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GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF BRAZIL IN THE AMAZON

MA Thesis

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Author Declaration

I have prepared this thesis independently. All the views of other authors, as well as data from literary sources and elsewhere, have been cited.

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Abstract

This thesis provides a look into the world of Brazilian geopolitical reasoning and its themes through a lens of critical geopolitics. Using content analysis through theoretically informed coding of textual material to deconstruct the meanings, the relevance of geopolitical reasoning can be exposed, and thereby signify the importance of Amazon for Brazil. The thesis compares two different periods in Brazilian History, the period of 1964-1985 and 1985-2023. The first case represents the period of military dictatorship and the second, a return to democracy. An overview of how Brazil had historically given meaning to the Amazonian space is given which is then followed by an analysis of speeches from first or dictatorship period. Historically the meaning was driven by an understanding of geopolitical thought coming mainly from Rudolf Kjellen, Fredrich Ratzel, and Halford Mackinder. Organic State theory and the idea of a South American Heartland were very influential. An impetus for this development was an unevenly populated and developed country. Resource exploitation, territorial claims, security threats, and economic development are themes prevalent during the dictatorship. Moving into the modern period there is a shift toward themes of economic development based on human rights and environmental security concerns along with an increase in declaring to other nations that Brazil has sovereignty over the Amazon. Though the shift doesn't happen to the exclusion of resource exploitation or security threats. However, the justification changes. The shift in language from more classical geopolitical thought to more social and environmental themes indicates the significance of geopolitical reasoning in Brazil.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Brazil has a coastline of roughly 7,400 km and inland borders that stretch 15,700 km and they touch every country in South America except Ecuador and Chile. A vast majority of this inland territory is part of the Amazon, and it remains scarcely populated and unoccupied and without adequate infrastructure. The Amazonian space has always been a central topic in geopolitical reasoning throughout Brazilian history. This problem was more acute in the middle of the 20th century and had leaders of the military junta worried about sovereignty, insurrection, exploitation, and great power status. The junta leaders thought “Brazil's neighbors and the great powers of the northern hemisphere were presumed to covet the region and its putative riches. The military had to defend the region and, with it, Brazil's future” (Foresta, 1992).

However, when the military dictatorship ended with the elections of 1985 and the new constitution of 1988 this did not signify an end to geopolitical reasoning in the Amazon. There still exist traditional fears of internationalization and foreign interference in the Amazon. Although times do change and regimes go through transition, the praxis that gives value to the territory stays the same. The following quote from the 2020 revised National Defense Policy illustrates how the Amazon remains an important area of concern: “The enormous territorial extension of the Brazilian Amazon, its lower demographic density, and the difficulties of mobility in the region, as well as its mineral resources, its hydro-energetic potential and the valuable biodiversity it houses, demand the effective presence of the state, aimed at its defense and its integration with the other regions in the country, contributing to its national development” (Rodrigues, 2021).

In view of this information, I have reason to expect that regardless of regime type and governance model, reliance on geographical conditions still play an important role in geopolitical reasoning and regional policy designs and that geopolitical “truth” may be dressed in different clothing styles in terms of language or targeted objectives, yet this does not make geopolitical reasoning insignificant. The intriguing part is that classic geopolitical thought was very influential in the military and government leading up to the 1964 coup and during the dictatorship. Particularly ideas of the organic state from Kjellen and the heartland theory from Mackinder. This is how the Amazon was framed but what happened after the coup? Though

references to those classic geopolitical terms became obsolete, what took their place? How was the Amazon given meaning and with what terms? How did they justify policy there? It is relevant to know the answers to these questions because researchers can better understand how policies are being legitimized and to know which actors have the power to legitimize. Additionally, the Amazon is also an intersection of different fields of study like environmental, geography, and political studies. This research can contribute to those and other fields by understanding the interests at work and dissecting the dialogue that gives meaning to the Amazon.

This study then performs a diachronic comparison of 1964-1985 and 1985-2023 using content analysis to see whether geopolitical reasoning still plays a role in regional policy designs and if there has been a shift in the language used to describe or justify these policies in the Amazon. “Critical geopolitics questions how ‘geography’ and ‘geopolitics’ as signs have been put to work in global politics in the twentieth century and how they have supervised the production of vision of the global political scene” (O’Tuathail 1996). It is with this in mind that I will look at presidential and ministerial speeches from both periods and governments websites for Amazon projects with their details and reasonings for the case of 1985-2023. The speeches come from Brazil’s presidential library which contains an archive of past presidential speeches in addition to official government agency websites for example for a speech former President Bolsonaro gave at the UN. Other sources during the latter case come from official agency websites that have a database of projects, current and former, taking place in the Amazon. By looking through these documents the objective is to view how the Amazon has been given meaning and note any changes between the two cases and in particular what meaning the Amazon has now.

In the First chapter I explain what geopolitics is and explain who the influential geopoliticians were for Brazil to lay a foundation of the thinking that inspired much of Brazilian geopolitical thought and early policy. After that I will describe the methodology of the thesis and under what methods the research will proceed and what themes I will be seeking to identify in the content analyzed. After that in chapter four I will mainly give a literature review of how Brazil has been framed in the past to show how the Amazon had been given meaning in the past. In that chapter, I will give an analysis of some speeches regarding one of the larger projects of

the dictatorship in the Amazon. After this, I move into the second case encompassing 1985-2023 and give an analysis of more presidential speeches and highlight the themes used to justify their policies. Then in the last chapter I give my concluding remarks and address some weaknesses within the study and what could be done by other studies in the future.

Chapter 2. Foundations of Geopolitics

Geopolitics is a context-specific form of knowledge about the planet Earth (O Tuathail 1996). Scholars and philosophers have for centuries debated how the environment impacts political decision-making. Geopolitics began to take form in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the works of authors Friedrich Ratzel, Halford Mackinder, and Rudolf Kjellen. The latter is widely credited with coining the term geopolitics. The world was going through many changes at the end of the 19th and start of the 20th century. There was the unification of Germany and Italy, the rise of powers like the United States and Russia and the crumbling of the Ottoman Empire. As noted by Halford Mackinder it was also the end of new discoveries, there were no more ‘new worlds’ to find. The competition for resources, trade routes and markets were also increasing.

Geopolitics can find its origins in Friedrich Ratzel, Rudolf Kjellen, and Halford Mackinder. Ratzel, the intellectual father of geopolitics is quoted as saying “People live on its soil, draw their sustenance from it, and are otherwise attached to it by spiritual relationships. Together with this piece of earth they form the state” (Kiernan 2008). For Halford Mackinder, the ‘founder of new geography’ we can infer based off his Heartland Theory that geographic locations are what defines a nation’s power. Finally, Rudolf Kjellen the godfather of geopolitics referred to nations as “like organisms in the biological sense, whose only fixed points are their interests, prejudices and urges: the desire for realization and growth, the will to life and the will to power” (Tunander, 2001). It was then with the ideas of these men that the concept of space having importance and that power could be derived from the national territory and its geographic features began. Their ideas would have a strong influence on Brazilian geopolitical thinkers, who would become some of the biggest practitioners of geopolitics which will help give meaning to the Brazilian context later. Zbigniew Brzezinski in his book the Grand Chessboard said, “Geographic location defines national priorities” (Brzezinski, 1997) and this is evident in many policies of not just Brazil but of Northern American and European nations as well.

Friedrich Ratzel and his organic conceptions of the state are a foundational part of geopolitics and were also very influential in South American geopolitical thought but especially in the minds of Brazilian military leaders. Ratzel’s geopolitical knowledge in the late 19th century was influenced by German unification. He justified territorial expansion based on his ideas of the organic state. Abrahamsson argued that Ratzel’s ideas for the organic state borrowed

heavily from a recent Charles Darwin publication of the time, 'The Origin of Species'. Ratzel argues that "biological differentiation is a growth phenomenon; as such it gives rise to the spatial division of labor that follows the growth of the organism, a growth that centers certain functions in specific parts of the organism, functions that are governed by a central organ" (Abrahamsson, 2013). For Ratzel though this meant that "the spatial extension of the state is the condition that all other conditions are grounded" (Abrahamson, 2013). For Ratzel it was the same biological laws governing the organism that also transferred over to the state. Like the organism, everything inside the state has a role to play. As quoted earlier from Kjellen, it is a nation's desire for growth. There is however only a fixed amount of space on the planet and that means the nation must protect its space. It is clear to see why these ideas of the organic state and lebensraum (living space) were so appealing to the military officers of mid-20th century Brazil. They could according to Sidaway, identify specific laws governing state behavior and once "...identified can be a guide for those charged with furthering and protecting the national interest" (Sidaway, 2001). Under this organic condition it becomes easy to designate peoples or groups who are unwanted or subversive to the state as enemies and eradicate them.

For Ratzel the territory of the state was not fixed, but it could move and expand, and this depended on space and position. For him if a country wanted to exist in peace and without threats to territorial integrity then it needed a large territorial space from which the state could exert more power, and which would help it survive an invasion should one occur. The following are the seven laws known as the laws of spatial growth of the state or the theory of vital space developed by Ratzel which he used as the basis for his concept of lebensraum:

1. "The size of the state grows with its culture.
2. The growth of states follows other manifestations of the growth of peoples, which must necessarily precede the growth of the state.
3. The growth of the state proceeds by the annexation of smaller members into the aggregate. At the same time the relationship of the population to the land becomes continuously closer.
4. The boundary is the peripheral organ of the state, the bearer of its growth as well as its fortification, and takes part in all of the transformations of the organism of the state.
5. In its growth the state strives toward the envelopment of politically valuable positions.
6. The first stimuli to the spatial growth of states come to them from the outside.

7. The general tendency toward territorial annexation and amalgamation is transmitted from state to state and continually increases in intensity” (Kasperson, 2017).

Ratzel’s ideas of lebensraum and spatial growth would be heavily influential in the Munich school of geopolitics that developed more in depth in interwar Germany. Much later these laws would influence certain Brazilian military leaders who would go on to study at the Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG). Already possessing a large territory, it was then necessary to occupy and integrate that space. A space full of rivers, resources, ripe for cultural development and it is entirely reasonable that the generals viewed themselves as an outside higher civilization compared to those already inhabiting that space.

Rudolf Kjellen was a Swedish political scientist and is widely known for his work titled “The State as a Living Organism”. He is considered by some to be the Godfather of geopolitics. Kjellen is quoted as saying “If the state were guided simply by the reason of the law, it would lack the instinctive reactions that all other living beings have. While the law provides the moral, rational element of the state, power provides its organic impulse” (Miyamoto 1995, Translated by me). We can take from this that the state needed to take a position of power to drive its territorial expansion. He was a follower of Friedrich Ratzel who was the scientist that initially developed the idea of the organic state. Kjellen took a systemic approach to geopolitics and how he explored the relationship between nature and the state. In this systemic approach, the state is a geographical individual, and the ideal state is characterized as having a large territory which will also give it great power. A difference between Kjellen and Ratzel is that Kjellen was much more active in politics and held political office during his life and according to Abrahamsson “...he wanted to create a more precise terminology” (Abrahamsson, 2013) that could be mobilized to analyze a particular state. It was Kjellen who would ultimately have a larger impact than Ratzel on Haushoffer and the German school of geopolitics.

An important aspect of geopolitics for Kjellen is the importance of space and that power is derived from national territory. This line of thinking is in line with the determinist school of geopolitics. A school of thought where Kjellen and Ratzel are also joined by Halford Mackinder. For Ratzel and Kjellen there is always an inner and outer self with which the state organism is interacting. The state was for him a geographic individual that contained the state as a nation and the state as a people “in Kjellen’s words: “The multitude that is connected solely by locality within a state we call people [folk] in a technical meaning. The mass [massa] that is connected

by nationality we signify as nation” (Abrahamsson, 2013). Thus, for Kjellen it is the folk connected to the land in each nation who have the potential to unleash what is found in the land through labor. There will be a natural influx of boundaries as countries expand and contract and as the people inhabiting those lands migrate.

Halford Mackinder was part of the Anglo-American school of geostrategy. He studied Zoology and natural geography. He was one of the founders of the London School of Economics and was elected to parliament from 1910-22. He also served as the British High Commissioner in southern Russia from 1919-1920. Features of the Anglo-American school were that state foreign policy and state conduct were rooted in their geographical conditions. “Man and not nature initiates, but nature in large measure controls” (Mackinder, 1904). Stronger powers will expand territorially and the idea that sea and land powers will clash in what were considered transitional zones. Mackinder’s 1904 article titled “The Geographical Pivot of History” was one of the main influential works of this school of thinking. It was in this article to the Royal Geographical Society that Mackinder put forward and explained his Heartland theory.

That article gives us great insight into how Mackinder viewed the world not only during his time but also how history played a large role in his thinking. In his geographical pivot of history, Mackinder spends most of the article recounting the history of different civilizations from Europe and parts of Asia and how the interactions between them shaped the eventual present of Europe. Mackinder recounted broadly these historical events to describe the power that comes from what he describes as the pivot area which he describes as “that vast area of Euro-Asia which is inaccessible to ships, but in antiquity lay open to the horse riding nomads, and is today about to be covered with a network of railways?” (Mackinder, 1904). The pivot area or heartland is an area that consists of most of modern-day Russia, Central Asia, the Middle East, Caucasus, and parts of east Europe. According to Mackinder, Russia had replaced the Mongol empire and with its vast geographic expanse and emerging rail networks, could exert great influence and control over large parts of the world. Outside the pivot area are what he describes as the inner and outer crescent. “...in a great inner crescent, are Germany, Austria, turkey, India, and China, and in an outer crescent, Britain, south Africa, Australia, the United States, Canada, and Japan.” (Mackinder, 1904). He believed the balance of power to be in favor of the pivot area that could exert control over vast resources and thus be able to construct an empire and large fleet. In his view, if Germany were to ally itself to the Russian Empire, it would create a threat

which would lead to new alliances that would lead to new competition between the pivot area and those countries who are in the inner and outer crescents. It would then become a competition between the sea and land powers.

In his later book, “Democratic Ideals and Reality”, Mackinder stated that “Who rules East Europe Commands the Heartland; who rules the Heartland commands the world island; who rules the World-island commands the world.” (Mackinder 1919). For Mackinder much of world history and its social movements revolved around the same geographical features. These features were the impetus for different movements and political developments over the course of centuries. In 1919 when Mackinder wrote that latter book, he was already a Member of Parliament which influenced his position and arguments and demonstrated some of his and the UK’s imperial anxieties. It was in this book that Mackinder argued “such a cordon sanitaire of independent states, placed between Germany and Russia, would be a remedy against a world tyranny always liable to arise in the heartland (Gilbert 1969). The UK, a sea power and land power that controlled many parts of the world in the inner or marginal crescent, it was necessary to prevent the strengthening of either Russia or Germany. Not only would creating the buffer states reduce the size of each respective nations’ territory but would also prevent either Russia or Germany from cooperating more closely and from controlling the entire pivot area. But we will see later how Mackinder’s ideas, particularly the heartland theory was influential in 20th century Brazilian geopolitics. The Amazon would become its own heartland for the Brazilian military and a key to its great power status and continental influence.

