



The Battle of Rubber and public development policies for the Amazon

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Summary

In this article, we will address public development policies for the Amazon. At first, the highlight will be natural rubber, both in the first and second phases, when production will resume, which, at that time, became known as the "Battle of Rubber". Subsequently, public development policies will take a new direction, which will include the creation of several bodies that will form part of the infrastructure to be used for the Amazon development program, during the Vargas government period and, mainly, after the military coup d'état. . **Key words:** Battle of Rubber. Public policy. Developmentalism. Amazon.

Abstract

In this article, we will discuss public development policies for Amazon. In the first moment, the highlight will be natural rubber, both in the first and in the second phase, when the resumption of its production will occur, which, at that moment, became known as "Battle of rubber". Subsequently, public development policies will have a new direction, which will include the creation of several bodies that will be part of the infrastructure to be used for the Amazon development program, during the period of the Vargas government and, especially, after the military coup d'état.

Keywords: Battle of the rubber. Public Policies. Developmentalism. Amazon.

1. Introduction

The global historical context of that moment led the military to be induced to rearticulate Brazil's economy with international capital, creating economic and political conditions to facilitate a great concentration and centralization of foreign and national capital.

For Octávio Ianni (1986), in practice, what happened was that the military governments created an entire infrastructure and handed over the Amazon to be intensively and extensively explored by foreign capital. This understanding is corroborated by Silva Filho (2015), who carried out a detailed analysis of the entry of developmental projects into the Amazon during the civil-military regime.

According to Guido Mantega (1984), developmentalism received direct influence from the Keynesian current that was contrary to neoclassical neoliberalism, as this ideology was shared by a large majority of intellectuals in Brazil and Latin America in the 40s and 50s, becoming a symbol of the struggle of a diverse number of social forces that are committed to industrialization and the solidification of the evolution of the capitalist system in the leading countries of this continent.

This developmentalist ideology was growing both in the nascent industrial bourgeoisie, as well as in the urban middle class and in the armed forces, which at that time had considerable political strength in the young Brazilian republic. In this way, an interventionist developmental ideology was embodied, which had support in the segments of the population represented in the state bureaucracy of the Estado Novo. We confirm the presence of this ideology in a speech given by Getúlio Dorneles Vargas in 1944. Note in Vargas' speech,

Only mentalities impervious to the teachings of facts can still believe in the validity of the principles of "*laissez-faire*" economic and its political corollaries. The free play of social forces, in the stage of evolution we have reached. It's anarchy, pure and simple. This truth, completely

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confirmed by the punishments of war on the great world powers, it becomes more evident in relation to people like ours, in the midst of a phase of growth and expansion. (VARGAS, 1944 [Speech] p. 57 *apud* MANTEGA, 1984, p. 29).

As we saw above, based on the speech given by Vargas, the genesis of developmentalism in Brazil preceded the actions of Juscelino Kubitschek and the fateful military coup of 1964.

2 The saga of the people of Ceará towards the Amazon and the mishaps of World War II

According to Adelaide Gonçalves and Pedro Eymar Barbosa Costa (2008), the first people from Ceará to brave the rivers in search of rubber plantations in 1869, considered the first *paroaras*, were João Gabriel de Carvalho e Melo who brought them to the Amazon this year, specifically to the lower Purus, 50 men from Uruburetama. That same year, 1,603 people from Ceará moved to Amazonas. And in 1900, another 15,773 migrants followed, of which 9,296 embarked in Fortaleza and 6,477 at the port of Camocim – all with help from the Federal Government. A migratory flow was consolidated in the Northeast/Amazon axis.

Gonçalves and Costa reiterate that:

The rubber tapper ran against the native and changed the landscape, partially altering the environment, as the wealth he sought was on the land. He bleeds the tree to make the “skin”, he doesn’t need to rip the “skin” out of nature. It does not disfigure the landscape in a violent way as occurred during the occupation of the Amazon, in a chaotic, unrestrained, disorderly and criminal way, by farming, mining and, especially today, by agribusiness. In this process, the land is torn apart, stripped of its landscape and its people – Indians and rubber tappers who assume together a new identity: “people of the forests”, guardians of the forests, life and nature. (GONÇALVES; COSTA, 2008, p. 20).

According to Antônio Luiz Macedo da Silva Filho (2008), after the United States entered the Second World War in December 1941, there was a readjustment in terms of diplomatic relations from which the progressive ordering of Brazil towards the allies developed; After a succession of measures, finally in August 1942, war was declared on the axis powers.

The situation in the state of Ceará was extremely difficult due to the drought that was ravaging the interior of the state, at a time marked by the despair of Brazil's engagement in the war effort. There was a strong patriotic mobilization, a policy of controlling the civilian population, and great tension due to the danger of bombings in urban cities located on the Brazilian coast.

Curfews, martial parades, fiery rallies in public squares, civic exhortation marches, military conscription for the training of combatants, cities in darkness in order to better protect themselves from the feared aerial attacks of enemies.

Although he lived with the lack of rain, the most aggravating thing was the fear due to the war climate that had set in, as, at any moment, there was an imminent bombing attack on the homes of Fortaleza. In this sense, Silva Filho emphasizes that:

In the year of our Lord's misfortune of 1942” – as the poet Aluizio Medeiros irreverently alluded to –, several campaigns and measures were also conceived aimed at modeling states of mind which, lasting until the end of the war, were intended to consistent with the proclaimed imperative of national security. Women's leagues organized to make coats for Brazilian soldiers; nursing preparatory courses; coordination of civil society for the domestic collection of metals to reequip the armed forces; recruitment of workers for the so-called “Battle of Rubber”, to be fought in the Amazon jungle, under degrading conditions for those employed in the rubber plantations; creation of groups aimed at collecting donations for the allied cause; series of courses, lectures and conferences given in schools, clubs, associations and unions on the imperative need and sacrifice in the name of patriotic duty; setting up a diffuse apparatus of surveillance, suspicion and denunciation that, under an authoritarian regime, accentuates the already narrow limits to the expression of opinion and promotes in individuals a disposition averse to ideas that diverge from the official discourse, in rules stigmatized as traces of subversion or fifth columnism and therefore subjected to penalties provided for by law. A disastrous complicity emerges between the warlike situation and the intensification of social control devices. (SILVA FILHO, 2008, p. 24).

