PERU’S DEADLY ENVIRONMENT

THE RISE IN KILLINGS OF ENVIRONMENTAL AND LAND DEFENDERS
Below: Four indigenous leaders, including Edwin Chota, were recently killed by suspected illegal loggers. The community of Alto Tamaya-Saweto continues to struggle for recognition of its land rights in the Peruvian Amazon. © Emory Richey.

The world’s attention will be on Peru this December, as governments from 195 countries convene in the capital Lima for the 2014 UN Climate Conference. As delegates negotiate a global deal aimed at averting catastrophic climate change, a parallel human rights crisis is unfolding in Peru and around the world. An increasing number of people on the frontline of the fight to protect the environment are being killed.

The recent murders of Peruvian indigenous leader Edwin Chota and three of his colleagues, who died trying to defend their land in the Amazon from illegal logging, are part of a global trend in violent crime against activists. Global Witness research, published earlier this year, shows that on average, two such ‘environmental and land’ defenders are being killed each week around the world, a rate that has been increasing in recent years. Governments aren’t doing enough to stop it.

As global demand for natural resources intensifies, more and more ordinary people are having to defend their rights to land and the environment from corporate or state abuse. Many of the killings stem from conflicts over the ownership and use of land, particularly in the face of expanded mining and logging activities. An estimated 93% of extractive and agriculture projects happen on land that is already inhabited. Our research found that Peru is the world’s fourth deadliest country to be an environmental or land defender, behind Brazil, Honduras and the Philippines. Between 2002 and 2014, at least 57 such activists were killed in Peru. More than half died during the last four years.

In few countries is the critical role of leaders like Edwin Chota in the fight to prevent environmental destruction more apparent than in Peru. The country is home to an area of rainforest roughly the size of Germany and Norway combined. The destruction of tropical forests around the world is one of the largest sources of emissions contributing to climate change, and deforestation rates in Peru doubled in 2012 from the previous year, accounting for nearly half its annual greenhouse gas emissions. Peru’s forests are home to more than 300,000 indigenous peoples, such as Chota’s Ashéninka group, who claim rights to their

November 2014
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Continued

traditional lands. The realisation of indigenous land rights has proven to be one of the most effective ways to curb deforestation, but communities are not receiving the support and protections they need. There are currently over 20 million hectares (ha) of indigenous land claims in the Peruvian Amazon that the Government has failed to process. 40

Although Peru has made commitments to protect its rainforest, stating its intention to reduce net deforestation to zero by 2021 and recently signing a US$300 million agreement to reduce net deforestation to zero by 2021 and the world’s most effective ways to curb deforestation, are related to the struggle against illegal logging. © Getty.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Peru’s government should:

• Implement and respect all of the provisions set out in the UN Declaration on Human Rights defenders, 119 the Organisation of American States’ resolution on human rights defenders, 120 and relevant domestic laws to protect human rights and environmental advocates. 123, 124

• Revoke law 30151 that weakens protections for peaceful protestors by extending immunity to Peru’s security agencies for the use of force in certain situations.

• Process pending indigenous land claims that cover over 20 million ha of forest, and realise the rights of Peru’s indigenous communities as enshrined in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

• Improve coordinated law enforcement efforts to tackle illegal logging in the forest sector, by assigning more resources to the Multi-Sectoral Commission against Illegal Logging (CMLTI) and the Regional Environmental Prosecutor’s Offices.

• Investigate the alleged corrupt links between public officials and illegal loggers in Ucayali and prosecute where corruption is identified.

• Revoke law 30230 that weakens Peru’s environmental protection procedures and

challenges include lack of law enforcement, unchecked illegal logging, insecure land tenure and corruption. Illegal logging is worth 1.5 times the value of legal timber exports in Peru, 37 while corruption among public officials is endemic in the Amazon region. 38 Other threats to forest protection from infrastructure and mining projects are marked by secretive decision-making and a lack of consultation with affected communities. 39

Recent moves by Peru’s government to weaken environmental and land rights legislation 42 have raised the stakes further for activists. Before his death, Edwin Chota repeatedly called for recognition of his community’s land rights and for government action to prevent illegal logging, but his calls went unheard. Unless more is done to address the underlying factors that led to Chota’s death and the impunity enjoyed by those behind his killing, environmental leaders like him will continue to be at risk. Peru’s hosting of the UN climate conference next month presents an opportunity for the country to demonstrate its commitment to protecting human rights and the environment. The lives of citizens protecting their land and environment may depend on it. Peru must seize this opportunity; the government and its policies will be in the international spotlight. In December, it must not return to the shadows once that spotlight has moved.