2.1 Brazilian Geopolitics

“The metaphors we construct, adopt, and employ in our academic geographical texts sometimes escape from these confines and affect a wider scene, with social and political consequences that can be dramatic and even tragic. This section sets out to explore one such metaphor: the metaphor of the state as a spatial organism first developed by Ratzel...” (Hepple, 1992). Geopolitics in Brazil was heavily influenced by classical geopolitics. The impetus for the development of geopolitics in Brazil was an unevenly populated and developed country. Kjellen’s metaphor was influential in Brazilian geopolitics and its policies toward the Amazon. It was a metaphor easily utilized to justify territorial expansion and the occupation of spaces.

Military leaders like Golbery do Couto e Silva and Carlos de Meira Mattos were very familiar with these classical geopolitical writings. Geopolitics was a mandatory course at the Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG), a military college founded in 1949 for the purpose of higher military studies for its officers. The reason their writings are significant is because their positions in the military allowed them to influence the policies and decisions of the military regime that would rule Brazil from 1964 until 1985. For example, General Golbery was a central figure for many years in that regime, serving as Head of the National Intelligence service from 1964-1976 and as Chief of Staff of the Presidency from 1974-1981. According to Hepple “geopolitics goes beyond this basic connection (territorial control, cartography, survey, frontier definition) and provides a more conceptual and comprehensive foundation for an ambitious military-political vision or theory of the state” (Hepple, 1992).

Everardo Backheuser is considered the father of Brazilian geopolitics and developed the idea of ‘*Fronteiras Vivas*’, literally translated as living frontiers. He was a geographer, politician and journalist and lectured at the Military Geography Institute in the 1930s. Backheuser was concerned with being able to maintain control over the national territory. His 1952 book titled “*A Geopolítica Geral do Brasil*” focuses on the “application of the geopolitical theory of frontiers to Brazil, with emphasis on the need to effectively develop and occupy all her frontier areas in order to protect her territorial gains” (Child, 1979). There were ongoing disputes at the time regarding how much power the federal government should have over the regional governments. For Backheuser it was clear that the borders needed to be controlled by a strong federal center. Backheuser’s ideas draw from Ratzel and Kjellen’s ideas about the organic state. *Fronteiras vivas* described “how a strong nation’s boundary line might expand into a weaker neighbor’s territory” (Salisbury 2010). This displayed a fear that the large amounts of territory taken in Brazilian history past the Tordesillas line could be reversed by other countries. Backheuser’s ideas of a living frontier would be very influential on his successors and on military doctrine that was to come later.

As mentioned above, General Golbery do Couto e Silva was a leading figure throughout many years of the military regime and a teacher at the ESG. For Golbery national security was linked to development. Golbery argued that international influence and continental projection were linked to the following geopolitical principles: “national integration and effective use of space; interior expansion and pacific external projection; containment along the frontier;

participation in the defense of Western Civilization; continental collaboration; collaboration with the developing world; and national geostrategy in the face of the two great external power centers” (Child, 1979). These ideas can be linked to Backheuser’s earlier ideas of the living frontier. A need to occupy space and to obtain power from that occupation; be it from resources to an increased population with a larger cultural influence. In Golbery’s mind he had divided the country up into different ‘islands’ that he felt needed to be integrated and connected so they could better secure the interior. To this end of interior control, he makes use of the term ‘heartland’ which is an area of the Brazilian state Matto Grosso, Paraguay, and Bolivia. This was also referred to as a ‘welding zone’ that “must come under Brazilian Control to allow Brazil to play her predestined continental role” (Child, 1979). The living frontier would later have an influence on the thinking of Carlos de Meira Mattos.

Carlos de Meira Mattos was a Brazilian general and geopolitician who commanded the Brazilian contingent during the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic and a presidential advisor during the early years of the military dictatorship which would give him the opportunity to influence and transform his geopolitical ideas into real policy. Years later in his career he became a geopolitics professor at the ESG. After his retirement from the military, he received his PhD from Mackenzie University in Sao Paulo and later became a professor there. Meira Mattos was concerned with many of Brazil’s periphery areas including Africa, the middle Atlantic, Pacific Ocean access, and the Amazon but not just exclusively the Amazon. He was influenced by Golbery and Backheuser and by Brazil’s geographic location and according to Kelly, his membership within the faction of the Brazilian military called the Sorbonne faction (Kelly, 1984). It was officers from this faction that formed the first military government. Some of their political premises according to Kelly were: “...exaggerated nationalism should be avoided; preferable is rational governmental planning by central authorities to strengthen development approaches with emphasis on private business and industrial areas; that the military is competent to manage national development strategies, and that national security derives from national development and integration” (Kelly, 1984).

Meira Mattos was indeed influenced by Golbery’s living frontiers and like those before him it was necessary to marshal the resources and national organization to inhabit and control these vital areas. Unlike his predecessors Meira Mattos was no longer concerned about threats from Argentina or other Spanish speaking countries in the region that had traditionally caused

fears for previous scholars and governments. He was a realist and those realist beliefs in international relations and the lack of natural harmony in the world drove many of his policy prescriptions outside the Amazon. However, he was an anti-communist and was concerned with Soviet expansionism and communist guerillas/anti-government forces potentially inhabiting spaces that were outside state control. It was these concerns that also influenced his desire for a westward expansion into the Amazon. To bring security and stability through development and investment. Meira Mattos believed that “Brazil possesses the resources, the popular will, and the strong leadership necessary to be among the most prosperous and powerful nations of the universe by the year 2000” (Kelly, 1984).

Meira Mattos along with his predecessors and successors used many geopolitical themes in their writings. For Brazil to achieve national greatness it would have to expand into not only the Amazon but also into the South Atlantic. He wanted to possess at the end of the 20th century a military capacity that could guarantee their usage of the trade routes that passed between the African continent and Brazil. He stated “At the present time there exists a fundamental threat to the South Atlantic, and this is Soviet blockade of lines of oil supply to the United States and Europe and Brazil. Blockade of the South African Horn would paralyze NATO, the principal instrument against the Soviet Union” (Kelly, 1984). For Meira Mattos, maritime expansion and control of vital trade routes were directly tied to Brazil’s ability to be a great power. “...the General is particularly concerned with the South African horn and the Tierra del Fuego choke points. He stresses the vital importance to Brazil for access to the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and backs Brazilian as well as Argentinian and Chilean claims to the Antarctic” (Kelly, 1984). The South Atlantic was key for the general in being able to establish good trade relations with African countries that were then newly independent and which the general believed would be receptive towards Brazilian tutelage due to a shared colonial history and in certain cases a shared language. He believed that those countries could also be a good destination for Brazilian exports. Thus, we can see how these geographical spaces like the horn of Africa mentioned above can gain meaning and importance.

The Amazon, as with so many before and after Meira Mattos was an area of concern. During the period of the cold war and previously noted concerns about soviet expansionism and destabilization, Meira Mattos believed that the Amazon’s borders weren’t necessarily under threat from foreign invasion but that the enemy was already inside the country. His fears were

rooted in rebellion. To prevent this, he believed that there needed to be internal migration and development as opposed to foreign immigration. His expansion into the Amazon was also based in a worry that Brazil was too dependent on maritime coastal community which he saw as vulnerable to blockades. Meira Mattos stated that “This policy of continentality, to be effective, will have to create an interior that is less dependent on the tyranny of maritime commerce, or maritime belts. It will have to assure a certain level of economic interdependence to the regions tied to the great [South American] continental masses, favoring the establishment of a prosperous society and such that is self-sufficient” (Kelly, 1984). For Mackinder the Heartland was in the Eurasian landmass but for Meira Mattos and other Brazilian geopoliticians, the Amazon was the heartland of South America and given the discovery of large mineral deposits, the key to an economically brighter future. Here Meira Mattos gives an impetus to occupying the Amazonian space because of external maritime threats and this also gives space meaning. It was necessary to integrate the Amazon basin into the rest of the country to not surrender it.

Chapter 3. Methodology

The central questions of this research were to understand how Brazilian governments across some seven decades and under two distinct regime types have spatialized and given importance to the Amazon and how are geopolitical considerations in the course of time used to justify policy in the Amazon. The qualitative method of content analysis will be employed in this master's thesis, which will give us an accurate understanding of how the Amazon is represented and allow us to reach accurate conclusions. Additionally, a qualitative approach is necessary because the paper seeks to show how the Amazon as a place has gained its meaning across two different periods in Brazil and because I seek to show this social reality by uncovering the terms used through a theoretically informed coding of textual material to help deconstruct meaning, expose the relevance of geopolitical reasoning, and signify the importance of the Amazon to Brazil. Moreover, a qualitative analysis is liable to lessen the accuracy of the study where I am seeking to isolate and process a variety of geographical themes throughout two time periods in Brazil. The qualitative data collection and analysis will be based on primary and secondary sources, with many being gathered through the internet from databases, government websites, and non-government organizations who have tasked themselves with preserving documents from the era of military regime. Additionally, there are some issues related to this qualitative method of analysis that have been considered. As the method calls for the examination of past texts, and policy documents so that the meaning can be interpreted and understood, it is necessary to be aware of who these messages were intended for and the context that they were developed in. My own interpretation and understanding of the texts/images are also influenced by my prior knowledge, my country of origin, and my understanding of the Portuguese language as many of the texts examined will be in Brazil's native language of Portuguese.

The information which will be the subject of the content analysis originates from official sources such as policy texts, presidential speeches, and planning documents. Since the purpose is to view how geography has impacted policy making across the two different periods it enhances the study's reliability as the sources are official in origin though they may come from other than official archives. Additionally, other types of reliable works will be used such as: Media publications, academic works, official government websites, and work from related studies. There exists previous literature on the subject from which the author can draw insights,

comparisons, and assertions. This enhances the reliability of the work by bringing on different viewpoints, opinions, and recommendations. Additionally, insights from previous literature can be used to identify areas of dispute and areas of further study.

3.1 Critical Geopolitics

Critical Geopolitics as an approach can provide a broader framing to understand how geopolitical knowledge is produced through reasoning. “Critical geopolitics investigates the geographical assumptions and designations that enter into the making of world politics” (Kuus, 2017). Classical geopolitics was very closely tied up with European imperial ambitions of the late 19th century. According to Kuus it served to justify interstate rivalries because of how politics was conceptualized as a territorial practice and a competition over space. For countries who had acquired vast new territories with untold resources and wealth, this competition over space was key in the scramble for Africa. Geopolitics became taboo following World War II due to its perceived associations with Karl Haushofer and Nazism. Geopolitics reemerged in the Northern Hemisphere following the end of the Cold War. Its rhetorical strength lay with the how it conceptualized geography in a realist sense to portray “self-evident” geographical facts” (Kuus, 2017). In the view of Ó Tuathail, geopolitics began to emerge again in the 1960’s in America and France as dissident groups began to challenge the ideas behind the Vietnam war and French positions toward Algeria (Ó Tuathail, 1996). “Kissinger’s revival of the term geopolitics gave it a new generic meaning as a synonym for balance-of-power politics on a global scale” (Ó Tuathail, 1996). This fit well into Kissinger’s foreign policy of détente and a management of the world between the two powers. According to Ó Tuathail, if Kissinger’s was a “controlled competition” then the Regan administration’s “new geopolitics” in the 80’s was a return to ideological competition with the Soviet Union with the idea of reasserting US hegemony. Regan was very good at employing cartographic supports in his national addresses where the maps would feature “patriotic blue space (‘democratic Central America) in conflict with foreign red space (Nicaragua and Cuba)” (Ó Tuathail, 1996). With this geopolitical revival, people began to take an interest again in studying geopolitics but according to Ó Tuathail the way it was being studied ignored the genealogy of the subject and was instead studied solely in the way Reagan was using it.

Ó Tuathail and John Agnew wanted to respond to the issue of how the concept of geopolitics was defined. They began “from the Foucauldian premise that geography as a discourse is a form of power/knowledge” and that “geopolitics should be critically re-conceptualized as a discursive practice by which intellectuals of statecraft spatialize international politics in such a way as to represent a ‘world’ characterized by types of places, peoples and dramas” (Ó Tuathail & Agnew, 1992). Critical geopolitics does not look at how geography influences politics as in classical geopolitics, but it seeks to understand “the geographical assumptions and designations that underlie the making of world politics” (Kuus, 2017). “Critical geopolitics is distinguished by its problematization of the logocentric infrastructures that make “geopolitics” or any spatialization of the global political scene possible. It problematizes the ‘is’ of ‘geography’ and ‘geopolitics,’ their status as self-evident, natural, foundational, and eminently knowable realities. It questions how ‘geography’ and ‘geopolitics’ as signs have been put to work in global politics in the twentieth century and how they have supervised the production of vision of the global political scene” (Ó Tuathail, 1996). It is in this deconstructive manner that the motives behind geopolitical reasoning will be revealed.

In Geopolitics there are different production sites of knowledge. These are referred to as formal, practical, and popular geopolitics. Practical geopolitics is what could be thought of as the practitioners of statecraft (i.e. diplomats, politicians, or military personnel) implanting their geopolitical strategy through foreign policy. Formal geopolitics refers to spatializing practitioners of academics, intellectuals, and think tanks. They have been positioned themselves to be authorities on events around the globe. Finally, popular geopolitics “considers the interconnection between popular culture and geopolitics. It focuses on the sensorial nature of popular geopolitics – the power and politics of images and sound.” (Dodds, 2019). Social media, television, and movies are some of the most popular channels for distributing this form of geopolitics. For example, there have been studies done on James Bond films from the Cold War reflecting anxieties and fears in the UK.

Practitioners of statecraft, research centers and government agencies are all production sites for geopolitics. Cartographers when looking at the world might see the reality of geography and topography. But how they make their maps is still influenced by the institutions in which they operate. That can affect how big they make certain lines or what colors they use or what scale they use. For example, the idea that on a normal Mercator map, the UK is around the same

size as New Guinea is for some representative of how the global north views itself as being somehow larger or superior to the global south. Maps can also be used to demonstrate “factuality” in that many people may take a map to be a neutral conveyor of information. Territorial extension and maps showing naturalization are also examples of production sites of their respective types of knowledge. Practitioners of Statecraft will often use discourse as a production site. These discourses can be rooted in national myths, time, location, or maybe the role that a country is supposed to play in the world. Media outlets can often produce political cartoons, giving images of places and using popularly understood geopolitical terms.

As critical geopolitics seeks to deconstruct and seek out how geopolitical claims function in practice, we must understand some of the rules of cartography and the role cartography plays in discourse making. Harley defines cartography as “a body of theoretical and practical knowledge that map makers employ to construct maps as a distinct mode of visual representation” (Harley, 1992). Over the decades, there has been an attempt to establish scientific rules for map making. With the advancement of scientific precision, it was thought that cartographers should be able to deliver “a true, probable, progressive or highly confirmed knowledge” (Harley, 1992). The idea that a map is mirroring nature adds to the discourse behind map making. When in the late 1980s it came out that Soviet map makers had falsified the topography on some of their maps to confuse the enemy, they were met with denunciation in the West. Cartographers from Europe and North America claimed that their maps were not ideologically influenced. As map makers in the west attempted to apply a scientific standard to the area, what they ended up finding were many errors and fallacies in their own maps.

