mechanisms of the law.

Nowhere was this better illustrated than in the landmark court win of the Waorani people, an indigenous tribe in a far-flung part of the Ecuadorian Amazon, against three government bodies that had failed to secure their free, prior and informed consent before earmarking their land for an international oil auction. This verdict last April became a repudiation of the state's longstanding practice of divvying up ancestral lands

for lease to big oil corporations, following merely token consultations with community members.

The Waorani's victory, however, was the exception rather than the rule. Too often, institutions of judicial response offer tepid support and fall short of meting out justice to dispossessed indigenous people.

In the case of the Ayoreo-Totobiegosode, the last uncontacted tribe in Latin America outside of the Amazon, justice was only recently secured after 26 years of standing up to assimilationist endeavors by cattle ranchers and settlers. They received the title to a 18,000-hectare tract of flatland in Paraguay's Gran Chaco, one of the world's few dry forests notorious for fast-spreading, criminally ignited fires.

Both legal milestones may be far from the sea change that beleaguered indigenous people aspire to, but still they speak of victories reaped after a dogged quest for justice. They should not be taken to mean, however, that benevolence is inherent in formal structures of accountability. Nor are state actors the sole arbiters of who deserve respect for their rights. Nor do the courts have a monopoly on exacting justice.

Land & Rights Watch

Large numbers of people who thronged India's major thoroughfares in March proved that mobilizations could draw attention to public clamor for justice. Proposed revisions of the colonial-era Indian Forest Act that aimed to commercialize the tribal people Adivasis' forestlands provoked outcry from land rights groups. A string of protests condemned the threats of eviction looming over millions of Adivasis and culminated last November, ahead of the state elections, with the government's withdrawal of their plans.

Elsewhere, land grabs stir mass discontent of the kind seen on the streets of Hawaii, where the Kanaka Maoli brought their campaign against a gigantic telescope set to be built on one of their sacred lands. In Auckland, New Zealand, the Maori people occupied an illegally designated residential development that sat on their land and rejected the government's gambit to pit their interests against the right to shelter.

Such displays of dissent are just among the many that have galvanized popular demands of otherwise "unpopular" or ignored sectors. Mere weeks before 2020 rolls around, many of these enormous protests led mainly by social movements of imperiled communities of the indigenous and the landless are not showing signs of simmering down.



RECLAIMING LANDS, SEIZING THE FUTURE

The year started on a global political stage dominated by populist leaders, who champion all but the will of impoverished minorities and basic sectors.

The recent upsurge of protests across vast swaths of the globe chafes against not only this new crop of repressive regimes, but the systems the latter cling to, on top of decades of dispossession, discrimination and disruption of rural people's livelihoods and lifeways.

The landless poor, in particular, know the daily injustices they endure can only be repelled by a collective response. As a motive force for change, they continue to ally with the broader public to expand the mass movement for people-led agrarian reform. They do so with a vision of a more just future for their lot.

The support for this ideal was on plentiful display last March 29, when 139 global, regional and national organizations from 26 countries across Asia Pacific, Africa, Latin America, North

America and Europe issued a joint statement to mark the Day of the Landless.

"We witness how movements of oppressed and exploited rural people in various countries push back against the onslaught of land and resource grabbing despite the systematic killings, persecution and harassment of their ranks," read part of the statement jointly issued by the Asian Peasant Coalition (APC), PANAP, and the People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty (PCFS).

Citing latest statistics, the groups noted that the landless comprise 80% of the poor worldwide. Various developments in the agroindustry have generated, too, a broad range of practices—some more blatant and pernicious, others subtler and more insidious—which, all the same, serve to tighten feudal bondage and compound rural poverty.

"Corporate agriculture practices are ruthlessly evicting the small and landless farmers from their lands. The use of chemical inputs are destroying our lands while drowning us in debt," said APC secretary general Raja Mujeeb at a public convention held by members of the Pakistan Kissan Mazdoor Tehreek (PKMT), an organization of small and landless farmers, in the district of Ghotki in Sindh last March 29.

