

**HRtAFN REPORT 2019:
AUTHORITARIANISM,
HUNGER AND
DENIAL OF RIGHTS**

EXECUTIVE SUMARY



FIAN
BRASIL

Credits: This Executive Summary has been based on the HRtAFN Report 2019: Authoritarianism, Hunger and Denial of Rights, which describes the violations of the HRtAFN currently taking place in Brazil. It has been issued by FIAN Brasil (Organization for the Human Right to Adequate Food and Nutrition), in partnership with FBSSAN (Brazilian Forum on Food and Nutrition Sovereignty and Security), and the support of Brot für die Welt and MISEREOR.

The information in this summary have been updated up to the first week of August, 2019.

Graphic Design:



INTRODUCTION

The report on the State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World (SOFI), issued in July by UN organizations reveals extreme inequalities all around the globe. The number of people suffering from hunger has increased - there are about 821 million - and, when we use the Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES) combined with an assessment on moderate food insecurity, the numbers rise to about 2 billion people facing food insecurity worldwide. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), released in August, 2019, shows how the hegemonic food systems are responsible for greenhouse gas emissions, and what could be the effects of global warming on Food and Nutrition Security. Such as they are today, the food systems are responsible for what experts are now calling a “global Syndemic²” - the synergy between three pandemics: obesity, under-nutrition and climate change. (SWINBURN et al., 2019).

The statistics are alarming, specially when there is a global tendency for human rights regression and growing corporate influence. Brazil is following and reinforcing that trend. We are now witnessing an unrestricted growth in authoritarianism and neoliberalism and facing their nefarious impacts on democracy and human rights. The soft coup in 2016 has led to serious retrogressions for our democracy and human rights, and those have further deteriorated in the aftermath of the 2018 elections. Now an excluding and unsustainable model of development is dominant.

The goal of our report is to present an study of this crisis regarding the **Human Right to Adequate Food and Nutrition** and food sovereignty. The data shows that the Brazilian government is violating its obligations to respect, protect, promote and provide those rights, as well as the principle of non-regression. Those violations, which are getting worse by the day, affect mainly the impoverished and other vulnerable groups.

It should be noted that this report is an overview of a more comprehensive² document soon to be released at **Fian Brasil's** website.

¹ Syndemic is an aggregation of epidemics which occur at the same time and on the same space, their interactions produce complex deleterious effects and they share causes and social determinants.

² The document has been developed in partnership with the Brazilian Forum on Food and Nutrition Sovereignty and Security (FBS-SAN)

UNSUSTAINABLE FOOD SYSTEMS WHICH DO NOT FEED

Today, there is a global tendency for the agricultural production, the ownership of food and beverage industries, as well as the lands, to end up in the hands of a few companies and individuals. That concentration is directly linked to the prevalence of the three most traded crops worldwide: wheat, corn and soy. The big agribusiness companies have grown integrated with the meat and ultra-processed foods industries³, which has those goods as low priced primary commodities. As a consequence, the changes in our diets and the way our food is being produced, are clearly damaging our health and the environment, which is being harmed beyond its capability to regenerate, which will impair the world's capacity to feed the population, in a sustainable and healthy manner, by 2050 (WILLETT et al., 2019).

As they are today, the food systems are making our diets increasingly unvaried and unhealthy, by causing the exclusion and expropriation, all over the world, of millions of family farmers, indigenous peoples and traditional communities who produce a wide array of goods for their own consumption and the local markets. Those systems are also shaped by unequal power relations. The most powerful are the ones who hold great economic and political power, as is the case of the private sector in alliance with the governments, who often act to conceal the social and environmental flaws of the systems, leading to an increase in social and healthcare inequalities. (IPES-FOOD, 2017).

³ Ultra-processed foods are made with industrialized ingredients, such as soy and milk proteins, meat extracts, substances obtained by the additional processing of oils, fats, carbohydrates and proteins, and materials synthesized from some types of food and other organic sources such as petroleum and coal. If included in the composition of ultra-processed foods, the unprocessed or minimally processed foods are present in a smaller proportion. Many of those synthesized substances are used as food additives to make food last longer, change their color, taste, smell and texture so they become extremely attractive to consumers, reason why these tend to be consumed in excess and end up replacing unprocessed foods in people's diets.

