Achieving People’s Control over

Land and Livelihood

Report from the International mobilisation conference on The Right to Land and Livelihood

Geneva 2011

Published by Ekta Parishad and Ekta Europe
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Contents

1 - Preface .................................................................................. 7
2 - Acknowledgements ............................................................. 9
3 - Introduction .......................................................................... 11
4 - Rights and Development .................................................... 14
5 - Land, Resources and Livelihoods ......................................... 18
   a - Land ownership is highly skewed in most parts of the world 21
   b - Rural women are particularly disadvantaged .................. 21
   c - Agrarian reform has dropped off the global agenda ........... 22
   d - Competing environmental claims ..................................... 23
   e - Support for small farmers ............................................... 24
6 - Action, Unity & Global Solidarity ......................................... 25
   a - Organisation and Mobilisation ........................................ 26
   b - Civil Society Action ...................................................... 28
   c - Alternative consumption ............................................... 30
   d - National Policies .......................................................... 32
   e - Global Economic Policies .............................................. 32
7 - A final note ........................................................................... 34

Appendix
1 - Brief Profiles of Ekta Parishad and Ekta Europe .................. 35
2 - Conference concept note .................................................... 37
3 - Conference programme ..................................................... 40
4 - Conference participants ..................................................... 43
The International mobilisation conference on “The Right to Land and Livelihood” took place at the International Conference Centre of Geneva (CICG) on September 12th and 13th 2011. It gathered more than 120 people with around 30 speakers from various organisations, all concerned and active on the issues of land, with special attention on India.

The idea for this conference stemmed from the longstanding and ongoing struggle of Ekta Parishad for the rights to land and livelihood of the most deprived groups in rural India, supported by a loose network of organisations known as Ekta Europe. The struggle for human rights includes access to land and the means to make a decent living from it – the fulfillment of basic human needs such as food, housing, work, dignity and control over one’s life. In the current context of neo-liberal industrialisation, urbanisation and runaway land grabbing by agri-business, the mobilisation for the rights of the poor – especially the landless – has become a universal issue that affects us all.

In particular it is Jan Satyagraha 2012 – Ekta Parishad’s large scale mobilisation of poor villagers – which provided inspiration and motivation to organize the conference. In October 2012, 100,000 adivasis, dalits and landless peasants will walk 350 km from Gwalior to Delhi to demand long-overdue land reform that was promised five years ago but not delivered by the national government.

While presenting a range of related issues and global challenges – as summarised in this report – the intention of the conference was to go beyond the formulation of declarations and demands. We also wished to give international visibility of and support for Jan Satyagraha 2012, and to enhance existing efforts to build a Global Movement across borders and continents.

Our belief that the time to act has come, and it is important to strengthen various actions by opening the doors of support and funding. There have
been pledges made to the conference organising committee members, who in large part consisted of volunteers from Ekta Parishad and Ekta Europe, and as part of the follow up, Ekta Europe will work to link these to Indian and other actions.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to all the activist organisations and NGOs, national and international, who are working on land rights, food security and livelihood support, as well as to the representatives of United Nations research institutions and national governments who supported this conference with their contributions and commitment.

As this report goes to press, the year-long Samwad Yatra is going on in India to mobilise marginalised and landless people all over India for Jan Satyagraha, and to help their voices get heard. We call on you to join hands in support of this struggle in India and the struggle for land and livelihood rights globally. Jai Jagat!

The organising committee: Margrit Hugentobler, Alan Leather, Jill Carr-Harris, Aye Aye Win, Altal de Saint Albin, Küde Meier and Marie Bohner.

Jan Satyagraha 2012 will be India’s largest-ever mobilisation for the right to land and livelihoods as 100,000 poor villagers, adivasis, dalits and landless peasants will march from Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh to the Indian capital, Delhi. They will be accompanied by many acts of solidarity around the globe.

Following in Gandhi’s footsteps, the 350 km march is the culmination of a 12-month campaign for the right to land and livelihoods, whose major concrete demands include:

- Implementation of the Government of India’s 2009 policies on land reform and other policies intended to benefit the rural and urban poor (including adivasis, the homeless, and small and landless farmers)
- Guarantees that the implementation of the 2006 Forests Rights Act will involve the gram sabha (local government or traditional councils)
- Reformulation of relevant acts and policies to ensure that they are consistently pro-poor, e.g. the Mining Act, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, and Land Acquisition Act.

But Jan Satyagraha 2012 is more than just a march, more than just a series of specific claims and demands. It aims to expose the global structural violence, the denial of human rights, and the human and ecological devastation caused by a neo-liberal development model that promotes the pursuit of growth at any price. These processes are playing out in the daily lives of small and landless farmers, indigenous peoples, and urban areas.

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1. A year-long “tour” of the activists of Ekta Parishad around India which started on October 2nd 2011, to gather grievances of the landless and meet decision-makers at local level, and to mobilise the marchers around Jan Satyagraha.
2. Peace to the World!
3. See brief profiles in Appendix 1.
migrants and slum-dwellers. Ekta Parishad is a leading example of how local, grassroots organisations are affected by and engaging with global processes – and seeking to change them, inspired by Gandhi’s non-violent strategies.

Jan Satyagraha 2012 symbolises the call for new, non-violent and humane ways of taking political action to organise our global society, and to place human rights and dignity, and community control of resources at the centre. It is about those who are worst affected by the cruel processes of globalisation not simply organising for policy change, but actually creating their own spaces for non-violent political action.

“We need to look at how to reclaim the lost land and livelihood resources of billions of peoples across the globe. Billions of people, having lost their land, are forced to go to cities, live in slums and ultimately take to violence. We have created a situation where people cannot be happy in the village and cannot be happy in cities. Villages are now no longer liveable because of poverty and cities because of over-crowding.”

Rajagopal P. V., President, Ekta Parishad

Local actions are vital – every step in the march for human rights matters, however small. But to bring about such profound and far-reaching changes in how the global economy reaches into the lives of the even remotest communities on earth, we too need to think and act on a global scale.

This is why the overarching goal of this action-focused conference was to explore the creation of a global solidarity network or coalition on the rights to land and livelihoods, and to food security. A platform that can enable people from whatever their particular walk of life to speak with a common voice in every possible forum – from multilateral institutions such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the United Nations (UN) system, to national and local governments, human rights organisations, associations of peasant farmers and agricultural labourers, producers, migrants, workers in the food industry, consumers, families, communities and neighbourhoods right through to the landless farmer in India, the plantation worker in Central America, the indigenous forest-dweller in the Amazonian jungle and to the one billion individual women, men and children who suffer hunger and malnutrition every day of their lives.

