Complicity in Destruction:

HOW NORTHERN CONSUMERS AND FINANCIERS SUSTAIN THE ASSAULT ON THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON AND ITS PEOPLES



AMAZON WATCH

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As the world's largest rainforest, the Amazon provides 20% of our oxygen, houses 10% of the planet's biodiversity, and helps stabilize the global climate. The world needs it to survive. No one understands this better than the indigenous and traditional communities who call it home, and who are proven to be its best stewards.

Despite their importance, the Brazilian Amazon and its peoples are suffering the worst assault in a generation. Deforestation is mounting steadily while hard-fought environmental and human rights protections, critical to the future of the rainforest, are under serious attack. Indigenous and traditional communities themselves suffer disproportionate violence and repression for defending their rights and forests.

Members of Brazil's *ruralista* congressional bloc, representing a conservative faction of the nation's powerful agroindustrial sector and in coordination with extractive industries such as mining, are the principal actors driving this retrograde agenda. In a clear-cut conflict of interest, the family businesses of many *ruralista* lawmakers directly benefit from their legislative attacks.

The *ruralistas* are working to strip protections for forests and land rights in order to gain unfettered access to areas currently safeguarded from industrial activity. Such activities include cattle ranching and soybean farming, which are the principle drivers of deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon. Their success would spell disaster for this region's forests and the indigenous and traditional peoples who call them home, while jeopardizing global climate stability.

Much of the political and economic power that enables the *ruralista* agenda is upheld by global traders, consumers, and financiers. European and United States businesses that purchase from and finance *ruralista* businesses therefore enable them to reshape Brazil's socio-environmental landscape to our collective detriment.

The crisis facing the Amazon requires innovative solutions that strive to get to the root of the problem. By naming bad actors stridently attempting to undermine protections of the rainforest and its peoples for their personal gain, and identifying the global companies, household brand names, and financial institutions who enable them, we can build new forms of leverage over these actors and press for reform.

This act of solidarity with Brazil's movement for indigenous rights and environmental justice originates in the Global North. While we acknowledge the North's oversize role in environmental mismanagement, human rights abuses, and climate change, we believe that through informed choices, the consumers of Europe and the United States can considerably influence the destructive agenda of Brazil's *ruralista* bloc, helping to put an end to its assault on the Amazon, indigenous rights, and global climate stability.



INTRODUCTION: OUR ROLE IN FATE OF THE FOREST

THE AMAZON RAINFOREST SUSTAINS US. Responsible for 20% of the fresh air we breathe and 20% of our planet's flowing freshwater[1], the world's largest rainforest drives weather patterns and stabilizes the global climate. The wellbeing of this life-giving forest, and that of its guardians from indigenous and traditional communities, is therefore indispensable to our collective future.

What happens to this global treasure is up to all of us. While the Amazon's welfare depends upon the stewardship of the nine countries that share this 5.5 million km^2 biome, our choices as global consumers also directly, though perhaps unwittingly, implicate us in its fate.

Unscrupulous actors have built fortunes destroying the forest by targeting the peoples and conservation measures that keep it standing. Today's Brazil provides a grim case study in this reality. The actors most stridently pushing an agenda to destroy human rights and environmental protections also serve as political operatives for the country's powerful agribusiness sector. Known as the *ruralistas*, their unacceptable behavior imperils the Amazon and is predicated on the belief that the international community will continually buy their products, further enabling their actions.