GLOBAL KILLINGS ON THE RISE

As world leaders prepare to meet for the UN climate convention in Lima this December to discuss a global deal to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, ordinary citizens are being attacked and killed for defending their land and environment from increasing threats. In April 2014, Global Witness’ report Deadly Environment showed that between 2002 and 2013, there were 908 known killings of activists around the world. 44 The number of killings attributable to the protection of land and the environment is subject to revision as data improves, but the rate is clearly increasing, with three times as many people killed in 2012 than in any of the 10 previous years. Latin America and Asia Pacific are the worst affected regions, and indigenous groups particularly hard-hit overall. In many cases indigenous land rights are not recognized in law or practice, leaving communities vulnerable to exploitation by powerful economic interests that brand them as ‘anti-development’.

This crisis is poorly understood, and efforts to address it woefully inadequate. A lack of systematic monitoring means that publicly available information relating to violence against environmental and land defenders is hard to find and even harder to verify. Global Witness’ attempt to quantify the scale of killings that have been committed in Peru and there are pending indigenous land claims; strengthen and apply adequate resources to the National Service of Environmental Certification for Sustainable Investments (SENACE), the body entrusted with improving Peru’s environmental impact assessment framework. 45

In light of these recommendations, the international community should publicly call on the Peruvian Government to ensure the protection of environmental and land defenders, bring perpetrators to account and strengthen the country’s land rights and environmental procedures and policies in the build up to the 20th UN Climate Conference in Lima.

In April 2014 we reported 58 known killings of environmental and land defenders in Peru. The new figure of 57 includes killings up to this report’s publication date, and the change is due to the exclusion of certain cases that following further investigation did not meet our strict criteria. Due to low levels of systematic monitoring means that publicly available information relating to violence against environmental and land defenders is hard to find and even harder to verify. Global Witness’ attempt to quantify the scale of killings shows the final outcome to be a conservative estimate. This opacity is likely both a cause and effect of the culture of impunity that surrounds these deaths. Stuningly, only one per-cent of documented cases saw a conviction. National governments and judicial systems are routinely failing to protect their citizens from harm. Despite the magnitude of reported killings, and a lack of reliable data collection, some estimates frequently come to light, and recent figures are also cited in previous reports on data on killings. The failure to report killings is widespread, but these figures are often the best that exists in an ongoing situation. The headline number of killings is always wrong, that figure is due to the dearth of reliable data on killings. The headline number of killings is always wrong, that figure is due to the dearth of reliable data on killings. The headline number of killings is always wrong, that figure is due to the dearth of reliable data on killings. The headline number of killings is always wrong, that figure is due to the dearth of reliable data on killings.

In April 2014, Peru was ranked 57th among 160 of the world’s richest countries in terms of environmental and land defenders. 46 This ranking was calculated by Global Witness based on enforcement of environmental law, the size of the country’s forested area, the number of deforestation cases reported, the presence of illegal logging, and the extent to which public officials are investigated where corruption is alleged. The death of Edwin Chota has raised the stakes further for activists. Before his death, Edwin Chota repeatedly called for recognition of his community’s land rights and for government action to prevent illegal logging, but his calls went unheard. Unless more is done to address the underlying factors that led to Chota’s death and the impunity enjoyed by those behind his killing, environmental leaders like him will continue to be at risk.

In the run-up to hosting the December 2014 climate conference, and demanding attention on Peru’s efforts to address these problems once the conference is over. In light of these recommendations, the international community should publicly call on the Peruvian Government to ensure the protection of environmental and land defenders, bring perpetrators to account and strengthen the country’s land rights and environmental procedures and policies in the build up to the 20th UN Climate Conference in Lima.