Critical geopolitics relies on being able to interpret texts, discourses and metaphors that are employed by practitioners of statecraft. For Barnes, a text includes “...cultural productions such as paintings, maps and landscapes, as well as social, economic and political institutions” (Barnes & Duncan, 1992). Barnes considers these things to be constitutive of reality and not simply mimicking reality. Barnes goes on to explain Ricoeur’s ‘The model of the text’ and why textual interpretation is relevant and why ‘The model of the text’ is a good pattern for the social sciences. Ricoeur argues four points: 1. The principal characteristics of written discourse also describe social life more generally. 2. Within written works an author’s intentions and the meaning of the text coincide. 3. Written texts frequently have an importance beyond the initial context in which they were composed. 4. The meaning of a text is unstable, dependent upon the

wide range of interpretations brought to bear upon it by various readers. (Barnes & Duncan, 1992). The world is constructed through text and the text will be reinterpreted in different ways as time goes on and as cultural signifiers change. Over time as Barnes states, the author's original intent will be lost. It is necessary therefore when viewing past texts to contextualize them and interpret them with the understanding that presently we live in different circumstances and in different institutions than the authors.

Just as text is an important part of critical geopolitics and deconstructing narratives and understanding meaning, discourse is, as Barnes describes it, a larger and more open-ended structure of which many texts are a part. Discourses are “frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices, each relevant to a particular realm of social action.” (Barnes & Duncan, 1992). Discourses are going to construct our understanding of the world. They are going to influence individuals and what they can do and what they can ask. Social norms are constructed through discourse as are the ideas on which structures of power lie. Foucault argues that “it is their (discourses) association with institutions that legitimates the ‘truths’ that they produce” (Barnes & Duncan 1992). The opposite can also be true, whereby a discourse's association with certain institutions may illegitimize its ‘truths.’ Maps, government programs and official speeches are all examples of discourse that can be critically viewed and deconstructed to find common patterns and meaning.

Another addition to discourses is metaphors which although there exists debate over the meaning of metaphor, Barnes describes it as asserting “a similarity between two or more different things” (Barnes & Duncan, 1992). Typically, the metaphor will give association to things which are not normally associated together. Metaphors can create new worlds and new understanding. They help shape the framework into what the creator of the metaphor intends. The metaphor when associated with a particular institution, like discourse before, can give more credibility to a certain idea. The metaphor is an excellent way to portray a myth and has often been employed in maps and discourse and according to Barnes if the metaphor is to be successful then it must resonate with “existing cultural representations” (Barnes & Duncan, 1992).

Previously, I discussed how critical geopolitics does not look at how geography influences politics as in classical geopolitics, but it seeks to understand “the geographical assumptions and designations that underlie the making of world politics” (Kuus, 2017). It was further explained that “critical geopolitics is distinguished by its problematization of the

logocentric infrastructures that make “geopolitics” or any spatialization of the global political scene possible. It problematizes the ‘is’ of ‘geography’ and ‘geopolitics,’ their status as self-evident, natural, foundational, and eminently knowable realities. It questions how ‘geography’ and ‘geopolitics’ as signs have been put to work in global politics in the twentieth century and how they have supervised the production of vision of the global political scene” (Ó Tuathail 1996). The central questions of this research are to understand how Brazilian governments across some seven decades and under two distinct regime types have spatialized and given importance to the Amazon and how are geopolitical considerations in the course of time affecting economic and environmental considerations in the Amazon. The Amazon and its development have been a recurring issue and theme across Brazilian politics, as has been the ability to exploit the area’s resources.

As stated in the introduction to this paper I have reason to expect that ‘regardless of regime type, reliance on geographical conditions still play an important role in geopolitical reasoning and regional policy designs and that geopolitical “truth” may be dressed in different clothing styles in terms of language or targeted objectives, yet this does not make geopolitical reasoning insignificant.

This study will conduct a diachronic comparison of Brazil through a lens of critical geopolitics to analyze policy planning texts, and official’s statements to view how the government constructs its narrative to legitimize the importance/significance of the Amazon. Critical Geopolitics seeks to deconstruct the narratives and discourses about a country’s space and place and how it uses these to construct a geopolitical identity. The critical geopolitical perspective will help demonstrate how geopolitical reasoning has evolved and what meanings the Amazon has been given over time. A small-N design allows for an in-depth approach to view the different periods in question. In this case it allows us to be able to investigate how the Amazon has gained meaning in its different forms over the decades. This small-N qualitative approach will shed insight onto stakeholder motivations and perceptions that are/were involved in policy making for the Amazon. Looking at these two time periods in depth and deconstructing the narrative through a critical geopolitical lens allows us to understand how the space was given meaning and can then help us understand the chosen policy that resulted.

A diachronic case study is a qualitative research technique that involves a particular case over an extended period, that seeks to view how an observed phenomenon changes or remains

constant. In a diachronic case study, it is typical for researchers to gather information from speeches, policy documents, and planning documents to observe or look for change in the phenomenon. It will be necessary to conduct a content analysis of these media to identify the main themes, ideas, and arguments present. This will further help show how the idea of Amazonia changed through the decades. In this study, I will look at Brazil during the period of military rule from 1964-1985 and democratic rule from 1985-2023 and show that regime change has not altered the course in the Amazon. This study argues that geopolitical considerations are still relevant despite regime change, though the language has changed.

A diachronic case study of Brazil permits the researcher to view two time periods together that share many similarities but differ mainly in the style of governance. Presenting Brazil in two different periods will first show the significance of geopolitical reasoning in mid to late 20th century Brazil and how the Amazon was framed during that time. Then moving to the late 20th century to present it will allow us to view what I expect will be a change in how the Amazon is referred to but that this change won't demonstrate an abandonment of geopolitical reasoning. The author believes due to development policies pursued following a return to democracy that the geopolitical reasoning which influenced the military leaders of the junta, also influenced the decisions taken by the democratic authorities after 1985 but that they didn't use the same themes or terms to justify why they were pursuing certain development policies.

Comparing the two periods will help to identify similarities, patterns, and differences between the two cases. We will be able to see how geopolitical themes in Brazil have evolved over the time and allow these themes to be contextualized in historical and current practices. As this study will be utilizing content analysis as a form of studying the phenomena, it will be necessary to employ a coding scheme to categorize those themes and concepts found within the speeches, policy documents, and planning documents. Coding the different themes and concepts will as a result give increased transparency, validity, and a decrease in bias. By demonstrating how the coding is done it will allow other researchers to analyze my analysis. Regarding validity, coding allows me to analyze and structure the data in a coherent manner providing for a better understanding of the data. The following are different themes that I will be looking for throughout the different texts: Territorial claims, resource exploitation, security threats, identity & nationalism, human rights & social justice, economic development, and geopolitical alliances and rivalries. Each of the previous themes will also have some subthemes to help further specify

what they are or can be. Territorial claims could be references to sovereignty claims, border disputes, territorial boundaries, or expansionism. Resource exploitation will have references to natural resources such as minerals, trees, water, oil, gas, or farmland. Furthermore, this code could include themes such as energy security, extraction projects, infrastructure projects, and environmental degradation. The theme of ‘security threats’ would include references to security challenges like terrorism, insurgency, and organized crime. Subthemes that could fall under this category would be issues of border security, environmental security, transnational crime like drug trafficking and human trafficking. Non-state actors such as paramilitary groups and separatist movements are another subtheme of the broader issue of security threat. Identity and nationalism will have code expressions of national identity and calls of patriotism with subthemes being issues of historical grievances, cultural heritage, and exceptionalism. Regarding human rights & social justice, the references will be social inequalities, human rights violations, and marginalized communities. Subthemes for this are: indigenous rights, access to basic services, and discrimination. The economic development code mentions development projects and references to economic policies. The subthemes for this are infrastructure investments, poverty alleviation efforts and economic growth strategies. The last code signifier geopolitical alliances & rivalries will have code references such as geopolitical alignments or strategic partnerships. Subthemes of this include balancing strategies in a multipolar world, alliances with major powers, and regional hegemonic aspirations.

Why choose Brazil for a case study using a lens of critical geopolitics? It assuredly is not the only country that pursued planning and development policy based on geopolitical ideas and themes, nor was it the only country to do so that experienced a transition from a dictatorship to a democracy. Other Amazon countries such as Peru, Columbia, Venezuela, and Bolivia also experienced military dictatorships that later transitioned into democracy. Chile and Argentina both had plenty of geopolitical thought and military schools of higher learning that instructed in geopolitical courses. However, the decision to study Brazil was mainly a practical decision. I had resided in Brazil for two years and acquired a fluency in Brazilian Portuguese. This is essential for viewing the policy texts, planning documents and speeches given by different leaders. I would be incapable of viewing such documents in their native language from other countries. Additionally, Brazil and South America more generally appear to suffer from a lack of geopolitical studies and attention. Most studies tend to focus on countries with ‘greater

significance'. Nevertheless, in Brazil there is a good case to be studied to view the effects of geopolitical reasoning on a large country that aspires to be a power player on the world stage. It has its own history of geopolitical thought and a large national space ripe with resources, people, and geographic features to inform political decision making. Brazil is home to the largest portion of the Amazon rainforest, which as stated in the introduction to this paper have been referred to as the lungs of the Earth. The Amazon extends beyond the borders of Brazil, and it carries significant geopolitical weight because the control and management of the Amazon can affect global climate patterns and biodiversity. The Brazilian legal Amazon was also the focal point for being the 'heartland' of South America and that whoever could control the area would also be able to control the continent. Given the large number of stakeholders present in the Amazon from NGO's, multinational corporations, and local indigenous populations, this provides many diverging interests which gives ample material for geopolitical analysis. How the interests clash and whose interests will be respected. The changing regime type and the country's political shifts over the decades have influenced the approach toward the Amazon and its stakeholders and this study will give us an opportunity to view how geopolitical narratives have been legitimized.

Chapter 4. Territory & National Security Aspirations

The Brazilian geopolitical process has always been part of a policy of international elevation that believed it could secure its greatness and prestige through the domination of its internal hinterlands. A defining work that gave rise to such aspirations was Mario Travassos' 1935 book titled "Projeção Continental do Brasil". The thoughts contained therein would later influence Meira Mattos and Golberry do Couto e Silva. Travassos authored the book while still a captain in the army at an early stage of his career. However, the book was widely read by Brazil's neighbors in the Southern Cone countries which would later sow distrust about Brazil's continental aspirations. An notable influence on Travassos' writing and thereby Brazilian geopolitical thought and planning, was Halford Mackinder. Travassos takes Mackinder's Heartland idea and applies it to the South American continent, placing the South American heartland and with it the geostrategic center of the continent, in the Bolivian highlands. These thoughts were foundational in later geopolitical plans that sought to elevate the country through geopolitical policies that spatialized certain parts of the country.

For Travassos, geopolitical grand strategy evolved in part due to concerns and competition with Argentina who at the time had a railroad linkage to Bolivia and access to the resources there. On the Brazilian side, there were undeveloped watersheds in the Amazon. "Watersheds, seen by Travassos were not only understood as a set of rivers(drainage network), but part of what we have observed and characterized how geographic systems that are blends of natural and human component potentiated by the action of the state that constitute its territorial policies and at the same time are exacerbated by geopolitical action...therefore, it is not just a physical or even a policy domain but geographical regionalization system that covers many spheres of human and physical context that enhance the activity of geopolitical states" (Lima 2014). Travassos like Ratzel understood that knowing the geographical features of the national territory could mandate specific actions for a geopolitical state (Lima 2014). By the time Travassos had written his book, Brazil had already acquired the Amazonian state of Acre from Bolivia in exchange for building a railroad that would link Bolivian exports to the Atlantic.

Travassos' concerns about having a geopolitical rival in Argentina are explained by a large rail network connecting Buenos Aires to La Paz and other Bolivian cities. He was worried about expansionist talk from Argentina regarding the Bolivian highlands based on policies and

discourse from then President Yrigoyen and later from the interior minister of interim President Felix Uriburu who ousted the successor of President Yrigoyen in a military coup. The policies and discourse reflected “The intention of President Yrigoyen and Minister Matias Sorondo to restore the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata” (Albuquerque 2015, Translated by author). The discourse combined with the railroad network gave concern for Travassos of a land invasion from Bolivia and Argentina. This rail network was also on the edge of the Magic Triangle, an area between Sucre, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz Bolivia, which Travassos believed to be the pivot point of the South American Heartland. As we shall see later, these national security concerns come to place through geopolitical thought and can be resolved through geopolitically informed policies.

To better formulate a geographic strategy for Brazil, in his 1935 book Travassos divided up the country into several ‘islands’. The Amazon and the La Plata were for Travassos two geographic areas of hegemonic potential (Lima 2014). Thus, the competition of power and influence on the continent was also a struggle between the Atlantic and Pacific. Brazil’s Amazon territory was well suited for the transport of goods from other countries to the Atlantic as the rivers in those countries’ Amazon territory would flow through Brazil. It was also possible for Brazil in Travassos’ thinking to exert influence on the Caribbean through a terrestrial connection of Manaus (Amazon State Capital) and Venezuela’s capital Caracas (Lima 2014). “The formation of two compound geographic systems for internal basins of the Amazon and La Plata, and external influences closely linked to ocean basins of the Atlantic and Pacific, are conceived as spatial stimuli that are arranged in the constitution of the territory and, through the action of the state are transformed into geopolitical designs, establishing a set of force into and out of the continent” (Lima 2014). These spatial stimuli and this use of the national space with state action are Ratzellian in nature as the government needs to understand what its determined geographic features are and how these can guide and enable territorial policy.

National security and competition with Argentina and the other south American states influences much of early thought in Brazil’s geopolitical school. Again, it was Travassos who advocated for the development along an East-West axis in the Amazon to fixate Brazil’s continental position to have influence both in the Amazon basin in the areas around Bolivia and to keep Argentine influence at a minimum. “Under our flag are the most decisive geographical aspects of the South American continental mass and we have possession of the majority of the

Amazon basin and with it control of all its travel possibilities, including transport that comes from the other side of the continent” (Miyamoto 1995). It was these ways of transport and connection that Travassos occasionally referred to as ‘lines of communication’. These lines of communication were part of the national and security aspirations of Brazil as he saw it. They could exploit the geographic features of rivers and large Atlantic coastal access. Continuing to develop along these lines would secure the territory from external influence and allow Brazil to project its influence into the rest of the continent. Regarding national security aspirations, in 1940 Teixeira de Freitas said the following “If a state knows its geographical environment in all its characteristics and the exact potential for favorable or unfavorable conditions for the lives of its inhabitants... it accurately determines its historical directions and acquires awareness of its mission” (Miyamoto 1995 translated by me). Teixeira made this statement only a few years after the founding of the Institute of Geography and Statistics. He believed that a national security plan could be supported by knowledge of the state’s geographic features and statistical data (Miyamoto 1995). This line of thought links state security and geography together and would later lay the foundation for the military regime and successive democratic governments.

The Cold War had a deep effect on the geopolitical thinking of mid-20th century Brazil. The possibility for communist aggression was ever present in the minds of military leaders. Remembering that the military coup of 1964 that was tacitly supported by the United States to prevent communism from spreading to Brazil, it is no surprise that many of the same geopolitical thinkers in the military would share similar feelings to their American counterparts. General Meira Mattos for example had many contacts in the American defense apparatus. He had served alongside American troops during the WWII allied invasion of Italy and then served as vice-director of the Inter-American Defense College in Washington D.C. As stated by Meira Mattos “The enemy is now within, not a threat of direct attack across our borders... The real international threat is revolutionary war” (Hepple, 2004). It is not surprising then that Meira Mattos advocated for the occupation of those seemingly empty spaces in the Amazon. However, it was not just communist insurgents that preoccupied Meira Mattos but the utilization of the space. Meira Mattos was an advocate of marching west which will be discussed in the next section, but he was also a determinist. Meira Mattos stated that “The harsh geographic terrain of the Amazonian jungle provides a challenge for the nation; its taming will contribute to the country’s progress” (Dickenson 1989). The Amazon was imagined to be a great source of wealth

and natural resources to be exploited. For Meira Mattos this was an inspiring challenge to be responded to as he further states that “It falls to man’s lot to respond to geographic conditions; he responds and triumphs, or does not respond and is destroyed” (Dickenson 1989). That Meira Mattos and other government leaders at the time believed in these geographic prescriptions for settling, developing and state planning is indicative of the importance geography played through the military regime and into the civilian governments.