Photo: Greenpeace / Daniel Beltrá

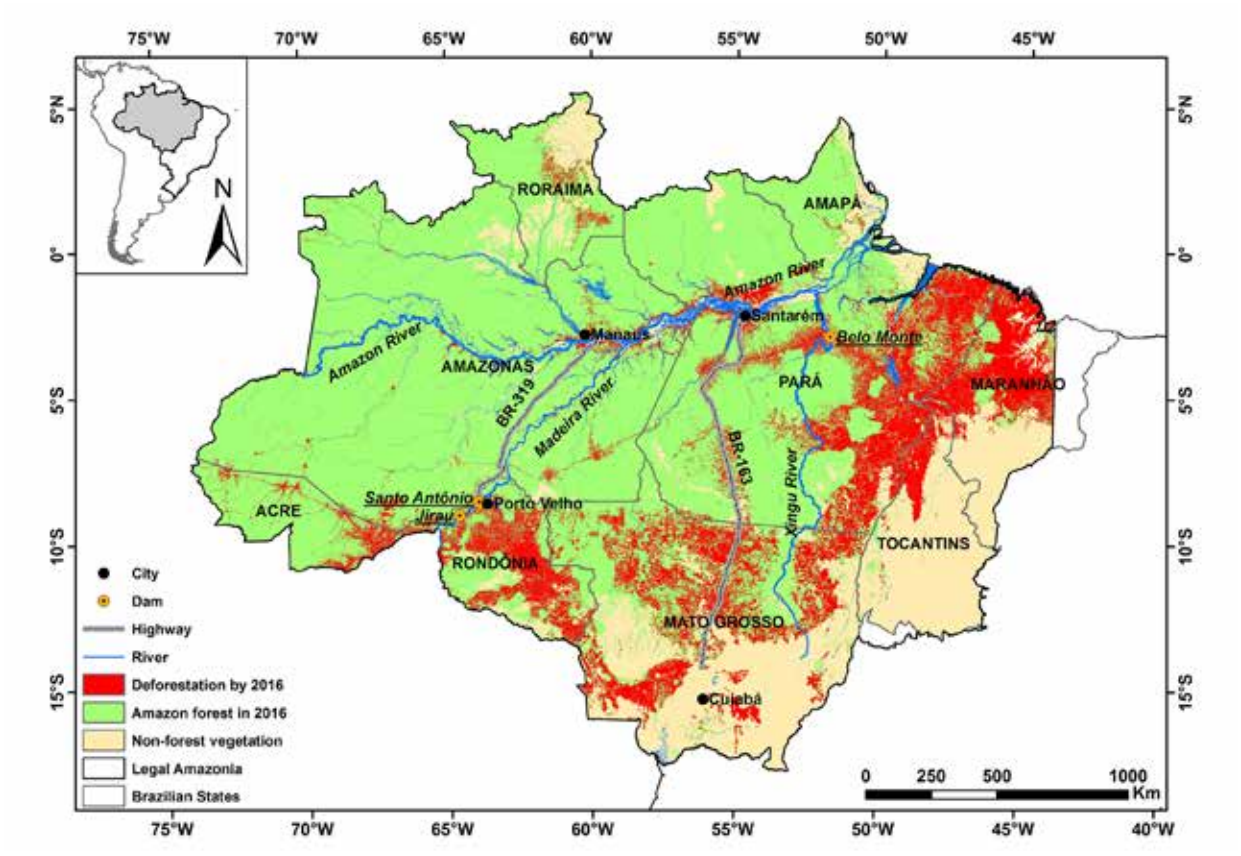
INTENSIFYING DEFORESTATION

More than 60% of the Amazon lies within Brazil's borders.[2] The titled territories of Brazil's indigenous peoples comprise 23% of the Brazilian Amazon and are among the best-conserved forests in a mosaic of protected areas spanning the Amazon region.[3] Indigenous land rights are therefore intrinsically linked to the preservation of the biome. Conversely, the absence of these rights, coupled with the undermining of robust environmental safeguards on other protected areas, jeopardizes the future of the rainforest.

Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon is rising at an alarming rate. The Brazilian NGO Imazon's June 2018 satellite data shows that 1,169 km2 of forests were lost in one month, the highest level recorded since 2007[5] and a 108% increase over June 2017.[6] Since the Brazilian government succeeded in containing drastic levels of deforestation between 2005 and 2012, there was a 45% spike in forests annually lost between 2012 and 2017,[7] and recent findings show a 39% increase in deforestation between August 2017 and July 2018.[8]

Mounting Amazon deforestation is largely due to increasing values for commodities like soy and beef,[9] which drive the destruction of vast tracts of forests to accommodate agricultural production, combined with weakening environmental governance.[10] Much of this alarming trend can be linked to policies enacted by the administration of President Michel Temer, as he backs socio-environmental regressions promoted by the *ruralistas*, along with representatives of extractive industry such as mining.[11]

A mosaic of indigenous territories and **protected areas span 52% of the Brazilian Amazon** and act as highly effective buffers against deforestation. Between 2001 and 2015, **83% of the region's deforestation occurred outside of these lands**[4]



Map: Philip Fearnside / INPA

A breakdown of some of the most pressing threats to the Amazon and its peoples:

Constitutional Amendment (PEC) 215: this effort to modify the Brazilian Constitution would transfer the authority for indigenous land titling from the Executive to the *ruralista*-controlled Legislative branch of government, essentially paralyzing present and future titling processes, prohibiting the expansion of existing territories, and calling the legitimacy of past titling processes into question.*

Agribusiness and mining on indigenous territories: *ruralista* lawmakers and their allies in the mining lobby are aggressively pushing to open indigenous territories to agribusiness and mining.[12] *Ruralistas* have held numerous congressional hearings that feature native leaders in favor of agribusiness - and bar members of Brazil's indigenous movement, which opposes *ruralista* policies - in which they argue that Brazilian law should be amended to permit indigenous peoples to carry out industrial activities on their lands.[13] Such a change would have drastic and irreversible impacts on the Amazon's forests, where more than 98% of Brazil's indigenous territories are located.[14]

Defunding indigenous and environmental agencies: charged with protecting and promoting the rights of Brazil's native peoples, the agency FUNAI has come under attack under the Temer government, which has nearly halved its budget and appointed a series of unqualified administrators to run the institution.[15] Meanwhile, President Temer slashed the Ministry of the Environment's budget, including that of its enforcement agencies such as IBAMA and ICM-Bio,[16] while stacking these organization with political appointees antagonistic to their mission.[17] The result has deeply undermined the enforcement capacity and morale of these vital institutions.

Violence against Earth Defenders: a recent report from Global Witness shows that Brazil is the world's deadliest country for those defending human rights and the environment, with agribusiness driving killings more than any other industry.[18] The Brazilian government has largely ignored repeated warnings, including those from the United Nations,[19] about the plight of Earth Defenders, which in turn creates a climate of impunity that paves the way for new acts of violence and intimidation.

Slashing forest conservation standards: the Temer administration has heeded calls from *ruralista* lawmakers to use executive decrees to slash safeguards on protected Amazonian forests, including the Jamanxim National Forest and National Park[20] and the vast RENCA reserve,[21] to open these areas for agribusiness and industrial mining, respectively. The government's willingness to unilaterally override environmental conservation standards to please a narrow set of interests significantly undermines the integrity of Brazil's network of protected areas, including indigenous territories.

Weakening environmental licensing: *ruralista* lawmakers have aggressively pushed to streamline Brazil's rigorous environmental licensing process to provide fast-track approval for major infrastructure projects such as highways, railroads, waterways, and dams.[22] Constitutional amendment 65 (PEC 65) is tailored to meet *ruralista* demands for projects improving logistics for the export of commodities such as soy.[23] This move would essentially discard Brazil's much-needed vetting process for projects that posing significant socio-environmental risks.[24]

* A highly polemic measure, a vote on PEC 215 is currently stalled in Congress. To bypass these delays, President Temer's Attorney General issued Opinion 001, which achieves many of the same objectives by applying the controversial "time frame" (marco temporal) clause that only recognizes indigenous territories occupied during or after the ratification of the 1988 Constitution.
See more: https://amazonwatch.org/news/2018/0403-institution-protecting-indigenous-rights-in-brazil-under-attack

A PERFECT STORM IN THE AMAZON

In addition to spiraling rates of deforestation, the Brazilian Amazon's irreplaceable ecosystems and diverse communities of indigenous and traditional peoples are in dire crisis of a scale not seen since the fall of the country's brutal military dictatorship (1964-1985). Mirroring sinister global trends, retrograde policies have in turn empowered corrupt, racist, and reactionary forces who are working to undo decades of hard-fought socio-environmental safeguards.