The conference brought together 120 delegates from over 15 countries – from Africa, Asia, North and South America, and also from Europe. Delegates came from organisations of small and landless farmers, labour unions, activists working on food rights, social justice and fair trade, bilateral agencies, parliamentarians and representatives of the diplomatic corps, church-based and secular NGOs, student bodies, academics and the “eco” business sector. There were also representatives from Ekta Parishad, Ekta Canada, Ekta Europe and the Ekta Support Group in Geneva.

A list of participants, the conference agenda, and a selection of the many photos taken during the two-day event are published on the Ekta Europe website.
Most of the excellent presentations are also posted in full on the Ekta Europe website, so it is not the aim of this brief report to provide a conventional “conference proceedings”. Rather, we have gathered some of the main discussions under the three headings encompassed by the conference title:
- Rights and Development
- Land, Resources and Livelihoods
- Action, Unity and Global Solidarity

Every human being depends on the earth’s resources to provide a healthy diet and a clean and sustainable environment. Yet millions of small producers and subsistence farmers, and indigenous peoples are treated as if they were illegal squatters on the lands they cultivate, and the forests and rivers that sustain them. In many cases these are their ancestral lands, and are central to their cultural identity.

Seldom given the opportunity to express their views, these communities are generally pushed off their lands to make way for more powerful interests, and denied access to the natural resources on which their lives and livelihoods depend.

The concentration of land ownership is not only intensifying at the national level, but has now become part of a global market as land, water, and forests – and even the genetic material contained in seeds – are treated as just another asset or commodity to be bought and sold to the highest bidder. In India, for example, mining, rapid industrialisation, and infrastructural development have taken millions of hectares of arable land out of the hands of small farmers, without either following or providing them any recourse to a transparent process.

According to the Land Matrix Partnership (comprising the International Land Coalition, the universities of Bern and Hamburg, the French agricultural and development research institute CIRAD, the German agency for technical cooperation GIZ, and Oxfam) up to 227 million hectares of land worldwide have been sold or leased to corporations since 2001. Most of these “land grabs” have taken place since 2009, predominantly in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa.

Yet much of this land is not used to produce food or to sustain local communities or even to feed the national population. Often, it lies idle, representing just another speculative investment. In others, it is given over to bio-fuel crops for export, such as African Palm or sugarcane, both to reduce dependence on oil and to meet targets to reduce carbon emissions; or to produce grain such as soya, destined for animal feed to meet the increasing global demand for meat.

According to the UN, global food prices increased by 26% between 2001 and 2009, and it is predicted that the need for basic food will rise by another 70% by 2050. The expansion of the agricultural frontier, including the irreversible destruction of the forests that act as the planet’s “carbon sinks” by absorbing “greenhouse gas” emissions, is hastening global warming and climate change that will inevitably affect the poorest most severely.

The rights and future food security of small producers, pastoralists, fishing communities, and indigenous peoples around the world, the protection of livelihoods, the diversity of cultural traditions, and the preservation of the earth’s fragile ecosystems, have never been so endangered.

It is against this grim background that the participants at the International mobilisation conference on the Right to Land and Livelihood sought to share insights and experiences with the goal of finding ways to use non-violent political action to change the direction of global development.

“Pachamama as the Mother Earth, origin and end of life, is the main symbol of our indigenous spirituality — linking us with our ancestral knowledge, our ancient worlds that were erased when our lands were colonised and our peoples enslaved, over 500 years ago. We cannot sell Mother Earth. Today we are returning to and reclaiming our identities, living out the dreams of our ancestors. Indigenous faith is as diverse and as colourful as a garden full of flowers, all diverse, fragrant and beautiful, ready to be shared with whomever is capable of embracing them.”

María Chávez Quispe, Consultant for the Indigenous Peoples Programme, World Council of Churches
The neo-liberal development model is incompatible with universal human rights, including the right to food, adequate housing, decent work, and a dignified standard of living. Not everybody is “born free and equal in dignity and rights”. Not everybody has “the right to life, liberty and security of person” or the right not to be “arbitrarily deprived of (their) property”. And not everybody is enabled “through national effort and international co-operation” to realise “the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality”, as set out in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In fact, the prevailing development model protects markets, applauds the accumulation of capital, and tramples on the rights of poor and small producers. It leaves existing inequalities intact and “distributes injustice”. It violates the relationship with the earth and its resources, it undermines cultural diversity and destroys ancestral traditions, and it breeds violence, squalor and despair. In India alone, government figures suggest that more than 17,000 farmers committed suicide each year between 2002 and 2006 – the causes cited as a combination poor harvests, depleted soils, and unbearable levels of debt because of the spiralling prices of agricultural inputs such as chemical fertilisers and pesticides that are required for the high-yield variety crops promoted during the 1960s Green Revolution. Many of these poor farmers kill themselves by consuming the very inputs that no longer guarantee their crops.

The focus on economic growth views everything in terms of its market value, so everything is a commodity. The inexorable logic is therefore to ignore basic needs and increased inequality where to address these would “interfere” with the market. Social and ecological costs are “externalised” rather than being factored into prices – the rich can consume more by virtue of “cheap prices” that are produced by “cheap labour”.

Despite the rhetoric of “good governance”, democratic rights are thus denied to millions of the world’s citizens.

These trends play out in the areas of land and natural resources in a particularly vivid way – growth, exports, and capital accumulation matter more than whether everyone has enough to eat, whether they have decent work and live in dignified conditions, and whether natural resources are nurtured for the future or are squandered for short-term gain.

Consider the following examples:
- The Indian economy has doubled in the last decade, yet some 600 million Indian citizens live on less than the equivalent of US$1.25 a day – the vast majority of them in the rural areas.
- Worldwide, 25,000 people die each day of hunger-related causes, most of them children.
- In 2011, of the world’s 1210 billionaires, Brazil, China, India, and Russia produced 108 of the 214 new names, and a Mexican remained the wealthiest man on the planet.
- Foreign land grabs are not being made only by trans-national corporations (TNCs) but also by Chinese, Indian and Middle East business interests.

There is nothing natural or accidental about hunger and malnutrition. They are the result of decades of promoting and sustaining the agro-industrial model in which small producers and indigenous peoples are seen as a barrier to “progress”, and are therefore regarded as expendable, along with their knowledge, cultures, and traditions. These communities are therefore
seldom consulted on how they currently use the land, water, forests and other natural resources – or, if they are, their views hold little weight in negotiations about future use. Customary rights and even their legal entitlements are ignored as their lands are diverted to other uses – or are sold off to foreign interests.