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For Silva Filho (2008), Getúlio Vargas' objective through the Estado Novo was to articulate strategies for the complete mobilization of the Brazilian population, in the sense of expressing a “battle of production”, in this way, not meeting the demands of the workers, taken from acquired labor rights, military intervention in factories, especially textiles, increased working hours in many sectors, “[...] in addition to the militarization of everyday life with its calls for the transformation of each citizen into a soldier; the invention of a politics of scarcity; the masking of social conflicts through the construction of an internal front bringing together the different classes.” (SILVA FILHO, 2008, p. 25).

Soon after the Amazon went into crisis due to rubber production in Malaysia, the Brazilian government

rehearsed a speech to protect the Amazon, but it was nothing more than rhetoric, because, in practice, the major producer of natural rubber, until then, which was the Amazon, was not satisfactorily benefited by the decrees and laws that were created from 1912 onwards. ⁴

3 Government benefits for the industry: an initiative with little impact

For Pinto (1984), taking into account the capital involved in Amazonian extractivism, the incentive given for the development of the artifacts industry in the south of the country was not relevant, as it did not present any benefit in relation to exports. It is also important to emphasize that the creation of industrial activity in the south of the country occurred in a disjointed way due to Amazonian extractivism. This lack of harmony, in fact, continues to occur in a dominant way in the growth of the gomiferous domain.

With regard to government economic policy, this imbroglio was resolved by favoring the industrial sector due to the strong southern participation in the industry, and the neglect of gum extraction. For Pinto (1984), Getúlio Vargas' official rhetoric was in accordance with the "rubber defense plan" presented on January 2, 1930, where he stated that:

Another logical consequence of the systematization and development of national instruction, education and sanitation services will be the methodical study of the possibilities of colonization of the Amazon. This is undoubtedly one of the most serious and complex problems facing Brazil today. The recovery of our position, which was so important, in the world rubber markets will depend on its effective solution. Only the growing advantages that this product provides, across the globe, would justify the implementation of the sanitation project in the vast and exuberant Amazon region. (ANDRADE, 1950 apud PINTO, 1984, p.12).

Therefore, we found that the authorities knew of the need to produce natural rubber to at least supply the domestic market, but there were difficulties to be resolved, for example: in relation to the Amazonian population, there was its spatial dispersion and location along the main navigable rivers, for this it was necessary to adopt measures that were reasonable, taking into account fishing and subsistence agriculture, activities that were already widespread.

It is also worth remembering that, in Getúlio Vargas' speech, he spoke of the need for a large amount of financial resources to promote gum development in the Amazon, as this development policy was not put into practice at that time, the Amazon was condemned to immobilization of gum activities.

During the period of the Vargas government, specifically from the beginning of the 1940s to 1954, there was a crisis in the regional economy, complaints from the bourgeoisie and local oligarchies, accompanied by the problem of national security and industrialization. The economic situation in the Amazon region is worsening due to the absence of consistent public policies aimed at minority groups, with less political strength. During this period, federal territories were created by the Getúlio Dorneles Vargas government; in 1943, Amapá, Roraima and Rondônia. Initiatives that aimed to minimize the depopulation of the Amazon space and direct control of the territories newly created by the Federal Government.

For Pinto (1984), it is worth emphasizing that, while there was no development in the gum economy in the Amazon until the beginning of 1940, on the other hand, the opposite occurred both in the development of Asian rubber farming and in automotive transport, and, as a consequence, the increase the size of the dependence of industrial economies on the supply of vegetable rubber.

From 1940 onwards, due to the outbreak of the Second World War and due to the "Washington Accords" in 1942, a rubber investment and development plan was drawn up for the Amazon, to supply part of the rubber that previously came from of Malaysia and which was now under Japanese control due to Japan's blockade of the Pacific Ocean.

4 North American dependence on rubber before and after the attack on the Pearl Harbor air base and interest in the Amazon

According to Seth Garfield (2009), due to the large amount of natural resources in Brazil, as well as the strong American influence on politics in South America, taking into account that the existence of a considerable population relationship of German ancestry and the proximity of West Africa contributed decisively to the fact that the military North Americans saw, in Brazil, a great opportunity to create a strategic place to fight against the Nazi offensive in the hemisphere. Garfield adds that:

Between September 1939 and December 1941, with war raging in Europe and Asia, a conglomerate of U.S. agencies attempted to complement or replace the State Department to strengthen inter-American trade and alliance, ensure access to strategic resources and exclude the Western Hemisphere Axis: the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Inter-American

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⁴ For Nelson Prado Alves Pinto (1984), the Legislation of 1912, through decrees nº 2,543-A (BRASIL, 1912) and 9,521 (BRASIL, 1912a), brought benefits for the first rubber artifacts factory to be established in Manaus, Belém, Recife, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, however nothing happened until 1922.

Development Commission, of Export-Import Bank, the Economic Defense Board, the Airport Development Program, the Office of Inter-American Affairs, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of War.s (GARFIELD, 2009, p. 22).

Garfield (2009) highlights that, around 1940, the United States represented only 6% of the world's population and 7% of the Earth's surface, however, it was the largest car producer, accounting for around 75% of world production; they also produced 50% of final industrial products.

However, the rapid change from an agrarian society to a large-production industrial society at the beginning of the 20th century caused a great need to import raw materials to support industrial production. This became a major challenge for the United States, acquiring natural rubber to meet this demand, caused, firstly, by the significant technological advances in machines, but also later, due to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Garfield (2009) highlights that, in the 1920s, the British had developed restrictive policies on rubber production in Asian colonies, then under their control. This caused great inconvenience for the United States, in addition to provoking strong nationalist reactions, considering that the Americans urgently needed this rubber to meet the great demand for their war industry at that time. Faced with this, the American government began to look for alternatives that would meet this need, to this end, it encouraged large investments for businessman Henry Ford in the Amazon, starting in 1927.

It is very important to highlight that, even in the United States, there were disagreements regarding the exploitation of rubber in Amazonian rubber plantations. According to Seth Garfield (2009), liberals had doubts regarding the increase in exports from Latin America during the Second World War.

"In this sense, they understood that it would be better to support industrialization, the application of labor laws and the expansion of complementary trade in commodities in Latin America, as a way of modernizing "colonial" economies and promoting social ascent." (GARFIELD, 2009, p. 21).

For Garfield (2009), conservatives intensified to neutralize the North American government's initiatives during the war, in order to obtain raw materials from the negotiations that were in force, to the detriment of socioeconomic restructuring.

They were categorically opposed to the practice of political action by the American government and, mainly, to economic assistance and improvements in social conditions in the Amazon, highlighting that such measures constitute violations of the principles of the free market, assistance on the part of the American government, as well as a lack of respect for Brazilian sovereignty.