In Brazil:

- Agricultural establishments occupy around 41% of the national territory. (Census of Agriculture/IBGE, 2017). The high concentration of land ownership is a persistent problem, specially in regions controlled by the agribusiness. In the Midwest, for example, establishments with more than a thousand hectares (ha) represent 6% of the total, yet they occupy 71% of the agricultural lands in the region (IBGE, 2017).
- The use of lands to grow crops for the external markets, instead of growing the wide array of foods which comprises Brazil's food culture, is a dangerous trend. From 2000 to 2013, the total area dedicated to grain crops has increased 50.8%, and of soybean cultivation, 116%. On the other hand, during the same period, the amount of land allocated for growing beans, one of the most basic staple foods in Brazilian diet, has decreased 13.2% (FLEXOR, 2019).
- In 2006, 84.36% of the agricultural establishments were owned by family farmers, who supplied 87% of the manioc, 70% of the bean grain, 46% of the corn, 38% of the coffee, 34% of the rice and 58% of the milk produced in Brazil, they also owned 50% of the poultry flock. (IBGE, 2006). Unfortunately, the “family farming” category has been limited in the Census of Agriculture 2017, a change which interrupts a long series of data showing the importance of family farming for the national food production.
- About 60% to 70% of the products consumed by Brazilian families come from the same ten big corporations, such as Unilever, Nestlé, Procter & Gamble and Coca-Cola (SANTOS M.; GLASS, V., 2018).
- The Brazilian corporation, 3G Capital, owns some of the largest food and beverage companies in the world (Ambev, Unilever, Heinz, Kraft Foods, Burger King, among others). Other three Brazilian companies are among the wealthiest in the meat industry (Brasil Foods, JBS and Marfrig) (SANTOS M.; GLASS, V., 2018).
- The concentration of economic wealth is easily converted into political power. Brazil's agribusiness can count with a significant and institutionalized representation in congress: the *Frente Parlamentar da Agropecuária* (FPA, or Parliamentary Agricultural Group) and the newly created *Frente Parlamentar Mista de Alimentação e Saúde* (FPAS, or Mixed Parliamentary Health and Nutrition Group), both led by the ruralist faction in congress, which has clear ties with the sugar industry, among other business alliances.

THE EXPANSION OF THE AGRICULTURAL FRONTIER AND ATTACKS ON LAND REFORM, THE TERRITORIES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Today, the expansion of the agricultural frontier and the reorganization of the real estate market are the main goals of the ruralists and major agribusiness conglomerates in Brazil. From the agribusiness perspective, the creation of indigenous and quilombola (descendants of runaway slaves) reservations, as well as natural reserves and landless people settlements, are obstacles to the acquisition of the lands needed to maintain the circular flow of agribusiness. That is why there have been direct attacks against environmental policies, land reform programs and the native peoples' rights to their lands.

Land Reform⁴

During recent years, the land reform agenda was relentlessly attacked by the conservatives. Temer's administration was responsible for several setbacks in the land reform agenda and Bolsonaro's administration is keeping and expanding the policies of his predecessor.

The Temer administration (2016-2018) can be summarized as a return to the liberal economic agenda and the dismantling of the State. That government, with the *Medida Provisória* (MP, or Provisional Measure) 733/2016, which became law 13.340/2016, has forgiven the debts of farmers who owed the State, relinquishing resources that could have been used to aid 120 thousand landless families (LEITE; CASTRO; SAUER, 2018). Before the soft coup of 2016, Decision 755 of the *Tribunal de Contas da União* (TCU, or Federal Court of Accounts) declared irregular the register of 578 thousand landless families who were already settled and also suspended the selection process for new recipients, the creation of new projects and the settlement of new families. Not a single family was settled during the Temer administration.

On the normative field, Provisional Measure 759/2016, which became law 13.456/2017, became a milestone for the political dismantling of the land reform program. That Provisional

⁴ This item was written based on the article "Políticas públicas para terra e território: um olhar prospectivo sobre os próximos quatro anos no campo brasileiro" (LEITE; TUBINO; SAUER, 2019).