For one nation to base its own economic security on deepening inequality and the dispossession of poor people in another nation (or in another part of the same nation) is not only unjust, it is also inherently unsustainable. For dispossessed communities to win the struggle against hunger and land poverty is also the surest way to protect the planet.

According to FoodFirst Information and Action Network (FIAN) 80% of the cases in which the Right to Food is violated come down to access to land and natural resources. The expropriation and pollution of resources in the relentless pursuit of modernisation are both a symptom and a cause of the denial of people’s rights “on a massive scale”. Land grabs are accelerating “as the global system seeks to maintain its hegemony” in the context of its need to find alternatives to fossil fuels and to meet the growing demand for food. At the same time, substantial subsidies enable large US and EU agro-industries to undercut small producers in their own countries and on the global market.

This is placing unsustainable demands on the planet’s eco-systems while also depriving small and landless farmers of their ability to produce and market their own crops – yet without providing them with alternative decent employment or an affordable source of food.

This process is what fuels the exodus of the rural poor to the towns and cities, where they join the millions of urban poor, more often than not ending up living in indecent, insalubrious slums, destitute or with only precarious employment. International migration is another option – entire communities from Mexico or El Salvador to Indonesia, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka now depend on remittances from family members who have left their families, even their children, to work as domestic servants in the Gulf States, as agricultural labourers in the USA, or as nurses in the UK.

By the time these 99-year land leases are up, three generations will have passed. Entire communities and their way of life will have been destroyed forever. The only alternative, as advocated in the Declaration of the 2011 World Social Forum, is:

- An immediate end to large-scale land transactions
- Rescind any deals that have already been signed
- Restore expropriated lands to the communities whose livelihoods depended upon them

**Development choices are political – economic forces are not inevitable, but are the result of deliberately choosing one set of policies rather than another.** Similarly, the abuses of human rights such as the right to food and to decent work are not accidental, but are the logical outcome of decisions about how the global economy should be run – and the values it embodies. **The degradation of human beings leads inexorably to the degradation of the planet.**

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“Human rights are the result of the struggles of the peoples against oppression, discrimination and abuses of power.

The recent intensification of land- and natural-resource grabbing – as an integral part of the attempts to solve the crisis of the hegemonic model – is being resisted by peoples and social movements, who point to an alternative model to feed the world and to arrest global warming. They demand that governments should prevent land grabs and establish public regulation of access to land, water, natural resources and indigenous territories.”

— Flavio Luiz Schieck Valente, FIAN International Secretary General
From the 1980s onwards, via economic structural adjustment and similar disciplinary measures, developing – i.e. mainly rural-based – and transition economies were compelled to deregulate their trade and remove restrictions on capital flows in order to increase exports and obtain foreign direct investment (FDI). To all intents and purposes, the adoption of these market-led economic reforms made abandoning the notion of “the developmental state” a condition of entry into the WTO.

Soon, countries were competing with each other by deregulating, privatising, “rolling back the state”, slashing public services, and reducing taxes – thereby limiting their capacity to meet their social obligations. Access to public services and infrastructure such as schools, healthcare, and roads all became subject to “user fees”, while utilities were sold off or organised as “public–private partnerships”. Keeping down wages in the interests of being “competitive” depressed domestic markets, and left workers in the export sector vulnerable to fluctuations in global markets over which their own governments had no control.

At the same time, governments stopped investing in the rural areas and in small-scale agriculture. This was only partly because of lack of public funds. The main reason was that the IMF and the World Bank and leading development agencies insisted that increased trade (and more exports) would enable them to import food, so they no longer needed to invest in producing it.

The promise was that greater corporate involvement in agriculture would reduce the need for state investment, increase efficiency and hasten technological improvements. What has happened instead is that agro-industrial profits have soared, while countries that were previously self-reliant in staple foods have become food-insecure – having to spend precious foreign exchange on food imports.

In parallel with this, from the 1970s, the OECD economies grew increasingly dependent on the financial sector and shifted their manufacturing to poorer countries. For example, between 1960 and 2006 the US GDP grew 27-fold, total debt and household debt both increased 64 times, and debt by financial companies by 409 times. By the time of the financial collapse in 2008, income distribution in the USA was as badly skewed as it was before the Great Depression.

This is why financial companies are now seeking to place their assets in land, which has accentuated fluctuations in food prices, with terrible social consequences. Consumers have reduced access to affordable food when the prices go up and producers have reduced livelihood and farm earnings when the prices go down. Rising food prices have also generated political instability in the form of food riots.

Poverty is endemic in countries that are predominantly rural, but whose agricultural sector is under-developed and chronically under-resourced. Whether by large national companies or by speculative foreign interests, the expropriation of their land – often people’s only asset – exploits the economic and political powerlessness of small and landless farmers. More often than not, national governments actively favour corporate investment over the rights of small farmers.

Seeking to accelerate agricultural development by allowing large private-sector firms to consolidate control over land and natural resources will – as a matter of policy – entail the dispossession of access to land by local small farming communities.

“For the majority of people, land is not just an alternative asset class for the purposes of protecting the value of wealth. It is the source of food and livelihood; it defines a household’s role and place in the economy; it is the basis of identity and status in society.

While wealthy individuals and corporations might still treat land as an alternative asset class, this must take second place to the right of all members of society to have access to land and to a livelihood.”

— Manuel Montes, Chief Economist, UNDESA
There is a need to reconsider the place of export-oriented strategies that rely on low wages and vulnerable livelihoods as a means of attracting private investment. Without firm regulations in place, the role of private investment is to maximise profit. Placing rights – including both the access to land and other natural resources, and to decent rural livelihoods – at the centre of the economy will require the state to reclaim and be equipped to perform its legitimate functions of ensuring equity and providing social protection for the most vulnerable. This would include enhancing citizens’ economic literacy, and also the political will and the capacity to regulate the size and concentration of land ownership.

“Poverty is concentrated in the rural areas because the current development model does not reward small farmers for the sustainable management of resources, and makes it increasingly difficult if not impossible for them to live from their labour. This is what lies behind the paradox of rural hunger. Of course, land titles are not sufficient. Titles that are not accompanied by proper support – credit, technical extension and so on – become unviable. Farmers become indebted, they sell up, and join the rural exodus. Women are particularly discriminated against both in terms of land ownership and in access to this kind of support – so women will not automatically benefit from land-titling and support programmes of agricultural support without deliberate efforts to ensure that they do. To win the battle against hunger is also the key to protecting the planet.”

