

A VISION OF THE LEGAL AMAZON DURING THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP: CAPITALISM AND DEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF SUDAM (1965-1977)

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ABSTRACT

The Legal Amazon in the 1960s and 1970s was an experience for the military to apply the economic policy planned by the monopoly and developmentalist State, to meet the political, social and economic desires that sustained the coup of 1964. This article seeks to show that the military intervention by means of Sudam and official bodies in the Amazon achieved the development of an economic enclave, stimulated by tax incentives and credits for the exploration of land and commodities, to the detriment of the extractive peasantry. The adopted methodology is a critical, documentary bibliography, based on the theories of capitalism and its contradictions with the agrarian issue in contrast to a peasant and extractive society. The result shows that the effects of the dictatorship years, with official incentive policies centered on the sectors benefited by the activities of the agribusiness, were harmful to the peasantry in the Legal Amazon.

Keywords: Legal Amazon; military intervention; peasantry.

UMA VISÃO DA AMAZÔNIA LEGAL DURANTE A DITADURA MILITAR: CAPITALISMO E DESENVOLVIMENTO DEPENDENTE NO CONTEXTO DA SUDAM (1965-1977)

RESUMO

A Amazônia Legal no período da década de 1960 e 1970, foi uma experiência para os militares aplicarem a política econômica planejada pelo modelo do Estado monopolista e desenvolvimentista dirigido, para atender

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aos anseios políticos, sociais e econômicos ao qual sustentaram o golpe de 1964. O artigo visa mostrar que a intervenção militar pela Sudam e órgãos oficiais na Amazônia logrou o desenvolvimento de um enclave econômico, estimulado por meio de incentivos fiscais e créditos para exploração de terras e commodities, em detrimento do campesinato extrativista. A metodologia adotada é bibliográfica crítica, documental, com base nas teorias do capitalismo e suas contradições com a questão agrária em contraste a uma sociedade camponesa e extrativista. O resultado mostra que os efeitos dos anos de Ditadura foram deletérios ao campesinato na Amazônia Legal, por meio das políticas oficiais de incentivos centrados nos setores beneficiados pelas atividades da agroindústria.

Palavras-chave: *Amazônia Legal; campesinato; intervenção militar.*

INTRODUCTION

After the overthrow of João Goulart's government by the coup d'état (10/07/1961 to 03/31/1964), the military who gave rise to the civil-corporate coup, imposing the Dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985), created an economic development policy based on dependence on foreign capital by means of loans. The corporate/agricultural-industrial bourgeoisie that supported the military's policy was able to capture, for its own interests, the public investments for the Legal Amazon, placing institutions and bodies, laws and decrees at the service of monopoly capital and centralizing large enterprises. This process occurred not only through the transfer of capital, by way of tax exemptions and incentives, but also through large land holdings in hectares for the agricultural and timber industry. At the same time, the project for the development of the Legal Amazon was no longer focused on peasants, nor in the desired agrarian reform for the peasantry in rural areas and Amazonian cities.

The "basic reforms" in Brazil, known as "Reforma Goulart", aimed to meet the great demand of the public opinion for anti-inflationary policy, agendas of the labor strikes, the agrarian reform in the countryside against the latifundium. President João Goulart was strongly supported by the political parties and leaders who represented segments of the doctrinal campaign, arising from the national socialist ideology, against "foreign capital", "American imperialism", "latifundium", "entreguismo"², and "IMF policy". With the fall of Goulart by the March 1964 Coup, the rise to power of the military and interventionist businessmen expressed the worsening of the antagonism between different strategies and development policies of the State for sectors of basic social reforms turned to the big enterprises.

The Ligas Camponesas (*Peasant Leagues*, a movement of struggle for agrarian reform in Brazil that started in the 1950s), the strong union and labor manifestations in urban centers for reforms in favor of raising wages, and the "urban guerrillas", helped to install military governments in Latin America, with power to intervene by force and repression, and support from the United States to prevent the advance of communism. This geopolitics was preponderant to prevent the advance of social reforms and socialist parties in Brazil.

The monopolistic state began to be captured by military desires,

² In a strict sense, *entreguismo* would be the political-ideological practice of delivering natural resources from one nation to exploitation by entities and companies from another country.

centralizing the administration of public power in efforts to open up Amazon enterprises to international capital, as indeed happened. Henceforth all the efforts of the economic planning of the State – now with new doctrinal motives on nationalism and patriotism – were undertaken in a centripetal way towards a centralized and agrarian-industrial economic model of State, in opposition to the policies of basic and land reform in the Legal Amazon and in the country (IANNI, 1977, p. 204-222).

The implantation of the civil and military coup aimed to attend to a hegemonic economic current that saw the American capitalism model as the formula to be implanted in Brazil, so that these elites could, through a model of monopolistic and dependent State, trace the direction of developmentalism aimed at the interests of large economic groups that aspire to the benefits of the installed politics.

The characteristic of the Dictatorship was to centralize the “antinationalist aspirations of the national bourgeoisie”, eager for the expansion of private, national and foreign enterprises in the Legal Amazon, supported by the federal, state, territorial and municipal efforts, captured by the monopolistic state, to give incentives to the objectives to boost the industrial and agrarian economy directed at large private companies under the protection of public power and monopoly capital. To that end, the “Amazonian frontier” symbolized the domination of the expanding military state.

The military, supported by the national and industrial bourgeoisie, renegotiated the concept of national and patriotic government, recreating the terms as opposed to the view of the left “patriotism” as a defense of national wealth and *commodities* against foreign capital. Nationalist and patriotic, it is represented by the movement of those who believe that the military incorporates the “social order”, not only by the imposition of force, but also by the instrumentalization of the state and legal-bureaucratic economic apparatus to meet the economic model provided by the United State in Latin America, and specially in Brazil, through the economic flexibility of the agrarian-industrial economy, and of *commodities*, within the logic of the dependency economy. Thus, “non-nationalist and anti-patriotic” were those who opposed the military and the industrial bourgeoisie, seen as “communists” (SODRÉ, 1984).

To this end, seeking to control the “non-nationalists” (seen as communists), they created the “Doctrine of National Security” (BRASIL, 1983; COMBLIN, 1978; OLIVEIRA, 2010). To support the military revolutionary movement, around the “pact for order”, as a guarantee for “progress”,

the Escola de Guerra do Rio de Janeiro (*School of War of Rio de Janeiro*) formulated the “Enemy of the State” ideology, be this enemy internal or external. This doctrine gave the State legitimacy through the strength of the army, to defend the planned economic model and contain the “social disorders” through the doctrinal construction of the “enemy” in such a way that “vagrancy” was the moralizing term adopted by the military in relation to social demonstrations against “order” (SCHWARZ, 2014, p. 11). The National Information Service (SNI), is instituted to maintain control over the regime’s “enemies”, such as peasants, indigenous people, labor and student social movements (SODRÉ, 1984).

The ideology of “men without land” to “land without men” (reference to the Amazon as an unexplored and uninhabited frontier) attributed large portions of hectares of land to workers in the Center-South and Southeast for colonization in the Legal Amazon, as a policy of appeasement and formation of a southern peasant class, paternalized or established in an almost clientelistic relationship through land donations by the military and state and official bodies subsidies. It was the way that the Doctrine of National Security found to face social movements in the countryside in the Amazon and the risks with “communism”. Part of the small rural landowners sympathizing with the military was organized against the peasantry and the workers’ movement, and union organizations in the countryside. The small elite of rural property was not in power, but it fit the profile of the military regime in the countryside.

Of course, the elites would not rule without making the dictatorship a legal ruse that would legitimize this process. According to this view, the organization of the power structures that took place in 1964 by the Armed Forces, through legal acts, decrees and laws, aimed to legitimize the changes that took place in the legal order and create a context of legality-legitimacy for the military, at the same time, mixed by the action of implicit coercion — by the diffusion of coercion and fear — or externalized coercion in the forms of different punishments (FIGUEIREDO; KLEIN, 1978). Sudam, and official bodies, exercised this “implicit coercion” through instruments and laws aimed at the interests of economic intervention planned for enterprises in the Amazon (agrarian-export capital and industrialization in the countryside).

The history of the peasantry has always been marked by struggle and violence in its various facets, by the purposeful expropriation of the right to participation denied by the country’s agrarian policy, and from 1965

to 1975, incentives for the occupation of land for enterprises, showed the view of the Brazilian State in its walk through policies and programs to integrate, domesticate and civilize the region and its inhabitants (MANIGLIA, 2002; POSSAS, 2019; LOUREIRO, 1992; IANNI, 1986).

1 THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The intervention of the military dictatorship in the country, in the years 1965-1975, represented a process of agrarian contradictions with the peasantry. For the military government, to intervene meant acting in the agrarian territories to make them marketable land for big business. They conceived the people and the Amazonian nature as primitive, tribal and backward, and, therefore, the economic policies of the Brazilian State, during the military period, sought to domesticate caboclos, indigenous people, and extractive workers, who made up the peasantry, together with the migrants as part of the process of economic integration and modernization.

