

¹ While the Veron family have been important Kaiowá leaders, they are not the only ones. For decades other individuals and families have assumed key leadership roles in the Guarani Kaiowá struggle to return to their ancestral lands. The fact that this report has a stronger focus on the Veron family – due mainly to research and other constraints – should not be taken as judgement on the importance of other families’ historical roles. It’s worth highlighting that, in addition to her role as an indigenous leader, Valdelice Veron is an anthropologist with the Federal University of Grande Dourados.

² Interviews with anthropologist and historian Jorge Eremites de Oliveira, historian and lecturer in law Roseli Aparecida Stefanos Pacheco, federal prosecutor Marco Antonio Delfino and indigenous leader Valdelice Veron

³ G1 Mato Grosso do Sul, ‘MS tem maior número de homicídios entre indígenas do país em 2019, diz CIMI’, 30 Sep 2020, available at <https://g1.globo.com/ms/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2020/09/30/ms-tem-maior-numero-de-homicidios-entre-indigenas-do-pais-em-2019-diz-cimi.ghtml> (accessed on 11 Mar 2022). See also the charts and their sources.

⁴ The Cerrado is a tropical biome of savannas, grasslands, humid and dry forests that borders the Amazon and covers most of Brazil’s centre-west and centre-north states. The Pantanal encompasses the world’s largest tropical wetland area and flooded grasslands, covering parts of Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, and spilling over Bolivia and Paraguay. The Atlantic Forest once boasted lush and biodiverse forests stretching for thousands of kilometres from Brazil’s northeastern coast to its southernmost states. All these biomes in Mato Grosso do Sul, especially the Cerrado and Atlantic Forest, have suffered heavy levels of deforestation for several decades.

⁵ The Guarani Kaiowá are one of several indigenous ethnicities in South America who share the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. While often referred to as a subethnicity of the Guarani people, the Kaiowá have also been portrayed as a separate group. See Instituto Socio Ambiental, ‘Guarani Kaiowá’, available at https://pib.socioambiental.org/en/Povo:Guarani_Kaiow%C3%A1 (accessed on 7 Mar 2022); Paulo Roberto Cimó Queiroz, ‘Uma esquina nos confins da América: encontros e desencontros nos processos de povoamento e ocupação do território do atual Mato Grosso do Sul’, in Graciela Chamorro and Isabelle Combès (ed), Povos Indígenas em Mato Grosso do Sul: História, cultura e transformações sociais, 2015, UFGD Editora, available at https://www.secic.ms.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/povos_indigenas_em_mato_grosso_do_sul.pdf (accessed on 21 Feb 2022). For thousands of years the Guarani inhabited a vast territory of millions of square kilometres in the River Plate basin extending over southern and central Brazil, all of Paraguay, south-eastern Bolivia, and northern Argentina. The Guarani Kaiowá, on the other hand, have lived mostly in the southern half of Mato Grosso do Sul and in Paraguay. Mato Grosso do Sul has been characterised as an ‘indigenous state’ due to the long history of a high number of indigenous communities occupying vast expanses of its lands. See SECIC, ‘Comunidades Indígenas, Mato Grosso do Sul’, available at <https://www.secic.ms.gov.br/comunidades-indigenas-2/> (accessed on 7 Mar 2022)

⁶ Paulo Roberto Cimó Queiroz, ‘Uma esquina nos confins da América: encontros e desencontros nos processos de povoamento e ocupação do território do atual Mato Grosso do Sul’, in Graciela Chamorro and Isabelle Combès (ed), Povos Indígenas em Mato Grosso do Sul: História, cultura e transformações sociais, 2015, UFGD Editora, available at https://www.secic.ms.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/povos_indigenas_em_mato_grosso_do_sul.pdf (accessed on 21 Feb 2022). The last Indigenous census took place in 2010. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), 43,000 Guarani Kaiowá lived in the state at the time, representing the third largest indigenous group in the country. See G1 Brasil, ‘Censo mapeia etnias e linguas indígenas’, 10 Aug 2012, available at <https://g1.globo.com/brasil/noticia/2012/08/censo-mapeia-etnias-e-linguas-indigenas.html> (accessed on 10 Mar 2022)

⁷ A war fought between Paraguay and a coalition of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay.

⁸ Used for centuries by indigenous communities to make tea, and which has remained popular in Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, and southern Brazil. The Guarani Kaiowá and other indigenous people in Mato Grosso do Sul provided up to 70 per cent of the labour in the yerba mate plantations, often working in conditions analogous to slavery. Interview with anthropologist Levi Marques Pereira, who concluded Funai’s study of Takuara in 2005, as will be discussed later in the report.

⁹ Between 1915 and 1928 SPI established eight such reservations in Mato Grosso do Sul, covering an area of around 18,000 ha, or less than one per cent of the area traditionally occupied by the Kaiowá. Reservations often had thousands of people in small areas. To this day, the Caarapó Reservation, to which the Kaiowá from Takuara were sent in the 1950s, has around 6,000 people in an area of 3,600 ha. The Dourados Reservation is even more crowded, with 17,000 residents sharing 3,400ha without running water or sanitation. Alcoholism, drug abuse, depression and suicide are common among indigenous people forced to live in these places. See Survival International, ‘New study reveals world’s highest suicide rate among Brazilian tribe’, 5 Jun 2014, available at <https://www.survivalinternational.org/news/10261> (accessed on 11 Mar 2022); Antônio Brand, ‘O confinamento e o seu impacto sobre os Pãi/Kaiowá’, Dissertação (Mestrado em História) –

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Pontífice Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, 1993; Tonico Benites, 'Rojeroky hina ha roike jevy tekohape (Rezando e lutando): o movimento histórico dos Aty Guasu dos Ava Kaiowa e dos Ava Guarani pela recuperação de seus tekoha', Tese de doutorado, Rio de Janeiro: PPGAS/Museu Nacional, 2014.

¹⁰ In 2014 a National Truth Commission in Brazil acknowledged the forceable removal of Guarani communities and their confinement to reservations as grave human rights violations. See Anderson de Souza Santos, Luiz Henrique Eloy Amado and Dan Pasca (2021), "'É muita terra para pouco índio"? Ou muita terra na mão de poucos? Conflitos fundiários no Mato Grosso do Sul', Instituto Socioambiental, available at https://www.socioambiental.org/sites/blog.socioambiental.org/files/nsa/arquivos/conflitos_fundiarios_no_ms_-_versao_final_1.pdf (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹¹ Interview with Levi Marques Pereira, the anthropologist who led Funai's study of Takuara in the early 2000s.

¹² A Publica, 'Ditadura criou cadeias para índios com trabalhos forçados e torturas', 24 Jun 2013, available at <https://apublica.org/2013/06/ditadura-criou-cadeias-para-indios-trabalhos-forcados-torturas/> (accessed on 11 Mar 2022)

¹³ Matte Larangeira's concessions were cancelled in 1943 as the federal government promoted the "March to the West", a programme to colonise Brazil's hinterlands through the expansion of cattle and crops seen as more profitable than yerba mate, including coffee. As a result, Matte Larangeira entered a period of long decline, culminating in its bankruptcy in 1966, when Argentina suspended yerba mate imports. See Larissa Rodrigues Vacari de Arruda, 'La Compania Matte Laranjeira: las relaciones politicas de la primera multinacional latino-americana', ALACIP 2015 – VIII Congreso Latinoamericano de Ciencia Politica, available at <https://alacip.org/cong15/pco-arruda8c.pdf> (accessed on 7 Mar 2022)

¹⁴ Matte Larangeira owned over 9,300 hectares of Takuara, which was a much larger territory traditionally occupied by the Guarani Kaiowá. See pp. 187-217 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacinto> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

¹⁵ Levi Marques Pereira, 'Relatório circunstanciado de identificação e delimitação da terra indígena Guarani/Kaiowá Taquara', Funai, Brasília, Sep 2005.

¹⁶ Lunardelli had made a fortune investing in cheap lands in central-western Brazil and Paraguay. At one point he owned over 100,000ha of farmland in Brazil and 350,000 in Paraguay. Known as one of the last 'kings of coffee', he was named in the Time magazine in 1954 as the donor of a series of paintings by Goya, Manet, Renoir, Degas and Cézanne to the new Sao Paulo Museum of Art, which had opened in 1947. Lunardelli is also said to have supported the 1964 military coup in Brazil and was implicated in the smuggling of arms used by the Brazilian armed forces during and after the takeover. See Time, 'Art. Senhor Robin Hood', 19 Jul 1954, available at <http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,857507,00.html> (accessed on 11 Mar 2022); Fachin, V. S., Rodrigues, M. A. Z., Deffacci, F. A. (org.), 'Amambai: 70 anos de história', 2018, Seriemma, available at <http://www.amambai.ms.gov.br/noticias/livro-amambai-70-anos-de-historia> (p. 199, accessed on 11 Mar 2022)

¹⁷ The agency was replaced in 1967 by Funai, the federal government's body tasked with promoting indigenous land rights and conducting studies of indigenous lands in order to facilitate their official recognition.