Similar solidarity protests were organized on the same day. In Indonesia, the

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250.000-strong peasant formation Aliansi Gerakan Reforma Agraria (AGRA)-along with the Front Perjuangan Rakyat (FPR) and the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) Indonesia-mounted actions in 18 provinces.

First held in 2015, the Day of the Landless marks the founding anniversary of the APC. the biggest peasant movement in Asia, and the launch of PANAP's anti-land grabbing campaign "No Land, No Life!".

The campaign has since sought to monitor land-related human rights violations worldwide. While it also intended to highlight how land and resource grabs infringe on economic, social, and cultural rights, the intensified violence against rural communities over the years has more significantly foregrounded the trends and tactics that transnational actors and local elites use to ride roughshod over people's civil and political rights.

THWARTING VIOLENCE, FORGING AHEAD

Violence has taken a firm grip on the populist passions of state leaders who pin their repressive actions on particular groups, often the rural peoples, for the sake of a presumed majority. Their corrosive rhetoric and policies aim to widen all the more the gaping divides between the marginalized and the rest, but have instead consolidated diverse communities in defiance.

Expressions of solidarity hold out a cause for hope. In Southeast Asia's Mekong region, countries share more than just a river: Collectively, they constitute a global hotspot for transnational land deals and, more so, a flashpoint for human rights violations brought about by escalating land conflicts and struggles.

A strategizing workshop that PANAP and the PCFS organized last August in Myanmar

sought to identify key pressure points among related issues that various Mekong-based peasant and indigenous groups can work on together. Many of them pinpointed instruments of law and governance that aggravate land insecurity. Their upstream neighbor, China, has banked on such complicity of governments and cashed in on the collapse of trade barriers. Its Belt and Road Initiative has been afoot and threatens to ensnare Mekong countries in debt bondage. Families in villages have been evicted to make way for Chinese-funded rails and dams.

China's expansion and investments in the region drew flak in a joint statement that the Mekong-based peasant organizations drafted and issued in the ASEAN Civil Society Conference/ASEAN People's Forum (ACSC/ APF) last September. They also asserted



Progressive groups gather in front of the national police headquarters Camp Crame, November 4, to decry the recent illegal arrests of 57 community leaders and activists on reportedly trumped-up charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives.

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that, for the rural people to regain control over land, the terrain for political action must be embedded first in robust accountability structures and human rights mechanisms. "While land deals, investments and projects are expanding, the democratic space for civil society engagement and community mobilizations are shrinking more and more," read the statement.

Often the mobility of land rights advocates is hampered as well by civil and political freedoms passed off as a bargain for supposed national security. In the Philippines, state forces seemed to explain away the massacre of 14 farmers last March as the collateral damage in their counterinsurgency operations.

The collective condemnation of this statesanctioned tragedy rippled across other nations, with farmers from as far as Bangladesh and Pakistan holding up signs to decry the Philippine government's savagery. Its security justification for crackdowns on progressive groups and individuals has also given free rein to legal persecution, as in the roundup and arrests of 57 Filipino peasant leaders and activists last October.

"They are vulnerable enough to violence without legal persecution making it even more daunting for them to work unencumbered by





Farmers in a village in Multan, Punjab province in Pakistan stand in solidarity with the friends and kin of the 14 slain farmers and farmworkers in Negros Oriental, an island in the Philippines known for its large sugar plantations. The recent massacre in Negros happened just five months after a group of unidentified assailants had shot and killed nine farmers in the nearby province of Negros Occidental.

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fear for their life," read part of the statement that 59 global, regional, and national organizations from 18 countries endorsed in the wake of the mass arrests.

The Philippines, once again this year's deadliest country for rural communities asserting their right to land and resources, has duly come under scrutiny in the international community. The country's peasant movement welcomes the expressions of support pouring in from overseas and continue to forge alliances, to sustain their work at the grassroots, and to strengthen communities amid dehumanizing tactics of blame and alarm.

To coalesce all such efforts into a dynamic, growing and sustained resistance needs reminding of the gravity of the political task at hand: the lives at peril, the human toll of disastrous policies bearing brutally upon the peasantry and the public at large, the generations to come at the mercy of vulturous vested interests.