The territory, occupied by the military, covered not only the occupation of land, but we can understand that its concept occurs when there is imbrication of multiple power relations. From the more material power of economic-political relations to the more symbolic power of relations of a more strictly cultural order (HAESBAERT, 2006). For Raffestin (1993, p. 158), the territory “[...] reflects the multidimensionality of the territorial ‘lived’ by the members of a collectivity, by societies in general. Men ‘live’, at the same time, the territorial process and product through a system of existential and/or productive relations”. In the multidimensional aspect, the territory as a field of economic expropriation, and of the use of labor power by the great enterprise of capital, only reinforced the symbolic effects of the military by agrarian-industrial preference, by the alienation of land based on peasant relations as a collective property of extractive use and experience.

According to Saquet (2007, p. 87), “in the territory, there are inequalities, deterritorialization and reterritorialization, based on the combination of economic, political and cultural factors, which substantiate the collective identity at the same time. The territory is the result of this existential and regional identity and combinatory logic”. Therefore, due to the military way of directing the economy, and the agrarian question in the Amazon, it was important to impose a process of “deterritorialization”, as a method

of deconstructing the relationship of the peasantry with the countryside and the land to insert the agrarian question only in the plan of economic targets for tax incentives, or donations to large companies and national and foreign entrepreneurs, who saw Amazonian lands as extensive/intensive actions — that is, economic occupation or business expansion — for monopoly and developmental capital (COSTA, 2019).

Before the economic policy of the Dictatorship, land was free in the Amazon, where its residents, peasants, worked on the extraction of rubber, nuts and various activities and productive fronts. The extractive system was the mode of direct relation of production with the land and subsistence, but the relations of production were dependent on the control of production by merchant classes in the capitals. In 1980, 305,023 individuals lived off the extraction in the Legal Amazon, 24,091 of which were from wood extraction, lumberjacks (2,603), hunters (152), charcoal workers (2,603), fishermen (66,700), rubber tappers (69,176), collectors, breakers and peelers of forest fruits (139,238). When taking into consideration 5 people per family, that number amounts to more than 1 million; and if we consider the productive system resulting from family extraction, through credits, storage, trade, the numbers are higher in the Legal Amazon, and this was the picture of what we can understand as peasantry (LOUREIRO, 1992, p. 35).

The actions of the State, as a stimulating bias, led to a contradictory appearance in the Amazon, as we will see in the data, an inciting territorial reorganization of capitalist agriculture for export and import, to the detriment of peasant agriculture. Contradictory was also, according to Ianni (1986), a repressive and aggressive model that was always planned, for the enclave of monopoly capital in industrial agriculture, promoting the land concentration of large hectares of land, illegality by land grabbing, the concentrating livestock of the farmers, the deforestation of forests, and the deterritorialization of settlers, who were nothing more than peasants fixed to the land, but without state stimulus for regularization and titling of small properties. Contradictory was also the military model of stimulating and producing “different territories” promoted by the colonization of peasants from the “center-south-southeast” axis, large farmers as we said, and northeasterners coming from the hinterland drought in search of new paths and work with the “promised land”.

Regarding the peasantry, according to Marques (2008, p. 60), the context of the 1950s and 1960s was remarkable for the peasantry:

[...] The concept of peasant acquires a prominent place in the Brazilian social sciences in the 1950s at the same time that it asserts itself as a political identity at the national level. It is the moment of the “Peasant Leagues”, when the great concentration of land and the extreme social inequality become more evident with the changes verified in the labor relations and appear as the foundations of the Brazilian agrarian issue.

According to Wanderley (2014, p. 2):

In a general perspective, the peasantry corresponds to a social form of production, whose foundations are found in the family character, both of the objectives of the productive activity — geared to the needs of the family — and of the way of work organization, which supposes the cooperation between its members. Therefore, it corresponds to a way of living and working in the countryside that, more than a simple way of producing, corresponds to a way of life and a culture.

With this definition, we understand peasantry as any form of self-employed production in its relationship with the land, for subsistence, as a mode of production. For some classic approaches to agrarian sociology, the analytical category “peasantry” was critical to the “common sense” view that every farm worker is associated with large monoagricultural or agro-exporting properties based on the logic of big capital business and, thus, the peasantry would only identify itself as a class in the context of capitalist relations in the countryside (WANDERLEY, 2014; WOORTMANN, 1997; MARTINS, 1980, 1981, 1982). According to Oliveira (2001), the agrarian question of peasant agriculture in Brazil needs to be understood through the way in which the development of capitalism took place by the State, always in a contradictory way, allowing private property in the form of a large latifundium by private companies, unlike the peasant private ownership of the land. For the former, we have as a characteristic the paid work relationship, the appropriation of profit by “surplus value”, within the labor relationship mediated by the AS enterprise; whereas, in the second way, the peasantry makes use of its labor force, without wage dependence, for its domestic use or commercial production for subsistence of family or social group, without a necessary subjection of its income and its commitment with the land through wage labor, which determines the condition of subjecting it to the designs of the capitalist enterprise in the countryside. This question was raised below.

When the capital appropriates the land, it becomes a land of business, a land of exploitation of the work of others [...] they are different regimes of ownership in open conflict with each other. When the capitalist appropriates the land, he does so

for the purpose of profit, direct or indirect. Or the land serves to exploit the work of those who have no land; or the land serves to be sold at a high price to those who need it to work and do not have it. Therefore, the appropriation of land by capital is not always due to the will of the capitalist to dedicate himself to agriculture (MARTINS, 1980, p. 42).

Finally, in Ianni (1986), we have the discussion about capitalist agriculture as an economic enterprise, and the vein of the monopolistic state, promoting the development of livestock, industrial, commercial export and import agriculture in the countryside, within the logic of occupation of the lands and territories occupied by the already existing peasantry and of migratory flow, to envision in the Amazon, through the federal and state organs and policies, the occupation of the land for its subordination to the national and foreign, financial and capitalist private capital of production. The peasantry for this author was ancestrally adapted to the activities of extractivism and its trade, but in the process of being subjected to the economic enterprises encouraged and implemented by the Brazilian State for the official systematization of the structuring of the relations of exploitation of labor and peasantry in the Amazon by the capital and its AS projects

For this function of submitting the reality of an eminently rural population or its resources (graphs 1 and 2), of peasant identity in the Amazon, extractive in its domestic mode of production, the forms of State and military interventions will be directed against an agrarian reform in the countryside that would give the peasant credit and living conditions, but subject him as a wage worker. This is clear in General Geisel's speech about the desire to link peasants and rural populations to the waged "world of work", and then to take it to a middle class (IANNI, 1986). Suddenly, the State, by means of decrees, laws and incentives, removes the lands from the domain of these populations and submits them to the designs of the AS companies as a commercial relationship that is established to alienate these subjects from their old relations of extractive production (LOUREIRO, 1992).

The reason why the Amazon became the "frontier" of economic and demographic expansion in the territory, subsidized by the military in the 1960s and 1970s, was the creation, by the public power, of the "demographic void" that ignored the peoples and activities carried out by them in the Amazon. Geopolitics pointed out that the fabulous resources of the forest were appropriated by an aggressive view of the frontier economy to the detriment of the knowledge of these extractive populations, peasants, about the uses of the forest (BECKER, 2005; LOUREIRO, 1992).

The recent history of the treatment given by the organs to the peasantry in the Amazon shows that we cannot fail to know the specific conditions in which the land concentration occurred in the Amazon, an important issue for *critical Agrarian Law*. The modernization implemented was not aimed at overcoming contradictions, but at taking the territories used by the peasantry.

In the Amazon, the peasantry was still, as a rural population, isolated in its productive system, and this prevented the formation of a concrete social and political organization, with late formation of class consciousness. According to what we see, “this only begins to take place when they start to be aware of themselves, as objects in the social processes that define the conditions of the dominant and working classes, mediated by the State”, after the process of implantation of the capitalism represented by the enterprises around of lands in the Amazon as resources and occupation for wage labor (LOUREIRO, 1992).

There is a distinction between “fronts” and “borders” that we have adopted here from the studies of Bringel and Gonçalves (2016) on this movement in the Amazon, from the Transamazon Highway, for the understanding of the agrarian question and its deepening for Agrarian Law.

a) The border is more of a space than just a dividing line; b) This heterogeneous space in terms of both natural domains and social organization. For this reason, two or more types of spatial organization coexist, contradictorily; c) The condition of the frontier is always based on a given conjuncture and in a society specifically established in time and space; d) [...] a place in a given time-space can be converted into a border. It may cease to be so in another time-space. And return to be at another juncture; e) Here we distinguish between fronts and borders. The “fronts” are contained in the border and we have separated, by way of understanding, into two features: i) the front as a historical moment of the frontier subdivided into the “expansion front” and the “pioneer front”; ii) the front as a territorial expression of the economic expansion tending to use a specific, but ephemeral resource (timber front, mining front, agricultural front, etc.); f) We are clear that borders in their original sense have a strong colonial and ethnocentric component. The border appears as a separation between “We” – “civilization”, the ecumenical, those from “within”. And the “Others” – “savages”, the indomitable, uncivilized, those from “outside” (BRINGEL; GONÇALVES, 2016, p. 101-102).