Interesting of Meira Mattos was his calculation of national power of which population, territory, economic capacity, and national will were all a part (For the entire power calculation see Kelly, 1984). Following Meira Mattos’ power calculation put Brazil in 6th place globally (Kelly 1984). It cannot be overlooked that territory and economic capacity were part of his calculations for what makes a great power. Brazil during the military dictatorship was very concerned with achieving national greatness. They simply needed to establish control over their own territory thereby expanding it, which would enable a greater economic capacity by exploiting the Amazon and incorporating it into the national space. All of this inspired by the geographic features of a vast region of the country and a central region to the South American continent. By their own established metrics, they could justify the existence of the regime through conquering the geographic features of their hinterlands.

With the founding of the ESG (Superior War College) in 1949, there began to be a professionalization of the armed forces. The school taught political studies, defense studies, national defense planning and security and development planning. This professionalization had a large impact on the armed forces and those officers who would later govern the country because many of them were schooled in the same kind of thinking that the military should be a political actor. According to Miyamoto, even though the ESG didn’t produce many purely geopolitical documents, much of their national security planning was informed by geopolitical thinking and that the ESG doctrine was responsible for much of the military’s conduct (Miyamoto 1995). Golbery do Couto e Silva was a teacher at the ESG and his ideas on national security would go on to influence the school and future military officers but would also be put into practice as he moved into government after the 64’ coup.

Couto e Silva authored several books on geopolitics, one of them being published in 1955 by the military publisher titled ‘Planejamento Estrategico’ (Strategic planning) and then later he would author a book titled ‘Geopolitica do Brasil’ (Brazilian geopolitics). These books and with

Golbery's ideas in them would be influential in national security planning. According to Assunção the base of Golbery's ideology was the "insecurity of man before a world he did not understand and where he fought to survive" (Assunção, 2005 translated by me). For Golbery, development was linked to national security and could be achieved through a powerful central authority. If the state, through economic means, could bring about development and therefore improvement in the lives of its citizens, then it could ensure state security. It is worth noting that Golbery's works were produced in the backdrop of the Cold War and were heavily influenced by those events playing out on the world stage.

Of the largest perceived threats for a person more aligned with the United States and the west in general, was communism. The period of the 1950s and 1960s was full of talk about the infiltration of communism and how these communists could appear anywhere in society without warning. It was this thought then that encouraged very heavy-handed tactics by the military regime in response to this threat in the early 1970s. But nonetheless Golbery's ideas on national security were tied to economic development and the occupation of space. According to Assunção, Golbery was very much influenced by Hobbes' philosophy of fear and in response the general stated the following "It is human nature that each person, using his own arguments, has always as a backdrop, one preoccupation... How will I be" (Assunção, 2005 translated by me). According to Hepple, Golbery who was influenced by Ratzel and Kjellen's theories of organic state, expanded it to include external as well as internal threats. "The body-politic was at risk not only from other state bodies but also from the internal eating away of cancerous cells within the body" (Hepple 2004). The seeds of communism or other insurgent threats could be prevented through economic development.

This chapter thus far has reviewed the thinking that framed the Amazon according to geopolitical thought. The inspiration for occupying that space originates in thinking in line with Ratzel and Kjellen's organic state theory. This space needed to be occupied in order not to lose it as other states could expand in and claim it but also to expand the country's ability to project power and influence. Travassos idea of continental projection finds roots in Mackinder's Heartland theory where again the need to occupy the geographic space of the Amazon was believed to maintain a sufficient influence on the continent to keep Brazil's then biggest competitor Argentina in check. It was also believed that Brazil could maintain sufficient influence on Bolivia where Travassos and others believed lay the heartland of the South

American continent, in the Bolivian highlands. To maintain that influence, on both the heartland and the Atlantic Travassos argued for developing the country along an East-West axis and moving inland. The country's population was too concentrated around São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Belo Horizonte in the Southeast and the North and Center-West were underdeveloped, underpopulated, and cut off from the rest of the country. It was as if Brazil had developed its periphery while ignoring what geopoliticians thought was its core.

It was this undeveloped and underpopulated area that also caused concern as the Cold War began to intensify. One of the reasons General Meira Mattos thought that there should be an organized occupation/development of the Amazon was fears of a communist insurgency. But as mentioned previously he was also a determinist and believed that the land when acted upon by man could bring the nation progress. Golberry do Couto e Silva also shared this fear of communist infiltration and believed that economic development would lead to national security. It is possible for the insecure man fighting, to survive by understanding those geographical elements around him and knowing how to use and improve them. The ideas of these men and the influence they had either on later generations of military officers or on military presidents themselves in the case of Golberry, gave rise to ideas of manifest or continental destiny, internal colonization, and development of frontier zones, and eventually the National Integration Plan. The following sub sections of this chapter will address those topics which largely framed the Amazon in the 20th century and laid the foundation for future framing along geopolitical themes albeit with different wording. The last subsection of this chapter will contain a content analysis of the National Integration Program, identifying and discussing themes previously mentioned in the methodology section. I will seek to deconstruct presidential speeches, ministerial speeches, and the actual policy document itself to demonstrate to show the geopolitical themes and unearth the geopolitical thought that informed the creation of the policy.

4.1 Continental Destiny & Westward March

Brazil is notable within Latin American geopolitics because it was able to incorporate so many of its concepts and ideas into national development plans. One of those concepts was “A Marcha para o Oeste” or literally, the march to the west. According to Child “the major foci of Brazilian geopolitical thinking were: the linking of concepts of ‘security’ and ‘development’, which then becomes the military’s third mission; the integration of all national territories; the march westward into the Amazon heartland...” (Child, 1979). For Brazilian geopolitical thinkers, the westward march found its inspiration in American manifest destiny, Russian expansion into its eastern territories, and Australian westward movement. Brazil according to Foresta followed two distinct paths in the late 19th century with one of those paths being explicitly spatial (Foresta, 1992). Brazilians who viewed the economic success of the U.S., Russia and Australia thought according to Foresta that their future also lay in expanding into the continent. This line of thinking in Brazil later came mainly from Travassos who argued for moving away from a population concentration along the Atlantic coast and argued instead for developing along an east-west axis. According to Child, Travassos wanted to develop into two areas on that axis “...one leading into the Amazonian Basin and one aimed at the ‘magic triangle’ heartland formed by the Bolivian cities of Cochabama, Sucre, and Santa Cruz” (Child, 1979).

The continental projection of Brazil was also in part born out of fears of foreign influence. Not just from other nations but also from international organizations. The issue arose according to Sternberg at the beginning of the 20th century when there was an attempt to implant a “foreign body conceived in the tradition of the chartered companies” (Sternberg, 1987) in the inner Amazon. The Bolivian government was at the time struggling to control the rubber-producing lands in the territory of what is now modern Acre state. The government in La Paz then looked for an Anglo-American company that could administer the territory and incorporate in the U.S. or UK (Sternberg 1987). Due to the type of international political involvement and interference this could cause, Brazil decided to act and “...the Brazilian government paid the syndicate to relinquish its concession and reached a settlement with Bolivia, according to which the territory was transferred to Brazil” (Sternberg, 1987). The result was mineral rich territory being transferred to Brazil and Brazilian expansion into the South American Heartland. Fear of

foreign interference and influence gave Brazilian leaders cause to establish a firmer grip on the continent and its own national territory.

Brazilian leaders had maintained a firm grip on the Amazon to the exclusion of all other peoples. It was a region shut off from world trade or navigation. Since Brazil's independence in 1822 there were constant outside pressures from the more industrialized nations like the United Kingdom and the United States to open the Amazon to trade. According to Casarões one of the main instigators for opening the Amazon to international trade and navigation for exploration was U.S. Navy Lieutenant Matthew Fountain Maury who served as the Superintendent of the U.S. Observatory and Hydrographical Office (Casarões, 2022). Among Maury's arguments of the time was that "the execrable policy by which Brazil has kept shut up... from man's – from Christian, civilized, enlightened man's use of the fairest portion of God's earth, will be considered by the American people as a nuisance, not to say an outrage" (Casarões, 2022). Given that there was a rubber boom from the early 1880's until around 1910 it was what Casarões called convenient timing. The cities of the Amazon, particularly Manaus and Belem, were able to experience large surges of growth. It was during this period that Brazil resolved to establish its borders more clearly with French Guyana, British Guyana and as mentioned earlier purchased the territory of Acre from Bolivia to exclude American foreign interests in the region.

Golbery do Couto e Silva was another geopolitical thinker that believed in the continental destiny of Brazil and its continental projection. In Golbery's view "...Brazil must progress in an orderly manner from control of her own national territories to continental projection to international influence by means of the following geopolitical principles: national integration and effective use of space; interior expansion and pacific external projection; ...continental collaboration; collaboration with the developing world; and national geostrategy in the face of the two great external powers" (Child, 1979). For Golbery, continental projection wasn't just about being able to dominate the South American continent, but it also had international implications as well. Brazil's continental destiny was closely tied to ideas of its national greatness and its ability to project internationally, particularly with the developing world. It was to be an equal partner of other western countries who wanted to contribute to international security and contain communism. Notable of Golbery's ideas of continental projection was the idea that he conceived of as the heartland 'welding zone'. Of this zone, which consisted of Matto

Grosso-Paraguay-Bolivia, he said "...must come under Brazilian control to allow Brazil to play her predestined continental role" (Child, 1979).

The Westward March was a program that had begun in 1938 under the presidency of Getulio Vargas (1930-1945). With the explicit purpose of occupying the North and Center-West regions of the country. Vargas initially rose to power during the revolution of 1930. During this time a new constitution was adopted, and Vargas ruled as provisional leader until the time for new elections. He, however, in 1937 abolished the constitution and imposed a new one that would allow him to remain in power and Vargas then dissolved the legislature. This period of 1937-1945 is known as the *Estado Novo*. As was the case before, during and after the Vargas presidency, most of Brazil's population was concentrated along the coast. Expeditions were launched in the late 1930's with the purpose of exploring the different river systems for future navigation as waterways. Aside from these expeditions the government wanted to integrate the whole of the country into the national space. Vargas' March to the West appears to be the first government program that put as its mission to conquer the Amazon and that first referred to it in that sense of a space that needed to be conquered and civilized. One of the largest intellectual contributors to the idea of the March West was Cassiano Ricardo. Cassiano Ricardo was according to Andrade, influenced by the American author Frederick Jackson Turner who had wrote a book in 1893 about American expansion into the west (Andrade, 2010). For Cassiano the American west as described by Turner was the "victory of civilization (whites) against barbarism (Indians)" (Andrade, 2010). The idea for the March West was that poorer Brazilians would uproot themselves and go live in and occupy the Amazon. This would be accompanied by investment from the central government. For Vargas, the central government under his control was the only one capable of being able to give that area the investment it needed. Accordingly, Vargas quickly went and visited these areas of the country and in a sense being the first one to march west. He would make very public visits to the different Amazon states and bring more attention to the area and the cause. During Vargas' trip he was accompanied by many publications who spoke of the "Illusive Amazon" and the "Green Hell", which according to Andrade affirmed that the region had been nothing more than a "legendary place, despised by civilization" (Andrade, 2010). For Vargas as with his predecessors and successors alike, the Amazon seemed to hold an untapped vast wealth that was key to national success and survival. It was a distant and empty place that needed to be civilized and in it were the economic answers to

a country then starved for wealth. The following is an excerpt from the speech “Discurso do Rio Amazonas” that Vargas gave on his visit to the city of Manaus in 1941

“The exciting national reconstruction movement embodied in the advent of the 10th November could not forget you, because you are the land of the future, the valley of promise in the life of Brazil’s tomorrow. Your definitive entry into the economic body of the nation, as a factor of prosperity and creative energy, will be done without delay. I came to see and observe, up close, the conditions of carrying out the Amazon recovery plan. All of Brazil has its eyes turned to the North, with the patriotic desire to aid the outbreak of their development. And not just Brazilians; also foreigners, technicians and businessmen, will come to collaborate in this work, applying their experience and their capital, with the aim of increased commerce and industries and not, as happened before, aiming to form large estates and absorb ownership of the land, which legitimately belongs to the Brazilian caboclo” (Andrade, 2010 translated by me)

Frist, to give some insight, the 10th of November was the movement that installed Vargas as dictator of the country. This same speech would be read in Manaus in conjunction with celebrations for another few years from its first oration which demonstrates the significance of the event to the locals who were indeed likely happy to be receiving attention and the prospect of funding to their city and state. According to Andrade, what Vargas was saying here is that the main enemy of Amazonian progress was the “immense and unpopulated space” and this also the main obstacle of economic integration of the Amazonian economy into the national economy (Andrade, 2010).

As has been stated earlier in the thesis, there was a belief in geopolitical thought that the land needed to be acted upon to bring about the best national outcomes. To do this, a nation needed to know its geographic features and how they could go about exploiting those features through geographically informed policy. Vargas, who had already sent out an expedition for his westward march was now encouraging a westward migration away from the coast to the innermost parts of the country. He went about promoting and spatializing the Amazon in a way that demonstrated the importance and potential in the region. Another quote from his 1941 speech goes as follows:

“Nothing will stop us in this rush, which is, in the 20th century, the highest task of a civilized man: conquer and dominate the valleys of the great equatorial torrents, transforming their blind strength and their extraordinary fertility into discipline energy. The Amazon, under

the fruitful impulse of our will and our work, will no longer be, after all, a simple chapter in the history of the earth and, on par with the other great rivers, will become a chapter of the history of civilization” (Andrade 2010, Translated by me)

For Andrade this kind of talk is reminiscent of people who spoke of the lost city of Eldorado (Andrade, 2010). But it is nonetheless an example of how the Amazon was geopolitically framed over the years. That civilized people such as that Caboclos and likely others from the Brazilian Northeast, could obtain a status to that of legends by conquering valleys and rivers which would unlock for them untold wealth. The excerpt demonstrates the importance that the Amazon region had for this Brazilian government which lasted for over a decade. “Dominating and rationalizing nature would be the great goals of government...” (Andrade 2010, Translated by me). It is worth mentioning briefly as have many authors who have written on the subject that discourse such as this ignores that these lands were continually inhabited by indigenous individuals. But Vargas makes use of the word Caboclo to the exclusion of other individuals. But it is during Vargas’ Estado Novo that one can see for the first time an intense interest in conquering the Amazon and integrating it into the rest of Brazil. It was really from this point forward that the central government began to take successive and organized steps to bring the Amazon under its control. For Andrade this was a mark of the Estado Novo, in that it attempted to create a unified discourse around the Amazon. For Vargas, this is where other previous governments had failed. They had not given the proper attention to the Amazon and had blamed various problems and failings on the poorest of people, not the elites.