¹⁸ A 2020 CIMI report revealed that Mato Grosso do Sul has the second largest indigenous population in Brazil and that violent attacks against indigenous people are common in the state, resulting in episodes of murder and torture. See CIMI, 'Relatorio Violencia Contra os Povos Indigenas no Brasil, 2020', available at <https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/relatorio-violencia-contra-os-povos-indigenas-brasil-2019-cimi.pdf> (accessed on 7 Mar 2022)

¹⁹ Stefanos also told our investigators that "farmers' actions are largely motivated by racism. It's not only a matter of losing their lands but losing their lands to indians. This is unacceptable to them."

²⁰ Account provided by a source who wishes to remain anonymous.

²¹ Once at the notorious Krenak penitentiary used by the military regime to detain political prisoners and where torture was rife. See Ciclo de Historia, 'Reformatorio Krenak: campo de concentracao indigena na ditadura militar', 9 Apr 2021, available at <https://cliohistoriaeliteratura.com/2021/04/09/reformatorio-krenak-campo-de-concentracao-indigena-na-ditadura-militar/> (accessed on 7 Mar 2022)

²² By the end of the 1990s and with varying degrees of success, the Guarani Kaiowá had attempted to reoccupy 19 plots of land in Mato Grosso do Sul that were part of different communities' traditional lands. Nine of these were eventually earmarked as indigenous lands by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002). Interview with Levi Marques Pereira.

²³ The act of retaking something. Rosane Freire Lacerda, 'A Pedagogia da Retomada: Uma contribuição das lutas emancipatórias dos povos indígenas no Brasil', in *Revistas Interterritórios*, 2021, available at <https://periodicos.ufpe.br/revistas/interterritorios/article/download/250069/38045> (accessed on 7 Mar 2022)

²⁴ In 1987 Mato Grosso do Sul established the Border Operations Department (DOF), a police force created essentially to suppress the indigenous struggle. Interviews with anthropologists Levi Marques Pereira and Jorge Eremites.

²⁵ State land registries from the 1920s to the 1960s referred to the plot of land as 'Takuara'. However, as noted in a previous reference, Takuara was in fact a much larger area occupied for centuries by the Guarani Kaiowá. See pp. 187-217 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

²⁶ Guarani Kaiowá and experts interviewed by our team mentioned the confined spaces and impossibility of hunting, fishing, and practicing their rituals without restrictions at the reservations, which helped intensify their desire to return to their traditional lands. Yet, they were also clear that such dreams had now to be tempered by the loss of Takuara's native forests and contamination of water sources by agrichemicals.

²⁷ Two days later, a Saturday, court officers accompanied by police forces and a representative from Funai – the federal agency that replaced the SPI and is tasked with protecting indigenous rights – arrived at the encampment. The community's successful resistance was aided by Funai's reluctance to support a forced eviction. See pp. 73-74 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

²⁸ The area was first purchased by Lieutenant Heitor Mendes Gonçalves from the then state of Mato Grosso. Mato Grosso do Sul was only created in 1977 after Mato Grosso was divided into two states. Lieutenant Gonçalves was a military official who first acquired over 5,000ha of land in Takuara from Mato Grosso in 1924. In 1928 he acquired more land in the area, increasing the size of his property to the 9,300ha that were then sold to Matte Larangeira and later to Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho. Before Gonçalves's ownership, the land was classified as public lands, giving the state the right to sell it. In order to demonstrate the land's suitability for sale, Gonçalves commissioned land surveys to prove it was unoccupied. According to Brazilian law at the time, an indigenous presence in the area would have meant the state could not sell the land to private landholders, as indigenous communities enjoyed land rights protections under the Constitution. Advocates of indigenous rights have criticised Mato Grosso for selling lands it had no right to sell and without verifying whether indigenous communities existed in the area, as will be discussed later in this report. Brasília do Sul lawyers also alleged that a 1952 Ministry of War map did not indicate the presence of an indigenous community in the area. See pp. 187-217 and 297-305 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

²⁹ See pp. 280-281 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

³⁰ Federal prosecutors also weighed in against the judge, whom they accused of hastily ruling on the case. They criticised the judge for failing to check all the facts, hear all the parties involved or consider the potential for violent conflict. They reminded the judge that the right to life should not be overridden by the right to private property. Throughout 1999 and the early 2000s federal prosecutors supported Funai's position and argued against eviction of the community, calling for anthropological studies to be carried out. Funai and federal prosecutors were also against excluding the Guarani Kaiowá themselves from legal proceedings. It was not until October 2000 that a federal court finally recognised that shortcoming and finally requested the community be included, which prompted Brasília do Sul lawyers to name Marcos Veron as a defendant in the case. See pp. 81-85, 95-99, 434, 548, 560-576 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

³¹ The study was conducted by anthropologist Alceu Cotia Mariz. Historical accounts included those of the community's presence in the area in the early 20th Century and its removal in 1953. See pp. 148-161 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

³² Their arguments were based on legal protections provided by the country's Constitutions of 1934 and 1937, as well as other legal instruments from 1936 and 1946. Funai also claimed the state of Mato Grosso had no right to sell the lands as

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the indigenous presence in the area meant they were not to be considered as public lands and were not to be disposed of by a state government. Funai's lawyers demonstrated that Mato Grosso's land registry was chaotic and unreliable, which allegedly invalidated the Jacintho family's claims that land titles going back to the 1920s were enough to prove a lack of indigenous presence in the area. Documents seen by our researchers show that Funai wanted to buy Brasília do Sul and return it to the Guarani Kaiowá but lacked the resources to do so owing to the federal government's failure to allocate the necessary budget to the agency. See pp. 131-146 and 297-305 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

³³ Federal judges issued further eviction orders later that year but in the face of the community's and Funai's resistance, on 30 December federal judge Sylvia Steiner suspended the orders. The following year the Guarani Kaiowá and the Jacintho family traded accusations of violence, but Marcos Veron and Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho signed agreements of co-existence to alleviate tensions. Internal Funai documents seen by Earthsight and De Olho nos Ruralistas show the agency was concerned about the Jacintho's family lawyers repeated portrayals of the Guarani Kaiowá as a violent group responsible for attacking farm staff and invading Brasília do Sul headquarters. The head of Funai's office in Mato Grosso do Sul wrote to his superiors in Brasília stressing there was no evidence of such attacks, and that the community was peaceful. See pp. 344-355, 365, 385-388, 464-466, 485-486, 529, 550-551, 598-600 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

³⁴ The eviction order was issued by a federal court in Dourados on 16 October 2001. Instituto Socioambiental, 'Índios do MS denunciam violência', 18 Oct 2001, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/noticias/indios-do-ms-denunciam-violencia> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

³⁵ According to Valdelice Veron, who provided this account of events, rubber bullets were used. The Kaiowá were taken by trucks to the edge of a motorway, where they camped for over a year. During that time, three Kaiowá children reportedly died of malnutrition and two youngsters committed suicide.

³⁶ Most of the description of the attack against the community contained in this paragraph and the next is based on the account provided by Ládio Veron to Funai, to which Earthsight and De Olho nos Ruralistas have had access. The exception is the description of what happened to Geisabel, which is from Campo Grande News, 'Morte de Veron completa 16 anos com processo em aberto e réu centenário', 11 Jan 2019, available at <https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/morte-de-veron-completa-16-anos-com-processo-em-aberto-e-reu-centenario> (accessed on 27 Mar 2022). According to Ládio's account, the day before the attack, on Sunday 12 January, police forces and a farm administrator went to the community proposing negotiations. The administrator reportedly told the community he would notify Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho of the situation. The passage about Valdelice Veron rushing to the hospital is based on the account provided by Valdelice herself.

³⁷ According to federal prosecutors, Marcos Veron died of head trauma. Prosecutors also said that on 12 January a vehicle with two indigenous women and four children had been chased for 8 km and shot at. See Ministério Público Federal, 'MPF/MS: Julgamento do caso Veron encerra ciclo de impunidade', 1 March 2011, available at <http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/mpf-ms-julgamento-do-caso-veron-encerra-ciclo-de-impunidade> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022).

³⁸ Sue Branford, 'Chief Marcos Veron, Brazilian Indian leader who died fighting for his people's rights', The Guardian, 28 Jan 2003, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/jan/28/guardianobituaries> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)

³⁹ According to Valdelice Veron, these included the Kinikinau, Guató, Terena, Ofaié, Kayapó, Xucuru, Kaingang.