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Across Latin America, secure land tenure for indigenous communities has proven to be one of the most effective ways to reduce deforestation. But the Peruvian government has been heavily criticized by the country’s largest indigenous network, ADISEEP, for its failure to prioritize the processing of over 20 million ha of pending indigenous land title applications in the Amazon. While a US$800 million ‘Declaration of Intent’ with the government of Norway outlines measures to accelerate the titling process, it remains to be seen how committed the government of Peru is to tackling this longstanding problem. Peru’s indigenous groups have warned that if the Norway deal is to be a success, Peru must first improve its ‘policy and practice’ on forests and indigenous peoples’ rights.15

The deaths of Chota and three other Asháninka leaders showcase the dangers of fighting for recognition of indigenous lands. Ensuring secure land tenure for indigenous territories would be a sign not only of Peru’s commitment to halt forest loss but also of its desire to confront the governance problems that led to the killings of these activists. Unfortunately, the passing of law 30320 by Peru’s Congress in July 2014 raises serious doubts over the country’s willingness to do this. The law grants extended land use rights to investors for the expansion of large-scale agriculture, mining, logging and infrastructure projects.16 Civil society groups have highlighted the potential threat to indigenous lands the law poses, given that 72 percent of indigenous communities still do not have legal recognition of their rights to their traditional territories.17

Peru’s vast forests face increasing threats from logging, extractive and infrastructure projects. Peru has 73 million ha of forest covering 57 percent of its land area, the fourth largest area of tropical forest of any country.21 Deforestation in Peru accounts for almost half its greenhouse gas emissions,22 with the rate of destruction more than doubling between 2011 and 2012 to 246,000 ha annually.23 Widespread illegality,24 corruption25 and institutional weaknesses across the forest sector26 means Peru and its international partners face a daunting task. The law grants extended land use rights to investors for the expansion of large-scale agriculture, mining, logging and infrastructure projects.16 Civil society groups have highlighted the potential threat to indigenous lands the law poses, given that 72 percent of indigenous communities still do not have legal recognition of their rights to their traditional territories.17

In response to these threats, at the 2009 Copenhagen climate conference, Peru announced its intention to reduce net deforestation to zero by 2020. The following year the government launched the National Program to Conserve Forests for the Mitigation of Climate Change, which aspires to conserve 54 million ha of forest.21 The recent agreement with Norway aims to fulfil these commitments by providing US$300 million to Peru to address forest loss in the Amazon as well as to formalize indigenous land rights.22 However, for this support to be effective Peru must respect indigenous rights and reverse the recent weakening of legal protections for human rights and the environment. Implementation of measures designed to improve forest governance and reduce illegal logging and corruption.23 Peru is woefully inadequate, exemplified by uncontrolled rates of illegal logging. The rampant illegality in Peru’s logging industry illustrates the scale of the country’s forest governance problems. In 2003 the International Tropical Timber Organisation (FTTO) estimated illegal logging to account for between 70 and 90 percent of trade.24 Recent evidence indicates little has changed. For example, a recent independent analysis of Peru’s logging sector found that more than two-thirds of logging concessions inspected by the government between 2005 and 2012 were suspected of major violations of the law.25 The research concluded that “logging permits based on falsified annual plans are widely used to harvest trees in unauthorised areas.”26

A 2012 report by the Environmental Investigation Agency went further in its claims, suggesting that corruption and illegality are the norm, not the exception, in Peru’s logging industry.27 The report tellingly highlighted the dangers faced by those attempting to change the system, emphasising the risk of physical attack.21 Despite these failures in forest governance, Peru recently announced plans for an additional 5 million ha of logging concessions,28 potentially escalating an already unmanageable situation. Peru must undertake systemic measures to improve law enforcement efforts in the forest sector.29 For example by assigning more resources to the National Indian Defence Service.30

Other major threats to forest protection in Peru, like large-scale infrastructure and extractive projects, have been driven by poor decision-making, lack of consultation, and conflict. Global Witness’ research in 2012 uncovered suspected corruption at the local government level around plans for the Purús highway, a road project that would have violated Peru’s laws on national parks and protected areas for ‘uncontacted’ indigenous peoples.29 In Bagua, also in the Peruvian Amazon, at least 42 people were killed in June 2009 during clashes between the police and protesters opposed to proposed laws that would have facilitated mining companies’ access to indigenous land and which indigenous communities were never consulted on.30

Unless Peru’s government acts to address these underlying governance problems, its commitments to forest preservation and climate change mitigation will remain unfulfilled, and communities trying to protect their land and forests will continue to face lethal consequences. With the passing of law 30320, the Ministry of Environment’s authority to designate protected lands exempt from industrial activity has been revoked.31 This has severe implications for 20 million ha of indigenous land in the Amazon that is still pending official titling, as the law is likely to allow extractive activities to encroach further into indigenous territories. Further, the law reduces the time designated for the evaluation of Environmental Impact Assessments of extractive projects. International NGOs have highlighted that this represents a contravention of the US/Peru Free Trade Agreement (FTA): the FTA prohibits both parties from “weakening or reducing the protections afforded in their respective environmental laws.”32