Of particular concern, indigenous land rights are under relentless attack by the executive and legislative branches of the Brazilian government, with a state-sponsored freeze on land titling in place,[25] and lawmakers seeking to strip native land rights from the Constitution.[26] As territorial rights are undermined, industrial lobbies aggressively work to gain access to protected forests, pushing to allow agribusiness, mining, and infrastructure development on indigenous lands.[27] Efforts to undermine FUNAI's credibility and mandate to advocate on behalf of native communities are part of this aggressive push.[28]

The attacks on Brazil's indigenous peoples, and traditional communities such as *quilombos*,[29] are both political and physical. Brazil is the world's deadliest country to be an environmental and human rights defender, with indigenous peoples paying a particularly disproportionate toll.[30] The government's apparent indifference to the plight of forest peoples sends a chilling signal that violence and murder will go unpunished, encouraging further cycles of brutality.

The Temer government's transparent anti-environmental stance shows through efforts to dismember protections on Amazonian forests. President Temer also enacted legislation - spearheaded by *ruralistas* vying for vast tracts of land in Brazil's Amazon and Cerrado regions - which essentially sanctions land grabbing.[31] Brazil's backsliding on environmental stewardship ultimately jeopardizes its commitments to the Paris Climate Accord, with global implications.[32] These multi-pronged attacks therefore open the way for grave and potentially irreversible ecological consequences.

Perhaps not surprisingly, those who stand to benefit most from Brazil's most significant rollback on human rights and environmental safeguards in a generation are the same ones leading the assault. Who are these actors and what do they want?





Photos: Brazil's National Indigenous Movement; Leonardo Milano / Mídia Ninja

MEET THE *RURALISTAS*

Brazil's agroindustrial sector is a powerhouse: according to Brazil's National Agriculture and Ranching Confederation (CNA), a farm lobby group, agriculture and agribusiness contributed 23.5% to the country's gross domestic product in 2017, a 13 year high, while agricultural exports accounted for 44.1% of the country's total exports.[33] Industry spokespeople routinely credit Brazilian agribusiness with steering the country out of its worst recession on record.[34] Meanwhile, the U.S. government's threats of trade war with China has boosted the value of Brazilian soy, tripling premiums on Brazil's largest export commodity.[35]

As a result, Brazilian agribusiness has built tremendous financial and political clout, which is reflected in its power to shape Brazilian politics. The industry has also led a campaign, enacted by the *ruralista* bloc, to gain access to arable land to expand farming operations, and to build and upgrade export-related infrastructure to increase profits. Brazil's agricultural frontier lies along the Amazon and the Cerrado biomes in its northern and central regions, respectively, where social and environmental land protections represent a barrier to unfettered access. A conservative faction within Brazilian agroindustry therefore aims to remove these barriers and has channeled its political muscle toward achieving these ends.

The *ruralistas* are members of a political caucus, representing various Brazilian political parties, who act on behalf of landowner interests. While they are principally members of the Parliamentary Farming Front (FPA) in both houses of Brazil's Congress, adhesion to the *ruralista* agenda also extends to state assemblies and municipal governments.[36] The *ruralistas* are Brazil's dominant political bloc and their members represent diverse lobbies within the agroindustrial sector.[37]

Many *ruralista* politicians are themselves farmers and ranchers, or come from farming and ranching families, and receive significant campaign finance from private sector interests linked to their activities.[38] In turn they legislate on behalf of their campaign financiers, and at times their own business empires, in a clear-cut conflict of interest. Members of Brazil's notoriously corrupt political and economic elite, the *ruralistas* represent 43% of all members of the lower house of Congress currently facing criminal proceedings or investigations.[39]



Photo: José Cícero da Silva / Agência Pública

As Brazil's largest congressional bloc, the *ruralistas* wield substantial power to enact a unified agenda in the government's legislative, judicial, and executive branches. Indeed, President Temer owes his job to the *ruralista* bloc, who helped bring him to power by supporting the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016,[40] and kept him in power throughout successive efforts to have him investigated on charges of corruption backed by overwhelming evidence.[41]

The *ruralistas* embody Brazil's current retrograde political climate, most recently throwing their weight behind a highly controversial law that would permit Brazilian farmers to use a range of pesticides that are banned in Europe and the United States.[42] The bloc's influence underpins the vast majority of the regressive laws, executive orders, and political strong arming cited here.

Additionally, *ruralista* lawmakers have lobbied to weaken the official definition of slavery to benefit those employing brutal worker conditions,[43] advocated for the liberalization of gun ownership in rural zones where land conflicts increasingly result in violence,[44] and have used congressional inquiries to undermine the work of FUNAI, the land reform agency INCRA, and organizations and individuals that defend land rights in Brazil.[45] They have also guaranteed that landowners who were fined millions of dollars for illegal deforestation benefit from a state-sponsored amnesty, erasing their debts and responsibility to reforest these areas.[46]

The highly conservative politics and bold agenda that characterizes the *ruralista* bloc undercuts the Brazilian government's environmental stewardship policies and its former respect for land rights, with grave consequences for the Amazon rainforest and forest peoples. Indeed, a government beholden to an extractive and export-oriented economy cannot also uphold its constitutional duty to defend minorities and guarantee environmental protections. Yet while these associations are relatively clear, the global corporate and financial relationships that bolster the *ruralista* power base are not.



Photo: Rhett Butler / Mongabay

FOLLOW THE MONEY, PRESS FOR REFORM

This report not only draws attention to the social and environmental disaster unfolding in the Brazilian Amazon, but also to those actors most responsible for this unacceptable situation. To get to the heart of the problem, Amazon Watch identified a set of *ruralista* politicians whose policies and actions embody the worst tendencies of Brazilian agribusiness to steamroll human rights and environmental protections for political and personal gain.

Our research identified lawmakers by employing a set of criteria that examines their regressive socio-environmental records, both in congress and in their business dealings, which is emblematic to the *ruralista* bloc as a whole. This criteria includes being directly involved in or facilitating anti-indigenous legislation, attacks on forest protections, land grabbing, corruption, rural violence, workers' rights violations, and pollution. Importantly, our findings also directly link these actors to the production of commodities destined for export to markets in Europe and the United States, while identifying financial institutions that prop up the Brazilian companies they use to export their goods.

The findings ultimately expose the supply chain and financial links that enable Brazilian political figures, whose actions and conflicts of interest jeopardize the Amazon rainforest, its forest communities, and global climate stability. These revelations clearly demonstrate how the global market underpins, sustains, and enables these actors, and therefore represents an effective leverage point to influence their conduct.