If these prospects seem bleak, there is much inspiration to derive from the stories of triumphs and tenacity of the dispossessed.

It is the steadfast struggle of thousands of farmers from all over the world that has impelled them to the streets in record numbers more than once lately. It is persistence that prompts peasant and indigenous families to take tycoons or government bodies to court and see class-action lawsuits through to the end despite years of dragging on in red tape. It is an acute sense of justice that unites these sectors against corporations primed to evict them in the name of so-called development, and it is no less than courage that explains how the landless can stare down the barrel of a gun in defense of the lands they till.

Now, every action land defender chooses to take carries the weight of their plights in the past and the possibilities of the future. To move forward, rural peoples and their supporters know that they should assume the role not just of stakeholders but of decisive agents ready to assert their rights to land and resources, to brave the fray and exclaim their equal right to live in dignity. •

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ANNEX 1

Number of cases and victims of human rights violations related to land conflicts and struggles, by country, region, and violation (Jan-Nov 2019)

Region/Country	Killings		Detent	Arrests, Detention, and Legal Persecution		eats, nent, and I Assault	Displacement		
	Cases	Victims	Cases	Victims	Cases	Victims	Cases	Victims	
Asia Pacific									
Cambodia	1	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	
Egypt	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	
India	2	3	2	49	1	1	0	0	
Indonesia	2	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	
Kuwait	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
Laos	0	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	
Palestine	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Philippines	38	50	18	48	5	5	3	2,796	
Asia Pacific Total	44	58	25	114	7	7	3	2,796	
Latin America									
Brazil	7	9	0	0	1	1	1	560	
Chile	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	
Colombia	21	27	0	0	3	9	1	700	
Costa Rica	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Ecuador	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	
Guatemala	2	3	0	0	2	2	0	0	
Honduras	3	4	1	9	0	0	0	0	
Mexico	3	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	
Nicaragua	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	
Panama	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	
Peru	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
L. America Total	38	48	6	24	8	14	2	1,260	



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•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•

Region/Country	Killings		Arrests, Detention, and Legal Persecution		Harassn	eats, nent, and I Assault	Displacement		
	Cases	Victims	Cases	Victims	Cases	Victims	Cases	Victims	
Africa									
Cameroon	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
Congo	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	
South Africa	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Africa Total	2	2	0	0	2	3	0	0	
North America									
Canada	0	0	1	14	0	0	0	0	
N. America Total	0	0	1	14	0	0	0	0	

ANNEX 2

Number of identified women victims of human rights violations related to land conflicts and struggles, by country and violation (Jan-Nov 2019)

Country	Killings	Arrests, Detention, and Legal Persecution	Threats, Harassment, and Physical Assault
Brazil	4		
Cambodia		4	
Chile			2
Colombia	7		5
Ecuador		1	
Guatemala			1
Laos		1	
Philippines	2	9	2
South Africa	1		
TOTAL	14	15	10

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Land	& Rig	hts Wa	atch	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

ABOUT

PAN Asia Pacific (PANAP) is one of the five regional centres of PAN, a global network dedicated to eliminating the harm caused to humans and the environment by pesticides and promoting biodiversity-based ecological agriculture.

PANAP's vision is a society that is truly democratic, equal, just, and culturally diverse; based on the principles of food sovereignty, gender justice and environmental sustainability. It has developed strong partnership with peasants, agricultural workers, and rural women's movements in the Asia Pacific region and guided by the strong leadership of these grassroots groups, has grown into a reputable advocacy network with a firm Asian perspective.

PANAP's mission lies in strengthening people's movements to advance and assert food sovereignty, biodiversity-based ecological agriculture, and the empowerment of rural women; protect people and the environment from highly hazardous pesticides; defend the rice heritage of Asia; and resist the threats of corporate agriculture and neoliberal globalisation.

Currently, PANAP comprises 105 network partner organisations in the Asia Pacific region and links with about 400 other civil society organisations and grassroots organisations regionally and globally.

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 ${\tt \#NoLandNoLife\,\#StopKillingFarmers}$