2 AMAZON IN MILITARY DECISIONS AND POLICIES

For the purpose of the critical study related to the objectives of this work, the territory has two dimensions: (a) first, the Amazon is placed as a

territory formed by the set of territorialities in disputes, by the occupation and its ways of “use” of the lands by the State as public agent, captured by economic interests; (b) second, the peasantry, as a target for intervention in their territory as a way of transforming their lands and social labor relations for the process of wage domination. In this respect, it tends to prevail in the correlation of forces of various social subjects, farmers, loggers, miners, the State and peasants on the other side. To make this process viable, initiatives were initiated for these purposes, still under the Vargas government, so that, with the military, we could see other bodies being created.

President Getúlio Vargas signed Law no. 1,806/1953, which created the Superintendence of the Amazon Valorization Plan (SPVEA), headquartered in the city of Belém, Pará (art. 22), for the execution of the objectives set out in the *caput* of art. 7, focused on the development of agro-industrial and mineral activities, transport, roads and energy networks. Among the highlights, he was looking for the establishment of a demographic policy that included “the physical and social regeneration of the populations of the region through food, health care, sanitation, education and teaching, the immigration of population streams that best suit the needs of the population interests of the region and the country” (BRASIL, 1953). It also aimed to induce the grouping of human elements from the region or from other states in selected areas, where they could constitute permanent rural nuclei and develop economic production.

SPVEA was subordinated to the Presidency of the Republic to meet the objectives of the 1946 Constitution (art. 199) which recommended a system of measures, services, undertakings and works, “[...] designed to increase the development of extractive and agricultural, mineral, and industrial production and exchange relations, in the sense of better social standards of life and economic well-being of the populations of the region and the expansion of the country’s wealth” (BRASIL, 1953). Its scope, described in the aforementioned law of creation, encompassed in art. 2, the Brazilian Amazon, for the purpose of economic planning and execution of the Plan defined by law, and encompassed the region comprised by the States of Pará and Amazonas, by the federal territories of Acre, Amapá, Guaporé and Rio Branco and, still, the part of State of Mato Grosso to the north of the 16° parallel, that of the State of Goiás to the north of the 13° parallel, and that of Maranhão to the west of the 44° meridian.

SPVEA was revoked by the military, by the Law no. 5,173/1966. Arthur César Ferreira Reis was its first president. From 1960 to 1978, social

and economic changes in the Amazon were accentuated, such as the creation of the Belém-Brasília highway, an important connecting corridor, and for these projects, new agencies were planned.

In 1966, the federal agencies were remodeled, with their objectives for acting in the public-private sector, for intervention. The actions of the State in the region were articulated to link *extractivism* with the (inter) national political system, involving the activities of mining, agriculture and industry, communications and migration. During the referred period, the region's economy was transformed by the dynamization of policies, starting with SUDAM, with the objective of coordinating and supervising, or executing, programs of plans by federal agencies, creating fiscal and financial incentives to attract private national and foreign investors. The Amazon Agricultural and Livestock Clusters Program (POLAMAZÔNIA), created by Decree no. 74,607, of September 25, 1974, already planned billionaire investments (Cr\$) for energy production, and products for the export industry, and agriculture, as a means of intensifying capitalism in the countryside by large enterprises, excluding incentives to the peasantry from the agenda of State interests, as a migrant labor force or from the region through measures such as the legalization of their lands (IANNI, 1986).

In 1966 the role of the Amazon Bank (Basa) is rethought to expand financing agencies in the region. The Manaus Free Trade Zone Superintendence (SUFRAMA) is created according to Decree-Law no. 288, of 1967. In June 1970 the military instituted the National Integration Plan (PIN) by Decree-Law no. 1,106. On July 9, 1970, with Decree-Law no. 1,110, the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) is created. With Decree-Law no. 1,179, of July 6, 1971, we have the creation of the Program for the Redistribution of Lands and Stimulus to Agroindustry in the North and Northeast (PROTERRA). Between 1971 and 1978 the main highways were built: Transamazon Highway (Br 230, *Transamazônica*); *Perimetral Norte* (Br 210); Cuiabá-Santarém (Br 163) and Manaus-Caracarái (Br 174). The First PND (National Development Plan, 1971-1974) and the Second PND (1975-1979) were adopted for the agrarian-rural issue by the military government, in the perspective of occupying entrepreneurial companies and organizations for agro-industrial activities.

With Law no. 5,175 of October 27, 1966 by Decree of the National Congress and sanctioned by the President, General H. Castelo Branco, SUDAM (Superintendence of Development of the Amazon) is created, being

installed with headquarters in Belém do Pará, under the superintendence of General Mário de Barros Cavalcante. For eight years, the military commanded the agency, with the exception of 1974, with the civil engineer Hugo de Almeida, in charge of installing the Manaus Free Trade Zone. Sudam was extinguished with President Fernando Henrique Cardoso in 2001 with provisional measure no. 2,157-5, and installed, in its place, the Amazon Development Agency (ADA). The highlight of this Agency was to initiate large private projects in the Amazon through the Amazon Development Fund (FDA), within the political context of state reform and privatizations of the FHC era. Under President Lula, SUDAM returns and ADA is extinguished, with Decree no. 6,218 of October 4, 2007.

The Legal Amazon currently corresponds to the area of operation of the Superintendence of Development of the Amazon – SUDAM, which is defined in Art. 2 of Complementary Law no. 124, of January 3, 2007. The region is composed of the States of Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins and Mato Grosso, as well as the Municipalities of the State of Maranhão located to the west of Meridian 44°. This configuration was different in the military years, as we have seen. The Legal Amazon in the Brazilian territory³ has an approximate area of 5,217,423 km², corresponding to approximately 61% of the country's territory.

Under President Lula (01/2003 to 01/2011), SUDAM is transformed into a Federal Autarchy under the Ministry of National Integration for the 9 (nine) States of the Legal Amazon. Following the bias of the Lula era, SUDAM undergoes a new restructuring, with Decree no. 8,275, of June 27, 2014, with President Dilma Rousseff, in which the powers for administration and legal applications of the Northern Constitutional Fund (FNO), of the Amazon Development Fund (FDA), and the National Regional Development Plan (PNDR) are established according to a vision aimed at reducing regional inequalities, as a policy to be induced by the federal government (§ 1 and § 7 of art. 165 of the Constitution). It is important to say that the Workers' Party government was doctrinally progressive, and this is related to the decrees, such as the example of the emphasis on “sustainable development”.

As for *currency monetization*, it is important to comprehend the

³ The Legal Amazon is an area that encompasses nine states in Brazil belonging to the Amazon River basin and the area of occurrence of Amazonian vegetation. The federal government, bringing together regions with identical economic, political and social problems, in order to better plan the social and economic development of the Amazon region, instituted the concept of “Legal Amazon”.

methodology for understanding SUDAM values for the military period in the Brazilian economy. The cruzeiro (Cr\$) was valid from November 1, 1942 to February 12, 1967, due to the legal basis of Law no. 4511/1964, with the president general H. Castelo Branco, and through this law, the extinction of the fraction of cents occurred, which explains the absence of these in the SUDAM tables of the period we refer to. Then a new currency with the Cruzeiro Novo was planned (NCr \$) by Decree-Law no. 1/1965 with effect from February 13, 1967 to May 14, 1970. In the same decade there was another change in currency, with the cruzeiro (Cr \$), effective from May 15, 1970 to February 27, 1986, again with the extinction of fractions of a cent, according to Resolution no. 144, of March 31, 1970, of the Central Bank of Brazil (BCB, 1970).

After the aforementioned changes in the Brazilian monetary system by currencies and their conversions, the military government had to make inflationary corrections at the time, based on indices such as the IPC-SP (São Paulo consumer price index), currently used by FIPE for historical series and by IBGE; or the IGP-DI cited by Ianni (1977, 1986) as a calculation index for deflation and corrections used by the military. The IGP-DI (General Price Index – Internal Availability), calculated by FGV, is the weighted arithmetic mean of three other price indices: the Broad Producer Price Index (IPA), the Consumer Price Index (IPC) and the National Construction Cost Index (INCC), with weights of 60%, 30% and 10%.

Internal Availability is the consideration of price variations that directly affect economic activities located in the Brazilian territory. Its historical series begins in February 1944. These indices are those provided by the Central Bank of Brazil based on adopted methodologies (IBGE, FIPE, FGV) in order to correct currencies for equivalence and inflationary corrections with the Real unit (R\$). These go back until 11/1942 (IPC-SP FIPE), so that the “Correction index in the period” can be calculated; the “Corresponding percentage value” and “Amount corrected at the end date”. The methodology adopted by this research is based on the data offered by the Central Bank so that we can update SUDAM’s investments for the historical series of the 1965-1975 decade with the dictatorship in terms of current equivalence. As an example, we take the period of January 1965, the value of Cr\$ 5,581,645,273.00, converted from 7/1/1994 (Laws no. 8,800/1994, and no. 9069/1995, which establish the unit from the URV to the conversion of the Real as a unit equivalent to Cr\$ 2,750.00, and we obtain the amount of R\$ 137,433,612.03, according to the Central Bank of Brazil (see tables 1 and 2).

For the purposes of the currency conversion calculation criteria without the correction indices in the period and without the corresponding percentage value, we can follow the calculation model according to the following examples. For cruzeiro (Cr\$) of January 13, 1986, the value of the cruzeiro should be multiplied/divided by the factor $10004 (= 1000000000000) \times 2.75$. So, Cr \$ 5,000,000,500.00/(10004 \times 2,75) = 0.001818 reais (R\$) considering the creation of this currency since July 1, 1994.