Measure has changed about ten different laws on rural and urban real estate and a dozen articles regarding land reform (LEITE; CASTRO; SAUER, 2018). Its dispositions have changed how families are selected, by requiring that individuals who are interested register themselves in the INCRA (*Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária*, or National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform). Now the register is individualized and settlements have been removed from the classification and are no longer given priority when selecting beneficiaries (LEITE, 2018; LEITE; SAUER, 2017). The Provisional Measure has also modified the Terra Legal Program, which was originally created to regularize occupied public lands in the Amazon with up to a thousand hectares. That law expanded the program to the entire country, increasing the limit to areas with up to 2,500 hectares, and the regularized lands can be bought for no more than 50% of their market value. Those changes demonstrate the privatization agenda behind that Provisional Measure turned into law.

During his campaign in 2018, then candidate Jair Bolsonaro made several statements that showed his utter disregard for government policies on land reform, the struggle for land ownership and the needs of family farmers, he also expressed an interest in criminalizing the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (MST, or Landless Workers' Movement). The nominations of the former coordinator of the Parliamentary Agricultural Group for head of the Ministry of Agriculture (MAPA) and the former president of the *União Democrática Ruralista* (UDR, or Democratic Association of Ruralists) to run the *Secretaria Especial de Assuntos Fundiários* (Especial Department of Real Estate) of the Ministry of Agriculture are a signal political of alliances and indicates the government's support to the entities behind them, namely the ruralists and the agribusiness. Furthermore, some settlement projects have been canceled and the handful of allocation processes in progress have been halted.

Indigenous Lands

- Over 600 indigenous lands are awaiting the State's administrative processes to finally have their boundaries determined. That number represents 58.7% of the 1,113 indigenous lands in the country (CIMI, 2016).
- In 2017, the Time frame thesis⁵, in Recommendation 001/2017 of the AGU (Brazil's Attorney General's Office), has become binding to the entire federal administration. The consequences of adopting the Time frame thesis were a grinding halt to the delimitation process, some of

⁵ The Time frame Thesis, first used in the case of the indigenous lands named Raposa Serra do Sol, established that there is a time frame for recognizing the indigenous peoples rights to their lands, based on the date in which the Federal Constitution was promulgated, which was October 5, 1988. For Brazil's Federal Supreme Court, the rights over their traditional lands can only be obtained if they were actually living in their lands on that date, such requirement does not apply to thousands of cases in which the indigenous peoples had been driven out of their lands and did not file a complaint for whatever reason.

which were in an advanced stage, and an increase in conflicts over land and violence against indigenous peoples in their territories.

- The Constitutional Amendment Proposal (PEC) 215/2000, which proposes to transfer to the National Congress the competence of delimiting and recognizing indigenous lands, creating reserves and registering *quilombola* lands is still being processed. Alongside this PEC there are some bills aiming to put the Time frame Thesis into the Law.

The advance over forests and reserves and threats to the environmental governance

- Brazil has cleared 11% of its forested areas from 1985 to 2017, an area equal to 2.6 times the size of the State of São Paulo. From that total, 61.5% were in the Amazon, 18% in the Cerrado, 11% in the Pantanal and 9.5% in the Caatinga (DANTAS; DOMINGUES, 2019).
- In the Amazon, 90% of the deforestation, from 2012 to 2017, happened in conservation units. The Cerrado is one of the biomes most endangered by the agribusiness' rapid expansion, it is also the most targeted by foreign investors due to the MATOPIBA⁶ project (IMAZON, 2018).
- The current government's intention of dismantling the Amazon Fund is very clear. It is a large international cooperation project seeking to finance efforts to prevent, monitor and combat deforestation, as well as to promote the preservation and sustainable use of the Brazilian Amazon. Satellite data from Brazil's National Institute for Space Research (INPE) shows that deforestation in the Amazon Rainforest has increased 88% in June, in comparison with the same month in 2018. President Bolsonaro has stated, without presenting any other data, that those numbers were exaggerated, he then claimed that the director of the INPE at the time could be "at the service of some NGO". That director was eventually fired.

⁶ Matopiba or Mapitoba is a territorial delimitation which includes areas from the States of Maranhão, Tocantins, Piauí and Bahia. It was created in 2014, in an agreement of technical cooperation between several federal agencies and ministries, to determine an area for a potential agricultural expansion in a region regarded as a frontier by the agribusiness.

VIOLENCE IN RURAL AREAS AND THE CRIMINALIZATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The criminalization of social movements and the use of violence to constrain social struggles has been increasing in Brazil.