4.2 Internal Colonization & Development of Frontier Zones

Brazil’s continental destiny, national security aspirations, westward march and internal colonization and development of frontier zones are themes which overlap. To achieve internal colonization, there would need to be a ‘westward march’ of peoples from across the country. To achieve national security goals then the areas needed to be populated. To develop frontier zones, there needed to be laborers and a certain amount of investment from the central government. The common theme and motivation among them all are that they were inspired by Kjellen’s ideas of the organic state. When thinking about the organic state theory it was necessary for Brazil to firmly establish its presence in all its space which would expand its economic as well as

international power it was thought. To overcome that “Green Hell” and to dominate the nature and its geographic features found in the Amazon it was necessary to move people into the area and begin construction.

To integrate the Amazon and its existing population and to foster the movement of people away from the urban areas it was necessary to diminish the “enormous social and economic distances...” (Junior 2021 translated by me) of the Amazon. To better integrate the Amazon and its economy in the 1950’s just some years after the end of Vargas’ Estado Novo regime and the little results achieved by his westward march the Superintendência do Plano para a Valorização Econômica da Amazônia (SPVEA) launched the Primeiro Plano Quinquenal (PPQ) which according to Mougey was the “largest modernization plan attempted in Amazonia until then” (Mougey 2018). One of the larger issues the project tried to address is that the region was cut off from the rest of the country’s terrestrial infrastructure. According to Junior “...since the region is isolated and without land communication routes with the other regions of Brazil and due to the need to maintain the unity of the national economic system and its internal communications, it therefore needed greater investments in the construction of river and land communication routes between the Amazon and the center and northeast of Brazil” (Junior 2021, translated by me). To bring industrial benefits to the region and be able to exploit and integrate it, the national government set about trying to solve a centuries old issue. Then about to colonize and develop is linked to terrestrial infrastructure linked to the rest of the country.

The SPVEA was in some ways a continuation of Vargas’ policy of westward expansion into the Amazon. Though he didn’t achieve much in the way of infrastructure development or populational or industrial expansion, he did set a tone for placing the Amazon in the national space. The SPVEA was a development model that had as its goals the following: “a) Secure the territorial occupation of the Amazon in a Brazilian way; b) Construct in the Amazon an economically stable and progressive society, that is capable of, with its own resources, provide for the execution of its own social tasks; c) develop the Amazon in a parallel sense and complement the Brazilian economy” (Junior 2021, translated by me). Point ‘a’ is a theme seen regularly in Brazilian governments during the 20th century. Securing and occupying the territory could be considered the main driver behind all the planning projects that took place from the 1940s to 1980s. The second and third points are also not new or otherwise creative ideas but nonetheless reflect the thought of acting on the environment through what they thought were

infrastructural improvements, to bring about a more organized and integrated occupation of that space. The SPVEA was according to the law directly subordinated to the President. It therefore fell on him and the agency according to Junior to “...establish national economic equilibrium, overcome the historic delay that resulted in a configuration of spatial underdevelopment” (Junior, 2021). As was stated previously the objective was to overcome and subjugate that geography. There was a strict need for planning and development to populate and establish firm control of the frontier areas. The SPVEA at its core was about overcoming the geography of the Amazon, its forests, rivers, and swamps.

In his paper ‘Tracing the Origins of Brazil’s Great Acceleration’ Mougey (2018) discusses the impact of WWII on the Amazon. He describes the post war situation as putting a lot of pressure on natural resources around the globe and their need in the reconstruction of Europe in addition to changing world governance realities taking place at the end of the war. The institution of the United Nations in place of the League of Nations and the colonial empires were beginning to collapse. But Mougey describes the issue of rubber in the context of the war and how that revived concerns for the Amazon during the period of the Estado Novo and after the end of the war. It is known that after the end of the rubber boom around 1912 that the Amazon experienced a period of neglect in the national space until the period of Getulio Vargas. One thing that gave an impetus for his government to re-focus on the Amazon was the war in the Pacific. The Japanese had seized Malaya and the rubber plantations there, leaving the allies without an adequate supply of rubber. The United States then approached Brazil about reviving rubber plantations there in the early 1940s to supply the war effort. But it was not just this that gave Brazil reason to begin again concerning themselves with the Amazon. There was following the war, an effort for preservation and conservation of natural resources. However, the war had again awakened a sense of concern for the security and sovereignty of the Amazon. There was concern during the war about a possible attack on the territory and now after the war from covetous countries who would seek to expand their influence there. Mougey states that “With the war’s end, however, the future of the newly re-born rubber industry and the related attempts to occupy Amazonia were threatened by the reopening of Indonesia’s plantations and left Brazil with no alternative to contain the growing international interest in the region as well as the military and economic power position of the US in it” (Mougey, 2018). As stated earlier, Brazil had thwarted a plan earlier in the century to keep a US charter company out of the Amazon and

its rubber production. As a result of international pressures surrounding the Amazon during the war and post-war periods, Brazil entered a phase where they began to organize themselves in a more scientific way to advance their interests and plan the future of their society.

This more scientific and technocratic way of societal planning began to take shape according to Mougey, under the administration of Vargas and his elected successor Juscelino Kubitschek who created the National Development Bank, Superintendence of Development of the Northeast and the SPVEA (Mougey, 2018). It was also at this time in 1951 when the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) was formed to address some of these issues in the Amazon. For Alvaro Alberto da Motta e Silva, a military scientist on the committee for creating the CNPq, Brazil needed “To exploit the potential of our resources, to raise the standards of living of our people and to strengthen the integrity of the Brazilian nation, the creation of the new organization (CNPq) is an urgent imperative for our historical evolution” (Mougey, 2018). The new international interest in the Amazon from the UN and other countries gave Brazil more of a reason to occupy and develop the space than before the war. It was a matter of their national evolution and with these technical planning and development committees leading the way, Brazil could claim a new place for itself in the international order. Interesting is that the commission is linking national greatness to the state’s ability to organize a rational occupation of the Amazon. That if they could do it in a scientific and methodological way then it would be a form of evolution and advancement for the nation.

The first director of the SPVEA Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis was determined to implement the scientific directives of that conference and to approach the Amazon in such an ordered way. He stated that “only through scientific investigation” he believed “can reveal Amazonia’s reality in all its depths and details, can we frame and solve its problems” (Mougey, 2018). To this end they would essentially discover the terrain and the geographic features of the Amazon. To exploit, occupy, and colonize, there needs to exist an understanding of the features which Reis believed would allow them to frame and solve the problems as just stated. This is classical geopolitical thinking because they would study the earth and its features, and this would dictate to them the policy decision they would take. I said earlier that the SPVEA was a continuation of Vargas’s policy of marching west. Vargas was key in creating the agency in 1953 and the initial objective was to “stimulate the occupation of Amazonia in a Brazilian fashion that would develop in parallel and complement to the Brazilian economy” (Mougey, 2018). The government

of the 50's continued in the same way of geopolitical thinking. The way they sought to plan based off the geography and occupy and develop can all go back to the Organic State and Heartland theories. This would be the scientific and ordered approach that Reis sought to implement.

The SPVEA was a largescale program that sought to address problems across the region of the Amazon. Previous attempts to develop the region had been very location specific and the scale was not large. The SPVEA needed to change everything from the social to the natural. The agency needed to modernize and bring about changes to one of the most difficult regions in the world that was now the focus of much international focus because of the vast resources there. The small-scale extraction that had gone on for decades in the Amazon was simply not economically viable and would not bring about the civilizational advances the government was hoping for. The planners in the SPVEA explained that success “of any work of valorization of Amazonia depends on succeeding to establish a profitable agriculture, because without it... there will be no possibility to build an advanced civilization in the region... aiming at the territorial, economic and social integration of the Amazon region into the national unit” (Mougey, 2018). Integration of those three topics is commonly referred to before 1985. The Amazon was certainly seen as the ‘other’ that existed outside the national space. However, to achieve geopolitical goals, it needed to be brought into the whole unit. The SPVEA thought as did others that to bring about internal colonization and a migration of peoples to the region that agriculture, farming, and ranching, would be a means to achieve such a goal.

The main aim of many projects to colonize the Amazon was to shift the poorer people in the Northeast into the undeveloped areas of the North instead of having them all migrate to the urban centers of Rio de Janiera and Sao Paulo. This was the case in the early 1970's as the government grappled with how to deal with challenges stemming from drought and poverty affecting the northeast and not wanting more people to shift into the southeast. The colonization programs of the 1950s and 1960s had largely failed to deliver the results that were intended to come from the colonization. The number of migrants that were coming from different areas of the country was too numerous for the government agency in charge of settling them. What ended up taking place according to Wood were violent disagreements between ‘peasant settlers’ ranchers and more commercial interests (Wood, 1993). Things deteriorated to the point that local officials were asking for an end to the migration of peasant farmers to the region in a hope

to put an end to the land disputes. What gave way according to Wood was that the government decided to let the private sector and business interests lead the way in the colonization efforts (Wood, 1993). The goal of colonization and development remained even if it would now be dictated more generally by private business interest. The issue of internal threats from these isolated peasants was and became a preoccupation of the military government.

As previously mentioned, one of the reasons for colonization was not just for external threats but the internal threat of communism. With the issues of rural violence that had taken place the government needed to develop a different strategy to occupy the space. It was during this time of re-planning and changing policies that the military discovered the existence of the Communist Party of Brazil's headquarters in the legal Amazon. "In 1972, the federal government issued a decree that gave the National Security Council jurisdiction over industrial and colonization activities in Amazonia and mobilized several thousand conscripts... in what was called Operation Presence" (Wood, 1993). These guerillas would eventually be defeated years later in 1974 but the small number of them never posed a threat to the Brazilian state according to Wood. That the government felt strongly enough to turn over the jurisdiction of colonization activities in the Amazon to the National Security Council describes just how the regime felt about colonization. It was a securitized issue which they could then use to mobilize large amounts of resources to use toward the issue. The general in charge of that campaign against the guerillas Sebastiao Rodrigues de Moura known as Curio "concluded that military action was only part of the solution to the perceived national security problem. If Brazil was to avoid further political movements of this kind... it was necessary to follow the insurgents' example of extending needed services to the rural population" (Wood, 1993). It was during these years that the National Integration plan was launched that will be discussed later but the fear and paranoia of internal threat became an issue to this organic state with cancerous cells being guerillas. In fact, Curio continued to have his army units provide health and dental services to the citizens living under the previous guerillas (Wood, 1993).

The occupation of the Amazon and development of its frontier areas really began to gain traction during the period of Getulio Vargas. The ideas to occupy and exploit the Amazon had been present since the period of Brazil's independence but it was with Vargas the large-scale investment began to take hold. Renewed interest in the Amazon because of WWII certainly spurred international and thus national interest in the region. Fears of international intervention

or international companies having excessive power were a concern for the government. But the government needed to organize the development and occupation of the region. The Westward March was one initial way of doing that. The SPVEA was a continuation of that Westward March where the government sought a more ordered and ‘Brazilian’ occupation of the Amazon. The CNPq was created later to provide a more scientific and studied approach to the occupation. They hoped “To exploit the potential of our resources, to raise the standards of living of our people and to strengthen the integrity of the Brazilian nation, the creation of the new organization (CNPq) is an urgent imperative for our historical evolution” (Mougey, 2018). These and their occupational ideas that find inspiration in Kjellen would eventually lead the way to a larger program in the early 1970’s called the National Integration Plan.

4.3 Programa de Integração Nacional

The Programa de Integração Nacional (PIN) or National Integration Program was developed during the military government of Emilio Medici in 1970 to integrate and populate the North and Center-West states. Through this plan it was decided to construct highways going from East to West and North to South to better integrate and populate the areas and increase economic productivity. A major theme of the PIN was “Integrar para nao entregar” or integrate to not surrender. The PIN wanted to promote internal immigration from mainly the Northeast with workers and farmers who were experiencing droughts in that region. Another theme of the project was “Land without men for men without land” and the idea was to build settlements at determined points along the highways to spur economic development. The PIN, it was hoped, would decentralize the economic activities away from Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, and Sao Paulo and move those activities inland (Cunningham, 1976).

The following analysis was taken from an initial exposition given by João Paulo dos Reis Velloso, Minister of Planning & General Coordination, given in the Chamber of Deputies on 15 September 1970. He begins his exposition by mentioning that the development of Brazil after the Second World War was mostly concentrated in the South Central of the country. He then states that the federal government is “now laying the foundations, through the National Integration Program, to simultaneously add two dimensions to that process, that of the economic occupation of around 2 million km of the Amazon and that of the incorporation of approximately 13 million

inhabitants into the market economy of the semiarid region of the northeast” (Velloso, 1970). The economic integration of the Amazon area and its vast size draws attention to this a large, detached portion of the national territory. With it comes a sense of national purpose that it is imperative that everyone contribute to its integration with the rest of the country. It had already been previously stated that the federal government wanted States in the Southeast like Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro to help finance different projects in the North with their state development banks and that in turn the central government would continue to invest in those areas so that the excess of those investments could be used to further develop Amazon.

Velloso goes on to describe that it is paradoxical that a country like Brazil engaged in an effort of national development should waist “...unexplored fertile lands in the central highlands, Amazonia, and the middle North...” (Velloso, 1970) and he discusses the amount of abundant unskilled labor that exists in the Northeast. Velloso thus describes the problem with exploiting that fertile land and relocating the abundance of labor as inadequate infrastructure. It isn’t only just roads that he refers to but to a lack of physical capital like instruments and technical knowledge and skills of people. For Velloso these are necessary for an expansion of the “economic frontier” and the growth of Brazil’s global production. These ideas can be tied into some of the fears of Brazil’s geopolitical thinkers in the army who for security and economic reasons, pushed for the internal migration and the settlement of areas which had until then been populated only by indigenous peoples. But it is also tied into the economy of the country which needed to grow for Brazil to attain perceived greatness. The PIN, which as mentioned before called specifically for the construction of new infrastructure with the purpose of not only being able to export different goods but to make settlement and exploitation of the Amazon possible.

Velloso summarizes the PIN in six different points to the Chamber of Deputies. The first point he mentions that Brazil was pushing its economic frontier to the banks of the Amazon River and spurring internal growth through the development of the Brasilia-Belem Highway which was as he said “...an important area with important patches of fertile land...” (Velloso, 1970 translated by me). He describes this and other highways as systemically penetrating different parts of the legal Amazon which while not being a form of external territorial expansion, it is internal territorial expansion. This is because by the point this speech was given, the central government had been trying for around three decades to expand its population and infrastructure into the North and Center-West regions. The territory may have been Brazilian and

recognized as such by other countries, but the government still saw fit to expand toward the Amazon. The speech references an economic expansion, but this is not possible without human migration to the intended areas such that investment can be possible and to enable state control. It was a signal to neighboring countries that the state had a presence there and that they would not be allowed to expand into Brazil's space. There is in this summary of the first point a reference to "fertile patches of land" that this new highway would allow access to. This is a clear reference to resource exploitation and additionally the infrastructure project itself was a subtheme under resource exploitation in the methodology. On the surface it would just be another highway connecting a recently constructed national capital to a key state capital. But in the context of the PIN and the regime, it was also a significant geopolitical move. To conquer the territory and exploit the resources available it was necessary to connect these fertile areas. This was a part of that "Green Hell" that needed to be subdued through investment and labor. But that his first point in summary refers to pushing that economic boundary further, is a clear indicator of what the government is trying to do, which was the occupation of space.