"Enthusiasm for the Amazon, forged in the political developments of Pan-Americanism, amid global uncertainty, evolved from and, at the same time, evoked several US cultural tropes." (GARFIELD, 2009, p. 33). This rubber exploration project, preliminarily, was demonstrated through a geopolitical strategy to bring Latin American states closer together, with the aim of minimizing the American government's dependence on European trade, concludes Garfield. This author highlights that,

But the rehabilitation of Amazonian commerce proposed radical reorientations for North American industrial capitalism, reflected providentialist visions of an Edenic cornucopia through the exchange and storage of complementary crops, invoked spiritual renewal through cultural communion, and promised material gains and political regeneration through of the conquest of the frontier. Recent historiography about the Amazon produced by North Americans also reflects changes in the meanings of the region, while at the same time contributing to them. During the Cold War, when academics in the United States questioned social science theories and political mantras about the underdevelopment of Latin America, the work of Barbara Weinstein (1983) examined modes of production in rubber plantations to understand the immobilization of the transition process. from the region to capitalism. A few years later, with environmental concerns gaining greater prominence in political debates and historiographical method in the United States, Warren Dean (1987) focused on the botanical challenges to rubber tree cultivation in the Amazon to understand the peculiarities of this trade. And my research on the Amazon in the imagination of the United States during the Second World War, conducted in the midst of a disastrous war in Iraq that led to the death of more than 4 thousand North American soldiers and more than 90 thousand Iraqi civilians, was haunted by the origins and consequences of dependence on raw materials in the automotive industry and the dramas and plots that Americans instigated, internally and externally, in dealing with this reality. (GARFIELD, 2009, p. 33-55).

5 Development policies for the Amazon during the Vargas period

According to Adélia Engrácia de Oliveira (1983), during the period of the Vargas government between 1930-1945 and 1951-1954,

5 The specific objective of several of these agencies has been well studied in the case of Brazil. About the OIAA, see: (TOTA, 2000); (CAMPOS, 2006). About USDA and FAR, see: (DEAN, 1987).

6 I am here inspired by Richard Drayton's analysis of the botanical collections of the British Empire as they originated. given, in part, by providentialist visions of Edenic abundance. See: (DRAYTON, 2000).

the Federal Government tried to prioritize the area of the national economy. Some development programs were drawn up, with the Amazon being one of the priorities, as it was a huge problem, which the national administration had to resolve with concrete goals for the region's backwardness, contributing to national development in general. However, it was only in the second government of Getúlio Vargas that the Amazon Economic Valorization Plan (PVEA) was initially created, and, in 1953, the Superintendency of Valorization of the Amazon Economic Valorization Plan (SPVEA) was born.

Oliveira (1983) states that, on October 10, 1940, Getúlio Dorneles Vargas made a great speech that became known in history as the "Amazon River Speech" in Manaus, in the middle of the Amazonas Theater. Vargas highlighted several problems the region found itself in, among which we can highlight: the demographic void.

There was a need to populate the region through rational cultivation. An agreement was made with the border countries, to boost development in the region and so that there would be a "national reconstruction movement". Although it is important to emphasize that there were already some developmental policies underway in the Amazon, such as, for example, the expansion of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1939, which aimed to create an Agronomic Institute in Belém to encourage the study of plants that produced elastic gum, as well as other extractive species in the region and also had the function of guiding and boosting agricultural and economic activities in the Amazon. Ariovaldo Umbelino de Oliveira explains that:

With the outbreak of the Second World War, the march of the process that would lead to false nationalism/statism was solidified with the signing of the "Washington Accords", which curiously established the state monopoly on the exploration of iron ore, through Companhia Vale do Rio Doce - CRVD, established in 1942. As a fundamental complement to the agreement, the prices of raw materials were frozen. (OLIVEIRA, 1988, p. 15).

For Oliveira (1988), it can be seen that the history of Brazil in the post-Second World War is involved in the process of internationalization of the Brazilian economy. It is observed that this process is coherent with the development of the capitalist means of production in its monopolistic stage and this motivated the judicial internationalization of the surface or portion of the Brazilian national territory.

It was evident that this was a major geopolitical strategy that permeated the relationship between the large economic groups with headquarters in the industrialized countries of the capitalist universe and the rulers, mainly the military in Brazil.

For Oliveira (1983), despite this intention of regional development in the Amazon, there was a need for sufficient financial resources to put such a project into practice. However, with the start of the Second World War, the situation became complicated, especially after the occupation of the Malaysian rubber plantations by the Japanese, and, as a consequence, the blockade in the Pacific, making life difficult for Americans. Faced with this situation, the American government, needing natural rubber to meet wartime demands, proposed and consolidated agreements with Brazil in March 1942, which became known as the "Washington Agreements".

In the understanding of the Federal Government, these agreements could bring benefits with regard to the development of the Amazon, as, in addition to being long-term, the Americans would finance the transport and research program by the Northern Agronomic Institute, in Belém, whose installation took place in 1941, and public health. Oliveira emphasizes that:

Such negotiations, although they allowed the creation of an infrastructure that would later serve as a basis for the deployment of a national integration mechanism, were, however, responsible for the "Battle of Rubber", which took thousands of "rubber soldiers" (the number of deaths is estimated at 40 thousand) who were, in general, northerners who had moved to the Amazon between 1942 and 1945, responding to government appeals. (OLIVEIRA, 1983, p. 264).

Oliveira (1983, *passim*) argues that due to the "Washington Accords" and the need to populate the Amazon, the central government created an entire apparatus to develop the region, we highlight:

The creation of the Rubber Credit Bank, whose objectives were to develop gum production, finance production, sanitation and colonization of producing regions, developing the functions that were previously promoted by Casas Aviadoras and Exportadoras;

b) Special Public Health Service (SESP), this service was maintained by the Foundation Rockefeller and had the objective of providing medical assistance to workers in general;

w) *Rubber Reserve Company*, later changed to *Rubber Development Corporation* (DRC), this American agency was responsible for the transport and supply of goods to the rubber plantations, it also served for the transport of passengers in the interior as well as the transport of rubber to the United States;

d) Special Service for the Mobilization of Workers for the Amazon (SEMTA) and later the Administrative Commission for the Routing of Workers for the Amazon (CAETA), its function was to recruit, host and take northerners to the rubber plantations;

e) Superintendency of Supply of the Amazon Valley (SAVA), which had the mission of supplying foodstuffs and managing rationing due to the maritime blockade;

- f) Brazilian-American Food Production Commission which had the objective of serving the military and civilians, due to the difficulty of transportation, due to the lack of liquid fuels;
- g) National Agricultural Colony of Amazonas, established in 1941 on the left bank of the Solimões River, in Boa Vista, and National Agricultural Colony of Pará, created in 1942 in the municipality of Monte Alegre, in the district of English de Souza. The goal was to establish rural landowners with the aim of colonizing and populating the regions and minimizing social tensions, through the displacement of the agricultural frontier;
- h) Northern Agronomic Institute, in Belém, created in 1941, to carry out research on plants, soil and forest identification;
- Ponta Pelada Airport, built in Manaus (AM) with the aim of developing transport. During this period, Val-de-Cans Airport was also expanded, in Belém (PA)
- j) It was also incorporated into the heritagenaionalThe "*Amazon River Steam Navigation*" (Amazon Navigation Service and Administration of the Port of Pará). Under the care of the Federal Government.