⁴⁰ Folha de S. Paulo, 'Justiça transfere para São Paulo julgamento do assassinato de líder indígena', 12 Feb 2009, available at <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2009/02/502932-justica-transfere-para-sao-paulo-julgamento-do-assassinato-de-lider-indigena.shtml> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022); also Ministério Público Federal, 'MPF/MS: Julgamento do caso Veron encerra ciclo de impunidade', 1 March 2011, available at <http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/mpf-ms-julgamento-do-caso-veron-encerra-ciclo-de-impunidade> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022)

⁴¹ One of the three stood accused of direct participation in Veron's murder by holding him down while another man – a fugitive of justice at the time – struck him. He was, however, acquitted of the crime of murder. Ministério Público Federal, 'MPF/MS: Julgamento do caso Veron encerra ciclo de impunidade', 1 March 2011, available at <http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/mpf-ms-julgamento-do-caso-veron-encerra-ciclo-de-impunidade> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022). The three defendants had already spent four years and eight months in preventive prison. They were the only ones of all defendants to have faced charges while in preventive prison. The fugitive eventually turned himself in in 2015, but sources told our researchers he was used by the defendants as a scapegoat. Prosecutors saw the

sentences as a partial victory as they had hoped the defendants would also be convicted of homicide and attempted homicide. The defence, on the other hand, commemorated what they saw as lenient verdicts compared to the maximum sentences available in such cases. At the time, federal prosecutors still expressed hope they would be able to seek the conviction of da Silva Filho. See also Correio Braziliense, 'Acusado de matar cacique Guarani-Kaiowá é absolvido', 26 Feb 2011, available at <https://www.correio braziliense.com.br/app/noticia/brasil/2011/02/26/interna-brasil,239962/acusado-de-matar-cacique-guarani-kaiowa-e-absolvido.shtml> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022)

⁴² G1 MS, 'Acusado de matar cacique se entrega 12 anos após crime, diz MPF em MS', 23 Jan 2015, available at <http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2015/01/acusado-de-matar-cacique-se-entrega-12-anos-apos-crime-diz-mpf-em-ms.html> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022)

⁴³ The first hearing in the case against Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho and the other 23 defendants not sentenced in 2011 took place in 2017 in Mato Grosso do Sul. The fugitive who turned himself in in 2015 was one of the defendants in these hearings. The man acquitted of murder in 2011 was to stand trial again following a successful appeal in 2015 by prosecutors. See Campo Grande News, 'Após 17 anos, acusados de matar Marcos Veron têm novo julgamento', 21 Nov 2017, available at <https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/apos-17-anos-acusados-de-matar-marcos-veron-tem-novo-julgamento> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022)

⁴⁴ Campo Grande News, 'Ex-PM procurado por ataque a índios em 2003 é entregue à PF na fronteira', 28 Feb 2020, available at <https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/ex-pm-procurado-por-ataque-a-indios-em-2003-e-entregue-a-pf-na-fronteira> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022)

⁴⁵ Ibid. On the allegation that Rodriguinho supplied the firearms for the attack, see the summary of habeas corpus rulings issued by the Supreme Federal Court in 2016, available at Diário de Justiça Eletrônico, <https://redir.stf.jus.br/paginadorpub/paginador.jsp?docTP=DJ&docID=10943295&pgl=76&pgF=80> (accessed on 25 Mar 2022)

⁴⁶ Diário de Justiça Eletrônico, summary of habeas corpus rulings issued by the Supreme Federal Court in 2016, available at <https://redir.stf.jus.br/paginadorpub/paginador.jsp?docTP=DJ&docID=10943295&pgl=76&pgF=80> (accessed on 25 Mar 2022)

⁴⁷ Following an EarthSight request, the information about Rodriguinho's release was provided by the press office of the Regional Federal Court – Third Region, which oversees the First Federal Court of Dourados/MS, where the case is held.

⁴⁸ Prosecutors accused da Silva Filho of hiring the gunmen and providing the vehicles, food, weapons and munition for the attack, as well as planning the attacks against the Guarani Kaiowá on 12 and 13 January 2003. See Ministério Público Federal, 'MPF/MS: Julgamento do caso Veron encerra ciclo de impunidade', 1 March 2011, available at <http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/mpf-ms-julgamento-do-caso-veron-encerra-ciclo-de-impunidade> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022)

⁴⁹ Federal prosecutors accused da Silva Filho of bribing two indigenous people to modify their statements on Veron's murder. Tribunal Regional Federal da 3ª Região (TRF-3), Ação Penal – Procedimento Ordinário (283) nº 0002101-80.2007.4.03.6002, Sentença, available at <https://www.jusbrasil.com.br/diarios/273342436/trf-3-judicial-i-interior-26-11-2019-pg-1416> (accessed on 25 Mar 2022)

⁵⁰ As recently as 2019, federal prosecutors were still reportedly collecting evidence and calling witnesses. Campo Grande News, 'Morte de Veron completa 16 anos com processo em aberto e réu centenário', 11 Jan 2019, available at <https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/morte-de-veron-completa-16-anos-com-processo-em-aberto-e-reu-centenario> (accessed on 9 Feb 2022)

⁵¹ Led by anthropologist Levi Marques Pereira, it concluded there was a "marked concentration of Kaiowá population residing on the contested land until the early 1950s" and that "it is the Indian Protection Service itself that, in 1953, removes the families who still resisted the pressure, transferring them by force to the Caarapó Reservation." Levi Marques Pereira, 'Resumo do relatório circunstanciado de identificação e delimitação da terra indígena Taquara-MS', Funai, Brasília, Sep 2005. See also Pick upau, 'Funai delimita mais uma área para os Guarani-Kaiwa', 9 Dec 2005, available at https://www.socioambiental.org/sites/blog.socioambiental.org/files/nsa/arquivos/rel.ver_final_1.pdf (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)

⁵² Ibid. The anthropologist maintains that Takuara qualifies as an "indigenous land traditionally occupied" under Article 231 of the 1988 Constitution and should be demarcated as such. One of Pereira's sources for the study was SPI documentation from the 1950s discussing the community's eviction, which can be accessed at https://www.socioambiental.org/sites/blog.socioambiental.org/files/nsa/arquivos/rel.ver_final_1.pdf (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)

⁵³ The ‘declaration’ is a stage in the long process of indigenous land demarcation in Brazil. The process ends when Brazil’s President signs off on the land’s final status. See Ministério da Justiça, Portaria nº 954, de 4 de junho de 2010, Diário Oficial da União, Brasília, DF, 7 jun 2010, p. 33, available at

<http://pesquisa.in.gov.br/imprensa/jsp/visualiza/index.jsp?data=07/06/2010&jornal=1&pagina=33&totalArquivos=80> (accessed on 11 Mar 2022). See also Agencia Brasil, ‘Governo não tem previsão sobre homologação da terra indígena em Mato Grosso do Sul’, 13 Jun 2010, available at <https://memoria.ebc.com.br/agenciabrasil/noticia/2010-06-13/governo-nao-tem-previsao-sobre-homologacao-de-terra-indigena-em-mato-grosso-do-sul> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)

⁵⁴ They again alleged no indigenous presence at Takuara had ever been detected. Brasília do Sul owners also claimed that the numerous “indigenous invasions of rural properties” in Mato Grosso do Sul had been incited by Funai’s “bad faith” and the academic work of a university lecturer. See Diário de Justiça Eletrônico (DJe) nº 141, Medida Cautelar na Ação Cautelar 2.641 (532), 30 Jul 2010, pp. 85-88, available at https://www.stf.jus.br/arquivo/djEletronico/DJE_20100730_141.pdf (accessed on 12 Apr 2022)

⁵⁵ Ibid. In her decision, and in addition to the *marco temporal* justification, Lúcia also argued that due to the several decades of private ownership of the land it was not possible for her to rule on the existence or not of an indigenous community in the area when it was first sold by the state.

⁵⁶ CIMI, ‘Indígenas Guarani e Kaiowá denunciam ataques a tiros após retomada da Terra Indígena (TI) Lechucha no MS’, 18 Jan 2016, available at <https://cimi.org.br/2016/01/38094/> (accessed on 30 Mar 2022); Supremo Tribunal Federal, Suspensão de Liminar 982, AI 00018215820164030000 – Tribunal Regional Federal da 3ª Região, 30 Jan 2020, available at <http://portal.stf.jus.br/processos/downloadPeca.asp?id=15342277447&ext=.pdf> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)

⁵⁷ In July 2000 Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho and Marcos Veron signed an agreement stipulating the community would not occupy any areas beyond the 97ha it had occupied in 1999 until the courts made a final decision on the status of the land. Brasília do Sul’s owners have argued that any occupation by the community beyond this original area is in breach of that agreement. The community, on the other hand, have alleged they are tired of waiting for the law to be fulfilled and their ancestral lands to be returned to them. See pp. 529, 550-551, 578-580 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacintho> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022). See also the CIMI article referenced in the preceding footnote.

⁵⁸ CIMI, ‘Violência contra povos indígenas: Dados de 2016’, available at https://cimi.org.br/pub/relatorio/Relatorio-violencia-contra-povos-indigenas_2016-Cimi.pdf (accessed on 30 Mar 2022). In March 2017 an Air Force helicopter landed in the area occupied by the Kaiowá. Masked men descended from the helicopter and momentarily held two indigenous women captive, according to testimonies provided to our researchers by members of the community.