―Olivier de Schutter, UN Rapporteur on the Right to Food

Despite the mantra that small-scale and peasant agriculture is inherently inefficient and risk-averse, research shows that large-scale farming is not necessarily more efficient or more innovative. Although of course the definition of what is “small scale” varies by crop and by geographical region, empirical research suggests that investment spending and technological innovation by small farmers is critical in improving agricultural productivity, securing rural livelihoods, and protecting the environment.

But small farmers can only make such investments if they have predictable and protected access to land, and stable – and affordable – access to agricultural inputs and to markets. Five factors militate against this.

a - Land ownership is highly skewed in most parts of the world

In Latin America, it is estimated that 66% of the land is in the hands of just 1.5% of its owners. In Paraguay, the concentration of land ownership greatly exceeds the concentration of income or wealth. In Haiti, wealth is concentrated in just six families. In El Salvador, the infamous “14 families”, the oligarchs of the 19th and 20th centuries, owned the good quality land on which the main exports of coffee, cotton, and sugarcane were grown – peasant farmers had to eke out a living on the eco-fragile mountainsides, thus accelerating deforestation. (Today, even these 14 families are now reduced to eight conglomerates, mostly in the financial sector.) As a result, with 100,000 people affected by torrential rains and mudslides in 2011, and crops destroyed, the UN classifies Central America as one of the regions most affected by climate change.

In other parts of the world, inheritance laws have resulted in landholdings becoming ever more fragmented. In Bangladesh and China, average landholdings are less than half a hectare; in Ethiopia and Malawi they average around 0.8 hectares. In India, the average size has dropped from 2.6 hectares in 1960 to 1.6 hectares in 2000 – and is still falling, as it is elsewhere in Southeast Asia. And yet land ownership is increasingly concentrated. Such inequality in land distribution is one of the main reasons for the decline in agricultural production in countries like the Philippines.

b - Rural women are particularly disadvantaged

According to UN Women, although women perform two-thirds of the world’s work and produce half of its food, they earn 10% of the income and own only 1% of the property relating to agriculture. In some regions, women produce 90% of the food and provide 70% of agricultural labour, and yet are not represented in budget deliberations. The International Fund for Agriculture and Development (IFAD) calculates that in “the developing world” as a whole, women own less than 2% of the land.

Laws and customs regarding inheritance and marriage tend to discriminate against women, with the result that women own less property and have less access to markets than do men. In Uganda, although women are primarily responsible for agricultural production, they own only 5% of
the land, and their rights over the land they farm are generally precarious. In Malawi, widows lose their land to the family of the deceased. In India, the Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) has pushed for women to be recognised as co-owners of the household’s land, which prevents men from selling it from under their feet.

c - Agrarian reform has dropped off the global agenda

First, the elites command the resources to prevent agrarian reform getting beyond the statute book. Attempts by landless farmers to seize idle land or to protect areas against prospectors are met with brutal violence: since December 2009, some 50 peasant activists have been killed in the Bajo Aguán region of Honduras, which is where the mono-crop export plantations are centred. And almost 1000 environmentalists were murdered in the Brazilian Amazon between 1985 and May 2011, since when another six have been assassinated and over 200 have received death threats and are under some form of protection – all this on the eve of relaxing laws against deforestation.

Second, influential international agencies have repeated the dogma that small farmers are less productive than large farms, and that they are inherently “risk-averse” and so hold back economic development. National policy makers are led to believe that this must be true, rather than challenging it as an ideological assertion – the facts prove otherwise.

Third, agro-industrial companies have seized the opportunity to cast themselves as part of the technical solution to world hunger and low productivity – while avoiding the need for pro-poor agrarian reform.

These technical solutions, as we saw with the Green Revolution in India, have extremely destructive downsides in terms of over-exploitation of the land leading to the need for ever more chemical inputs, which further deplete the land – referred to as “the pesticide treadmill”. In 2003, then President George Bush proposed an Initiative to End Hunger in Africa using genetically modified (GM) foods. Not only are there grave concerns about whether GM products are safe for human consumption, but the introduction of GM seeds would both destroy traditional farming practices that protect bio-diversity – and lock farmers into having to use chemical inputs.

While on the one hand the Bank admits that modest agrarian reform in situations of extreme inequality could draw small farmers into the market and assist women to gain title, on the other hand it continues to assert, despite abundant evidence to the contrary, that pro-poor redistribution can be achieved via the “free” market. At the same time it is advising “land-rich” countries like Ethiopia to attract large-scale land acquisitions.

d - Competing environmental claims

A further reason why small farming and indigenous communities are being pushed off their ancestral lands and forests is to make way for National Parks or Wildlife Sanctuaries, and for eco-tourism.

In the case of India, the British invested forest conservation in the government. Hence the Forest Department believed it owned the forests and that forest-dwellers were encroaching or trespassing. Following a major challenge on the grounds that the forests originally belonged to those who live there, the Forest Rights Act, 2006 confers some legal rights and entitlements to forest-dwelling communities – rights that many of these communities have yet to realise in practice.

People in marginal areas may be pushed out of their homes to make way for new urban development or for industrial parks or factories. Unless they have formal legal title, they will receive no financial compensation – and the compensation is in any case usually inadequate. They are offered no assistance with finding new employment or adapting their traditional skills, and literally have nowhere to go.

Millions of people worldwide are forced out of their ancestral lands to make way for hydro-electric dams, or to expand the road networks. Or they sell up because they have debts or other expenses to pay. There is often a “carrot and stick” approach, whereby they are harassed and pressured into selling, but also promised that there will be jobs, schools, decent housing, etc. Only after it is too late do they find out that they have been cheated and that their livelihoods are now even more precarious than before.

“  The story of the living hedge

A hedgerow harbours and sustains many creatures – birds, mammals, reptiles, and insects – and is therefore an essential part of the life cycle. A prosperous
family farm had many such hedges on its land. At one point the grand-
children discussed getting rid of the hedges. The grandfather was opposed,
but the younger generation argued that without the hedges they could
invest in machinery to cut and bale the grass more quickly. After many
quarrels, they won the day and the hedges were uprooted. But without
the hedges, the land was quickly eroded and production declined. In the
end, the farm went to pieces and the family fell apart.
The story illustrates the interdependence of a healthy social environment
and sound agricultural practices.93

Patrick Hohmann, Founder and Director, Remei AG

Compensation and rehabilitation need to be an essential component
of any land deals involving displacement or expropriation. It is not only
small farmers who depend on the land and its resources, but also many
millions of home-based workers and others in the informal economy in urban
and peri-urban as well as rural areas. They use land to graze livestock and
for fuel and water for homes and small businesses.

e - Support for small farmers

There is a difference between legal title to land and assured access
to. Neither of them is a panacea – rural poverty and hunger are a reality
for many millions of people who work the land. Title and access need to
be accompanied by a level of organisational capacity on the part of the
farmers and other users of resources such as forest fruits, medicinal plants,
land for grazing and watering livestock, water for washing, cooking, and
swimming – women as well as men. This is exactly the kind of grassroots
organisational support and inspiration that Ekta Parishad and SEWA are
providing in the case of India, Movimento Sem Terra (MST) in Brazil, and the
many other members of La Via Campesina in countries around the globe.