Many of the killings of environmental and land defenders in Peru are attributed to conflicts between local communities and extractive projects, with opposition to mining the principle focus for violence against activists. This problem will only intensify with the weakening of environmental legislation, embedded by law 30320, in the face of efforts to increase investment in the extractive sector.33 Other legal measures have contributed to the erosion of protections for indigenous peoples. The recent passing of law 3015134 impacts on the right to peaceful protest by granting members of the armed forces and/or private security guards certain exemptions from criminal responsibility if they cause injury or death while on duty.35 The law has been denounced by Amnesty International as a dangerous setback in the struggle against impunity and human rights violations.36

Rather than strengthening legal protections for indigenous land rights and the environment, Peru appears to be moving in the opposite direction. The government must take immediate action to revoke regressive laws such as 30230 and 30151 if it is to make real progress in improving its human rights situation and halting deforestation.
The murder of four indigenous leaders by suspected illegal loggers

In September 2014, in Peru’s remote Amazon region of Ucayali, four Ashéninka leaders – Edwin Chota Valera, Leoncio Quinquina Melendez, Jorge Ríos Pérez and Moises Pinedo – went missing while travelling to neighbouring Brazil for a meeting on how to address the region’s illegal logging crisis. Days later their bodies were found, shot dead by suspected loggers. Their murders are symptomatic of wider issues in the Amazon region: the government’s failure to recognize indigenous claims to their traditional lands, an issue Chota and other Ashéninka leaders campaigned on for more than a decade: poor law enforcement and pervasive corruption that is allowing illegal logging to thrive in the Peruvian Amazon; and the gaps in institutional capacity and resources to adequately address these problems.

UCAYALI’S “Mafia”

Illegal logging plagues the Ucayali region, which is the second largest producer of timber and the largest processing centre for forest products in Peru. Logging concessions in the region cover 2.5 million ha of Amazon forest. In 2011, the Environmental Prosecutor’s Office estimated that 70-90 percent of logging in Ucayali was illegal. The ITED logging concessions in Ucayali, 45 percent of which were signed in the lead up to the Supreme Court of Peru’s ruling for Forest Resources and Wildlife (ONSJER) between 2005 and 2012, for breaches of the forest law. This has also been made within Ucayali officials and illegal logging – a situation that threatens to undermine efforts to address the issue and strengthen protections for environmental defenders in the region. For example, a logging company ran by the current Vice President of the Ucayali Regional Government Carlos Henderson, stands accused of illegal logging. Henderson is the General Manager of a logging company called Madreverde-Massara that operates in the Amazon. In 2010 ONSJER, a supervisory body of the national government, filed an administrative process against Madreverde alleging that it falsely declared 4.94 cubic meters of timber cut outside its legal concession area as having originated from inside its concession. An appeal was launched by the company, but in October 2014 the judiciary in Ucayali ruled in favour of ONSJER, opening the way for the company to be fined and stripped of the right to operate in the concession.

One decade later the community formally requested for their land to be recognized as an indigenous community. In 2003, Alto Tamaya-Saweto was formally recognized as an indigenous community. Edwin Chota Valera, the community leader, was shot dead in 2014, alongside three others, in his tomb in order to dissuade him and his community from their efforts to stop illegal logging. Chota repeatedly warned regional and national authorities about the multiple threats he and the families in Alto Tamaya-Saweto received. He requested government protection for him and his family in 2005 due to continued threats by loggers, but received no response. A year later, Chota denounced the illegal logger Manuel Rios Pena for threatening local indigenous leaders, but again no action was taken.

In a separate case, the President of the Ucayali Auditing Commission, Javier Bonilla, accused the Ucayali Regional Department for Forest and Fauna (DEFFSU) – the institution responsible for issuing timber licences – of facilitating illegal logging through the forgery of signatures on harvesting permits from 2008 to 2011. Rampant illegal logging has already taken place in Ucayali’s Alto Purús National Park (the largest in Peru) with timber transported by planes charted by the army, police and navy, who were suspected of collusion. More recently, in 2018 the Environmental Prosecutor of Ucayali, Francisco Berrutti, was suddenly replaced – a move that local media has attributed to the timber mafia, which he alleged included the Director of DEFFSU. Berrutti has claimed that the Director allowed the flow of illegal timber. In a response to Global Witness, the Director of DEFFSU said the claims of Berrutti were completely false, and that it was in fact Berropsi that facilitated the flow of illegal timber due to dereliction of duty, for which the DEFFSU Director placed a complaint with the Peru’s National Institute of Natural Resources (INRENA) and the Environmental Prosecutor of Pucallpa.