While the *ruralista* agenda is dominant and highly difficult to affect in Brazil, this study seeks to provide new tools and open new avenues to ultimately reform the worst elements of the country's agroindustrial sector and uphold socio-environmental safeguards so critical to the future of the Amazon.

UNDERSTANDING THE *RURALISTAS* AND THEIR CORPORATE AND FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The following section provides the basis to better understand how characteristic lawmakers from the *ruralista* bloc sustain their economic and political power through the export of agricultural commodities to the global market. Uncovered through investigative research in Brazil and supply chain desk analysis, these unprecedented findings trace relationships from individual *ruralista* lawmakers through Brazilian export companies to the European and U.S.-based importers of these goods. The findings also expose name brands that directly market these goods to consumers.

While the majority of the six individuals cited below do not have landholdings nor agricultural production and business operations in the Amazon, it is their strident advocacy on behalf of policies that jeopardize the future of the rainforest and its peoples that qualifies them for scrutiny. It is by exposing these actors that we may understand the conflicts of interest that maintain their power, thereby allowing us to target these relationships as a mechanism for creating change.



Photo: Greenpeace / Daniel Beltrá

A sampling of the **extensive supply chains** that **underpin the economic and political power** of Brazil's *ruralista* bloc




LAMEX
Commodity: Chicken
Alfredo Kaefer
CO RO
Commodity: Orange Juice and derivitaives
Nelson Marquezelli
KAPPERSFOODS
Commodity: Chicken
Alfredo Kaefer
ORIGINAL
WIESENHOF
PHW
Commodity: Soybeans
Adilton Sachetti
Jan Zandbergen
LONESTAR
Commodity: Chicken
Alfredo Kaefer
Schweppes
Commodity: Orange Juice and derivitaives
Nelson Marquezelli
COTTON ITALIA
Commodity: Cotton
Adilton Sachetti
THE NAVIGATOR COMPANY
NAVIGATOR
MultiOffice
explorer
Commodity: Eucalyptus Wood Chips
Jorge Amanajas
ECKES granini
international
Commodity: Orange Juice and derivitaives
Nelson Marquezelli







Adilton Sachetti



Rundown:

- Anti-indigenous land rights: PEC 215 and agroindustry in native lands
- Conflicts of interest: proposed polemic infrastructure to benefit campaign financiers
- Campaign finance from companies linked to illegal deforestation
- Facing numerous corruption charges
- Anti-rural worker rights

Global business Relationships:

- Amaggi (Brazil)
- Grupo Bom Futuro (Brazil)
- Wiesenhof (Germany)
- Otto Stadtlander (Germany)
- Bunge (United States)
- Vitol (Switzerland)
- Denofa (Norway)
- Cottagon (Italy)

PROFILE:

Mr. Sachetti is a longtime politician from the state of Mato Grosso. He served as the mayor of Rondonópolis prior to his 3-year mandate in Brazil's lower house of Congress with the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), where he also acted as logistics coordinator for the Parliamentary Farming Front (FPA). He's now running for Senator with the Brazilian Republican Party.[47] He produces soy, cotton, and corn on landholdings in Mato Grosso.

Mr. Sachetti is close friend[48] and political associate of Brazilian Agriculture Minister Blairo Maggi, who is among the world's largest producers and exporters of soy.[49] In 2005, Mr. Maggi won Greenpeace's "Golden Chainsaw" award for his role in Amazon deforestation linked to his soy operations.[50] Mr. Sachetti has received significant campaign contributions from Mr. Maggi and his cousin Eraí Maggi's businesses in his electoral campaigns.[51] Several of his key campaign donors were directly involved in illegal deforestation and land grabbing.[52]

Mr. Sachetti refers to himself as "agribusiness' legitimate candidate,"[53] and has loyally served the interests of the *ruralista* bloc and the soybean lobby as one of the principle promoters of PEC 215.[54,55] He is among the most aggressive foes of native land rights in Brasília, having convened a congressional hearing featuring pro-agribusiness indigenous leaders to promote the opening of indigenous territories to agroindustry, particularly soy production.[56]

As the *ruralista* logistics lead, Mr. Sachetti authored legislation that would allow for controversial and destructive waterway projects in the Amazon's Tapajós basin, which are fiercely opposed by local indigenous groups.[57] These export-oriented projects would directly benefit the Grupo Bom Futuro, which has exclusive rights to explore Mr. Sachetti's lands as a result of an unresolved debt between his company Agropecuária Sachetti and Grupo Bom Futuro. Grupo Bom Futuro is owned by the Maggi Scheffer family, cousins of Blairo Maggi.[58]

Mr. Sachetti is facing a spate of corruption charges, from the disappearance of public funds during his time as a mayor,[59] to the illegal seizing of a property to benefit companies linked to his family.[60]

BUSINESS CONNECTIONS:

Mr. Sachetti's soy production is evidently sourced by Blairo Maggi's Amaggi Exportation and Importation company, given their close personal, financial, and political relationship, the fact that Mr. Maggi's company is the region's largest commodities trader, as well as the fact that Mr. Sachetti is not licensed to trade internationally.[61] Amaggi exports to destinations in both Europe and the United States.[62] The German company Mega Tierernährung, a subsidiary of the PHW-Gruppe, imported multiple shiploads of Amaggi soy in 2015 and 2016.[63] It is a supplier of Germany's Wiesenhof, the largest poultry producer in Germany, and Europe's 6th largest poultry producer.[64] PHW-Gruppe is the parent company of Wiesenhof.[65] Its poultry products are self-branded with revenues of 2.5 billion (US$ 2.6 billion) in 2016.[66]

US-based Bunge imported and distributed regular shipments of soybeans from Amaggi to European destinations in 2016 and 2017, with eighteen cargos to Spain, six to Portugal and two shipments to France.[67] Norway's Denofa is owned by Amaggi and receives annual shipments of 400,000 tons of soy, most of which originates from Amaggi.[68]

By way of the aforementioned business relationship, Mr. Sachetti's cotton production is owned by Brazil's Bom Futuro Group. Bom Futuro exported two shipments to the German company Otto Stadtlander between 2016 and 2018.[69] US-based Noble Americas Corporation - since January 2018 part of Switzerland's Vitol - purchased shipments of Bom Futuro cotton in 2016, as did Italy's Cottagon Italia.[70]

FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:

One financial arrangement directly to Amaggi Exportaçao e Importaçao was found. In 2014, CitiBank arranged a $175 million export prepayment facility for the company, which was co-financed by the Development Bank of Japan.[71]

Amaggi benefits from nearly $300 million in loans from a variety of financial institutions. The majority of these loans were offered by Japan's Sumitomo Mitsui Financial Group, however US-based Apple Financial Holdings, Germany's KfW, Italy's Banca Monte del Paschi di Siena, and the Netherland's ING have each loaned Amaggi $16 million.[72]



Photo: Rhett Butler / Mongabay

Nelson Marquezelli



Rundown:

- Anti-indigenous rights: undermined FUNAI and backed PEC 215
- Anti-rural worker rights: business linked to slave labor practices
- Anti-forest conservation: backed move to reduce forest protections
- Pro-land grabbing: backed the 2017 land grabber law

Business Relationships and Brand Names:

- Sucocitrico Cutrale (Brazil)
- Minute Maid (owned by Coca-Cola, United States)
- Simply Orange (owned by Coca-Cola, United States)
- Schweppes (Switzerland)
- Eckes Granini (Germany): Granini, Hohes C, Rynkeby, Pago and GodMorgon
- Burlington Foods (United Kingdom, owned by BRF, Brazil): Sadia, Perdix, Hot N Kickin Chicken, Speedy Pollo, Golden Foods, Grabits
- Co-Ro (Denmark): Sunquick, Suntop, Suncola, Sun Lolly and Sunjoy
- Global Essence (United States)
- ADM Wild (United States)
- Givaudan Flavours & Fragrances (Switzerland) Symrise (Germany)
- International Flavours & Fragrances (U.S.)

PROFILE:

Mr. Marquezelli is a lifelong politician from São Paulo State, having begun his political career in 1962 and served as a Federal Deputy since 1990, during which time he was elected president of the congressional Agriculture Committee. Known as the "Deputy of Oranges," he is among Brazil's largest orange producers and a decades-long supplier to the citrus company Sucocitrico Cutrale,[73] which has significant global markets, and for which he has acted as a political patron. He is up for reelection in 2018.[74]

During his long tenure, Mr. Marquezelli has demonstrated his antagonism toward the rights of indigenous peoples and the Landless Workers Movement (MST). He served as the vice-president of a congressional inquiry aimed at undermining FUNAI's authority while backing efforts to slash indigenous land rights through PEC 215.[75] He also sponsored a congressional inquiry targeting the MST, alongside a set of political allies who all received campaign donations from Sucocitrico Cutrale.[76]

In line with his *ruralista* colleagues, Mr. Marquezelli backed legislation that rolled back environmental protections on Amazonian forests and legalized land grabbing. Meanwhile, Sucocitrico Cutrale has been directly linked to land grabbing in São Paulo and to labor practices analogous to slavery as recently as this year.[77]

BUSINESS RELATIONSHIPS IN EUROPE AND THE U.S.

Sucocitrico Cutrale global supply chain relationships are extensive, ranging from trading companies such as ADM Wild (U.S.), leading fragrance and flavors producing companies and distributors such as International Flavours & Fragrances (U.S.), Global Essence (U.S.), Givaudan Flavours & Fragrances (Switzerland) and Symrise (Germany), wholesalers with own brands such as Co-Ro (Denmark), De Groot Fresh (Netherlands), Burlington Foods (UK), and well-recognized brands such as Eckes Granini (Germany) and Schweppes International (Switzerland).[78]

Sucocitrico Cutrale supplies products such as orange juice, orange pulp cells and orange aroma water.[79] Cutrale Citrus Juice USA, a subsidiary of Sucocitrico Cutrale, is one of the largest suppliers to Minute Maid and Simply Orange, both owned by Coca-Cola.[80] Meanwhile, Switzerland's Schweppes International imported 75 tons of Sucocitrico Cutrale essential oil in 2018.[81] The leading German fruit juice company Eckes Granini, which received two shipments totalling 28 tons of Sucocitrico Cutrale aroma water in 2017, markets beverages available throughout Europe through its more than ten brands, including Granini, Hohes C, Rynkeby, Pago and GodMorgon.[82]

The United Kingdom's Burlington Foods is an indirect subsidiary of BRF, a global meat producer based in Brazil.[83] In March 2018, Burlington Foods imported 7,632 tons orange juice from Sucocitrico Cutrale.[84] BRF's brands in Europe primarily include Sadia, Perdix, Hot N Kickin Chicken, Speedy Pollo, Golden Foods and Grabits.[85]

Co-Ro A/S (Denmark) received regular shipments of orange essential oil from Sucocitrico Cutrale between 2015 and 2018. The company has five main brands of juice, soft drinks and fruit popsicles: Sunquick, Suntop, Suncola, Sun Lolly and Sunjoy,[86] sold in over 80 countries, including the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.[87]

De Groot Fresh Group is a Dutch fresh produce wholesaler and distributor operating primarily in the Netherlands, as De Groot Fresh International and De Groot Van Dommelen, and in the United Kingdom through its subsidiary De Groot Fresh Produce UK.[88] The company also exports fresh produce to over 30 countries[89] and is engaged in wholesale activities through the brands Hartenboer and Don Mario.[90] In 2017, Sucocitrico Cutrale exported numerous shipments to De Groot Fresh Produce UK and De Groot NV, amounting to 1,277 tons of fresh lemons and oranges.[91]

Between October 2015 and September 2017, Global Essence (U.S.) received multiple shipments of orange essential oil from Sucocitrico Cutrale, amounting to 195 tons.[92]

FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:

Together with the Safra Group, Grupo Cutrale bought Chiquita Brands International in 2015 for an amount of BRL 1.3 billion, including debt (US$ 4 billion).[93] Another company within the Safra Group, the J. Safra Sarasin Group, extend a buyback of Chiquita's senior bonds due in 2021.[94]

Jorge Amanajás



Rundown:

» Land grabbing: direct links to irregular land acquisition
» Corruption: political leverage for nepotism in state jobs, accused of stealing public money
» Links to illegal deforestation and rural violence via business dealings

Business Relationships and Brand Names:

» Navigator Company (Portugal): office paper brands including Navigator, MultiOffice, Explorer, Discovery, Inacopia, Target, and Pioneer
» Uniper (Germany)
» Energia do Portugal (Portugal)

PROFILE:

Jorge Amanajás has been a powerful political player in the Amazonian state of Amapá since 1998, when he was elected State Assemblyman and served as Assembly President for two terms during a mandate that lasted until 2010. He is now Amapá's Secretary of Transport, where he has been accused of leveraging political influence to place family members in the state's Institute of Environment and Spatial Planning.[95] He is running for a seat in Brazil's Senate in 2018.[96]

Mr. Amanajás wields considerable political influence in Amapá, and his close ties with the Brazil-based cellulose* company Amapá Florestal e Celulosa (Amcel) - a Brazilian subsidiary of Japan's Nippon Paper Industries - directly links him with a range of irregularities, from rural violence[97] to land grabbing and associated illegal deforestation.[98] These irregularities have led Federal Prosecutors to file thirteen lawsuits against the company.[99]

In 2005, Mr. Amanajás and his ally State Assemblyman Eider Pena were accused of a massive land grabbing operation[100] on lands previously illegally controlled by Amcel,[101] which the company was forced to return to the state. Mr. Amanajás reportedly "purchased" 1,377 hectares of land destined for agrarian reform settlements for only US$18,000.[102] Meanwhile, Mr. Amanajás and Mr. Pena were accused by State Prosecutors of "ideological deception and the formation of a gang" in an investigation into the disappearance of R$820,000 in public funds. Mr. Pena was imprisoned on these charges in 2017.[103]

BUSINESS RELATIONSHIPS IN EUROPE:

Jorge Amanajás' production of eucalyptus wood chips is sourced and exported by Amcel, a company that controls the region's only eucalyptus processing plant, to a variety of international clientele. In 2016, the Navigator Company of Portugal imported two shiploads of bulk wood chips from Amcel totaling nearly 90,000 tons.[104] The Navigator Company produces office paper for the following European and US brands:


Photo: Rhett Butler / Mongabay

Navigator, MultiOffice, Explorer, Discovery, Inacopia, Target, and Pioneer. Navigator also produces offset paper for the printing industry, branded as: Soporset, Explorer, Inaset, Navigator PrePrint, Target Plus, and Pioneer Graphic.[105]

Between 2016 and 2018, the Portuguese company Altri Abastecimento de Madeira imported four shiploads of wood chips (totaling 180,000 tons) from Amcel.[106] Altri's subsidiary Celbi produces pulp for paper for European markets such as Spain, France, Germany, Sweden, Portugal, Austria, the UK, Italy and the Netherlands.[107] Altri also uses pulp for energy production in a joint venture called EDP Bioelectric, splitting ownership with the power company Energia do Portugal (EDP) in four power stations.[108]

In 2017 and 2018, Amcel exported 84,000 tons of eucalyptus wood chips to the energy generating and trading company Uniper (Germany, owned by Fortum Corp (Finland) since June 2018) to serve power stations in the United Kingdom and France.[109] In France, the wood chips were presumably used for a power station called Province 4, operated by Uniper, which was the subject of controversy over its unsustainable use of wood sourced from local forests.[110]

FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:

Amcel's parent company Nippon Paper Industries has multiple links with international financiers. These can be divided into shareholders and bondholders, and loans and underwritings. The majority of these financiers are Japanese institutions, with Ichigo and Mitsubishi UFJ Financial topping the list of shareholders with a combined $333 million in shares. Other shareholders of note are US-based Dimensional Fund Advisors, Vanguard, and BlackRock with a combined $115 million in shares.[111]

A detailed breakdown of the shareholdings above and the loans and underwritings from Japanese institutions are listed in the markets report from which this report's findings are drawn.[112]

Dilceu Sperafico



Rundown:

- Anti-indigenous rights: supporter of PEC 215, agroindustry on native lands
- Anti-conservation: voted to slash Amazon forest protection
- Campaign finance from worst illegal deforesters
- Anti-workers rights: weakened definition of slavery, lowered minimum age for workers
- Pro-rural violence: sponsored legislation to liberalize gun ownership

Business Relationships and Brand Names:

- Sime Darby Unimills: MasterCraft (the Netherlands, owned by Malaysia-based Sime Darby)
- Solae Europe: Enhance, Solec (Switzerland, owned by DuPont Chemical)
- Lecico (Germany)
- Fismer Lecithin (Germany)

PROFILE:

Dilceu Sperafico has served 24 years with Brazil's Popular Party (PP) in the lower house of Congress. Mr. Sperafico is an uncompromising opponent of indigenous land rights[113] and active supporter of PEC 215,[114] as well as a prominent advocate for efforts to permit industrial agriculture on indigenous territories. A leading member of the *ruralista* bloc, he is one of the most active members of the FPA, having served as its president in 2005, and was elected president of the congressional Agriculture Committee in 2018 promising to "find a solution for the impasse in indigenous land demarcation."[115] He also voted to slash protections on protected Amazonian forests.[116]

Mr. Sperafico's brothers are owners of the company Sperafico Agroindustrial, which produces soy and wheat in the states of Paraná, Mato Grosso, and Mato Grosso do Sul. An ardent supporter of wheat production, he used his political influence to oblige Congress to debate policies to improve the commercialization of Brazilian wheat.[117]

Mr. Sperafico has taken measures to undermine the rights of rural workers, having authored legislation in 2015 to re-categorize and weaken the definition of slave labor[118] and to reduce the minimum age for adolescent workers.[119] He has also legislated against worker benefits[120] and incentivized rural violence by sponsoring legislation to "liberalize" gun ownership.[121]

Mr. Sperafico has also been involved in various cases of alleged corruption, including involvement in the notorious *Carne Fraca* and *Lava Jato* investigations.*[122] These controversies have led him to abandon reelection in 2018, instead campaigning for the election of his close associate José Carlos Schiavinato to the seat.[123]

* The sprawling Lava Jato (Car Wash) operation is the largest corruption investigation in Brazil's history, and has implicated and imprisoned leading lawmakers and business leaders from across Brazil's political spectrum. The Carne Fraca (Weak Meat) operation is an investigation into the corrupt and unethical practices of Brazil's largest meat processing companies as well as the political leaders who receive donations from these companies.