There is also a need for impartial technical and financial support, such
as credit, to guarantee the right to produce in decent and dignified condi-
tions – these might be government-run extension services supplemented
by access to credit via microfinance organisations or from a local deve-
lopment bank. A poorly regulated private for-profit sector cannot provide
comprehensive and impartial support.

Conference participants discussed a wide range of ways in which
to mobilise for land rights, and specifically in solidarity with Jan Satyagraha
2012. These are set out below, moving from the local to the global – but
it was emphasised that achieving a new, non-violent model of political
action and of development itself depends on working at all of these levels
simultaneously.

Flavio Valente, the General-Secretary of FIAN, articulates the core
principles and messages of a global platform on the right to food and the
rights of small farmers as follows:
- Decent and dignified rural livelihoods before profit
- Food sovereignty and the right to food at the heart of every national policy
- Land grabs violate the rights of small farmers and foreclose on national
food sovereignty
- The rights of peasant farmers, indigenous peoples, fishing communities,
nomads and landless rural workers to land, water, forests and other natural
resources
- Small-scale agro-ecological farming – not agro-industry – is the way to
protect food sovereignty, rural employment, bio-diversity and to reverse
climate change

Although these principles and messages play out at different levels,
each one illustrates the dynamic linkages between the local and the global.
For instance, the principle of putting decent and dignified rural livelihoods
before profit requires action from the household and community level right
through to the WTO trade rules – these are not issues that can be resolved
either solely by grassroots action or solely by changes in formal policy.

The purpose of global solidarity is to bring the different levels together,
to bring about the synergies that will make them more than the sum of their
parts in order to achieve social and economic justice for all.
This makes it essential both to situate every local action within the wider economic and political context – and to ensure that policy-level advocacy on land and livelihood rights is firmly grounded in the perspectives of those whose livelihoods and cultural identities depend on land and natural resources.

α - Organisation and Mobilisation

We focus here on two organisations of landless and marginalised rural communities, Ekta Parishad in India and the Movement of Landless Workers (MST) in Brazil.

Ekta Parishad provides a social forum in which marginalised women and men from the grassroots come together to create – and expand – the space for non-violent political action to demand their rights. In his statements, Rajagopal draws out the links between global policies and trends and what happens at the local level, and between grassroots mobilisation and global solidarity.

“...In the 21st century, more than a billion human beings suffer chronic hunger and malnutrition. Twenty-five per cent of the world’s population consumes 85% of its available resources – already 30% more than the earth is capable of replenishing.

Farmers make up half of the world’s population, the vast majority of whom work solely by hand. Guaranteeing these women and men decent conditions in which to live and work lies at the heart of sustainable development. And yet land, water, seeds, forests and minerals – the common goods of humanity – are being monopolised by private, for-profit investors, either with the active consent of governments or through their incapacity.

Across the planet, local subsistence agriculture is being displaced by mining and forest exploitation, large-scale dams, tourist zones, hyper-intensive mono-crop farms of transgenic or genetically modified (GM) products or bio-fuels for export – by national and trans-national corporate interests. The expropriation of our land for such uses is growing daily.

Parallel to this the influx of foods into the markets of the South, which are produced by subsidised and agri-industrial methods, is ruining local farmers.

Many groups are now converging around this issue of land and livelihood rights – indigenous peoples who are being dispossessed throughout the Global South and losing their traditional culture, women and youth who most often bear the brunt of landless poverty, and low-income urban dwellers for whom the problems of climate change and food sovereignty are becoming ever more urgent.

The time has come for a global coalition focused on land and livelihood rights in the broadest sense. The rationale for this is also clear: since the problems are international in scope, pressure must be brought to bear on the international agencies that promote and support this development model.

Although the Global South must take the lead, there is an important role for coalitions in the Global North. At the same time, as national governments are colluding in this process with the international corporate sector, the democratic space for people-centred development is being eroded and marginalised. Thus the global coalition should have its base in grassroots people’s organisations in every country.”

...Rajagopal P. V., President, Ekta Parishad

The contribution by Maria Salete Carollo of the Brazilian Movement of Landless Workers – Movimento Sem Terra (MST) – sets out the basic principles of their work over almost 30 years.

These principles on Leadership, Social Organisation, and the Qualities of an Activist are particularly valuable to bear in mind in developing a global solidarity network.

Leadership
- Collective not individual
- Devolve responsibilities and functions as broadly as possible
- Respect collective decisions and commitments
- Plan activities, from establishing resources and timetables to evaluation
- Criticism and self-criticism from the top down is the only way to identify and correct mistakes – as long as it is done in a respectful and transparent way
- Study – there is always more to learn and it grounds the leadership in reality
- Connect with the grassroots, sharing challenges and celebrating success
Social organisation
- Grassroots work with landless people and their families to raise debate and awareness
- Mass mobilisation is essential and should frame negotiations
- Develop a new generation of leaders and activists by sharing skills and experience
- Engage with people’s deep feelings about change, their social values (e.g. solidarity), cultural activities and symbols
- Everyone’s daily behaviour should be informed by the ethos of solidarity, equality, and social justice
- Nobody has a monopoly on truth, so there needs to be constant discussion and exchange of ideas at all levels, challenging any sense of superiority among the leaders
- Financial independence is critical to any social organisation – we must stand on our own two feet

b - Civil Society Action

The success of small actions depends on acts of solidarity across civil society.

*Jan Satyagraha 2012* provides an umbrella for civil society organisations (CSOs) around the world – social movements, unions, religious organisations, and academic institutions – to **challenge the status quo and to stand up for social and economic justice at the local, national, regional, and global level**. It is an opportunity for each and every person to shape what constitutes responsible growth, responsible production, and responsible consumption within the framework of equitable and sustainable development.