When it comes to development projects, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto (1970) emphasize that, to carry out a global analysis of development, it is not enough to simply incorporate the perception of "social factors" assimilated as new variables of the structural type. Cardoso and Faletto add that:

To acquire meaning, such an analysis requires a double effort to redefine perspectives: on the one hand, considering in their entirety the "particular historical conditions" – economic and social – underlying development processes, at the national and external levels; on the other hand, understanding, in the given structural situations, the objectives and interests that give meaning, guide or animate the conflict between groups and classes and the social movements that "set in motion" developing societies. (CARDOSO; FALETTTO, 1970, p. 21).

This concerns the search for a conception that allows concretely linking the economic and social components of development in diagnosing the performance of social groups. In this way, it is understood that the analysis goes beyond the approach that extends as a structural perspective, embedding it in an interpretation made in terms of "historical process".

This interpretation does not mean agreeing with the innocent perspective that marks the influence of temporal sequence for the scientific explanation, beginning and development of each social situation, however, that historical becoming can only be explained by categories that give meaning to facts and that, in as a result, are historically mentioned. Cardoso and Faletto confirm that:

In this way, development is considered as a result of the interaction of groups and social classes that have their own way of relating and, therefore, distinct material interests and values, whose opposition, conciliation or overcoming gives life to the socioeconomic system. The social and political structure changes as different classes and social groups manage to impose their interests, their strength and their domination on society as a whole. (CARDOSO; FALLETO, 1970, p. 22).

For Cardoso and Faletto (1970), given this perspective, it is clear that the essential theoretical problem is composed of the definition of the ways that support the structures of domination, as the understanding of the action of class relations is assimilated through them.

The situation of underdevelopment was historically born from the expansion of commercial capitalism and, later, industrial capitalism, which linked economies to the same market that did not expose different degrees of inequality in the productive system, but also incorporated different locations into the global foundation of the capitalist system.

Cardoso and Faletto (1970, p. 26) also add the following argument to their analysis "[...] in this way, among developed economies there is not a simple difference in stage or stage of the productive system, but also in function or position within the same international economic structure of production and distribution".

For Cardoso and Faletto (1970), this can be seen from another angle as a defined structure of relations of domination. It is worth highlighting that this concept of underdevelopment, as it is applied, has more to do with the foundation of a type of economic system, with characteristics of primacy of the primary sector, where concentration of income is notable and the domination of the external market over the internal one. Cardoso and Faletto clarify, although:

It is necessary to seek the points of intersection of the economic system with the social system, through which the connections and dynamics of the different aspects and levels of reality that affect the possibilities of development are revealed (CARDOSO; FALETTTO, (1970, p. 24).

Cardoso and Faletto (1970) understand that in order to have historical recognition of underdevelopment, it is necessary not only to mark the structural characteristics of underdeveloped economies, as there is a need to understand how underdeveloped economies were historically linked to the world market and how they were formed the internal social groups that managed to clarify the outward-facing relationships that underdevelopment imagines.

This study identifies that, on a political-social level, some type of dependence remains in situations of

underdevelopment. And this dependence historically begins with the expansion of the economies of the original capitalist countries. Cardoso and Faletto conclude that:

Dependence on the situation of underdevelopment socially implies a form of domination that manifests itself through a series of characteristics in the mode of action and orientation of groups that appear in the economic system as producers or consumers. This situation assumes, in extreme cases, that decisions that affect production or consumption in a given economy are taken depending on the dynamics and interests of developed economies. (CARDOSO; FALETTTO. 1970, p. 26).

For Furtado (2009), the theory of economic development aims to clarify, in a macroeconomic dimension, the causes and continued process of productivity of the labor factor and its consequences in the organization of production as well as the way in which social production is distributed and used.

This can be explained in two phases, the first, where there is a predominance of abstract formulations, comprises the analysis of the growth mechanism, being necessary to create models or a simple scheme of existing economic systems that have, as a basis, the stable relationships between quantifiable and recognized variables of great relevance.

The second phase covers the historical plane and encompasses the critical study, as opposed to a given reality, of the basic categories defined by abstract analysis. Furtado further explains that,

It is not enough to build an abstract model and explain how it works. Equally important is verifying the explanatory effectiveness of this model in comparison with a historical reality. Only this verification can indicate the limitations arising from the level of abstraction at which the model was created and suggest the modifications to be introduced to make it valid from the point of view of a given reality (FURTADO, 2009, p. 25).

For Furtado (2009), economic development is considered a phenomenon that in itself explains a historical dimension. Each economy has its difficulties in the development process. In some cases they are common to other contemporary economies. Furtado highlights that, among the difficulties encountered, we can point out:

The complex of natural resources, migratory currents, the institutional order, the relative degree of development of contemporary economies singularize each historical phenomenon of development. Few economies today also find it more difficult to escape stagnation, due to the nature of their external exchange relations. Therefore, foreign trade appears as a stimulating and impeding factor for development. (FURTADO, 2009, p. 28).

6 Development projects for the Amazon during the period of military governments

Ariovaldo Umbelino Oliveira (1988) highlights that, to understand how the occupation of the Amazon was carried out, it is necessary to understand the role of the military. This concerns the history of mineral exploration in Brazil, which is related to the involvement of the United States in Brazilian domestic politics and how a part of the national bourgeoisie joined foreign banks in the uncontrolled exploitation of Brazil's mineral wealth. Oliveira confirms that:

In reality, another piece was being moved in the chess game triggered by the North-Americans, since the installation of modern steel mills in Brazil, Chile and Colombia was part of the Pentagon's strategic plans to decentralize the North American industrial park, in a certain way threatened by Nazi Germany's development of the "V-2" bombs launched by self-propelled rockets. In fact, Vale do Rio Doce, due to these "agreements", provided service to the allies during the Second World War and for this purpose received loans in dollars from Eximbank - Export & Import Bank of Washington. As a consequence of the agreements, the CRVD also accumulated deficits that lasted until 1952. (OLIVEIRA, 1988, p. 16).

