



# Theme 3: Land struggles: from field mobilization to legal victories, what strategies?

"HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS FROM LOCAL PEASANT STRUGGLES"

#### Where we are. EU

• Projected estimates of **European Union (EU) farmland abandonment** by the **year 2030**, vary greatly from possible highs of 8% (Renwick et al., 2013), under an increasing **trade liberalisation** and low Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) subsidy scenario, to more conservative mid-range estimates of 3–4% (Keenleyside and Tucker, 2010) (see also Verburg et al., 2010; Verburg and Overmars, 2009; Pointereau et al., 2008).

• Imposing domination on Earth is a fundamental feature of class domination.

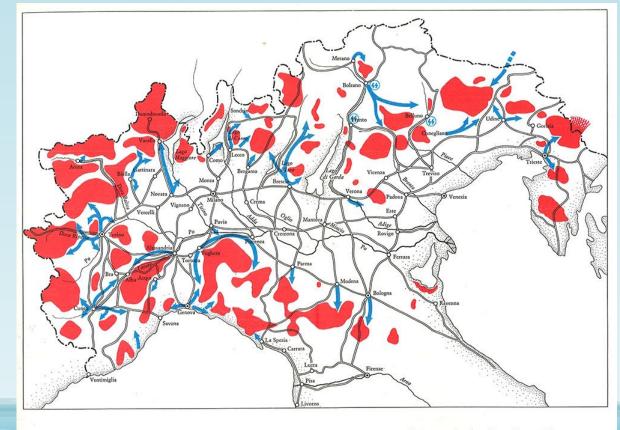


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#### 1944- Italy - The Partisan Peasant Republics

• the "liberated zones" as "oases of freedom in enemy territory", "schools of fraternity, civil dignity and democracy", "forges of a new and exciting

democracy".



4. Il piano generale tedesco di rastrellamento dell'autunno 1944.

# 1950-1960- ITALY: land occupations, a peasant epic

- The period of the 1950s and 1960s was a kind of great peasant epic for the struggle against the latifundium, the owners of uncultivated and abandoned land and for the **distribution of land**.
- These were the years of the "great occupations", in the South, but also in the Center and the North.
- It was at this time that the peasants and farm workers, led by the "leagues" but also autonomously, decided that the time had come to do away with the big absentee landlords.

# October 21, 1950: the agrarian reform.

- Characterized by a massive and organized popular movement.
- The largest and most participatory in our country over the centuries, especially in southern Italy.
- The protagonists were the **agricultural workers and landless peasants**, millions and millions of people, men and women, who took the land, peacefully, "armed" only with their poverty and despair, against the big landowners.

# PORTUGAL: AGRARIAN REFORM, OR "THE LAND FOR THOSE WHO WORK IT" - 1974

- The movement of occupation of agricultural properties in the fields of southern Portugal provided a rupture around land ownership.
- Rural workers organized into cooperatives or Collective Units of Production (UCP) took over large hectares that they used for agricultural production.
- This was one of the profound changes that Portugal went through after 1974 and that would continue for a few years
- [The first legislation on changes in land tenure and use is from November 2, 1974, with a law that established the compulsory leasing of underutilized land and defined the conditions under which the Institute for Agrarian Reform (IRA) can act]

# 1977 - the land as a common heritage



#### Italy: 1977-1981, the land to those who work it

- the years between 1977 and 1981, when hundreds of cooperatives were founded, mainly by young unemployed people who recovered thousands of hectares of uncultivated or poorly cultivated land, mainly public property.
- The objectives were the revival of agriculture, the return of young people to the land, the improvement of food quality, the preservation of the territory and the agrarian landscape, the creation of educational farms, cultural promotion and the integration of disabled and marginalized youth.
- Of the approximately 2,000 youth cooperatives that were established in early 1980, with a total of about 50,000 members, fewer are still active today, but that does not mean that they have failed.



ANTONIO ONORATI - ASSOCIAZIONE RURALE ITALIANA - ECVC, 2022

## Italy: 1978, new legislation

•Law of 4 August 1978, n. 440, "Rules for the use of uncultivated, abandoned or insufficiently cultivated land".

•[Pubblicata nella Gazz. Uff. 16 agosto 1978, n. 227]

# Struggles for land in Ireland: "The land of Ireland for the people of Ireland "\* by Fergal Anderson\*\*.

- Three hundred years of agri-exports "It is very surprising that a Land Commission which for 30 years has been engaged in a policy of increasing the number of small farms, has never applied itself to the development of a system of farming which would enable the man of 25-35 acres (10-14 ha) to make a decent living" (Irish Farmers Journal 1952).
- A recent report highlighted the role of an Irish company Agricultural Capital Partners in large-scale land investments in Europe, including a 30,000-hectare acquisition in Serbia, as well as other projects in Poland, Latvia and Lithuania.24 Members of Agricultural Capital Partners include former government ministers and other Irish businessmen involved in international financial services.