Some CSOs, such as development NGOs, traditionally channel resources to improve the situation of people living in poverty or who suffer discrimination and exclusion. Such support can be valuable, although as María Chávez Quispe warned, it can also demobilise social movements, foster dependencies, and create new elites. Well used, however, it also provides the necessary legitimacy for these NGOs to speak out against poverty and injustice.

So the far greater challenge is to **act in solidarity** with people’s right to exercise control over the natural resources on which their livelihoods and way of life depend now and into the future. And this starts with commitment and action at the personal level, whether we live in the Global South or in the Global North.

In addition to simultaneous marches, sit-ins, and other events around the world to highlight *Jan Satyagraha 2012*, specific acts and areas of solidarity identified by conference participants include:
- Mapping and linking up with existing activist networks to make common cause
- Learning from successful coalition-based campaigns such as Jubilee 2000, which acted as an umbrella for organisations in over 40 countries worldwide calling for cancellation of the Third World debt by 2000.
- Encouraging existing human rights organisations, e.g. Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and its national and local chapters, to engage with the land and food rights agenda.
- Promoting fair pricing systems that links what producers earn and what consumers pay for their produce – especially among urban consumers whose connection with the land and with producers is more tenuous.
- Supporting sustainable food production, and reducing “food miles” by buying locally.
- “Making noise” in the mainstream media, identifying sympathetic journalists and making imaginative use of relevant story “pegs” – e.g. International Women’s Day (8 March), International Land Day (17 April), International Day of the World’s Indigenous People (9 August), International Day of Non-Violence (2 October), International Food Day (16 October), and Human Rights Day (10 December).
- Highlighting *Jan Satyagraha 2012* by organising local or national events timed to coincide with it, e.g. The Meal on 15 September 2012.
- Making use of New Social Media, e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Wikis, and mobile phone applications to reach a wider – and younger – audience.
- Engaging “celebrities” – but with caution!
- Working with education professionals on curriculum development.
- Challenging political representatives, e.g. parliamentary candidates and existing MPs and MEPs on issues regarding food sovereignty and land rights.
The Meal
15 September 2012: international solidarity for a just world

The theme
Mother Earth, Pachamama, Terre nourricière.

The concept
That people around the world join in holding a collective meal in their villages, neighbourhoods, towns and cities, using local produce.

The aim
To support small farmers everywhere and to advocate for food sovereignty and the rights of indigenous peoples to natural resources: land, water, forests and seeds.

---Michel Baumann, The Meal, Ekta Support Group, Geneva

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C - Alternative consumption

Farmers need land, but they also need to get a fair return on their investment. Often, however, they end up selling below cost price – either because they cannot afford to wait for prices to go up, or because they are undercut by intermediaries. Consumers also need food that is affordable and also of good quality. Yet the prices they pay are often many times more than the producers receive.

The prevailing agro-industrial model externalises its environmental and social costs – which means that poor treatment of agricultural workers, inhumane treatment of animals, or the overuse of natural resources are not factored into the cost. Of course the corporate sector makes every effort to hide anything that might damage consumer confidence. The driving force is shareholder profit and speculation on the global market rather than long-term sustainability or equity.

The fair and alternative trade movements seek to change relations between producers and consumers in two main ways. First, they guarantee producers a fair price (sometimes 70% more than they can command on the conventional market), which protects them from predatory intermediaries and from the fluctuations of the global commodities market. Second, they pass the extra cost of protecting producers on to those consumers who are able and willing to pay a premium for fairly traded goods.

The Alter Eco brand goes further than this. It also rates products on whether they are organic (“bio”), their carbon footprint, and the “triple bottom line” (social, economic, and environmental impact) – and of course on quality. It applies the criteria of a “non-violent economy” to all food production and consumption, whether the food is produced in the South or in the North.

Small producers face comparable problems across the globe. All small producers face fluctuating prices for agricultural inputs and competition from intensive mono-crop farming, with the result that they often sell at below the cost of production. Some 90% of smallholdings in the North have disappeared in the last 50 years as agricultural and livestock farmers struggle to make a decent living or compete with agro-industries. Similarly, landholdings are increasingly concentrated in the South – which pushes small and landless farmers to try their fortunes in the towns and cities.

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“An equitable and sustainable ‘agro-ecological’ model would:

- Be based on a non-violent economy that embodies respect for the environment and for the quality of life.
- Combine traditional knowledge and modern techniques.
- Privilege good quality and livelihood-enhancing produce.
- Support organic farming practices and short market circuits, thus producing local food that is healthier – and tastier.
- Establish small farms as a living eco-system.
- Favour collective structures, such as cooperatives.
- Base prices on the costs of production, thus allowing a transparent relationship between the producer and the consumer.
- Demonstrate that responsible production and responsible consumption are two sides of the same coin, placing values above profit for its own sake.”

---Laurent Muratet, Director of Marketing & Communications, Alter Eco
d - National Policies

Governments must have the policy space to determine their own development paths and the kinds of jobs and livelihoods created in their economy. In order to achieve food sovereignty, national economies need to move from a dependence on export-led growth towards creating jobs and supporting the agricultural sector – which will boost the domestic market.

Financial and asset markets have to be re-regulated and geared towards production, job creation, and food sovereignty. There must be effective and transparent national regulation to control speculation in land and food prices.

Nations should not compete with each other for access to global markets or for foreign direct investment by the private sector. Regional cooperation coupled with reforms at the level of global governance (e.g. the WTO rules) are the only way to prevent capital from seeking out less regulated jurisdictions. Stronger cooperation among states on issues of corporate taxation and tax evasion will help to close off “tax havens” for foreign investors.

States must also respect the rights of citizens to participate in economic policy making at the local, national, regional, and global levels.

e - Global Economic Policies

Economic and trade rules need to be subordinated to transparent, democratic politics – it is unfair, for example, that large and powerful players such as the USA and the EU continue to subsidise their agricultural sector while at the same time insisting that weaker countries open up their markets and remove any protections for their own agricultural sector.

The results of such double standards in relation to food sovereignty can be seen in the case of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In 1992, as a condition of joining NAFTA, Mexico abolished the 50% tariff on maize imports from Canada and the USA. The USA in turn promised to abolish subsidies to US farmers. But then the US Congress approved bills ensuring that US grain producers receive on average between 40% and 50% of all their income from government subsidies. This means that the Mexican market is flooded with subsidised US grain, against which Mexican producers lack protection or compensation. Mexican food sovereignty has been undermined, the exodus from the rural areas has accelerated, and companies are buying up valuable land.