When talking about development in the Amazon, it is necessary to understand the historical, economic and social context of that moment, mainly during the period of the military dictatorship, as we must understand how Brazil promotes development policies for the Amazon. According to Oliveira (1983), with the implementation of military governments, under the command of the President, Marshal Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco, strategic measures were adopted for the development of the Amazon.

These initiatives completely changed the policy in force until then, such measures became known as "Operation Amazônia" (1965-1967) and through these initiatives, an entire institutional device was set up that had as its goal the occupation, development and integration of the northern fraction from Brazil to the national group, arising from the indispensability of strengthening federal action in the region, as the dangers that this region represented for national security were evident, as there was a very large expanse of practically empty land. From the perspective of Loureiro (1992), this concern to integrate the Amazon with the rest of the country was nothing more than a strategy aimed at this objective:

The movement called Operation Amazônia (1966/1967) consisted of a set of instruments for attracting capital, facilitating its entry based on Tax Incentives and other more general guarantees such as access to land and other natural assets in the Amazon. The most important and triggering milestone for the movement was a large national meeting of investors in the two main regional capitals – Belém and Manaus – in addition to permanent discussions between businesspeople and government agents, on board a ship, and other smaller meetings. (LOUREIRO, 1992, p. 72).

According to Oliveira (1988), in relation to Operation Amazônia, in the understanding of the ideology of the Higher School of War, communication from the times of “geographical borders” to those of “ideological borders” was listed:

It was necessary to hand it over to the Americans so as not to hand it over to the communists” [sic]. In this way, the motto “integrate” meant opening paths, creating conditions for the exploitation of natural resources by large multinational monopolies. Apparently, this motto, apparently inscribed in and by many people interpreted as a product of the geopolitical ideology of “borders”, originated and should be interpreted as a product of the ideology of “ideological borders”. The authoritarian state created all sorts of policies to implement the internationalization of the Brazilian economy and, consequently, delivered and continues to deliver the country's natural resources in a vile way. That is why we immediately clarify the interpretation of the Rondon Project's motto in the opposite way: “integrate to deliver”. (OLIVEIRA, 1988, p. 32).

A classic example of the military preparing the Amazon to hand it over to foreign capital was the famous Jari Project. Oliveira (1990) states that the entire process related to the Amazon region was only put into practice due to the participation of the military that governed the country at that time, together with its geopolitical strategists, who were mainly responsible for the inclusion of the Amazon into monopoly global capitalism. Oliveira further reports that: “His trail has been the trail of expropriation. Expropriation of natural resources, minerals, forestry, soil, workers' sweat, and indigenous nations. All of this was done without consulting the majority of the population of this country.” (OLIVEIRA, 1990, p. 17).

For Ariovaldo Umbelino de Oliveira (1990), among the various projects related to his forestry area, the one that draws the most attention is Jari himself, from the North American, Daniel Keith Ludwig. This American had direct involvement with the military and the CPI installed to investigate the sale of land to foreigners. It was the military who invited Mr. Ludwig to make investments in Brazil, they also tried to free him from the legislation that dealt with the sale of land to foreigners, as well as freeing him from the complications of the CPI. Oliveira makes the following observation:

Alongside these processes that involved the large capitalist groups in our country, the Jari Project was conceived as a forestry project for the production of cellulose, an agricultural project for the production of rice and cattle breeding, and mineral exploration for the extraction of kaolin and bauxite. (OLIVEIRA, 1990, p. 25).

For Lúcio Flávio Pinto (1986), in that period, practically throughout the Amazon, man lived from the extraction and collection of products in nature. In the Jari Project, economic activities were nothing more than harvesting chestnuts and cutting down rubber trees. These products went first to Belém and then abroad.

Daniel Ludwig acquired a company that dealt with chestnuts, rubber, latex, rubber, animal skins, balata, wood and oilseeds. This company was very old, dating back to the 19th century, which is why they only sent men to collect these products in the forest. But Ludwig was very bold and intended to transform it into a modern, 21st century company.

According to Pinto (1986), he knew that there was a need to prepare a large infrastructure to support economic activities, and this investment should be included in expenses, he also knew that to be successful in this venture, he needed great government cooperation and assistance. .

This Project was under the command of Mr. Ludwig, for at least ten years, his administration was with an iron fist. Afterwards, the Jari Project went through several difficulties, when it became clear that the company's actions behaved indifferently and wanted to continue living in the era of authoritarianism, which guaranteed it a multitude of privileges.

Regarding working conditions at the Jari Project, Pinto stated that:

The population of Belém only became aware of the hell that was Jari when dozens of people from Ceará, led by Cesário Medeiros, rose up, took over a ship and forced the owner of the property to accept the mass escape. They arrived in the capital relieved: they had managed to abandon their disguised captivity on the lands of Colonel José Júlio de Andrade. (PINTO, 1986, p. 85).

Therefore, given the suffering of these workers, we clearly see a case of disrespect for human dignity. The handover of the Amazon by the military to foreigners, such as the Jari case, reveals a total disrespect for the Homeland and national sovereignty. These soldiers who governed the country at that time, during the execution of the great Jari Project, were not, at any time, concerned about the Amazon, which was being violently

exploited and devastated by foreigners, through the onslaught of international capital. In Oliveira's view, it was violence:

The expropriation of natural resources is, without a shadow of a doubt, the great goal of international capital in the Amazon region. He has sought to take possession of it, in order to guarantee the so-called "strategic supplies for the United States and other developed capitalist nations". (OLIVEIRA, 1990, p. 35).

When it comes to development projects for the Amazon, we could not forget the Carajás Project. For Anthony L. Hall (1991), the Carajás Project was the largest "aggregate" development project, which had never been put into practice in any humid tropical forest area on the planet. It was opened in 1980, almost a decade and a half after the discovery of iron ores, corresponding to almost 11% of Brazil and covering an area of approximately 900,000m². It can be said that this Carajás Project was useful when it came to transforming the economic and social panorama, contributing, above all, to attracting a considerable population contingent. For Hall, this project was beneficial because it contributed to the population of the region:

It brought to the eastern region of the Amazon thousands of construction workers looking for jobs, miners looking for wealth, small farmers looking for land, and countless other individuals looking for employment. Urban areas, ranging from state capitals such as São Luiz and Belém to provincial cities such as Marabá, Açailândia and Imperatriz, have experienced demographic explosions with the advent of the Carajás Program and are estimated to increase in size by 40% to 800% by the year 2000. (HALL, 1991, p. 60).