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# Portugal 1989: a people fought against the eucalyptus. And the land never gave up again



## Struggles for the defense of the land, 1990

• In 1989 there was a war in the Lila valley in Valpaços. Hundreds of people gathered to destroy 200 hectares of eucalyptus, afraid that the trees would steal their water and bring fire.

- On March 31, 1989, at the stroke of a bell, 800 people gathered in Veiga do Lila, a small village in Valpaços, and led one of the largest environmental protests that ever took place in Portugal.
- "That day nobody was afraid. They were throwing shots in the air and it seemed like we had some kind of force moving us forward" Maria João Sousa



# A greenhouse largest than the village

Sardegna, Narbolia, annès 2010

### Ireland: re-emergence of the farmers' movement

• The re-emergence of a group called the United Farmers Association, which aims to, among other things:
"Counteract the 'groupthink' of the current establishment elites whose policies are based on supporting the big operators, the rich and powerful in our society, to the detriment and ultimate demise of low-income businesses and agriculture, especially in rural communities.

### Germany

- Farmers struggle to survive in eastern Germany
- •Young farmers in eastern Germany are struggling to find land as the demand for regional and organic products increases.
- •But they do not seem to be able to gain ground in the face of competition from large multinationals for farmland.

# Belgium, the price of land

- •Brussels' farmland grab angers the rest of Belgium
- •The Walloon and federal agriculture ministers have rejected the Brussels minister's plan, saying it would drive up land prices.

Brussels' farmlandgrab irritates the rest of Belgium The Walloon and federal agriculture ministers have rejected the Brussels minister's plan, saying it would drive up land prices.

- Land consolidation in Norway. The aspects and mechanism of conflict resolution in land consolidation.
- The concept of "conflict" is quite broad; "conflict" can range from disagreements over subdivision and plot layout, common infrastructure, etc. to legal disputes over boundaries, rights, etc.
- Mechanisms can thus vary from mediation to formal legal decisions. Today, farms are relatively small: a few hectares of cultivated fields, a similar amount of nearby pasture, a larger amount of forested areas, and commons of various types in much larger areas above the timberline. "Most active farms lease additional land."

#### Sweden, the "minorities": Sami and farmers

- Which local population?
- Examination of the Gállok mining conflict and the rights of the Sami population in terms of justice and power
- Author links open an overlay panel
- SofiaPersson<sup>a</sup>DavidHarnesk<sup>ab</sup>MineIslar<sup>ab</sup>

• <a href="https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718517302397">https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718517302397</a>

#### The land a commodity of the financial industry

"...Financialization can be broadly understood as the growing power and influence of the financial industry. Some scholars describe it as "the growing importance of financial markets, financial incentives, financial institutions, and financial elites in the functioning of the economy and its governing institutions, both nationally and internationally."

Others point out that this includes the dominance of financial interests not only in material terms but also in terms of how land is understood and discussed..."

REF: Epstein (2005) Introduction: financialization and the world economy

### Rome 2012 - Voluntary Guidelines for Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security - CFS -

#### CSA - FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

#### Rome, 2012

#### 1. Objectives

- 1.1 These Voluntary Guidelines aim to improve land\*, fisheries and forest governance for the benefit of all, with particular attention to vulnerable and marginalized populations......
- 1.2 The purpose of these Guidelines is to:
- 1. improve land governance by providing guidance and information on internationally accepted practices for establishing systems of rights related to the use, management and control of land, fisheries and forests
- 2. contribute to the improvement and development of policy, legal and organizational frameworks that regulate all land rights over these resources;......



2.4 These guidelines are global in scope. Taking into consideration the national context, they can be used by all countries and regions, at all stages of economic development and for the governance of all forms of tenure, including public, private, communal, indigenous and customary.

For what reasons and with what objectives did we, the rural social movements and other civil society organizations, engage in this initiative?

• Our participation was to continue the cross-sectoral dialogue initiated at the Parallel Forum to the International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ICARRD) in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2006 and at the Forum for Food Sovereignty in Sélingué, Mali in 2008, on issues related to land, land and water reforms, territories and human relationships with nature in order to produce food and sustain our livelihoods, communities and societies in the context of food sovereignty.

In these Guidelines, what are the useful elements for social struggles regarding access to and control of natural resources for food production?

- No treaty or agreement, however positive or progressive, is self-evident.
- It is popular pressure, mobilization and organization
  demanding its application that give life to these documents and
  implement their terms to achieve social change.

## Principles of implementation

• " 6. Consultation and participation: before decisions are made, engage with and seek the support of those with legitimate land rights who may be affected by those decisions, and consider their input; take into account the imbalance of power between different parties and ensure active, free, effective, meaningful and informed participation of individuals or groups in decision-making processes."







United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other Rural Workers The General Assembly, Welcoming the adoption by ......