Rather, it is the global economy and specifically the terms of international trade, embodied in the WTO rules, that need to be changed. The terms of Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) also need to be scrutinised for their potentially negative impacts on the weakest economies covered by the treaty.

There is a need for mechanisms of global governance that can hold TNCs accountable for their impact on human rights and on the world’s eco-systems, and not merely to the short-term interests of their shareholders. Financial speculation needs to be strictly controlled and “windfalls” taxed.

Development tries to deal with the symptoms of an economic system that is built upon and sustains inequity. The development industry cannot address the underlying causes since it is itself a product of the same economic system. To focus attention on aid, whether official or non-governmental charitable donations, is therefore beside the point.

Global advocacy on specific development policies might therefore include:

- Lobbying for the Voluntary Guidelines on Land Tenure, Fisheries and Forests to contain provisions to prohibit large-scale appropriation and concentration of land, water and other natural resources.
- Exposing the Principles for Responsible Agricultural Investment (RAI) as no more than an attempt to make “social rape” and the violation of international human rights law responsible by codifying them – even its proponents have found no “winners” among those experiencing “land grabs”.
- Rallying support for the position outlined in the Declaration of the 2011 World Social Forum in Dakar in February 2011, which stated: “We support sustainable peasant agriculture; it is the true solution to the food and climate crises and includes access to land for all who work on it. Because of this, we call for a mass mobilisation to stop the land grab and support local peasants’ struggles”.
- Pushing for a UN Convention on Peasant Rights.
- Supporting the Robin Hood Tax on the banking sector and the Tobin Tax on cross-currency transactions, reinvesting these tax revenues in sustainable farming aimed at national food sovereignty and in measures to counter dangerous climate change.
- Supporting the ILO Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, agreed in 1989, which recognises and protects tribal peoples’ land ownership rights, and sets a set of minimum UN standards regarding consultation and consent.
International mobilisation conference on The Right to Land and Livelihood

The right of agricultural producers and indigenous peoples to access to land and other natural resources to support their livelihoods, the right to food sovereignty, and the need to nurture the earth’s eco-systems is a global and not a confrontational North–South agenda. It is vital that organisations and other actors around the world engage with this agenda as and where they can be most effective. For some, this will mean focusing on policy advocacy at the inter-governmental level, for others it may be publishing scholarly articles, organising events to raise public awareness, or working in their local community.

In the final analysis, organised political action is the only effective way to challenge the structures that create, reinforce – and benefit from – poverty and the concentration of power and resources. Although the space for popular mobilisation and freedom of expression may be narrowing – labour unions and their members, for instance, are under severe threat in many parts of the world – in the words of Rajagopal, the President of Ekta Parishad, “people’s aspirations cannot wait forever”. Organised, non-violent struggle and dialogue is the only way in which to turn people’s hopes and rights into reality.

chapter 7 - A final note

appendix 1 - Brief profiles of Ekta Parishad and Ekta Europe

Ekta Parishad

Ekta Parishad (meaning “Unity” and “Forum” or “Space” in Hindi) is a non-violent, Gandhian-inspired, social movement working on land and forest rights in India. Since its beginnings in 1990, it has grown from the local, to the state, to the national and, increasingly, to the international level. The social movement aims to put pressure directly on the central government to implement pro-poor reform and structural change, in particular comprehensive land redistribution to enable the marginalised and downtrodden to achieve self-reliance by overcoming poverty.

The founding President of Ekta Parishad is Rajagopal P. V., the son of a Gandhian worker. After studying agriculture at Seva Gram in Wardha, in the early 1970s he worked in a violence-ridden area of Madhya Pradesh, helping to rehabilitate dacoits (armed robbers or bandits). Rajagopal subsequently travelled to several tribal areas and developed an understanding of the plight and needs of India’s tribal people. Their cause became part of his lifetime mission. Various training organisations he set up across Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, and Orissa were consolidated as a people’s organisation, Ekta Parishad, in 1991. This organisation is focused on popular control over livelihood resources in an environment where powerful interests are buying up or taking out long leases on large areas of land – the so-called “land grabs”, and where the rights of forest dwellers and users are not being respected. This situation makes the Gandhian vision of the advancement of self-reliant communities and local governance even more challenging.

With around 200,000 members (majority women) across six states, Ekta Parishad began using Gandhi’s technique of marching on foot as a means to galvanise greater support among the poor. Having already undertaken 10 foot-marches at the state level, in October 2007 Rajagopal led a national
Comprehensive land reform – giving the poor access to land – could bring 40% of India’s population out of absolute poverty and reduce substantially the violence that is gripping Indian society. One of Ekta Parishad’s greatest successes is in providing a social space in which people can come together to demand their rights. It is never easy, and may not always be possible, for a marginalised individual such as a single woman living in poverty, or a bonded labourer, to stand up for their rights – even if they are in fact rights-bearers whose rights are supposedly enshrined in law. Ekta Parishad is guarding the democratic space by bringing groups together in a mass organisation, thus constantly reminding the government that it is a duty-bearer – its role as set out in the Independence Declaration and the Constitution is to ensure that all citizens of India enjoy their basic human rights and freedoms.

_For more information, visit: www.ektaparishad.com_

**Ekta Europe**

_Ekta Europe (EE) is an open network of independent organisations and individuals based across Europe. Members provide moral, political, and financial support to Ekta Parishad, India in its struggle to assist poor rural people to achieve control over their means of livelihood such as water, land, and forest – using non-violence as a means to bring about change. In particular it supports organisations like Ekta Parishad, India who work towards the empowerment of disadvantaged people by applying and advocating non-violent, Gandhian-inspired methods for change. The support can take the form of raising European awareness, fundraising, participating in relevant activities, and supporting projects. Membership is defined by active participation in the activities of Ekta Europe that is carried out in this spirit.

_For more information, visit: www.ektaeurope.org_

The Right to Land and Livelihood

_The Right to Land and Livelihood_

_In a world of contrasts – growing interdependence side by side with growing inequalities between and within countries – this conference seeks to explore the ways that non-violent grassroots mobilisation is defending rights, promoting social justice and providing a viable route to sustainable development. Even economies which are benefiting from globalisation and have growing industrial and high-tech sectors also have significant rural populations who rely for their basic livelihood on agriculture and the resources of the land. Poverty and discrimination are persistent, especially for the landless and for indigenous groups. Corruption and inequality are a breeding ground for violence by the powerful as well as by some of the radical groups who oppose them.