In his second point of summary of the PIN to the Chamber, Velloso uses the term of "economic occupation" when referring to the development strategy toward the Amazon and the Brazilian Northeast, which he said would be combined. However, the biggest topic of this second point is his reference to the Trans-Amazon highway and its true significance. Its true significance was that of national integration according to Velloso. "...Due to its location on the border with the central plateau and the Northeast, only the Trans-Amazon has the function of national integration, creating the system of communicating vessels between the center, the Amazon and the Northeast" (Velloso, 1970). He also mentions in this section that because of this function of national integration, it cannot be evaluated on a scale of its economic profitability as are other infrastructure projects. Though it is a likely assumption the government thought the Trans-Amazon would indeed be economically viable and allow the transport of goods and increased access to services, its purpose was that of integration. The integration of the most remote and economically underdeveloped spaces. But these kinds of references are typical of military governments. The PIN's moto was after all, "integrate to not surrender". 'Surrender to who?', is a question some might ask. But if we trace back to the influence of organic state theory on Brazilian geopolitical thinkers then the answer to that could be any of Brazil's neighboring

countries. The logic followed that in an interstate competition of living and organism-like states that people from other countries might come and settle on the Brazilian side of the border.

In the last four points of his explanation of the PIN to the Chamber of Deputies, Velloso addresses several geopolitical themes while justifying the need for the program. Interesting in his third point is that he references a human rights and social justice theme. Velloso discusses the need to incorporate into the market economy tracts of the population that were earlier only involved in the subsistence economy and were “condemned to technological stagnation and the perpetuation of an intolerable social drama” (Velloso, 1970). There was by this time also an interest not just in occupation and national greatness through the conquering of space, but national greatness also entailed lifting a portion of the population from poverty. Attempting to improve the economic situation and provide basic services was also necessary to maintain control and security. As mentioned earlier, the communist party was providing many such services to the rural poor around the time of this speech and so the government was likely aware of its need to do the same. In that same third point the phrase “Capacity of production” is also used. The government needed to increase the economic capacity of the people in the Amazon. Production is a necessary component of economic exploitation. It would be futile to encourage the migration of so many from one poor region to another without the goal of economic activity. This is kind of wording makes it possible to see the economic development theme and subtheme.

The PIN was supposed to bring about a more organized settling of the region than had previously occurred under past administrations. Point five of the speech specifically mentioned directing the migration of workers to the new agricultural frontier and avoiding their movement to the super-populated areas of the Southeast. This is a clearer point of the government’s intent on populating and occupying the empty spaces they viewed as a security problem. Controlled and planned migration to the new agricultural frontier which was a vast area of different plots of fertile land. I want to again say that this speech was given to the Chamber of Deputies before their vote on whether to support it or not. The National Integration Program was a continuation of those programs and plans discussed above in 4.1 and 4.2. As we will see next from a speech by then President Medici, the goal was to fix man to that immense motherland territory. The PIN was a way to expand infrastructure and transportation so the rational and organized occupation and colonization of the Amazon could occur. By this organized colonization, the country could

affirm its sovereignty over the territory, expand its economic areas, decrease poverty, and integrate an isolated area to the rest of the country.

4.3.1 Message by President Medici

President Medici served as the President of Brazil from 1969-1974 which is a time considered to be the apex of the military dictatorship. The following analysis comes from his “Mensagem ao Congresso Nacional” or Message to the National Congress. He addresses a wide range of topics, but I will focus on those that pertain to the Amazon. The first mention of the Amazon in the 72-page document states explicitly that the integration of the Amazon into the national economy will be a priority objective of the Medici government (Medici, 1970). In there are immediately several references to themes that would fall under both economic development and resources exploitation. Medici said that there needed to be an expansion of transportation infrastructure capable of ensuring the rational occupation of the region. With the expansion of infrastructure that Medici hoped to finish by 1974 he hoped it would “stimulate the penetration and fix man to that immense homeland territory” (Medici, 1970). Medici’s words here are a continuation of his predecessor’s work who also determined decades earlier that the Amazon needed to be occupied, conquered, and exploited. His term to ‘fix’ man to that immense space though and integrate that space into the national economy are reminiscent of the organic state theory. The theory which believes for a state to survive it needs to be gaining land and the flipside of that is that other states may also seek to expand. I stated earlier in the paper, that other Amazon states had better access to those areas than Brazil did, and this was a cause of concern. It is out of this concern that are born the ideas of a rational occupation and economic projects focused on integration.

To demonstrate the importance Medici will be placing specifically on integration through infrastructure, he spends half of the next page of his message describing the different road and water routes to be paved and constructed. On page 27 of that document, he lists 7 major highway routes to be constructed that will link the various capital cities of the legal Amazon, up until the borders of Peru and Venezuela. He ends that paragraph by explaining how with all the new access between the Amazon and Northeast in particular, there will be, for the Northeasterner, there will be an opportunity to occupy “empty spaces” and access to still inaccessible

protentional (Medici, 1970). The fixation on the emptiness and the potential are what I see as motivating for the dictatorship. They don't want empty spaces because empty spaces are ungovernable. Empty spaces are a security threat. Empty spaces are the loss of economic standing. Again, thirteen pages later, Medici mentions that the occupation of the Amazon "represents a fundamental objective of his government, making possible the increasing integration of that vast area of country" (Medici, 1970). He goes on to detail that through expanded agriculture and industry, that these will ensure a progressive growth of economic expansion of the region. Though the policies may have been geopolitically informed they also needed to deliver on improving the lives of ordinary people. Something that their revolution of 1964 was supposed to do by bringing the resources to the correct areas.

4.3.2 Message by President Figueredo

This message as with the one above from President Medici was given to the National Congress in which the president gives an accounting of the years activities and things he would like to accomplish going forward. The message was given early in 1980. President Figueredo served his term from 1979-1985 and was the last of the military presidents. His initial discussion on the Amazon is that the development and occupation continued to be solidified in an orderly and selective manner, describing the areas receiving development actions as selective (Figueredo, 1980). He discusses in that same paragraph that his government would continue to consolidate infrastructure to connect the Amazon to the rest of the country and to take advantage of economic potential while also preserving and conserving the region's natural resources and forests (Figueredo, 1980). This doesn't make a substantial shift from any of his predecessors. There is still an almost oversized focus on infrastructure, connectivity, and economic expansion. From Velloso's message to congress a decade earlier we continue to view the same themes of resource development and economic exploitation. However, an initial shift taken here is the reference to conservation and preservation. Something not often or ever spoken of by previous presidents. This could mark a shift due to international pressure or attempting to appease more progressive internal movements.

Continuing this theme of sustainability, President Figueredo mentions studies that the government carried out in Para state that evaluated the sustainability of agriculture in that area

along with the impact it was having on the environment. His message continues to mention several projects in the Amazon to include a hydro power plant, cartographic studies of the Amazon, laboratories for mineral research, and several other exploratory research projects and business ventures (Figueredo, 1980). His focus is more environmental than his predecessors with a focus on research and science initiatives. But the economic aspect is still clearly present with mentions of new ship building yards, new airports, and more roads to name a few. He adds a human focus with his mention of urban development plans going forward that included basic health and sanitation, an increase in the water supply and sewage infrastructure (Figueredo, 1980). While his focus wasn't exclusively on social issues, he did spend more time discussing them than did earlier presidents. Figueredo himself oversaw much investment from the Amazon development bank and many industrial and agricultural projects during his initial year in office. But his focus on social issues is a reminder that earlier governments had promised social progress to those who came and occupied that space. In his initial address of the Amazon in his message Figueredo still refers to the selective and ordered occupation of the region. It is against this backdrop then that the human rights theme, one of the different themes I identified for this paper, is viewed. That is that these investments are a natural result of wanting an organized and rational occupation of an empty and underdeveloped space. That is not to suggest that the government didn't desire more hospitable and better living conditions for its citizens but that this is likely not their only motivation. Investment in human infrastructure would coincide with the government wanting it occupied for reasons stemming from the organic state, internal/external security fears and others mentioned previously in this chapter. What we can see during the beginning of this presidency is some progress of what had commenced some thirty years earlier.

Chapter 5. Territory, Economics, Environment

Territory, economics, and the environment are three areas that interact within geopolitical considerations. Through economic development and infrastructure planning, the territory can be better controlled economically, and security better guaranteed. Economic investments also impact the environment which affects these considerations and decisions. This leads to a multitude of actors in Brazil's Amazon. The ability to exploit the territory can negatively affect the environment and this leads to different actors with different interests. Regardless of interests for or against certain economic activities, tangibility is still being put on territory and this is geopolitical and giving meaning to space.

The GDP of Amazonian states have grown at a faster pace than the rest of the country since the 1960's according to Bandura (Bandura, 2020). However, despite the larger than average rates of growth, the region only accounts for 8.9 percent of total national GDP. The region in recent decades has also experienced significant population growth in the urban centers, putting pressure to provide jobs and basic services as the region continues to lag behind other parts of the country in human development, infrastructure and literacy (Bandura, 2020). Higher than average poverty rates paint a picture of a difficult economic situation and illustrate why crime is so widespread. Violent crime, in particular homicides, are per capita some of the highest in the country in the states of Pará, Amazonia and Acre. This paints a broader theme of lawlessness when considering the amount of illegal ranching, mining, and logging that takes place outside of state control.

The Amazon has not seen a decrease or stoppage of development projects since its return to democracy. Through the different projects over the decades the Amazon has been given meaning by different actors but principally the government as this paper focuses on. Some of the projects through the decades have been the "Luz Para Todos" or "Electricity for All", Calha Norte, The Amazon Fund, and Polamazonia to name a few. The latter having been a subset of the PIN from the 1970s but continues to exist to this day. The Electricity for All which would fall under the code of 'human rights & social justice' sought to bring subsidized electricity from renewable sources to rural areas in the North. These projects certainly aren't mentioning anything about "Integrate to not Surrender" but they still follow a similar line of settling the region and increasing its economic output in more sustainable ways. The territorial Amazon is

regularly at the forefront on discussions about climate change, conservation, security, sustainable productivity, and it continues to be an integral part of the Brazilian national discourse.

In June of 2023, President Lula announced the new Security and Sovereignty Plan which according to the government's website will "combat land grabbing, illegal mining, and logging, as well as hunting and fishing within indigenous territories, environmental protection areas, and the entire Amazon biome"(Planalto, 2023) In this quote of Lula's he is referring to the Amazon in such a way as to give it this elevated status where illegal activity will not happen (much like it does in the rest of the country). It gives the sense that the Amazon for him and for the nation is such a national priority that it must be secured and protected because what would Brazil be without it. As with most things in the Amazon, the issues of security are not far from the forefront of any large government investment. As Lula continues to describe the new plan, he mentions the creation of a new security entity called the National Public Security Force's Environmental Operations Company, new integrated terrestrial bases and riverine bases "to strengthen public security services" and a "modernization of barracks that belong to police forces operating in the legal Amazon (Planalto, 2023). Even as in times of the military regime we can see that the issue of sovereignty and retaining state control over the Amazon continues to be an issue that influences the creation of new plans that purport as their aim to "mitigate climate change and control deforestation" (Planalto, 2023).

President Lula is often associated with climate projects, preservation, conservation, and indigenous rights. Earlier in his presidential career in 2008 he was discussing in a speech the development of the Amazon. He states that he does believe the Amazon needs to be developed but that it needs to be an elaborated and non-predatory development so that Brazilians and humanity can receive the good that the region has to offer. Lula discusses that when Brazilians travel abroad, people are always quick to lecture them about the environment and the importance of the Amazon. Asking questions about logging and falling trees and pollution. He notes the importance of these issues and the impact they have on Brazil's foreign policy because as he says, "here in a little while, some country will raise a prohibition on importing Brazilian soy because they say it is being planted in the selva amazonica" (da Silva, 2008).

This is an area where modern leaders have more of an issue with the Amazon and its relevance. It feels to Brazilians that more developed countries are trying to stifle their growth or by alternative means, govern the Amazon from afar. It is along these lines of Amazonian fervor

that Lula gives his speech. He believed that the Amazon was still not part of the national conscience with everyone still focusing on Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais. While referring to those that believe the Amazon should be humanity's, Lula agrees and thinks it should offer benefits for all humanity and then says "...we need to say in a loud and clear voice, that who takes care of the Amazon is Brazil, who decides what to do with the Amazon is Brazil" (da Silva, 2008). This line of speaking fits well into the 'Identity & Nationalism' theme. Lula wants Brazilians to think more about the Amazon and that its problems aren't just for the people living there but for all Brazilians. It belongs to them as a nation, and it has been that way since the 16th century he says earlier in the speech. Lula brings up historical grievances as well when he references how other countries have at times tried to claim the Amazon as being theirs and not Brazil's.

Lula was not the only president to share this concern of whom the Amazon belonged to. In the opening address to the United Nations, President Bolsonaro also shared some of these concerns of Brazilian sovereignty over the Amazon. Responding to critics of his government, particularly those from Europe, he discusses his duty to preserve the Amazon rainforest and its unique biodiversity. He mentions that the size of the Amazon is greater than that of Western Europe and it remains intact and preserved. For Bolsonaro it is a fallacy to say that the Amazon is a part of world heritage and an error to say that the Amazon rainforest is the lungs of the earth (Bolsonaro, 2019). This is an old concern for many Brazilian presidents because of a longstanding fear of the internationalization of the Amazon. Any attempt to interfere in how the Amazon is used is seen as an interference to Brazil's sovereignty. During his speech he discusses that the amount of land Germany and France use for agriculture is around 50% of their national territory while Brazil is just at 8%. When Brazilian leaders see this contrast and the deforestation that historically took place in Europe, it gives the feeling of colonialism and the idea that Europe can tell Brazil what to do and how to do it. It is also viewed as though the European powers are trying to keep Brazil from being able to develop and exploit the riches they find in the Amazon.

Bolsonaro references at least one other country that acted in what he refers to "the spirit of a colonizer" (Bolsonaro, 2019). That same country who he infers is a member of the G7 also wanted to place sanctions on Brazil without listening to what Brazil had to say and, in this way, threatened that which is "the most sacred, our sovereignty" (Bolsonaro, 2019). Bolsonaro goes to some depth in describing the indigenous population in Brazil, their large numbers of tribes and

their various individual customs. He explained that Brazil would not increase the size of indigenous lands in Brazil which was already at around 14% of the national territory, much to the disappointment of other heads-of-state present at the assembly. Bolsonaro explains that some of the tribal leaders are used as pawns in the hands of foreign governments in their “information wars to advance their own interests in the Amazon” (Bolsonaro, 2019). “It is the goal of certain NGOs to maintain the indigenous populations as true cavemen” (Bolsonaro, 2019), asserting that these NGOs aren’t there to help but at times serve foreign interests. Bolsonaro continues describing that the kinds of minerals found in the Amazon and in the indigenous reserves. He describes one indigenous reserve as being the size of Portugal or Hungary but that only 15,000 indigenous live there (Bolsonaro, 2019). He states that those who attack Brazil for its Amazon policies aren’t truly concerned for the local populations that live there but for the natural resources that are found there. It is clear from his speech that Bolsonaro views with skepticism the intentions of NGOs, foreign governments, and certain indigenous leaders.