Photo: Rogério Assis / Greenpeace

COMPANY RELATIONSHIPS IN EUROPE:

The Swiss agribusiness and mining giant Glencore Group purchased a controlling stake in Dilceu Sperafico's company Sperafico Group in 2008.[124] Sperafico Group has established export connections to European markets, specifically via importers such as Sime Darby Unimills (Netherlands), Solae Europe (Switzerland), and the German companies Lecico and Fismer Lecithin.[125] His last shipments on record occurred in 2016.

Sime Darby Unimills belongs to the Malaysian company Sime Darby.[126] For the European market, it produces Bolec (soybean lecithin) - used in the confectionary MasterCraft brand[127] - and Sunlec (sunflower lecithin).[128] Solae is owned by the US company DuPont, which uses soy lecithin for products such as Enhance (pet food) and Solec brand names.[129] Lecico and Fesmir both produce soy lecithin for the products phospholipid[130] and LeciFis QF and LeciFis SOY,[131] respectively.

FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:

The Glencore Group has multiple links with international financiers, divided into shareholders, bondholders, loans, and underwritings. Notable financiers include BlackRock (U.S.), with $5.3 billion in bond and shareholdings (7.5% of shares), the BPCE Group (France), with $2.8 billion in bond and shareholdings (3.9% of shares), the Capital Group (U.S.), with $2.36 billion in shareholdings (3.3% of shares), and the Norwegian Pension Fund (Norway), with $1.68 billion in shareholdings (2.9% of shares). Other investors of note include Vanguard (U.S.), Legal and General (U.K.), Standard Life Aberdeen (U.K.), JPMorgan Chase (U.S.), Fidelity Investments (U.S.), and TIAA (U.S.).[132]

A full accounting of the Glencore Group's shareholders, bondholders, loans, and underwritings are included in the markets report from which this report's findings are drawn.[133]

Alfredo Kaefer



Rundown:

- Anti-indigenous rights: undermining indigenous land titling
- Anti-conservation: attempted to dramatically strip protections on conserved forests
- Anti-rural worker: failed to pay workers and linked to worker safety scandal
- Animal cruelty and pollution: business operations charged for both offenses

Business Relationships and Brand Names:

- Van Aerde Food Group (The Netherlands)
- Ferdinand Zandbergen (The Netherlands)
- Kühne & Heitz (The Netherlands)
- Jan Zandbergen (The Netherlands): TD Poultry, TD High Quality, Olympia Chicken,
- Mountain View Farms, Emperor, Lonestar
- KappersFoods (The Netherlands): Pure Poultry
- Lamex Food Group (United Kingdom)
- MPO Global (Germany, owned by US-based OSI Group): Foodworks, Chicken Wings
- Metro wholesaler (Germany)



Photo: Marizilda Cruppe / Greenpeace



PROFILE:

Alfredo Kaefer is a Federal Deputy from Paraná who has served consecutive terms in three political parties since 2007. He is running for reelection in 2018 with the PP party. He runs a group of chicken-raising businesses, with a portion of his production exported to Europe and Canada.

Mr. Kaefer has allied himself with some of the most powerful and reactionary members of the *ruralista* bloc, with whom he helped lead an effort to scrutinize and undermine indigenous land demarcation processes.[134] Demonstrating his antagonism toward state conservation efforts, he led an effort to entirely strip protections from Brazilian "Conservation Units" when the government did not properly compensate settlers asked to abandon these lands.[135]

Among a spate of financial irregularities, Mr. Kaefer has been accused of forming a gang to commit financial crimes on the state level to benefit his company Diplomata.[136] Diplomata was involved in an animal cruelty scandal in which chickens went unfed and resorted to cannibalism,[137] while another Kaefer company (Dip Frango) was responsible for the deaths of three workers,[138] and his family's business Globoaves was linked to local pollution.[139]

BUSINESS CONNECTIONS IN EUROPE:

Alfredo Kaefer's company Kaefer Agro Industrial is part of the Globoaves São Paulo Agrovicola group. Globoaves exports chicken products to the Dutch companies Van Aerde Food Group, Ferdinand Zandbergen, Kühne & Heitz, and Jan Zandbergen.[140] UK-based Lamex Food Group markets raw and cooked poultry imported from Brazil via the Dutch company KappersFoods.[141, 142] Between 2015 and 2018, KappersFoods received twelve shipments with a total of 328 tons of frozen chicken breast from Kaefer Agro Industrial.[143]

Jan Zandbergen's brand TD Poultry Processing operates under the brand names TD High Quality, Olympia Chicken, Mountain View Farms, Emperor, and Lonestar.[144] In 2016 and 2017, Jan Zandbergen imported 22 shipments of frozen salted chicken breast fillets from Kaefer.[145]

Germany's MPO Global, which is part of the US-based OSI Group,[146] imported 631 tons of chicken from Kaefer Agro between 2015 and 2016.[147] These products supplied OSI Group's Germany-based brand Foodworks,[148] which markets its "Chicken Wings" to leading German wholesaler Metro.[149]

Photo: Rogério Assis / Greenpeace

Sidney Rosa



Rundown:

» Illegal deforestation: family business directly involved and repeat offender
» Under investigation for “crimes against the forest”
» Anti-conservation: backed efforts to open Amazon reserve to industrial mining
» Slave labor: family business directly linked to slave labor practices
» Campaign finance irregularities: largest campaign donor under investigation for land grabbing

Business and Political Relationships and Associated Brand Names:

» Liberty Woods (United States)
» Società Legnami Paganoni (Italy)
» Wilmar Europe Trading BV (The Netherlands)
» CARE Naturekost GmbH (Germany)
» Ciranda Ltd (United States): CocoaRica, d’Agave, Palmfruit, TapiOK



Photos: Greenpeace / Daniel Beltrá

PROFILE:

Sidney Rosa is among the principal political forces in the Amazonian state of Pará, and is currently serving as a State Assemblyman with the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB). He is running for a seat in Brazil's Senate in 2018.[150]