- Reported cases of violence in rural areas have increased 4% from 2017 to 2018, to a total of 1,489, and 1,124 were related to conflicts over land. 73.5% of those cases involved traditional peoples and communities. In 2018, 57% of the murder victims were community leaders, something which the organization has classified as “pedagogical violence” used to “make an example of those who would stop progress” (CPT, 2019).
- There is a rise in authoritarianism and punitive power today, by changing and proposing norms to pave the way to criminalize social movements, unions and civil society organizations dedicated to contest or resist. Among those, the “Anti-Crime Bill” stands out, it is a project in discussion that proposes changing 13 laws and decrees regulating police enforcement, endangering individual rights and personal guarantees.

AUSTERITY MEASURES AND THE DECONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC POLICIES

Brazil's history on the promotion of food systems and ensuring the right to food and nutrition has been marked by the contradiction of promoting distinct and opposite models. At the same time the country became one of the largest producers and exporters of agricultural commodities, its family farmers have increased their capacity to produce the wide range of goods needed to feed the country. In 1995, family farming started expanding with the creation of the *Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar* (PRONAF, or National Program to Strengthen Family Agriculture), the creation of the *Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário* (MDA, or Ministry of Agrarian Development) and the enactment of the *Lei da Agricultura Familiar* (Family Farming Law) in 2006. That trajectory ran in parallel with the older and long-established Ministry of Agriculture public policies geared towards the agribusiness expansion.

The Food and Nutrition Security policies had been gaining ground with the Zero Hunger program and the reactivation of the *Conselho Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (Consea, or National Council on Food and Nutrition Security), and in 2003, with the enactment of the *Lei Orgânica de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (Losan, 11.346, or Organic Law for Food and Nutrition Security), which created the *Sistema Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (Sisan, or National System for Food and Nutrition Security)⁷, in 2006. Since then, a complex governance system had been consolidating, its main features were intersectoral collaboration, social engagement and a set of innovating policies. One of the most recent achievements was the institution of the *Política Nacional de Agroecologia e Produção Orgânica* (National Policy for Agroecology and Organic Production) in 2012.

Tens of millions of people were lifted out of poverty, in part due to the adoption of social protection programs and an appreciation of the minimum wage, one secured people's rights while the other led to economic growth. From 2001 to 2012, the income of the poorest segment grew three times more than the income of the 20% richest. In 2014, Brazil was removed from FAO's Hunger Map, meaning that less than 5% of its population was experiencing food insecurity. Despite the fact that the structural causes of inequality and violations of the right to food and nutrition kept going during that period, especially as a consequence of the models of development, production and consumption adopted in the country, the factors mentioned above (access to income and public policies) were key in the fight against poverty and to significantly diminish the number of people suffering from hunger. However, it must be mentioned that some groups, such as the indigenous peoples, traditional communities and black women, still showed the highest levels of food and nutrition insecurity.

⁷ Art. 7º of the Law 11.346/2006: "SISAN will be the means by which the human right to adequate nutrition and food and nutrition security will be provided to the population, it will be composed by several federal, state and municipal agencies and entities and private institutions, profit or non-profit, related with food and nutrition security which shows interest in joining the System, in accordance with the applicable legislation".

After the soft coup of 2016 and the current government's election we are now witnessing a sad ending to that history, in which the institutions are being dismantled along with harsh budgetary cuts. After 2016, austerity measures have intensified and were inserted in the Constitution by Constitutional Amendment 95. Known as the “Spending Cap PEC”, it determines that the primary expenditures in the government budget must be limited to the inflation rate for a period of 20 years. It is predicted that some of the most relevant public policies to assure the right to food and nutrition will be scrapped.

Provisional Measure (MP) 870/2019, published in January 1st, which proposed restructuring the federal government, was a final blow on policies focused on family farming. That measure merged the *Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário* (MDA, or Ministry of Agrarian Development) and the *Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária* (INCRA, or National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform) with the Ministry of Agriculture (MAPA), under the control of Minister Tereza Cristina, former president of the Parliamentary Agricultural Group (FPA). Since 2017, what was left of the MDA's structure is being perverted. Specific areas dedicated to implementing inclusion policies were suppressed and people who coordinated those policies were dismissed, especially those with closer ties to social movements in rural areas.