All governmental initiatives adopted for the northern region, at the level of the legal Amazon, during the period of 1966-1978, produced effects never seen before: (a) dynamization and diversification of productive activities; (b) public and private credit system; (c) expansion of the federal presence in the region; (d) explosion of the struggle for land involving government agencies, large and medium-sized agricultural and mining companies, settlers, small farmers and indigenous groups, proletarianization of the workforce as well as the indigenous issue as a center; and (e) creation of colonial nuclei. The transfer of ancestrally inhabited lands to installed economic groups, and ostentatious enterprises, promoted the “de-peasantry” of the Amazonian man from their lands and culture (LOUREIRO, 1992).

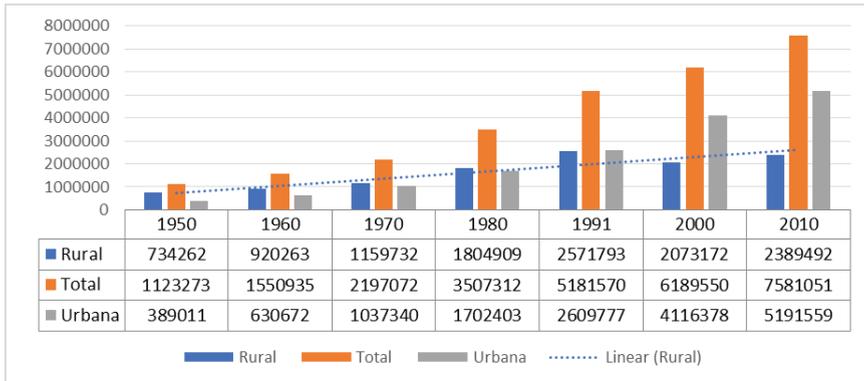
Such a military view was consistent with the slogan “integrate to not deliver”, when in fact the numbers show that development favored investors in the south-southeast of the country, large mining-agrarian-exporting enterprises, which exploited the resources of the northern region as share of a national economic growth policy.

3 A SOCIETY WITH RURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND RESIDENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

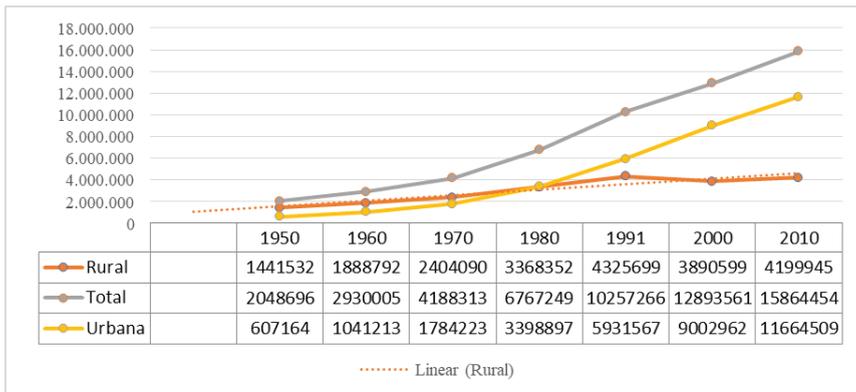
Graph 1 presents data on Pará in the 1950s to 2010, the second largest state in the region, with a census population eminently identified as rural, of origin in the countryside, or workers in the extractive and subsistence sector. The line cuts through the columns, showing that the rural population predominated. Only after 1991 did the urban population become prominent in the state capitals.

In Graph 2, we can see that the crossing line remains linear and shows the prevalence of the “rural” category in the northern region, with a slight increase in 1980 and gradual growth in the following decades. Even so, the rural population is present in the Amazon, and only in the 2000s onwards does the urban presence become marked. This may be related to the intervention process of the dictatorship’s economic policy in the region due to

the period studied here, as shown by Ianni’s theory (1977, 1986) about the presence of monopoly capital in the Amazon, with the intervention of the federal government and agencies, inducers and drivers, without a doubt, of the increments of infrastructure and work, in addition to the conditions of roads and communication routes, with industrial and agricultural enterprises in the region.



Graph 1 – Population per household, Pará: 1950-2010.
Source: IBGE (2010a).



Graph 2 – Population per household in the Northern Region: 1950-2010.
Source: IBGE (2010b).

4 FORCED EXPANSION

As an example of the influence of the military’s policy on the occupation of the Amazon on the demography of the region, seen as “empty”, ignoring the peoples who already lived there, we can mention the PIN

(National Integration Plan) created by Decree-Law no. 1,106 / 1970. The National Integration Program is instituted, with the provision of resources in the amount of Cr\$ 2,000,000,000.00, which were constituted in the financial years from 1971 to 1974, including, with the specific purpose of financing the infrastructure plan, in the regions comprised in the areas of activity of SUDENE and SUDAM, to promote their faster integration into the national economy.

If the amount mentioned above is updated for 2020, according to the correction in the Central Bank's IGP-DI index, we will have the corresponding amount of R\$ 7,393,237,162.96. The first stage of the National Integration Program consisted of the immediate construction of the Transamazon and Cuiabá-Santarém highways. A land strip of up to *ten kilometers to the left and right of the new highways was reserved for colonization and land reform*, with the resources of the National Integration Program to carry out the occupation of productive land and its economic exploitation.

With Decree no. 72,106, of April 18, 1973, the government stimulated the idea of the “demographic void” and created the concept of the Value of the Naked Land. Through this decree, there was a process of helplessness and violence or police repression for the eviction of those who did not have institutional support to legitimize the land ownership. This logic induced the plundering of the land from its former residents, but inflated values and engendered the idea of “bare” land as if there were no men who lived and extracted their sources of production and social reproduction from the land, since the focus was on owners of rural properties (LOUREIRO, 1992).

This land occupation process in the Transamazon Highway occurred through quota measures, establishing the distribution model of land and agrarian structure planned as follows: 75% of the quotas for northeastern migrant settlers; and 25% of quotas for immigrants from the South, with INCRA in charge of installing one hundred thousand families along the highway route (CASTRO *et al.*, 2008). The installed infrastructure took the form of the “Agrópolis” and “Rurópolis” model, planned based on cities that already existed. The settlers received 100 hectare plots along the Transamazon Highway (BR 230) and, by the end of the 1970s, Incra was to open 100 and 500 hectare plots on both sides of the highway and regularize land titling in the polygon-shaped region that would go from Altamira to Itaituba. In this flow were the families producing black pepper, cocoa, livestock farms, so that it constitutes a rural area focused on the occupation and expansion of immigration enterprises in the region.

The expansion of the agricultural frontier, through the “pioneer fronts”, and the urbanization in the Transamazon Highway region, represented changes in the local demography. If in 1960 only 6 municipalities existed, with a total of 149,020 inhabitants, this changed with the military and their policy, since in the 1970s there were 213 thousand inhabitants and 19 municipalities formed in this process. The population was predominantly rural, residing in the countryside (72%), and 27% in cities. The interstate migratory flow in the Br-163 area (Santarém-Cuiabá) was 15,021 immigrants, and Santarém received a larger contingent coming from Amazonas, Maranhão and Acre. The people of Ceará were attracted to the Santarém region for business in the countryside and in commerce. The flow from Maranhão went to Altamira, Itaituba and Juruti, in search of gold mining activities (CASTRO *et al.*, 2008).

From 1980 to 2005, the expansion of the agricultural frontier and the urbanization of inhabited rural lands, or “expansion fronts”, were stimulated by the military to occupy the Amazon. In the plane area of Santarém (Br-163), the largest municipality in the western region of Pará, the rural population predominated, but the urbanization followed the trend, as Graphs 1 and 2 show. The migratory flow to the surroundings of Br-163, in Santarém, was of 92,129 interstate migrants from the Legal Amazon, with people from Maranhão (89.53%), Amazonas (4.79%) and Mato Grosso (3.62%). We can observe that the 1980s were marked by the construction of Br-230 (Transamazon Highway) and by the Integrated Colonization Program (PIN) of the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), as booster agents of the migratory flow.

In 2000, the migratory flow was strongly increased by 189,214 immigrants, with Itaituba receiving a larger contingent (29.93%), due to the gold of the mines and the agrarian-mineral and timber dynamization in the region, which was already underway since the 1980s (CASTRO *et al.*, 2008, p. 23-26). For comparative purposes, in the years of the dictatorship, the population of the Northern Region in terms of rural and urban demography was too different from the southeastern region of the country, more densely populated. In the 1970s, while the rural population of Southeast was of 10,984.79, in the North it was of 2,404,090 inhabitants (IBGE, 2010c).

5 STATE AND MONOPOLY CAPITAL

The state monopoly capitalism presents, as a first premise, the absolute submission of the State to monopolies and their instrumentalization

by agrarian-industrial oligarchies, favoring a model centered on private appropriation of collective goods for the representatives of capital and enterprises. It is, therefore, not competitive. Through the monopolistic state, workers' rights are subject to the order of the monopolies of economic and political groups through the state. During the dictatorship, the Brazilian State was a vector for transforming major projects of the military under nationalist flags that met the precepts of the elites, and the economic development should be driven by state action as a model for planning and executing policies and works (IANNI, 1986; LOUREIRO, 1992).