For Hall (1991), the great importance of the Carajás Program is due to its current formation, which is made up of four major projects: an iron ore deposit, two aluminum factories and the Tucuruí hydroelectric plant. Although there was a major complication, which was a very large foreign concentration, something around (\$1.8 billion in 1988).

There was a certain amount of care regarding National sovereignty. The discovery was understood a month later, when additional research revealed that Carajás had the largest reserves of high-grade iron ores in the world (currently estimated at 18 billion tons, with an average gradation of 66% FE).

Excited by these prospects, the *US Steel* requested exploration rights from the Brazilian government in an area of 160,000 ha. The Brazilian government, however, resisted placing so much power in the hands of a single foreign company and, after three years of agreement, a joint action was formalized in 1970, with the creation of AMZA (Amazônia Mineração SA), with 51% share capital held by CVRD (Companhia Vale do Rio Doce) and 49% by *US Steel*. In 1974, AMZA obtained exploration rights over the entire Carajás area. (COTA, 1984; SANTOS, 1986 *apud* HALL, 1991, p. 61, *passim*).

For Hall (1991), the controversies and conflicts generated as a result of the underdevelopment that existed and continue to exist in the Amazon, as well as the importance of the attribution of the State and the peasants, can be elucidated in three large classes: first, the logic of the model of capital, according to the institutional aggregation argument and a third, more pluralistic analysis. Hall further explains that:

Each of them gives different emphasis when explaining agrarian crises, such as the one currently characteristic of the Amazon, in terms of a wide variety of factors, such as: interests of dominant internal and global classes, linked to the spread of capitalism, the variable role of State machinery in determining development policy, the continued existence of peasants in the Amazon and the influence of intermediary organizations, as active bargaining forces, in negotiations with a range of private and official bodies. (HALL, 1991, p. 250 - 251).

For Hall (1991), faced with a broad debate, it is worth questioning which of them has a more reasonable explanation for the agrarian development model in the Carajás Program; what conclusions can we draw regarding state intervention to promote development in the region; What contributions did this population of approximately five million inhabitants have? In the case of the first model, which is the logic of capitalism, they basically subject examples of rural development and State policy to external forces.

The agrarian crisis occurs due to the consequence of a dependent and unequal capitalist expansion in the periphery, contributing to social division, depeasantization and proletarianization. The second model, which is the Institutional Incorporation model, shows alternative elucidation that is based on the dominant attribution. These models that deal with bordering on capital and institutional control by the State, were, in part, contradicted by the pluralist approach, more focused on actors. Hall states that:

This type of analysis, of which there are several, generally assigns somewhat different roles to the class of small farmers and the State apparatus, to which it relates. Rather than assuming a powerless peasantry facing overwhelming external forces, it is seen as reacting to changing circumstances, thereby actively shaping the process of change by interacting with institutions and individuals at all levels. (HALL, 1991, p. 254).

According to Ianni (1986), between 1964 and 1978, the Brazilian State was encouraged to develop a

economic policy with a certain aggressiveness and ordering the submission of agriculture to capital. Ianni further states

what:

In these years, the process of subordination of agriculture to industry, from the countryside to the city, entered a phase that was perhaps more intense and widespread than on previous occasions in recent times. The government measures adopted led to the acceleration and generalization of the intensive and extensive development of rural capitalism. In activities where capitalist production organizations were scarce, dispersed or non-existent, such as rustic livestock farming in the Amazon, for example, state power was led to induce, encourage or support both the constitution of capitalist enterprises and concentration and centralization of capital. On the one hand, mainly in agricultural activities located in the Center-South, the State was led to favor the intensive development of capitalism. On the other hand, as in the vacant, tribal or occupied lands in the Amazon, the State was led to favor the extensive development of capitalism (IANNI, 1986, p. 15 - 16).

Ianni (1986) states that, to understand why this process of intensive and extensive development occurred and how, with this aggressive and repressive content of capitalism in agriculture, it is necessary to verify the relationships between the agricultural policies of state power and the policy of general economic development that the Brazilian State was encouraged to put into practice.

From the beginning, the dictatorial government was convinced to submit to the directives of foreign and national monopoly capital. Unfortunately, it privileged the economy's dependence, contributing to the reduction or even annulment of autonomy, present in the country's economic system as a whole. Ianni also highlights that:

With the coup, a dictatorship was installed at the service of monopoly capital. Not only the State apparatus, but the entire economic, political and cultural life of the country becomes largely determined by the policy of accelerated capitalist accumulation. Hence the aggressive and repressive character, in economic and political terms, of state economic policy. (IANNI, 1986, p. 17).

For Ianni (1986), this harmful and cruel policy aimed to exploit industrial and agricultural workers to the maximum, while some sectors of the middle class and the countryside also aimed to open Brazil's doors to the free activity of foreign monopoly capital.

João Goulart, who, at that time, was the president of Brazil, proposed an economic policy of a nationalist or sovereign character, while the military government of Castelo Branco, in practice, was totally contrary to this policy, developing, in fact, a dependent and subordinated to international capitalism. In practice, what happened, according to Ianni, was:

What the military governments were led to do was to rearticulate Brazil's economy with imperialism, according to conditions established mainly by the foreign, imperialist company or transnational corporation". The dictatorship installed in the country provided all the economic and political conditions suitable for an intense and broad concentration and centralization of capital, under the control of foreign, national and associated companies. It was in this context that the Brazilian State was led to adopt the "open economy" policy. (IANNI, 1986, *idem*, P. 17).

Ianni (1986) highlights that the economic policy of the military government during the dictatorship period favored and protected, economically and politically, a large capitalist accumulation; As a consequence of this policy, foreign capital was privileged, guaranteed and reinforced in its presence in the agricultural sector of the Brazilian economic subsystem. For Ianni, it is necessary to understand that international capitalism did not only begin to develop its activities at the time of the dictatorship.

It is clear that monopoly capital - foreign, national and associated - had already dominated Brazilian economic and political life for many decades before 1964. In particular, during the government of President Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira (1956-60) there was a new surge of penetration of this capital in the business of society and the State in Brazil. This imperialist and monopolistic penetration was so broad and deep that the 1964 Coup d'Etat, against the government of President João Goulart, would have been impossible without its help or inspiration. (IANNI, 1986, p. 35).