The current organization chart of the *Ministério da Cidadania* (Ministry of Citizenship) has removed the *Secretaria Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (SESAN, or National Department for Food and Nutrition Security), which had a strategic role in coordinating the SISAN and managing key programs, such as the *Programa de Aquisição de Alimento* (PAA, or Food Acquisition Initiative) and the Cistern Initiative. In 2014, the department had an annual budget of R\$ 2.5 billion, it has now been cut to R\$ 447 million in 2019.

Chart 1:

Budget approved by the Lei Orçamentária Anual (LOA, or Annual Spending Bill) from 2014 to 2019

Budget	Entity in charge	2014 (R\$)	2019 (R\$)
Food Acquisition Initiative	MDA/MDS	1.3 billion	287 million
Technical Assistance and Agricultural Extension	MDA	630 million	135 million
Food Distribution to Specific and Traditional Groups	MDS	82 million	27.4 million
Access to Clean Water for Human Consumption and Food Production in Rural Areas (Cisterns)	MDS	643 million	75 million
Support for the Financial Organization and Inclusion Policies for Women in Rural Areas	MDA	32.5 million	500 thousand
Green Allowance Program	MMA	106 million	o
Support for the Sustainable Development of Quilombola, Indigenous and Traditional Communities.	MDA	6 million	o

Source: SIOP
Author: self

On top of the progressive cuts predicted in the LOA, there have been allocations, from 2014 to 2018, causing a reduction of over 90% of the financial implementation of some budgets, which made some projects unfeasible, such as the land reform, the delimitation of *quilombola* and indigenous lands and the Technical Assistance and Agricultural Extension program.

Chart 2:

Budget expenses with deductions, plus amounts to be paid, from 2014 to 2018

Budget	2014 (R\$)	2015 (R\$)	2016 (R\$)	2017 (R\$)	2018 (R\$)	Variação
Food Acquisition Initiative	831,636,487	704,470,857	488,391,010	499,175,326	316,290,738	- 62,00
Technical Assistance and Settlers Training	34,565,638	4,212,982	7,855,586	135,830	16,245	-99,95
Fund for Technical Assistance and Agricultural Extension for Family Farmers	103,989,617	79,421,283	39,496,959	10,823,713	4,085,143	-96,07
Fund for the Financial Organization and Inclusion Policies for Women in Rural Areas	18,285,066	10,806,549	11,051,328	2,242,985	729,486	-96,01
Delimiting, Demarcating and Regularizing Indigenous Lands	1,456,649	55,878	0.00	0.00	91,278	-93,73
Identification and Compensation over Quilombola Lands	44,363,419	15,065,362	20,488,221	4,448,757	3,311,901	-92,53
Expropriation of Rural Real Estate for Creating Land Reform Settlements	583,563,204	191,963,802	258,856,777	76,854,456	60,232,407	-89,68

Source: SIOPI
Author: self

What is happening with the Food Acquisition Program?

On top of the budgetary losses, changes in the Food Acquisition Program, ongoing since 2016, are diminishing its role and leading to the exclusion family farmers' associations and cooperatives. Municipalities and state governments have now been taking that role. It is under that logic that farmers are now being assisted individually, which ignores the dimension of community organization and the organizational social fabric in rural areas, which were already impaired when the technical assistance and agricultural extension programs suffered cutbacks. The program has also been impaired by some actions by regulatory agencies, due to a lack of knowledge regarding the reality and specificities of family farming, as well as the the deficiencies in sanitation laws.

In contrast with the escalating budget cuts, the federal government's strategy, since 2015, has been the creation of the Food Acquisition Program Institutional Purchase, which allows states, municipalities and federal entities to use their own resources to purchase food from family farmers. Such is the case for hospitals, barracks, prisons, university restaurants, among others. However, it should be noted that the program tends to focus on the most structured segments of family farming, given the volume required and the conditions set by those entities, which reinforces the tendency of excluding poorer and smaller producers, especially in the country's Northeastern region.

THE RISK OF RETURNING TO THE HUNGER MAP

President Jair Bolsonaro has declared that it is a lie that people are suffering from hunger in Brazil. Such claim has not been backed by the social indicators, which show that Brazil could be returning to FAO/UN Hunger Map, from which it was removed in 2014. Furthermore, hunger has been growing alongside overweight and obesity.