⁵⁹ When the federal judge ruled in favour of eviction in March 2016, Funai appealed against the decision to the Supreme Court (STF) alleging the risk of violent conflict. The argument was accepted by the STF, which annulled the previous ruling. However, Brasília do Sul owners appealed to the STF, which then sought the Attorney General’s opinion. The latter agreed with the STF’s position. In January 2020 Supreme Court President José Antonio Dias Toffoli maintained the court’s previous ruling against eviction while also acknowledging the Jacintho family’s legal ownership of the farm. See Supremo Tribunal Federal, Suspensão de Liminar 982, AI 00018215820164030000 – Tribunal Regional Federal da 3ª Região, 30 Jan 2020, available at <http://portal.stf.jus.br/processos/downloadPeca.asp?id=15342277447&ext=.pdf> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)

⁶⁰ For example, in sugarcane, manioc, eucalyptus and apple plantations in Mato Grosso do Sul and neighbouring states, often as seasonal workers. Interviews with labour public prosecutor Jeferson Pereira, federal prosecutor Marco Antonio Delfino, indigenous academic Eliel Benites, and president of the Indigenous Workers’ Association of Mato Grosso do Sul (ATIMS), José Carlos Pacheco.

⁶¹ While Jacintho was Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho’s first name, his wife, Vanda Moraes Jacintho da Silva, and subsequent generations of the family have adopted it as part of their surname.

⁶² Glamurama, ‘Alegria e sofisticação na festa black tie pelos 100 anos de Jacintho Honório’, available at <https://glamurama.uol.com.br/galeria/alegria-e-sofisticacao-na-festa-black-tie-pelos-100-anos-de-jacintho-honorio/> (accessed on 10 Feb 2022)

⁶³ Although Gil himself couldn’t make the festivities owing to health issues. See the music clip of Gilberto Gil’s song ‘Jacintho’ at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lahbWuLZrFQ>

⁶⁴ Fazenda Brumado, ‘E a boiada deu um salto’, available at <https://fazendabrumado.com.br/gado-nelore/> (accessed on 11 Mar 2022)

⁶⁵ In the 1970s and 1980s the federal government promoted the adoption of Nelore by over 1500 large farms resulting in over 2.5 million Nelore cattle registered at the time. See *Conhecendo Santos e o Mundo*, 'O gado Nelore no Brasil', 20 Apr 2013, available at <http://cafepasa.blogspot.com/2013/04/o-gado-nelore-do-brasil.html> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022). It is estimated that 80 per cent of Brazil's beef cattle today is Nelore or derived breeds, numbering over 100 million animals. See the Brazilian Association of Nelore Breeders, <http://www.nelore.org.br/raca/historico> (accessed on 22 Feb 2022). The link between cattle ranching and deforestation in Brazil has been widely studied. See, for example, Skidmore et al (2021), 'Cattle ranchers and deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon: Production, location, and policies', *Global Environmental Change*, Vol 68, May 2021, 102280, available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0959378021000595> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

⁶⁶ Following independence from Portugal, Brazil was a self-proclaimed 'empire' from 1822 until 1889, when it became a republic. Da Silva Filho's great-great-grandfather migrated from Portugal to Brazil still during colonial rule, in 1790. After a short period working in mining, he became a farmer. In the 19th Century, members of Da Silva Filho's family purchased military titles and became known as *coronéis* (colonels). The *coronéis* were a common fixture of Brazil's 19th and early 20th Century history. They were members of the elite who subverted public institutions and made use of armed troops to protect their personal economic and political interests. See Rainer Sousa, 'A Guarda Nacional', available at <https://brasilecola.uol.com.br/historiab/a-guarda-nacional.htm> (accessed on 22 Feb 2022)

⁶⁷ Da Silva Filho's family was settled in the state of Minas Gerais for several years but moved to the state of Goiás in the early 20th century to expand their cattle breeding business. His father became a leading figure in Goiás and was able to influence much of what happened in the state, mostly behind the scenes. See Hora do Angelo Look, 'Coronel Jacintho Honorio e a cidade de Quirinópolis', 21 Jan 2012, available at <http://horadoangelook.blogspot.com/2012/01/claro-es-coronel-jacinto-honorio-e.html> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)

⁶⁸ It has done so by leasing out plots of land within the farm to soy growers. Interviews with confidential sources at the farm. This transition coincided with the Soy Moratorium, which has banned the purchase of soy from deforested areas within the Amazon biome since 2008, thus accelerating the profitable expansion of soy to other parts of the country. See Greenpeace, '10 years ago the Amazon was being bulldozed for soy – then everything changed', available at <https://www.greenpeace.org/usa/victories/amazon-rainforest-deforestation-soy-moratorium-success/> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022); H.K.Gibbs et al, 'Brazil's Soy Moratorium', *Science Mag*, 23 Jan 2015, available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271213939_Brazil's_Soy_Moratorium (accessed on 14 Mar 2022)

⁶⁹ Funai's 2005 study had already recognised 9,700 hectares as the total size of Brasília do Sul and, therefore, the area that should be demarcated to the Guarani Kaiowá. Registro de Imóveis da Comarca de Caarapó – MS, Livro N° 2, Matrícula 13.259, 2 Apr 2012 (document analysed by De Olho nos Ruralistas and Earthsight); Levi Marques Pereira, 'Relatório circunstanciado de identificação e delimitação da terra indígena Guarani/Kaiowá Taquara', Funai, Brasília, Sep 2005.

⁷⁰ 1º Ofício de Registro Público e de Protesto de Títulos Cambiais, Comarca de Caarapó, Cadeia Sucessória da Matrícula nº 04.943, Fazenda Brasília do Sul. See also pp. 6-7 and 213 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacinto> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

⁷¹ Earthsight analyses of property data available through various public sources, such as SIGEF, Ibama and CAR.

⁷² De Olho nos Ruralistas, 'Acusados de desmatamento no Pantanal avançam também sobre Bolívia e Paraguai', 21 Oct 2020, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2020/10/21/acusados-de-desmatamento-no-pantanal-avancam-tambem-sobre-bolivia-e-paraguai/> (accessed on 11 Feb 2022)

⁷³ Earthsight, 'Grand Theft Chaco: The luxury cars made with leather from the stolen lands of an uncontacted tribe', Sep 2020, available at <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/grandtheftchaco-en>

⁷⁴ Earthsight, 'Grand Theft Chaco', Sep 2020, available at <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/grandtheftchaco-en>

⁷⁵ Survival International, 'Brazilian rancher vows to destroy uncontacted Indians' forest', 11 Feb 2014, available at <https://www.survivalinternational.org/news/9972>, (accessed on 11 Feb 2022)

⁷⁶ The farmer, who in 2014 and 2019 imported two brand new Porsche Cayennes from Germany to Paraguay (see Import Genius, <https://www.importgenius.com/paraguay/importers/marcelo-bastos-ferraz> (accessed on 11 Feb 2022)), owns two holding companies registered in London, Mayfair Worldwide LLP and Knightsbridge Worldwide LLP (See the UK government's Companies House register (<https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/>) for companies **OC360477** and **OC360479** (consulted on 11 Feb 2022)). In Mato Grosso do Sul, Bastos Ferraz also owns the Kurupay farm, which he leases to giant food and biofuel producer Adecoagro. See De Olho nos Ruralistas, "Barão da carne" avança em

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terra Ayoreo; no MS, família é ré no caso Marcos Veron', 20 Mar 2018, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/deolhonoparaguai/2018/03/20/no-chaco-barao-da-carne-avanca-em-terra-ayoreo-no-ms-familia-e-re-no-caso-marcos-veron/> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022). Mega investor George Soros was an early backer of Adecoagro. See Nasdaq, 'George Soros Buys Altaba Inc, EQT Corp, Viavi Solutions Inc, Sells Adecoagro SA, Hewlett ...', Sep 2017, available at <https://www.nasdaq.com/articles/george-soros-buys-altaba-inc-eqt-corp-viavi-solutions-inc-sells-adecoagro-sa-hewlett-0> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022)

⁷⁷ De Olho nos Ruralistas, 'Dupla brasileira investe no Chaco, no sudeste do Pará e prospecta no Piauí', 11 Jun 2018, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/deolhonoparaguai/2018/06/11/dupla-brasileira-investe-no-chaco-no-sudeste-do-para-e-prospecta-no-piaui/> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022); Liliana Raquel Cardozo Ocampos, 'El agro paraguayo y el subimperialismo brasileiro', Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana, 2018, available at <https://dspace.unila.edu.br/bitstream/handle/123456789/4321/Trabajo%20de%20Conclusi%C3%B3n%20FINAL.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022). See also Earthsight, 'Grand Theft Chaco II: The vice continues', Oct 2021, <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/news/analysis-grand-theft-chaco-ii-the-vice-continues>, which shows satellite images of deforestation in 2020 and 2021 on BBC and River Plate. De Biasi hails from a traditional agribusiness and timber family in Sao Paulo that owns farms and timber plantations in Brazil's southeast and the Amazon. De Biasi himself is an advisor to the Brazilian Rural Society, which has links to the powerful agribusiness lobby in congress. See Consulta Sócio, <https://www.consultasocio.com/q/sa/gino-de-biasi-neto?page=2> and Sociedade Rural Brasileira, <https://srb.org.br/a-rural/>