This part of Bolsonaro’s speech that deals with the Amazon is based on the issue of sovereignty. What he did was list several ways in which he feels the sovereignty of his country has been threatened or ways in which others are trying to subvert its sovereignty. He brings up the issue of demarcated indigenous lands. He mainly takes issue with this because it is much more difficult to conduct and perform extractive and exploratory projects on indigenous lands. Clearly, he was opposed to the expansion but that he mentions it is to the disappointment of other heads of state is where it becomes clear that he feels there are other countries who are trying to prevent what he feels is development in the Amazon and subvert Brazilian sovereignty. The mere existence of indigenous peoples has been more of a problem for some governments than others, but Bolsonaro clearly saw them as a hindrance to development. Bolsonaro suggests that some of them are pawns, which brings to a light a sentiment felt by many government and military leaders, that many NGOs and indigenous rights groups act in ways contrary to the government. That Bolsonaro references the size of the indigenous areas compared to some European countries and the sparse population of those areas can be a sign that he was worried about illicit activities in the region. Much of his presidency and even this speech was dedicated to his commitment to the rule of law and reduced criminality. Brazil has long struggled to police illicit mining and drug activities in secluded places of the Amazon. But the root of all the concerns for Bolsonaro here and his government is based on the idea of sovereignty.

5.1 Economic Interests & Development Strategies

In July 1995, then President Cardoso gave a speech to an audience of senators, governors, ministers, who were members of the National Counsel of the Legal Amazon (NCLA). The president states that the Amazon is still a national objective and priority (Cardoso, 1995). He uses the term that means to recover/regain/restore when discussing that the efforts will be national and not just regional. Even into the mid-1990's the idea survives that the Amazon is still cut off. The Amazon had been receiving decades of development money at this point. The construction of highways roads and roads had occurred. Yet for him, it is still an area somehow not adjoined to the national body. However, his speech is much more focused on development strategies and different ways to improve the economic situation in the region than were other past speeches. He describes a visit to Venezuela with different cabinet members who oversee the Amazon and discussed the joining of the two nations respective gas companies, and different areas of infrastructure cooperation in the Amazon. President Cardoso does touch on the issue of integration, but he takes a more human approach and says "...that integration implies a human question, a social question, the question of how the population is living" (Cardoso, 1995). We can see more of a focus on the 'Human Rights & Social Justice' theme. This is evident as he continues to discuss issues of difficulty of access to dwellings, sewer systems and more that he says lack in the region. Cardoso wanted more coordinated action on issues facing the people in the Amazon which was precisely why the NCLA was founded.

Aside from his larger focus on the more pressing social issues faced by Amazonians, Cardoso does mention the presence of the armed forces in the region. As has been mentioned in earlier chapters, historically there had been distrust between the different countries and their strategic actions in the Amazon. Some of Brazil's earlier efforts at positioning troops in the Amazon caused concern among their neighbors who were at times suspicious of Brazilian intentions on the continent. For Cardoso the purpose of the military being there was to guarantee law-and-order, attend to the needs of the population, and to deal with border problems in the region. Cardoso states that

"...the presence of the armed forces is not solely the presence of the armed forces: it is the presence of Brazil, of the government, of the people ...The presence of the armed forces is not

because of our neighbors; it is for our cause. It's firstly to say that this here is part of ours, the national territory, and always will be" (Cardoso, 1995).

The military presence was more still than just to stake a claim of sovereignty which is partly what the previous quote is illuding too. When Cardoso visited the Amazon with members of the council, the only way they could get to some of the locations was by a naval boat or an army helicopter. Without that military presence, the region could not develop because much of the transportation access relied on the armed forces. The armed forces were also the main instrument for implementing many of the programs to benefit the poorest of the population. So, while Cardoso does not hide the fact that the military does indeed serve a more traditional role of staking Brazil's territorial claims and maintaining order, he also mentions that the role is vastly more humanitarian in nature and essential to regional development. Lastly, Cardoso wants the Amazon to be a heritage for all Brazilians. "...and we need this heritage to be felt by every Brazilian as their own heritage" (Cardoso, 1995). Cardoso wants the problem to be felt by the country. He wants all to share in the success and development, to share the problems born by those living in the North. It's an appeal to the Brazilian identity that he uses to justify the reasoning for development and social projects. Though Cardoso spends much of the speech focusing on the plight of Brazilians in the Amazon and the precarious conditions of some, the policy responses are still informed by the environment and taming it.

The NCLA was a way to respond to the needs of Amazonians in a more coordinated way. This is part of a shift away from focusing solely on the economic or the development side but began to eschew aspects of an approach that benefited citizens more which also meant more attention to the environment. A major means for funding different development projects and advancing economic interests all while promoting sustainability is the Amazon Fund. To quote the government the Amazon Fund "was authorized by the presidential decree no 6,527 to collect donations for non-reimbursable investments in preventing, monitoring and fighting against deforestation while promoting forest conservation in the Amazon biome" (Bank, 2013). Some of the listed uses of the money are: economic activities from the sustainable use of forests; Economic and Ecological zoning and territorial planning; environmental control, monitoring, and inspection (Bank, 2013). An example of one project which has already been concluded under the Amazon Fund is an extraction commercialization central cooperative for the State of Acre (Bank, 2022). The project had as its objective to strengthen the Brazil nut and fruit pulp chains in the

State of Acre. The stated belief is that by contributing to making the industry more sustainable, it also generates more income for the families that participate in the cooperatives and thereby will reduce deforestation (Bank, 2022). The idea behind this project and many others is to make extractive activities sustainable and increase preservation of the forest biomes. Development projects and economic activities in the Amazon are increasingly under scrutinization from states and NGOs alike. Sustainable development may be a new term to refer to the exploitation of the Amazon, but geopolitical themes and meaning are never far from the center with these strategies.

Sustainable development which has become prevalent in modern Brazil under democracy is a response to the unchecked agricultural, economic, and human expansion of the last half of the previous century. All those infrastructure projects and new developments of industry cause much environmental harm and was viewed as unsustainable. Policy Planning in the Amazon had to consider other issues than simply integrating territory and populating empty space. Even the expansion of human settlement has come into question as Brazil faces external and internal pressure to mitigate the issue of deforestation and other negative environmental impacts. It is a balancing act between the need to increase economic productivity and exploit the resources and between the responsibility of safeguarding the world's most diverse biome. If geopolitics is how the geography, terrain and what is in the terrain affects policy then the fact that the government now considers these other factors in its plans means geopolitics has not diminished.

A government document on the Amazon Fund is good as it demonstrates this point. The Amazon Fund project document I analyzed details the Action Plan for the Prevention and Control of Deforestation in the Brazilian Legal Amazon. It was formed in 2004 by presidential decree and included 13 ministries that reported to the Presidential Staff Office. It was organized into three following areas: Agrarian & Territorial planning, Monitoring and Control, and Fostering Sustainable development activities (Bank, 2013). The document itself was released in 2013 and it mentions the following as some of its projects/achievements: "Creation of roughly 13.1 million hectares in sustainable settlement projects (extractive settlement projects, sustainable development projects and forest settlement); Emission of more than 52 thousand environmental infraction acts...; Creation of the Brazilian Forest Service, responsible for the management of forest concession contracts... and planning and monitoring of public forests..."(Bank, 2013). This kind of language is a shift from other documents or speeches previously discussed.

While the Amazon still carries a large importance, the importance has changed to include more environmental aspects. How are the resources being used, how is the space being used. They're talking about managing the land. This is more of an organized settlement than what was witnessed during the PIN or previous projects. They don't explicitly mention the objective as settling and occupying space, but this is a higher level of organization of space and land than what was taking place during the PIN. Choosing specific areas for development, extraction, habitation, and farming. The environmental nature does not distract from the geopolitical one either. Geopolitics can't only be thought of as an old way of doing things or something done during and immediately preceding WWII. The very nature of this form of environmental planning that considers the degradation of land, deforestation, the impact of energy projects on the environment, are all informed or influenced by the soil and geography that exists there. The document describes that of the 75 million heads of cattle in the Brazilian herd, 34% of them were in one of the nine states that comprised the legal Amazon (Bank, 2013). The very idea of designating a certain amount and portion of land for cattle raising/ranching suggests that the authorities considered what features the land would need to be suitable and sustainable for that.

Development projects in the Amazon during the modern period mainly tend to focus on the environmental factor. Long gone are the days of just constructing new settlements, roads, and factories without trying to ensure little to no negative impacts on the environment. These development strategies are born from how geographical claims function in political practice. Deforestation is a leading problem when it comes to new housing developments, road expansion, agriculture expansion and so on. Under the Amazon Fund and in conjunction with the Federal Government/Defense Ministry sought to create and implement a "deforestation detection system in the Amazon using orbital imaging radar" (Bank, 2015). The scope of the "monitoring was Around 950,000 km² will be monitored per year (23% of the Amazon biome): 764,000 km² comprised of areas under the greatest pressure of deforestation" (Bank, 2015). Averting environmental degradation in all its forms is a chief goal of modern governments. This plan having been adopted in 2015.

In this case, improving the monitoring of deforestation was deemed essential to combat illegal activities. While the inspiring foci was the environment and in this case the problems that arise from cutting down trees, there is another issue of security threats. One of the subthemes of security threats was environmental security. The Amazon in its difficult to access areas can be a

security risk for a developing country like Brazil. Increased monitoring for these purposes also reinforces a sovereignty claim to the area. To make clear that the government is indeed the sovereign over the area and not criminals or those who seek to operate outside established laws. To have state control then these types of monitoring missions are essential. Hence the environmental aspect the Amazon has taken on can also be interpreted as a security issue and a sovereignty one.

All development strategies in the region are now largely driven through a lens of environmental considerations. An example of that is the Plano Regional de Desenvolvimento da Amazonia (PRDA). This new plan that was proposed only in November of 2023 has 11 different programs. Those 11 programs range from rural & urban infrastructure, logistics & integration, industry & sustainable services, inclusive & sustainable agriculture, and bio economics for sustainable development (Planalto, 2023b). The document on the PRDA includes six different maps each showing a different aspect of the legal Amazon. One details the income of municipalities, another shows the biomes, and what are referred to as institutionalized spaces which refers to indigenous lands and conservation areas.

Focusing on the bio economics for sustainable development the government defines this as “...an alternative, a new paradigm for management in benefit of society, where renewable and biological resources are utilized to generate products and services...valuing the knowledge and practices of the peoples of the forest...” (SUDAM, 2023). It was because of a growing and unequal urbanization which also contributed to pollution that the government states disproportionately affect certain sects of society over others that there needed to be this new development. This development is based on renewable energy and other than fossil fuels for energy production. It is a debate between the environment and society that considers the negative effects on both when issues are not managed in a sustainable way. This plan was envisioned with different climate conferences in mind and agreements entered into with the United Nations.

We can see how internationalization has been a driving force for these strategies with these themes that fall under ‘resource & exploitation’, ‘security threats’, and ‘human rights and social justice’. When thinking about how geography and geopolitics have been put to work as signs in global politics it becomes a little clearer that the Amazonian space has become an area with global environmental significance to which the Brazilian government responds to either positively or negatively. In the case of the PRDA the government is taking specific actions which

it believes will be for the social and environmental benefit of its citizens and ecosystem. But the projects pursued, and the approaches used give the Amazon space meaning. It is an area that needs to be developed for its inhabitants to live better and earn money, but it also needs to be protected, monitored, and developed in ways that are sustainable and undamaging.

5.2 Programa Calha Norte (PCN)

In a document titled “Calha Norte A Fronteira do Futuro” 1986-1991 by the secretary general of the National Security Council starts with a four-page message from then President Jose Sarney. It is a message filled with patriotism, myth, adventure, and duty. His first words are that “Brazil, a continent, occupies its spaces and integrates its people” (Sarney, 1988) This old idea of occupying space finds its roots in the dictatorship and before that has at its core the idea of a living organism-like state. He wastes no time in conveying his patriotic fervor for which all Brazilians should have regarding Amazonian occupation. He states, “The integration of the Amazon to the highest standards of the country is a task that requires decision, impetus, perseverance, and patriotism” (Sarney, 1988). Along with this theme of patriotism, Sarney describes what he calls a legend of those who came before with tenacity and sacrifice and left them such a large distant space. This is one of the clearest examples thus far of Identity and Nationalism as he tries to call on the conscious of all Brazilians to the cause of national integration.

With the closing of President Sarney’s message, the rest of the document explains what the Calha Norte Program will do. The first subtitle is “Reasons”, and it is understood in the first few sentences what this is as the author explains “One of the principal areas of development policy of President Jose Sarney’s government has been to integrate, effectively, the Amazon region to the rest of the country” (Sarney, 1988). During my research, this is the most common justification for development action in the Amazon. Integration into the rest of the national body. Without the Amazon, there isn’t Brazil and in the Amazon is untold potential for wealth, development, and greatness. There will be an end to predatory extraction, the article says. Aside from largely being outside of state control it was seen as an inefficient way of bringing any development to the region. The author explains how the program was born out of a strategic political study in 1985 that sought to address the socio-economic needs of the region and more

importantly, “guarantee sovereignty and national integrity” (Sarney, 1988). The PCN was one of the first projects of the new democratic government in the Amazon. Initially what we see is that its purpose is largely driven by an interest in territorial control. This constant worry about national integrity and sovereignty is a clear fear of another issue. An issue that is beyond this paper to determine. But what it does illustrate is that this policy is driven by a desire to protect from outside actors a large geographic area that contains much natural wealth. That those geographic things in the Amazon are the reason for being so concerned as to implement these different policies. Socioeconomics are just a subset of this larger issue of integrity and control.

Further complicating the goal of seeking territorial integrity is the natural obstacles of the Solimoes and Amazon rivers. These natural barriers tend to increase the dissociation of the more northern parts of the Amazon to the rest of the country. Prompting further fears is that this barrier on one side “induces a natural and desirable approximation with the other countries situated that, and on the other, permits easy access to commercial agents and illegal activities” (Sarney, 1988). The fears become clearer with this passage. Parts of their territory because of geographic reasons are more accessible to neighboring nations than the Brazilian government. Geography is then a motivator for this policy in the Amazon. The territory above those two rivers and the natural wealth in it drive everything from the socioeconomic policy to the building of infrastructure to increased economic relations with Brazil’s neighbors.

Some of the suggestions for addressing the complications in the region were then to intensify bilateral relations, increasing commercial relations with them, increase the Brazilian presence in the region through pioneering action of the armed forces (Sarney, 1988). These pioneering actions were based around the construction of new military facilities in pre-selected areas that were hard to access. The new military base would serve as a form of hub for different economic, social, and security activities. The armed forces would be responsible for “protection and assistance to regional indigenous populations, intensification of border demarcating campaigns, improving road infrastructure, and acceleration of local energy production...” (Sarney, 1988). These pioneering actions would be followed with different special projects like the one for increasing bilateral relations or for the increased military presence in the region. The document stresses the importance of the foreign ministry cooperating with other countries as the Brazilian presence in the region continued to grow. The focus was to revitalize trade agreements, combat narco-trafficking, and on building more connecting road infrastructure between the

neighboring countries. Each branch of the three branches of the armed services would also play a more traditional role in the area. For the army this mean occupying and watching sensitive border areas while carrying out a policing of the border. For the Navy this meant patrolling the rivers and policing the boats on them. For the Airforce this was ensuring that meant patrolling ensuring Brazilian sovereignty over their airspace. What informed all this activity in a strip of the most northern part of the Amazon was based in the soil and Brazil's position on the continent.