Between 1964 and 1978 the military state in Brazil led several forms of government intervention to boost the economy, with the model of *intensive* and *extensive* development (endogenous stimulus to capital in the Amazon; or migration policies of companies in the south and southeast), under the network of infrastructure and sectoral policies that boosted extractive and agricultural production in the Amazon. Centralization and concentration of capital was the hallmark of the government. The state acted differently with agriculture in the country's south (intensively) favoring developed capitalism. In the Amazon, the State was led to act extensively with the "land-of-the-endless, devolute, tribal, or occupied..., illegally owned, landowners, farms, companies, or national and foreign "sesmarias" (IANNI, 1986, p. 16). For the latter, the economic model was aggressive and repressive in economic and political terms, since the military model centralizes the forms of investment for the region in companies and agency credits in companies with the capacity to manage capital.

Military governments were driven to use the state apparatus and its agencies to promote a model of dependent and monopoly capitalism. Dependent due to the understanding that foreign loans and indebtedness were necessary for the development of GDP; and monopolistic because the understanding of the military and economic elites was that companies should receive investments from the State with facilitated credits and tax exemptions to meet productive and economic demands. The inflation that dominated the country, the workers' strikes, the struggles in the countryside for the land and agrarian issue of the peasantry, and the urban struggles for housing and education, among others, collapsed on the March 31, 1964 Coup, as a means of preventing the advancement of revolutionary movements in the countryside. The idea of the "open economy" represented only a bias in the state monopoly, apparently competitive, but open to foreign capital, debt financier, tax incentives, donations of land extensions through public notices and tenure, and credits.

For the military government, the “open economy” meant replacing the Brazilian industrial model focused on the domestic market and not very dynamic on the foreign market. For the military, the insertion of the country in the international market should be due to exports, as a mechanism for foreign savings, even though the price of foreign debt was high to finance the model of state capitalism dependent at the time. It was no coincidence that in 1964 the GDP reached between 15% and 17% in 1971, with an annual rate growth of 8%.

The export expansion model in that period, between 1973 and 1978, raised US\$ 4.2 billion in dollar reserves. In 1977, the inflow of net capital in the country totaled US\$ 4 billion and US\$ 900 million, increasing the external debt to levels never seen before. The financing of development in the Amazon by big capital followed the national policy of placing extractive and agricultural-mineral products, *commodities*, on top of products that could project the country’s export agenda, and for this reason the Amazon was placed as an enclave of concentration of large enterprises, to the detriment of the agrarian issue, as a focus, seen as an “emptiness” occupied by settlers.

The dictatorship did not want to implement important social reforms for the majority of the rural population. In 15 years, exports have gone from US\$ 1.3 billion annually in Brazil to US\$ 12.5 billion. As Ianni puts it (1986, p. 25):

Brazil’s economy was remade, under the dictatorship, as a vast enclave of imperialism. What was already a predominant trend in previous decades, acquired greater strength, breadth and intensity when monopoly capital captured the state apparatus almost entirely. As the “open economy” policy was implemented and developed, the dependence on the Brazilian economic subsystem deepened and diversified, in the face of American, German and Japanese imperialism.

After 1964, foreign indebtedness is considered an essential element of the dictatorship’s economic policy. The economic growth so propagandized was characteristic of such indebtedness that allowed to produce resources to pay the debt and to make new debts, and so on. The Amazon was composed of a basically rural population (Graph 1), with a wage difference in relation to the rest of the country, and this pattern of economic policy contributed to an extensive expropriation of the labor of the salaried classes in the rural areas in the countryside and in the cities. Therefore, “the theory of economic growth with indebtedness formulated by the various ministers who occupied the Ministry of Finance after 1964, stated that external

indebtedness was necessary for accelerated and self-sustained growth” (GOMES, 1978 *apud* IANNI, 1986, p. 28 –29).

Thus, dependence occurred because investing depended on borrowing for monopoly state capital.

[...] and when entering the country, this foreign savings would become the only factor of production still scarce – Capital – whether as a financial resource for investment and working capital (the loan turned into cruzeiros and delivered to the company that requested it), either as machinery and technology purchased from abroad (GOMES, 1978 *apud* IANNI, 1986, p. 28).

This model, despite having produced “the Brazilian miracle”, with exceptional GDP growth, cost the public debt treasury dearly. The list of primary and secondary products showed inequalities. For example, in 1973, GDP grew 11.4%, with primary products in the 3.5% growth range; and 15% in the secondary sector; with exports in billions of dollars between US\$ 6,199 and US\$ 6,192, respectively. But, the external debt was US\$ 12,571 billion. In 1976 the external debt rises to US\$ 28 billion (IANNI, 1986, p. 43). Although there was a strong emphasis on the occupation of the countryside by agricultural activity, the politics focus was the large enterprise and foreign companies that occupied the land as a source of productive capital, favoring the accumulation of capital and land production, and not for peasantry occupation (Table 6). Mining activities represented strong state investments of public capital with a strong attraction for companies in the sector.

6 THE “FRONTIER” OF CAPITALISM IN THE AMAZON

The sense of frontier was created to show that the Amazon, represented on the map as Legal Amazon, as a regional administrative and political organization, constituted a space for the occupation of territories and their mineral, extractive, agricultural, timber, and livestock wealth, and came to be seen as a center for the expansion of capital in the south-southeast center of the country, both to apply federal resources to undertake in the region, and to stimulate the colonization of land by farmers in the south center of the country. Frontier of capital and accumulation, repression of the demands of those who fought for agrarian reform as peasantry. In a 1967 BASA document, the reading that was interpreted about the rural and agrarian reality of the peasantry, although partial and directed at the military vision of the time, stated that the lack of a technical or commercial

organization as the dispersing factor of the forest populations for the urban centers, as if these were the real factors (IANNI, 1986, p. 57):

The agrarian structure of the Amazon is dominated by certain historical constants of extroversion, predatory mercantilism and monopoly that mark its main characteristics. Extractivism, as the predominant form of economics, gave the tone to this agrarian society, further reinforcing geographic conditions. This economy of raw collection and exploitation of natural resources marginalized agriculture, generating the widespread instability of Amazonian agrarian society and the dispersion of the population's nuclei in the region.

The military's state economic policy for the Amazon had already been defined by SUDAM and BASA, but in 1966 it gained more dynamism with the creation of the Amazon's Agricultural and Agribusiness Poles Program (POLAMAZÔNIA), created by Decree no. 74,607 of September 25, 1974. The presence of national and foreign private companies does not appear in the referred Program, which was intended to promote the integrated use of agricultural, agro-industrial, forestry and mineral potentialities in Amazon priority areas.

The Amazon now has a geopolitical dimension for the military as a producer of *commodities*, cheap labor in the countryside and agriculture for the large export enterprise as a mechanism for regulating the country's foreign/domestic market on the export agenda (Table 3). It is important to note that the economic policy in Brazil by the military in power was not aimed at a revolution in the countryside, interfering with agrarian and landowning structures, which concentrate economic, political and property capital, but sought to disseminate the model for establishing companies to concentrate capital of credit investments and tax exemptions in the hands of national and foreign companies, given the belief in this model of capitalism for agriculture as a capitalist company. There was no intention, even with the constitution of INCRA, in an agrarian reform that favored the peasantry and the modernization of the countryside.

The priority areas preliminarily selected with a view to implementing the Program were as follows: 1 – Xingu-Araguaia; 2 – Carajá; 3 – Araguaia-Tocantins; 4 – Trombetas; 5 – Altamira; 6 – Pré-Amazônia Maranhense; 7 – Rondônia; 8 – Acre; 9 – Juruá Solimões; 10 – Roraima; 11 – Tapajós; 12 – Amapá; 13 – Juruena; 14 – Aripuanã; and 15 – Marajó (Art. 2. In its Art. 3, the Program counted on the allocation of resources in the amount of Cr\$ 2,500,000,000.00, at the price of 1975, to be constituted from 1974 to 1977, including with the following priorities: 1 – Cr\$

1,200,000,000.00, highlighting the resources allocated to the 1972 National Integration Program ; 2 – Cr\$ 600,000,000.00, highlighting the resources allocated to the Land Redistribution and Stimulus Program for the Northern and Northeastern Agroindustry (PROTERRA), of 1971; 3 – Cr\$ 700,000,000.00, through resources from the Integrated Programs Development Fund (FDPI), and other proposed sources, in the General Budgets of the Union. In 1974, Cr\$ 50,000,000.00 were allocated to the account of resources of the National Integration Program. In 1975, 1976 and 1977, Cr\$ 650,000,000.00, Cr\$ 850,000,000.00 and Cr\$ 950,000,000.00 were allocated to the Program, respectively.

POLAMAZÔNIA was implemented by the Ministry of the Interior, mainly through the Superintendence of Development of the Amazon (SUDAM), the Superintendence of Development of the Central-West (SUDECO), by Amazon Bank AS (BASA) and by the various Ministries involved. The Secretariat of Planning of the Presidency of the Republic, and the Ministry of the Interior, made a scheme to coordinate the measures to be adopted and to monitor the execution of the Program. For each of the priority areas indicated, an Integrated Development Plan (PDI) was prepared, which specified the schedule of public investments, oriented mainly to enable implementation in the same areas of productive activities under the private sector's responsibility.