⁷⁸ In 2010 da Silva Filho hosted former Sao Paulo governor and federal congressman Paulo Maluf – a man sought by Interpol and banned from leaving Brazil – and Michel Temer, who would go on to become Brazil's President in 2016. Época, Caderno Gente, 13 Dec 2010, available at <https://revistaepoca.globo.com/Revista/Epoca/0,,EMI159475-15518,00.html> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022)

⁷⁹ In 2014, da Silva Filho made a donation to Tereza Cristina's electoral campaign for the lower house. As a lawmaker, Cristina was the president of the Agribusiness Parliamentary Front, the most powerful rural lobby in congress. Cristina, a farmer herself and Brazil's agriculture minister under President Jair Bolsonaro until the end of March 2022, played a key role in harnessing agribusiness support for Bolsonaro's presidential campaign in 2018. See De Olho nos Ruralistas, 'Artífice do apoio ruralista a Bolsonaro, deputada do MS legisla em prol dos seus financiadores', 2 Oct 2018, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2018/10/02/artifice-do-apoio-ruralista-a-bolsonaro-deputada-do-ms-legisla-em-prol-dos-seus-financiadores/> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022). Asked in 2014 about a campaign donation coming from a defendant in a murder case, Cristina said she had been friends with da Silva Filho's family for a long time and that the farmer had never been convicted of the crime. Folha de S. Paulo, 'Futura ministra da Agricultura, Tereza Cristina recebeu doação de réu por assassinato de líder indígena em MS', 20 Nov 2018, available at <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mercado/2018/11/futura-ministra-da-agricultura-tereza-cristina-recebeu-doacao-de-reu-por-assassinato-de-lider-indigena-em-ms.shtml> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022). In March 2022 Cristina resigned from the agriculture ministry to run for a Senate seat for Mato Grosso do Sul in the October elections. See Correio Braziliense, 'De olho no Senado, Tereza Cristina deixa Ministério da Agricultura, 31 Mar 2022, available at <https://www.correio braziliense.com.br/politica/2022/03/4997274-de-olho-no-senado-tereza-cristina-deixa-ministerio-da-agricultura.html> (accessed on 11 Apr 2022). In 2014, da Silva Filho also made a donation to Ronaldo Caiado for his bid to a Senate seat. Now governor of the state of Goiás, Caiado is the founder of the Rural Democratic Union (UDR). Since the 1980s UDR leaders have been implicated in dozens of murders, including that of globally renowned environmentalist Chico Mendes. See De Olho nos Ruralistas, 'Responsável por popularizar termo "ruralista", Caiado tem 14 fazendas em Goiás', 30 Sep 2018, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2018/09/30/responsavel-por-popularizar-termo-ruralista-caiado-tem-14-fazendas-em-goias/> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022)

⁸⁰ Publicly available election funding documents show a donation by one of da Silva Filho's daughters of R\$1,000 to Bolsonaro's campaign. See Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, Prestação de contas eleitorais – 2018, available at <https://dadosabertos.tse.jus.br/dataset/prestacao-de-contas-eleitorais-2018> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022). To research donations, download one of the CSV files from the database. Family members also helped organise political rallies for Bolsonaro. One of da Silva Filho's granddaughters wrote on an Instagram post in 2018: "May God guide Bolsonaro every day!...Proud of you [her husband] for organising the two largest pro-Bolsonaro rallies...". The post, of which Earthsight and De Olho nos Ruralistas obtained a photo, has since been taken down.

⁸¹ Folha de S. Paulo, 'Paulo Guedes não apita em política, diz Bolsonaro em almoço com empresárias', 30 Apr 2021, available at <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mercado/2021/04/paulo-guedes-nao-apita-em-politica-diz-bolsonaro-em-almoco-com-empresarias.shtml> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022)

⁸² Trase Insights, 'Brazilian chicken: A thousand times lower deforestation risk than beef exports', <https://insights.trase.earth/yearbook/contexts/brazil-chicken/> (accessed on 14 Feb 2022)

⁸³ Based on conversations with confidential sources at Brasília do Sul.

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- ⁸⁴ Lar Comunicação, 'Lar inaugura complexo industrial em Caarapó em MS', 1 Dec 2020, available at <https://www.lar.ind.br/lar-inaugura-complexo-industrial-em-caarapo-em-ms/> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022); O Presente Rural, 'Cooperativa Lar projeta dobrar faturamento e nº de funcionários', 3 Sep 2021, available at <https://opresenterural.com.br/cooperativa-lar-projeta-dobrar-faturamento-e-no-de-funcionarios/> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022); O Presente Rural, 'Lar se torna a quarta potência da avicultura brasileira', 4 Mar 2021, available at <https://opresenterural.com.br/lar-se-torna-a-quarta-potencia-da-avicultura-brasileira/> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022)
- ⁸⁵ The plant produces soybean meal with high protein value, soy pellets, soy oil, and biodiesel. Lar received funding from the state of Mato Grosso do Sul for its opening. See Avicultura Industrial, 'Cooperativa Lar inaugura complexo industrial de soja em Caarapó', 1 Dec 2020, available at <https://www.aviculturaindustrial.com.br/imprensa/cooperativa-lar-inaugura-complexo-industrial-de-soja-em-caarapo/20201201-092349-y878> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022); and Lar's institutional video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N04ArT-Q8_k (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)
- ⁸⁶ Avinews Brasil, 'Lar planeja investir R\$ 350 mi em complexo industrial de Medianeira', 25 Jan 2021, available at <https://avicultura.info/pt-br/lar-cooperativa-medianeira-350-milhoes/> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022); O Presente, 'Lar amplia capacidade de produção da fábrica de rações de Entre Rios do Oeste', 19 Feb 2022, available at <https://www.opresente.com.br/municipios/lar-amplia-capacidade-de-producao-da-fabrica-de-racoes-de-entre-rios-do-oeste/> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022); Lar Comunicação, 'Com o apoio do Estado, Lar anuncia investimento de R\$ 2,4 bilhões', 10 Feb 2021, available at <https://www.lar.ind.br/com-apoio-do-estado-lar-anuncia-investimento-de-r-24-bilhoes/> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022). In Brazil Lar also owns supermarket and petrol station chains and produces a wide range of consumer products under its own brand. See Lar's website at <https://www.lar.ind.br/en/home-en/>
- ⁸⁷ Lar Cooperativa Agroindustrial, 'Novo complexo industrial da Lar em Caarapó-MS', 14 Sep 2020, published by OCB/MS, available at <http://ocbms.org.br/noticia/novo-complexo-industrial-da-lar-em-caarapo-ms/6852/> (accessed on 8 Mar 2022)
- ⁸⁸ Embrapa, 'Brazil is the world's fourth largest grain producer and top beef exporter, study shows', 1 Jun 2021, available at <https://www.embrapa.br/en/busca-de-noticias/-/noticia/62619259/brazil-is-the-worlds-fourth-largest-grain-producer-and-top-beef-exporter-study-shows> (accessed on 14 Feb 2022)
- ⁸⁹ United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), 'Poultry and products annual', 2 Sep 2021, available at https://usdabrazil.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Poultry-and-Products-Annual_Brasilia_Brazil_09-01-2021-1.pdf (accessed on 14 Feb 2022)
- ⁹⁰ Money Times, 'Brasil caminha para recordes de produção e exportação de carne suína e aves em 2021', by Reuters, available at <https://www.moneytimes.com.br/producao-e-exportacao-de-carne-suina-e-de-frango-do-brasil-devem-ser-recordes-em-2021/> (accessed on 14 Feb 2022)
- ⁹¹ Ibid
- ⁹² Ana Mano, 'UPDATE 2-Brazil in talks increase chicken exports to the UK, ABPA says', Reuters, 29 Sep 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/brazil-meat-idUSL1N2QV1PD> (accessed on 14 Feb 2022)
- ⁹³ Earthsight analysis of trade data extracted from the UK government's 'UK Trade Info database', available at <https://www.uktradeinfo.com/trade-data/ots-custom-table/>. The 70 per cent increase in UK imports refers to HS code 0207 for the 2017-2021 period.
- ⁹⁴ Datamar News, 'Chicken meat exports grow 19.7% in January', 7 Feb 2022, <https://www.datamarnews.com/noticias/chicken-meat-exports-grow-19-7-in-january/> (accessed on 14 Feb 2022)
- ⁹⁵ Earthsight analyses of Panjiva trade data.
- ⁹⁶ Based on Panjiva data of Lar exports of chicken products for human consumption only. Westbridge is LAR's most important customer for marinated chicken in the UK, accounting for 68% of imports. In the frozen chicken segment, Westbridge is even more important for the Brazilian exporter, accounting for 85 per cent of all Lar exports to the UK.
- ⁹⁷ Westbridge, 'Our Clients', available at <https://www.westbridgefoods.com/poultry-food-chicken-supplier-clients.php> (accessed on 27 Apr 2022)
- ⁹⁸ Westbridge Food Group Ltd, 'Westbridge wins double KFC award', available at <https://www.westbridgefoods.com/news/westbridge-wins-double-kfc-award.php> (accessed on 13 Feb 2022)
- ⁹⁹ Based on Lar exports of Chicken products for human consumption only.