The transformations that occurred in the Amazon in the period 1964 - 1978 were basically an extensive development of capitalism. It is observed that, in extractivism, agriculture and livestock, relations have increased production capitalists, together with the productive forces. Ianni also notes that:

Strictly speaking, the creation and expansion of the extractivism company, agriculture and mining, in the same way as the policy of demarcation and titling of vacant, tribal and occupied lands, alongside directed colonization, all of this more or less expresses the process broad and intense expansion of capitalist relations in the region. This does not mean that before 1964, the region's economic activities were not linked, to a greater or lesser extent, with the Amazon's own markets, as well as national and foreign markets. (IANNI, 1986, p. 56).

Ianni (1986) states that, with the creation of the Superintendency of the Amazon Economic Valorization Plan

(SPVEA), created in 1953, it is worth highlighting that it did not have a famous action in agricultural and livestock activities. The Banco de Crédito da Amazônia, which emerged from the Banco da Borracha, together with the SPVEA, were not so significant with regard to the development of the Amazon. They only helped to preserve the installed and hegemonic productive functioning in the region. The entire region depended on economic activities aimed at the subsistence of producing units:

Indigenous communities, families, banks, centers, villages, towns, villages, etc. and added to all this, the fact that the economic, social, cultural or political life of these places, areas, and the Amazon region as a whole, was defined, or shaped, by a transport and communication system built on the basis of rivers and streams. Through rivers and streams the distances were longer, endless. All of this is strongly marked, or determined, by extractivism, which is present throughout the history of the Amazon. (IANNI, 1986, *idem*, P. 56).

After the creation of SPVEA in 1953,⁷ The power of the State became explicit, at least ideologically, with the activation and distinction of extractive, agricultural, livestock and even industrial activities in the region, reiterates Ianni (1986). It is worth noting that the State was not clear about the objectives nor the practical connections in relation to decisions and actions for the protection, dynamization or distinction of economic activities.

It is obvious that these initiatives did not always have the same purpose and system. They were adopted due to pressure from local and regional groups, or due to the way in which the Brazilian State was led to conceive the articulation of national and regional interests. It can even be observed, for example, that a federal body created for the Amazon can have its purposes and means reformulated, in itself and in combination with other bodies created for the development of extractivism, agriculture, agroindustry or even industry in the Amazon. region (IANNI, 1986, p. 58).

For Cardoso and Müller (1978), there were some changes between the first plan of 1953, when SPVEA was created and in 1966 when SUDAM was created, some changes were made with regard to the State and the type of development for the Amazon .

While the 1953 Plan called for a union between state and private capital, without even mentioning foreign capital, in 1966 things were very different, because, with the creation of SUDAM, the State prepared the Amazon for private capital, leaving with the most complex investments, infrastructure, research and planning, which required a large sum of capital with a long-term return perspective. Cardoso and Müller also emphasize that:

Furthermore, the second plan aims for greater rationality in the exploitation of regional resources, mainly aiming at the self-sustainability of the population already settled and the population contingents that may settle there. Discourages extractive production, preferring that it be replaced, whenever possible, by more profitable activities; encourages the development of agriculture, livestock and fish farming as basic sources of livelihood for the population and proposes the selection of areas most conducive to development, where available resources would be concentrated, creating regional development hubs. (CARDOSO; MÜLLER, 1978, p.114).

Since 1912, when the production of natural rubber in the Amazon went into crisis due to the rubber grown in Southwest Asia, Brazil has never taken the development of the Amazon seriously with regard to rubber, nor has the presence of the State in the Amazon been effective, concerning minority groups. It remained only in rhetoric and speech, however, due to the outbreak of the Second World War and the scarcity of natural rubber, a plan was developed that became known as the "Battle of Rubber". At this moment, the presence of the State in the Amazon is noticeable. Ianni emphasizes this presence.

From 1942 onwards, the presence of state power in the problems of the Amazon grew more or less uninterruptedly. In addition to the developments and rearrangements of the administrative organizations of state, territorial and municipal governments, the State has been increasingly present and active in the region. Economic problems, in general, and financial problems, in particular, led to the increasing participation of state power in the creation of bodies, adoption of guidelines and implementation of decisions. Strictly speaking, the presence of state power in the most distant places in the region has grown significantly, in quantitative and qualitative terms. (IANNI, 1986, p. 58 - 59).

According to Ianni (1986), the Federal Government created the Banco de Crédito da Borracha SA to try to solve the economic problem, in particular, the increase in the production of natural rubber, as due to the outbreak of the Second World War there was a need for natural rubber in large quantity to the United States to meet demand.

With the end of the war in 1945, there was a change regarding the international position of natural rubber of the Amazon, due to the rubber that was being cultivated in Asia, specifically, in the Southwest. In the 1946 Constitution (BRASIL, 1946), in article 199, the State's concern regarding development in the region was noticeable. It is considered boosting productive actions or starting new economic actions, perhaps industrial ones. Ianni also reaffirms:

⁷ See SILVA FILHO, Eduardo Gomes da (2015).

It was in the years 1960 - 1978, however, that economic and social transformations in the Amazon were accentuated. In 1960, the Belém-Brasília highway was opened. Then, especially from 1966 onwards, federal agencies were remodeled or created, defining new objectives and means of public and private action in the region. There were so many such decisions, agencies and State actions in the Amazon, that it is possible to say that it was in the years 1960 - 1978 that the Amazon rearticulated itself in a new form, with the national and international economic and political system. Alongside extractivism, mining, agricultural, livestock and industrial activities were created or developed. The transport and communication system was developed, in order to make the economic and political activities of the region independent (or little dependent) on the river system. (IANNI, 1986, p. 60).

For Ianni (1986), it was from 1966 onwards, extending until 1978, that an intensification occurred related to the modification of the economy in the region, with the aim of reviving and pluralizing economic actions in the Amazon. The main initiatives that the government adopted are observed: in 1966, the Superintendence for the Development of the Amazon, (SUDAM), was created through Law No. 5,173 (BRASIL, 1966).

Sudam has established itself as the most notable body for activating the Amazon economy. Its mission was to coordinate, supervise programs and plans of other federal agencies operating in the region. It was through the creation of tax and financial incentives that Sudam aimed to attract national and foreign investments.