The Integrated Development Plan (s) creates the appropriate zoning for the use of natural resources, as well as the allocation of areas for forest and biological reserves, national parks and indigenous reserves, at that time, as part of the military project in the region, aiming at demarcating the strategic areas of economic intervention, and the zones reserved for protection. In total, Cr\$ 7,500,000,000.00, equivalent to R\$ 10,891,968,497.58, were allocated to the agricultural enterprise in the Amazon, and in part to livestock and mining, according to the Central Bank's IGP-DI index, in adjusted amounts.

Although POLAMAZÔNIA initially had in its creation decree broken down the amount above in billions (Cr\$ 7.5 billion), the data presented by SUDAM reports for tax incentives in the northern region, considering the Legal Amazon area, show that the values are different. According to tables 1 and 2, the expenses of SUDAM with the tax incentives, and the POLAMAZÔNIA budget in just three years, according to resources destined by the decree, could add up to around R\$ 15 billion, in current currency.

The agricultural “frontier”, as it can be said, has turned to the “extensive”

model of capital financing, and this growth in resources is explained by the prioritization of the agrarian-industrial model implemented by the military:

What happened in the Amazon from 1964 to 78 was mainly the extensive development of capitalism. In extractivism, agriculture and livestock. Capitalist relations of production were developed along with the productive forces. This was the general framework into which the state's expansion policy was integrated, including directed, official and private colonization. Strictly speaking, the creation and expansion of the extractive, agricultural and mining company, in the same way as the policy of demarcation and titling of vacant, tribal and occupied lands, alongside directed colonization, all of this expresses the more or less broad process and intense expansion of capitalist relations in the region (IANNI, 1986, p. 35).

It is important to highlight that it is not that SPVEA and Banco de Crédito da Amazônia or Banco da Borracha were not important, but as Ianni (1986) argues, extractive, agricultural, livestock and rubber production were consumed by the domestic market, subject to refluxes of the market and turned to the consumption of rural families, villages, indigenous villages, towns, riversides, villages, always using the margins of rivers and streams as a way of extractive production, the peak of which was the rubber economy at the end of the 19th century and the industrial scale production of this one in the municipality of Belterra by Henry Ford to feed world production in the 1930s. Trying to provide answers to the oligarchic elites representing agrarian-industrial monopolies, unlike SPVEA, Table 1 shows the performance of SUDAM.

For the purpose of exemplifying the state enterprise during the dictatorship in the region, aiming to boost the economy of the Amazon, to contribute to the country's trade balance, we have the data above, in Table 1, on how much the region had to increase in values of the time, which contributed a lot to the GDP growth of the northern region, driven by factors such as the agricultural, industrial, services, agroindustrial, and sectorial sectors. Growth that, in relation to the federal states and territories, which were part of the first map of the Legal Amazon, was significant for Pará, second only to Mato Grosso.

Pará had a greater number of approved projects, in the total of 190, and a larger budget, only losing to Mato Grosso in absolute numbers. If we update Cr\$ 5,581,645,273, we have the data shown in Table 2. Based on the total amount in which companies received tax incentives (Table 1), in billions of cruzeiros, as an incentive to companies (Agricultural, Industrial and Agroindustrial Sectors mainly), we observed that the sector that added

Table 1 – Consolidated total of incentives released by SUDAM (1965-1977) in Cr\$ 1.0/Million and Billions.

Federative Units	No. proj- ects	Agricultural Sector	Industrial sector	Basic services sector	Agro-industrial sector	Sectorial	Total
Acre	5	22,286,511	5,144,926	9,548,324	-	-	36,979,761
Amapá	7	-	43,175,380	48,544,977	-	-	93,720,357
Amazonas	74	66,004,644	664,362,287	45,950,463	7,618,455	127,646,191	991,581,940
Goiás*	30	134,191,588	181,400,557	8,500,000	-	-	324,092,145
Maranhão	31	30,453,841	294,028,889	11,999,392	-	7,663,398	344,145,520
Mato Grosso	205	1,777,676,037	225,843,590	44,625,292	21,450,000	-	2,069,594,919
Pará	190	747,681,176	815,297,265	81,256,994	34,797,872	83,284,262	1,762,317,569
Rorônia	7	320,908	37,094,218	-	-	1,797,936	39,213,062
Roraima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	549	2,778,614,705	2,268,347,112	250,425,442	63,866,327	220,391,687	5,581,645,273

Source: SUDAM (1978 *apud* IANNI, 1986, p. 77).

* It is important to inform that Goiás was part of the Legal Amazon in the period, and the creation of the state of Tocantins was in 1988, after the dismemberment of the northern region of the state of Goiás. Tocantins is a Brazilian state located in the North Region and the current political and administrative division of the Legal Amazon.

the most capital was the agricultural sector, followed by industrial and agroindustrial in the use of *commodities* for export and agrarian and land exploitation.

The updated values of the tax incentives for these sectors, based only on the year 1977, as a method of inflation correction using the IGP-DI index (Table 2). However, if we consider corrections from 1970 to current currency values, we have, according to Table 2, the amount corrected by the inflation indexes of R\$ 39,314,478,084.05.

Table 2 – Update of tax incentive values, using the IGP-DI of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation and the Central Bank

Updated amount Index	Year	Month	Original Value (1965-1977 total in Cr\$ – cruzeiro/ billion)	Value on January 1, 2020 (R\$ – real/billion)
IGP-DI	1977	January	Cr\$ 5,581,645,273	R\$ 8,106,013,930.42
IGP-DI	1970	January	Cr\$ 5,581,645,273	R\$ 39,314,478,084.05

Source: data updated by the author based on Ianni (1986). Update calculated on the Central Bank of Brazil indexes (BCB, 2020).

If to compare a historical series from the military period with current data, taking tables 2 and 3 as an example, in the period between 2007 and 2016, the Federal Government, through the instruments of the PNDR (National Plan for Regional Development), assigned to the region the amount of R\$ 67.3 billion, with the FDA (Amazon Development Fund), and the FNO (Northern Constitutional Financing Fund), which, in turn, concentrates half of the PNDR's budget for the Amazon in the period 2007-2016.

We observed that, compared to the amount shown in Table 2, the tax incentives by SUDAM could be in the order of R\$ 8 billion (1977) or R\$ 137 billion in the correction since 1965, which indicates the volume of State investment. In Table 3, it is possible to observe the FNO application (restricted to the seven states in the North Region), together with the FDA and IF (Tax Incentive) applied to all the states that currently make up the Legal Amazon, including Maranhão and Mato Grosso, according to Mourão and Silva (2018, p. 89).

The novelty here in Table 3 is that in historical and comparative terms (2007 to 2016), the role of SUDAM is not even close to what was the years of the monopolistic and developmental state, due to the contribution of

resources. Even so, it is a policy aimed at agro-industrial enterprises in the countryside. According to Daniel Brito (2001), the 1990s already started the crisis of the developmental model and announced the reforms of States with their expenditures.

Table 3 – Budget for the three PNDR instruments (FNO, FDA, IF) for 2007-2016 for the Amazon

Year	FNO budget (R\$ thousand)	FDA budget (R\$ thousand)	Tax Expenditure Projects with Tax Incentives (R\$ thousand)	Total
2007	1,328	771	1,498.4	3,597
2008	2,264	852	1,578.1	4,694
2009	2,712	986	2,567.3	6,266
2010	2,568	1,033	3,264.6	6,865
2011	1,881	1,189	2,535.8	5,606
2012	4,299	1,398	1,859.3	7,556
2013	4,722	1,398	2,328.4	8,448
2014	5,366	1,398	2,200.2	8,966
2015	5,160	1,398	1,805.5	8,364
2016	3,380	1,398	2,186.6	6,964
Total	33,680.00	11,820	21,825.2	67,325.4

Source: SUDAM/BASA (2016 *apud* MOURÃO; SILVA, 2018, p. 89).

In Table 4 we have a reading of the percentage distribution by tax incentive sector by SUDAM, placing the agricultural and industrial sector with amounts between 49.70% and 40.70%, respectively, followed by the agroindustrial and sectorial sector, with 1.15% and 3.95%, respectively. What unifies tables 3 and 4, in historical comparisons, is that SUDAM data currently only replicate incentive models for capital formation in the Amazon, with incentives for private enterprises, without reference to the participation of peasant, extractivist families.

According to Ianni (1986), this model of incentive for capital investment in the Amazon, to justify a developmentalist bias of the economic policy of the dictatorship, was due, after 1964, to the idea of the country's "*open economy*", or *dependent*, which aimed to reactivate the primary export economy and, in this sense, the use of agricultural machinery, tractors, fertilizers, chemical pesticides, were stimulated as inputs in the region for financing and trade negotiations. So much so

that monopoly capital stimulated the industrial-productive process in the countryside. The peasantry, anxious for agrarian recognition and land rights, was deliberately left out of public agendas.