¹⁰⁰ According to German government documents seen by Earthsight, Heristo AG still owned five per cent of Paulsen's shares until 2019, when CPF acquired all shares.

¹⁰¹ From their responses to Earthsight, it's clear the two companies do not dispute their links to Paulsen. In addition, the retailers who source petfood from Saturn and Animonda accepted their links to the two firms and, by extension, to Paulsen and Lar. See all the firms' full responses at <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/media/download/1301>

¹⁰² Using official hygiene codes for Saturn's factories in Germany and the Netherlands, Earthsight visited the named retailers and conducted online research to identify the products made by Saturn.

¹⁰³ Based on online research of Animonda's and the retailers' websites.

¹⁰⁴ Mighty Earth, 'Report 15: Soy and cattle in Paraguay', Rapid Response reports, originally published in July 2020, updated in September 2020, available at <https://www.mightyearth.org/wp-content/uploads/2Paraguay-Report-September-2020-version1.pdf> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022)

¹⁰⁵ MercoPress, 'Drought hits Paraguayan soybean production', 25 Mar 2022, available at <https://en.mercopress.com/2022/03/25/drought-hits-paraguayan-soybean-production> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022)

¹⁰⁶ Coamo Notícias, 'A força da soja na exportação de alimentos', 10 Jun 2021, available at <http://www.coamo.com.br/site/noticia/2762/a-forca-da-soja-na-exportacao-de-alimentos> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022). In Brazil Coamo produces a range of flours, cake mixtures, margarines, coffee, soy oil, and vegetable fats for consumers. See <https://coamoalimentos.com.br/produtos> (accessed on 13 Feb 2022)

¹⁰⁷ Earthsight analyses of Panjiva trade data.

¹⁰⁸ Offshore Leaks Database, International Consortium of Investigative Journalism, available at <https://offshoreleaks.icij.org/nodes/85018042> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹⁰⁹ Federal prosecutors in Mato Grosso do Sul have referred to the case as a massacre. See Procuradoria da República em Mato Grosso do Sul, 'MPF denuncia criminalmente produtor rural que ameaçou procuradores da República por atuação no tema indígena', 28 Jan 2019, available at <http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/mpf-denuncia-criminalmente-produtor-rural-que-ameacou-procuradores-da-republica-por-atuacao-no-tema-indigena> (accessed on 8 Apr 2022)

¹¹⁰ Rodrigues de Souza was reportedly killed with at least two shots. Six indigenous people, including a 12-year-old child, were taken to the hospital with gunshot wounds. The assailants also set fire to the community's possessions. Five farmers linked to the violence are awaiting trial in freedom. Federal prosecutors accused seven Coamo employees of false testimony after they alleged they had not witnessed any atypical movement of trucks or people at the facility that day, which contradicts the evidence gathered by the prosecutors. See De Olho nos Ruralistas, 'Ataque a indígenas em Caarapó, há três anos, foi articulado por WhatsApp', 16 Jun 2019, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/deolhonoms/2019/06/16/ataque-a-indigenas-em-caarapo-ha-tres-anos-foi-articulado-por-whatsapp/> (accessed on 30 Mar 2022); CIMI, 'Violência contra os povos indígenas no Brasil: Dados de 2016', available at https://cimi.org.br/pub/relatorio/Relatorio-violencia-contra-povos-indigenas_2016-Cimi.pdf (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹¹¹ During a visit to Mato Grosso do Sul in March 2016, three months before the "Massacre of Caarapó", the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples at the time, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, warned the Brazilian government not to underestimate the risk of violent attacks against indigenous communities in the state. See BBC Brasil, 'Tragédia anunciada: ONU 'previu' mortes indígenas em MS há três meses', 20 Jun 2016, available at <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-36565454> (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹¹² Earthsight, 'Grand Theft Chaco: The luxury cars made with leather from the stolen lands of an uncontacted tribe', Sep 2020, available at <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/grandtheftchaco-en>. See also the full investigation's page at <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/investigations/grand-theft-chaco>

¹¹³ Greenpeace, 'Destruction: Certified', Apr 2021, available at https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-international-stateless/2021/04/b1e486be-greenpeace-international-report-destruction-certified_finaloptimised.pdf (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹¹⁴ See Cassie Dummett and Arthur Blundell (2021), 'Illicit Harvest, Complicit Goods: The State of Illegal Deforestation for Agriculture, 2021', Forest Trends, available at <https://www.forest-trends.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Illicit-Harvest-Complicit-Goods.pdf> (accessed on 30 Mar 2022); Sam Lawson (2014), 'Consumer Goods and Deforestation: An Analysis of the Extent and Nature of Illegality in Forest Conversion for Agriculture and Timber Plantations', Forest Trends, available at

https://www.forest-trends.org/wp-content/uploads/imported/for168-consumer-goods-and-deforestation-letter-14-0916-hr-no-crops_web-pdf.pdf (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹¹⁵ Sam Lawson, 'Consumer goods and deforestation: An analysis of the extent and nature of illegality in forest conservation for agriculture and timber plantations, Forest Trends, Sep 2014, available at https://www.forest-trends.org/wp-content/uploads/imported/for168-consumer-goods-and-deforestation-letter-14-0916-hr-no-crops_web-pdf.pdf (accessed on 26 Apr 2022)

¹¹⁶ A report produced in 2021 by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the Fund for Development of Indigenous People of Latin America and the Caribbean (Filac) considered indigenous people by far the best guardians of the region's forests. According to the report, indigenous territories tend to prevent deforestation as well as or better than other types of protected areas. See full report at <https://www.fao.org/americas/publicaciones-audio-video/forest-gov-by-indigenous/en/> (accessed on 14 Mar 2022). The Guardian, 'Indigenous peoples by far the best guardians of forests – UN report', 25 Mar 2021, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/mar/25/indigenous-peoples-by-far-the-best-guardians-of-forests-un-report> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹¹⁷ To ensure products are produced in compliance with producer country laws and are deforestation free, the proposed regulation relies on a supply chain due diligence system combined with a requirement for full traceability to the point of production.

¹¹⁸ As it stands, the definition of deforestation-free in the regulation sets a cut-off date of 31 December 2020. This means that only those products in the scope of the regulation produced on land subject to deforestation or forest degradation on or after that date are prohibited from entering or existing in the EU market. Civil society organisations, including EarthSight, have called for a cut-off date well before 2020, to prevent rewarding recent deforestation and to avoid undermining initiatives such as the Amazon Soy Moratorium, which aims to prevent the sale of soy from areas deforested in the Amazon region after 2008. See <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/news/civil-society-position-statement-proposed-eu-regulation>

¹¹⁹ International instruments to be considered should include: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas, and the International Labor Organization Convention 169.

¹²⁰ Environmental and human rights organisations, including EarthSight, have called on the EU Parliament and Council to strengthen indigenous rights provisions in the proposal. See <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/news/civil-society-position-statement-proposed-eu-regulation>. Twenty-two associations of indigenous peoples and local communities with customary tenure, supported by 169 allied human rights and environmental civil society organisations, urged the EU to incorporate a requirement for businesses to respect the tenure rights of indigenous peoples and local communities in line with international human rights law requirements, and to respect the right of forest defenders to conduct their work without retaliation. See https://www.fern.org/fileadmin/uploads/fern/Documents/2022/EN_Open_Letter_-_Land_Rights_Final_.pdf

¹²¹ Brazil's 1988 Constitution guarantees a series of indigenous rights, including the right to their ancestral lands, through articles 20, 22, 49, 67, 109, 129, 176, 210, 215, 231, 232. See Ministry of Education, 'Direitos Indígenas na Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988', available at <http://portal.mec.gov.br/secad/arquivos/pdf/cf.pdf> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022). In addition, in 2002 Brazil ratified the International Labour Organization's Convention 169 that guarantees indigenous communities the right to active participation in decisions that affect them. See Instituto Socioambiental, 'Consulta livre, prévia e informada na Convenção 169 da OIT', available at https://especiais.socioambiental.org/inst/esp/consulta_previa/index9c1e.html?q=convencao-169-da-oit-no-brasil (accessed on 28 Mar 2022)

¹²² Mongabay, 'Brazil's Bolsonaro presses anti-indigenous agenda; resistance surges', 27 Jun 2019, available at <https://news.mongabay.com/2019/06/brazils-bolsonaro-presses-anti-indigenous-agenda-resistance-surges/> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022); Reuters, 'Bolsonaro suffers setback on bill to mine indigenous lands', 9 Mar 2022, available at <https://www.reuters.com/business/environment/bolsonaro-pushes-mining-brazils-indigenous-lands-citing-fertilizer-pinch-2022-03-09/> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022); NBC News, 'Bolsonaro should be tried for crimes against humanity, Indigenous leaders say', 24 Jun 2021, available at <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/bolsonaro-should-be-tried-crimes-against-humanity-indigenous-leaders-say-n1272193> (accessed on 28 Mar 2022)

¹²³ While Brazil's Constitution guarantees indigenous land rights, and Funai has argued that private properties on Takuara should have been considered illegal for decades because they violate several legal instruments (see pp. 395-422 at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacinto>), it is possible that European authorities enforcing the upcoming EU legislation will struggle to clearly establish the illegality of a farm that has been registered and titled by the state. Arguably, this is especially the case when

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producer country courts find it difficult to rule on indigenous lands conflicts due to competing priorities between indigenous rights and the rights of property owners (see pp. 344-355 of the document linked above). This situation illustrates the need for stronger provisions in the final regulation that ensure supply chains are not linked to farms violating the rights of local communities, regardless of the actions or omissions of governments or courts in producer countries.