Though never directly mentioning anything about the heartland theory, the push for these road networks that would link up with several neighboring countries puts Brazil in a power position fulfilling a dream earlier in the century of having significant sway over the central part of the South American continent. The military activities are again based on the idea of sovereignty and the associated economic and infrastructure projects that go with them. Brazil wanted to assert its position in regional affairs and not lose out to other countries moving who could move in on their territory. This document also makes use of the term colonization to describe its infrastructure activities. Colonize because to have Brazilians living in the region meant that there would be no mistake as to who the territory belonged. This is also why having the armed forces continue demarcating the border was important because the government wanted to literally stake its claims that the territory was theirs and they were using it.

According to the Brazilian government in 2022 the PCN “is carried out by the Brazilian government to promote the social development of communities living in the Northern and Midwest borders of Brazil, as well as to guarantee security and sovereignty in the region. The Program is composed of a broad set of services that positively impact the lives of residents of remote communities and ensure the presence of the State in strategic locations, encompassing 442 cities in 10 states and benefiting approximately 15 million people” (Governo Federal, 2021). The PCN was created in 1985 and then it became an integrated part of the ministry of defense in 1999. According to the ministry of the defense the mission of the PCN is to “contribute to the maintenance of national sovereignty, territorial integrity and the promotion of ordered and sustainable development in its area of function; the PCN also seeks to promote sustainable development; the occupation of strategic voids; the improvement of the standard of living for local populations; the modernization of municipal management and the strengthening of state and municipal economic activities” (Ministerio da Defesa, 2019). It is then our understanding

that the objectives of the program are geopolitical in nature as it refers to social development, security, sovereignty, territorial integrity, economic development, and strategic voids.

The very idea that the program is under the authority of the ministry of defense instead of any other of the many development agencies operating in the Amazon suggests that there is still a fear of foreign covetousness of the many riches that lay in the region. When reading the two quotes in the previous paragraph, there rings a familiar theme of “integrate to not surrender” of the previous leadership. It could be that after a return to democracy and a submission of the armed forces to civilian leadership that a new armed forces were trying to forge their own institutional path. The military had been operating in the Amazon for decades by the time the PCN was introduced and so it would make sense to let the institution with the expertise continue working in the area. But this would also suggest that the military and its institutions would continue a geopolitical path into the civilian era of leadership.

In the program manual for the instruction of contracts and instructions for the use of PCN appropriated money, the document references early on many its strategic directives and importance. On page 15 of the document, it states that “Brazil possesses borders with 10 of the 12 countries of South America, which reinforces the strategic character of this region for the competitiveness of the country, seeing that the integration of the continent and the necessity to increase the measures of policing of our borders” (Ministerio da Defesa, 2018, translated by me). The region is still assigned a strategic place in national thinking and planning. That the competitiveness of the country hinges on the development of the region and thus being able to maintain the security of it and integrating it into the national space are of utmost importance. The document goes further saying that the region is strategic to South American integration but that it is economically underdeveloped and marked by the difficulty to access goods and public services (Ministerio da Defesa, 2018).

Much of the literature shows an aspect of human rights as an addition to more strategic issues. The phrase suggests that the Amazon could be a welding area to bring the continent together with Brazil playing the key role in managing and administering this integration that likely would come with more trade and economic benefits. The next paragraph of the same text describes that the program should be seen as a multidisciplinary program of political-strategic importance that has immense social reach for Brazilians “whose presence in inhospitable areas is an important factor to secure Brazilian jurisdiction in the region...” (Ministerio da Defesa,

2018). The text goes on to mention that people and business should be stripped of their personal interests and have as their objective the development of the region for the aggrandizement of the nation. The interest then is clear that the government needs people to inhabit these lands for the purposes of jurisdiction. Without people inhabiting the land then the national jurisdiction can be disputed by other states or international actors and the resources cannot be extracted.

In a 2020 article produced by the Ministry of Defense, they outline many of the more social projects that the PCN has done and is working on doing. The document outlines many several instances of human rights and economic development themes. When discussing new public lighting and the expansion of electric networks the document states its own importance by highlighting the fundamental importance to the contribution to social development and the quality of life. Continuing, the document highlights the essentialness of this project to being able to increase small business, local industry, more tourists, and creating more work (Ministerio da Defesa, 2020). These are clear examples of a more social and economic approach to the issues that have faced the region for decades. This approach can also be seen as the government attempting to permanently settle these people in the area and to not migrate away to other urban areas with better quality of life. Remembering that to integrate not to surrender, requires populated spaces and not empty ones. Which is another reason why a program run by the Ministry of Defense is heavily vested in infrastructure projects as the document goes on to detail the benefits of newly paved roads and drainage infrastructure in rural communities. However, it is not just roads and electrification that the PCN is building but also sport and leisure areas. In addition to contributing to better social wellbeing of local citizens the document points out that these areas promote health, prevention of drug use, relaxation and increases local commerce.

Continuing with the same article as the previous paragraph the document describes what they call “works of access” (Ministerio da Defesa, 2020). Works of access are the construction of bridges and footbridges. Knowing that the entire idea of integration into the rest of the national economy is behind many of the ventures pursued within the program, the construction of these types of infrastructure further that goal. The document states that higher capacity bridges have were constructed to carry heavier loads which facilitates that transport of those, mainly agricultural goods (the document refers to specifically), to urban areas (Ministerio da Defesa, 2020). This new infrastructure accordingly also reduces the loss of products in transport and cheapens the cost of transport. The document ends by showing the different agriculture

equipment like tractors and large trucks that funds from the program purchase (Ministerio da Defesa, 2020). But what is the reason for building the bridges, footbridges, and other infrastructure projects mentioned in the last paragraph? The answer is for sovereignty and development, another slogan used in the document that goes together with the program's graphic design image. This demonstrates most clearly what the mission for the program is and what it's supposed to promote and achieve. Sovereignty is why the military receives funding for investment and sovereignty is why such effort is put into improving the quality of life in the legal Amazon. Again, I do not mean to suggest that the government is disinterested in its citizens well-being but only to reinforce that the much of the investment that goes into the Amazon is destined there with a clear focus on being able to establish control and sovereignty in the eyes of other countries.

In January 2023 the Ministry of Defense (MOD) produced a two and a half-minute video titled "Understand how the PCN functions". The video quickly explains that the money goes to small towns that are a distance from urban areas and located in areas near the national border (Ministerio da Defesa, 2020). I touched on earlier that sovereignty and development were used as a slogan of the program. The video explains that funding is split between these two areas. The money destined for 'sovereignty' issues goes direct to the military which it uses to build, maintain, and improve border installations which it claims are necessary for maintaining its sovereignty. To sum up the program at the end the speaker says the following "...national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and sustainable development" (Ministerio da Defesa, 2023). The theme of security threats is one that we saw during the decades of dictatorship, however they were then more concerned with internal security as opposed to external.

This level of continued investment into the armed forces border stations represents a true interest in demonstrating to other countries that the Amazon is Brazil's and that it is present and in control. The issue of these border stations can also be seen under the theme of 'geopolitical alliances & rivalries.' At least since 2009, the US and Columbia instituted a new agreement on the United States' use of 7 military facilities in Columbia (U.S. Department of State, 2009). Mostly for issues of drug trafficking. For Brazil and other South American countries, more US military presence is usually seen skeptically. There was always concern for US involvement in internal affairs from Brazilian governments, particularly those that leaned left like Lula da Silva and Dilma Rouseff. The Amazon is an area full of minerals and precious resources that Brazil

has traditionally left the country paranoid over external interference; US interference given its history on the continent. State security, paranoia and resource exploitation are explanations for why Brazil continues to have the MOD operate a large social and security program.

6. Conclusion

The central questions of this research were to understand how Brazilian governments across some seven decades and under two distinct regime types have spatialized and given importance to the Amazon and how are geopolitical considerations in the course of time used to justify policy in the Amazon. The Amazon and its development have been a recurring issue and theme across Brazilian politics, as has been the ability to exploit the area's resources. No matter the regime type and governance, geographical conditions in terms of locational specifics and value assignments to specific territories determine the chosen policies. This is where we see consistency in geopolitical thinking. Change may occur in vocabulary that is used to explain geopolitical significance. When I set out to do this research, I outlined different themes that I wanted to identify in the various media that I analyzed. Those themes were: Territorial claims, resource exploitation, security threats, identity & nationalism, human rights & social justice, economic development, and geopolitical alliances and rivalries. Each of the previous themes will also have some subthemes to help further specify what they are or can be.

This study conducted a diachronic comparison of Brazil through a lens of critical geopolitics to analyze policy planning texts and official's statements to view how the government constructs its narrative to legitimize the need/urgency of the Amazon. Critical Geopolitics seeks to deconstruct the narratives and discourses about a country's space and place and how it uses these to construct a geopolitical identity. The critical geopolitical perspective helped demonstrate how geopolitical reasoning has evolved and what meanings the Amazon has been given over time. From 4-4.2 the sources are secondary and were used to show how Brazil had already been framed. In section 4.3 the analysis was based on two presidential speeches to congress, and another given by the minister overseeing the National Integration Program which was one of the largest development and migration projects that sought to transfer people from the Northeast to empty and unpopulated spaces in the Amazon. In chapter five the data collected came from reading through the different presidential speeches and watching one of them. The data was collected from Brazil's presidential library and through government websites that detailed the programs like the Amazon Fund or Bolsonaro's speech to the UN.

Territorial claims, resource exploitation, and economic development were three of the codes I identified in the beginning of the paper that were prevalent pre-1985. The territorial claim doesn't fit as such into the pre-1985 period because the government wasn't making claims to new territory otherwise recognized by other states but rather claiming and expanding within its own territory. I defined the 'Territorial theme' as being references to sovereignty claims, border disputes, territorial boundaries, or expansionism. The regime wasn't making sovereignty claims like the government has in the modern period or expanded beyond its internationally recognized boundaries. But there was much time spent during that period of dictatorship on an internal form of territorial and economic expansion. This was evident with Brazil's own continental destiny and Westward March. Brazil looked toward its unused, unconquered territory for its inspiration and for direction. In Golbery's view "...Brazil must progress in an orderly manner from control of her own national territories to continental projection to international influence by means of the following geopolitical principles: national integration and effective use of space; interior expansion and pacific external projection; ...continental collaboration; collaboration with the developing world; and national geostrategy in the face of the two great external powers" (Child 1979). The motivating theme behind many of the development projects was to penetrate these previously uninhabited places. Expanding the frontiers of society but also industry and in particular, agriculture. This theme is less identifiable in the modern period. Partly because of the efforts of the previous century but also due to new environmental challenges associated with expansion.

Resource exploitation and its subthemes are readily apparent in the two different periods. But the subthemes present and their prevalence in the content is not the same. The most glaring example of this falls under the subtheme of environmental degradation. The issue of environmental degradation is present in many of the programs or documents and speeches of the post 1985 era. All the infrastructure projects must pass certain environmental or sustainability criteria to be accepted. The pre 1985 era has little example of this being considered. The exception to that is during the last military presidency of Joao Figueiredo. The change that took place with Figueiredo could be explained by mounting scientific evidence/research about the effects that extraction or certain infrastructure projects had on the environment. But largely the first period doesn't give concern to environmental degradation the way the modern period did with for example the Amazon Fund. The PRDA that was mentioned in 5.1 is an excellent

example of how the modern period seeks to prioritize the environment. But this prioritization of the environment doesn't mean an end to resource exploitation. A drive for economic growth requires it but what we can take from the PRDA is that outside pressures can influence the path towards a more sustainable way of extraction and development.

Economic development with its previously mentioned subthemes was prevalent in both cases. The PIN was an economic push from the central government that sought to integrate the country through economic opportunities and migration. This came largely in the form of infrastructure projects that allowed access to the land and its subsequent exploitation for ranching, farming, and other industrial projects that could utilize the new infrastructure. Economic development also came in the way of an organized settlement of the land which was carried out to varying levels of success across the Amazonian states during the military regime. Economic development was also an issue during the modern period as well. The major difference between the economic development of the two cases is that during the modern period, there is more consideration for environmental degradation and sustainability. This was something that influenced infrastructural development as well during the modern period. Economic development is an issue for most governments along with its subtheme of infrastructure projects. The military period mainly justifies these development actions based on national integration and incorporating the North into the rest of the country. The modern period, while still stressing issues of sovereignty and integration at times, mainly justifies these things on a human rights and social justice theme.

An identifiable shift I encountered in the research surrounds the theme of resource exploitation. The reasons the two cases used to justify their approach. Environmental degradation is the language and term used around where I can see the change. The modern period has in its Amazon Fund projects explicit references and requirements for the consideration of the environment and the sustainability of the project. Whether the project is a business like the nut business referenced in the paper or the construction of new family habitations. This issue with the environment and the harm it can cause to people leads the modern period into more considerations with the human rights and social justice theme because environmental degradation for them affects society in an unequal way. It is the way in which they now give value to the Amazonian space. The development and extraction haven't stopped, the way it's done and justified has just taken a more human-centric approach. There was also a shift

surrounding the theme of identity and nationalism. In my own research I didn't find a reference to this theme in the military period. However, post-1985 I did see several instances where this was used as a justification for action in the Amazon. Lula and Bolsonaro both make clear that it is Brazilians who will decide what happens in the Amazon. It is in these ways that we can see geopolitical reasoning in the Amazon influencing political decisions.

In trying to answer the research question and gain an understanding of how geopolitical reasoning has remained albeit under the guise of different language, from what I've seen in my research the answer to that question is yes it continues to influence policy, but the references and language used differ. Though both periods share many commonalities that involve all the codes identified (except geopolitical alliances & rivalries), there is a shift in the language. Both periods focus on the theme of resource exploitation and economic development, however, the post-1985 period focuses more on how these issues will affect the environment and human rights and social justice than did the government before 1985 to justify its policies. There are also the references in the post-1985 period about the Amazon being Brazil's and invoking its sovereignty to do as it wishes. While the pre-1985 period was less concerned with how other countries viewed their actions in the Amazon and more concerned with appearing to be in control of it.

When considering what further research can be done to address the topic this thesis focused on, I believe that a future project could continue with the same timeline of 1964-1985 and 1985-2023 or they could simply choose smaller periods within these periods to get a deeper analysis. In trying to address this timeline I tried to find speeches or documents that were given in different years or presidential administrations in the two cases to try and illustrate the change in language. However, the study could benefit greatly from an increase in cases analyzed or from a potentially shorter timeline of analysis. More cases could give a broader and deeper picture of the change.

The Amazon increasingly carries global significance and understanding Brazilian internal policy in the region can give an idea of how Brazil will respond to future external pressures surrounding the region. The findings highlight the intricacy of how the Amazon is governed. Some of the changes in environmental consideration could be a result of outside pressures and Brazil's own desire to appear as a good steward of the global environment. This shift in its strategy can also affect trade relations with other countries depending on how well they do or don't perform with preservation and conservation goals. Viewing the trend of sovereignty and

identity with the Amazon can also be useful for other nations to know when dealing with Brazil on a particular issue surrounding the Amazon. The study also gives more weight to critical geopolitics as a way of deconstructing the narratives and discourses about a country's space and place and how it uses these to construct a geopolitical identity. In the case of Brazil and its actions toward the Amazon, it has allowed us to see a change in language, but the geopolitical reasoning is still evident in its actions toward that space and in the narratives it uses to justify its policies in the Amazon.

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