In terms of the number of credits by SUDAM, if we consider only the year 1975, we find that: 1,076,545 rural credit contracts were made, with the purpose of *funding*, to companies, in the total amount of Cr\$ 39,446 (million); with an annual growth of 8.11%; in terms of *investments*, 498,687 rural credit contracts were executed, in the amount of Cr\$ 28,123 (million), with an annual growth of 10.2%; in relation to the *commercialization* purpose, the number of rural credits in the form of contracts totaled 280,899, in the amount of Cr\$ 22,427 (million), representing a 6.6% annual growth drop (Idem).

Therefore, *rural credit* was, in its entirety, an incentive of monopoly capital for companies, and not for the peasantry in the Amazon, in its agrarian-extractive mode of local and regional subsistence production. Table 3 summarizes the investments of this policy during the military dictatorship and its economic management regime in the Amazon through the commitment of the military government, superintendencies, banks and State funds at the service of national and foreign capital.

An important fact is that the inclusion of agriculture was aimed at reaching the large producer, and not the smallholders (see Table 6). This is explained by the credit policy they adopted, encouraging large land ownership, and in this respect, whoever owned more hectares of land would have more access to rural credits under the “dependent subsidy” policy. In this sense, we can understand why many lands were hosted by national and foreign companies in the Legal Amazon, with large tracts of land (+ thousand/ha as a measure), in the way of making agriculture a means of accumulating economic, patrimonial and political capital (Table 4). This view of the military for the “*open economy*”, for export, and as monopoly capital (subsidized capitalism), was established in the Federal Government document by the project of the 2nd National Development Plan, (2nd PND), from 1975-1979, adopted since 1964, in which it stood out that:

The agricultural strategy is oriented towards creating facilities and adopting the sector of instruments for the full use of its productive potential; expanding the stock of productive resources by attracting savings (internal and external) and entrepreneurial capacity for activities directly linked to production; encouraging more intense participation of the private sector in the functions of services to support the production, circulation and transformation of agricultural products; streamlining

Table 4 – Annual table of tax incentives released by SUDAM: sectoral distribution (1965-1977)

Years	Agricultural Sector	Industrial sector	Basic services sector	Agro-industrial sector	Sectorial	Total released in billions (Cr\$ 1.0)
1965-1977	2,778,614,705	2,268,347,112	250,425,442	63,866,327	220,391,687	5,581,645,273
%	49.70	40.70	4.50	1.15	3.95	100.0

Source: adapted from SUDAM (1978 *apud* IANNI, 1986, p. 75-76).

the process of creating, importing, adapting and disseminating technology to regional peculiarities (IANNI, 1986, p. 71).

Thus, the developments, with the ongoing transformations that the Amazon has undergone, have contributed to the accumulation of capital in the Center-South and abroad, since the companies have settled in this region in an *intensive* manner, that is, as a subsidized expansion to raise more capital and more profits captured by the monopolistic state organs — stimulating the already developed agrarian companies in the South — and also constituting the formation of a local-regional-national and foreign bourgeoisie that benefited from the military dictatorship.

With the dynamization of the markets from the center-south to the north, by stimulating colonization as an *extensive policy*, that is, occupation and exploitation, farmers, settlers, landowners, Indigenous people, caboclos, rural-peasant populations and others start to be incorporated into the agrarian-industrial market. This expansion had already occurred in the previous decades in the Amazon with the extractive rubber economy, but it deepened in the 60s and 70s with SUDAM, BASA, INCRA and FUNAI, and other government agencies and policies that dynamized and made this capitalist market work in the region for the production of products for regional consumption and for export. These manufactured products became part of the local life of the villages, rural and riverside areas, as well as reached indigenous villages. In Carmen Junqueira's work, *Os Índios de Ipavu* ("The Indians of Ipavu"), of 1975, the logic of forced modernization was introduced among an indigenous people of the Xingu:

The Alto-Xingu indigenous people know the sound recorder, camera and radio. They obtain, with relative abundance, through exchange, or as a gift, porcelain beads, ammunition, razor blades and even battery radios. The indigenous people make bows and arrows, pipes, baskets and a good variety of personal ornaments, all of which can be traded. Their art is often their main source of wealth. However, in spite of the skill and time employed in the production of these objects in general, these are seen by *civilized* people as having little value: so much so that it is known that a simple razor blade, or lighter, has been offered in exchange for a bow (IANNI, 1986, p. 73).

In an induced way, the expansion over the countryside in its entrepreneurial aspect was presented under the facet of technification and subjecting the peasant to a logic of the market due to the proletarianization produced on the agricultural frontier. With a process of pioneering occupation of the Transamazon Highway, and through the induction of official policy, small businessmen and companies began to experience the mechanical

transformation of conflicts as a result of the proletarianization of the workforce. But formed by a reality of free and self-employed work, the peasantry resisted the technical world of salaried work:

This technification would lead to the recreation of the peasant on other bases, transforming them into a *new peasant*, now, as a *worker for the capital* [...]. This case [...] demonstrates the peasant's resistance to technification, their refusal to the regime of fixed working hours and proletarianization (BRINGEL; GONÇALVES, 2016, p. 106).

While there was an intensification of proletarianization by companies in the countryside, exports of agricultural products, as we have seen, were stimulated. Among the main agricultural products of the export agenda in the country in the years of the dictatorship were coffee (central south), sugar, cotton, soy, cocoa (Transamazon Highway, Altmira axis to Rurópoles), orange and juices (Pará region producer in the northeast part of Belém, and the Santarém region and some municipalities in the southwest, such as Mojuí dos Campos, and southeast of Pará), corn and meats. Soy had more participation on the foreign company. According to Ianni (1986), these products occupied 5.6% of the export agenda in 1965 in the country, rising to 8.2% in 1970, and to 15.4% in 1974. All of this is due to the military's efforts to support the agro-industrial, livestock and extractive sectors.

How has the "open economy" benefited the participation of multinational and foreign capital? In 1973, of the 152 vegetable oil producing companies in the country, 15 were foreign, and yet, despite being smaller, they controlled 361% of the others' net capital, occupying 39.6% of the total employees. These foreign companies, had revenues of 52.4% of the total, and the 137 national ones, only 47.6%. Agricultural policies to stimulate the increase in agricultural and industrialized production by companies, subsidized by the Rural Credit System, can be shown in Table 3. In a speech, General Geisel presented this model as a benefit to create a salaried middle and working class in the country, as well as a means to form internal savings to further stimulate the economy with the inflow of foreign capital, either by the dividends generated by the market or by the debt system (Table 5).

[...] Stimulating exports does not mean condemning the domestic market for mass consumer goods to stagnation, nor is it incompatible with improving the living conditions of the people. In reality, the expansion of this internal market, with everything it means in building a broad middle class and new opportunities for the working class, is the ultimate goal of any economic policy [...]. Brazil has been

granting, since 1964, strong incentives to export, in general, and manufactured products, in particular. We are, on the other hand, at a stage when it is not enough to export surpluses. But in which it is necessary to invest in order to export more. Certainly, exporters need, at this moment, a guarantee of continuity of this incentive policy (GEISEL, 1978 *apud* IANNI, 1986, p. 48-51).

To support the model of industrialized agriculture and productive occupation of the countryside by national and foreign companies, as shown in Table 5, we found that the debts generated in this form of economy left billions of dollars in *deficits* (US\$). We made a comparative table and updated to the currency of the Real (R\$) according to corrections by the Central Bank of Brazil to verify that in the period from 1954-1960, the trade balance was positive, with a balance of (+) R\$ 2,985,269.74; whereas, in the period 1961-1969, the balance remained positive, albeit smaller, at (+) R\$ 1,176,543,051.01; and in 1970-1974 we had a deficit in the trade balance, accompanied by the oil crisis in the world, in the negative amount of (-) R\$ 7,963,255,748.22. This reveals that the export/import trade balance in the last period forced the years of the dictatorship to resort to foreign debt in dollars. Among the 1976 performance indicators, the External Debt (US\$) reached US\$ 28 billion, for the current value of that period (IANNI, 1986, p. 43). Table 5 is a demonstration of what has been achieved with the development model of the Brazilian State to finance business agriculture.

The occupation of land in the Amazon was, in the dictatorship model, the site of many conflicts due to the way the export/import enclave was dynamized, with the installation of companies in agriculture, supported by the model of expropriation and land grabbing, often encouraged by the State, financier even for large tracts of land, so that foreigners have access to them, within the model of “open economy”. As it can be seen in Table 6, it can be understood within the logic:

In 1968, extensions of land grabbed or bought by foreigners, and Brazilians associated with foreigners, were already quite large. All means were then being used [...] to transform unoccupied, tribal and squatter land into settlers' land or purchased by large foreign merchants. In many cases, there are Brazilians acting as associates, or intermediaries, in the land deals that foreigners carry out in the Amazon. Foreigners tend to be mainly North American, but Brazilian intermediaries can be either land grabbers, or professional land traders, as employees and technicians of the state bureaucracy (IANNI, 1986, p. 101).