- The number of people living in extreme poverty (income below R\$ 140 per month), has risen from 6.6% in 2016, to 7.4% in 2017, after decreasing for ten years. In absolute numbers, that group has gone from 13.5 million in 2016, to 15.2 million people in 2017.
- In 2006, 42.6% of the adult population (over 18 years old) were overweight and 11.8% were obese; in 2016 those numbers increased to 53.8% and 18.9%, respectively (VIGITEL/MS, 2017).
- Brazilian families spend, on average, 16.1% of their income with food, but among the poorest, the quintile with the lowest income, the percentage increases to 29.8% (POF 2008/2009). As poverty increases, hunger worsens, and so does the conditions for assuring a proper and healthy diet.

Our food is getting more poisonous by the day

The *Programa de Análise de Resíduos de Agrotóxicos em Alimentos* (PARA/ANVISA, or Program for Analyzing Pesticide Residue on Food), has published, in 2011, that 63% of the samples examined showed pesticide contamination. That prospect can get even worse, since many pesticides - including glyphosate, which is around 40% of the amount sold in Brazil - have not been looked for (ANVISA, 2011). That program has been so vital on warning the population about food contamination, that ANVISA was heavily pressured to withhold new results.

22 of the 50 most utilized pesticides in Brazil have been banned in the European Union (ABRASCO, 2015). Glyphosate is one of the most used herbicide in Brazil, and it has been targeted by legal actions for contamination in the United States.

In the new government, requests to register and authorize the use of more pesticides are increasing and moving faster. From January to late April of 2019, 266 analysis requests were filled at ANVISA, that number is 80% higher than the 146 requests presented during the same period of the previous year. From 2010 to 2016, the number of authorizations never exceeded 20 per year, but that number has been systematically increasing. A total of 60 registers were made in 2018 in 2019, after just 50 days of Bolsonaro's government, 89 new registers had already been granted. (CAMPANHA PERMANENTE CONTRA OS AGROTÓXICOS E PELA VIDA, 2019)

Obstacles for healthy diets and regulatory measures

Interest in regulating the food industry intensified after the *Plano Intersetorial de Prevenção e Controle da Obesidade* (Intersectoral Plan for the Prevention and Control of Obesity) was released in 2011, one of its main goals is to put nutritional values on labels (warnings about any excess of salt, sugar and fat). That agenda is now under great pressure and facing setbacks. After the current government's inauguration, ANVISA is being steadily permeated by the industry's interests, leading to a drastic reduction in transparency and dialogue with coalitions of civil society organizations that work in that field.

- Instead of raising taxes on high-sugar foods and goods that are notoriously unhealthy, the Brazilian government, contrary to recommendations of the World Health Organization (WHO) and international panels, is subsidizing the sugar-sweetened beverages industry. Conservative estimates point out that around R\$ 7 billion are being transferred annually to the sector, by means of state and federal taxes, a subsidy which amounts to about R\$ 0.50 per 2 liter bottle. (PERES, 2018).
- Since 2015, the Parliamentary Agricultural Group has been pushing, by means of a Bill (PLC 34/2015), for the removal of the “T” symbol (indicating transgenic ingredients) from food labels.

Consea and the systems of social engagement on the brink of extinction

Provisional Measure 870 has also partially revoked LOSAN and, as a consequence, also SISAN, by changing items which defined CONSEA's location, functions, composition and presidency. After a wide mobilization process, amendments to that Provisional Measure, aiming to restore the Law's original text, were proposed and approved by both houses in Congress. However, the item which reestablished CONSEA as a part of the Ministry of Citizenship has been vetoed by the President. Along the council's extinction, the *Câmara Interministerial de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (Caisan, or Interministerial Chamber on Food and Nutrition Security) has been extinguished, and its 6th National Conference, scheduled to 2019, has been canceled. This government's arbitrary decisions leave no doubt regarding its intentions to brutally dismantle Sisan and related policies.

In addition to CONSEA's dissolution, Decree 9.759/2019 has proposed ending dozens of councils, in a blatant attempt of interrupting social control and dialogue with the civil society, both important aspects of the democratization of the Brazilian State over past decades. Yet, the Federal Supreme Court has declared that the decree cannot dissolve entities supported by the law. Meanwhile, the councils remain incapacitated.

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