¹²⁴ Commodities covered by the proposed regulation are cattle, cocoa, coffee, oil palm, soya, and wood. The proposal also covers a number of derived products of these commodities, namely those that are listed by reference to their HS Codes in Annex I of the regulation: https://ec.europa.eu/environment/system/files/2021-11/COM_2021_706_1_EN_annexe_proposition_part1_v4.pdf

¹²⁵ See Earthsight, 'Civil society position statement on the proposed EU regulation on deforestation-free products', 3 Feb 2022, <https://www.earthsight.org.uk/news/civil-society-position-statement-proposed-eu-regulation>

¹²⁶ The proposed EU regulation, as it currently stands, has no provisions for affected communities in producer countries to raise grievances against businesses – through formal grievances mechanisms – or to access courts in the EU. The UK Environment Act is equally silent on this, despite extensive calls by civil society for the inclusion of protections for indigenous communities. See the public statement prepared by Client Earth and supported by 20 academics and organisations, including Earthsight, available at https://www.clientearth.org/media/i1hmx1vc/endorsing-the-end-of-the-amazon-brazil-uk-policy-brief_10-09-21.pdf (accessed on 1 Apr 2022)

¹²⁷ Schedule 17, Part 1, Paragraph 2, states that relevant local law for prohibition on using illegally produced commodities is only law that (a) relates to the ownership of the land on which the source organism was grown, raised or cultivated, (b) relates to the use of that land, or (c) otherwise relates to that land and is specified in regulations made by the Secretary of State. The legality requirement in the UK law therefore seems to be narrower than that of the EU regulation and does not include national human rights laws generally.

¹²⁸ The options put forward by DEFRA in the public consultation on the implementing regulations fell far short of what is needed to address UK-driven deforestation overseas in light of the looming climate emergency. The consultation made participants choose between either including only two forest-risk commodities in the regulation or having to wait for up to five years for implementation to start if the law were to cover more than two commodities. It also suggested limiting the new measures to companies with an annual turnover of more than £200 million and with annual trading volumes of more than 1000 tonnes. A number of NGOs, including Earthsight, have estimated that, under the options presented in the consultation, the UK could still be contributing to rainforest destruction the size of Berlin between now and 2030. See the public letter sent to DEFRA by 11 organisations in March 2022, available at <http://www.ngoforestcoalition.org/media.ashx/open-letter-march-2022.pdf> (accessed on 1 Apr 2022)

¹²⁹ European Commission, 'Proposal for a Directive on corporate sustainability due diligence and annex', 23 February 2022, available at https://ec.europa.eu/info/publications/proposal-directive-corporate-sustainable-due-diligence-and-annex_en (accessed on 7 Mar 2022)

¹³⁰ Julia Christian, 'Corporate due diligence proposal could improve access to justice, but contains fundamental weaknesses', Fern, 4 Mar 2022, available at <https://www.fern.org/publications-insight/corporate-due-diligence-proposal-could-improve-access-to-justice-but-contains-fundamental-weaknesses-2476/> (accessed on 7 Mar 2022)

¹³¹ Pereira told Earthsight and De Olho nos Ruralistas that during an early visit to Brasília do Sul to meet with the rancher and his team of lawyers, da Silva Filho set up microphones under the table to record the meeting. According to Pereira, this was spotted by a crafty Funai member who pretended to drop a pen. On another occasion, Pereira was secretly photographed at Brasília do Sul. The following day his photo appeared on a local newspaper with statements he had not made.

¹³² Landowners and the state have long tried to disqualify the Guarani Kaiowá's struggle. Matte Larangeira and white settlers even referred to the indigenous people as "Paraguayans" in attempts to dismiss their presence and portray them as foreigners. Historian and anthropologist Jorge Eremites de Oliveira told our researchers that "Matte Larangeira's documents portrayed the Guarani Kaiowá as Paraguayans, but they were not Paraguayans. They had inhabited those lands for at least 1500 years."

¹³³ Sources within the indigenous movement interviewed by our researchers believe da Silva Filho used his influence to pressure the Supreme Court to suspend the demarcation process in 2010.

¹³⁴ Interviews with Valdelice Veron and Tonico Benites.

¹³⁵ See pp. 81-85 and 116-120 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacinto> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

¹³⁶ The prosecutor also noted that a judge had ordered the detention of an indigenous person who had attacked police officers following his son's murder during the 'Caarapó Massacre': "How come in this case the judge ordered the detention, but Rodriguinho was released? It was the same judge" (see passage on Coamo in the supply chain section). Some experts have pointed to the structural racism in Brazil's justice system to explain the discrepancies between rulings that affect indigenous people and white people. See Le Monde Diplomatique, 'Massacre de Caarapó: Produtores rurais soltos, liderança indígena presa, 14 Jun 2021, available at <https://diplomatique.org.br/massacre-de-caarapo-produtores-rurais-soltos-lideranca-indigena-presa/> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹³⁷ See, for example, the opinion piece published last year by the Brazilian Association of Soy Producers (Aprosoja) arguing that indigenous communities already control large areas and further demarcation of indigenous lands, which is led by anthropologists with "subjective and unilateral principles", will be a "tragedy" for agribusiness. Glauber Silveira, 'Marco temporal é fundamental para crescimento do país', 31 Aug 2021, available at <https://aprosojabrasil.com.br/comunicacao/blog/2021/08/31/opiniao-marco-temporal-e-fundamental-para-o-crescimento-do-pais/> (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹³⁸ In addition to *marco temporal* arguments, the agribusiness lobby in Brazil's Congress, known as *bancada ruralista*, has boycotted proposals aimed at resolving indigenous land conflicts, such as the proposal for a constitutional amendment that would allow farmers with legitimate land titles to be compensated for lands demarcated after October 2013. It has been argued that over the last 20 years every federal government has been characterised by close alliances with the agribusiness lobby, resulting in the subordination of indigenous issues to *ruralista* interests and the expansion of commodities production. See Anderson de Souza Santos, Luiz Henrique Eloy Amado and Dan Pasca (2021), "'É muita terra para pouco índio"? Ou muita terra na mão de poucos? Conflitos fundiários no Mato Grosso do Sul', Instituto Socioambiental, available at https://www.socioambiental.org/sites/blog.socioambiental.org/files/nsa/arquivos/conflitos_fundiarios_no_ms_-_versao_final_1.pdf (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹³⁹ Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, 'Destacques da pauta do plenário – 1º semestre de 2022', pp.14, available at <https://www.conjur.com.br/dl/pauta-stf-primeiro-semester1.pdf> (accessed on 10 Mar 2022)

¹⁴⁰ Tonico Benites is a visiting lecturer and researcher at the University of Roraima.