Chota’s capital, but the file was shelved by the Prosecutor. The following year, Chota submitted another police complaint containing the names and pictures of illegal loggers and geo-referenced locations of their activities. Ucayali’s new Environmental Prosecutor, Francisco Berrios, began taking the case seriously, but was then suddenly replaced by the Vice President denounced as the local timber ‘mafia’. Two of the illegal loggers pictured in Edwin Chota’s 2013 police complaint are now in jail, accused of murdering him and his fellow activists.

Following the murders, Peru’s President Ollanta Humala promised an exhaustive investigation into the killings. One of the media reports suggests, however, that the investigation has been effectively paralyzed due to a lack of resources. The people behind the crimes remain at large, and the widows of the deceased have been unable to return to their community for fear of further retribution. Peru’s government has finally initiated the land titling of Alto-Tamaya-Saweto, and promised to invest the equivalent of US$300,000 in development projects for the community, but serious questions need to be answered about why it took the deaths of four indigenous leaders to prompt the government to start the titling process and prosecute illegal loggers.

There are still over 2 million ha pending indigenous land tenure applications in the Peruvian Amazon. Peru must prioritize the timely and effective titling of these remaining indigenous territories, and those behind the illegal timber trade must be held to account. Only when perpetrators realise the law is not on their side will attacks diminish.

The struggle of the Alto Tamaya-Saweto community

Against the backdrop of government inaction and corruption, Edwin Chota and other Ashéninka leaders have fought to protect the ancestral lands of their community of Alto Tamaya-Saweto, a group of Ashéninka families living in the Ucayali region near the Brazilian border. For decades, the Ashéninka people of the Alto Tamaya River have lived in their traditional way dedicated to hunting, fishing and small-scale farming and logging. Yet the community has long been a target for illegal loggers seeking high-value species like mahogany. In a 2013 interview with National Geographic, Edwin Chota remarked on the dangers posed by illegal loggers, pointing to the conditions that would ultimately lead to his death: “They threaten us. They intimidate us. They have the guns.”

The struggle of Chota’s community is emblematic of long-standing problems that beset Peru’s Amazon region. In 2002 Peru’s government handed out as logging concessions, with timber transported by planes charted by the army, police and navy, who were suspected of collusion. More recently, in 2018 the Environmental Prosecutor of Ucayali, Francisco Berrutti, was suddenly replaced – a move that local media has attributed to the timber mafia, which he alleged included the Director of DEFFSU. Berrutti has claimed that the Director allowed the flow of illegal timber. In a response to Global Witness, the Director of DEFFSU said the claims of Berrutti were completely false, and that it was in fact Berropsi that facilitated the flow of illegal timber due to dereliction of duty, for which the DEFFSU Director placed a complaint with the Peru’s National Institute of Natural Resources (INRENA) and the Environmental Prosecutor of Pucallpa.

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CASE STUDIES

Lives lost in Peru’s mining sector

The mining sector in Peru, like the forest sector, is beleaguered by poor governance. Peru is currently the world’s third-biggest producer of copper and 6th largest producer of gold, with mining accounting for 15 percent of GDP overall and 5.4 percent of Peru’s total greenhouse gas emissions. The vast majority of mineral deposits are located near indigenous communities, resulting in extensive conflicts over land and the environmental impacts of mining projects. Recent studies have shown that the gold mining industry, which is prominent in the Amazon region, is leading to dramatic increases in deforestation and mercury poisoning, affecting the health and livelihoods of local indigenous communities. Global Witness’ research found that 80 percent of all killings of environmental and land activists in Peru between 2002 and 2013 stemmed from local opposition to extractive projects. Peru’s Human Rights Ombudsman documented 1945 social conflicts generated by opposition to mining projects over the period 2006 to 2014. Episodes like the protests at Bagua in 2009, which led to the deaths of at least 52 people, amongst them policemen and civilians, have left a dark cloud over governance.