#### Article 17

- 1. Peasants and other people living in rural areas have the right to land, individually and/or collectively, in accordance with Article 28 of this Declaration, which includes the right to access, use and manage land and the water bodies, coastal seas, fishing grounds, pastures and forests thereon in a sustainable manner, in order to ensure an adequate standard of living, to have a place to live in security, peace and dignity, and to develop their cultures.
- 2. States shall take appropriate measures to eliminate and prohibit all forms of discrimination related to the right to land, including discrimination resulting from changed marital status, lack of legal capacity, or lack of access to economic resources.

#### Article 18

• 1. Peasants and other people working in rural areas have the right to the preservation and protection of their environment and the productive capacity of their land and the resources they use and manage.

#### Article 28

• 1. Nothing in this Declaration shall be construed as diminishing, impairing or nullifying any rights that peasants and other rural workers and indigenous peoples already have or may acquire in the future.

Occupation of Somontes: La Via Campesina extends its solidarity to the workers of SOC-SAT, Andalusia.

These 432 hectares of land belonging to the regional government of Andalusia were occupied in March 2012 to prevent their privatization and passage into the hands of agribusiness and financial speculation.







# NO TAV



ARI member sentenced to one year in prison

March 11, 2022 at 12:45
Saturday 12/03 at 15,30: Stefano, Giorgio and
Umberto are released from prison in Valletta!

No TAV is an Italian protest movement born in the early 1990s, in which groups of citizens united by their criticism of the construction of high-capacity, high-speed railway infrastructures (commonly called TAV, "Train à Grande Vitesse")[1] are taken as a symbol and example of inadequate management of the commons, public spending, territory and politics.



"For the past eight years, we've felt on the front lines," says Fabrizia Arduini\*, Ortona resident, artist, but also marine biologist and passionate environmentalist." - March 18, 2016

\* Unforgettable member of the Crocevia International Center

Another bill, this time regional, drafted by the municipal and provincial councilors of the PCR of Chieti (Nicola Tinari, Paola Cianci, Andrea Natale, Gianluca Primavera and Angelo Orlando) would give the region the right to intervene in environmental and energy issues.

Abruzzo protests against oil in the Adriatic Sea Thousands of people march in Pescara to reject the mare Ombrina 13 April 2013

Every opportunity is used by megaproject developers and their allies to stigmatize resistance movements. A network of European groups is fighting against mega projects, building bridges between movements despite the repression and criminalization of activism by the authorities.

State repression was most severe when activists were demonstrating against the high-speed train in the Basque Country and in the Susa Valley.

So far, four forums have taken place:

2011 - Susa Valley (Italy), organized by the No TAV movement (Treno ad Alta Velocità, high speed train in Italian). They organized the resistance against the high-speed rail line between Turin and Lyon.

2012 - Notre-Dame-des-Landes (Brittany, France), organized by groups taking a stand against the construction of a new airport for the city of Nantes.

2013 - Stuttgart (Germany), organized by the platform against the construction of a new railway station in the city.

2014 - Rosia Montana (Romania), organized by the movement against a massive mining project in the region.

#### Third millennium: land movements become urban

- In 80 years, the struggles for land have been radically transformed: from "the land to those who work it" to "the struggle against the consumption of the soil", "the struggle against the destruction of the landscape", urban resistance to the impact of infrastructures or more generally to the destructive use of the land.
- The results of these movements, if successful, succeed in stopping the destruction of land, with little or no reference to its agricultural use (with some notable exceptions) and with little or no impact in the construction of original legal instruments capable of enshrining collective rights over land use.
- Even more rarely, these movements put the preservation of the agricultural use of land and its redistribution to ensure access to young or new farmers on the agenda of their demands.

#### From struggles for the land to struggles on the land

- A social resistance that stems from the generalized unease especially among the urban population about the impact of the reorganization of capital, its very long crisis (since 2007) and the growing economic, social and cultural insecurity of the subaltern classes.
- Self-organization and localism are its constitutive elements, but they also normally undermine its broader political development.
- The use of the instruments of struggle is the most varied: from the "physical" resistance to the legal battle, these instruments are often practiced simultaneously.
- When proposals for new legal instruments emerge, they make little reference to agriculture but essentially build the defense of the collective consumption of public goods.

#### What about the peasant movement?

- "the land for those who work it": the farmers of the future
- Expansion of the network of small and very small farmers
- No to ownership, yes to agricultural use of land
- Alliances? With whom?
- Resistances and alternatives: beware of the myth of the closed circle, territorial localism and self-referentiality.
- Who writes the rules? Legislation to defend oneself (the shelter behind which one catches one's breath), institutional "guerrilla warfare" / capture of the movements' watchwords
- A redistributive agrarian reform?
- land and food sovereignty
- Are farm workers and peasants still the force capable of leading a movement for access to land and the struggle against the concentration and financialization of agricultural land?

we organize ourselves