According to Cardoso and Müller (1978), in June 1970, the PIN (National Integration Plan) was created through decree-law No. 1,106 (BRASIL, 1970). The essential objective of creating the PIN was to subsidize the infrastructure works plan in the areas where SUDENE E SUDAM operates, with the purpose of integrating the national economy, for which a budget worth Cr\$ 2 billion cruises was foreseen, which should come from:

- a) Budgetary resources, provided for in the annual and multi-annual budgets;
- b) Resources from tax incentives (from 1971 to 1974 30% of the total income tax deducted will be credited to the PIN);
- c) Contributions and donations from public and private companies;
- d) Loans from national and international financial institutions;
- e) Resources from other sources. (CARDOSO; MÜLLER, 1978, p. 124).

Cardoso and Müller (1978) further clarify that the first phase of the PIN began with the construction of the Transamazônica, the Cuiabá-Santarém and the Northeast Irrigation Plan; also emphasizes that the expropriation of the areas located on these highways, as well as their colonization and exploitation, were the responsibility of the PIN through its resources, already mentioned.

According to Cardoso and Müller (1978), on February 28, 1967, SUFRAMA (Superintendência da Zona Franca de Manaus) was created through Decree-Law No. 288 (BRASIL, 1967). This body's main mission was to manage the Manaus Free Zone, it was an agency linked to the Ministry of the Interior, it is worth highlighting that it had no link with SUDAM, although it was included in its Master Plan. SUFRAMA's main objectives were:

1. Develop a Master Plan for the 10,000km² area on the left bank of the Negro River.
2. Provide development alone or through associations with public or private companies.
3. Its main goal was to develop and integrate the Western Amazon with the rest of Brazil, through the development of an industrial and agricultural center.
4. Establish special conditions such as: (exemption from taxes on industrialized products – IPI, import and export, this entire structure had the objective of favoring trade with abroad and the Center-South of Brazil).

For Ianni (1986), after an entire development infrastructure was established for the Amazon, with the creation of several bodies considered important, mainly SUDAM, there was more fluidity in the region's development process. He reiterates that:

It was after the creation of SUDAM that enterprises in the agricultural, livestock, industrial and mining sectors began to gain more dynamism. In the same year of 1966, Banco de Crédito da Amazônia SA was reformulated, changing its name to Banco da Amazônia SA, or BASA, in accordance with law no. 5,122, of September 28. Little by little, still in the financial sphere, Banco do Brasil (or BB) boosted its presence in the region, creating branches. Thus, in just a few years, SUDAM, BASA and BB began to act in an articulated manner, with the aim of boosting and diversifying public and private economic enterprises in the region. In 1967, the Superintendency of the Manaus Free Trade Zone, or SUFRAMA, was created, according to decree-law n° 228, of February 26th. In June 1970, the federal government adopted the National Integration Plan, PIN, in accordance with decree-law n° 1,106. And the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform, INCRA, was created on July 9 of the same year, according to decree-law n° 1,110. In 1971, the Land Redistribution and Stimulus Program for Agroindustry in the North and Northeast, PROTERRA, was created, in accordance with decree-law No. 1,179, of July 6. Between 1971 and 1978, several important highways were built: Transamazônica, Perimetral Norte,

Cuiabá-Santarém and Manaus-Caracarái (BR 174), among other roads. And it is also worth mentioning, among the important federal rural initiatives for the Amazon, two national development plans: I PND for 1971-1974, and II PND, for 1975-1979 (IANNI, 1986, p. 61).

This author believes that it is worth listing the main measures implemented by the Federal Government during the period 1964 - 1978, as they caused considerable changes at almost all levels of Amazonian society.

- 1) the dynamization and diversification of productive actions occurred.
- 2) the credit system, public and private, was promoted.
- 3) there was an activation and growth of public administration in the region.
- 4) the struggle for land developed and intensified, involving public authorities (federal, state, municipal, territorial), and agricultural and mining companies, squatters and indigenous people.
- 5) the old indigenous problem related to land or the defense of their culture came to the surface again.
- 6) colonial centers were created, with the aim of building labor reserves for public and private enterprises.
- 7) the geopolitical issue of the Amazon region was reformulated and expanded, in relation to defense problems and "internal security" problems. (IANNI, 1986, *passim*).

In the book *Metamorphoses of the Amazon*, by the sociologist and professor at the Federal University of Amazonas, professor Dr^a Marilene Corrêa da Silva, we found a study with a lot of density and academic insight in its approach to public development policies for the Amazon, and mainly on the formation of social thought in the Amazon region .

When we discuss, debate or read about the Amazon, in some books, we continually observe that people talk about the Amazon stating that it has been forgotten or is in a stage of underdevelopment. Very often, the issue of "forgetfulness" is linked to that of "late development" or poorly managed; With great vehemence, these assessments leave the field of facts to "ideologize" (SILVA, 2013, p. 9).

This author emphasizes that, as if these facts were related to the preference taken or some political position. The globalization of capitalism can point to another bias of interpretation, when referring to the Amazon or research related to the topic, she says. (SILVA, 2013).

For Chaves (2011), the policy that provided a diversity of productive activities integral to the relations of capitalism in the Amazon resulted in a redistribution of labor, contributing, above all, to the emergence of other economic activities in the interior of the region, due to to the extractivism crisis. And, with the creation of the Manaus Free Trade Zone during this period, the consequence was the disarticulation of the economy in the interior of the state of Amazonas.

However, what we realize is that the Amazon was placed on a "tray" and offered to international capitalism by the military, to be explored and devastated in the most cruel way possible, without even taking into account the historical social actors, who were part of it. . Through amazing projects, which called themselves "development", as Ianni (1986) states.

Final considerations

The text sought to briefly discuss the effort to bring northeasterners to the Amazon, to engage in the "Battle of Rubber", together with the articulations made by the North Americans, especially during World War II.

However, even with government and foreign incentives, especially for the industrial sector, the economic impact on the Amazon and the gum economy did not reach the expected level, especially for the "rubber soldiers", who moved from the northeast region to the region north, with great expectations, based on government propaganda, but many were not successful.

The dependence that the USA had on our rubber was also contextualized, culminating in the deepening of interest in the Amazon region. However, to understand this process, the analysis was deepened during the period of Getúlio Vargas' government, when he focused on developmental policies for the Amazon region.

Still in the midst of these developmental projects, after the Vargas era, the text analyzed the fateful period of the military coup in Brazil, with its authoritarian governments and its policies considered "developmental" for the Amazon. zone, which, contrary to the official discourse of a supposed demographic void, caused great inconvenience to the people

traditional and riverside communities, in addition to the destruction of part of the flora, fauna and biodiversity of this region.

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