The case of Rio Blanco

The ongoing conflict around the Rio Blanco mine in northern Peru is indicative of the country’s failure to address persistent and serious governance issues in its mining sector. Rio Blanco lies 50 kilometers from the border with Ecuador, in the high altitude forests of Huancabamba and Ayabac. The project has a concession area of 6,473 ha, and through open pit mining aims to extract 19,000 tonnes of copper per year, making it one of the largest undeveloped copper resources in the world. Since the beginning of the exploration phase in 2003, the local communities of Segunda and Cajas (in Huancabamba) and Yanqa (in Ayabac) have opposed the project and claimed that the company that owned the mining project, Mineria Majaz, illegally occupied their lands.

Protests have been prevalent throughout the mine’s history. In 1994, the company Cyprus Annacodi bid for the exploration concession but withdrew after huge protest rallies were held by local communities. Monterrico Metals founded the company Mineria Majaz in 2001 and obtained an exploration concession for Rio Blanco. The government declared the project ‘of national interest’ in 2003, despite the communities of Segunda and Cajas unanimously rejecting it. In November of the same year, the Energy and Mines Ministry approved the project’s environmental impact assessment, which led to further protests during which a local community member, Herrera Racho, was killed after being struck by a teargas canister fired by police.

Additional protests by the communities in July 2005 led to allegations that the police put hoods over demonstrators and beat them. Two female detainees also alleged that they were sexually assaulted. The police detained 28 protestors and another civilian, Melanio García, was killed during the police crackdown. The detained protestors claimed that their abuse under detention went on for three days and that they suffered serious injuries.

The government declared the Rio Blanco project ‘of national interest’ in 2003, despite the communities of Segunda and Cajas unanimously rejecting it. In November of the same year, the Energy and Mines Ministry approved the project’s environmental impact assessment, which led to further protests during which a local community member, Herrera Racho, was killed after being struck by a teargas canister fired by police.

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In recent years Peru’s government has announced a series of commitments to safeguard its rainforests and stands to receive substantial international financial support to bolster its efforts, most recently through a US$300 million deal with Norway, illustrating that Peru accepts it has both a global and a national responsibility to protect its forests to mitigate climate change. But the increasing number of murders of environmental and land defenders such as Edwin Chota and his colleagues raise serious questions about the government’s real commitment to protecting the environment and those who fight to preserve it.

Peru’s forest and extractive sectors are both dogged by social conflicts, many involving indigenous communities, and exacerbated by national responsibility to protect its forests to mitigate climate change. But the increasing number of killings of environmental and land defenders such as Edwin Chota and his colleagues raise serious questions about the government’s real commitment to protecting the environment and those who fight to preserve it.

An unprecedented number of killings of environmental and land defenders have occurred over the last three years in Peru. This report has highlighted just a handful of these cases, which are tragic reminders of Peru’s environmental governance challenges and the risks of political will. These killings should compel Peru to take timely and firm steps, in the run up to the 2014 UN climate conference and beyond, to address the underlying causes that give rise to these killings. If Peru wants to be a world leader in the fight against climate change, it should start by protecting the environmental defenders who are its best allies in achieving that aim.
53. Bonilla, WWF Peru, Upper Amazon Conservancy. In 2009 notorious logger Roland Patrnogic
officials at the DEFFS in Ucayali. Javier Bonilla, Solicitud investigación de actos de corrupción
65. Signatures for permits to harvest timber carried by rivers are alleged to have been forged by
64. La Republica, PJ anula recurso que protegía a vicepresidente de la región
63. Organism for the Supervision of Forest and Fauna Resources, Resolucion Directorial No
58. Ministry of Agriculture of Peru, Concesiones Forestales Con Fines Maderables otorgadas
in Peru’s Concession System are Destroying the Future of its Forests, 2012, Available at: http:/ /
52. documented conflict cases in Peru’s mining sector. In 2013, five years after the Bagua
46. La Republica, Casos de corrupción aumentaron en casi 200% en La Libertad, 24 April 2014.
51. Congress of the Republic of Peru, Law No 0154, that modifies articles 2 and 3 of the Article
59. An estimated 95 percent of the economy directly or indirectly depends on logging, whilst
58. Ministry of Labour of Peru, Ministerio de Trabajo Invierte S/. 900 Mil En Comunidad Nativa
54. Ministry of Agriculture of Peru, Concesiones Forestales Con fines Maderables otorgadas
55. The Lago National Park’s development is subject to environmental impact assessments.
56. Forestry Management Plan for the Maderos Bajo district, 2013-2023, Available at: http://www.maderosbajo.gob.pe/Consumentes/Gestion/PlanForestal/
58. Ministry of Agriculture of Peru, Concesiones Forestales Con fines Maderables otorgadas
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