His family has decades of involvement in the regional logging industry, during which time their companies have repeatedly been accused of illegal deforestation,[151] while Mr. Rosa has formally been charged with "crimes against the forest" by federal prosecutors.[152] His business operations have also been directly linked to slave labor practices.[153] An important voice in defense of Brazilian agribusiness, Mr. Rosa has close ties with business associates in the European Union.[154]

Mr. Rosa is closely associated with Brazil's mining industry[155] and was one of the principal voices in favor of opening up the massive RENCA reserve to industrial mining,[156] following President Temer's notorious 2017 decree stripping environmental protections on 46,000 km2 of Amazonian forests. His close relations with the Brazilian palm oil producer and refiner Agropalma - which is under investigation for illegal land grabbing practices -[157] helped to secure his largest campaign donation (R$100,000) from its subsidiary Companhia Refinadora da Amazonia.[158]

BUSINESS CONNECTIONS TO EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES:

Mr. Rosa's lumber company Rosa Compensados exported 636 tons of Parica-based plywood to US-based Liberty Woods between 2016-2018.[159] Italy-based Società Legnami Paganoni imported 21 tons of plywood from Rosa Compensados in 2017.[160]

Mr. Rosa's primary political patron Agropalma has made numerous palm oil shipments to various European US-based companies. Agropalma is part of Alfa Conglomerate, which is a group of companies operating in multiple business sectors, such as finance, agribusiness, and food.[161]

In 2017, Wilmar Europe Trading BV (Netherlands) imported 7,950 tons of crude palm oil through a single shipment to Germany.[162] Meanwhile, two organic producers, CARE Naturekost GmbH (Germany) and Ciranda Ltd (United States) imported shipments of Agropalma products between 2016-2018.[163] Ciranda Ltd distributes its various oil-based products through four brands: CocoaRica, d'Agave, Palmfruit and TapiOK.[164]

FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:

Alfa Conglomerate is a subsidiary of the holding company Alfa Holdings, which is majority owned through Administradora Fortaleza by Aloysio Faria, a billionaire investment banker, who currently holds approximately 58%.[165] Alfa holdings' stock was underwritten by Banco Santander Brazil in 1985.[166] The company is registered on the São Paulo Stock Exchange.[167] Shareholders holding more than 5% of the listed shares are Marco Slerca Junior (12%) and Alaska Investment Fund (17%). Alfa Holdings stated in its information to shareholders that no capital from third parties was attracted for working capital and/or investments in non-current assets. Everything was financed by own capital.[168]

USING NEW TOOLS TO ENACT CHANGE

The findings and arguments compiled here are intended to target and reform a specific set of *ruralista* leaders whose agenda is emblematic to their political bloc as a whole. These leaders have been selected for scrutiny because they represent powerful conservative factions within Brazil's agroindustrial sector working to undermine the country's hard-fought social and environmental standards. The objective of this report is therefore to leverage a key set of actors to send a signal to the entire *ruralista* bloc that their unacceptable behavior jeopardizes the international market relationships upon which much of their economic power and political influence is derived.

Having identified vulnerabilities within the *ruralista* bloc, the next step is to put them to immediate use, given the urgency of halting their destructive agenda. As such, these findings should inspire a consumer-powered movement, where concerned individuals may have a say over the future of the Brazilian Amazon and, by extension, global climate stability.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPORTING COMPANIES AND FINANCIERS

This report exposes the significant risks behind doing business with companies with direct links to *ruralista* lawmakers. European and United States-based companies and financiers identified here have now been made aware of their enabling relationship to the polemic and immoral behavior of actors within their supply chains and portfolios, and should swiftly act upon this information to minimize exposure to this risk.

Recommendations to Companies and Financiers:

- All European and U.S. companies and financiers identified in this report should conduct their own due diligence into the problematic supply chain and portfolio connections outlined here;
- If findings conclusively link supply chains and portfolios to commodities exported by *ruralista* leaders identified in this report, companies and financiers should contact associated companies to ask that this production be excluded from the supply chains for future imports;
- If Brazilian suppliers - and global parent companies - are reluctant to take these steps, European and U.S. companies should end their business relationships by seeking alternative supply chains (in the case of importing companies), or divesting from the companies (in the case of financiers);
- Companies and financiers should make their internal due diligence findings and communications with Brazilian suppliers - and global parent companies - transparent and available to the public.

The companies and financiers identified here will likely only adopt these recommendations if concerned individuals and organizations bring this report's findings to their attention, and press these institutions to carry them out. This outcome relies upon a movement, emanating from the countries in which companies and financiers are based, that resoundingly demonstrates the reputational and financial risks that these actors run by abetting the *ruralista* bloc.

CONCLUSION

While this report scrutinizes a retrograde movement that threatens the Brazilian Amazon and the global climate, it should not be seen as deflecting responsibility from many developed countries such as the United States, which are equally responsible for environmental mismanagement, short-sighted economic policy, human rights abuses, and political backsliding. Rather, this is an effort to address an emergency facing a region that is both irreplaceable and critical to our collective survival.

Global solidarity with Brazil's indigenous and environmental movements can make the difference at this critical moment. The Brazilian government's sensitivity to its image abroad and its increasing reliance on international corporate and financial actors to remedy its ailing economy creates a unique opportunity for the international community to apply pressure upon those actors most responsible for today's crisis, and upon local private sector entities that sustain their unacceptable behavior. These efforts, working closely with Brazil's movement to advance socio-environmental reform, will advance a constructive agenda to halt pressing threats.

This report, and the advocacy it espouses, represent new innovations within a global movement for political and corporate accountability. To be truly successful, this campaign must be informed by Brazilian activists, convene a coalition of international partners, and garner significant resources to continue to identify new targets and their supply chain and financial connections.

The tools put forward in this report are designed to be replicable, allowing similar tactics to be deployed in other countries facing similar and related scenarios.

Most of all, this report is meant to send a signal, to bad actors and the markets that sustain them, that we will no longer tolerate business as usual. In a world faced with climate catastrophe, growing disregard for human rights and dignity, and a false dichotomy of economic growth versus environmental balance, it is our collective responsibility to make change.



Photo: Leonardo Milano

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