This conference is focused on presenting, analysing and building support for non-violent alternative models for democratic policy, economic and social change. It will draw on the experiences of non-violent land rights movements such as Ekta Parishad in India and grassroots movements in other countries of South East Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The conference objectives are to:

- examine research and policy as well as evidence from activists on the impact of economic globalisation processes, particularly in rural areas of developing and transition countries;
- support and develop peace-building initiatives and strategies for non-violent social, economic and political change;
- promote land rights and local community control of natural resources as a route to food security, decent work and sustainable development;
- identify the gender implications of unequal access to resources and promote the empowerment of women;
- raise public awareness and gain political, institutional and financial support for the Right to Land agenda with specific reference to Jan Satyagraha – March for Justice 2012, organised by Ekta Parishad.

The conference will invite participation from:
- international and national NGOs and activists organisations working on land rights, food security, livelihood support, and development;
- United Nations organisations and Geneva-based missions to the UN;
- parliaments and development ministries;
- research institutions;
- the national and international media.

Jan Satyagraha 2012

_A new march, “Jan Satyagraha – the March for Justice” – is being planned for 2012 which will bring together 100,000 poor villagers, adivasis, dalits and other landless peasants from many Indian states in what will be the largest ever non-violent action for land, water and forest rights.

The marchers will walk the 350 km distance from Gwalior to Delhi to present the following demands to the government:
- Effective, time-bound implementation of the Forest Rights Act of 2006.
- Reformulating relevant acts and policies to ensure they are pro-poor and making the state accountable for policies and programmes affecting the marginalised.
- Addressing the grievances of the displaced and dispossessed, with special attention to the needs of women.
- Advocating for women’s empowerment in the context of sustainable development.
- Genuine decentralisation of power with local control of resources, as proposed in the Forest Rights Act.
- Shift from large-scale industrial development to a people-centred, rural economy.
- Mechanisms to regulate the transfer of natural resources to corporate entities in order to protect the poor.

Conference rationale

_The conference organisers call for the recognition of a development approach that is structurally non-violent and that places human rights and community control of resources at the heart of the development process. Lessons will be drawn from the history of non-violent mass action in India to illustrate how it can help advance the sustainable development agenda._

Organising committee

Margrit Hugentobler, Coordinator of Ekta Europe (Conference leader and President of CESCI Support Association, Switzerland)
Alan Leather, Executive Board member, Action Village India, UK
Aye Aye Win, Co-founder and former Executive Director of Dignity International
Jill Carr-Harris, Coordinator of Advocacy and Public Policy, Ekta Parishad
Altaï de Saint Albin, International Communications, Ekta Parishad (Bhopal office)
Küde Meier, Cashier, CESCI Support Association
Marie Bohner, Conference coordinator, OHE
Monday 12 September

Opening ceremony

_Welcome remarks
Margrit Hugentobler, Coordinator, Ekta Europe
Rajagopal P. V., President and Founder, Ekta Parishad, India
Caroline Morel, Director, Swissaid

_Keynote addresses
Olivier De Schutter, UN Rapporteur on the Right to Food – video message
Flavio Valente, Secretary General, FIAN (FoodFirst Information Action Network)

_Inequality, poverty and the land crisis

_Facilitator
Jill Carr-Harris, Coordinator of Advocacy and Public Policy, Ekta Parishad

_Speakers
Jean Feyder, Ambassador of the Permanent Mission of Luxembourg to the UN, Geneva
Nadjirou Sall, Deputy Secretary General CNCR (National Council for Concertation and Cooperation of the Rurals), ROPPA member (Network of West African Peasant Organisations and Agricultural Producers)
Karima Delli, Member of the European Parliament
Christian Comeliau, Development economist

Grass roots mobilisation, non-violent action for rights and justice

_Facilitator
Aye Aye Win, Former Executive Director and Founder, Dignity International

_for registered participants: cultural dinner “Mohan Se Mahatma”

Gauri Kulkarni is dancing the key episodes in Gandhiji’s life which were crucial in his transformation from a common man to a Mahatma (great soul). Since 1996 Gauri has performed this dance drama more than 750 times around the world. She is one of the grass root artists groomed by Ekta lokala manch, the artist wing of Ekta Parishad.

Tuesday 13 September

Sustainable production, work conditions and equitable distribution

_Facilitator: Margrit Hugentobler

_Keynote speech: Rehana Riyawala, SEWA (Self-Employment Women’s Association, India)

_Speakers
Manuel Montes, Chief Economist, UNDESA (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs)
Patrick Hohmann, Founder and Director, Remei AG
Laurent Muratet, Director for Marketing and Communications, Alter Eco

_The role of international development agencies and NGOs

_Facilitator: Alan Leather, Board Member, Action Village India, UK

_Panel discussion
Nadia Saracini, Senior Policy and Advocacy Officer, Christian Aid, UK
Sarah Mader, Desk Officer for India and Myanmar, Swissaid
Ruchi Tripathi, Head of the Right to Food, Action Aid
Stefan Germann, Director for Partnerships & Research, Global Health and WASH team, World Vision
Manfred Kaufmann, Programme Manager, SDC (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation)
Duncan Pruett, Land Rights Advisor, Oxfam International

Planning for Jan Satyagraha 2012

_Presentation of the mobilisation agenda
Rajagopal P. V.

Workshops around Jan Satyagraha

_WS 1_Advocacy and mobilisation
_Facilitator: Fintan Farrel, Director, EAPN (European Anti Poverty Network)

_Introductory remark
Thea Gelbspan, Coordinator of the Social Movement Working Group, ESCR-Net (International Network for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)
Corina Van der Laan, Strategic Policy Advisor to the Human Rights, Gender, Good Governance and Humanitarian Aid Department of the MFA, Netherlands Government
Sue Longley, Representative IUF (International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers’ Associations)

_WS 2_Resource mobilisation
_Facilitator: Jill Carr-Harris

_Introductory remarks
Duncan Pruett
Ester Wolf, Development policies, Bread for All

Jan Satyagraha 2012

_Presentation of action plans by workshop reporters
_Discussion and adoption of the mobilisation agenda
Aye Aye Win and Alan Leather

Closing Remarks
Rajagopal P. V. and Margrit Hugentobler

appendix 4 -
Conference participants

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Organisations supporting the conference:

CESCI Support Association, DANIDA (Danish Government), MINBUZA (The Netherlands Government), SDC (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation), Action Aid, Remei AG, Swissaid, World Vision, Freunde von Ekta Parishad, Solidarité, Action Village India

In collaboration with: ESCR-Net, World Council of Churches, Ekta Support Group Geneva, Christian Aid, Geneva Canton