¹⁴¹ Tellingly, it was in Dourados, Mato Grosso do Sul, shortly before a meeting with farmers that he made such promise while still a presidential candidate. See De Olho nos Ruralistas, "'Nem um centímetro a mais para terras indígenas", diz Bolsonaro', 8 Feb 2018, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2018/02/08/nem-um-centimetro-mais-para-terras-indigenas-diz-bolsonaro/> (accessed on 30 Mar 2022). Bolsonaro has endeavoured to open up indigenous territories to agribusiness and mining. See The Brazilian Report, 'Government pushes for mining in indigenous land', 3 Mar 2022, available at <https://brazilian.report/liveblog/2022/03/03/mining-indigenous-ukraine-russia/> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022); Reuters, 'Brazil's Bolsonaro hands indigenous land decisions back to farm sector', 20 Jun 2019, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-politics-indigenous-idUSKCN1TK370> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹⁴² In April 2020 Funai adopted a norm authorising landowners to occupy, buy and sell private properties within indigenous territories that had not yet been fully 'demarcated'. This meant that Takuara and 236 other indigenous lands in Brazil already recognised by Funai but still awaiting demarcation were now vulnerable to invasions by farmers and land grabbers. The measure has been struck down by federal courts in 13 states, but the federal district court overseeing Mato Grosso do Sul has kept it. Revealingly, the judge who authorised Funai's norm to be maintained in Mato Grosso do Sul is the same who had ordered the eviction of the Guarani Kaiowá from Takuara in 2016. See De Olho nos Ruralistas, 'Medida que reduz proteção a terras indígenas foi articulada por Nabhan Garcia', 28 Apr 2020, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2020/04/28/medida-que-reduz-protexcao-a-terras-indigenas-foi-articulada-por-nabhan-garcia/> (accessed on 11 Apr 2022); CIMI, 'Após denúncia do Cimi e ação do MPF, normativa da Funai que facilita grilagem de terras indígenas é suspensa no Maranhão', 25 Feb 2022, available at <https://cimi.org.br/2022/02/normativa-funai-grilagem-suspensa-maranhao/> (accessed on 11 Apr 2022); Funai, 'Instrução Normativa nº 9/2020 da Funai é validada em toda a jurisdição do TRF3 (Mato Grosso do Sul e São Paulo)', 28 Jul 2021, available at <https://www.gov.br/funai/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/2021/instrucao-normativa-no-9-2020-da-funai-e-validada-em-toda-a-jurisdicao-do-trf3-mato-grosso-do-sul-e-sao-paulo> (accessed on 11 Apr 2022); ISA, 'Despejo de comunidade Guarani Kaiowá pode ocorrer durante visita de relatora da ONU', 14 Mar 2016, available at <https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/noticia/161844> (accessed on 11 Apr 2022)

¹⁴³ In June 2021, more than 1000 indigenous people from different parts of Brazil gathered in Brasília for a demonstration against Funai. Protestors emphasised that Funai has been going through one of the worst moments in its history, and that it has been failing to protect and promote indigenous rights. See Apib, 'Public letter from Brazilian indigenous peoples

about Funai', 16 Jun 2021, available at <https://apiboficial.org/2021/06/16/public-letter-from-brazilian-indigenous-peoples-about-funai/?lang=en> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022); The Guardian, 'Bolsonaro pick for Funai agency horrifies indigenous leaders', 21 Jul 2019, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jul/21/bolsonaro-funai-indigenous-agency-xavier-da-silva> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022); DW, 'Jair Bolsonaro's stance on indigenous people is "discriminatory and racist"', 4 Jan 2019, available at <https://www.dw.com/en/jair-bolsonaros-stance-on-indigenous-people-is-discriminatory-and-racist/a-46959983> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹⁴⁴ Articulation of Indigenous Peoples from Brazil, 'Unprecedented: APIB denounces Bolsonaro before the ICC, in the Hague, for indigenous genocide', 9 Aug 2021, available at <https://apiboficial.org/2021/08/09/unprecedented-apib-denounces-bolsonaro-before-the-icc-in-the-hague-for-indigenous-genocide/?lang=en> (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹⁴⁵ It has been reported that violence against indigenous peoples in Brazil has worsened since the beginning of Bolsonaro's administration. In 2019 alone, seven indigenous leaders were killed in the country, the highest number in 10 years. See Greenpeace Brasil, 'Assassinatos de lideranças e violência no campo crescem em 2019', 17 Apr 2020, available at <https://www.greenpeace.org/brasil/blog/assassinatos-de-liderancas-indigenas-camponesas-e-violencia-no-campo-crescem-em-2019/> (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹⁴⁶ The state repeats claims that no indigenous community lived in Takuara when it was first privatised. It also argues that recognising Takuara as Guarani Kaiowá land would mean the "loss of part of its territory and, as a consequence, of tax revenues." See Diário de Justiça Eletrônico (DJe) nº 141, Medida Cautelar na Ação Cautelar 2.641 (532), 30 Jul 2010, pp. 85-88, available at https://www.stf.jus.br/arquivo/djEletronico/DJE_20100730_141.pdf (accessed on 12 Apr 2022). The state also argued that Funai was attempting to force it to incur the costs of compensation for the Jacintho family – which would allow the government to acquire the property and demarcate it in favour of the Guarani Kaiowá – since, according to Funai, it was the illegal selling of the land by Mato Grosso in the 1920s that eventually led to the illegal eviction of the community. Mato Grosso do Sul inherited the region when it was created in the 1970s following the division of Mato Grosso into two states.

¹⁴⁷ See pp. 344-355 of the collection of legal documents related to Takuara published by Instituto Socioambiental, available at <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/processo-n-19996002001074-1-acao-de-reintegracao-de-posse-movida-por-jacinto> (accessed on 29 Mar 2022)

¹⁴⁸ De olho nos ruralistas, 'MS tem 1.351 hectares por político e apenas 1 hectare para cada Guarani Kaiowa', 8 Nov 2018, available at <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/deolhonoms/2018/11/08/ms-tem-1-351-hectares-para-cada-politico-e-apanas-1-hectare-para-cada-guarani-kaiowa/> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022); Valor Economico, 'Estudos para definir áreas indígenas no MS geram polêmica', 15 Aug 2008, available at <https://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/bitstream/handle/id/488712/noticia.htm?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹⁴⁹ The 1988 Constitution predicted it would take five years for the federal government to demarcate all indigenous lands in the country. Over 30 years later, it's estimated that only between 37 and 39 per cent of all indigenous lands recognised by Funai have been demarcated. See Anderson de Souza Santos, Luiz Henrique Eloy Amado and Dan Pasca (2021), "'É muita terra para pouco índio"? Ou muita terra na mão de poucos? Conflitos fundiários no Mato Grosso do Sul', Instituto Socioambiental, available at https://www.socioambiental.org/sites/blog.socioambiental.org/files/nsa/arquivos/conflitos_fundiarios_no_ms_-_versao_final_1.pdf (accessed on 30 Mar 2022)

¹⁵⁰ The heavy use of agrichemicals nearby indigenous communities is a recurring theme in conversations with indigenous leaders in the area. They believe farmers deliberately spray drying agents and pesticides over communities to terrorise villagers. They describe several episodes of children falling ill with stomach pains, diarrhoea, and itchy eyes and throats, as well as cases of traditional crops being lost and water sources contaminated. See also Tab Uol, 'Agrotóxico é usado como "arma química" contra aldeias indígenas em MS', 21 Feb 2022, available at <https://tab.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2022/02/21/agrotoxico-e-usado-como-arma-quimica-contra-aldeias-indigenas-em-ms.htm> (accessed on 9 March 2022). It has been reported that indigenous populations in Mato Grosso do Sul are the third most affected by agrichemicals in Brazil, mostly in relation to soy, corn and sugarcane plantations. See Instituto Humanitas Unisinos, 'População indígena do Mato Grosso do Sul é a terceira mais contaminada por agrotóxicos no país', 31 Oct 2017, <https://www.ihu.unisinos.br/78-noticias/573195-populacao-indigena-do-mato-grosso-do-sul-e-a-terceira-mais-contaminada-por-agrotoxicos-no-pais> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹⁵¹ Tab Uol, 'Agrotóxico é usado como "arma química" contra aldeias indígenas em MS', 21 Feb 2022, available at <https://tab.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2022/02/21/agrotoxico-e-usado-como-arma-quimica-contra-aldeias-indigenas-em-ms.htm> (accessed on 9 March 2022)



¹⁵² Eliel Benites is a lecturer in Nature Sciences at the Intercultural Indigenous Faculty of the Federal University of Grande Dourados.

¹⁵³ For a more detailed discussion on the issue of suicides among young Guarani Kaiowá in Mato Grosso do Sul, see Sonia Grubits et al, 'Suicídios de jovens Guarani/Kaiowa de Mato Grosso do Sul, Brasil', *Psicologia: ciência e profissão*, 22 Nov 2011, available at <https://www.scielo.br/j/pcp/a/CjBM5HwRpfBcNz56YCZfkHy/?lang=pt> (accessed on 9 Mar 2022)

¹⁵⁴ Peralta is also a social anthropologist with the Federal University of Grande Dourados. Sources interviewed for this report also mentioned the ways in which the Kaiowá attempt to maintain contact with important places and spiritual beings. Anthropologist Levi Marques Pereira told our team that "it's very common for the Guarani Kaiowá to go on clandestine expeditions of the farms, which is motivated by a need to maintain contact with the Jara, the beings who inhabit nature. These incursions generate tensions with landowners." Pereira also noted the Kaiowá have often sought work at the farms as a way to maintain this connection to what's sacred to them.

¹⁵⁵ See also G1 MS, 'Vídeo: Casa de reza indígena é incendiada com crianças e idosos; liderança suspeita de ataque criminoso', 30 Dec 2021, available at <https://g1.globo.com/ms/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2021/12/30/video-casa-de-reza-indigena-e-incendiada-com-criancas-e-idosos-em-ms-e-lideranca-suspeita-de-incendio-criminoso.ghtml> (accessed on 10 Mar 2022)