The Brazilian State, in the form of the federal government or the federative units of the Legal Amazon, were the heralds at this historic moment,

Table 5 – North Region and foreign trade (1954-1974), in millions of cruzeiros (Cr\$) and equivalence (R\$)

Years	Million/billion cruzeiros (Cr\$) and cruzeiros novos (NCr\$)		
	Exports	Imports	Exports/Imports
1954-1960	22.12	10.24	+ 11.88
1961-1969	730.9	59.0	+140.9
1970-1974	3,324.3	5,478.4	- 2,154.1
Equivalence in million/billion reais (R\$) based on IGP-DI (Central Bank)			
1954-1960	5,473,002.99	2,487,733.25	+2,985,269.74
1961-1969	6,134,828,435.94	4,958,285,384.88	+1,176,543,051.06
1970-1974	12,288,669,150.42	20,251,924,898.64	-7,963,255,748.22

Source: IBGE (1975 *apud* IANNI, 1986, p. 72). Data prepared by the author taking into consideration for calculation only the last year of each period for inflation correction, for example, 1960/69/74. It is important to remember that from 02/13/1967 to 05/14/1970 the currency was Cruzeiro Novo (NCr\$).

due to the installation of an aggressive and repressive process, since they ignored the lands occupied by indigenous people, extractive populations, peasants dependent on traditionally occupied lands and used to speculate together with the enterprises, in illegal forms of occupation, or legitimizing this process of occupation with national-foreign capital. Large enterprises used many resources under the appropriation of large land holdings, as the size of the credits depended on the possession of the volume of land, as stated in a report by SUDAM (Table 6). The case of Jari Florestal is an example that many entrepreneurs have benefited from large contributions of resources due to the proportional size of public land ownership and tax incentives or direct credit. According to Ianni (1986, p. 101):

This is the case, for example, of Jari Florestal e Agropecuária Ltda., owned by the American Daniel K. Ludiwig, who would have started his land business in the Amazon at the suggestion of Roberto de Oliveira Campos, then Minister of Planning in the government of Marshal Castello Branco. Then, members of the government of Pará, the state where Jari is located, begin to speak out in defense of foreign businesses or enterprises.

According to Ianni (1986), the approval year was important for SUDAM in relation to updating the project values. The lowest cost projects were the oldest. The money was released in installments, which were readjusted according to inflation through the National Treasury's Readjustable Obligations (ORTN). Volkswagen, for example, received only Cr\$ 716.4 million in readjustments of the installments. ORTN was the government policy that created this index, which is a federal public bond issued with the characteristic of paying remuneration plus monetary correction. The unit value of the security started to represent an index used in the Brazilian economy and lasted until 1986 replaced by other indexes, with the IPC of inflation, as a correction made to pay the last installment to Volkswagen (716.4 billion) in 1987 to avoid lag.

If we take into account the index cited by Otávio Ianni, the IPC, although not specified, and testing the IPC-SP (FIPE) with data from 11/1980 for regressive updating, we find the value of R\$ 301,271,422,850.22; but if we adopt the IPCA (which corrected inflation based on the income of 1-40 minimum wages in the metropolitan regions, used by IBGE with a historical series started in 1980), we find R\$ 446,261,425,769.80. These indexes were probably those adopted by the military. These figures represent nothing more than the policy that never reached the peasantry.

Table 6 – Foreign and domestic companies that bought land with tax incentives from Sudam

National Name	Control	Country	Area (Ha)	State	Own resources (millions)	Donation (“incentives”) from Sudam	Project Approval Year
Company Vale do Rio Cristalino/ Agropecuária Agua Azul/Liquifarm.Agrup. Suiá-Missul/ Amazônia Madeira e Laminados	Volkswagen Davis Family Liquifarm * Georgia Pacific	Germany USA Italy USA	140,000 98,000 670,000 400,000	PA PA MT PA	38.8 3.4 85.8 Tax exemption (Income, import/export.)	116.4 10.2 257.6 Exemption from Taxes (from Income, import/export)	69 74 76
Bruynzeel Madeiras SA	Bruynzeel Madeiras NY Bethlehem Steel	Netherlands USA	- 200,000	- PA MT	2.9	8.8	66
Farm Nova Viena	Georg M. Markof BCN (national)	Austria	-	MT	5.2	18.6	74
BCN Agropastoril	Barclays Bank	England	-	MT	18.4	55.2	76
Superfine Madeiras SA	Toyo Menka	Japan	300,000	PA	6.6	17.3	72
Agrop. Duas Ancoras	Henblein Inc.	USA	-	MT	3.5	10.5	72

Company Agrop. do Pará	King Ranch + Swift Armour	USA Canada	- 163,000	PA	46.2	126.8	76
Company Agrop. do Rio Inajá	Sifico Industries Inc. Hobin Hollie Mac	USA	30,260	PA	0.5	1.7	68
Magesa	Glohn + Georgia Pacific	USA	30,000	PA	2.3	7.1	68
Agrop. Mirasol	Pirâmides Brasília SA (of which Dow Chemical holds 24%)	USA	-	MT	8.9	26.8	-
Drury's Fiel S.A. Agrop.	Drury's Distrib. Of Products Intern. - controlled by Henlein Inc.	USA	-	MT	7.1	21.4	73
Corolado Agropecuária Mitsui Agrop. LTDA.	Marubeni Co. Mitsui Co.	Japan Japan	-	PA PA	0.5 0.6	1.5 1.9	70 70
Novos Horizontes S.A.	Twin Agricultural and Industrial Developers	USA	63,122	GO	Exemption from taxes		73
Frigorífico Araguaína Agrop. Southern Pará	Same Ester Research Co.	USA Panama	5,000	GO PA	Exemption from taxes 1.0	Exemp. from taxes 3.0	68
Cia Nova Fronteira	Cofap-with participation of TRW Thompson do Brasil	USA	-	PR	6.6	20.0	73

Company Ás de Ouro	Agrop. Toshio Toyobo do Brasil / Banco Mitsubishi-Yakult do Brasil	Japan	-	MT	3.1	9.8	73
Agrop. C�nsul	Consul Refrigerators – with partic. From Brastemp which is owned by Whirpool Corporation	USA	-	MT	4.2	12.6	72
Agrop. Barra das Graças	Part. From Singer do Brasil	USA	-	MT	17.0	51.0	-
Company Rio Capim Agropecu�ria	Bradesco – with particip. from Nichimen	Japan	40,986	PA	13.3	54.9	76
Agropastoril Nova Patr�cio	John W.R. de Buys Rossingh/ Imobili�ria e Desenvolvimento Sul-Americana + Cia. Ianmar	Switzerland	-	MT	0.6	3.08	71

Piraguassu Agropecuária	Distribuidora Máquinas – controlled by Lamaoka Realty	Japan	.52,373	MT	17.2	50.1	76
Agropecuária Araguaçu Frigorífico Anglo Jari Florestal e Agropecuária	Tsuzuki Spinnig Co, Union Internacional National Bulk Carriers (Daniel Ludwig)	Japan England USA	– 664,000 3,500,000	GO MT PA/AP	0.7 Unknown Exemption from taxes	2.2 Unknown Exemption from taxes	72 72 72

* Liquefarm had a stake in Carbocloro Indústrias Químicas, Uniar, Mercedes-Benz, Cargill Agrícola, Heliogás, Domeasa Household Appliances, Liquipar and others.
Source: Ianni (1986, p. 123-125).

CONCLUSION

The implantation of the military dictatorship by the Brazilian State left profound marks on the peasantry in the Amazon, specially due to the monopolistic economic policy, which favored the capital for large property. With the expansion of the Amazon economic frontier and intense exploration never seen before, we observed the order of capitalism and militarism to impose itself against the extractive populations, who did not even have incentives for the titling of their lands, as well as the expropriation of lands from the indigenous peoples. A state against traditional forms of life in the countryside, favoring the accumulation of capital and land ownership by enterprises and corporations.

The appropriation of land by colonization directed at the borders, in the pioneering phase of Amazonian exploration, was encouraged by the military government through the Brazilian State model that centralized the interests of agrarian and industrial oligarchies and economic interests, through the framework of the state and legal bureaucratic apparatus that legitimized the system of tax incentives and credits for national, regional or foreign companies and enterprises. Favored by the military in its endeavor to regularize the attraction of capital to the Amazon, using the monopolistic state model, what was seen was a historic series of incentives for large capitalist companies and the organization of agrarian and industrial businesses. Together with the logging, landowning, and industrial sectors, at the same time, federal and official resources were channeled to the enterprises, producing deleterious effects on a native extractive population that did not have title to their lands or incentives for official policies, which were not addressed to rural workers and their needs.

Under the logic of capital accumulation, we observe that the military state, in its eagerness to hinder the aspirations for social reforms expected in the Goulart government, created mechanisms for regularization through decrees and laws, instituting official bodies to implement the monopoly and developmentalist model that served the interests of markets and capital by the country's bourgeoisie. With a social and productive organization focused on the extractive work of soil and forest resources, in which they were free from the relations of the world of work imposed by anonymous societies, this population, mostly peasants and with diversified activities, was not the center of attention of military policies and national oligarchies, nor of foreign interests. The nodal point of the military period, the incentives

for the “open economy” model to the interests of capital as an enterprise and as exploitation of *commodities* in the Legal Amazon, during the hard years of the dictatorship, created, as shown in the tables in numbers, a rural population which was not favored by the policies for the countryside, since the enterprises of the capital, attracted to the Amazon, generated a model of exclusion of the peasants, in fact, alienating them from their lands without titles, and subordinating them to the interests of the enterprises and of capital throughout the integration and modernization process desired by the military for the Amazon.

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